

BLACK POLITICS

1991

MAY.

What Mandela would have told Tukkies

By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

Nelson Mandela prepared a conciliatory speech — parts of it in Afrikaans — for his first appearance at the University of Pretoria which was cancelled when right-wingers upstaged the meeting.

In his written speech, never to be delivered, the ANC deputy president said he was pleased to have the opportunity to speak at Tukkies although he was aware many students would not welcome his presence.

"I think this hostility and fear is not directed at me personally but at what I represent as a leader of the ANC — an organisation that many have been told threatens everything you value.

"If you value racism more than anything else in life then the ANC is to be feared. If you value the privilege that goes with racism, that depends on

the blacks of this country being downtrodden, then you have reason to fear. We want equality and we will settle for nothing else."

But there was no need to fear that the ANC was "going to do to whites what whites have done to blacks for so long" because the ANC had always been committed to nonracism and wanted all South Africans to live in peace and friendship.

Provocative

Appealing to the reason of Afrikaners, he said: "Surely you as Afrikaners, who fought for your freedom from British imperialism, would lose all respect for blacks if we just meekly accepted the denial of our rights? Surely you appreciate that we are unwilling to accept gutter education, which was conceived to prepare us for inferiority?"

Mr Mandela said he had not come to the university to be provocative but to try to create a better understanding of the ANC's policies.

The ANC was committed to the protection of cultural and linguistic rights but not the protection of white privileges.

Switching to Afrikaans, he said the ANC was very concerned about the language's future.

"As you probably all know, the Afrikaans language is regarded by most blacks as the language of the oppressor. It is the language of the police and the language of the prisons. It is one of the two official languages of this country where the languages of more than 70 percent of the population are not regarded as official.

Patriotism

"But we in the ANC do not regard the Afrikaans language as the language of oppression only. It is not only the language of white Afrikaners and there are many white Afrikaners who are not racists.

"We regard the Afrikaans which is now in a stage of development as the Afrikaans of the new South Africa, the language of liberation. This language must develop as part of a new democratic state.

"We want to create a situation where a new understanding of the word patriotism will be developed, where we understand patriotism as something loved by all the people of our country."

● ANC executive Penuel Maduna failed to arrive at the Rand Afrikaans University in Johannesburg yesterday where he was to address students on the ANC's May 9 ultimatum, the obstacles to negotiations and the township violence.

Nusas spokesman Johnny Fleetwood told The Star that an unidentified person had telephoned earlier to warn that right-wing students would disrupt the meeting. However, there did not seem to be any right-wingers among the 60 students who waited for 30 minutes during their lunch hour to listen to Mr Maduna.

ANC women prove mettle

Star 11/5/91

(11A)

THE ANC Women's League has done more to restore the organisation's credibility on two key issues — democracy and gender equality — than the broad male-dominated movement has accomplished through numerous noble declarations.

Winnie Mandela's election defeat in the contest for the prime job of league president has proved the mettle of the women who were unawed by the clout of the Mandela name.

Despite strong lobbying for Mrs Mandela, the women elected the person they thought would be best for the job — Gertrude Shope, an executive member who has long headed the section in exile.

Mrs Shope received 422 votes and Mrs Mandela 196.

Amid continued speculation that Mrs Mandela's election on to the PWV regional executive and her appointment as head of welfare was less than democratic, the league went to great pains to ensure a free election.

A senior male ANC official, in acknowledging the women's

Political Reporter ESMARE VAN DER MERWE reviews the African National Congress Women's League's ambitious plans to promote women's rights.

courage, said many party members could not face up to their duty when debating Mrs Mandela's appointment as head of welfare.

He said: "How do you say to Mr Mandela, in his face: 'We can't give your wife the job?'"

"His face falls if you say anything bad about her. But we have to face the music. We took a very bad decision."

At the league's national conference in Kimberley, electoral procedures were debated for hours to ensure a democratic election.

Unfortunately, important decisions on the advancement of women in a male-dominated society have become lost among media reports on the surprising election result.

Furthermore, the league has succeeded in coming up with

more concrete and imaginative proposals for the advancement of women in a male-dominated society than the ANC has ever done.

In an address delivered on his behalf to the conference, ANC president Oliver Tambo frankly admitted that the ANC's national executive committee had not been successful in putting its well-meaning theories on gender equality into practice.

Realising the futility of leaving this daunting task to the ANC, he urged women to lead the battle for equality — not only in the ANC, but in South African society at large.

The more than 1 000 women took this challenge seriously. After four days, they emerged with ambitious programmes to address social and sexual oppression — particularly in the

African tradition — illiteracy, exploitation and discrimination.

Among the proposals were to set up an ANC commission on emancipation; initiate support among all for a charter of

women's rights; organise an all-women peace conference; draw up a programme of action for emancipation and development of women; establish a women's training institute to upgrade the skills of rural women, educate women on politics; and promote an understanding of and do research on gender issues.

Practical steps were also suggested to strengthen the league, which has an estimated membership of 100 000.

In another first for the ANC, the league proposed a leadership code for its own leaders, including the right of recall of those guilty of misconduct.

Through this code the league emphasised that "the establishment of a democratic society in South Africa will be dependent upon democratic structures and practices". □

Govt reneged on agreement - Mandela

Star 11/5/91
By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter (11A)

The Government had clearly failed to meet the ANC's April 30 deadline on the return of exiles and release of political prisoners, Nelson Mandela told a capacity crowd at the Johannesburg City Hall last night.

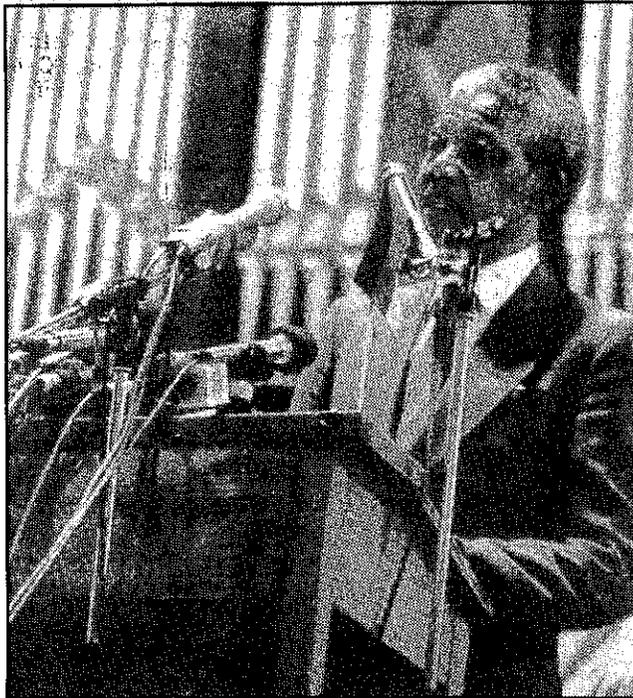
But the ANC deputy president did not reveal what action his organisation would take next, saying he did not want to pre-empt a decision still to be made by the organisation's national executive committee.

Violence

"But I can state emphatically that we find this failure of the Government totally unacceptable," he said to overwhelming applause from a predominantly black audience of more than 2 000.

Mr Mandela also rejected President de Klerk's invitation to him and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to meet in an effort to resolve the protracted township violence.

"The suggestion of a meeting between President de Klerk, Chief Buthelezi and



City Hall address . . . Nelson Mandela tells supporters that the Government has failed to meet the ANC's April 30 deadline.
Picture: Karen Fletcher

myself to solve the violence is clearly a smokescreen. I will not be part of that troika," he said.

Mr Mandela's first address at the City Hall was warmly cheered by a jubilant, toy-

ing crowd who occupied every available space to listen to his response to the deadline, which expired at midnight.

He said the Government had not honoured its ob-

tions agreed on in the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes. Its failure to meet the ANC's demands could definitely have been avoided.

The ANC had noted how speedily the Government had moved in the past few weeks on the release of prisoners. The Government's refusal to release all those regarded by the ANC as political prisoners was an attempt to use the issue as a bargaining chip to force further concessions from the ANC.

Elevate

Mr Mandela reiterated the ANC's view that the Government had the capacity but lacked the willingness to stop the violence.

The ANC did not want another state of emergency, but it wanted the security forces to use their "powers of detection" to halt the carnage.

Indirectly referring to the IFP's role in the violence, he said the ANC would not allow the Government to elevate "some of its black allies" to rise to power.

"There is no doubt that we will win this battle," Mr Mandela said to loud applause.

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NATIONAL

PAC call to take up arms and form patriotic front

By **JACQUELYN SWARTZ**
Staff Reporter

THE Pan Africanist Congress has called for the taking-up of arms and the formation of a patriotic front of all black organisations, including those of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and General Bantu Holomisa.

Speaking at a Cosatu-organised May Day rally yesterday, PAC Western Cape organiser Mr Michael Siyolo said the inclusion of groups like the Inkatha Freedom Party would mean they could no

longer be manipulated by the government.

"It is our belief that all the oppressed must unite. In Azania the line is drawn between the ranks of the oppressors and the ranks of the oppressed," he said.

He told the crowd, which consisted largely of ANC supporters, that it was clear arms would have to be taken up "because De Klerk is the biggest fake that this land has ever seen".

"On the one hand he says he is prepared to negotiate peacefully, while on

the other hand he is busy killing and maiming lots of Africans.

"He goes further to say that after negotiations have been completed he will take the decisions to the white electorate and they will be the ones to say yes or no.

"The PAC says we have no time to play. This is not a game because the enemy is ruthless. We must gain ascendancy over the forces of oppression," he said.

Fellow-speaker Mrs Hilda Ndude, of the ANC in the Western Cape, also called for a strengthening of alliances.

Tukkies to get tough over student 'chaos'

PRETORIA. — The University of Pretoria would take stern action against students and outside persons responsible for the "chaos" at Monday's campus meeting that was to have been addressed by Mr Nelson Mandela, the university said on Tuesday.

The university had taken immediate steps to identify those responsible. All student activities with a political connotation have been suspended up to and including May 31.

Tukkie students' representative council says it will take measures against students who played a role in the disruption of Monday's campus meeting.

But the Conservative Party has warned Tukkie authorities not to take action against right-wing students.

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela "got exactly what he deserved", was the comment from the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging on Tuesday.

● A meeting at the Randse Afrikaans University in Johannesburg failed to take place on Tuesday after guest speaker Mr Penuel Maduna, a member of the ANC's legal and constitutional committee, failed to turn up. — Sapa

Meanwhile Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer has described the action of the Pretoria University students as "nazi behaviour".

In a statement, Dr De Beer said the denial of the right of free speech to Mr Mandela was "thoroughly disgraceful".

Winnie: Smiles as state closes case

Att News 2/5/91 114
JOHANNESBURG. — Mrs Winnie Mandela smiled broadly yesterday when the state and her defence teams closed their cases to conclude the hearing of evidence in the Rand Supreme Court trial in which she and two others face charges of kidnap and assault.

The state yesterday attempted to use the long-standing feud between senior ANC members Mrs Albertina Sisulu and Mrs Mandela to destroy the alibi proffered by the latter in defence of the charges she faces. state advocate Mr Jan Swanepoel told the court unsuccessful attempts had been made to call Mrs Sisulu as a state witness.

Part of Mrs Mandela's alibi was that she had taken one of the youths, Katiza Cebekhulu, to the Soweto surgery of Dr Abu-Baker Asvat on December 29, 1988, and thereafter left for Brandfort. Mr Swanepoel said his intention was to call Mrs Sisulu, Dr Asvat's assistant at the time, to support a visiting card which suggested Cebekhulu had consulted the doctor on December 30.

Final argument begins on Monday, May 6. — Sapa

THE ANC Youth League has called on the ANC to suspend talks with the government unless all the points of the May 9 deadline are met.

This was announced at a militant and enthusiastic May Day rally attended by over 4 000 people at Athlone Stadium yesterday. Youth League leader Mr Mzwonke "Whitey" Jacobs said: "We have kept our side of the Minute agreements, but the regime has dragged its feet.

"Exiles have not been able to return, political prisoners are still in jail, political trials are still in progress, nothing has been done about security legislation.

"We cannot continue talking to a regime that does not keep to its agreements."

'ANC must suspend talks'

Ch. Texts 2/5/91

11A

The state was also continuing to launch "one attack after the other on the living conditions of people in our country", restructuring the economy through privatisation so that the democratic movement could not meet people's needs when it came to power.

"By the end of this year it is estimated that 350 000 people will lose their jobs and join the ranks of the seven mil-

lion unemployed," Mr Jacobs said.

"We add our voice to Cosatu's call for an immediate moratorium on retrenchments and the establishment of a job creation programme." Ms Hilda Ndude of the ANC's Western Cape executive said talking would never force the government to its knees, but mass action would.

"Let us transform 1991 into the year of mass action for the transfer of power to the people," she said.

Ms Rachel Beukes, Western Cape regional secretary of the SA Domestic Workers' Union, said farm and domestic workers should be covered by the Labour Relations Amendment Act, which was gazetted yesterday.

Observers see Mandela waning and FW left talking to 'rabble', writes Stanley Uys

Divided ANC fumbles the ball

Star 2/5/91.



THE visits of President F W de Klerk and Nelson Mandela to London last week, unlike previous visits, aroused only mild interest. President de Klerk was well received by the audiences he addressed — the Institute of Directors, the Royal Institute of International Affairs, the Confederation of British Industries, the UK-SA Trade Association, and others — but public and media interest was scanty. Mr Mandela's visit caused even less of a stir.

The main reason for this is that most governments perceive South Africa now as a country that is mending its ways and returning to normality. The special moral condemnation that has been reserved for it for all these years is falling away. If it still has troubles, well, everyone has troubles. This is a fundamental change in South Africa's international position.

The other reasons why the media gave so little attention to the visits are that what is happening to the Kurds and Shias in Iraq and to Gorbachev in the Soviet Union is seen as being a more im-

mediate story, and that the South African situation has become so confused that distant observers have lost the thread of it.

When President de Klerk landed at Heathrow airport, he was the prodigal son returning home. He has not actually crossed the threshold yet, but he is almost there. This new situation is to his advantage and he is entitled to see it as a reward for his reforms.

Mr Mandela is in a more difficult position. The majority perception here is that the ANC, instead of taking the ball and running with it, is obstructing change in South Africa.

"On his (President de Klerk's) heels," wrote Hugo Young in *The Guardian*, "comes Nelson Mandela, a figure tarnished by events since he was last here. His Medusa-like wife is no help, but the more important lapse is the waning of his political power."

The *Times* in an editorial spoke of the ANC's "present chaotic state," stating that "the ANC cannot go on blaming the Government for black faction-fighting ... the demands now emanating from

Mr Mandela and others are becoming more extreme and harder to abandon".

The opinion polls, *The Times* says, testify that the ANC is the most widely supported of black voices. "But its leadership is an unelected and frightened elite. It is managerially and ideologically shambolic. After June, it could well disintegrate, leaving Mr de Klerk negotiating with a divided rabble."

These are harsh words, but even more incisive comment came from John Carlin, *The Independent's* correspondent in southern Africa. He recorded the perception that Mr Mandela is seen as "a floundering figure incapable of controlling his youthful supporters, black-on-black violence and, of course, his own wife," while President de Klerk is seen in a quite different light.

President de Klerk's "political cunning and skill" at shaping public perceptions, said Carlin, exceeded the ANC's, as did his ability to maximise his influence on South African politics.

The National Party had "a

strong leader, a tight Cabinet, a unanimous party", it had a broadcasting monopoly and was able to manipulate the media, and it controlled the security forces.

Neither Young nor Carlin are "enemies" of the ANC: on the contrary, they are on the side of the angels. But if they are writing in this vein, it is time the ANC sat up and realised that it has lost the battle for public perceptions. The Government is seen as being just smarter than anyone else.

President de Klerk was very persuasive in his arguments here in London. As Young notes, he is a hard man, fighting for the political lives of his generation, "and still, therefore, defending a system that does its best to mitigate if not deny the long-term destiny of the country".

But few of his listeners here found fault with his argument that the priority is to rebuild the South African economy, and rebuild it now, because in four years it may be flat on its face, and then no government, white or black, will be able even remotely to meet Black expectations.

For the ANC, therefore, to send Mr Mandela in President de Klerk's wake, trying to undo whatever he might achieve, was not only a folly — it was also humiliating to Mr Mandela, whose authority and aura cannot take much more of this kind of punishment.

The ANC does not seem to have noticed that the game has changed — that, as Dr Malan said after 1948 (with the Afrikaners in mind), South Africa is theirs once again (to be shared, of course), and they must start rebuilding it now, and not leave it until the mid-1990s when they actually get their hands on some power.

In other words, they must run with the game, not fight it.

The ANC's insistence on the retention of sanctions puzzles people here. They recognise that if the ANC walks into the Multiparty Conference stripped of the armed struggle and sanctions, it will not have much to bargain with, and they recognise, too, that the organisation's emphatic rejection (at its December conference) of the Tambo-Mbeki proposals to re-

view sanctions shows just how high militancy runs in the ranks.

But, they ask, isn't there a middle way? Cannot the ANC both support the lifting of economic sanctions, while retaining, say, the symbolic sanctions, like the arms embargo? Isn't there a compromise, a subtler way of approaching the matter?

Hugo Young's solution is for the ANC to change its leader. "What the blacks need," he said, "is a leader as competent as De Klerk."

The problem with this idea is that the ANC is held together not by consensus or agreed policies, which a more competent leader could apply more successfully, but by more elusive qualities, such as history, a shared struggle, expectations, mythology — in other words, at the moment, by Nelson Mandela's aura.

Take Mr Mandela away, and South Africa really could have a "rabble" on its hands. Then there would not be a single black organisation with an established national legitimacy to sit at the conference table. □

Sanctions:

Hani

CPL TIM IS
2/5/91

threatens disorder

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7/11
5/15

Own Correspondent

WASHINGTON. — If the US lifted sanctions, the ANC would deliberately destabilise South Africa to discourage investment, ANC military leader Mr Chris Hani said in a radio interview here yesterday.

He was speaking amid indications from both the US and British governments that they intended lifting sanctions.

US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Mr Herman Cohen said yesterday President George Bush would move to end the sanctions contained in the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act (CAAA) as soon as remaining political prisoners had been released, and the Population Registration and Group Areas Acts repealed.

Report endorsed

Mr Cohen said the act's other conditions — the unbanning of political activity, the lifting of the state of emergency and the government's commitment to enter negotiations — had already been met.

And in London, British Foreign Secretary Mr Douglas Hurd endorsed a parliamentary report calling for an end to sanctions.

But Mr Hani said that the ANC was "not afraid" that it would be weakened if Mr Bush decided to end the sanctions, contained in the CAAA.

He said the ANC could deter investment "by struggle, boycotts, marches, by almost everything".

"What businessman in America, or Europe or Russia will invest in a country where there is no social order?" Mr Hani asked.

● US urges lifting sanctions — Page 7

Prisoner showdown

11A

CAF Trials 2/5/91

THE ANC last night appeared to be heading for a showdown with the government as the joint April 30 deadline for the release of all political prisoners expires.

Mr Nelson Mandela told 40 000 people at a May Day rally in Sebokeng yesterday that the next eight days, leading up to the May 9 ANC deadline to the government on violence, will determine whether hopes of moving quickly towards the establishment of a democratic society are to be dashed even before negotiations have begun.

He was also speaking as political prisoners throughout South Africa embarked on a hunger strike to press for their release, according to the Lawyers for Human Rights organisation.

But this week the government hit back when:

● Senior government negotiator and

Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer told Parliament that the ANC was delaying negotiations because of its own internal problems, and that the uncertainty bedevilling the organisation may persist until after its congress in July; and

● President F. W. de Klerk blamed the ANC for delays in both the release of prisoners and the approval of indemnity applications.

He pointed out that on Monday, the day before the April 30 target date, a further 351 applications for release and indemnity were received.

Excluding the applications received on Tuesday, 1 823 were received in April.

"Compare this with the 725 for March 1991, and it will be realised that it is not the government which has been dragging its feet, but the applicants and their organisation which have woken up at the last moment."

Mr De Klerk said that despite repeated requests to the ANC to identify po-

litical prisoners, it was only on April 25 that they for the first time formally identified themselves, on a list provided by the Human Rights Commission.

However, many of the 1 292 people on the list were unknown, 133 were apparently in neighbouring states and only 770 were on the government's records.

Mr Mandela said yesterday: "The next eight days, as we come to May 9, are very crucial ones for all South Africans.

"They will determine whether or not our hopes of moving forward quickly towards the establishment of a non-racial, non-sexist, democratic society in our country are to be dashed even before we have begun to negotiate."

The ANC has demanded that the government announce meaningful steps to end the carnage in townships, "by controlling and bringing an end to this violence or else admit their complicity in it".

But a massive police deployment

failed to prevent at least 15 people being killed in clashes on the Reef yesterday.

"We have not heard Mr De Klerk say he is putting an end to the violence, he is now going to release all the political prisoners and we can bring home all the exiles," Mr Mandela said.

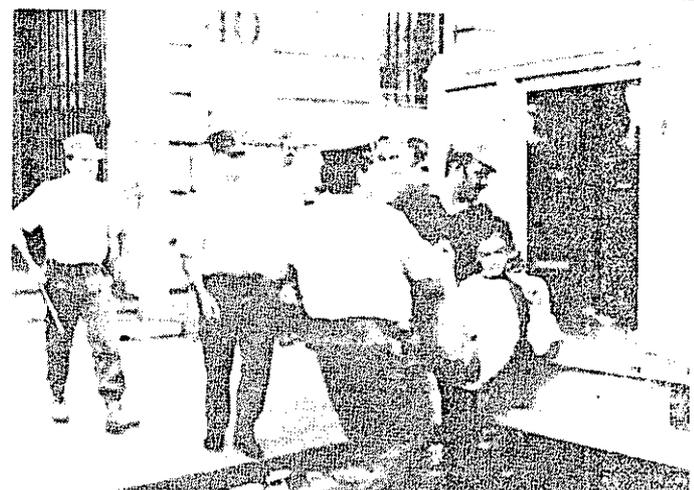
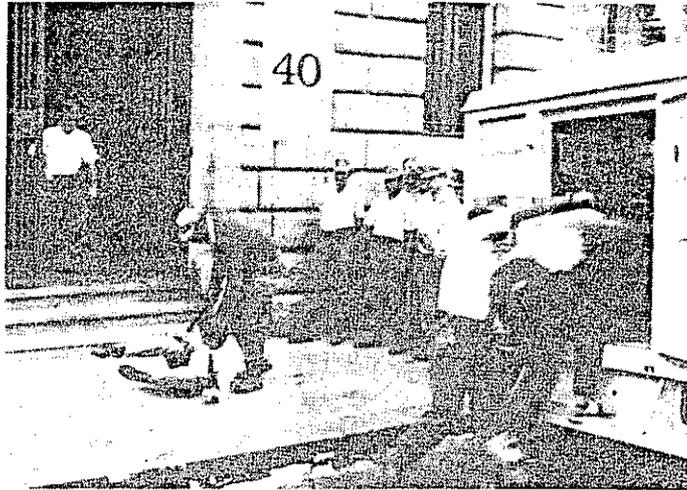
"We are waiting for productive responses now," he stressed.

● The ANC ultimatum for the government to take effective measures to stem violence by May 9 was favourably received by young black people, but not other groups.

An opinion poll conducted by Mark Data of the Human Sciences Research Council, found 62% support for the ultimatum among blacks aged between 18 and 49, but the majority of older blacks and other population groups surveyed rejected the move. — Sapa and Own Correspondent

● Prisoner protest — Page 4

ARRESTS AFTER ANC YOUTH LEAGUE OCCUPIES NATIONAL PARTY OFFICES



ANC MAN ARRESTED . . . Mr Willie Hofmeyr, a lawyer with the ANC Youth League delegation, was arrested after the league occupied offices of the National Party in Burg Street on Tuesday. This series of pictures shows his eviction and arrest. ● Report — Page 2

CAP TINTS 2/5/91 11A

Pictures: BERNARD PEREZ

46 killed in two Renamo attacks

CAP 7mks 2/5/91

114

JOHANNESBURG. — At least 46 people were killed and scores injured in two guerilla attacks in southern Mozambique and some 2 000 refugees poured into South Africa seeking sanctuary, it was reported yesterday.

Renamo anti-government forces attacked two settlements in Gaza Province, which adjoins South Africa, killing and wounding residents and sending hundreds of people fleeing for safety, said the reports.

South African officials said about 2 000 men, women and children crossed the border into South Africa after guerillas attacked the town of Ressano Garcia in Mozambique, just across the frontier near Komatipoort, on Tuesday night.

Renamo attacked with mortars, heavy machineguns and rocket launchers, officials said. It was not clear if guerillas or Mozambique government forces hold the town.

At least six people were killed and 60, mostly children, wounded in the attack. South African army and police

units treated the wounded after they crossed into South Africa.

The SAP station commander at Komatipoort, Lieutenant Johan Combrink, speaking by telephone to Johannesburg, said the attack "was so loud, everyone in Komatipoort could hear it".

Forty people were killed and 13 wounded in a separate Renamo attack on the same night, on the "April 7" commune 150km to the north-west, AIM, the official Mozambique news agency, reported yesterday.

Guerillas set fire to houses and looted the commune village before being driven off by government troops, AIM reported. Government forces claimed they killed two guerillas, it said.

Last Friday 16 people died when a Renamo unit ambushed a convoy of traders' vehicles in the northern province of Cabo Delgado.

A sixth round of peace talks between the Mozambique government and Renamo is scheduled to begin today in Rome. — Sapa-Reuter, UPI

ANC to throw weight behind mass education

CAP 7mks 2/5/91
Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC is planning a massive focus on education, criticising school boycotts and calling for more classrooms and a new respect for learning.

In a policy document to be submitted to its July congress, the ANC also proposes a state-aided mass literacy programme with the help of newspapers, radio and TV.

The ANC says massive opposition to education over the past 15 years has resulted in a "gradual but definite erosion of the need to learn".

Scholars and students had stayed away from school for long periods of time and had fought pitched battles with the army and police. As a consequence "a whole generation of the youth of the country have grown up believing that education and learning are of no value".

"This attitude is understandable but it is wrong and it will take a long time to correct," the document says. This had highlighted the need for a new respect for learning and the institutions of learning "and for the discipline which these will demand".

In a section on education policy, the document calls for a mass literacy programme.

Major's popularity put to test

LONDON. — British local council elections today will test whether new premier Mr John Major's personal popularity can win votes for his battered Conservative Party with a general election perhaps only months away.

When Mr Major replaced Mrs Margaret Thatcher last November, the Labour Party's Mr Neil Kinnock was widely seen as losing his electoral trump card.

Mrs Thatcher's strident style had helped boost Mr Kinnock in the opinion polls.

A recent survey showed 41% of voters believe that Mr Major is the right person to run the country. Only 27% opted for Mr Kinnock. — Sapa-Reuter

Cape Town 2/5/91

46 held in march on NP's city offices

Staff Reporter

FORTY-SIX people were arrested at the central Cape Town National Party offices in Burg Street on Tuesday when members of the ANC Youth League went to hand in a petition there.

They were held for several hours before being released. Some are due to appear in court today on various charges.

Dr Dawie De Villiers, Cape leader of the NP, said a security door had been forced and 32 people had gained access to the premises.

According to the police unrest report, some of the youths occupied a conference room in the NP offices.

"They ignored a warning to leave the building. Tearsmoke was used to disperse the group. Forty-six people were arrested," the report said.

The ANC Youth League said in a statement yesterday that it had embarked on nationwide protest action to demand the unconditional release of all political prisoners, the cessation of political trials, the unhindered return of exiles and the scrapping of all security legislation.

The ANCYL said 22 people were arrested inside the building while awaiting a response to their petition from Mr Hennie Smit, the MP for George.

Dr de Villiers said Mr Smit had undertaken to convey the protesters' requests to the government.

Further negotiations failed, so a charge of trespassing was laid and "police began to remove the trespassers from the building".

'SA is trying to free citizens held abroad'

CMT 7-13 2/5/91
Political Staff

THE government was continuously taking steps to procure the release of South Africans in detention in foreign countries, including those allegedly held at an ANC camp in Uganda, the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, has said.

He was asked in Parliament by Mr Mahomed Cassim, Nominated Solidarity, whether the government had entered into negotiations with the ANC regarding the release of prisoners being held in foreign countries.

Mr Cassim also asked whether, during the course of these negotiations, the government had requested the ANC to assist in bringing about the release of prisoners in detention camps such as Mbarara in Uganda.

Dr Viljoen replied: "The government and government agencies are continuously taking steps to procure the release of South Africans finding themselves in detention in foreign countries.

"In the process contact is often made with a variety of organisations and foreign governments.

"The success of such efforts is almost always dependent on confidentiality. The particulars asked therefore cannot be provided.

"From this cannot be deduced that contact was at any time made, or not made, with any particular organisation in this regard."

SA Communist Party (SACP) Interim Leadership Core member Jeremy Cronin believes SA should follow the Cuban model in setting up self-defence units (SDUs). He told this to an attentive yet sceptical audience of sympathetic academics at a Wits University Project for the Study of Violence meeting recently.

"Cuba is an excellent example where they have these kinds of structures called Committees for the Defence of the Revolution which are based in townships and working class suburbs. They are open and non-partisan and everyone participates in one form or another so there is not a reliance on a special force called the police as opposed to ordinary citizens," he enthused.

They would be non-partisan in Cuba, one of his left-wing academic audience commented afterwards, because they only have one party there.

His comment underlined a general sense of scepticism among an audience that on another day might well have supported him. But Cronin's presentation of For the Sake of our Lives — Guidelines for the Creation of People's Self-Defence Units left a distinctly uneasy feeling.

The questions reflected this. Was there not a contradiction between

Inherent contradictions?

8/Day 2/5791

PATRICK BULGER

building political tolerance and engaging in militarised rhetoric? Why such emphasis on military training but so little on political channels of control of SDUs? Would SDUs not trigger an arms race as they had in Maritzburg? How would one prevent them becoming non-partisan? Was there not the danger of a spiral of violence developing and destroying political gains that had been made overall? Would there not be a dramatic increase in violence?

But Cronin would have none of it. "The intention is not to increase the level of violence, but quite the opposite," he said. It was necessary to appoint rather than elect commanders because popular people might not make the best commanders. Participation would be entirely voluntary.

"I am sure there will be problems but there is no alternative to going in the direction in which we are going. The purpose is to empower township dwellers and equip them organisationally and, indeed, with physical means. Because if we don't they are going to do it in any case," he said.

It has emerged that a Tripartite Alliance (ANC, SACP and Cosatu) Committee on violence had something to do with the document's formulation. That this committee is dominated by leading SACP members should not be taken to mean it was an SACP document, Cronin said. Rather, it was a "collective" effort. Nonetheless the SACP leadership had unanimously accepted the guidelines last year and had effected some editing changes, he said.

He added: "It's been around for a long time. It was discussed in 1985/'86 when the ANC called for the formation of organs of people's power. The ANC's politico-military committee and other committees were all engaged in discussing structures and what kind of advice to give our underground units in the country".

In this context, SDUs are not the homespun efforts of amateurs to deter aggressors with bows and arrows. Historically they represent a

romantic aim within sections of the alliance to "arm the masses" in preparation for insurrection.

Alarming, much of the document's language is derived from the same idiom employed by the ungo-vernability and people's power theorists of the mid-'80s. Revolutionary theorists writing in the ANC's journal Sechaba called, for example, for "organising the masses and transforming the no-go areas into strong mass revolutionary bases to provide the ground for the growth and development of our people's army and for the escalation of our people's war".

That SACP elements see a role for SDUs beyond that of mere defence is beyond doubt. Cronin said he foresaw SDUs enduring long beyond the volatile stage of transition: "These structures would counterbalance whatever bureaucracy or army or security force there might be around."

The document states: "Ultimately we may envisage the emergence of regional forces and even a national people's defence force. Such a people's militia could in time merge

with Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) to form the basis for a people's army and police force in the liberated SA".

Cronin insisted that SDUs would be defensive and not under the control of any one political faction. However, the document sees a guiding role for MK which, by definition, is partial to the alliance camp.

But it was Cronin's analysis of the causes of violence that came across as shaky. He argued the government, in particular, and Inkatha to a lesser extent, were benefiting from the violence. He used the analogy of government subjecting the ANC to "water torture" — submerging them and then bringing them up for air for another round of negotiations.

The "Third Force" or agents of the state bore prime responsibility for fomenting violence. One of Cronin's audience argued it was difficult to see how government could be trying to attract investment and fomenting widescale violence at the same time.

While Cronin stressed the importance of political initiatives and talks with Inkatha, his perspective, by definition, relegates political solutions below military ones. If his analysis of the violence is correct, it would make little sense to negotiate with a conspirator bent on a violent solution.

LETTERS

ANC plans massive learning campaign

TIM COHEN

11A

THE ANC is planning a massive focus on education, criticising school boycotts and calling for more classrooms and a new respect for learning.

In a policy document to be submitted to its July congress, the ANC also proposes a state-aided mass literacy programme with the help of newspapers, radio and TV.

The ANC says widespread opposition to education over the past 15 years has resulted in a "gradual but definite erosion of the need to learn".

Students had stayed away from school for long periods and had fought pitched battles with the army and police.

As a consequence "a whole generation of the youth of the country has grown up believing that education and learning are of no value. *Buy 215791*

"This attitude is understandable, but it is wrong and it will take a long time to correct," the document says.

It highlights the need for a new respect for learning and the institutions of learning "and for the discipline which these will demand".

In a section on education policy, the document calls for a mass literacy programme now and in the future.

"The state must be responsible for providing the framework for the training referred to," the document says. "It must make it the duty of employers to negotiate

□ To Page 2

Learning *Buy 215791*

and establish worker education programmes."

The document also calls on government to provide textbooks, improve furniture in classrooms, establish basic libraries, buy sports and recreational material, and provide transport for schools.

Money available now should be used to build additional classrooms and other facilities.

The document proposes that negotia-

tions be opened with communities to provide labour for the immediate building of additional classrooms.

"For example, we should negotiate with Cosatu's unemployed workers union and with other unorganised unemployed to see whether it would be possible to do some of the building work required."

It suggests that a free-meal system for children in rural schools be developed.

11A  □ From Page 1

The next eight days are crucial, says Mandela

8 (Day 2/579)

VEREENIGING — The eight days before the ANC's May 9 deadline to government to end violence would determine whether hopes of moving quickly towards a democratic society were to be dashed before negotiations had begun, ANC leader Nelson Mandela told a Workers' Day rally in Sebokeng yesterday.

"Those who say they are sincere in their desire for peace must now prove this, by controlling and bringing an end to this violence or else admitting their complicity in it.

"Unless, of course, the government is saying to us that they are incapable of controlling their own police and army," Mandela said.

"And if this is what they are saying, then surely we must consider whether such a government is a credible negotiating party, and in a position to help bring an end to apartheid?"

"We continue to say that he (De Klerk) can stop the violence if he wishes to do so."

Our Political Staff in Cape Town reports Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Roelf Meyer said the ANC was delaying negotiations because of its internal problems.

He told Parliament this week it was possible the uncertainty bedevilling the ANC would remain until after its congress in July.

It was possible the ANC did not want to be seen by its supporters to be reaching too many compromises with government, or there could be "uncertainty in its own ranks about how to handle the complexities of normal politics".

DARIUS SANAI reports ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo yesterday blamed unnecessary bureaucratic delays for government's failure to release all political prisoners and indemnify exiles by Tuesday.

Addressing a rally in Soweto, Nzo warned that "nationwide campaigns will be unleashed" by the ANC on May 9 if government did not agree to its violence-related demands. He did not specify what the campaigns would entail.

PATRICK BULGER reports a Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) spokesman said 40 death row prisoners and 18 inmates of Pretoria Central Prison had embarked on a hunger strike yesterday, accusing government of reneging on its April 30 agreement to release political prisoners.

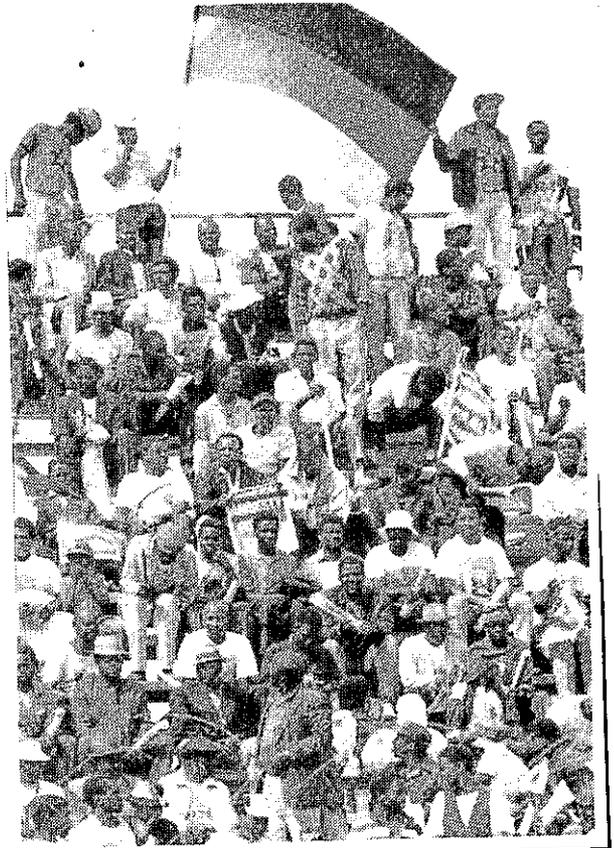
A Correctional Services Department spokesman said it was not policy to comment on hunger strikes.

Our Political Staff reports from Cape Town that President FW de Klerk on Tuesday launched a stinging attack on the ANC's failure to meet its commitments on the release and indemnity procedures.

He said in Parliament government had met its commitments to release political prisoners — to date a total of 933 — but the ANC had been dragging its feet.

"However, I also rejected the release applications of 364 people because of the seriousness of their crimes."

He said government was on schedule in processing release and indemnity applications. "Any allegation to the contrary is propaganda."





DISTANCES ...
Pallo Jordan

ATTACKS ...
Chris Hani

Hani statement 'not ANC policy'

Cape Times 3/5/91 (11A) (107) (108)
Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC yesterday dissociated itself from reported comments by Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Mr Chris Hani that the organisation would destabilise SA to discourage investment if the US lifted sanctions.

Mr Hani was reported to have said in an interview with National Public Radio in the US that "it is not in our interest to stabilise the country".

ANC publicity chief Mr Pallo Jordan yesterday reiterated statements by ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela that blacks would feel "deserted" if US sanctions were lifted and this would result in unrest.

Mr Jordan said he did not know whether Mr Hani had been incorrectly quoted or whether he had made the comments, but the ANC's official position had been specified by Mr Mandela.

Sapa reports that Mr Michael Abraham (DP Tongaat) said yesterday that Mr Hani's utterances were irresponsible.

Speaking in the State President's Budget Vote, Mr Abraham said: "The problem with Mr Hani is that he wants to go forward in reverse gear."

THE BIG SPREAD

The ANC's National Consultative Conference — to be held in Durban on July 2-7 — will be the most crucial in the 78-year history of the organisation. Milestone changes in its constitutional structure are planned.

Johannesburg will be designated the 15th region of the ANC. The effect of this will be to make the Reef the most powerful congress support bloc in the country.

The draft constitution setting out the structures of the ANC is being discussed at regional and branch level and is likely to be adopted with few, if any, changes at the conference.

In terms of it the powerful National Executive Committee (NEC) will swell from its present 35 members to 128. Women will be strongly represented with 17 guaranteed places for the chairmen of the ANC Women's League. This follows demands at the launch of the league in August for greater political clout.

In addition, it is proposed that 15 ANC members can be co-opted at any time on to the NEC during its terms of office — "to provide for a balanced representation that reflects the true character of the SA people." This important clause will not only redress racial imbalances on the NEC — if, for example, only blacks are elected — but could be used to ensure that special interest groups are represented. That means trade unions or experts on issues such as land or education.

A senior ANC source says it could also mean that if old stalwarts of the ANC are not elected to the NEC, but have special skills necessary for the movement, they too can be co-opted.

The last strongly contested change to the ANC constitution was in 1985 when the movement voted to allow non-Africans to hold office on the NEC. This paved the way for the elevation of people such as Joe Slovo, Ronnie Kasrils, Aziz Pahad and Mac Maharaj — despite the fact that the SA Com-

munist Party contingent at the time was opposed to non-Africans holding office, for one or other ideological reason.

The move was originally proposed in 1979 but defeated because it was felt it would be ahead of what was happening in SA. By 1985 non-African activists in nonracial structures — it was the heyday of the United Democratic Front — were more prominent than six years before.

It is worth recalling that despite the participation of the Congress Alliance (including white, Indian and coloured activists) in the Defiance Campaign of the Fifties, it was only in 1969 that the ANC formally allowed non-Africans into its ranks.

The proposed new constitution suggests that the ANC has finally shed the last trappings of an illegal movement, a senior official notes. Conference and elections are now to be held every three years instead of every five.

All members of the NEC will resign before the conference. "The National Conference shall be the supreme ruling and controlling body of the ANC," the draft constitution states. At least 90% of the delegates will be elected by secret ballot at regional conferences at which branches will be represented in proportion to paid-up membership.

Complaints from some regions last year about non-secret voting has ensured that all ANC voting will in future be secret, except for nominations for the posts of president, deputy president, secretary-general and treasurer-general, which will require the nomination to be seconded "by at least 10% of conference delegates by an open show of hands."

Voting on key issues at the conference can also be conducted in secret if at least one-third of delegates request it.

Membership of the ANC will be open to all people aged 18 and over, while member-

ship of its youth league will be open to anyone between 14 and 30. The president and secretary of the ANC Youth League form two ex officio members of the NEC, assuring a place on the NEC to present president Peter Mokaba, and at least one of his secretaries — either Rapu Molekane or Billy Masetla.

Fifteen ex officio members will be the elected chairmen of each region. This will bring a large contingent of long-time internal activists into key positions in the ANC. These include Arnold Stofile (Border), Christmas Tinto (Western Cape) and talented returnees such as negotiations working group members Matthew Phosa (Eastern Transvaal) and Jacob Zuma (Southern Natal).

A senior ANC official says it is unlikely that a regional chairman could be elected as deputy president or treasurer-general. "The ANC previously had the principle of one person, one hat."

The present situation of people wearing many hats is what has caused malfunctioning in the movement; conference should represent a turning point with that."

The NEC will be the highest decision-making body between conferences. It will elect a working committee of the president, secretary-general, the treasurer-general and their deputies, plus 20 other elected members of the NEC, and will meet once a month. The NEC as a whole will meet once a quarter.

It will also appoint a seven-member president's committee to act as a consultative and advisory body.

These seven could effectively become some of the most powerful people in the land; and contenders include Thabo Mbeki, Pallo Jordan, Raymond Suttner, Jacob Zuma, Zola Skweyiya — and doubtless a woman, perhaps Winnie Mandela, Gertrude Shope or Jackie Molefe.

Charlene Smith

ANC, PAC under fire

Sowetan 3/5/91

THE Azanian Peoples Organisation was the only liberation movement to honour its invitation to address a Nactu May Day rally in Zamdela, Sasolburg, on Wednesday.

Azapo, the ANC and PAC were criticised by unionists at the rally.

They said workers needed answers on issues such as negotiations and why other groups were opposed to such talks.

They also wanted to know more about the multiparty conference and the formation of a united front.

Slavery

Mr Ahmed Kathrada of the ANC yesterday said the organisation had no knowledge of the invitation and PAC general secretary Mr Benny Alexander, who was scheduled to speak, could not be reached for comment.

Azapo's executive member Dr Gomolêmo Mokae, who arrived at the rally four hours late, told the meeting that the new South Africa meant "polished slavery".

Blacks would be negotiating from a position of weakness, he said.

'Summit still on — even without ANC'

CAPE TOWN — The summit on violence and talks leading up to the multiparty conference would go ahead with or without the ANC's participation, President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

"We regard the ANC as nothing more or less than an important potential negotiating party — as one of the many negotiators, albeit an important one," he said.

He said it seemed the ANC would not participate in the summit on violence. But, with the deterioration of the violence, government could not relinquish this initiative. *B10am 315/91*

"The door for the ANC to participate would remain wide open and I would welcome it if their final decision was to par-

BILLY PADDOCK

icipate," he said. *(11A) (27/91)*

Referring to the ANC's May 9 ultimatum, he said the negotiation process must retain its momentum and the ANC should play a constructive role in this. Notwithstanding its "fancy footwork" over negotiations, it was a central party to the process and could not escape from the circumstances it had helped create.

He understood the ANC's position and his impression was it would not be ready for negotiations or the multiparty conference before its July conference.

"Nobody can expect government to wait

To Page 2

Summit *B10am 315/91*

for the ANC before the process of peace begins. Therefore this issue will enjoy the highest priority with or without the ANC before July 1991," De Klerk said.

He said a broad consensus regarding many issues affecting the multiparty conference had been established among majority parties in Parliament and the self-

(11A) (27/91) From Page 1
governing states. Good progress was also being made in the ANC/government working group dealing with the subject.

De Klerk said provisions on intimidation were inadequate and steps were being taken to strengthen them, possibly by broadening definitions. He did not elaborate.

Clerics 'hopeful' after talks with FW

RJL/MS/4/5/1977 22 (1977) 226
By MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent

CHURCH leaders emerged from hour-long talks with President De Klerk yesterday hopeful that a damaging negotiations deadlock over the ANC's May 9 ultimatum could be averted.

The clerics, who had also had discussions with ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, said in a brief statement that although the situation remained "delicate and complex" they were "convinced there is a willingness on both sides to bring the threatened deadlock to an end".

They said they had intervened because of the "tragic" implications of the "crisis". They believed their role was to encourage the politicians to meet and resolve their differences.

Growing dissent

The clerical intervention follows growing dissent between the government and the ANC, mainly focused on violence and ways to end it.

One of seven church leaders, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches (SACC) the Rev Frank Chikane, said: "We hope that after this (the discussions) there will be processes that will assist in ending the threat. We have seen a willingness on both sides. We are quite hopeful."

Mr De Klerk did not issue a statement after the meeting and the clerics would not be drawn on what "processes" they believed would be effective in resolving differences between the government and the ANC.

They declined to give details of the "sensitive nature of the discussions", insisting they did not wish to "rock the boat", but rejected speculation that an SACC-sponsored peace summit to replace Mr De Klerk's proposed summit was on the agenda.

Not mediators

Dr Khoza Mgojo, president of the SACC, said: "We have not yet said anything about that. That was not the subject of our discussion. Our concern is that if the threatened deadlock is not resolved, then all other processes can be threatened."

He said: "We do not pretend to be mediators. Our duty is to encourage the different parties ... to come together and talk so that we do not land up in a tragic situation."

Mr Chikane said: "Once the threatened deadlock is resolved, then the politicians should meet to work on the details of how to go into the future. It is not our role to determine how they should do this."

"We have come in because of the crisis which we feel has serious implications for the country and all South Africans."

Dr Johan Heyns, Moderator of the Dutch Reformed Church, said that given the level of violence, there was a "great need for the leaders to get together".

New attitudes

"We are here to see what we can do to encourage people to meet. It is not for the church to find new structures, economically or politically. The role of the church is to inculcate new attitudes."

He added: "I have an idea that on the grounds of what the President said, he is willing to do what he can and it is clear from the ANC's side that there is a will to find a peaceful solution."

● The full church delegation comprised Dr Mgojo, Mr Chikane, Bishop Reginald Orsmond, deputy president of the South African Catholic Bishops Conference, Archbishop Laurence Henry of the Catholic Church, Dr Johan Heyns, Sheikh N Mohammed of the World Conference on Religion and Peace and president of the Muslim Judicial Council and Rabbi A Seltzer of the Cape Town Hebrew Congregation.

PAC: SABC interview was 'untrue, sinister'

JOHANNESBURG. — The PAC has slammed as untrue, ridiculous and sinister an interview on SABC-TV News this week in which an imprisoned PAC member claimed he had robbed banks and supermarkets to raise funds to train PAC members to fight the ANC.

The interview was conducted in a "torture room" at the Warmbaths Prison and Mr Christopher Seipati had clearly spoken under duress, PAC general secretary Mr Benny Alexander told a Johannesburg news conference yesterday.

He said the object of the interview was political and aimed at drawing the PAC, which had a "clean image", into the current violence in the country.

"It is common knowledge that the PAC is not fighting with the ANC or Inkatha. It's clearly a political scheme, nothing else. But this can be expected when the so-called Third Force is convening the interview," he said.

The object of the interview was clearly sinister as the SABC had not asked the PAC to comment on the allegations, he said.

"SABC will have to clarify its role in relationship with the security forces in the light of this extraordinary, unprecedented incident."

Mr Alexander said the PAC had never been involved in robberies. He confirmed that Mr Seipati was detained in the Free State early in March. He had not been charged. — Sapa

Much for Women to do

THE newly-elected president of the 100 000-member ANC Women's League (ANCWL) is too busy these days to cook her husband's favourite meal.

Consolidating the League, which was re-established in Durban in August last year, is taking all her time.

That is how it has been for Mrs Gertrude Shope (65) since returning from exile in June last year, after 25 years.

"I've never had time attend to any personal commitments. I have not had the time to visit my relatives, most of whom I last saw many years ago.

"Soon after my arrival, I had to work round the clock towards re-establishing the ANCWL. I worked against time because we wanted to formally revive the structure on August 9 — a very important day in the history of South African women," she said.

Saturday People

GERTRUDE SHOPE

Star (1/3/91)

Written by JOVIAL RANTAO (11/9)

it. We are meeting soon as the ANCWL to adopt urgent strategies on how we can save the lives of our countrymen," Mrs Shope said.

"If ever there was a time for us to come together, this is it, we've lost our brothers, sisters, husbands and something urgent must be done about it. It's a shame to live in a country where there is senseless bloodshed."

The second task, the mother of three said, was to ensure that pupils in the townships go back to classes to learn and prepare themselves for the future.

"We have to encourage our youngsters to learn so that they will be able to replace their leaders who are now on the other side of 50. Equally, we have to pressure the education department to provide schools with equipment such as books because without them there can be no proper learning."

Married to Frank Shope, a veteran trade unionist, Mrs Shope joined the ANC in 1954 when she worked as secretary of the South African Federation of Women.

Born in Pimville, Soweto, she left the country in 1966 following harassment from the security police and the treason trial of her husband.

GERTRUDE'S three children joined her in Botswana, her destination after she had left South Africa. Her husband, who was in Europe at that time, was sent messages to join the family in Botswana. He did so a few months later and took the family to Zambia.

From there the Shopes went from one country to the other, either through her appointment as a representative of the ANC or her husband's trade union activities.

Mrs Shope also travelled extensively telling the world about South Africa and its people. "We told them what our people were going through. We sometimes presented them with facts and figures about political prisoners and killings."

Among the booklets that she distributed around the world was "The Voice of the Women" which was edited by recently released ANC MK member Marion Sparg.

While in exile Mrs Shope upheld women's rights and it came as no surprise when she was selected to represent the ANCWL at the women's convention in Angola.

IT was no surprise that after her arrival in the country, and after successfully reviving the ANCWL that she forced the national executive of the organisation to take a stand on women's emancipation.

"We succeeded because the ANC subsequently produced a document, the woman's freedom charter, which made clear what our rights are."

The daughter of motor mechanic and a housewife, Mrs Shope was a keen sportswoman in her days. She played basketball and took part in athletics. Her best heat was the 100 yards, as the race was then called, and the 400 yards relay.

Women organised under the ANC supported negotiation and have taken part in consultative meetings between the organisation and the Government. "But," Mrs Shope warned, "this should not be misunderstood that we support them at all costs."

Mrs Shope said she was bitter about Johannesburg's "street children" and the children's welfare was among the first items on the ANCWL programme of action.



WE GAVE LIFE TO OUR SONS: And now we must protect those lives from the violence, says Gertrude Shope, elected leader of the powerful ANC Women's League.

Mandela's murdered relatives identified

All Times U.S.P. 1/14

JOHANNESBURG. — The names of Mr Nelson Mandela's two nephews who were killed in township violence this week were released yesterday. They were Mr Douglas Nkosiyan, 54, and Mr Templeton Nkosiyan, 46. In a statement released yesterday, the ANC said the men were killed because they were related to Mr Mandela. "Reports indicate that this is the reason why the men were murdered in their Zondi home," the statement said.

The two men were reportedly killed on Wednesday night.

The ANC appealed for calm following the deaths of Mr Mandela's nephews. — UPI

Barney Desai, secretary for publicity and information of the Pan Africanist Congress, who was invited to express his views on violence, along with other political leaders as part of the series Viewpoints on Violence, says peace is a pre-condition to the PAC's efforts in building a democratic future for South Africa.

PAC seeks peace, says Desai

11A
w/(-Argus) 4/5/91

Viewpoint on Violence

By Barney Desai



THE Pan Africanist Congress has with consistent regularity at all its meetings, nationwide and internationally, appealed for peace. We see peace as a pre-condition to our efforts to build a democratic future for our people.

At our first meeting with the full national executive of the African National Congress in Harare last month, both executives debated the wide violence ravaging our people, at great length. I am of the opinion that our resolution to this terrible problem needs airing to as wide as possible an audience, more particularly since Chief Buthelezi's exclusive article in The Argus (on Tuesday) on the subject.

Our meeting decided, and I quote, "to draw the attention of our people and the world to the fact that the principal source of this violence is the South African government.

"Employing special counter insurgency units such as the CCB, Koevoet, Battalion 32, the As-karis and the Z-squads and others to repress and terrorise the national liberation movements and other democratic forces, during the 1984-86 uprisings, the government established special auxiliary units such as the Witdoeke, and other vigilantes as its own specialised agencies for crushing the democratic resistance in a number of communities. What we are seeing today is the generalising of the method of repression."

PAC/ANC were not unmindful of the violent activities of persons in our own ranks who have also been culprits in this respect.

We resolved to identify and speedily isolate those among us who indulge in attacks on our supporters and of other political organisations, with a view to preventing the government and its agencies from exploiting such tensions for their own ends.

"All organisations should desist from making hegemonistic claims on the territory of residential, townships or educational institutions.

"All organisations should encourage a culture of political tolerance and democratic practice among the oppressed."

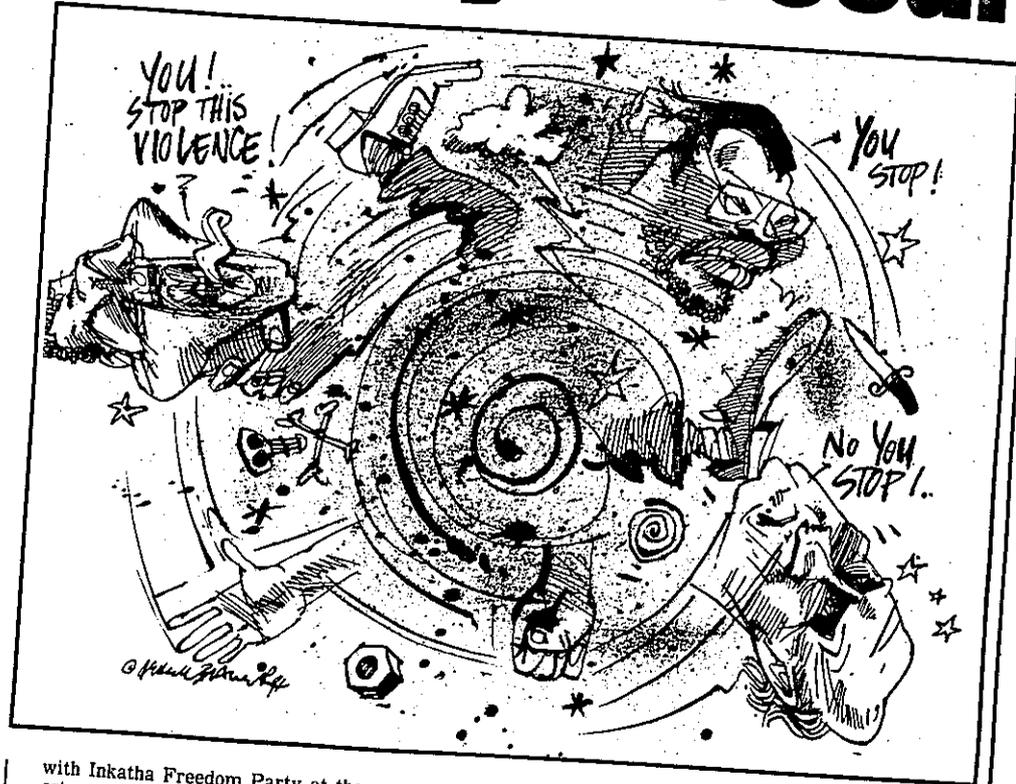
We stressed that "all organisations should undertake to isolate and discipline those of their members who are perpetrators of inter-organisation violence... No person/s should be forced to participate in political campaigns through coercion."

Realising that much of the violence takes place at township levels it was resolved that "civics and other grassroots structures should be democratised and strengthened by making them fully representative of all shades of political opinion within the community."

PAC has had its problems with ANC structures (especially because of their hegemonistic tendencies) at Komga, Vosloorus, Munsieville, Bekkersdal and Crossroads to mention a few places. In some cases issues have been resolved and in others more resolute action needs to be taken by our leaderships.

It is noteworthy that because we have no regard for the impartiality of the security forces and suspect a hidden agenda, we decided at Harare not to do any buck passing on this vital issue and we resolve in the event of violence in any area that troops and police should not be called in to restore order, instead the leadership on the ground and regional executives and NECS be called in to resolve problems and arbitrate on the differences between us.

The PAC will not confine its activities in this regard to our relationship with the ANC. As an organisation we have decided to meet



with Inkatha Freedom Party at the very earliest opportunity. This matter is well in hand.

On a general note let me add that PAC is minimally involved in violence but maximally concerned at the ravages violence is causing to our people.

We are extremely distrustful of the "forces of law and order" because we do not expect protection from a majority of that force who are poisoned with racism and nurtured in the school of brutalising our people. One speech by Mr De Klerk is not going to act "like a magic word" to erase the hate that the SAP has for us nor the same feelings we harbour for them.

The most expeditious and lasting way out of these war zones is the speedy establishment of

a legitimate authority which can only come about by the creation, with utmost speed, of a Constituent Assembly which will definitely answer the question of a legitimate government with authority over law enforcement agencies. There are no short cuts. In the meantime I don't think that our grave situation warrants an Inkatha spokesman declaring war on the ANC and SACP.

Let our problems be resolved at the ballot box and not in the arena of the panga and the AK. We must speak to each other as human beings who have a common objective.

We believe that in going ahead to organise a Patriotic Front conference in August we are doing more for peace than all the proposals coming from the government.



SELFLESS ... Gertrude Shope, who has devoted her life to helping others
Picture: SUE KRAMER

SINCE Gertrude Shope was elected president of the ANC's Women's League last weekend, she has had no time for knitting. In fact, she has never had much time for leisure.

Mrs Shope is one of three women on the ANC's National Executive Committee, the president of the ANC Women's League, the mother of three and the grandmother of two.

She wears her pearls and her position with a stately grace that seems to belie the intensity with which the leadership of the Women's League was contested.

She defeated the flamboyant and controversial Winnie Mandela. It was, according to all reports, a bruising experience for both. Mrs Mandela got half the number of votes that went to Mrs Shope, but this week the new president dismissed talk of bitterness or rancour.

Her relationship with Mrs Mandela is good, she says. She and Mrs Mandela were visiting township trouble spots together this week.

Talk has not reached her of the Western Cape ANC Women's League branch threatening to break away if Mrs Mandela was elected. She doubts anyone would have dared to tell her.

She feels that speculation about a bitter battle between herself and Mrs Mandela tarnished the conference, and she hopes the talks stop.

Mrs Shope has no time for gossip. Her biggest goal for the three

Sunday Profile

The battle against Winnie is over; the fight for peace begins

11A

years of her presidency is to unite women from all walks of life on issues that affect them.

"Women must come together in an alliance or a front so that when the constitution is drawn up, women are there to enrich the constitution with what will benefit them," she says.

She sees women as playing an important role in bringing about peace and reconciliation.

"Women bring life to this world and they have a duty to make sure that this life is preserved and protected.

"There is a need for us to come together regardless of our colour to look at the situation in the country and respond as women and mothers.

STW 5/5/91

"Whether you are a woman in the northern suburbs, or a mother in a township, the death of a child is a feeling that all women can understand," she says.

"This instinct of a mother and a woman has to be a factor in bringing us together.

"If women unite in addressing the problems of violence, there would be no doubt that they would come up with something."

Mrs Shope believes a women's summit is crucial to bring together women from all walks of life. She has not wasted time since her election. This weekend she will attend a meeting of women from a wide range of women's organisations to discuss women's ideas for ending the violence.

While Mrs Shope concedes this is no radical solution, she points

ing to work instead of going to school.

She says she wanted to show the authorities that although people were black and white, they really were one people who deserved to enjoy all available resources.

Women had a role in achieving this goal, so Mrs Shope found her home in the Federation of SA Women.

Mrs Shope was born in Johannesburg in 1925 and completed her schooling and a primary-school teacher's course in Rhodesia. Later she attended St Hilda's College in Ladysmith where she completed a domestic science teaching course.

She left teaching when Bantu education was introduced in 1954 and worked in the occupational therapy section of Coronation hospital before joining the Johannesburg city council in 1956 to work with the disabled.

During this time she did voluntary work at Margaret Ballinger Hospital.

"I have a heart for people who are not totally able and who are regarded in one way or another.

"In working with such people, one gets a reward, not through material things, but by having improved one little thing for someone."

She concedes that she has never had much time to herself. "I wish I could sit back and do some knitting. But unfortunately the situation in our country does not allow me to do so."

Mrs Shope became Transvaal provincial secretary of Fedesaw in 1965 but joined her husband, Mark, in exile in 1966.

She and her husband live in a Hillbrow flat. Mr Shope, a former general secretary of the SA Congress of Trade Unions, is now working in Cosatu.

"I heard today he was out there dancing with the workers," she said.

Mrs Shope has moved with her husband and three children between Botswana, Tanzania, Czechoslovakia, Zambia and Nigeria.

She became head of the ANC's Women's Section in 1981 when she also joined the ANC's National Executive Committee.

Her children attended school in Zambia and went on to the University of Havana in Cuba.

Being involved in the ANC has prevented Mrs Shope from being with her children and even her husband at times.

"But I think we live in an era when we have to look at life from the angle that the family as an individual has ceased to be important. What has become important is the nation at large. One has to think of others before oneself."

Edyth Bulbring

Red influence is spreading

Sunday Times 5/5/91

THE Sunday Times last week made a bold attempt to pry open the lid on SACP membership. Our research indicates there are many more heads which have gone uncounted.

Two SACP members mentioned in your article also serve on the NEC. They are Jackie Selebi (ANC NEC youth section head) and SACP central committee member Simon Makana, a Soviet-trained economist and former ANC representative to the Soviet Union.

Our research suggests others as well: SACP Central Committee member Josiah Jele (ANC's political military council); Henry Squire Makgothi (ANC Deputy Secretary General); Stephen Dlamini, (former president of Sactu); Jacob Zuma (head of ANC security and member of the Political Military Council); Timothy Mokoena (MK commissar and member of the PMC); and Anthony Mongalo (former ANC representative to East Germany and administrative secretary of the president general's office).

According to the British-based newsletter, Africa Confidential, before the release of Nelson Mandela in February 1990, only eight of the 35-member NEC were not SACP members. They were: Oliver Tambo, Joe Modise, Thomas Nkobi, Pallo Jordan, Mzwai Piliso, Ruth Mompoti, Joe Nhlanhla and Jackie Molefe. The CIA, meanwhile, has identified Mzwai Piliso, who used to head the ANC's security department, as a member of the SACP.

The status of Thabo Mbeki is interesting. He stood down from the SACP's politburo at the party's seventh congress in July 1989 and may have allowed his membership to lapse. Since February

WARWICK DAVIES-WEBB, research director of the Southern African branch of the International Freedom Foundation, argues that the SA Communist Party influence in the ANC is more widespread than reported



1990, Mandela, Sisulu and SACP member Govan Mbeki have joined the executive, while two members have been lost, following the death of Francis Meli in October 1990 and the resignation of Mac Maharaj in December 1990 (both members of the SACP).

In conclusion, then, the number of SACP members who sit on the ANC executive is, we believe, nearer to 26 out of 36.

SACP influence throughout ANC structures is all-encompassing. In the influential ANC Political Military Council there are nine SACP members. In addition to the four mentioned by the Sunday Times, others include John Nkadimeng (head), Timothy Mokoena, Jacob Zuma, Josiah Jele

and Steve Tshwete.

As the Sunday Times rightly points out, the SACP has also made significant inroads into the trade union movement. Important party members not mentioned include John Nkadimeng (former general secretary of Sactu), who now sits on the Cosatu executive; Willem Pieterse (Cosatu's Western Cape treasurer) Thami Mohlomi (Cosatu's Southern Natal secretary) and Alec Erwin (Cosatu's chief economist and executive member of Numsa).

SACP members also proliferate on ANC regional committees. Chairing the ANC's Northern Transvaal region is rising SACP star Peter Mayibuye, who also edits the ANC's official mouthpiece, *Mayibuye*. Heading the sensitive ANC Natal Midlands region is the unreconstructed SACP Stalinist Harry Gwala, while SACP member Jacob Zuma heads the Southern Natal regional committee.

Another area requiring examination is the critical role being played by the civic associations of the Southern Transvaal (Cast) in the SACP's insurrectionary programme.

Cast is an SACP creation, being used to fill the collapsing structures of the UDF with a view to mobilising the masses in the townships independently of the ANC.

Though Cast claims to be independent of any political party, at least three of its eight-person executive are ranking SACP members. These include its chairman, Moses Mayekiso, treasurer Chris Dlamini and training officer Nomvula Mokonyane.

The SACP's "creeping coup", initiated by Slovo, Hani, Maharaj and Kasrils in the early 80s to capture every senior position within the ANC, is virtually complete.

The hardline position which emanated from the ANC's Consultative Conference in December 1990 as well as the determination by the ANC to form "self-defence units", the ANC's recent ultimatum to the government and Cast's rejection of participation in the newly formed Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber are all indications of the ascendant position of the SACP within the ANC.

Fighting a rearguard action against this Stalinist domination of the ANC's top leadership structures is a small band of pragmatists headed by Nelson Mandela, Oliver Tambo, Pallo Jordan and Thabo Mbeki.

To conclude, the non-SACP faction of the ANC has the daunting task of shaking off 70 years of Marxist-Leninist indoctrination. Caught in a Stalinist mindset — the ANC now represents only an empty shell of its once formidable independent stature in South African politics.

□ *The Sunday Times chose to be conservative in its analysis. ANC and SACP members were unable, or unwilling, to assist with the compilation of lists.*

Cooper is rooting for tolerance

C/P 5/5/91 11A

By **THEMBA KHUMALO**

SATHS Cooper, former fiery exponent of Black Consciousness and ex-president of Azapo, surfaced in Johannesburg this week to launch the Institute of Multi-Party Democracy, headed by Dr Oscar Dhlomo.

Dhlomo was once Cooper's arch political rival.

Cooper, who left his lecturing post at the University of the Western Cape to join MPD as national director, told diplomats and politicians at a ceremony at the institute's Braamfontein offices that the institute's main aim was to promote racial and political tolerance among different organisations.

MPD was created last year after Dhlomo had resigned as KwaZulu's Minister of Education and as general secretary of Inkatha.

In its Charter for Multi-Party Democracy, the organisation says the effective functioning of such a system depends on the development and maintenance of mutual tolerance in which diversity of political opinion and the competition of ideas is accepted as part of the normal political process.

Cooper, who served a six-year term on Robben Island in the late 70s, later told *City Press* he was "comfortable" working for the institute.

"It's politically and intellectually challenging.

"I could never have been more satisfied," said Cooper.



Saths Cooper ... back in the limelight.

Among guests at the ceremony were his former Azapo colleagues, Khehla Mthembu, Ishmael Mkhabela and Lusiba Ntloko. Other guests were Gaby Magomola, James Ngcoya, Helen Suzman, Walter Sisulu and diplomats from the German, Japanese and American embassies.

Paso men get death threats over CA politics

By MARTIN
NTSOELENGOE

118
②
③
C/P/News 5/5/91

FOUR members of the Pan Africanist Student Organisation claim they have been threatened with death in the past two weeks for "preaching Constituent Assembly politics".

The four claim they received death threats over the telephone by someone speaking English with an Afrikaans accent.

National organiser Lawrence "General" Nqandela said that later he was confronted in Katilehong by four people who fled when Paso members arrived.

Paso national publicity secretary Eugene Molefe said he was threatened and questioned about his involvement with the constituent assembly.

Culture and sports secretary Thembele Mgxatshi, and labour secretary Thabiso Raditaba also allegedly received death threats this week.

Raditaba said he was confronted by five men armed with pangas. Before they could attack him, passers-by interrupted them and they fled.

LEGEND has it that a traveller found an old man sitting on the side of the road and asked: "What became of the black people of Sumer?"

The old man replied: "Ah, they lost their history, so they died..."

People learn from their past to avoid making mistakes which have already been made.

In African mythology the living impart the knowledge they have learned from the dead to their offspring.

For the people of Sumer the link between the dead and the living was broken and they lost their wisdom and died. The same is happening to the black people of South Africa.

Hardly a day passes without people killing each other.

Looking back, it seems this process started almost 15 years ago following the "Soweto Uprising".

It was after that period that the social fabric of our society started to unravel.

The youth, by challenging Pretoria, assumed a role that had in the past been that of their parents.

No mechanisms were provided to ensure the continuity of adult control and thus June 1976 marked the beginning of a process which ultimately robbed the youth of parental leadership in civic matters.

The warning of what might happen in "the struggle", was made about three decades ago by Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe.

He warned that as soon as violence breaks out, people "will be taken up with it and give vent to their pent-up emotions and feel that by throwing a stone or burning a particular building, they are small revolutionaries engaged in revolutionary warfare".

Why we need adult control again . . .

CP 1985 515791.
JABU MAPHALALA looks at our "lost generation" and warns we may be heading for a situation like Cambodia's Khmer Rouge.

After 1976 it was the youth who threw stones and waged running battles with the police.

Education became less of a priority. Some people objected silently while waiting for "the true leaders" to return from prison and exile to sort out the mess.

After 1983 people could only be listened to if they had "a mandate". Thus when Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi warned against the "liberation before education" mentality, few listened as the advice came from the "wrong mouth" - even though it was good.

Today we have a "lost generation" of youth who are unemployed, unskilled, under-educated, and in some cases, "unemployable".

These are the people who have tasted power and now run the lives of residents through street

committees, "people's courts", and through the enforcement of stayaways and boycotts.

Dissatisfaction with how these things are run has given people with ulterior motives opportunities to take advantage of the situation. Today we hear about "third forces" being involved in the Reef fighting.

About a year ago when Nelson Mandela asked fighting groups to "throw their weapons into the sea", it was reported that some of the "youth" tore his picture from their T-shirts.

It is ironic that the crumbling of the "pillars of apartheid" may well contribute to a process of decay in black society.

The removal of the Group Areas Act may also bring about a form of brain drain, removing expertise and positive role models from black townships.

Not because some people want to live with white people, but because they prefer to live in peace with their families.

What will happen to the people who cannot escape the psychologically damaging effects of the ghetto?

A few years ago, a black American congressman commented that while desegregation in America was a positive thing, it removed positive black role models from the ghettos. The new role models became the materially successful people like pimps, prostitutes and drug dealers.

With unemployment so high in this country, we seem to be headed in the same direction.

Statistics show that environmental factors play a very important role in a child's psychological and mental development. A child from a disadvantaged background has a smaller chance of succeeding in life than a child from an advantaged background.

The problem we face in South Africa is that members of the "lost generation" constitute a large section of our society.

We are not yet close to being a society ruled by uneducated, unskilled and heavily armed youth similar to the Khmer Rouge rule in Cambodia, but we seem to be headed in that direction.

How long can we hope to survive when we continue like this?

Something has to be done urgently to help channel the energy and enthusiasm of the youth and to bring back adult control. The time to put national interests above political ones and rebuild the broken structures of our society is now.

De Klerk peace plan aims at government of national unity

CABINET POST FOR NELSON?

11A- ~~11A~~

S/Times 5/5/91.

SUNDAY TIMES EXCLUSIVE

DOG-OF-WAR DENARD BREAKS HIS SILENCE



By MIKE ROBERTSON and EDYTH BULBRING

PRESIDENT FW DE KLERK has effectively offered Nelson Mandela and other black leaders a place in what amounts to a government of national unity.

His offer — hinted at in an address to Parliament this week — is part of a package with twin aims: to deal with the ANC's May 9 ultimatum on violence and, in the longer term, to lead the country towards a transitional cabinet in which all major political leaders can serve.

The ANC confirmed that members of the National Executive Committee will gather tomorrow to study the proposals.

A meeting between Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela before the expiry of the Thursday deadline is also not ruled out.

New initiatives this week include:

- Mr De Klerk's proposals for a cabinet of "competent" South Africans from all parties, including the ANC;
- Suggestions by top government sources that the soon-to-be-convened multi-party conference be given veto rights over decisions taken by Parliament;
- A series of measures, to be announced soon, aimed at addressing the ANC's violence ultimatum.

Response

Telly Fur cheer for heart op girl Emily



CABINET POST FOR NELSON?

□ **From Page 1**
requiring all acts of Parliament to be approved by the multi-party conference.

The developments on the constitutional front were accompanied by moves to deal with the ANC's ultimatum on violence.

A last-minute intervention by church leaders and a frantic behind-the-scenes search for a compromise have raised hopes of averting a breakdown in negotiations before the ANC's May 9 ultimatum on violence expires.

Christian, Jewish and Muslim leaders emerged from separate meetings with President De Klerk and Mr Mandela on Friday with a message of hope. They said they were convinced there was the will on all sides to break the deadlock.

The ANC has made seven demands:

● **Demand:** The government must pass laws this parliamentary session to outlaw the carrying of "traditional weapons" such as sticks, knobkerries and

battle-axes by groups such as Inkatha.

Mr De Klerk said in Parliament this week: "Let those who traditionally carry cultural weapons make doubly sure that the symbols they carry in their hands remain an expression of their true culture. Let them limit their use to truly cultural occasions and an environment in which they cannot be misused."

Government officials subsequently indicated that action along these lines could be expected.

● **Demand:** Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister General Magnus Malan must be dismissed.

The government has rejected this out of hand.

● **Demand:** All special counter-insurgency units must be dismantled.

The government has already announced the dismantling of the army's Civil Co-operation Bureau and integration of the security police into regular police units — but the ANC

remains unconvinced.

● **Demand:** All policemen involved in the shootings in Sebokeng on March 22 and Daveyton on March 24 must be suspended and prosecuted.

Mr De Klerk has promised that if criminal negligence is suspected, the officers will be charged.

● **Demand:** Satisfactory assurances must be given that security forces will use "acceptable and civilised" methods of riot control.

Mr De Klerk and Mr Vlok have already given the assurance that they will not tolerate police indiscipline.

● **Demand:** Steps must be taken to phase out single-sex hostels.

This week in Parliament, Mr De Klerk pledged to use extra money raised by the sale of oil to convert some hostels into family units, although there would always be a need for single accommodation.

● **Demand:** An independent commission of inquiry into police misconduct

must be set up.

President De Klerk has already announced plans for a permanent peace commission, to be chaired by a judge, which would investigate all incidents of violence — including police violence.

The ANC has made it clear that it is prepared to be "flexible" on its ultimatum if there is an indication that the government has made a sincere effort to respond to most of its demands.

The ANC's Saki Macozoma said yesterday that members of the organisation's National Executive Committee were to consider a draft response to the government tomorrow on both the interim government proposals and the violence issue.

ANC sources, however, indicate that although the organisation will almost certainly boycott the May 24 summit on violence, it may opt to attend subsequent meetings if the forum is "independently convened".

ANC rejects ^(11A) cabinet service

JOHANNESBURG. — African National Congress spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma has rejected the idea of a black leader serving in a cabinet.

He was reacting to a report that President De Klerk had effectively offered black leaders places in a government of national unity. — Sapa

Defence units work

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC's defence units — established in Reef townships last month — were operating successfully despite a death toll of more than 66 in Soweto since May 1, Mr Tokyo Sexwale, a member of the organisation's Violence Monitoring Group said.

"Most of the people who die, some members of the ANC, PAC or Azapo, don't die while fighting Inkatha, but are bystanders who go out of their yards when there is the threat of an attack," Mr Sexwale, who is also a member of the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), said.

He said whenever there was a threat of an attack, defence unit members assembled at a central point to decide on what action to take. However, many residents did not join and stood outside their homes, making themselves vulnerable.

He said the units were not a military wing but were controlled by residents who used whatever means they had to defend themselves.

Inkatha threat to deploy armed fighters

11A
Argus 6/5/91

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Inkatha will deploy 100 000 armed fighters in Soweto unless the ANC halts political violence there, the Inkatha Freedom Party has warned.

The threat was made yesterday by IFP central committee member Mr Musa Myeni before an Inkatha rally in Bekkersdal on the West Rand. It follows the ANC ultimatum to the government to withdraw from negotiations unless the authorities bring an end to township violence by Thursday.

Mr Myeni said if the ANC widened the area of conflict to other areas in Johannesburg a further 150 000 fighters would be brought in.

Lost lives

In another development yesterday Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi announced that he was reserving his decision about whether to attend State President De Klerk's conference on violence on May 24 and 25.

Since Wednesday, when fighting between IFP and ANC supporters broke out after May Day celebrations, at least 58

people have lost their lives in Soweto alone.

While the ANC described Mr Myeni's threat as "impractical as it is dangerous", it also pledged that township residents would defend themselves against the proposed force or other attackers.

The Ministry of Law and Order said last night it would do everything in its power to prevent the two private armies from squaring off in the township.

Opening speech

Mr Myeni, head of the IFP's public relations and international affairs department, said the fighters "would be armed with non-traditional weapons".

However IFP president Chief Buthelezi said he was not aware of the existence of the plan.

In a speech opening an IFP branch in Bekkersdal, Chief Buthelezi said his followers were "being pushed beyond the limit" by police raids on hostels for Inkatha weapons, at the request of the ANC.

Reacting to Mr Myeni's threat last night, Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said police

would do everything in their power to maintain law and order at all times.

Meanwhile, police have reported that four people died in violence in Bekkersdal after yesterday's IFP rally.

Police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman said the trouble started about 4.30pm as a 5 000-strong Inkatha contingent which had left the stadium passed a squatter camp on the outskirts of the township.

Police and SADF troops had formed a "human shield" to separate ANC-supporting residents from the IFP procession, he said.

"Suddenly stones and petrol bombs were thrown from both sides. Police fired rubber bullets and birdshot. Shots were fired from both sides, with the police in the middle.

"The police then fired tear-gas and rubber bullets. It is unknown at this stage whether the SADF fired any shots."

● Sapa reports that police shot and injured about 40 ANC supporters attempting to prevent an Inkatha funeral from taking place, at Avalon cemetery near Chiawelo, Soweto, yesterday.

2.1.111

Secret world of London group

THE International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa was the brain-child of Canon John Collins of St Paul's Cathedral in London and was never penetrated by the police.

Last year, IDAF was unbanned by President FW de Klerk. There was no longer a need for the cloak and dagger. The story can now be told.

Collins' flair for raising money for radical causes was first displayed in 1956, when South Africa launched the first of its treason trials.

The canon guaranteed legal costs and support for the 156 accused and their families.

He was as good as his word. He wrote to newspapers, held protest meetings, staged art exhibitions and had Paul Robeson singing spirituals in the cathedral.

Almost single-handedly, he raised two thirds of the R1 million legal costs, the remainder coming from Defence and Aid in South Africa.

The trial dragged on for four years before the last of the defendants was acquitted.

By then, the British Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, as it was first called, was in operation.

Support

Nelson Mandela, on the run from South Africa, came one day in 1962 to lunch at Collins' house Amen Court.

Collins' widow Diana says: "He asked John if he would still support them if they turned to violence.

"There was a long discussion. John was a pacifist, but he said it was not for us to tell South African blacks what to do. Whatever they were accused of, they should have a fair trial and their families helped."

A year later Mandela, Mr Walter Sisulu, and other ANC leaders were in the dock at the Rivonia Trial.

Their defence costs were largely met by Defence and Aid. Otherwise Mandela and his co-trialists might not have been saved from the gallows.

The small fry were not forgotten. A prosecutor in the Eastern Cape was heard to lament: "We have no problem in political cases. They all plead guilty, then Defence and Aid steps in."

Defence and Aid went international in 1965, with branches in Britain, New Zealand, Scandinavia, Holland and India.

Collins made his plans clear to the United Na-

At last, "Defence and Aid" can own up to prodigious feats. Over the past quarter of a century, since it was banned by Pretoria, the London-based anti-apartheid organisation has smuggled hundreds of millions of rands into South Africa. The money has been used for the defence of thousands of political activists and aid for their families while they were in prison.

Tale of money smuggled to SA told at last



NELSON MANDELA



WALTER SISULU

tions Special Committee on Apartheid:

"No political organisation which seeks to change South Africa's racial policies can function properly in the open; the black political organisations are banned.

"Those who wish to continue the struggle have to go underground.

"But what man or woman can happily or easily undertake such dangerous work if he or she knows that, by doing so, the wellbeing of the children and other dependents is at stake?"

No wonder the Government hated Defence and Aid and the irrefragable "political priest" who was forever putting apartheid in the dock of world opinion.

On March 18 1966, then Minister of Justice Mr John Vorster banned the South African

Committee as an "unlawful organisation" under the Suppression of Communism Act.

Lengthy prison sentences awaited those who handled the tainted money.

The Terrorism Act would make it a capital offence to attempt to bring about social change with the help of a foreign government or institution, even when no violence was involved.

Doomed

The safety net Collins had promised to those on trial for their beliefs seemed doomed.

The canon cast about for a solution.

It came from Mr Neville Ruben, a liberal South African lawyer who devised a barred system of legal firms using numbered trust ac-

counts. They found a sympathetic solicitor, South African Mr Martin Bayer, who stayed a short walk from the cathedral.

Within a fortnight, Collins, Ruben, Bayer, his colleague, Mr William Frankel, and Ms Phyllis Altman, the IDAF general-secretary, had agreed on a plan.

It came in two parts. Firstly, Collins set up a network of impeccable donors to fund defences.

The recruits were not bogus, but little of the money was to come out of their own pockets.

The smokescreen featured Lord Joek Campbell, Booker sugar baron and chairman of the *New Statesman* board; Ms Jacqueline Hawkes, J B Priestley's wife; two Labour peers; author Ms Naomi Mitchison; Lord CP Snow; and Professor Norman Bentwich.

Fear

They became trustees of fine-sounding organisations operated through numbered accounts at the Zurich branch of Lloyds Bank, and later the Union Bank of Switzerland.

Campbell chaired the Freedom from Fear International Charitable Foundation for the legal defence programme.

The Freedom from Hardship International Charitable Foundation accounted for welfare.

Mrs Collins is blunt about their role: "We managed to get these very public, respectable people to perjure themselves in a good cause by saying they had sent money."

The second leg was the creation of a front of solicitors who would correspond with the South African trial lawyers and transmit funds to them.

These front firms never breathed a word about their connection with Birkbeck, who in turn carefully concealed the Collins link.

Snoopers were thus two removes off the scent. At IDAF, the canon and Altman alone were in on the ruse.

The Birkbeck lawyers explained to the front solicitors that delicate

political reasons precluded the firm from handling the matters.

They were nervous because of their South African clients. Consolidated Goldfields, under fire for its employment policies, might have been dismayed to learn that its then lawyers were in league with white South Africa's favourite hate figure.

In the early days there were also friendly lawyers in Canada, Switzerland, New York, France and West Germany, and it might have seemed to Pretoria that they represented a wide spread of well-wishers.

But after a while, the lion's share of work was consolidated in three or four English firms.

They were not radicals, simply people disturbed by the turn of events in South Africa.

They believed that the money passing through their account came from a bona fide charitable trust or the private account of well-to-do, albeit left-of-centre, sponsors. - *The Observer*.

'No power in Cabinet for blacks'

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

ANY black leader, who accepts a Cabinet position under the present Constitution, would be ill-advised, political sources said yesterday.

The sources, after State President FW de Klerk suggested last week in Parliament that black leaders could be offered Cabinet posts, said the leaders would have no real power in the current Government.

Dissenting voices in the Cabinet are silenced by a code of discipline, which prohibits members from publicly criticising its decisions.

In his speech to Parliament, De Klerk stressed that the code would remain no matter who entered the Cabinet.

Sowetan 6/5/91
"If consensus proves to be attainable at a multi-party conference, this idea (of a black leader in the Cabinet) would merit serious consideration, provided that the principles of the Cabinet under the present Constitution are not negatively affected," he said.

● To Page 2.

'No power in Cabinet for blacks'

Sowetan 6/5/91
From Page 1

Consequently, a Parliamentary source said yesterday that any person appointed to the Cabinet now would have "absolutely no leg to stand on".

"Besides running the risk of being co-opted, such a person would be overshadowed by portfolio-holding Cabinet members who would come to meetings with a well structured agenda and departmental reports and details," the source said.

An ANC source said that weekend reports of an im-

Should black leaders at this stage accept invitations to join the Cabinet? Telephone Radio Metro DJ Tim Modise between 4.30 and 5pm today and tell the nation what you think. The hotline number is 714-8063. Listen to the Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback programme on mediumwave 576 KhZ.

minent Cabinet offer to ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela "were one person's interpretation of two remarks by De Klerk".

"Nothing definitive has come from De Klerk, therefore the ANC cannot make a decision in any direction," he said.

The idea of a black leader in the Cabinet was initially brought before Parliament when Mr PW Botha was President.

Meanwhile, last minute attempts are under way to rescue the negotiation process before the ANC's May 9 deadline to the Government to end township violence.

THE South African Communist Party has taken a significant step towards inserting itself within the cluster of political debates which will ultimately determine the shape of post-apartheid South Africa.

It has produced the first edition of its theoretical journal, *The African Communist*, ever to be legally edited, printed and published on South African soil. The journal made its first appearance in October, 1959, nine years after the party itself had been outlawed by the Suppression of Communism Act. It continued to circulate clandestinely and on a regular basis throughout the ensuing 30 years of the party's illegality, sometimes in miniaturised form, disguised by false covers. Its editorial board's meetings were secret affairs, distribution and even possession of a single copy an imprisonable offence. For most of that period reflected the SACP's to Moscow's perspective on foreign affairs, even on issues which troubled the consciences of some party members, such as the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia.

Ruminations

Now all that has changed. The main leading article in the current issue commits the party to an open contest for political ground with Mr De Klerk's Nationalists and to the construction of a broad "patriotic front", comprised of all political groupings, irrespective of ideology, who support the idea of a Constituent Assembly. The party general secretary, Joe Slovo, has contributed some further ruminations on the gap between socialist aspirations and historical realities, while in another article, a Soviet communist, Slava Tetekhin, a member of the USSR's Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, argues that the reasons for loss of trust in his country's communist party is to be sought in its monopoly of power "which was bound to corrupt". It all seems a very far cry from the dark days of dogmatism, concealment and the Cold War.

Of course, all these very public criticisms, self-criticisms and commitments to open politics will not in and of themselves secure the SACP a place in the South



Viewpoint
by ANTHONY
HOLIDAY

SA Communist Party stepping into 'cluster of debates'

African political sun or ensure it a voice in current discourses. Despite its undoubted influence within the ANC, the party is small, poor and faces daunting organisational challenges. It has achieved legality at a time when the world socialist movement, especially in Europe, is in disarray, some of its central doctrines discredited even among faithful communists and its history tarnished by the legacies of Stalinist tyranny and post-Stalinist duplicity and ineptitude. These obstacles will have to be addressed if communism in this country is to avoid becoming an object of mere archeological interest.

Nonetheless, the SACP clearly has the potential to make a significant contribution in the broad arena of political discussion in both the immediate and post-immediate future. Its immediate task, as I see it, will be to raise the level of debate on such issues as the final form a new South African constitution should take, methods of preserving the integrity of languages, cultures and religions within the framework of a unitary, non-racial state and — most crucially — plans to salvage the economy, framed in the context of the mixed recipe of state-controls combined with market forces which the ANC and its allies seem presently to favour.

The party is in a strong position to do this. Its ranks include a corps of high-calibre intellectuals, including Harold Wolpe, an internationally acclaimed academic and political theo-

rist, Slovo himself and Jeremy Cronin, a poet and political administrator with a background in academic philosophy. Moreover, it has a tradition of research and scholarly analysis which encompassed such figures as Professor Jack Simons, a recently returned exile, whose researches into comparative African legal systems and the problems of race and class in this country are generally regarded as seminal.

If the party is able to capitalise on these assets, its interventions could help to effect a qualitative change in the style of political interchange in this country. That style, if one judges it by what is said and how it is said in the white Assembly and by the parties which constitute the white establishment, has by and large been what Lenin would have called "Philistine". It has been characterised by a mistrust of theory and of theoreticians, a dislike of intellectuals and of the things of the intellect and by a bias in favour of what the average political hack fondly called "practical politics".

It is noteworthy that in some European countries where communist parties play a significant part in political life — I have France and Italy particularly in mind — the atmosphere is very different. Historians, philosophers and political theorists are not simply tolerated or relegated to the status of back-room boys and occasional consultants. They participate in the central forums of discussion and their views are given promi-

nence in the media. We, who are at a watershed in our economic and political life could learn lessons from these countries and the SACP could help us to learn them.

Obviously, the possibility of such a change is wholly dependent on the negotiation process being kept on track and this, in turn, depends on the termination of violence in the townships and rural areas. There can be no question of trying to solve the problems of apartheid with the tools of the intellect while others are trying to solve them with guns, spears and axes. But in this arena, too, South African communists are playing and are likely to continue to play a positive role. Even anti-communists as staunch as President De Klerk and his constitutional adviser, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, must be aware that the negotiated settlement on which they have staked everything would seem much further away had not communist brains and communist diplomacy made the inputs they have made into ANC thinking on the issue.

Doubts

What of the SACP's prospects in the longer term? Certainly its leadership has not abandoned the ideal of the eventual transformation of South Africa into a full-fledged socialist state. But there is no longer the kind of clarity about what that description ought to comprehend as used to be the case. There are, for instance, doubts about classical Marxist definitions of socialism in terms of a "dictatorship of the proletariat" and there are worries concerning what is to be meant by saying that a communist party is a "vanguard party" which must lead the working class towards socialism. These and many other matters will have to be clarified in the course of intense, even frictive, dialogue among party members and in inter-party exchanges — and, for the first time in 40 years, it will all have to be done in public.

(Anthony Holiday, a senior lecturer in the philosophy of education at the University of the Western Cape and a member of both the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party, writes in his personal capacity.)

Top-level talks expected before deadline expires

Govt likely to meet

Key ANC demands

By Esmare Star
van der Merwe 7/5/91.
Political Reporter

The ANC and the Government were involved in dramatic behind-the-scenes moves yesterday to forestall the looming breakdown in constitutional talks.

This morning, informed sources said ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and President de Klerk were expected to meet in Cape Town today, or tomorrow at the latest.

After an urgent ANC national executive committee meeting in Johannesburg, yesterday, the organisation appeared willing to reconsider its ultimatum on violence to the Government, which expires on Thursday. NEC sources indicated that the ANC would reconsider its threat to pull out of negotiations if the Government gave substantial commitment regarding three key demands. On April 5 the ANC issued a seven-point ultimatum.

Demands may be met

Star 7/5/91

● From Page 1

ANC and the Government were eager to prevent a deadlock on negotiations, and urgent telephone discussions between the two parties took place yesterday to ascertain how much both sides were prepared to give regarding the ultimatum before the expiry of Thursday's deadline.

Since the ANC's ultimatum was announced, the Government has acted on all but the most controversial demand, the sacking of Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister Magnus Malan.

The other three demands, and the Government's response to them, were:

● The ANC demanded the public dismantling of special counter-insurgency units. The Government announced the dismantling of the Civil Cooperation Bureau and the integration of the Security Police into regular police units.

● The ANC demanded suspension of police officers implicated in the

Sebokeng massacre and the Benoni and Daveyton shootings. President de Klerk said the police officers would be charged if criminal negligence was suspected.

● The ANC demanded that an independent commission of inquiry be set up to probe complaints of misconduct by the security forces. President de Klerk announced plans to establish a permanent peace commission to investigate all incidents of violence, including police violence.

Yesterday, the ANC Women's League and Youth League announced that demonstrations would be held country-wide tomorrow to highlight the ANC's demand that the Government take drastic steps to curb the violence.

The mass action campaign would include marches on police stations, sit-ins at Government buildings, pickets and demonstrations.

Prayer meetings would be held on Thursday (Ascension Day) to pray for peace.

The three demands highlighted yesterday were:

● The need for legislation to outlaw the carrying of traditional weapons.

● The taking of firm steps by the Government to phase out hostels and other labour compounds.

● Satisfactory assurances by the Government that the security forces would act evenhandedly and use "civilised" methods of crowd control.

From Cape Town, highly placed sources indicated that the Government was prepared to consider meeting these three demands.

Since the ultimatum was announced on April 5, the Government has in any event moved substantially on these three issues.

It announced last month that pangas, axes and bush knives carried in public places would be confiscated, but the ANC seems to be pushing for the outlawing of "traditional" weapons as well such as spears, assegais and knobkerries.

Carnage

President de Klerk last month said State funds would be used for programmes to end the township carnage, including the conversion of some single-sex hostels into family units.

The issue of police impartiality seems the most difficult to resolve. The Government has steadfastly denied that the security forces are taking sides, but the ANC has constantly accused the forces of partiality.

NEC sources said the focus of yesterday's meeting had been the proposal by Church leaders to host an anti-violence summit between the major political players. They said the NEC had endorsed this move.

It remains to be seen whether President de Klerk, whose proposal for a May 24-25 summit on the violence has been turned down by the ANC, will be willing to take part in a summit convened by Church leaders.

The NEC sources said the

● To Page 2

Patrick Laurence looks at the tribal factor in township violence

Ethnic thread in tangled fabric

Star 7/5/91



ZULUS are attacked "just because they are Zulu people", Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi declares of the latest violence in Soweto.

It is a matter of ongoing and even acrimonious debate whether Chief Buthelezi is sombrely warning his tribal kinsmen on the reality of anti-Zulu hostility, or whether he is expeditiously trying to drive Zulus into the IFP.

Either way his accusation against African National Congress forces underlines once again that there is an ineradicable tribal dimension to the fighting.

Yet there is a curious reluctance in radical and even liberal circles to recognise the power of tribalism or to use a more respectable term, ethno-nationalism, as a factor in the intra-black conflict.

Tribalism, like apartheid, is a dirty word in South Africa. Tribalism is a label of abuse, used to hang around the necks of political foes of rival political organisations.

It is associated with bigotry and often serves as a synonym for collaborator. The link between apartheid and tribalism has been built up over more than four decades.

The legacy of apartheid lives on in the midst of President de Klerk's attempts to discard the past and excise racist laws from the statute book. He has reserved — or wants to reserve — places at the negotiating table for leaders of the 10 black "nation states" recognised under the Bantu Self Government Act, an archetypical apartheid law.

His strategy is seen by supra-tribal movements, primarily the African National Congress, as a shrewd manoeuvre to deploy tribalism to weaken their influence.

Thus when tribalism surfaces in the political arena, it is seen as the product of sinister divide-and-rule machinations by Mr de Klerk's security forces. Marxist theory, with its emphasis on class interests, is often used to explain tribalism away or, at least, downplay it.

Marxism, influencing the ANC's ideological outlook via its alliance partner, the South African Communist Party, blurs reality. The reluctance to comprehend fully the failure of the socialist economic system is matched by disinclination to recognise the power of ethnicity.

The rise of ethnically based nationalisms in the Baltic states, and

the prevalence of inter-ethnic conflict in vast areas of the Soviet Union, is often glossed over.

Closer to home, the intra-black violence which has swept through black townships around Johannesburg since August last year, claiming at least 1 000 lives, is not regarded as intrinsically tribal: it is perceived as the product of a sinister strategy by a state-linked "third force" aimed at weakening the ANC.

An ANC discussion paper on the violence draws attention to the calculated revival of tribally based political parties in the "homelands" as the prospect of all-party talks on a new constitution becomes more tangible.

But the conflict in townships around Johannesburg has an unmistakable tribal colouring. At its blood-stained cutting edge, it has pitted Zulu migrant workers, proclaiming loyalty to the IFP, against Xhosa-speaking people.

Men have been slain because of their tribal affinity. Ideological loyalty has been immaterial. Tribal tensions are unfortunately and perhaps ineluctably fuelled by structural factors.

The IFP started life as a specifically Zulu movement but has since undergone two important

changes: first it opened its ranks to all blacks and then, only last year, it invited people of all races to join. But even after its latest metamorphosis Inkatha remains — for the time being, at any rate — a predominantly Zulu organisation.

The ANC is a supra-tribal organisation with a long and proud record of non-racialism. But most of its important national posts are occupied by Xhosas.

Its president, deputy president, secretary-general, international affairs supremo and information chief are all Xhosas. So, too, is the chief of staff of its underground army, Chris Hani. Its effective leader and deputy president, Nelson Mandela, is a member of a royal Xhosa family. The two strongest contenders to succeed him are Xhosas, Mr Hani and Thabo Mbeki.

Xhosa pre-eminence in the ANC's top leadership is matched by the small number of Zulus in its upper ranks. One of the few prominent Zulus on the ANC national executive is Jacob Zuma, the ANC intelligence chief.

The imbalance — the more than 6 million Zulus constitute the biggest ethnic group in South Africa — explains why some Zulus are

suspicious of the ANC as "a Xhosa organisation".

The ethnic skewing of Inkatha generally and the ANC at leadership level means that Inkatha-ANC rivalry tends all too easily to degenerate into inter-tribal animosity. Rhetorical statements occasionally resonate with tribal undertones or even overtones.

Thus, where the ANC has specifically demanded the dissolution of the KwaZulu police and the dismantling of the KwaZulu "bantustan", it has a cosy relationship with the leader of the Xhosa "bantustan", Transkei's General Bantu Holomisa. The contrast has been noted by Inkatha leaders and interpreted as evidence of tribal bias against the Zulu people.

In moments of stress Chief Buthelezi has deployed the language of tribalism. Thus he has accused the ANC-aligned Congress of Traditional Leaders of being a "spear thrust into the heart of the Zulu nation".

But it is as misleading to magnify tribalism as it is to deny its existence. Tribalism or ethno-nationalism is an important element in the conflict, one which may be particularly amenable to manipulation by the security forces. But, in the end, it is only one of several

factors in a complex political equation.

In Natal the savage conflict between ANC-aligned forces and Inkatha loyalists has been intra-Zulu. The divide has been ideological, not tribal.

In the Transvaal there has been a class factor in the conflict. The Zulu fighters with their distinctive red bandanas, have been drawn largely from the ranks of migrant workers living in the hostels.

Armed with their "traditional weapons", they have fought savage battles while some of their Zulu kinsmen, living permanently in the townships, have either been neutral or have even sided with ANC forces.

After the ANC's national conference in July, and the infusion of "new blood" from the men who manned the front ranks of the United Democratic Front during the 1980s, the ANC will almost certainly reflect a more balanced ethnic mix.

Inkatha, too, is broadening its ethnic and racial base and, according to its spokesmen, is now recruiting Xhosas in the eastern Cape, Tswanas in the western Transvaal and whites all over South Africa. □

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New terms for detention without trial

Political Staff

PROVISIONS for detaining people without trial in terms of the Internal Security Act are to be curtailed.

The "initial period" of detention is to be shortened to 14 days. After that police holding a suspect will have to go to the Supreme Court for a decision on how much longer detention is justified.

Legislation detailing the changes to the Act will be tabled in Parliament today.

The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, last week announced that the banning of people, preventive detention and the consolidated list of names would be scrapped.

Provisions for bans on publications and restrictions on newspaper registrations would also go, Mr Coetsee said.

Announcing details of the new laws last night, Mr Coetsee said this was just the start of a process of review and he hoped the security situation inside the country would allow the Act to be wholly scrapped soon.

He said it was necessary for interrogative detention to remain because "terrorism and subversion" were still threats.

Mr Coetsee said organisations that promoted their aims through violent means would face banning. But whereas in the past the courts had limited jurisdiction over the decision, the Supreme Court now would be able to decide on legal grounds whether a banning was justifiable.

Stompie trial: Key witness gunned down

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Andrew Lerothodi Ikaneng, a witness in the trial of a former bodyguard of Mrs Winnie Mandela, was shot and wounded at his Soweto home yesterday.

Soweto police said Mr Ikaneng, 24, was shot at several times and wounded in the lower part of his body. He was taken to Baragwanath Hospital.

Mr Ikaneng was one of the witnesses last year in the murder trial of Jerry Richardson, who was sentenced to death for the murder of child activist Stompie Seipei.

Richardson, former "coach" of the Mandela United Football Club, tried to murder Mr Ikaneng with a pair of garden shears, the court found.

Three men are being sought for yesterday's attempted murder. — Sapa

5 shot dead in Tembisa

JOHANNESBURG. — Five people were shot dead and two others wounded in Tembisa township, near Kempton Park, yesterday evening, bringing to 11 the number of people killed in the area since the morning, police said.

The latest deaths, which occurred in separate incidents, followed the shooting earlier of six men by snipers.

● At least 102 killed in May unrest — Page 6

Wrongful arrest claim settled out of court

JOHANNESBURG. — A civil claim by a mother and son against the Minister of Law and Order was removed from Johannesburg Magistrate's Court roll yesterday following an out-of-court settlement.

Mrs Therese Boltar and her son Stephan Boltar claimed R10 890 for injuries caused by the police and for wrongful arrest at Boksburg Lake in 1989. They settled for R6 000 offered by the minister.

The police admitted no liability in the settlement.

The Boltars claimed that the police failed to stop assaults by Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) members at a picnic at the lake.

Reiger Park (a "coloured" suburb) residents had gone to the lake to protest against its reservation for whites. The Boltars said they had gone to support the residents' protest and to show that not all whites were racists.

The clash occurred when the AWB members arrived and allegedly threatened people, telling them to leave the area.

Stompie trial: Key witness gunned down

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Three men are being sought for yesterday's attempted murder. — Sapa

AP-Trans 7/5/91
ANC call for
mass action

JOHANNESBURG. — Two powerful organisations within the ANC — the ANC Women's League and the ANC Youth League — have declared tomorrow a day of mass action to demand that the government take responsibility for ending the violence in the country.

There will also be a day of prayer on Thursday — the deadline for the ANC's ultimatum to the government.

ANC women will hold marches, demonstrations, pickets and sit-ins, while youths are to march to police stations and protest at the British embassy in Cape Town. — Sapa



Last-ditch bid to rescue talks

FW, Mandela set to meet as crisis deepens

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CAPE TOWN — President FW de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela are expected to meet today in a last-minute attempt to overcome a looming deadlock over the ANC's May 9 deadline on negotiations.

High-level government sources refused to confirm the meeting, but they said they expected the two men to meet before Thursday's deadline and today appeared to be the most likely date.

Meanwhile, ANC information chief Palo Jordan confirmed the ANC's national executive yesterday discussed church initiatives to avoid a deadlock.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said the organisation was looking at all possible measures to prevent a deadlock and further loss of life.

The ANC has threatened to call off negotiations if demands aimed at ending township violence are not met. These include the dismissal of Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister Magnus Malan.

However, there have been strong indications that the ANC will not insist that all its demands are met in full.

Sources disclosed yesterday that behind-the-scenes meetings between ANC and government members involved in negotiations and working groups have been taking place for the past week and it is understood

BILLY PADDOCK,
PATRICK BULGER and TIM COHEN

some progress has been made.

A spokesman for De Klerk's office said he knew of no scheduled meeting but said this did not rule out the possibility of one taking place in the next couple of days.

Marcus said yesterday that while she was not aware of a De Klerk-Mandela meeting, Mandela had indicated that "anything was possible up till the deadline".

Attempts were also being made yesterday to get the derailed Inkatha-ANC peace process going again. Marcus confirmed Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose and ANC intelligence chief Jacob Zuma would address a joint peace rally at Umga-baba on the Natal South Coast tomorrow.

Tension between the organisations reached a new high at the weekend with police raids on Inkatha-supporting hostel dwellers in Johannesburg and Soweto and a remark by Inkatha central committee member Musa Myeni that the organisation planned to deploy a large paramilitary force unless the ANC stopped faction fighting within seven days.

Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday effectively repudiated Myeni's statement and said Inkatha's Transvaal leaders had not decided to import 100 000 men from Natal to stop the violence.

Religious leaders who met both De

□ To Page 2

FW, Mandela

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B10ay 715791

Klerk and Mandela last week were hopeful that a breakthrough would be achieved and said, while they could assist, the two leaders would have to meet to sort out the political issues keeping them apart.

Meanwhile, ANC bodies yesterday announced plans to stage marches, sit-ins and protests at government buildings tomorrow in an effort to pressure government to comply with the ANC's ultimatum.

Both the ANC Woman's League and the ANC Youth League called for a day of prayer on Thursday, Ascension Day, to focus on the violence.

The youth league declared May 8 a "day

of marches". Members would march to police stations demanding police act to stop the violence.

Azapo announced yesterday it would hold workshops, rallies and meetings nationwide to explain its perspective on the recent wave of violence and to advise blacks on how to defend themselves.

Azapo president Pandelani Nefolovhodwe told a media conference yesterday the organisation was convinced the violence was being "orchestrated" by government to prevent blacks making free choices about their political affiliations.

● Comment: Page 8

□ From Page 1

Businessmen issue challenge to ANC

AN advertisement placed in 12 newspapers today by Businessmen for Growth and Stability has called on the ANC to state whether it is a political party or a "terrorist organisation".

In an open letter, the organisation asks whether the ANC sees itself as a political party prepared to play by democratic rules, or a "terrorist organisation with a secret agenda to usurp power or seize by intimidation, trickery or force".

From the ANC's document, "Negotia-

119
Business Day Reporter

tions and the struggle for a democratic SA", the businessmen deduce that the ANC is not interested in a political settlement, but in usurping total power.

□ Business Day yesterday incorrectly reported that former Kersaf chairman Dick Goss was a member of the organisation. The Dick Goss mentioned as a signatory to the open letter is secretary of the Springs Chamber of Commerce. Business Day regrets the error.

11A

Conference will 'redefine' ANC strategies

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC's first national conference in 31 years will be held from July 3 to 6 at the University of Durban, Westville, the organisation said yesterday.

The major challenge for the ANC at the conference, which will be attended by about 2 000 delegates from branches and regions, will be the redefinition of new strategies and tactics in the light of changed political conditions.

ANC secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo told a news briefing here yesterday that participation would be as broad as possible at the conference and that the leadership of the organisation would be expanded to reflect the participation of women.

He said the conference would give a clearer definition of the organisation's economic, land reform, education, health and local government policies.

The escalating township violence would also feature prominently on the conference agenda.

Although international guests would be invited, conference preparatory committee member Mr Josiah Jeje denied claims that Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda and former Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere had been invited. — Sapa

CAPE TOWN
8/5/91 (11A)
**Students
back ANC
ultimatum**

Education Reporter

THE SA National Students' Congress (Sansco) and the National Union of SA Students (Nusas) yesterday declared their support for the ANC's "entirely reasonable" May 9 ultimatum.

The executive committees of the organisations noted that the escalation of violence in the country, especially in the Transvaal and Natal, had severely disrupted education.

"The state has not responded adequately for only one reason, and that is because violence is in its interests. This is because the state wishes to face a weakened ANC at the negotiating table," said a joint statement.

● Sansco and Nusas have declared today a "day of national student protest". A joint meeting will be held UWC at lunchtime.



Alliance issues 5-point plan to work for peace

ARGUS 8/5/91

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — As tension mounted ahead of tomorrow's expiry date of the ANC's ultimatum to the government, the ANC and its main allies, the SA Communist Party and Cosatu, yesterday issued a joint five-point declaration to work for peace.

The general secretaries of the three organisations are Mr Alfred Nzo of the ANC, Mr Joe Slovo of the SACP and Mr Jay Naidoo of Cosatu.

Demands

They said in a statement released last night that they pledged to work for peace, political tolerance, impartial security forces, to build peace in their communities and to work for a just and prosperous South Africa.

The declaration focused on most of the demands contained in the ANC's ultimatum to the government to take drastic ac-



Mr Carl Niehaus

tion by tomorrow to end the township violence or face the ANC's withdrawal from constitutional talks.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said the declaration was a "general statement to confirm our position, also in terms of the violence".

Asked if the declaration was issued as a last-minute commitment sought by government

as part of the sensitive negotiations on the ANC's ultimatum, Mr Niehaus said: "It has nothing to do with that."

In the statement, the alliance said the real possibility for a negotiated settlement to end apartheid now existed for the first time. Yet, at the same time, there were forces bent on dragging the country down into a spiral of destruction.

"The overwhelming majority of South Africans want peace. Our society yearns for the recognition of basic human rights for all, for a climate of free political expression and tolerance.

"We call on the people of South Africa, black and white, regardless of differences in culture, creed or political belief, to work for the resolution of problems by peaceful means.

"We pledge to do everything in our power to bring about peace and a speedy end to the system of apartheid."

Calling for political toler-

ance, the organisations said it was essential that they should recognise the right of all citizens to participate in peaceful political activity and to join political parties of their choice.

Dealing with the security forces, they reiterated their belief that the government had a duty to protect all citizens and that the security forces should not favour any organisation.

"They must at all times act to reduce the potential for violence. Individuals must not be allowed to carry weapons in public, traditional or otherwise."

"In dealing with mass activities, security forces must relate to the people in a civilised manner. They should employ acceptable methods of crowd control, and must not be issued with live ammunition."

The alliance called on communities to resolve conflict peacefully. Residents should identify the individuals responsible for violence and "those who refuse to mend their ways must be exposed".

Women protest violence

Saveta

8/5/91

11A

By **SUSAN MILLER**

THE ANC Women's League has declared today and tomorrow days of mass action to protest against township violence.

Marking the ANC's May 9 deadline to the Government to end the violence, the league is to send a memorandum to

President FW de Klerk stating its concern about the situation, said league president Mrs Gertrude Shope.

Each region will organise marches, demonstrations, pickets and sit-ins.

Shope will lead a march on Parliament in Cape Town.

Places of action in the Transvaal include Johannesburg, Pretoria,

Pietersburg and Nelspruit. League national organiser Ms Nosiviwe Mapisa said permission would be sought for the marches.

Shope said the league did not blame the ANC or Inkatha for the violence but the Government.

"We know who is responsible for the carnage and that's where we'll be aiming our fire," she said.

PHONE: 474-2510

or after hours:

Collect



ANC threatens talks withdrawal

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The ANC will withdraw from constitutional negotiations and the all-party congress tomorrow, unless the government takes significant last-minute action, senior ANC member Mr Joel Netshitenzhe said yesterday.

Speaking at a breakfast meeting hosted by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa), Mr Netshitenzhe said that if there was no response to its demands by tomorrow, the ANC would "announce its non-participation in the all-party congress and constitutional negotiations". This policy would continue until its demands were addressed.

He spoke in favour of a peace conference being organised by "an independent party, not a government representative".

For negotiations to continue, "we need a substantial indication by the government that it intends to address the question of violence. Not every letter of the demands in the ultimatum have to be met", he said.

Winnie 'smeared'

JOHANNESBURG. — Unknown people bent on destroying Mrs Winnie Mandela fed false information to the press to accuse her publicly of involvement in kidnap and assault, her lawyer told the Supreme Court yesterday.

Delivering his final argument on behalf of Mrs Mandela, Mr George Bizos said the state had failed to prove her guilt on charges of kidnap and assault, and offered probable reasons why she had been falsely accused.

He said the accusation that Mrs Mandela was involved in the vicious sjambok assault on 14-year-old Stompie Seipei and three other youths at

her house in Soweto on the night of December 29, 1988, were published in the press on the strength of false information supplied by "unknown persons".

Some serious, yet completely unfounded allegations — including innuendo that she was responsible for Stompie's death and for the murder of Dr Abu-Baker Asvat, were included in the press reports.

He said the reports were written in a "polemical style".

"The only inference that may be drawn is that one or more persons were giving this information for the purpose of discrediting her," Mr Bizos said.

The testimony of two of the four victims, Mr Kenneth Kgase and Mr Thabiso Mono, that Mrs Mandela initiated and participated in the sjambok assault, was contradictory and improbable, Mr Bizos argued.

Their evidence had been refuted "by clear and satisfactory evidence that Mrs Mandela was not there when the four complainants were brought to her home on the night of 29 December 1988".

The defence advocate answered the state's criticism that Mrs Mandela had failed at the time to disclose her alibi, despite being accused publicly in the press.

He said the precise date and time of

the kidnap and assaults were not published, making it impossible for her to suggest she had an alibi.

Earlier yesterday, counsel for Ms Xoliswa Falati and a third co-accused, Mr John Morgan, asked the court for a finding that the state had failed to prove their clients' guilt beyond reasonable doubt.

Mr Henti Joubert, for Ms Falati, asked that if the court's finding was that Mrs Mandela had been present, an accompanying finding would be that the assaults had taken place under her leadership. "The decision to assault could only have been taken by Mrs Mandela," Mr Joubert said. — Sapa

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8/8/91

Wounded witness 'hidden away'

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JOHANNESBURG. — Police said yesterday that a witness in the trial of the former bodyguard of Mrs Winnie Mandela, who was shot and wounded in Soweto on Monday, was alive but still being treated for his injuries at an undisclosed hospital.

Mr Andrew Lerothodi Ikaneng, 24, was taken to Soweto's Baragwanath Hospital on Monday after being gunned down at his home by unidentified assailants.

Hospital officials said Mr Ikaneng, who testified in the murder trial of Jerry Richardson, was moved to another hospital shortly after receiving emergency treatment at Baragwanath.

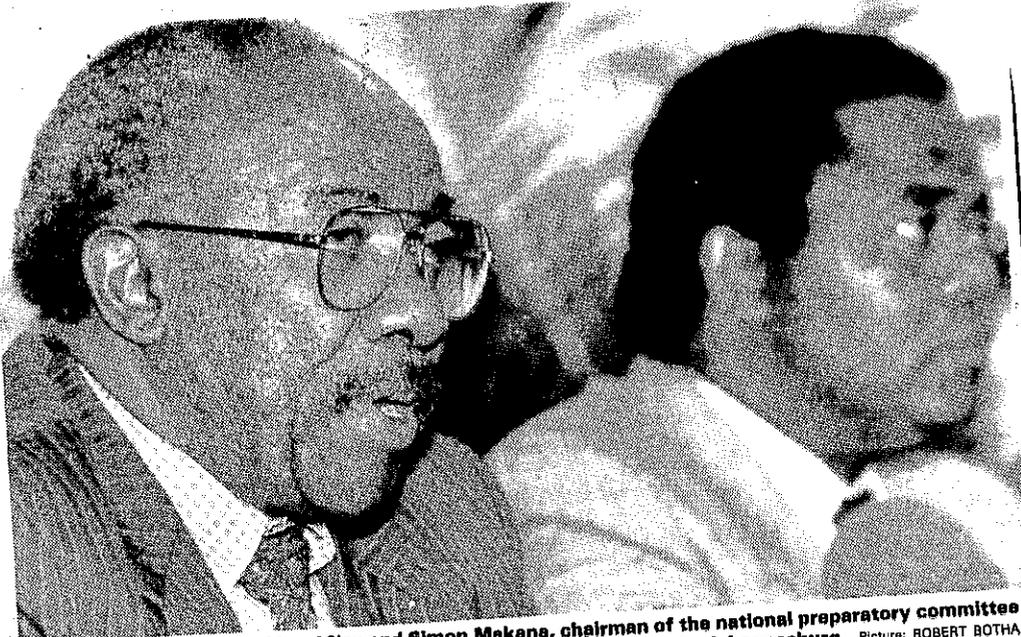
They could not name the hospital.

A spokesman said police were looking for three people in connection with the incident.

In Richardson's trial, the court found that he had attempted to murder Mr Ikaneng. — Sapa

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ANC secretary general Alfred Nzo and Simon Makana, chairman of the national preparatory committee for the ANC's July conference, at yesterday's news conference in Johannesburg. Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

ANC executive to increase fourfold

6/10/91 8:57 AM TIM COHEN (118)

THE ANC intends quadrupling the size of its national executive committee (NEC) at the national conference which is due to be held from July 3 to July 6 at the University of Durban Westville.

ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo told a media conference yesterday the conference, the first to be held in SA in 31 years, would be the largest ANC conference yet.

It would be attended by about 2 000 delegates from ANC regions countrywide and would redefine ANC strategies in the light of changed political conditions, Nzo said.

Conference Preparatory Committee member Josiah Jele said international diplomats and guests would be invited.

Nzo said major changes to the ANC constitution would also be proposed, among them the expansion of the NEC from its current 35 members to a potential 128.

The draft constitution states that 75 members of the NEC will be elected by secret ballot. In addition, the NEC will include the chairmen of the 15 ANC regions, 17 ANC Women's League representatives and two ANC Youth League members.

The president, deputy president, secretary-general and treasurer-general would be elected by secret ballot.

The proposed constitution also provides for a 24-member "working committee" elected by the NEC.

'Traitor' label the problem

Sowetan 8/9/71
11A

THERE was still a psychological barrier against appointing black people as ambassadors for South Africa, Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha said yesterday.

Replying to a debate on his department's budget vote, Botha said the department had appointed coloureds and Asians as ambassadors, but there had been a barrier for black people.

No black person could be appointed an ambassador without being regarded as a traitor.

One also had to ensure that a black appointee was not connected to a faction.

Botha said appointments were strictly on merit. The colour of an applicant played no role.

"We serve South Africa. We serve the interests of South Africans," he said - *Sapa*.

Call to join units

ASA

11A

ANC defence units, established last month, were operating successfully despite a death toll of more than 70 in Soweto since May 1, a spokesman said yesterday.

Mr Tokyo Sexwale, a member of the organisation's violence monitoring group, said: "Most of the people who die, some members of the ANC, PAC or Azapo, don't die while fighting Inkatha, but are bystanders who go out of their yards when there is the threat of an attack."

Whenever there was a threat of an attack, defence unit members assembled at a central meeting point to decide on what defensive action to take. *Sowetan*

Attack

However, residents failed to join the group and stood outside their homes, making themselves vulnerable to attack.

He called on residents to join the units, which operated like neighbourhood watch patrols in white suburbs.

The units were not a military wing but were controlled by residents with the aim of defending themselves. - *Sowetan Correspondent.*

Slovo spells out SACP policy to businessmen

Star 8/5/91.
By Abel Mushi

The country did not only need a democratic political process but also an economic policy that would make the average man in Soweto happy, South African Communist Party leader Joe Slovo told Indian businessmen last night.

The SACP general secretary and ANC executive member told the 200-strong audience at the Islamic Bank in Fordsburg that he would try to explain to them the "flavour" of SACP/ANC thinking, acknowledging that they might not "like the taste".

Mr Slovo emphasised he stood for a "socialist South Africa".

The workforce needed to feel they had a stake in the country's economy. This would also bring about a more equitable economic order, he told the crowd.

Poverty

Mr Slovo said even countries regarded as "shining examples of prosperity" such as Korea, Japan and Taiwan had resorted to State intervention to redress the problems of poverty.

Asked by a member of the audience as to how socialism could succeed in South Africa when it had failed elsewhere, Mr Slovo replied: "In our country it is not socialism that has failed but capitalism."

Mr Slovo said that in the new South Africa as envisaged by his organisation, "across-the-board nationalisation" was not the answer.

He added that the private sector would also play a significant role in the new South Africa.

De Klerk is wrong to think the ANC will allow its reputation to be destroyed, writes John Matisonn

Mandela's case against police

Star 8/5/91.

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THERE is potential for a horrifying escalation in the violence that will make the past seem mild. Perhaps there is time for white South Africa to take a last look at what is driving us towards this tragedy.

To do that it is important to try to understand what is going on in Mr Mandela's mind, because the ANC deputy president has undergone a significant shift in his perception of the situation. President de Klerk either does not understand this or believes he can ride it out until Mr Mandela is brought to heel.

Mr Mandela has not communicated the reasons for his changed view as effectively as the Government communicates its views.

The Government has by far the more sophisticated machinery and experience with getting its view across.

That is one of the problems.

From where Mr Mandela sits, there is an accumulation of evidence that the Government and the police are showing bad faith.

The fact that he cannot persuade white South Africa of this does not change his perception.

Since the Pretoria Minute was signed, the ANC has seen its sympathy whittled away, first by the way the Government played cat-and-mouse with its political prisoners and exiles. When asked why prisoners are still in prison, the Government blames the ANC.

How can the prisoner be responsible for his imprisonment? If

the Government wants to release prisoners, it can, as it demonstrated in the last few weeks. Yet always there was a complaint that the ANC had agreed to different procedures. It seems that the ANC did make some foolish agreements, that were much more complicated than the Namibian indemnities, but that does not mean that Mr Mandela will let it end there.

He really expected Mr de Klerk to have the prisoners out on time.

The ANC lost further prestige when it was seen in cosy meetings with Government officials, including police officers, while ANC supporters perceived the police as siding with their opponents.

There is plenty of evidence for this, as anyone who spends time in the townships soon sees.

During the last week it has become apparent that the attitude of many policemen is a serious obstacle to ending the violence. Police are routinely more aggressive in removing weapons from ANC supporters than from their opponents, though their disregard for people and property often applies to both sides.

In one incident outside the Dobsonville number two hostel, which had been taken over by Inkatha supporters last week, policemen sat in their vehicles chatting while flames came out of windows and looters carried off supplies of food and drink.

As looters walked passed his car laden with goods, I asked one

constable why he was there. "In case something happens," he said.

Asked what constituted "something happening", he said: "Well, if things get more serious."

Later Colonel Tienie Halgryn, of the Soweto police, arrived.

Asked the policy on weapons, he said: "If there are any weapons, we will remove them." I said I had been there all day, and hadn't seen policemen take a single weapon.

He became angry, and asked me why I had not notified the police of the problem, so they could move in. I told him he had had idle police there all day. They had communication equipment, and did not need me to warn them.

Later, when we entered the hostel, we found only about 50 Inkatha supporters. They were lightly armed, but the officers still did not order their weapons removed.

Another reporter, from the Financial Mail, was told by Soweto Colonel Jao de Vries: "I don't have to be cross-examined by you", when she asked why not a single arrest had been made, or a single weapon removed, before, during or after the Sunday funeral at which 22 people died.

The ANC had publicly warned that it had information of an impending attack after that funeral.

Asked what happened after they killed the 22, he said: "We escorted them back to the hostel."

Asked why no arrests were made, since the police filmed the event, the colonel replied: "If we

had made arrests, it would have been illegal."

This attitude comes from the top. Major-General Gerrit Erasmus is Divisional Commissioner of Police for the Witwatersrand, which makes him the most senior officer for all the townships around Johannesburg that have been affected by the violence in the last nine months.

I have stood next to General Erasmus as troop carriers have escorted group after group of Inkatha supporters, armed with so-called traditional weapons as well as long knives, clubs and axes, to a political meeting.

When I asked his policy on weapons, he replied by asking if I wanted to take them. "Go on, you take their weapons."

On another occasion, General Erasmus insisted that the battle was tribal, between Zulu and Xhosas, and that was the way he was going to deal with it, even though people interviewed at random at the site of the conflict turned out to be Pedi and Venda or Sotho.

My experiences with the police are only unusual for a white person. They are the experiences that are haunting Mr Mandela as he squares up for his confrontation with Mr de Klerk.

Finally, Mr Mandela is aware that a man who has identified himself as a member of a combined South African Police-Defence Force death squad has claimed that on February 25 he

assassinated one of the most important Zulu chiefs identified with the ANC in Natal.

Sipho Alfred Madlala said in an affidavit that a police officer told him to kill Chief Mhlabunzima Maphumulo because "the chief was a problem to the Government".

Madlala named as one of the members of the death squad an officer in the murder and robbery squad in Maritzburg. This same officer was assigned to investigate the murder of the chief.

This is the first accusation that a death squad is operating in the "new South Africa" of President de Klerk.

The ANC may not be good at proving these cases in court, but this is the information that Mr Mandela is acting on.

He has been made a fool of, and he has seen the ANC, clearly the largest political group in the country, with a lifelong record of enormous suffering for its opposition to apartheid, having its integrity as a Government opponent, and a leader of black South Africa, challenged by a group of men on a lifelong apartheid gravy train.

Mr Mandela has many faults, as even his supporters have begun to see. But one thing that should not be underestimated about him is his courage.

If Mr de Klerk thinks Mr Mandela will allow the reputation of the ANC to be destroyed among its own constituency because of the action or inaction of the po-

lice is making a mistake for which, we will all pay.

All indications are that Mr Mandela has decided that it's time for Mr de Klerk to take responsibility for his police force. The debate over whether the police are acting on orders from Mr de Klerk or not has become irrelevant. Mr Mandela has concluded that he cannot negotiate with a man while that man's police force is seen as the enemy of Mr Mandela's people.

What can be done? Behind the scenes, officials keep saying that it takes time to change the police.

But that is clearly not a legitimate explanation. Only last year, in the "new South Africa", Mr de Klerk granted the right to carry traditional weapons. A one-year-old "tradition"?

That can be rescinded. At present, police troop carriers escort people carrying weapons to political meetings. They escort them while they are still in small groups. Police can be told to remove weapons from people before they arrive at political meetings, where the numbers become large and unwieldy. If they don't, then it's clear the Government has made a decision.

If Mr de Klerk continues to leave the police to do business as usual, the country will pay the price. □

● John Matisonn is southern Africa correspondent for National Public Radio in the US and for other overseas media.

ANC pledges to work for peace

Buthelezi and FW in bid to save talks

BID 8/5/91

11A
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PRESIDENT FW de Klerk and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi met last night in what was believed to be an effort to resolve the one outstanding issue — concerning “traditional” weapons — that would satisfy the ANC’s ultimatum and put negotiations back on track.

Last night’s meeting in Cape Town followed several days of talks between government and ANC officials during which ANC members indicated that if agreement was reached on the ANC’s demand that government outlaw traditional weapons and other issues, the ANC would not act on its threat to pull out of negotiations.

Shortly after the start of the meeting between De Klerk and Buthelezi, the Cosatu/ANC/SACP alliance released an apparently conciliatory statement, promising to work for peace.

The statement “solemnly” pledged that alliance members would do all in their power to achieve peace. It called on South Africans to “forge an overwhelming national consensus for peace” and promote a climate of political tolerance.

The pledge also restated several of the demands in the ANC’s ultimatum, saying individuals must not be allowed to carry traditional or other weapons in public, that security forces should employ acceptable methods of crowd control, and that single sex hostels should be phased out.

These three issues were being focused on by the ANC in its negotiations with government.

De Klerk is believed to have satisfied

TIM COHEN

one demand by announcing that funds had been budgeted for hostels conversion and upgrading.

It is also believed that the demand that security forces should use “civilised methods” can be achieved.

Yesterday ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela would not comment on the state of negotiations ahead of tomorrow’s deadline, but said he was confident any impasse could be averted.

He would not comment on a possible meeting with De Klerk today, but did not rule out such a meeting.

ANC sources pointed out that the organisation was flexible on the ultimatum from the outset and it would probably not risk the deadlock that would arise if it continued to demand the resignation of Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister Magnus Malan.

Our Durban correspondent reports that senior ANC member Joel Netshitenzhe said yesterday the ANC would withdraw from negotiations and the all-party congress tomorrow unless significant last-minute action was taken.

Netshitenzhe told an Idasa breakfast the national violence and not the ANC’s ultimatum had precipitated the current crisis.

However, Netshitenzhe said the ANC would not hold government to the full letter of its demands and indicated that a meaningful indication of intent to address most of the demands would be sufficient.

□ To Page 2

Peace talks

A policy of “inaction” would be adopted from tomorrow, he said. The ANC would “announce its non-participation in the all-party congress and constitutional negotiations”.

The ANC would continue with this policy until the demands were met, he said.

The ANC was not being difficult, by laying down deadlines for demands to be met, but it was attempting to ensure that “negotiations do not drag on indefinitely”, he said. “The ANC is also concerned at the long-term effects of violence on the economy.”

□ From Page 1

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Crisis talks resume today

FW: we've made good progress

By Esmaré *Star 9/15/91*
van der Merwe
Political Reporter

Top-level talks between President de Klerk and Nelson Mandela are scheduled to continue today as the Government and the ANC attempt to prevent a breakdown in negotiations.

This announcement was made by Mr de Klerk last night after marathon discussions at a secret venue in Pretoria which lasted almost five hours.

On the eve of the ANC's ultimatum to break off negotiations if the Government did not take drastic steps to stop the township violence,

Mr de Klerk said only a few outstanding matters had to be resolved and that good progress had been made.

"We have reached a stage where, if we solve a few outstanding problems, we are very near to a situation where real negotiations can start.

"As a result of developments over the past few weeks, we are able and definitely willing to ensure that we will not be immobilised by the present deadlock situation," he told the Pretoria Press Club.

Mr de Klerk, who arrived more than an hour late to receive his Newsmaker of the Year Award at a banquet in Verwoerdburg last night, said an announcement of the outcome of the discussions

could be made later today.

He had been assisted at the meeting by Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen, and Mr Mandela by the ANC's head of international affairs, Thabo Mbeki.

The ANC leader did not attend the function to receive his award as runner-up newsmaker.

Mr de Klerk cautioned the media not to over-dramatise current political events.

No one had expected the process of negotiations to be easy, he said.

Yesterday's talks remained a tight secret, despite scores of journalists roaming around Pretoria to stalk out the venue.

In his official address at the banquet, Mr de Klerk cautioned that the culture of violence and intimidation had become the most serious obstacle in the way to constitutional negotiations.

It also inhibited the restoring of business confidence and foreign investment.

Invitation

Despite the ANC's objection to his proposed May 24-25 peace summit, he reiterated his invitation to all concerned parties to attend.

Speaking on the proposal by church leaders for an independently arranged peace summit, Mr de Klerk asked that the issue of a summit should not be politicised.

"Don't make a negative issue out of the Government's call for a conference. It was intended without any ulterior motive."

All parties were welcome to attend the summit and could criticise and make suggestions on how the Government should fulfil its responsibility to maintain law and order.

Mr de Klerk said the media, as Forth Force, had to become directly involved in the quest for democracy which included a free press.

He raised doubts about the ANC's commitment to a free press and asked whether the media would tolerate ANC intimidation.

Stringent new unrest measures announced

Star 9/15/91
Staff Reporter

Stringent new unrest measures, including a ban on all air meetings for 14 days and intensified security operations, will go into effect in nine violence-ridden Witwatersrand suburbs from today.

Increasing the security known as "Operation Wise" — last night, Order Minister Vlok said it would consist of "various measures" to combat violence.

Suburbs affected by the measures include Soweto, Newclare, Morningside, and Sandown. The measures will also apply to all other areas of the city.

At a press conference in Johannesburg, Vlok said the measures were necessary to restore law and order.

He said the measures were necessary to restore law and order.

search" operations, stricter enforcement of the 9 pm to 4 am curfew and a 14-day ban on open air meetings.

This last measure excludes "bona fide church and sports gatherings as well as funerals".

Permission to hold other open air gatherings can be granted by the Regional Commissioners of Police.

Mr Vlok also appealed to all leaders to urge their followers to refrain from violence "and to take firm steps to ensure this message reaches all their supporters".

Reacting to the announcement, ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said the ANC had taken note of the new measures and would react "in due course".

Welcoming the measures, Inkatha Freedom Party central committee member Senzo Mfayela said: "We believe the price South Africans ... are paying is so high that every responsible leader and every responsible political organisation needs to do everything in their power to end the bloodshed."

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"I can't be a prisoner of the times to a few narrow-minded people. I'm playing a role that's not inconsistent with the roles I've played before." FM 10/5/91 11A

Growing up in Natal, he wondered why he wasn't allowed to play the games along Durban's Golden Mile. His father — who had taken an English surname to pave his way through the system — always said no. "I thought he was this mean old man. But then I realised he didn't have the power. Here was a man who was all powerful at home but didn't have the power to change that." 11A

Cooper went to University College in Durban under protest because he was forced to attend a varsity designated solely for Indians. Eventually he was expelled, but not before he befriended Biko — then a student activist in Natal — who introduced him to the theories of Black Consciousness.

In 1973 he was banned, put under house arrest and later arrested for taking part in pro-independence rallies for Mozambique. After two years in detention he was sentenced to six years on Robben Island under the Terrorism Act.

He managed to complete his degree at the University of SA but his marriage broke up along the way. He didn't let prison grind him down. Like so many others, he displays an incredible lack of bitterness or regret. "I was put in jail for opposing what any right-thinking person would oppose. When you understand that you're the winner, the guards become your psychological captives."

Armed with a Fulbright scholarship, he obtained a PhD in psychology at Boston University. In the US he saw what freedom and a democratic tradition can do for people. He wants it to work here. "This country hasn't known democratic principles," he says. "Voting is foreign to us. We have to inculcate people with political and racial tolerance and a spirit of nationhood." ■

SATHS COOPER FM 10/5/91 LET FREEDOM RING 11A

Like a lot of people, Sathasivan Cooper is looking forward to the day when a person can stand up at a political meeting and say "Comrade, I disagree" and not be accused of treason.

He's got a long way to go.

"There's been a major crisis of expectations, the idea that freedom is just around the corner," he says with a dismissive flip of the hand. "This doesn't account for the major cost of time, energy, people and money that it's going to take. We want a safe, secure, stable society. We've got a few generations to go."

That's fire-breathing Saths Cooper? The friend of Steve Biko, former Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) president and Robben Island inmate? No doubt the years have mellowed the still rather intense Cooper, who at 40 is now the national director of the nonpartisan Institute for Multi-Party Democracy. But isn't this a stretch?

Cooper ... planting
the seeds of democracy



Women flex their muscles

Sowetan 10/5/91 (11A)

THE ANC Women's League has started flexing its muscles.

Hardly two weeks after its launch, the league has over the past 48 hours handed a statement on violence to the Office of the State President, occupied three foreign consulates in Cape Town and successfully petitioned several foreign governments.

At lunchtime on Wednesday, members of the league also led a march on Cape Town's Nyanga and Guguletu police stations.

Leading the marches was the

**By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent**

league's newly-elected president, Mrs Gertrude Shope, Ms Mary Burton of the Black Sash and Ms Hilda Ndude, also a member of the league.

A large police contingent monitored the procession through Cape Town's streets but kept a low profile.

The procession first went to Parliament where a document on

violence was handed to a representative of President FW de Klerk's office.

The demonstrators then proceeded to the consulates of Germany, the United States and the Netherlands where they planned to stage a three-day sit-in.

The women left the consulates only after they had managed to get diplomats to fax a statement on violence to their respective governments.

The three governments are expected to reply by today.

ANC women seize Island ferry for sit-in

By BRONWYN DAVIDS



BOARDING PARTY ... Members of the ANC's Women's League on board a Robben Island ferry last night.

Picture: BENNY GOOL

FOURTEEN ANC Women's League members last night seized a Robben Island prison ferry and chained themselves to its mast and safety railings.

Thirty policemen using boltcutters took more than 30 minutes to cut the women down from the Susan Kruger, which had been draped with ANC flags. The women were arrested on a charge of trespassing, a local police spokesman said.

The protesters were demanding the immediate release of all political prisoners on hunger strike, focusing mainly on three women — Theresa Ramashamola, Phyllis Phanta and Evelyn de Bruin.

About 7.45pm the women climbed through a hole cut in the barbed wire fence of the highly restricted Table Bay compound on Quay Five and chained themselves to the boat, intending to stay there until the prisoners were released.

As the women were dragged off the ferry by police, Ms Cheryl Carolus, who was tied to the mast shouted: "This is the new South Africa, this is the peace they talk, look how they assault our mothers!"

In the melée, Ms Magdaline Fullard shouted that she had been hit by a policeman who would not give her his name.

Those involved in the protest were: Ms Mildred Makhasi, Ms Beattie Hofmeyr, Ms Rashieda Abdullah, Ms Mildred Lesiea, Ms Caroline Makhasi, Ms Jessie Tsane, Ms Normade Mahote, Ms Nancy Badusa, Ms Nowetu Tolbit, Ms Winnifred Ndziba, Ms Bettie Zuzile, Ms Rhoda Joemat, Ms Fullard and Ms Carolus.

Mokaba too old for youth league?

CAP-1-13 10/5/91
Own Correspondent 119

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC Youth League president Mr Peter Mokaba and half his provisional leadership could find themselves without jobs if the ANC's proposed new constitution is adopted in July — because they are not youthful enough.

The constitution — to be proposed for ratification at the ANC's consultative conference in Durban — states that membership of the league should be open to people between the ages of 14 and 30.

The league's assistant secretary-general, Mr Billy Masethla, said the question of the maximum age was a matter of "strenuous" debate among league and ANC members.

About half the 25-member provisional leadership group was over 30, he said.

Mr Mokaba, whose taste for designer shirts and militant style have made him a high-profile and popular figure among the youth, is 33.

The Youth League's current maximum age is 35, and this age limit would be adhered to until a final decision was taken, Mr Masethla said.

Ciskei children dying of hunger

CAP-1-13 10/5/91
Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — Almost 24 000 people in Ciskei's Hewu district are being fed daily by Operation Hunger, yet children there are still dying from malnutrition.

The organisation is feeding 85 000 in the homeland daily and another 60 000 had applied for help, according to the Border regional director of Operation Hunger, Mrs Glynis Baer.

Organisations involved in the region blame South African and Ciskei government incompetence and insensitivity as the cause of the deaths.

"There is no doubt we have a problem," said Dr Vincent Shaw of the paediatric ward at Hewu Hospital, who said 17 children died of kwashiorkor, resulting from long-term malnutrition, in March.

While no accurate figures of the infant mortality rate in the area were available, a survey in Oxton, a village in the district, revealed that 60% of respondents had lost one child or more, while 30% had lost three children or more.

Mrs Baer said the malnutrition problem was exacerbated by a shortage of food and water and by the area's geographic isolation.

● Africa famine warning
— Page 5

Khans and can'ts of petty apartheid

By BRONWYN DAVIDS

APARTHEID is still pecking fit and taking flight in a bird park, a Ravensmead man found while holidaying in the Transvaal.

On Sunday — two weeks into his "very expensive" Transvaal sojourn — Mr Abdulla Khan and his companions visited Hartebeespoort Dam where he was handed a handbill advertising the Makapani Bird Park and Picnic Resort.

Excited by the thought of picnicking to the twitter of 1 000 exotic birds, Mr Khan drove to the spot and was told it was "for whites only".

Mr Khan was told by the manager that the resort was in a "CP and AWB area and the people would not like it if Indians, coloureds and blacks were allowed in".

But an apologetic manager did allow Mr Khan to see the birds — which "I thanked them for".

Mr Khan said he was so disillusioned by the incident that he and his wife packed their bags and cut short their holiday.

The manager could not be reached for comment last night.

3 000 in ANC's Guguletu march

Staff Reporter

SOME 3 000 Guguletu residents joined an incident-free protest march organised by the ANC Youth League in the township yesterday.

The crowd, which swelled from a group of a few hundred that gathered at the offices of the Food and Allied Workers' Union (Fawu) in NY1 early in the afternoon, displayed posters supporting the ANC's seven-point ultimatum to the government.

ANC Youth leaders presented a memorandum to police at the Guguletu police station before continuing for several kilometres to the Nyanga police station.

Police, who initially warned that the gathering was illegal, allowed the crowd to continue after being assured that they would disperse peacefully in Nyanga.

A Warrant Officer Rademan accepted a copy of the memorandum from ANC Youth League president Mr "Whitey" Mzonke Jacobs as the crowd chanted "ANC,

ANC" and sang freedom songs at the entrance to the Nyanga police station.

The memorandum said the government's failure to deal effectively with violence "brought into serious question (its) commitment to the peace process and to the creation of a climate of free political activity".

"It is only under these conditions that true negotiations leading to a democratic, non-racial, non-sexist, united South Africa can take place," it said.



YOUTH MARCH . . . ANC Youth League officials lead the 3 000-strong crowd of Guguletu and Nyanga residents in a march against violence yesterday. Picture: BENNY GOOL

Exiles' committee to seek world aid for repatriation

AN international donors' conference aimed at raising funds for repatriating SA exiles will take place within the next six weeks.

The conference will be discussed by a high-powered SA delegation which will visit the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) next week.

The delegation is likely to include representatives of the ANC and PAC as well as the National Co-ordinating Committee for the Repatriation of SA Exiles (NCCR).

NCCR executive committee member Frank Chikane said yesterday the committee had decided not to wait for government and the UNHCR to come to a decision on the international body's involvement in the repatriation of 40 000 exiles.

"We are sending a team to work out the details which determine what role the UNHCR will be playing," Chikane said.

8 10 am 10/5/91
PATRICK BULGER

"We should not wait for the government to come to an agreement with the UNHCR. We must do our preparations now.

"We have decided to go ahead with raising funds. We need to be able to say to donors what money we will need regardless of UNHCR involvement.

"After our discussions next week we will arrive at a figure," he said.

Meanwhile, relations between government and the UNHCR appear to have deteriorated.

Government sources have said government is perturbed by certain UNHCR statements that are seen to be in breach of agreements between the two bodies.

Negotiations between government

and the UNHCR have deadlocked over the issue of amnesty. The UNHCR wants government to grant a blanket amnesty to all returnees.

Sapa-Reuter reports from Geneva that the UNHCR is pressing SA to move faster in its negotiations.

"I fear we are losing momentum in these negotiations," said UNHCR spokesman Sadako Ogata.

The UNHCR said government sent a message on May 3 saying that clauses on amnesty in a draft agreement were unacceptable.

Pretoria has asked that the UNHCR, in countries without SA representation, distribute and collect forms on which refugees list offences for which they seek indemnity. UNHCR officials say this would be contrary to UN practice.

"As far as I know there is no possibility of our becoming involved in collecting and distributing these forms," one official said.

Age catches up with Youth League leaders

ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba and half his provisional leadership could find themselves without jobs if the ANC's proposed constitution is adopted in July.

The constitution — to be proposed for ratification at the ANC's consultative conference in Durban — states that the league's membership should be open to people between the ages of 14 and 30.

The league's assistant secretary-general Billy Masethla said the question of the maximum age was a matter of "strenuous" debate among league and ANC members.

About half the 25-member provisional leadership group was over 30, he said.

Mokaba, whose taste for designer shirts and militant style have made him a high-profile and popular figure among the youth, is 33 years old.

The Youth League's current maximum age is 35,

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TIM COHEN

and this age limit would be adhered to until a final decision was taken at the conference, Masethla said.

The league would decide within the next few weeks which maximum age limit to propose for discussion at the conference, he said.

The proposed constitution also says that Youth League members over the age of 18 will be expected to play a full part in the ANC.

ANC membership is open to anyone over the age of 18, according to the proposed constitution.

The league recently claimed a signed-up membership of more than 460 000 and a paid-up membership of 210 000.

● See Page 12

Malan 'in Seychelles deals'

IAN HOBBS

LONDON — Former Seychelles president Sir James Mancham yesterday claimed that SA Defence Minister Magnus Malan had opened secret dealings with the island's Marxist government.

Mancham, ousted in a coup 14 years ago, ended years of silence to warn that SA would suffer damaging consequences from "dealing with Marxist thugs".

He said he had evidence that Malan visited the Seychelles on March 29. He said there was also good evidence of previous secret visits by Malan.

He alleged that on one visit, Malan met the island's Marxist President Albert Rene to pay "millions of dollars" for the release of mercenaries captured after the abortive 1981 coup led by Col Mike Hoare.

Our political staff reports that Malan yesterday denied the allegations.

He confirmed he had met Rene in March this year during a private visit but that this had been the first time they had met.

They had discussed landing rights and Malan had referred him to the "appropriate South African authorities" as this matter fell beyond his responsibility.

There was "no substance at all" to the allegation that he was involved or instrumental in paying money for the release of mercenaries.

"My wife and I visited Seychelles in March for a few days on a private occasion, as we did last year. I can recommend the Seychelles for a relaxing few days in quietness," he said.

PEANUTS

By Charles Schulz

SHOVEL

ISN'T IT KIND OF COLD

SHOVEL

...period of suppression of free...

Constitution shifts ANC focus to home ground

B10 am 10/5/91

11A

TIM COHEN

THE ANC has proposed a drastically revamped constitution which reflects a new focus on internal activity and abolishes two previously important bodies — the external co-ordinating committee and the political military council.

The constitution, which will be proposed for adoption at the ANC's mid-year conference, also simplifies the organisation into a working committee drawn from an enlarged national executive committee (NEC), backed by regional and branch structures.

Apart from disbanding the external co-ordinating committee and the political military council, which have a host of regional bodies operating under them, the internal leadership core is also to be disbanded.

The proposed 14-region structure constitutes a marked change from the existing ANC constitution, which subdivides the organisation into the four provinces, reflecting a desire by

the organisation to expand its organisational base.

The constitution makes provision for a Women's League which will be an "integral" part of the ANC, while the Youth League will be an "autonomous" part of the ANC.

The armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), is mentioned only once in the new constitution under the duties of the president-general, stipulating that whoever fills this post will also be the commander-in-chief of MK.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus says the new constitution does not include MK structure partly because it is not only the army of the ANC, but also the army of the SACP and it was always a separate body.

She says MK is not provided for because hopefully the organisation will not be necessary in the future, adding that the constitution does not just take into account present needs.

The most publicised aspect of the

new constitution has been the enlargement of the NEC, which will be almost quadrupled.

However, this enlarged NEC will only be required to meet once every three months and its members are not required to be full-time functionaries of the organisation.

The new NEC, which could consist of 128 members, must elect 20 of its number onto a body to be called the working committee, of which the president, the deputy president, the secretary-general and the treasurer-general will also be part.

Many of the NEC members will be heads of the existing ANC departments which include information and research, foreign affairs, information and publicity, security and control. However, these are not

specified in the proposed constitution.

One possibly controversial aspect is the NEC's ability to co-opt up to 15 members, which gives the committee the power to increase its number by 13%.

The constitution states that these additional members can be co-opted to "reflect the true character of the SA people", but the number of co-optations permitted seems large.

The constitution stipulates that NEC hopefuls have two methods of getting their names on the ballot forms.

Either they must be nominated by three regions (the outgoing NEC is considered a region for this purpose) or the nomination must be seconded by at least a 10% show of hands at the national conference.

Voting for NEC members and for the four top posts of president, deputy president, secretary-general and treasurer-general will take

place by secret ballot.

The constitution lists the ANC's aims and objects as the unification of the people of SA, "Africans in particular", for the complete liberation of the country from all forms of discrimination and national oppression.

Other aims include the transformation of SA into a united, non-racial and democratic country based on the principles of the Freedom Charter and the elimination of the "vast inequalities created by apartheid".

The proposed constitution lists the character of the ANC as anti-racist and against any form of tribalistic exclusivism or ethnic chauvinism. It will, however, "respect the linguistic, cultural and religious diversity of its members".

The contents of the proposed constitution reflect the intention of the ANC to refocus its functioning inside SA and demonstrate a vote of confidence in the future.

LETTERS

Talks collapse crisis averted

From Page 1

police in maintaining law and order”.

The most senior man, besides De Klerk, on the Government's side was Constitutional Planning Minister Gerrit Viljoen.

At Stellenbosch University on Wednesday Viljoen told students that the ANC's ultimatum to break off all further talks with the Government by yesterday unless it responded satisfactorily to the ANC's pleas had had a "shock effect".

"It was completely at odds with the existing culture of negotiation. The Government realises that a return to normal politics will not be without stresses and strains," he said.

Sources within the ANC said they were pleased to see that now, for the first time, the Government was taking the ANC seriously.

De Klerk's statement last night continued: "The Government is also reviewing existing legislation to address the issue of the carrying of dangerous weapons in public in the country as a whole.

"The Government will act without hesitation against any misuse of cultural weapons, such as spears, for criminal or non-cultural purposes."

But in a statement yesterday, the PWV region of the ANC Women's League, led by Mrs Winnie Mandela, said: "We cannot accept that assegais and sticks are cultural weapons. These are instruments of death and must be destroyed."

The statement said the ANCWL would continue with the campaign to have these weapons outlawed as long as its demands were not met.

And in Soweto, top-level delegations of the Azanian Peoples Organisation and the Pan Africanist Congress met yesterday in a follow-up to their historic meeting

in Harare, Zimbabwe, last month.

The two organisations agreed to form a standing liaison committee to consolidate mutual interests and trust.

Azapo publicity secretary Mr Strini Moodley said his organisation would meet the ANC next week but did not elaborate on the issues likely to be discussed.

The PAC is also scheduled to meet the Inkatha Freedom Party, the organisation's Mr Barney Desai said.

Central to yesterday's Azapo and PAC talks, observers said, was the question of the "patriotic front", which has been agreed upon by the PAC and ANC.

Commenting on yesterday's talks with the Government, ANC spokesman Miss Gill Marcus said the organisation would respond to the talks after a meeting of its national executive committee, possibly today.

Meanwhile, De Klerk told the Pretoria Press Club, where he was awarded the Newsmaker of the Year Award on Wednesday night, that good progress had been made at Wednesday's meeting with the ANC, which continued to yesterday.

However, some problems needed further discussion. ANC sources said among the problems was the question of the violence and what the ANC saw as the Government's unwillingness to resolve it.

Also under discussion, sources said, was De Klerk's "peace indaba" called for May 24 and 25 in Pretoria.

In the light of the importance of the violence in the current situation, it is likely that both Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, with whom De Klerk held talks in Cape Town on Tuesday night, and Mandela will attend the indaba.



PAC deputy president Dikgang Moseneke and Azapo president Pandelani Nefolovhodwe at yesterday's talks between the two groups.

SA 'agents' ask ANC for help

By Robin Drew
Star Africa Service

HARARE — Five convicted South African agents have appealed to the ANC to help secure their release from prison in Zimbabwe in terms of the release of political prisoners under way in South Africa.

In a statement, they asked the ANC to give the matter immediate attention "as an act of good faith" during the process of reconciliation.

They said their alleged offences, which are the subject of appeal, were of a purely political nature in that they were allegedly undertaken against the ANC.

The men are Kevin Woods, Michael Smith and Philip Conjwayo, all sentenced to death for the murder of a man in a car-bomb explosion in 1988; Barry Bawden, serving 40 years for the bombing of ANC properties, and Denis Beahan, who was sentenced to life imprisonment for an attempt to spring the agents from jail in 1988.

They hold Zimbabwean or British citizenship.

Still no ban on spears, but . . .

Govt, ANC reach 'broad consensus'

THE ANC and government reached "broad consensus" in top-level talks yesterday, almost certainly averting a crisis over negotiations as the ANC's ultimatum expired.

President F W de Klerk said in a statement that he, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and their advisers spent six hours discussing the violence on Wednesday. The advisers continued talks yesterday, achieving an "outline agreement".

"Good progress was made," De Klerk said last night, reiterating his earlier evaluation of Wednesday's talks on the eve of yesterday's ANC deadline. The ANC last month threatened to pull out of negotiations unless government met seven demands aimed at ending township violence.

Despite the progress yesterday, De Klerk's statement said both sides agreed that some issues had to be further discussed "on an urgent basis".

It is understood that Mandela took a hard line during the talks, although according to some sources the ANC would no longer insist on the dismissal of Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister Magnus Malan.

The statement made no mention of government's proposed conference on violence. The ANC is refusing to attend if the summit is convened by government, while Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi is unwilling to attend a conference convened by church groups, which he apparently considers too closely linked to the ANC.

To overcome this impasse, government yesterday proposed a peace conference convened jointly by itself, the ANC and

TIM COHEN

Inkatha, but held under the auspices of church groupings.

This is understood to be one of the remaining issues to be resolved.

De Klerk's statement said that in addition to the measures he had already announced, government had decided to implement others to end or drastically curb "intimidation, fighting and killing".

"Crucial among these is an immediate prohibition in unrest areas of the carrying of dangerous weapons in public, excluding at this stage, spears.

"The government is also reviewing existing legislation to address the issue of the carrying of dangerous weapons in public in the country as a whole."

These measures were announced by Vlok on Wednesday and came into effect yesterday.

It appeared that the two sides had deferred taking any firm decision on the carrying of cultural weapons, with government arguing that whether political meetings constituted cultural gatherings was a question for the conference on violence.

The statement said there was still a need to achieve an agreed and acceptable definition of cultural occasions. It said government was still consulting all interested parties on the issue.

De Klerk said government would act without hesitation against any misuse of cultural weapons, such as spears, for criminal or non-cultural purposes.

He reiterated government's policy requiring professionalism and impartiality of the police.

To Page 2

Govt, ANC

He also repeated government's policy to upgrade hostels and convert existing facilities into family units. However, it remained important to provide acceptable single-sex accommodation.

This programme would be carried out in close consultation with the communities concerned.

De Klerk appealed to all South Africans

to find a way of removing "the curse of violence from our society".

Government sources indicated De Klerk was expected to discuss the meetings with the Cabinet next week, while Mandela would raise agreements reached and outstanding issues with the ANC's national executive committee, probably today.

● Comment: Page 12

From Page 1

Black groups in new breakaway

ARGUS 11/5/91

(11A)

By ABBEY MAKOE
Weekend Argus
Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Foundations are being laid this weekend for the launch of a new political organisation — independent of the ANC — that is expected to play a key role in the politics of a new South Africa.

Its structure and aims are being thrashed out behind closed doors today and tomorrow in Bloemfontein.

At the helm of the new group are former members of the ANC-aligned United Democratic Front (UDF), which is due to disband on August 20, along with representatives of the civic associations.

Grassroots issues

Also believed to be playing a key role is the labour movement Cosatu. But a spokesman would not be drawn on the extent of the organisation's involvement.

UDF national treasurer Mr Azar Cachalia said the new grouping should not be seen as opposing any existing political party.

"It is a resistance movement," he said.

No programme of action had yet been formalised but the new party would address grassroots issues, such as housing, education, health and welfare.

Among other things, this weekend's talks will focus on whether the new mass-democratic, anti-apartheid grouping will adopt the same principles as the ANC. Central to this is the Freedom Charter — the

cornerstone of ANC policy.

The new grouping, expected to attract broad support, will be named and launched officially within two months, inside sources said.

Hosting this weekend's indaba — dubbed a "consultative conference" — is the Civic Associations of the Southern Transvaal (Cast). At the conference Cast is expected to announce it will disband.

In its place a new body representing civic associations countrywide is expected to emerge.

It is likely to be called the South African National Civic Associations (SANCA). Well-known leaders of the UDF, which hoisted the ANC flag in the dark days of apartheid, are likely to be elected to positions in SANCA.

'Autocratic' attitude

President of the UDF and supporter of the breakaway movement Mr Archie Gumede said: "I had hoped that when the ANC was unbanned a democratic process would be used to rebuild it."

Instead, Mr Gumede said, some ANC leaders had adopted an autocratic attitude.

Mr Pat Lephunya, national civic associations co-ordinator, endorsed some of Mr Gumede's comments. He said many within the ANC were starting to see themselves as "MPs — long before liberation is achieved".

Cosatu Information officer Mr Neil Coleman said Cosatu was not a labour wing of a political party.

Front: Azapo, PAC agree

JOHANNESBURG. — Azapo and the PAC have decided to work closely in establishing a patriotic front, the two organisations announced at a joint press conference here yesterday.

After a "historic" bilateral meeting on Thursday, the two agreed that multi-lateral consultations were essential to achieve the

front. PAC publicity secretary Mr Barney Desai said yesterday that the consultative conference must be organised by a joint planning committee of representatives of the ANC, Azapo, New Unity Movement, PAC, the SACP and Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action. — Sapa

11/5/91

T'kei slams weapons call

JOHANNESBURG.
Transkei Council of
State chairman Major-
General Bantu Holomisa
yesterday expressed con-
cern at the apparent re-
luctance of the South
African government to
take a firm decision
against the carrying of
so-called traditional
weapons.

He said the govern-
ment's refusal to ac-
knowledge how lethal
the spear was smacked of
a desire to placate one
side in the violence.

The steps taken so far
fell far short of the pub-
lic's expectation, he ad-
ded. — Sapa

Meeting of equals

Star 11/5/91.

11A ~~5051A~~

THE best-kept secret in South Africa this week was the venue for the marathon crisis talks between the Government and the ANC. The entire local press corps, plus the dwindling band of foreign scribes, was for once outfoxed. They knew (or rather believed they knew) that it was happening in Pretoria — and Pretoria, as we know, is no megalopolis. But could they find hide or hair of anyone resembling a negotiator? Not a bit of it.

One doesn't really know how to respond to this. On the one hand, it signals a meeting of minds of sorts: both teams insist that their task was made easier by the absence of a loitering, eavesdropping hack pack. On the other, those who are concerned that a political "deal" might be struck in secret, smoke-filled rooms and then simply imposed on the country will not like the imagery conveyed by this week's 007 tactics. It is not, one hopes, a precedent.

But all of this pales before the broader import of the long-awaited meeting. It is too early to try to read the tea-leaves and announce

Undercurrent
Affairs

SHAUN
JOHNSON



hard-and-fast gains and losses, or confidently predict their effect on the negotiating process writ large. But it is possible to report a pronounced and very significant change in the mood of the ANC.

There are those who now believe that the much-maligned "ultimatum", far from being an ill-considered intervention which painted the ANC into a corner, has been the most effective political initiative undertaken by the organisation since Mr Mandela's historic letter to President P W Botha in 1988, when he first proposed a negotiated settlement. This is a strong claim, but it deserves careful consideration.

ANC leaders believe that after long months of trailing in President de Klerk's wake, they have succeeded in forcing the Government to respond to their agenda.

While they do not expect the president to concede openly that his recently-announced moves to quell violence are a direct response to their challenge, they believe this palpably to be the case. They have regained self-respect that was being steadily eroded by a perception of impotence.

Thus it is not really important that General Malan and Mr Vlok still have their jobs. What is important is that the Government finally seems to have been made to recognise the gravity of the violence, and its own urgent responsibility for helping to end it.

Further, President de Klerk has finally — albeit obliquely — sounded warnings to Inkatha, instead of reflexively putting all the blame on the ANC. This is long overdue, and should herald greater evenhandedness in the future.

The ANC cannot hold up its seven-point "shopping list" of demands and claim satisfaction on all counts, but it can present to its beleaguered constituents some gains which it has extracted through its own efforts. These gains, particularly in the form of a hoped-for improvement in the per-

formance of the security forces as far as Inkatha is concerned, and in the beginning of the end of the pernicious hostel system, will be felt on the ground, where it matters.

There is, in the aftermath of the May 9 trauma, a sense of greater equality between the chief negotiating partners. It would in all likelihood not have been achieved without that trauma. Whether it realises it or not, the Government needs a self-assured ANC at the multiparty conference — not a dispirited, outmanoeuvred and vindictive one.

The new mood in the ANC is best reflected in the latest edition of *Mayibuye*, the organisation's official journal. It features a front-page cartoon of President de Klerk as a circus juggler on a unicycle. He is struggling to keep several balls in the air. Mr Mandela, along with others dressed in black, green and gold, is looking on. "Well," the ANC leader is saying, "the ball is certainly in his court now." Another figure adds: "Looks like he's pedalling backwards."

There is a new atmosphere in the ANC. The Government ignores it at its peril.

In which two rivals scored as winners

WE started this week with much anxiety not knowing what was to become of ANC-Government relations after May 9, and whether each party would manage to rise above party political expediency and act in the interest of the nation. We end the week not only with much needed emotional relief but with heads held high in the knowledge that the Government and the ANC are at least talking about their differences.

What is important is that both sides have emerged as winners. The ANC set out to convince the Government about the gravity of the situation pertaining to violence.

The Government on the other side took the ANC seriously and offered to engage in discussions aimed at addressing the ANC's concerns.

I am aware that the Government had to resist the temptation of playing politics with this grave national issue.

There were those who held the view that the ANC had painted itself into a so-called corner and that it should be left to scream and squirm in that corner.

Innocent

Credit must go to both President de Klerk and Mr Mandela for refusing to play politics over the dead bodies of innocent people.

Although we can say that the transition process is now almost back on track there are still many challenges ahead for both sides.

The Government must seriously note that there is a perception within ANC ranks that the Government is attempting to either destroy or weaken the ANC before negotiations begin while strengthening those parties that the ANC sees as its opposition.

If the Government was in

Through
My Eyes
Stew 11/5/91
OSCAR
DHLOMO



fact doing that, this would be the most short sighted, if not politically suicidal, strategy.

It is a strategy that failed in Zimbabwe and in Namibia. It would also fail here because instead of strengthening those parties it purports to strengthen, it actually weakens them and deprives them of all credibility in the eyes of the voteless majority.

Partiality

The Government must also take note of ANC concerns about the alleged partiality of the police and certain elements of the defence force.

It also does not help the situation for the Ministers of Law and Order and Defence to be the ones who remind us that it is the ANC that started the violence. With that publicly stated attitude towards the ANC from the political heads of the departments of Law And Order and Defence it would be a miracle if their men in the field acted differently towards the ANC!

The ANC also faces its own challenges. It does no credit to the ANC to continue to pretend that the Government and Inkatha are solely responsible for all the violence, thus implying that all ANC members and supporters are angels.

The fact is that people are dying on both sides. Until the ANC accepts that some of its members and supporters are also involved in the violence and should be restrained and counselled by the leadership, the violence will continue.

NEWS

ANC-Govt link is still fragile

The ANC has given President F W de Klerk seven days to include spears on the list of dangerous weapons which may not be carried in public.

If he does not do so, discussions to settle differences between the Government and the ANC — which began on Wednesday and ended temporarily on Thursday only hours before the ANC's May 9 deadline — could be in jeopardy.

Winnie Mandela is often perceived as reflecting a militant action in the ANC but her remarks on the outcome of the latest talks accurately mirror feelings in the ANC.

Commenting on President de Klerk's decision to exclude spears "at this stage" from the list of prohibited dangerous weapons, Mrs Mandela said: "We cannot accept that assegais and spears are cultural weapons. These are instruments of death."

Assuming that Mr de Klerk satisfies the ANC on the question of spears, then the seven demands presented by the ANC to President de Klerk in its open letter of April 5 will be back on the table.

Concern

The ANC does not see its approach is unreasonable but rather as a measure of its concern over the township violence and its conviction that negotiations amidst on-going violence is a contradiction in terms.

The seven demands were: no "traditional weapons" at public meetings; assurances on police neutrality and "civilised methods of crowd control"; phasing out of the hostel system; dismissal of Ministers Adriaan Vlok and Magnus Malan; disbanding of "secret" counter-insurgency units; suspension of all policemen implicated in "massacre" of black civilians; and appointment of an independent commission of inquiry into misconduct by security forces.

FW faces deadline on 'instruments of death'

870 11/5/91
(11A) (30/4)
The May 9 deadline passed without a break in ANC-Government contact but the crisis is not yet over. PATRICK LAURENCE reports on the view from the ANC.

Mr de Klerk's statement on Wednesday's and Thursday's discussions reflected progress on the first three of these demands, although his promise of action on dangerous weapons falls short of the ANC's call for a total ban on the carrying of dangerous weapons.

The ANC wants the Government to comply "substantially" on the seven points before it will agree to renewed contact and exchanges on the proposed all-party congress and a new constitution.

Reading between the lines it

seems that the ANC will not insist on complete and immediate fulfilment of all its demands.

The lines blur on dismissal of Mr Vlok and General Malan. The ANC appears to be keeping its options open on that demand.

Its general position is articulated in the words used by Mr Mandela on April 16.

"If the Government shows a reasonable response to our reasonable demands we, on our side, will not be found wanting."

There is no question, however, of the ANC attending the all-

party conference on violence called by Mr de Klerk for May 24 and 25.

The ANC labels that initiative a "unilateral action" by Mr de Klerk.

A conference convened by the religious leaders — a product of last week's peace odyssey by religious notables — is a different matter, however.

Violence

The ANC, which was consulted by religious leaders, will happily attend a conference under their aegis.

The ANC still attaches greater importance to working with the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) to end the violence.

ANC leaders refer pointedly to the pending joint ANC-IFP rally on Sunday near Port Shepstone, an area which has seen bloody clashes in recent weeks.

On the question of whether it

still regards Mr De Klerk as a man of integrity, the ANC replies that there is no point in conducting negotiations on the assumption that the interlocutor across the table is dishonest.

But Mr de Klerk's personal integrity has to be balanced against his position as leader of the National Party, with its abysmal history as the progenitor, and propagator for decades, of apartheid.

Acceptance of his personal honesty has to be balanced, too, with his difficulties in controlling elements in his security forces.

There is still talk in ANC ranks, however, of a government of national unity after the first one person, one vote elections.

It believes it will win the elections and thus earn the democratic right to form a government.

But its leaders recognise the wisdom of including representatives of minority parties in the first post-apartheid government.

Dead comrades must be brought home, ANC told

Spur 11/5/91
ABBEY MAKOE

THE ANC is refusing to bury its own dead on South African soil.

If members die in exile, the organisation will not pay for the funeral expenses should the family insist the body be returned to the Republic.

This is the organisation's official policy, according to ANC spokesman Gill Marcus. It was an old policy, she said.

And now the policy has come under fire from a Soweto man, whose brother died in Ethiopia.

Mxolisi Ngcesca said his brother would have been buried in Ethiopia by the ANC had he not intervened.

Mr Ngcesca said that after the ANC had given his exiled brother, Kholisile "Kholi" Ngcesca — a trained MK cadre and journalist — a raw deal in death, he had no reason to hold the movement in any esteem.

Mr Ngcesca said that after his brother's death in Ethiopia a few weeks ago, he approached the ANC HQ in Johannesburg about the news, where "I discovered that



Kholisile Ngcesca . . . died of food poisoning.

they knew about the death already".

He said he felt bitter when he discovered that the ANC would not take care of the funeral arrangements of one its "fallen soldiers".

"Instead," continued Mr Ngcesca, "I was advised to opt for the offer of two tickets to fly to Ethiopia to bury my brother."

Ms Marcus confirmed it was part of the movement's official policy to issue two tickets for the immediate relatives of the fallen members.

She added the ANC regarded its members outside the country as sol-

diers — "who would be buried wherever they fell, and whatever the cause of their deaths".

The cause of death for Mr Ngcesca, according to his family, was "cardiac arrest/failure, attributable to food poisoning".

However, Mr Ngcesca said that after heated debates, he asked the ANC to spend the "air fare for two" on bringing the body to Jan Smuts airport.

He said he also asked the ANC to organise the death certificate so that he would not encounter any problems at the airport. This was not done.

As a result, the airport officials would not give him the custody of the corpse for more than 24 hours.

Also, Mr Ngcesca said, his brother's coffin arrived from Addis Ababa without anyone accompanying it.

Ms Marcus acknowledged that, and expressed regret. She added that the "comrade" who was coming along with the coffin was stopped at Kenya airport because he was not indemnified from prosecution.

A new force emerges

could expect, Mr Gumede said: "People in Natal, for instance, know only the UDF. The support is very large."

Pat Lephunya, national civic associations co-ordinator, endorsed some of Mr Gumede's sentiments.

He said many people within the ANC were starting to see themselves as "MPs, long before the liberation is achieved".

He said there were some leaders in the ANC who practised "Western-style leadership, where often a leader's word is final".

Mr Lephunya also observed that although the UDF espoused the freedom charter during its heyday, things had changed since the unbanning of political organisations.

When asked whether Cosatu would support the new organisation, Cosatu information officer Neil Coleman said: "Cosatu will strike up alliances with whoever it believes is furthering the emancipation of the oppressed."

He acknowledged Cosatu's receipt of an invitation from CAST to attend talks this weekend, but would not say in what capacity officials would attend.

Asked about allegations of nepotism and dictatorship within the ANC, information officer Gill Marcus said the ANC would "look into them very seriously".

"Such allegations," she added, "require discussion between those who made them and the ANC."

New force

FROM PAGE 1.

new positions in Sanca.

Some sources say the formation of the new grouping stems from the failure of the ANC leadership to consult its supporters. They also complain that the ANC was guilty of nepotism and that some of its leaders are dictatorial.

Archie Gumede, president of the UDF and supporter of the movement, said: "Certain things have been done in the name of the Freedom Charter that I cannot accept."

In the past, Mr Gumede was among those repeatedly detained for campaigning for the release of political prisoners and the unbanning of anti-apartheid organisations.

"I had hoped that when the ANC was unbanned, there would be a democratic process of rebuilding it."

Instead, Mr Gumede said, some ANC leaders had adopted an autocratic attitude towards the masses. "The leadership has become an elite."

"If you have never been imprisoned on Robben Island or have never been in exile, you are not considered mature enough to be a leader," he said.

"But the reality is that the movement towards liberation took place because of those who withstood state harassment outside prisons."

Asked about the support the new party

Spontaneous

The present apparent rift in black politics could have been caused by differences in leadership style, he suggested, drawing a contrast between the leadership of the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) — successor of the UDF — and that of the ANC in exile.

Reacting to the new formation, Professor Alf Stadler, of the department of political studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, said the development came as no surprise.

The new political grouping, expected to attract broad support, will be named and launched officially within two months, sources told Saturday Star.

Sources indicated there was a strong likelihood the new party was likely to be non-partisan.

Among other things, this weekend's talks will focus on whether the new mass-based, anti-apartheid grouping will adopt the same principles as the ANC — and specifically the Freedom Charter, the cornerstone of ANC policy.

Mr Cachalia, however, said the programme of action had not yet been formalised.

It is a resistance movement," he said. It would address grassroots issues, such as housing, education, health and welfare.

Azhar Cachalia, UDF national treasurer, said the new grouping should not be seen as being in opposition to any existing political party.

Also believed to be playing a key role is the Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu). But a spokesman would not be drawn on the extent of the organisation's involvement.

At the helm of the new group are former members of the ANC-aligned United Democratic Front (UDF), which is due to disband on August 20, along with representatives of the civic associations.

Its structure and aims will be thrashed out behind closed doors today and tomorrow in Bloemfontein.

South Africa.

Key role in the politics of a new organisation — independent of the ANC — that is expected to play a key role in the politics of a new organisation is being laid this weekend for the launch of a new

body representing civic associations countrywide will emerge, sources say. It is likely to be called the South African National Civic Association (Sanca).

Well-known leaders of the ANC flag in the dark days of apartheid, are likely to be elected to

TO PAGE 2.

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ABBEY MAKOE

Star 11/5/76

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Among other things, this weekend's talks will focus on whether the new mass-based, anti-apartheid grouping will adopt the same principles as the ANC — and specifically the Freedom Charter, the cornerstone of ANC policy.

Sources indicated there was a strong likelihood the new party was likely to be non-partisan.

The new political grouping, expected to attract broad support, will be named and launched officially within two months, sources told Saturday Star.

Reacting to the new formation, Professor Alf Stadler, of the department of political studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, said the development came as no surprise.

The present apparent rift in black politics could have been caused by differences in leadership style, he suggested, drawing a contrast between the leadership of the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) — successor of the UDF — and that of the ANC in exile.

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The violence that sets our worlds apart . . .

11A


IT IS the weariness in the eyes more than the voice that reveals the personal cost to Nelson Mandela of leading the ANC.

"When the top leaders return to their homes you will find crowds waiting at their gates, you will find people inside your house waiting. Before you go to bed you have to address their problems," he says. He is in his sparsely furnished office at ANC headquarters in Johannesburg's Sauer Street. Only minutes before he had been at another ANC office discussing with police officers the shooting of a white intruder by an ANC security guard the night before.

As Mr Mandela talks he displays a characteristic gesture: he presses his hands together as if in prayer.

"When people have relatives who have been killed you can't say please go to your local ANC branch or to your region. You have to try to help.

"When you see people dying every day, people who are bereaved and people who are suffering from shock, and then you discuss the question of the banning of dangerous weapons, assegais in particular, and the government says 'No, we are not going to ban these because they are cultural weapons', your attitude, of course, becomes one of outrage, one of revulsion."

It was this frustration, he says, which led to his organisation issuing its May 9 ultimatum which this week brought negotiations to the brink of collapse before six hours of talks with President De Klerk revived them.

The deputy president has survived the most difficult weeks of his life since his release from prison last year. On his flanks he is confronted by a rampant National Party and an embittered Inkatha. Within, battalions of his followers are impatient with what they see as his "softness" with the De Klerk administration.

Failed

Mr Mandela believes part of the problem is that Mr De Klerk and his colleagues, living in areas untouched by the violence, do not understand the atmosphere that exists in the townships, the deaths of relatives at the hands of gangs of killers.

"They are looking at the matter academically. That is why we have difficulty in convincing them that you can't allow the carrying of weapons of death which have been responsible for the killing of so many innocent people."

Last week, two of Mr Mandela's relatives were killed in the fighting. He does not mention it in the interview.

It was not just the government that had failed to get a sense of the terrible toll violence was exacting in black communities, charges Mr Mandela, the media and the white public at large were also unaware.

"You must understand that we live under different conditions. The whites live far away from the black areas. They live in areas which have all the modern facilities which guarantee security and safety. The places are sufficiently patrolled by the police.

"The attitude of the police is very positive towards white residents because they are their own flesh and blood.

ST Times 12/5/91.

MIKE ROBERTSON face to face with Nelson Mandela in the week that negotiations came closest to collapse



NELSON MANDELA ... 'It is not true to present the issue as black-on-black violence'
 Picture: COBUS BODENSTEIN

"With blacks the matter is totally different because it is there that this violence is raging, and when people leave work for the townships they don't know whether they will be able to reach their homes, whether they will be able to see their families. And even when they are at home they have no guarantee that they are safe."

Mr Mandela readily concedes that there are good policemen. But he insists that there are also many bad ones who are actively

engaged in weakening the ANC. "Areas are being attacked and people are being killed and injured ... the perception is that the police are doing nothing about it.

"It is only when members of Inkatha, when people from the hostels are being attacked that the police immediately open fire."

Despite his frustration over the government's failure to act to end violence, he does not question the integrity of Mr De Klerk. "Why

would I negotiate with a person if I did not believe in his integrity," he asks. Then there is the good "personal chemistry" between himself and Mr De Klerk. It helped a great deal this week.

"But one must understand that Mr De Klerk and myself are not the only players, even in regard to the National Party and the ANC. There are many players who are important and who are contributing positively and decisively to the progress that we are making.

"We are part of two great teams which are addressing these problems very seriously. That really is the correct way of looking at the matter. Not from the point of view of two individuals".

Did he feel that the National Party was growing arrogant in its success?

"We meet on equal terms and I have not noticed any arrogance when I have had discussions with them.

"We have had differences, at some times very heated ones, but their mood and temperament have been similar to the moods and temperaments of everybody who is involved in the discussions, including myself. I must confess that I have found no arrogance in situations in which I have been personally involved."

Despite the violence, Mr Mandela says he remains optimistic that a negotiated settlement can be achieved.

"I believe in the correctness of negotiations as a method of solving the problems. We, as the ANC, started these discussions and we are determined to see them succeed.

"But we now find ourselves in a crisis because we sent in a set of demands which are extremely important in order to end the violence and in order to save this process.

"We are in that process now and we are discussing with Mr De Klerk in order to make sure that these demands are addressed. I am optimistic that we will be able to save the peace process."

Support

He warns, however, that if "the government does not address the demands then there can be no doubt that the peace process will be derailed. They have to take this set of demands very seriously, because whether we are going to negotiate or not is going to depend on whether the government is able to address all these demands, not just part of them."

Did he have a message for the country?

"We would like all South Africans to support the process of negotiations and to make it difficult for those who want to destabilise. We appeal to all South Africans to make it difficult for people to revel in the spilling of blood of innocent people of this country.

"It is not true to present the issue as black-on-black violence. It is something totally different. And it is even less true to present it as a clash between the ANC and Inkatha. It is an attack by some members of Inkatha on innocent residents.

"That is what it is and the people of South Africa must resist such actions and make sure that the atmosphere is created for meaningful negotiations."

ANC, PAC for school bash

KEY ANC and PAC figures will share a platform in July when they return to their old school to celebrate its 150th anniversary. *CIP 12/5/91*

The ANC's Thabo Mbeki and PAC president Clarence Makwetu have been invited to speak at Lovedale College's celebrations, organising committee spokesperson, Herbert Lumphond-

wana, said. *(S) (IA)*

Lovedale College, one of the oldest schools in Southern Africa, was established by the United Church of Scotland in 1841. Former students include MK Commander Chris Hani, former Botswana president Sir Seretse Kama and King Sobhuza of Swaziland. - Ecna



**SIMON
BARBER'S
Washington
Diary** (11A)

IN a press statement issued last Monday, the ANC's US mission described Freek Swart, the Washington correspondent for Nasionale Pers, and myself as "pro-apartheid journalists".

I was initially tempted to dismiss this as a puerile jibe. Unfortunately, as the classical scholar Chris Hani will confirm, the word puerile is derived from the Latin word "puer" — which means boy. It could therefore open me to the additional charge of being sexist and perhaps ageist as well. Given the connotations of the word "boy" it might even be seen as strengthening the "pro-apartheid" allegation.

So let me propose a deal. I will be more careful in my choice of words and simply call the jibe silly. In return, the ANC must think through the implications of its vocabulary when it chooses slurs to throw at those who adduce evidence or offer analyses which do not portray the movement quite as it would wish.

FOR while I defend the right of the ANC's US representative, Lindiwe Mabuza, to call me whatever she pleases, her choice of epithet on this occasion raises questions as to whether the ANC will be as solicitous of my rights — and those of the press generally — if it takes power.

The Constitutional Guidelines for a Democratic South Africa issued by the ANC in August 1988 proclaim that "the advocacy or practice of racism, fascism, Nazism or the incitement of ethnic or regional exclusiveness or hatred shall be outlawed".

It is further stated that only those parties which "conform" to this provision "shall have the legal right to exist and have the right to take part in the political life of the country".

The ANC has at various times declared apartheid "racist", "fascist" and has regularly compared it to "Nazism". It follows that a

person accused of being "pro-apartheid" will, if the Guidelines are put into practice, be subject to criminal prosecution.

If found guilty, he or she stands to be silenced in much the same manner as the National Party has heretofore attempted to silence its opponents.

Nor can one be particularly optimistic about such a person receiving a fair trial. States which criminalise thought or belief have never shown much regard for the rule of law.

HANI's recent assertion that an ANC government would immediately release Winnie Mandela if she was convicted in her present trial — a trial she personally pleaded for — provides scant reassurance that the ANC, once in charge, will break the mould.

Now I will concede that Mabuza probably did not call me "pro-apartheid" with the Guidelines' implications in mind, and was therefore not suggesting that if she had the chance she would seek to have Swart and myself disenfranchised, banned, jailed, tortured or made to slip on a bar of soap. At least, not at this stage.

What she really meant was that, as journalists, we were insufficiently obse-

quious to the ANC. This is a view her colleagues seem to be taking of the press in general.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela has lately accused the media of creating a "smokescreen of propaganda" to destroy the organisation. His wife has branded journalists from London's Independent newspaper "security police spies".

The April 22 Sowetan quotes a senior ANC official, herself a journalist, calling a reporter "filth" because she did not like one of his articles. Hani has been puzzling audiences in this country by denouncing a mysterious Ken Owen at almost every opportunity.

Sadly, the ANC's American friends are doing little to discourage such intemperance. Indeed, at the recent hearing on South Africa, House Africa Subcommittee chairman, Mervyn Dymally helped show the way.

OUTRAGED that anyone might think that Archbishop Desmond Tutu had suggested that the time for sanctions had passed, the congressman insisted Tutu had been misquoted: all he had done was ask a "theoretical question" in reply to "a stupid question by an insipid reporter".

To be fair, one expects this sort of thing from the insecure, powerful and the frustrated ambitious. If the press doesn't fawn, why should they?

To call the authors of critical articles "pro-apartheid" takes things a stage further, however; it suggests a propensity to believe that anyone who isn't slavishly for the ANC is a racist yearning for a return to the viciousness of the past. That way lies trouble, even if the ANC's Guidelines are not adopted as the basis for South Africa's next constitution.

South Africa has enough problems to deal with without every political difference disintegrating into a savage dispute over who is a racist and who is not.

Breyten, you are misguided

S/Times 12/5/91

I FEEL sorry for you, brother. Your ideals and expectations have been dashed — after many years of prison, even more years of exile, and boundless effort on your part to make your vision for South Africa come true.

It all turned into dust, not enough to cover the palm of one hand.

We talked a lot about this, you and I, in Sedgefield. We are both disillusioned but I, thank God, have learned to look beyond selfish humanity and found the solution which has been staring us in the face for thousands of years.

You believe(d) in socialism, perhaps even flirted with Marxism — I don't know into which cubbyhole you parked your sympathies in the European situation. Nevertheless, it must have been a profound disappointment to see the socialist Utopias in eastern Europe and Russia crack apart leaving behind devastated economies, polluted environments and, worst of all, people with no souls.

Poverty

It must have been even worse to see Africa plunged into desperate poverty, internal violence, political instability where governments get shot out of power instead of being voted out of office, famine and disease, induced by joblessness and mismanagement on a catastrophic scale, and other ailments, in spite of the vast transfusions of liberalism so generously donated by humanistic donors, such as you and others, striving for a better deal for the black masses.

The "treacherous" thought that Africa was far better off under colonialism than its present rulers may even have surfaced in your mind as it did, not so "treacherously", in mine.

But worst of all has been the



Breyten Breytenbach three weeks ago wrote an open letter to Nelson Mandela. Here JAN BREYTENBACH, the poet's soldier brother, responds

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terrible scenes of violence unfolding in the townships. Blacks are killing other blacks — not the whites who are said to be the real "oppressors". The victims of apartheid are devouring each other in droves while the "oppressors" look on in amazement.

And let us face it; in the tremendous scope of this tragedy the Barend Strydoms are mere incidentals, still to be reckoned with but nevertheless much lower down in the scale of disasters.

What rankles the most is that the ANC is the major player in this scene of carnage, as you have been informed, no doubt, on numerous occasions by the media.

You cannot and, perhaps, do not want to believe that the ANC are not the good guys they are made out to be by their own public relations system, but that they are as "bad", if not worse than any of the other players. It upsets your perceptions of the oppressed versus the oppressors, the servant versus the master, the cowboys against the crooks.

Remember how we talked about the tortuous path of human history being littered by the wrecks of one political solution after another?

In the process regional powers, empires, world powers and even insignificant tin-pot chiefdoms were knocked down like skittles.

Even Western democracy is shot through with rottenness.

Perhaps you do not want to come to terms with the fact that the ANC is at least as bad as the worst among the rest of us and that, ultimately, the responsibility for this state of affairs must rest squarely on the shoulders of Nelson Mandela.

Thus your open letter to him.

But your approach was less than fair. You are like a hound biting the hell out of its handler while only making half-hearted attempts to go after the fox.

FW de Klerk and his government are accused of deliberately following a "scourged" earth policy; or is it a scorched earth policy? Your old friend, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has become an evil tool in the hands of government to divide the black masses in order to entrench the apartheid "regime".

You take wild swings at all and sundry around you, in your open letter, while popping off damp squibs at the ANC from time to time. All it does is to show up your frustrations and bitter disappointment and also that it colours your judgment while trying to unravel the complicated situation in our violent, black community.

Even Nelson Mandela is seen by you as a "saint", albeit a rather ineffective one who cannot get his "saintliness" to permeate through to the rank and file of the ANC.

Unfortunately he has allowed

the moral high ground to slip into the hands of FW de Klerk, a man who, in my opinion, seems to be more consistently "saintly" than Mandela.

At least De Klerk means what he says. His yes is definitely yes and his no can be construed as "maybe" but with Mandela one never knows from one day to the next.

Mandela is also seen, by you, as the strong leader needed in this present crisis, thus your call to him to step forward as the man of the moment, the man who can produce the initiatives to open doors to a just government as long as it is socialist.

But the hand that stretches out to turn the various door knobs is always the hand of De Klerk. Often, in his petulance, Mandela refuses to pass through these doors. He prefers, it seems to me, to break in through the windows.

Unfair

Because Buthelezi willingly and enthusiastically passes through those doors you, brother, are taking most unfair pot shots at him in the anger of your frustration. It would have been a different story, of course, if Nelson Mandela was the man to invite us all into his house. Buthelezi, if he had accepted, would then have been a valuable ally, a hero of the struggle, a much vaunted friend.

Mandela cannot invite us in because he is a leader with feet of clay. He is incapable of firmly leading the fractious lot, consisting of the communists and the ANC, to the negotiating table with the mantle of integrity and wisdom sitting easily on his shoulders.

□ Colonel Breytenbach, former Special Forces officer, was the founder of the controversial 32 Battalion.

WHEN, in February last year, FW de Klerk unbanned our organisations, he reserved some particular remarks for the SACP. He said, quite unabashedly, that with the collapse of socialism in Eastern Europe it was now safe to unban the Communist Party.

It was a backhanded compliment. It was an admission that, for four decades, the NP regime has felt incapable of sustaining an open political debate with our party.

Recent developments in Eastern Europe certainly now pose sharp challenges to anyone wanting to defend communism. And yet, even in these circumstances, the government and much of the commercial media in our country seem unwilling or incapable of engaging us in serious ideological debate. Instead, all the rusty old "traditional weapons" of the Cold War are still being brandished in public.

Whatever one's verdict on the content of his thoughts might be, Dr Gerrit Viljoen strikes me as a thoughtful politician. But when it comes to the SACP he, too, collapses into irrational outbursts.

Rebuilding

At the beginning of April, during his budget debate, Viljoen charged that the SACP "has never bound itself to the negotiations process in which the ANC is involved". That is simply untrue. And Viljoen knows it.

In the same speech, Viljoen said that the SACP "must throw off its mantle of secrecy". That's rich, coming as it does from the former head and an ongoing member of the Broederbond!

Unlike the Broederbond, our party (Dr Viljoen may remember?) was banned in 1950 and our thousands of members were persecuted. We are in the process of rebuilding an open, legal SACP and, by the time of our December congress, the SACP will be a whole party and nothing but. So how about the Broederbond?

In similar vein to Viljoen, the Sunday Times two weeks ago produced a list of alleged SACP members in prominent places in the ANC and Cosatu. We, the party, are supposed to have "placed" them there.

Many, if not all, of those named are indeed communists. They are where they are because they enjoy the respect and support of the organisations in which they are active.

Illusions

If there are communists in the leadership of fraternal organisations who do not merit being there, then that is a matter of embarrassment, not pride for our party.

We want a strong and broad-based (not red) ANC. We want to see a strong and independent Cosatu. Unlike others, we are not in the business of red head-counts.

Although the SACP is often the most immediate target of all these traditional Cold War weapons, we have no illusions that the main target is the ANC itself. Whenever the ANC takes a firm, principled stand, you can be sure a communist witch-hunt is in the offing.

This happened most recently with the ANC/NEC ultimatum to De Klerk. The issue was the appalling violence, and the gov-

Guilty, but only in the search for democracy

JEREMY CRONIN, SACP central committee member, responds to claims that his organisation dominates the ANC and Cosatu



ernment's unwillingness, at best, to take decisive action to end it. This was the point of the open letter.

But instead of addressing the question of violence and the government's complicity, most of the media focused on what was supposed to be a hawk and doves struggle inside the ANC leadership. Very quickly the "hawks", of course, were categorised as reds.

While people were dying in the townships there was very little to find amusing in all of this — except, perhaps, that every single "dove" named in the various speculations has, at one time or another, also been "revealed" as a communist on the ANC/NEC!

The SACP is not a conspiracy. We are an independent party in an alliance with the ANC. We have no strategic differences with the ANC in regard to short and medium-term objectives. If, however, tactical differences on immediate issues arise, we raise these formally within the structures of our tripartite alliance.

Together with the ANC and Cosatu, we see the transformation of our country into a unitary, non-racial, multi-party democracy as the immediate objective. We see such a democracy as the context in which the massive social, cultural and economic inequalities of our country can be progressively addressed.

In common with many, but certainly not all, ANC members and supporters we see these national tasks in the longer term being best defended and deepened by a democratic transition to socialism. By socialism we understand an increasing public (not bureaucratic) ownership and control over the commanding economic heights.

But how do we even begin to defend these longer term socialist perspectives in the world of the 90s?

Let me sketch out some points of reference:

● The lesson of Eastern Europe is not that socialism does not work, but that it stagnates and collapses in the absence of full-blown democracy.

It is true that existing socialism (which has not been without its heroic achievements) is now in deep crisis. But what about capitalism?

● In 1989, the year that the world media focused on the popular uprisings in Eastern Europe, 40-million people died of hunger, more or less unnoticed. They died in that great gulag in which the majority of the world's population is trapped — the Third World: Africa, Latin America, Asia.

Whatever the real or nominal political orientations of the different countries of the Third World might be, all are ensnared in a world order dominated by capitalism.

Connection

More now than a decade ago, this is a world according to the IMF, the Pentagon and several hundred transnational corporations. It is a world order in which enormous wealth is concentrated, somewhat unevenly, in three centres — Western Europe, the Pacific Rim and North America — while most of the world spirals further into poverty and crisis.

This is global apartheid. Capitalism, now five centuries old, has no answer to this global crisis. In fact, it lies at the very root of the problem.

● This global reality is powerfully concentrated within our own borders. Here the distance between the First and the Third worlds is the distance between Houghton and Soweto, Sandton and Alexandra.

In our country this short distance profoundly underlines the exploitative connection between this wealth and this poverty.

No wonder that, according to a recent poll, some 70 percent of urban Africans in our country favour socialism.

The SACP is not a conspiracy. But we do plead guilty to being actively engaged in the struggle for a democratic South Africa, free of political intolerance.

Intolerance including a narrow, knee-jerk, red-baiting chauvinism.

Dissent rises in ANC over balloting for new leaders

S1 Times 12/5/91.

11A

DISSATISFACTION is growing among ANC members over what are regarded as undemocratic procedures to elect a new leadership at the organisation's national conference in July.

The historic national conference, the ANC's first in 31 years, will take place in Durban from July 3-6 and will be attended by 2 000 delegates.

The conference will decide on 23 policy issues, including negotiations, violence, the economy, land reforms and education. The climax will be the election of a new National Executive Committee.

Ban

ANC members say the status of the delegates poses a serious problem. The organisation's draft constitution bans canvassing for candidates or lists of candidates and says delegates cannot be given a mandate for whom to vote.

Members say the ban is unacceptable as regional delegates will be mandated by their regions and will not be there as individuals.

Conference organiser Josiah Jele this week defended the ban on block voting. He said a block mentality was dangerous and could result in a stalemate if delegates decided not to budge from mandated positions.

He said delegates were individuals who could be persuaded by argument at the conference, and they should not promote regional interests.

The interim constitution also says the existing NEC can select 10 percent of the voting delegates to the conference. They might, for example, invite people who have made "outstanding contributions to the struggle".

The ANC's PWV region, in a resolution this month, said they had a problem with this as they believed

By EDYTH BULBRING

all delegates should be elected and not appointed.

However, Mr Jele said the "guests" could be given non-voting status if there was strong motivation from elected delegates.

He added that the conference committee would consider recommendations from the regions and it would not be the privilege of the NEC to handpick special delegates.

Another contentious issue contained in the draft constitution is the NEC's status in the voting for a new NEC.

The draft constitution says only those candidates who have been proposed by three or more regions will appear on the national conference ballot paper. The outgoing NEC will be considered a region for this purpose.

This is strongly opposed by the PWV region, which does not believe the NEC should have any special status as a region.

Reflect

However, Mr Jele said the purpose of this proviso was not to constitute the NEC as a block — it was an attempt to contribute the NEC's intimate experience of the candidates to the conference.

The new NEC will consist of 75 elected members, 15 regional chairmen, 17 Women's League regional representatives, two Youth League officials, the president, deputy president, treasurer and secretary-general.

The NEC will be able to co-opt another 15 members. Mr Jele said this would reflect the multi-national character of the ANC.

He emphasised that the draft constitution needed to be endorsed at the national conference and delegates could make amendments if there were problems.

ANC'S new generation set to rise

CIPRES 1215791

FW de Klerk ... can he be trusted?



UDF, Cosatu leaders likely to get the nod



IN Taking over reins ... Nelson Mandela will formally take over the hot seat of the ANC.



OUT Wracked by ill health ... Oliver Tambo is expected to step down as president of the ANC.

Four times larger NEC is planned

A DRAFT ANC constitution makes the NEC four times larger than it is now. The draft, still to be endorsed at the July conference, provides for 128 members and a 26-member inner-cabinet, the National Working Committee (NWC). In terms of the draft the four top leaders - president, deputy president, secretary general and treasurer - will be elected at the conference, along with 75 NEC members. Draft changes could, however, see a fifth leader elected to office, the deputy secretary general. The proposed NEC will in-

clude another 49 members: ■ The regionally elected chairpersons of the ANC's 15 regions; ■ 15 ANC Women's League (ANCWL) regional chairpersons; ■ ANCWL president and secretary; ■ ANC Youth League president and secretary; ■ 15 "co-opted" members, to provide a balanced representation of South Africa's people". The draft constitution brings regional leaders into the NEC for the first time, but some activists are arguing for a still stronger regional representation. They argue against accepting

the draft, saying there should be only 60 NEC members. This would give regional representatives the power to dominate ANC decision-making. Even if there is a compromise on NEC numbers the survival of the current exile-dominated leadership will still be under threat. A smaller NEC, some argue, will ensure "real" participation, impossible in a 120-member committee. Other draft proposals include: ■ Giving women a 30 percent NEC representation, a proposal accepted at last week's ANC Women's League conference.

Some ANC activists argue that allocation of "women's seats" to the ANCWL would be "tokenism". They say a flat 30 percent will promote election of women to regional seats and ensure women real NWC representation. ■ Scrapping co-opted membership of the NEC. ANC officials say the 15 co-opted places have been created to guarantee regional minority representation. Middle-level activists argue, however, that non-racialism in the ANC cannot be imposed from above through co-option, but only through election from below.

ultimatum - the ANC leadership had changed and had swung almost completely behind the "hawk" position. For the ANC, further concessions - such as participation in the May 25 government-organised conference on violence, and Mandela

joining with with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and De Klerk to address violence - are at the moment not acceptable. The new-look NEC will also weaken the influence of individuals on policy making. This makes elections to the four top posts of presi-

dent, deputy president, secretary-general and treasurer less simple. There are also demands that the deputy secretary-general - which used to be a largely bureaucratic post - be elected from the conference floor, making it a more popular vote.

Current secretary-general Alfred Nzo will definitely struggle to hang on to his post. So will current treasurer Thomas Nkobi. Nzo has few supporters, mainly because he has exposed his poor administrative and leadership skills, especially when he had to

CIPRES 1215791

11A

THE DOVES



Cannot keep time ... Thabo Mbeki



In line for top job ... Jacob Zuma



Not much chance ... Aziz Pahad

CP Correspondent (11A)

WHO will remain in the leadership of the ANC and who will be voted out?

These are questions being asked as the liberation movement prepares for its first full national conference inside the country in 33 years - to be held in Durban, which hosted the ANC's last legal conference in 1958.

Only one thing is certain - that Nelson Mandela will replace an ailing Oliver Tambo as president.

Organising for leadership positions is still in its early stages, but a new generation is expected to replace many of the ageing former exiles.

The rising anger and impatience among the ANC membership will probably lead to the election of leaders from the UDF and Cosatu - who will take a harder line in negotiations.

Many ANC members have been deeply suspicious of the leadership's handling of negotiations, though negotiations are now less friendly than before.

Changes to the ANC constitution will also toughen the ANC stand on negotiations.

A draft constitution now being debated will make the NEC bigger. The new NEC will have 128 members, four times more than before.

The majority will be elected by delegates at the conference floor or drawn from the ANC's regional executives.

This would end the dominance in the NEC of the "Youth League generation" of the 1950s and weaken the influence of a small group of former exiles in negotiations.

The draft constitution is likely to be changed before it is accepted by the conference. These changes are, however, expected to strengthen grassroots influence on the NEC and the National Working Committee (NWC), a 26-person "inner-cabinet" elected by the NEC to control the ANC's day-to-day activities.

The conference also hopes to improve the public image of the ANC as a unified organisation - which Nelson Mandela has not been able to do.

Over the past six months open quarrels between individuals within the ANC - identified as "hawks" and "doves" - have plagued the organisation.

It has been said that "hawks" reject negotiations, while the "doves" support them. But the supposed "hawks" - Chris Hani, Joe Slovo, Mac Maharaj, Pallo Jordan and Ronnie Kasrils - have publicly supported negotiations.

"Hawks" are also described as supporters of communism, but all three of the most prominent "doves" - Thabo Mbeki, Jacob Zuma and Aziz Pahad - are SACP members.

The most accurate description of a "hawk" is probably one who mistrusts President FW de Klerk's government.

When the ANC agreed on January 9 to an all-party congress in which a post-apartheid constitution would be drawn up, it believed that De Klerk was trustworthy and could be enticed to democracy by concessions.

By May 9 - the ANC's recent

CIP no 125191 (11A)

stand in as acting president after Tambo's stroke in 1989.

He is also blamed for the administrative mess the ANC has been in for the past 15 months.

Nkobi will face only a little less hostility from exile delegates.

Although he has been credited with keeping the ANC free of the corruption that plagued other liberation movements in exile, Nkobi's harsh financial controls have made him unpopular.

Nzo's deputy, Henry Makgoti, will also struggle to keep his post.

A small, quiet figure sometimes seen in the corridors of the ANC head office, Makgoti is hardly known.

Four of the five top posts are likely to change hands.

Who gets voted in depends on the candidate's political ideas, age, tribe and where he comes from, but the secretary-general's post in particular needs a person who can keep together the many influences that make up the ANC.

The most likely local candidate is former UDF secretary general Popo Molefe, although assistant Cosatu general secretary Sydney Mufamadi and Eastern Cape ANC leader Arnold Stofile are also favourites.

So too are exiles Jacob Zuma, head of ANC intelligence and now chairman of the southern Natal region, Chris Hani and information director Pallo Jordan.

But Molefe is planning a year's break and may not be available, while changes in Cosatu leadership could exclude Mufamadi.

However, no single candidate seems to have all the right qualities.

Many within the ANC would like to see Walter Sisulu take up the post he first held in 1949, but at 79, Sisulu wants to get out of the spotlight and make way for the next generation. He is, however, one of the few senior officials with the necessary stature and muscle.

Since Buthelezi accused the ANC of being run by Xhosas, the ANC has been keen to disprove this, making Zuma and Natal Midlands head Harry Gwala contenders for senior posts.

Zuma - still a young man - may even be elected deputy president.

Several of Thabo Mbeki's supporters have been backing him for the job of treasurer, but he is well-known for his lack of attention to detail and inability to keep time, making him a bad choice for a job that needs the skills of a book-keeper.

Both Zuma and Mbeki have, in addition, been harmed by backing the highly unpopular negotiating compromises of the past year.

Ronnie Kasrils has also been named as a candidate for deputy secretary-general. He is very popular, especially since he was refused indemnity for nine months and would not be silenced by that.

NEC member Aziz Pahad will probably also run for the post, but does not stand much chance because he has supported negotiation compromises.

All the contenders - except Pahad - are likely to find places on the NWC, which will run the ANC between the NEC's quarterly meetings.

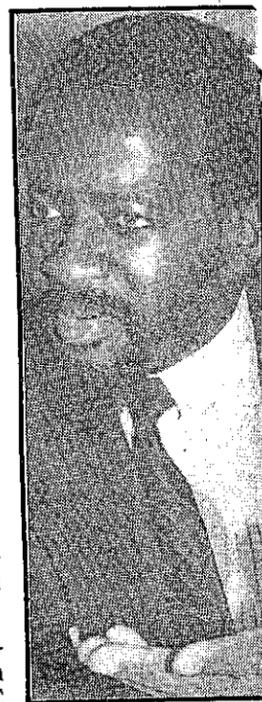
THE HAWKS



Popular choice ... Ronnie Kasrils



SA Communist Party boss Joe Slovo



In the running ... Pallo Jordan

ANC Lusaka office closes

11A
CIP 12/15/91
THE ANC officially closed its Zambian head office in Lusaka this week.

A historic chapter of the ANC's liberation struggle came quietly to a close when Tom Sebina, the last remaining senior official at the office, ended his shift on Tuesday.

Sebina's was the only office open for ANC business in what used to be the organisation's bustling headquarters.

The ANC will however keep open a small office in the Zambian capital's heavy industrial area.

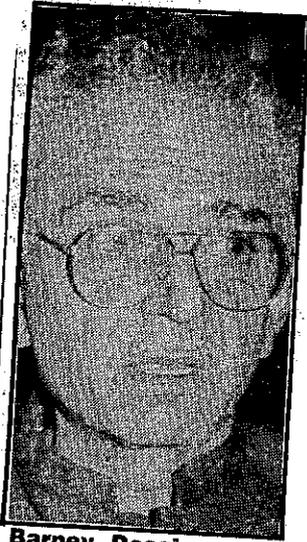
Sebina - head of the ANC's Zambian information office since it transferred its headquarters to Johannesburg last year - said he expected to "return home by the end of May".

The ANC moved its headquarters from Tanzania to Zambia in 1976. - ANO

Patriotic front nearer 118

By SEKOLA SELLO

CP/10/12/5/91



Barney Desai ... attended talks.

TALKS between the PAC and Azapo in Soweto this week took the planned patriotic front another step nearer realisation.

This was the feeling of most delegates who attended the one-day meeting at the Lutheran Diocesan Centre in Central Western Jabavu.

According to sources, even definitions of words like "black" and "African" threatened to lead to deadlock. Azapo, it is said, did not take kindly to being excluded from the Harare talks between the ANC and the PAC, where the issue of the front was given concrete form.

After eight hours of hard bargaining both parties emerged from the meeting having broadly agreed on the need for

the establishment of a front.

A liaison committee made up of members of the two parties was established to "afford both organisations the opportunity to consolidate bilateral decisions".

The two parties decided to meet again outside South Africa - probably in Harare - so that the external leadership of the PAC can attend the talks.

Azapo is meeting the ANC next week at a venue still to be decided, while the PAC is hoping to hold talks with Inkatha soon.

PAC spokesman Barney Desai says the other parties hope to persuade Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi that a constituent assembly is the "only democratic way" towards establishing a democratic, non-racial South Africa.

Guard tried not to shoot — ANC

By THEMBA KHUMALO

AN ANC security guard who shot dead a white intruder this week intended to apprehend rather than kill him, highly placed sources within the organisation claim.

The intruder, allegedly wearing a South African Communist Party T-shirt, died from a bullet wound after the guard confronted him in the ANC's Johannesburg office on Friday morning.

It is alleged the intruder was caught "red-handed" in the computer room. It is also alleged a tape recorder was found in his possession.

According to ANC information chief Pallo Jordan the security guard chased the intruder down eight flights of stairs.

Jordan said the intruder was shot dead only on the ground floor and after he had ignored repeated warnings to stop.

Eight hours later his body was still lying in a pool of blood while Police conducted an investigation. *CIP ref 121579*

His body was finally removed from the ANC premises by government mortuary employees.

Jordan said the burglary was the second at the offices in a week.

In the first burglary two computers containing sensitive information were stolen.

Among the ANC leaders at the scene after the shooting were deputy president Nelson Mandela, spokesman Gill Marcus and legal expert Penuell Maduna.

11A



The violence that sets our worlds apart

**NELSON MANDELA TALKS
EXCLUSIVELY TO THE
SUNDAY TIMES: PAGE 21**

Talks still survive on the tip of an assegai

STimes 12/5/91

THE SUNDAY MORNING ASSESSMENT
By Mike Robertson
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

THE ANC's May 9 ultimatum has come and gone and negotiations are still on track. That is if President FW de Klerk can this week persuade Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha to accept a ban on the carrying of spears at political rallies.

The challenge facing Mr De Klerk will not have been made any easier following a weekend decision by Zulu chiefs to "never compromise" on the carrying of traditional weapons.

Government spokesmen said this week's talks with Chief Buthelezi "necessarily demanded fairly tough talking". An official insisted that no one was trying to defend the carrying of spears except on genuine cultural occasions.

But it is finding a definition of "cultural occasion" that is now absorbing energies on all sides. The ANC's National Executive Committee meets

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But it is finding a definition of "cultural occasion" that is now absorbing energies on all sides.

The ANC's National Executive Committee meets soon to discuss progress made on its ultimatum. Further talks between De Klerk, Buthelezi and Mandela are also scheduled.

Speaking to the Sunday Times the day after the expiry of the May 9 ultimatum, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela said that in this week's talks he found the government's response to the organisation's demands "very encouraging".

The ANC, he said, was continuing to talk to the government but would halt talks immediately unless a ban on the carrying of spears was implemented within seven days.

Cabinet ministers declined to comment on this, but a government spokesman said that, as far as it was concerned, no deadline had been set. It was, however, agreed that the matter would have to be dealt with urgently.

Mr Mandela said the talks with Mr De Klerk had focused on the banning of so-called cultural weapons, the conduct of police and the phasing out of hostels.

Crucial

A "bit of progress" had been made on the carrying of cultural weapons in that "the government has come out with a long list of dangerous weapons, the carrying of which in public has been banned".

The length of the list only became apparent on Friday night when Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok gazetted the measures: it included a prohibition on pangas, daggers, swords, pointed sticks, stones, crossbows, pick handles, pitchforks, spades, sickles, spanners, screwdrivers, hoes, tubes and tyres.

But, observed Mr Mandela, the crucial item was still missing: assegais.

"The government feels that these are cultural weapons which must be excluded from the banned list. We don't agree.

"We are saying that for whatever reason weapons of death are carried, they must be banned and spears in this particular case have become one of the most dangerous weapons of death.

"There is no reason why the government should allow the carrying of assegais and sticks when going to political rallies. We understand very clearly that people are entitled to carry them on cultural occasions but political rallies are not cultural occasions."

On the other two issues, he said, the government and the ANC were now in agreement.

"The government has agreed to phase out the hostels and to transform them into family units, but they argue that there are also single migrants who have to be accommodated and we have accepted that."

In future the local communities would be consulted about the development of the hostels.

It was also quite clear, he said, that the govern-

□ To Page 2

Talks still on track

□ From Page 1 (11A)

ment had responded positively to the ANC's insistence that the police observe "the same conduct of action in dealing with black crowds as they do with whites. The use of live ammunition when dealing with unarmed and defenceless people is completely unacceptable and the government has accepted this".

Mr Mandela said that even if government this week announced a ban on the carrying of spears, the ANC would not attend the May 24-25 summit on violence.

The reason for this was that the summit had been called unilaterally by Mr De Klerk. "We have warned them in the past that if you want to involve us then you must discuss the project with us first and foremost ... In so far as the attempt to normalise the situation in the country we are equal partners ... Mr De Klerk, of course, did phone me before he announced the idea. But that was not to consult me, but to tell me what they have decided."

The question of the May violence summit will also be on the agenda of the NEC tomorrow — and it is

not clear whether the decision not to attend is cast in stone.

Joe Slovo, who was invited to the summit by Mr De Klerk in his capacity as general secretary of the South African Communist Party, said he did not want to express an opinion on whether he would be attending until the matter had been discussed by the ANC, SACP and Cosatu tomorrow.

Mr Mandela stressed that the ANC would only continue talking to the government if there continued to be evidence that Mr De Klerk was "addressing" the rest of its demands.

But other senior ANC members indicated that the organisation was by and large satisfied with Mr De Klerk's response to the remaining demands.

While the "nitty-gritty" needed to be sorted out, the ANC thought he had shown good intentions.

Mr Mandela, in public, is insistent that the call for the dismissal of Law and Order Minister Vlok and Defence Minister Magnus Malan remains. Other senior members have conceded, in private, that the organisation accepts that it is politically impossible for Mr De Klerk to accept this demand.

But perhaps the most important indicator to come from the ANC this week was a document issued on Tuesday.

Whereas before the ANC listed its "demands", in the new document they merely "pledged" to work for a resolution of the problems. Mr Vlok and Gen Malan were not even mentioned.

Dhlomo's appeal on negotiations

IT is high time that political parties in South Africa realise that most of their problems can be solved by accelerating, not delaying, the process of negotiations, said Dr Oscar Dhlomo this week.

The executive director of the recently formed Institute for Multi-Party Democracy was commenting on the ANC ultimatum to the government and the recent talks surrounding it. "It appears to me that the major problem facing extra-parliamentary groups, like the ANC, is that they are not part of any legislative or executive process at this time.

"This means they are still powerless to influence policy direction, even on issues that involve and influence them. Many of the tensions we see arise out of this.

Urged

The sooner parties get heavily involved in negotiations, the sooner we will have a fully representational and democratic government, and the sooner extra-parliamentary groups will have the power to direct.

"At the moment they are shouting from outside," he said.

The former Inkatha sec-

By RYAN CRESSWELL

retary general urged political leaders not to avoid meetings and conferences aimed at ending the violence in the country.

"We need to encourage political leaders to associate themselves with these meetings."

Dr Dhlomo also called on grassroots supporters to stop the fighting.

"We can't deny apartheid has done grave harm to our people, but it doesn't help to blame every problem on it."

He also added that he was concerned by the government's slow reaction on calls to investigate a third force because it "weakened their stand on law enforcement".

National civic body is born

ST Times 1215191

Sunday Times Reporters

THE foundation of a new national civic organisation was laid at a consultative conference for civic bodies in Bloemfontein this week-end.

The conference was hosted by the United Democratic Front.

UDF treasurer, Azhar Cachalia, said yesterday it was hoped that a new national body, which might be called the South African National Civic Association, would be launched in July, prior to the official disbanding of the UDF on August 20.

The disbanding of the UDF had created a need for a national co-ordinating body that would enable local civic associations to network, he added.

Mr Cachalia said the concept had been mooted before the UDF's March decision to disband.

It was envisaged that a national organisation

would be non-partisan and focus on community issues.

The UDF actively encouraged the formation of such an organisation in the belief that a vibrant civic society was crucial, he said.

Representatives from the ANC, Azapo, the PAC, the SACP, Cosatu and Nactu attended the two-

day conference.

The conference was expected to discuss a Civics Charter and initial steps towards a constitution. Papers would also be delivered on the political situation, local government, civil society and violence.

A UDF press statement said civic associations had increasingly indicated that they did not see their role as party-political although

they clearly had a political role to play in the transitional period where local government was of key importance.

"Given the disparities between regions and the differing municipal and provincial governments that civics have to contend with, the necessity to co-ordinate responses is apparent," it added.

The statement said civic

associations had identified the improvement of the quality of life of communities as a prime objective.

The statement concluded that organisers did not see themselves as shaping national and constitutional policy, but they demanded that the present and future government be sensitive to the needs of the people.

Meanwhile, the troubled Civic Associations of South Africa suffered another setback this week when its assistant general secretary, Cas Coovadia, resigned.

Mr Coovadia said he had stepped down because his participation in the newly-formed Central Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber had been opposed by some elements within Cast.

Public

Mr Coovadia and another leading member of the Soweto People's delegation and leader of the National Union of Mineworkers, Cyril Ramaphosa, came under fire for attending the launch of the chamber without the full approval of Cast affiliates.

Mr Coovadia said: "The executive chose to go public on its view of the chamber on the day the new body sat.

"Instead, they should have had discussions with members," he added.

CT 13/5/91

Reluctance over ban considered

JOHANNESBURG.
Zulus were reluctant to surrender "cultural weapons" and their sensitivity about this should be considered, Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok said in Soweto on Saturday.

"It is better to negotiate than to use force to solve the weapons crisis."

"It is not the SAP who propagate the carrying of cultural weapons, but we must take into consideration the sensitivity of the Zulus when taking the weapons," Mr Vlok said.

Zulu chiefs, in a strongly worded statement issued by the IFP on Friday, vowed they would "never" compromise on the issue.

Mr Vlok said security action alone could not solve the root problem of the unrest, which he described as volatile.

Other actions were needed and all leaders should come together and act collectively against violence. — Sapa

Dr Allan Boesak



(11A)

magus 13/5/91

Boesak set to return from the wilderness

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

DR Allan Boesak's spell in the political wilderness is about to end at the initiative of African National Congress deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela and the movement's internal chairman Mr Walter Sisulu.

Dr Boesak met ANC national executive members at separate meetings in Johannesburg on April 8 at the request of Mr Mandela.

As a direct result, Dr Boesak will accompany Mr Mandela when he tours the Western Cape soon.

Dr Boesak is also likely to meet the Western Cape leadership of the ANC to discuss his return and misunderstandings which have apparently strained the relationship between him and some members of the regional executive.

Dr Boesak could not be reached for comment early today.

But it is understood from sources close to him that Mr Mandela and Mr Sisulu asked the former World Alliance of Reformed Churches president to return.

A source said: "They want Allan to draw support for the ANC from coloured, Indians and white people because he is an international leader."

In his heyday Dr Boesak was the one of the most articulate and charismatic anti-apartheid leaders.

But his career plunged last year following reports of his relationship with television personality Ms Elna Botha, disclosures which led his wife, Mrs Dorothy Boesak, to divorce him. He has since married Ms Botha.

He resigned as moderator of the Ned Geref Sendingkerk and as president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches.

The life and times of Nomzamo

NOMZAMO Winnie Mandela was born in 1934 in the rural vil-
lage of Bizana in the Transkei.

- 1955 qualified with a diploma in social work from the Jan Hofmeyer School of Social Science as the first black social worker in South Africa.
- Worked as a social worker at Baragwanath Hospital, Soweto and for the Child Welfare Society.
- 1958 Married Nelson Mandela.
- 1962 Nelson Mandela arrested.
- 1962, 1975 Banned from making public appearances and utterances under the Suppression of Communism Act.
- 1965 Had to stop working for Child Welfare Society as she was confined to the Soweto suburb of Orlando West in terms of banning order. Survived on odd jobs for the next 12 years.
- 1967 Twice charged with contravening banning order.
- 1969 Detained under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act and held in solitary confinement for 17 months.
- 1970 Placed under house arrest. Charged several times with breaking banning order.
- 1976 August to December, detained under preventive detention clause of Internal Security Act.
- 1977 Banished to exile in Brandfort in the Free State. Forbidden from leaving her home at night and was not allowed to communicate with more than one person at a time.
- 1982 Served with new banning order.
- 1986 Returned to her Soweto home in defiance of banning order.
- 1990 Charged with kidnapping and assault.
- 1990 Named head of ANC's Social Welfare department.
- 1991 February — trial on charges of kidnapping and assault begins in Rand Supreme Court.
- 1991 April — Lost secret vote for president of African National Congress Women's League. — Sapa.

PAC and Inkatha youth to meet

Own Correspondent

UMTATA. — The PAC-aligned Pan Africanist Student Organisation (Paso) plans to meet the Inkatha Youth Brigade for the first time with a view to ending the violence in the townships.

The national general secretary of Paso, Mr Lawrence Nqandela, said it

was resolved last week, at a meeting at the University of Fort Hare, to meet the youth wing and other student organisations countrywide.

Common strategies would be explored in resolving the violence, he said.

The meeting reaffirmed the need to forge a united front with other student organisations.

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ians of the accused to remain.
The hearing continues.

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New civic organisation welcomed

Political Staff

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star 1415791.
civic structures could make a significant contribution to the establishment and protection of democratic practices and principles in the country.

The Johannesburg-based Five Freedoms Forum (FFF) yesterday welcomed the announcement at the weekend of the launch of a national civic structure following the disbanding of the United Democratic Front (UDF).

FFF publicity secretary Hanlie van Dyk said in a statement that her organisation believed the newly-created organisation and other

"A strong civic society, operating independently but not necessarily in conflict with existing political parties and movements, could afford the opportunity for a broad range of citizens to participate in a more meaningful way in the transition process," Ms van Dyk said.

...to his colleagues, but received no response...
...the police criminal record centre in Vereeniging said he

PAC, Azapo hold talks, reject sanctions let-up

By Kaizer Nyatsumba
Political Staff

Azapo and the PAC would vigorously oppose any changes to the sports and cultural boycott, the organisations' respective publicity secretaries, Barney Desai and Strini Moodley, announced after a recent joint meeting held in Soweto.

The meeting was the first of its kind between the two organisations.

A joint statement read:

- Sanctions had to be maintained until a democratic government had been established.
- Political prisoners had to be released and exiles allowed to return home unconditionally.
- A national code of conduct should be adopted by all parties in the liberation movement and meetings should be held to deal with the question of violence.

The two organisations reaffirmed their commitment to a patriotic front of the liberation movements. They further rejected both a multiparty conference and the ANC-proposed interim government.

Those, like the Inkatha Freedom Party, which opposed a constituent assembly had disqualified themselves from the patriotic front.

However, Mr Desai said the PAC would soon hold talks with the IFP in the hope that Inkatha would help to work towards a constituent assembly.

A COUPLE of weeks back in this space, I noted the echoes between the Sandinistas' 1977 "military-political platform" and the course the ANC/SACP alliance, or elements therein, now appear to be pursuing, as laid out in publications ranging from Mayibuye and Umsebenzi to such pamphlets as Advance to National Democracy, For the Sake of Our Lives and the SACP's recently reissued Path to Power.

My intention was not to indicate any direct relationship between the Sandinistas and the ANC/SACP, but rather to highlight the quite extraordinary similarities in their respective, self-described approaches to achieving power. My thought was that if the Sandinistas used front politics for avowedly revolutionary purposes — to cite but one example — the same might apply to the ANC/SACP's front-building programme.

If nothing else, the analogy at least gives one pause to wonder whether a small but disciplined vanguard might once again be using the moderate rhetoric of pluralism and a mixed economy to create a broad, unwitting alliance which it can then ride into power. Might not the machinations of this vanguard have something to do with the violence that keeps threatening to destroy negotiations and that is being used to discredit government and its security forces so that other armed groups may occupy the field?

I don't pretend to know the answer. I do know, however, that such questions are nowadays seen as rude, silly and perhaps even reckless. Good reasons all, it would seem to me, for asking them.

At the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace the other day, MK chief Chris Hani remarked that far from being weakened by the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe, his socialist convictions were now more robust than ever. At first blush, this was a fatuous thing to say, especially to an audience which included State Department, White House and Pentagon officials, congressional staff and just about every academic Africanist in Washington. However, chiefly because it was so

It is naive to think we have reached the end of history

B104 14/5/91.

SIMON BARBER in Washington

(11A)

fatuous, it may really have been quite clever.

Anybody who would admit, wholeheartedly, to being a communist in front of such a crowd — and in 1991, no less — could hardly fail to be thought honest. Thus, far from damaging his credibility, Hani in fact enhanced it. How, in light of his straightforwardness and his great personal charm, could he be accused of having a hidden agenda, or, more specifically, of lying about the SACP's commitment to pluralism and market economics? Only an unreconstructed cold warrior could quibble, and who, in absence of a cold war, wants to be considered one of those, much less be deemed a racist?

Add to this another irony. Hani established his bona fides by declaring his convictions, yet at the same time, few in the room took those convictions seriously. To be a communist these days is simply not what it was five years ago. It is, in most eyes, to be on the losing side of history and therefore to pose no significant threat. Thus, the logic runs, Hani can call himself what he likes, and even believe in it passionately, but if and when he takes power — and he is regarded here as a real comer — he will be bound by the same imperatives that are obliging the rest of Africa to democratise and open their economies.

As for the manner in which he and his colleagues take power, assuming they do, it is deemed inconceivable



□ HANI

that they will do so through other than recognisably democratic means, however rough the ride may be between here and there.

Insurrectional strategies are no longer considered plausible now that the Soviet Union and other outside arms suppliers and trainers have faded from the scene.

Revolution has ceased to have the requisite fountainhead. Implicit in this is the largely unexamined assumption that revolutionary movements cannot function without Soviet or East bloc backing, both

material and political.

American policymakers, and their Western brethren generally, have never been able to accept the possibility of purely endogenous Marxist revolution in the Third World. For some reason, the natives have not been judged smart or capable enough to pull it off on their own (one reason nobody in Washington expected what happened in Iran). Now that they are on their own, it follows, we can all stop worrying.

I will pay Hani and the party the compliment of continuing to worry, knowing full well that such respect will cause me to be branded a reactionary. They have already done an excellent job of taking control of the ANC's principal nerve centres to the point where they cannot be rooted out without, one, undermining or radicalising (or both) government's principal negotiating partner and, two, causing government to haemorrhage what tenuous international support President F W de Klerk has thus far managed to accrue.

Since we are not allowed to believe in, much less fear, communists any more, the rest of the world will take a dim view if Pretoria, having long defended the indefensible by appealing to the red menace, suddenly finds itself confronted with serious subversion and decides, for want of any other responsible choice, to react with force. It would not surprise me in the least if Hani had been using his visit here to prime the soli-

arity networks for just such an eventuality.

Perverse as it may sound, with communism discredited the world over, SA's communists may have never had it so good. They scarcely have to conceal themselves or their plans. Nice people say their literature cannot be taken literally, and that their leaders are only adopting a radical pose to mollify their constituencies. The government is bound by the necessity to keep negotiations "on track". It may also suffer from what might be called the hubris of infiltration. The private sector meanwhile takes heart in the notion that since the show can't go on without it, no one will try to dispossess it.

Francis Fukuyama set America's establishment hive abuzz two years ago with an article entitled The End of History. Stripped to its essentials, his argument was that the great ideological clash between Marxism and liberal capitalism was over. The latter had won, once and for all, and would henceforth be the dull but efficient basis upon which the human race ordered itself.

Fukuyama wrote the piece after heading the State Department's policy planning unit — a sort of in-house think-tank — during the final years of the Reagan administration. Now with the RAND Corp (the name derives from R & D, lest there be some confusion), he recently visited SA for the first time. Prepared neither by his reading of the Western Press nor, evidently, by the materials that would have been available to him in his old job, he found so much history that he is in the process of revising his thesis.

The vitality of the Marxist project in SA was not the only thing that surprised him. He was if anything even more intrigued by the extent to which liberal intellectuals and businessmen seemed relatively unbothered by it.

Perhaps this is because they believe that in the end, and just like the Sandinistas who were ultimately deposed (if not entirely) by democratic elections, the project will fail. They may be right.

The question is how much havoc will be wrought before they are vindicated, and whether, as the havoc mounts, they will stick around long enough for vindication.

Security forces 'not enemies of the people'

THE ANC yesterday extended a hand of friendship to policemen and soldiers.

An ANC statement assured security force members they were not "enemies of the people" and urged them to earn their place in the security forces of the future.

The statement said the security forces had been told that the ANC was the enemy which had to be ruthlessly suppressed, but that time had passed. "Let us look forward to the future and create a better country for all our people," it said.

The statement also reflected an optimistic view of negotiations and said "there is no going back.

Byday 14/5/79

TIM COHEN

"Soon negotiations about a democratic constitution and the most suitable path to this goal will start," it said, telling security force members that they could contribute decisively to national progress.

An ANC spokesman yesterday described the statement as a "serious policy clarification" which had arisen because of inquiries the organisation had received from security force members concerned about their role in the transition process.

"There have been many instances where security force members have resisted orders to assist people with red headbands or

to shoot members of the community," the spokesman said.

Although the ANC was concerned, in the long term, about the possibility that it might have to deal with hostile security forces if it won elections, the statement had more to do with the recent shootings of civilians by police, the spokesman said.

The statement called on security forces to be impartial and reduce potential for violence by ensuring people did not carry weapons at public gatherings.

Law and Order spokesman Capt Craig Kotze said the SA Police welcomed any genuine attempt to improve relations with the community.

(2) No.

The purchase of the farms is at present being investigated by the Advocate-General and a report thereon will be tabled in Parliament.

†Mr C B SCHOEMAN: Mr Chairman, arising out of the first part of his reply, I wish to point out the following to the hon the Minister. I asked almost exactly the same question on 6 March 1991:

- (1) Whether any land for the development of Black communities has been purchased in the district of (a) Heidelberg (Transvaal) and (b) Nigel; if so, (i) what was the purchase price per hectare and (ii) from whom was it purchased, in each case;
- (2) whether the State was the purchaser of the land; if not, who were the purchasers?

The reply thereto was that no land had been purchased and the rest of the question fell away. I ask that the hon the Minister furnish his reasons why he did not want to give the information to this House at that stage.

†The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, there is absolutely nothing secretive about the whole issue. The State was not the purchaser of the land; the regional services council is not the State.

†Mr C B SCHOEMAN: Mr Chairman, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, I wish to point out to him that the question clearly read whether there were any other purchasers. It is not an issue of the State having to purchase it. I put it to the hon the Minister that he misled this House at that stage. [Interjections.]

†The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! That is not a question, it is a statement!

†Mr C B SCHOEMAN: I ask the hon the Minister, Sir.

SAP: stolen copper cable wire

*5. Mr W U NEL asked the Minister of Law and Order:

- (1) Whether the South African Police are taking any steps to combat the sale of (a) stolen copper cable wire and (b) other types of stolen metal to scrap metal dealers; if not, why not; if so, what steps;
- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter? B941E

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) and (2)

Yes, the South African Police is actively involved in combating the selling of stolen copper cable wire and other types of stolen metals to scrap metal dealers.

Steps taken by the South African Police over the past 18 months to combat this type of crime include the following:

- Comprehensive discussions, and close liaison by means of various conferences, with interested parties such as Eskom, mining groups, SA Transport Services and the Department of Posts and Telecommunications, have been conducted in the past 18 months, and co-operation agreements to combat these crimes were concluded.
- Various joint operations were undertaken in the PWV area, Orange Free State, Western and Eastern Transvaal, during which attention was focused on scrap metal dealers (as witting or unwitting receivers of stolen metal). In only one operation on one day, the premises of 346 scrap metal dealers were searched by expert members of the South African Police. A total of 81 people were arrested or summonsed and charged. Large amounts of steel, copper, aluminium, cast-iron and lead were confiscated.
- In a second similar operation, the premises of 428 scrap metal dealers were searched and a total of 47 people were charged. Measures were taken in order that identified members of the Reserve Police Force (reservists) would help exclusively to combat this type of crime.
- Specific problem areas country-wide were identified in consultation with the mentioned parties and during March 1991 District Chiefs of the Crime Investigation Service of the South African Police were assigned to give personal attention to combat-

ing these crimes. Much success has already been achieved in this regard.

- An identification information poster to identify this type of property was designed by Eskom, in co-operation with the South African Police, and made available to all police stations, in order to assist members of the Force with the identification of these types of property.

A very good understanding and co-operation exists between concerns who are affected by this type of crime.

I assure hon members that everything possible is being done to trace the accused and bring them before court. If the hon member should have at his disposal any further information regarding offences of this nature, he is most welcome to pass it on to the Commissioner of the South African Police or me so that it can be investigated.

Editor of certain publication: court action by SAP

*6. Mr L F STOFBERG asked the Minister of Law and Order:†

- (1) Whether a functionary of the South African Police has given instructions for a court action to be instituted against the editor of a certain publication, the name of which has been furnished to the Police for the purpose of the Minister's reply; if so, (a) what functionary, (b) what are the circumstances surrounding this court action and (c) what is the name of the publication concerned;
- (2) whether authority has been granted for expenditure in connection with this court case; if so, (a) by whom and (b) from what source is this expenditure paid?

B945E

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) (a) In order to follow up information regarding an allegation in the *Patriot* that an information service had abducted a witness in the case of Mrs Winnie Mandela, the Commissioner of the South African Police instructed that the editor of the publi-

cation should be approached immediately.

- (b) No court cases were instituted. After the editor of the publication had refused to furnish any information, the matter was submitted to the Attorney-General of the Witwatersrand who ordered that a summons be issued in accordance with section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act in order to bring the editor before a magistrate, to be questioned by a prosecutor regarding his allegations.

While the process for the service of the summons on the editor was in progress, the chief secretary of the Conservative Party came to the fore and intimated that he had obtained the information which was published from a source and that he refused to make the source public. The latter was also then, on instruction of the Attorney-General, summonsed in terms of section 205.

(c) The *Patriot*.

- (2) Except for the usual expenses involved in any investigation and normal court proceedings, no other expenses were incurred.

Certain organisation: threatening letters to ANC members

*7. Mr D J DALLING asked the Minister of Law and Order:

- (1) Whether he or the South African Police have been informed of threatening letters allegedly sent by a certain organisation to at least four prominent Western Cape ANC members, whose names have been furnished to the Police for the purpose of the Minister's reply; if so, what (a) is the name of this organisation and (b) are the names of the ANC members in question;
- (2) whether he intends providing protection for the persons concerned against this organisation; if not, why not; if so, what protection;
- (3) whether this matter is being investigated; if not, why not; if so, what progress has been made to date? B948E

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER: ~~311~~ 11A

- (1) Yes.
- (a) The Jackals.
- (b) The names which the hon member furnished.
- (2) Should the lives of the persons be threatened by the organisation, they can approach the South African Police for protection whereafter it will be determined what measures of protection will be afforded the persons.
- (3) Yes, in one instance a charge of contravening section 1(1) of the Intimidation Act, 1982 (Act 72 of 1982) is being investigated. Until now the accused have not been traced. The investigation is continuing. In the other four instances the persons did not wish to lay any charges with the South African Police.

Tugela Ferry police station: charges

*8. Mr P C CRONJÉ asked the Minister of Law and Order:

- (1) Whether he will disclose the purport of the charges contained in CR 31/12/89 at the Tugela Ferry police station; if not, why not; if so, what are the charges;
- (2) whether identification parades were held in regard to the investigation of these charges; if so, (a) when, (b) where and (c) with what result;
- (3) what progress has been made in the above investigation to date;
- (4) whether any members of the South African Police laid charges relating to the matter referred to above; if so, what are the relevant details;
- (5) whether the policemen who laid these charges had previously been involved in other incidents leading to charges being laid against them; if so, (a) what charges and (b) what was the outcome? B952E

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) Yes, three charges of alleged assault and one charge of pointing of a firearm.

- (2) No, because it was not necessary as the suspects are known.
- (a) to (c) Fall away.
- (3) The investigation has been completed and the case docket submitted to the Attorney-General. His decision on whether or not to prosecute is being awaited.
- (4) Yes, two charges of alleged assault were reported and are being investigated.
- (5) No.
- (a) and (b) Fall away.

Nhalakahle area: unrest-related incidents

*9. Mr P C CRONJÉ asked the Minister of Law and Order:

- (1) How many unrest-related incidents of (a) murder, (b) attempted murder, (c) assault and (d) destruction of property were recorded in the Nhalakahle area near Greytown in each month of the 12-month period ended 28 February 1991;
- (2) how many (a) arrests and (b) prosecutions were made as a result of these incidents?

B953E

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1)	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)
March 1990	0	0	0	0
April 1990	2	8	4	1
May 1990	0	8	2	3
June 1990	3	9	0	0
July 1990	2	6	2	0
August 1990	3	12	1	5
September 1990	3	10	1	3
October 1990	5	11	0	3
November 1990	6	17	0	1
December 1990	2	0	0	1
January 1991	3	5	1	1
February 1991	0	0	0	0
(2) (a) Murder				8
Attempted murder				25
Assault				6
(of which two instances were withdrawn in court)				
Malicious injury to property				4
(of which all four instances were withdrawn in court)				
TOTAL				<u>43</u>

(b) Murder	9
Attempted murder	32
Assault	4
Malicious injury to property	0
TOTAL	<u>45</u>

Note:

The difference in the numbers per case between (2)(a) and (2)(b) can be attributed to the fact that several of the arrested persons were involved in more than one case.

Kwamagoda/Ndaleneni: unrest-related incidents

*10. Mr P C CRONJÉ asked the Minister of Law and Order:

- (1) How many unrest-related incidents of (a) murder, (b) attempted murder and (c) destruction of property occurred in Kwamagoda and Ndaleneni near Richmond in each week during the period 21 January to 3 March 1991;
- (2) how many (a) arrests and (b) prosecutions were made as a result of these incidents?

B954E

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1)	(a)	(b)	(c)
21 January until			
27 January 1991	3	0	2
28 January until			
3 February 1991	2	1	0
4 February until			
10 February 1991	1	2	2
11 February until			
17 February 1991	0	3	0
18 February until			
24 February 1991	1	2	3
25 February until			
3 March 1991	3	6	4
(2) (a) Attempted murder	2		
(b) Attempted murder	2		

Death of schoolboy in SAP custody

*11. Mr J VAN ECK asked the Minister of Law and Order:

- (1) Whether a 16-year-old schoolboy recently caught by the South African Police while allegedly sniffing a chemical solvent died

in police custody; if so, what are the circumstances surrounding the incident;

- (2) whether the matter is being investigated; if not, why not; if so, what progress has been made;
- (3) whether he will make a statement on the frequency with which allegations are being made in regard to the use of violence by the Police against persons held by them?

B955E

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) Yes.

On 15 February 1991 the South African Police reacted to an anonymous complaint of two suspect persons. Two boys were found where they were publicly sniffing "TIPPEX" thinners. They were obviously intoxicated and the members concerned judged it to be in the best interests of the youths' safety to take them to their parental homes where they could be cared for.

Their addresses were obtained and they were taken in a patrol vehicle to their parental homes. The deceased's parents were not home and he was taken with to the home of the second child. On their arrival there the Police officials noticed that the deceased did not appear normal and immediately rushed him to the nearest day clinic in Hanover Park, where he was certified dead on arrival.

A post mortem found that he died as a result of "Verstikking" (Suffocation).

- (2) An inquest docket has been opened and is still being investigated.
- (3) No, except that I wish to draw the attention of the hon member to my answer to Oral Question No 9 in the House of Assembly on 7 May 1991.

Unrest situations: additional remuneration for SAP

*12. Mr J VAN ECK asked the Minister of Law and Order:†

- (1) Whether members of the unrest and/or operational units of the South African Police received or have received any

ANC sends peace message to security forces

Political Staff

THE ANC has sent a message to the security forces, urging them to join peace efforts to secure their place in a future police force.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said the message emphasised the movement's commitment to peace.

It called on the police to make a contribution to the peace process and to be a true peacekeeping force.

Should they abide by this request, they would secure their place in a future police force, he said.

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The message said that for years the security forces had been told that apartheid was in the interest of all South Africans, that it should be defended with their lives and that the ANC and other anti-apartheid organisations were the enemies which should be ruthlessly suppressed.

Those days were now over.

"Let us look forward to the future and create a better country for all our people," the ANC said.

South Africa was on the threshold of major transfor-

mation and apartheid was about to be completely removed.

The ANC said there was no going back and the police could contribute decisively to national progress.

"Peace, political tolerance and justice are the profound aspirations of the overwhelming majority of South Africans.

"The ANC believes that most of you in the security forces also wish to see your country prosper and its people at peace with one another," the message said.

The ANC urged security forces to protect people's rights, to defend normal and peaceful political activity as well as freedom of speech and expression.

"The future South Africa will require a police force and army which serve the interests of the people, democracy and justice.

"Today is the time to earn your place in the security forces of the future.

"You too can become heroes of the people. Protect all South Africa's citizens," the ANC said.

'we must all work for peace'

11A

● From ^{Sowetan} previous page

supporters to cease attacks with immediate effect.

TAKE effective steps to prevent acts of violence between their members or being carried out by their members.

RECOGNISE the right of other political organisations to exist with their own policies and programmes, and to create a climate free of forced recruitment, vilification and intimidation.

ENSURE that all public facilities are accessible and available to all people, irrespective of their political affiliation.

TAKE the necessary steps to ensure that the security forces act with due respect for the sensitive community situations that exist.

UNDERTAKE extensive education and communication programmes within their constituencies and supporters to establish principles of democracy and political tolerance.

ENSURE that appropriate peace and communication mechanisms are established at local and regional level between different organisations.

Every effort should be made to have rapid and effective lines of communication between different levels of leadership so as to prevent rumour being used to foment attacks.

PUBLICLY appeal to members and supporters to calmly evaluate each situation, and not allow themselves to be blindly goaded into attacks on an unsubstantiated basis.

TRADITIONAL leaders from all parts of our country, at the level of Kings or Paramount Chiefs, should, jointly and individually, address all affected areas.

SUCH tours should have the support of, and be accompanied by, the appropriate level of representation from political parties, particularly the IFP and the ANC.

TRADITIONAL leaders and homeland governments should make every effort to prevent the recruitment and bussing of people to trouble spots to engage in fighting.

This should be public-
tions should assist where

possible to ensure peace ly exposed and condemned, and those involved in such recruitment disciplined by the appropriate authorities.

RELIGIOUS BODIES

Religious bodies have a vital role to play to bring an end to the violence. Inter-denominational action is urgently required.

A **TRUST** should be set up to administer the national fund created to assist the victims of violence. They should also ensure co-ordination regarding immediate relief for affected areas and communities.

Local religious institutions should assist where possible to ensure peace committees or communication mechanisms exist within communities.

There is an urgent imperative for events leading up to or during violence to be publicly monitored. To ensure this:

An independent Joint National Monitoring Committee should be established with immediate effect.

Those serving on this body should have the confidence of the widest cross-section of the population.

It should have sufficient resources at its disposal to ensure that effective monitoring, investigation, documentation and publicity are possible.

It should have the full backing of all political parties, including the National Party, trade unions, religious bodies, civic organisations, sports and cultural organisations.

The Government should undertake to assist such an independent monitoring body, especially where it concerns investigation of security forces and other civil service institutions.

An independent national commission of inquiry should be established. Its composition and terms of reference should be such that it is impartial and has the power, authority and respect to investigate without hindrance.

An independent judicial commission, comprising respected international figures, should be urgently convened to in-

vestigate all aspects of the

violence throughout the country. Such a commission should co-operate with, but function independently of, the local monitoring and investigating committees.

All monitoring and investigating committees should produce a preliminary report within three months, a comprehensive report within six months, with public information being provided as and when it is appropriate at intervals to be determined by the respective commissions.

The violence, if allowed to continue, will affect every facet of society, not least the factory floor.

Employers should see to the phasing out of hostels and their replacement by appropriate family and single-occupancy accommodation.

Discuss with trade union representatives in the workplace appropriate measures to ensure peace prevails.

Respond sympathetically to workers whose attendance and productivity drop due to the violence.

Start reconstruction and development programmes which are essential to reduce conflict over scarce resources. These programmes must be non-partisan and designed to meet the needs of all the people, irrespective of any affiliation they may hold. Employers, Government, trade unions, civic and political bodies should jointly determine such programmes.

THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA IS VITAL

Time should be allocated on television and radio to all leaders to call for peace and political tolerance.

Facilities should be provided through newspapers and magazines for peace messages to be conveyed in all languages.

The media, particularly television, should do whatever possible not to feed rumour. Reports should be as calm and considered as possible. Without affecting factual reporting, the media should consciously avoid reports which will create potential victims and revenge attacks.

I still have faith in her - Nelson



NELSON MANDELA

Sowetan 15/5/91
ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday the Rand Supreme Court had vindicated the faith he had in his wife Winnie's innocence of assault.

He told a media conference he was sure her name would be completely cleared but, in the meantime, appealed for all to leave the matter to the courts.

"The last word on the matter has not been spoken," he said.

Against their will

"I believe she did not know of any assaults or that anybody was held at the back of her house against their will."

Mr Mandela called the conference for the sole purpose of making a statement on his wife being jailed for six years by the Rand Supreme Court yesterday.

"I have never believed that she was guilty of assaulting anyone," he said.

"Judgment of the court has confirmed this."

"The witnesses who accused her of assault and other crimes have been thoroughly discredited."

The anti-apartheid movement will continue to honour Mandela for the good things she has done, Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu said yesterday. Tutu said he was shocked at the severity of the sentence.

"Application for appeal has been filed and I'm advised it should succeed."

The ANC learnt with dismay of the guilty verdicts and lengthy sentences imposed on Mandela and her co-defendants.

"The last word on this entire affair has not yet been spoken. We elect to leave the matter in the hands of the courts, fully confident that in the end the truth will emerge," the ANC said.- *Sapa*.

Civic body 'must be neutral'

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff

11A
8/2/15/191

organisations' role was to represent the interest of communities on issues such as water and electricity supply, refuse removal and other services.

The ANC Youth League has welcomed the weekend decision to form a national civics movement but has warned against the perception that the new body would have an adversarial relationship with the ANC.

In a statement yesterday, the league said the new national civics structure, to be launched within two months, had to be politically neutral and accommodate all members of the community.

The ANCYL warned against "efforts to use the civics as a political platform to settle personal contradictions". It also resolved to fight efforts to project the civic movement as a force mobilised against the ANC.

The youth league said civic

The Johannesburg-based Five Freedoms Forum has also welcomed the formation of a national civic organisation, saying it believed the new organisation and other civic structures could make a significant contribution to the establishment of democratic practices and principles in the country.

FFF spokesman Hanlie van Dyk said: "A strong civic society, operating independently but not necessarily in conflict with existing political parties and movements, could afford the opportunity for a broad range of citizens to participate in a more meaningful way in the transition process."

The life and soul of the Party

B10am 15/5/91 11A

AHEAD of its December congress, the first since it was declared legal, the SA Communist Party (SACP) is engaged in a fascinating internal but public debate about the future of socialism and of the party itself.

The highly spirited, often heated debate was sparked off by, and largely revolves around, Joe Slovo's paper *Has Socialism Failed?* published last year.

It is occurring in such publications as *African Communist* (the official SACP journal), the *SA Labour Bulletin* and *Work in Progress* (WIP). The debate demonstrates the existence of at least three or four distinct positions within the SACP on the crucial issues of the day.

Slovo's paper was a merciless — if belated — critique of Stalinist political practices in both the eastern bloc and within the SACP itself. It concluded, though, that it was not Marxism that was at fault, but the way it had been implemented.

Some prominent party members appear to think that open debate is undesirable. Old guard SACP types such as Harry Gwala and Dave Kitson have bitterly attacked Slovo for denigrating the history of socialism and undermining Marxist-Leninism. Their perspective suggests that the events of late 1989 — the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe — have passed them by. But this point of view appears to be dying out and is unlikely to be a serious factor in future SACP decision-making.

However, a second perspective which, it could be argued, still carries a great deal of Stalinist baggage is far more prominent. It is the most widely expressed view, but that may be because its chief proponent, Jeremy Cronin, is fast becoming the most prolific party theorist in town.

Cronin, unlike the old orthodox communists in the Gwala camp, knows better than to ignore events in Eastern Europe. Unlike Gwala and Kitson, he also praises the role Slovo has played in initiating the open debate on socialism. He knows the party would not survive using old, highly restrictive forms of "democratic centralism".

But Cronin continues to hold onto as many of the classic Marxist concepts as he feels he honestly can. So while he no longer uses former Soviet bloc countries as models for our future, he has become particularly



□ GWALA ... Crisis? What crisis?



□ CRONIN ... Socialism or bust



□ SLOVO ... Searching for democracy



□ MAYEKISO ... Scrap the vanguard party

koen on Cuba (whether as a model for self-defence units or as a demonstration of the two-stage theory of revolution) and even Vietnam. As two of the very few Marxist governments left holding the line, he probably has little choice. But he appears to fail to recognise that they suffer from the same political and economic deficiencies as did the vanquished East European regimes.

Cronin often bends over backwards trying to defend Slovo from attack by the orthodox communists. But he is critical of central aspects of Slovo's thesis. One of his main criticisms of *Has Socialism Failed?* is that Slovo failed to give sufficient recognition to factors like the history of "imperialist destabilisation" in explaining the repressive nature of Soviet and other communism. Slovo specifically explained that this was deliberate — he did not want to use them as excuses for Stalinism.

Cronin also tries to defend Slovo from attack by Kitson for quoting Rosa Luxemburg, a German socialist during the first two decades of the century who became a heretic to Leninists. Slovo quoted with approval her words: "Freedom only for the supporters of the government, only for the supporters of one party — however numerous they may be — is not freedom at all. Freedom is always and exclusively freedom for the one who thinks differently ... its effectiveness vanishes when 'freedom' becomes a special privilege."

Cronin defends Slovo's "right" to quote Luxemburg. But, with great intellectual honesty, he admits that he

thinks Slovo has gone too far. Cronin argues that if freedom means more than the absence of restraint, it must include the empowerment of people to exercise those freedoms. Cronin may be correct here, but he has not come to grips with the fact that, using Marxist-Leninist methods of empowerment, freedom as spoken of by Slovo when quoting Luxemburg will inevitably disappear.

Related to this, Cronin is forced into some mental gymnastics when he defends the SACP's dropping of the concept of "dictatorship of the proletariat" from its party programme two years ago. Kitson argues that this meant abandonment of the socialist struggle. He is, arguably, correct.

As I recall a political studies lecturer saying years ago: "Anyone who does not understand the dictatorship of the proletariat does not understand Marxism." The reason: in changing the nature of the economy by eliminating the property-owning classes, democratic methods will not suffice. The bourgeoisie will resist with everything it has, and repression will be required.

Cronin does not come to grips with this "problem" in trying to explain how communist revolution and political freedom can be compatible. Nor does Slovo, although he evades the question by stating that a transition to communism is generations away — he is almost saying "let's not worry about that for the moment".

But that is not good enough. Slovo's only excuse can be that, having turned SACP debate upside down with a single paper, he is taking a breather before drawing some of the logical conclusions to what he has already said. If he does not do so event-

ually, his groundbreaking work would have been in vain.

Another SACP member, newly recruited student leader Jonny Steinberg, is less shy. In the latest WIP, he provides the most fundamental intellectual challenge (from within the party) to communist orthodoxy.

Steinberg agrees with Kitson's criticisms that, "despite protestations to the contrary", Slovo and the party have abandoned the cornerstones of Leninism. He says the party's "principled allegiance to multi-party democracy, to political pluralism, to the various 'bourgeois democratic' forms so scathingly rejected by Lenin, places the SACP's socialist programme in a conceptual and theoretical contradiction to the model of revolution generated by classical Marxism".

But, astonishingly, he goes on to say: "I greet the party's affirmation of so-called bourgeois democratic forms with relief," saying Lenin's views were based on a "fundamentally flawed theory of capitalism, a theory which, if used ... will place SA dangerously close to reproducing the Stalinist legacy". This is as close to a total dismissal of Marxism as has ever emerged from the SACP.

Many leading trade unionists, including Moses Mayekiso and John Gomomo, who have joined the SACP have also rejected Leninist views of the party (see below).

Where will this fundamental policy reassessment take the SACP?

For the Gwala camp, it is simple: nothing has changed and therefore nothing need change. For Cronin and

his like-minded comrades, it appears traditional liberal freedoms, while desirable wherever possible, will take second place to economic imperatives. (Of course, he would argue that there is no contradiction between freedom, as he defines it, and more or less orthodox socialism and communism.)

At the same time, some groupings in the SACP are making a genuine effort to discover a truly democratic form of socialism. The same applies to socialists like ANC NEC member Pallo Jordan and others outside the party (see below).

However, for all of them, their efforts remain flawed by a failure to recognise explicitly that, if political democracy is to prevail, certain fundamental bases of Marxism — and hence some basic political strategies — must be abandoned. These include Marxist notions of "class struggle" as a struggle to the death and "exploitation" as an intolerable and inevitable consequence of market economies which can be eliminated only with the elimination of private ownership of productive forces.

Steinberg and, probably, Slovo appear to value democracy above Marxist-Leninist dogma. If and when they become willing to draw the necessary economic conclusions from their political perspectives, they will have to settle for something other than Marxist socialism.

The nearest thing to socialism compatible with political democracy is the system that Cronin and other Marxists derogatorily label "social democratic" or "reformist" — a mixed economy where markets and private ownership remain predominant, with state intervention where this is considered necessary to eliminate distortions and historical inequalities, and to ensure minimum standards. An additional ingredient is often (as in Germany) worker "co-determination" at workplace and industry level.

Support for such a system would eliminate the second stage of the SACP's "two-stage" theory of revolution. It would also eliminate the SACP's own reason for existence, as its perspective would become little different from that of ANC non-communists.

The first official indication of where the SACP is heading will emerge at the party's congress in December. SA will be watching with interest.

ALAN FINE

Cosatu and the SACP: who's 'manipulating' whom?

B10 am 15/5/91

(11A)

THE role of the SACP within union federation Cosatu — and of Cosatu leaders within the SACP — has been the subject of strong, but often un-informed, criticism.

Four prominent leaders of Cosatu or Cosatu affiliates — Chris Dlamini, Sydney Mafumadi, John Gomomo and Moses Mayekiso — serve on the internal leadership committee of the SACP. Numerous lower level unionists serve on SACP regional committees too.

Many "analysts" work on the crude assumption — despite obvious and public evidence to the contrary — that this is all part of a co-ordinated plot by old Stalinists to infiltrate and manipulate Cosatu. The reality is that the four Cosatu leaders in the SACP (and other unionists in regional structures) come from very differ-

ent political perspectives — dating back to what used to be known as the populist vs workerist ideological struggle within Cosatu.

Dlamini and Mafumadi have long been identified as so-called populists and Mayekiso and Gomomo as workerists. Had the SACP not been banned for the past decade, and had these battles been fought out in the open rather than in the code necessitated by repression, the struggle between the two groups could well have been labelled SACP vs independent socialists.

Mayekiso (as the court record of his trial, among other things, would show) and Gomomo were extremely hostile to the party line. Dlamini and Mafumadi, on the other hand — given their ideological orientation — could even have been covert party

members throughout this period.

Why then did Mayekiso and Gomomo choose to join the SACP? Because they concluded that, given the changing circumstances of international socialism, it would be possible to transform the party from a Stalinist to a "democratic socialist" grouping which would then genuinely represent "working class interests in a future SA".

The metalworkers' union Numsa — of which both Mayekiso and Gomomo are top leaders — last year openly published a document setting out four changes some members (including, presumably, Mayekiso and Gomomo) required before they believed the SACP could play a "progressive" role.

These included: abandoning the classical Leninist vanguard party in

favour of an open, broad-based approach; democratic party elections and full accountability; open debates at all levels of policies and programmes and "complete" respect for the independence of mass organisations (such as the unions).

Meeting these standards would require a fundamental transformation of the party, and there is nothing to suggest these elements have decided to settle for less. There are strong signs, recognised by the Numsa document, that the reformed Slovo is highly sympathetic to these views. However, as the document also states, "it would be naive to believe that all within the party, particularly those who have become accustomed to dictates, party posts and the worst of democratic centralism, will do so with equal enthusiasm".

There are those socialists who

believe that the SACP is so weighed down by its Stalinist past that it is beyond salvation. Such individuals include ANC NEC member Pallo Jordan. There are also unionists (who would otherwise be happy to align themselves with Mayekiso-type perspectives) who hold this view. At a guess they would include miners' union NUM assistant general secretary Marcel Golding, Chemical Workers' Industrial Union general secretary Rod Crompton and Numsa engineering secretary Bernie Fanaroff.

Mayekiso, Gomomo and other "workerist" SACP members certainly did not "infiltrate" Cosatu from the party to do the labour movement mischief. They entered the SACP in the belief that they would have the power to transform it.

ALAN FINE

POLITICS

Mandela's excuse a poor one — FW

11/2

BILLY PADDOCK

CAPE TOWN — Those invited to the summit on violence had been asked to take part in the planning of the agenda and programme, President F W de Klerk said in Parliament yesterday.

But important role players were using the violence for political mileage and prevaricating on whether or not they would attend, he said during an interpellation brought by Tony Leon (DP Houghton).

Leon wanted to know if the summit would go ahead despite important role players indicating they would not attend.

He said ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela had said in news reports he was not going to attend because De Klerk had called the meeting unilaterally.

"That is not a good reason, because if the final responsibility is upon us, if I am blamed every time anything goes wrong with regard to violence, then it is I as spokesman for this government, and this government, who must take the initiative.

"And to now shoot it down is playing politics with the issue of violence," he said.

"We are going out of our way to have the maximum attendance at the summit. I would like to see Mr Mandela and the ANC there. I would also like to see the CP there. But you can't force them to be there," De Klerk said.

He said the concept that as many leaders as possible must come together at the summit was fundamental and government,

therefore, would go ahead with the conference but "not in the sense of confrontation, not with any arrogance".

He repeated his plea for all those who had not yet decided to attend, or those who were on the point of refusing, to reconsider.

Government was not abrogating its responsibility to end the violence, but there was an obligation on all leaders and those who were serious about ending the violence to come together to discuss the best way to end "the single biggest problem in the country".

Those declining to do so were either not serious about ending the violence and intimidation, or were subjecting this grave situation to their own desire for party political gain or power.

He said this could only serve to discredit them.

During the mini-debate, DP caucus chairman Colin Eglin pleaded for Mandela, "who is so important in the process of national reconciliation", to be there.

"Equally we ask the government to do everything possible to enable this to happen."

He said this conference should be one where the actions of government and its agents were open to scrutiny as much as those of anyone else.



INCENT

Ja

REF



ANC's plan to end township carnage

Sowetan 15/5/91.

11A (circled) (circled)

SOUTH Africa today stands on the brink of disaster. Only a supreme effort of will by the entire nation, acting with firm unity of purpose across the racial and ideological divide, can avert the tragedy.

In the long term, there can be no victors from the spiral of violence that has been set in motion. It is hoped that organisations representing millions of people, and South Africans who represent the highest ideals of humanity, will lend their weight to the proposals outlined below.

The Government must:

ACCEPT the overwhelming demand for an interim government and a constituent assembly as the only legitimate forms of effectively moving forward and away from apartheid and white minority rule.

AGREE to the establishment of a fully independent commission of inquiry to investigate all aspects of the violence throughout the country, including effective powers to thoroughly investigate the security forces, State apparatus and civil service. Such a commission should comprise men and women who have the confidence and respect of the nation.

MAKE extensive funds available for the displaced, the homeless and the injured. This fund should be administered through a neutral body, such as a specially-formed inter-denominational trust.

Recipients should be victims of violence, irrespective of political affiliation. The violence has wiped out whole families, breadwinners and families have lost all their possessions.

Urgent assistance should be provided for transport, funerals and coffins to bereaved families. Particular attention should be paid



In a document sent to the Sowetan yesterday, the African National Congress spelt out its point-by-point plan for peace in South Africa.

Here are the details.

to the needs of children made orphans due to violence.

GOVERNMENT officials must be held responsible for the actions of their departments.

PUBLICLY disband death squad units such as the CCB, Askaris and the operations that these units carried out, past and present, must be made public.

CONFINE foreign mercenary and paramilitary units such as Koevoet and 32 Battalion, whose notorious crimes are an indictment to the so-called Christian Western civilisation, in both Namibia and Angola, to clearly identified bases pending arrangements being made with governments of their respective countries for repatriation.

GIVE information as to where and why these foreign mercenary and paramilitary units have been deployed within South Africa.

ENACT legislation to ban the carrying of all weapons, traditional or otherwise, at any public rally, gathering or event.

ENACT legislation to disarm society as a whole.

The present police force has been trained to regard the ANC as the enemy that must be wiped out. Training manuals are still based on "total onslaught" and "terrorist" concepts. This training creates the framework within which the police force operates, and results in the kind of hostility

generated towards the vast majority of our people.

To address this situation the following needs to urgently take place:

IMMEDIATE retraining of a new police force with a different orientation be embarked upon, with emphasis on the role of the police as servants of the people.

This should have target objectives within the short, medium and long term.

Promotion of officers, even within the existing force, who respect such a new orientation should be rapid, while those who are identified as unable to adapt to the new conditions should be dismissed.

POLICEMEN, who have become notorious for their brutality or callousness, let alone actively participating in massacres or individual killings, should be publicly identified and summarily dismissed.

POLICE should use standard methods of detection to uncover the perpetrators of violence.

It is inexplicable that with all the resources at its disposal, the security forces appear unable to find out what is common knowledge within broad cross-sections of our communities.

This can only be ascribed to a lack of will, rather than lack of ability.

POLICE should ensure that no armed groups are allowed to enter or leave any place of residence, public assembly or worship. Any group so doing should be immediately disarmed.

TRAIN commuters, in true Renamo tradition, have been a particular target of attack.

Police and railway police should ensure adequate protection at railway stations and main taxi and bus ranks. Communication systems should be established on

the trains themselves to alert security services.

A **PUBLICLY** agreed code of conduct should be elaborated.

This should learn lessons from codes common in democratic countries, and be a result of consultation and contributions from the oppressed population.

POLICE should live among the communities they serve. If violence flares, it is they who should be deployed, as they know the community and the community knows them.

They are in a far better position to mediate and restore calm than riot squad units brought in from outside who have no knowledge of local issues or the leaders of the people.

POLICE must desist from the use of live ammunition, and employ only civilised methods of crowd control. Heavy weapons and live ammunition should not be used.

President FW de Klerk should publicly issue a specific order to the police force to act impartially and not use live ammunition.

ACT against those elements in the police force who are using criminal gangs to exacerbate violence, such as the Three Million Gang, or who, by omission and commission, allow violence to take place without taking the necessary steps to prevent or stop it.

SECURITY forces should act without political bias, and receive professional and appropriate training as a peace-keeping force.

All political parties, and we do not refer simply to the ANC or the Inkatha Freedom Party, should:

PUBLICLY call for an end to the present violence throughout the country. Each organisation should appeal to all its members

● To opposite page

Sowetan's cartoonist Len Sak is on leave. His work will reappear when he returns.

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Deon du Plessis. Newsbills by Sydney Matlaku. Sub-editing and headlines by Ivan Fynn. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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Aussie attack on ANC

Sydney 16/5/79
SYDNEY - The leader of an Australian rightwing group appealed yesterday against his conviction for a shotgun attack on the home of the ANC representative in Sydney, his lawyer said.

Mr James Saleam (35), former chairman of the National Action Group, was jailed for a minimum three-and-a-half years by a Sydney district court on Tuesday.

The court said the attack on the home of ANC representative Mr Eddie Funde was political terrorism.

Shoot

Saleam enlisted two young National Action Group members and ordered them to shoot at the door and bedroom window of Funde's house, the court was told.

Although Funde, his wife and year-old child were unhurt, shotgun pellets were discovered near the baby's cot. - *Sapa-Reuter.*



Cleric urges return to Black Consciousness

Sowetan 16/5/91 11A

YET another high-profile theologian has called for a return to Black Consciousness to overcome the violence plaguing the black community.

The Rev Tebogo Jeff Moselane, in an interview with the *Sowetan* at his parish in Dobsonville, Soweto, said there was also a need for Black Consciousness to be bolstered by black theology.

Moselane was one of the Delmas treason trialists following his leadership role in the Vaal during anti-rent protests in 1984.

His words follow a similar call made last year by the then president of the South African Institute of Race Relations, Bishop Stanley Mogoba.

"I can vouch for Black Consciousness because I have seen it work," Mogoba said. "The acceptance of Black Consciousness can be the harbinger of the national reconciliation needed to save South Africa."

Freedom

"Our country was in danger of not attaining the freedom for which many people have fought for a long time because of this horrifying violence we witness daily."

Like Mogoba, Moselane said he believed a return to Black Consciousness was necessary because it upheld the values of black solidarity, self-reliance, respect and love for fellow-blacks, dignity and discipline.

Moselane said black theology was a situational interpretation of Christianity.

"Black Consciousness propagates black theology so that black people should be purified and determine their own destiny."

Moselane said the greatest mis-

FOCUS



By MOKGADI PELA

take committed by the black world was to forget that "life has three dimensions: the social, political and religious. Because we have concentrated on the social and political and forgotten the religious aspect of life, that is why we have so much chaos in the black community."

"There was a time in our struggle for liberation when religion had a role to play. Religion was an integral part of our personality."

"Our societal base was structured on the acceptance of a divine being who gave dignity to our personhood. Theological reflection and the people's struggle were seen in the light of God's activity in human history."

He said the current senseless violence stemmed from people's preoccupation with materialism and political ideology rather than religion.

"I believe that religion builds a community. The intrinsic value of human life is not being put on a

par with the political and social dimension of life. Clearly, black people need a Black Consciousness understanding of black theology.

"Most people have almost forgotten that the liberation struggle is about the preservation of life and not about death."

Moselane expressed disappointment and disgust at the way "in which our struggle for liberation has degenerated. Indeed the choice left for Africa is no longer between capitalism and socialism but between socialism and barbarism."

Moselane said today's youth were undisciplined and without respect for elders. He said: "This shows that the BC value of psychological liberation has not sunk into their minds. For indeed, no psychologically free black man can kill other black people."

"Today's youth can sacrifice anything to commit violence against their own brothers. They can sacrifice school, valuable time and even their own lives to go and kill other black people. It's a shame that since January 1 1991 more than 800 black lives have perished at the hands of fellow-blacks."

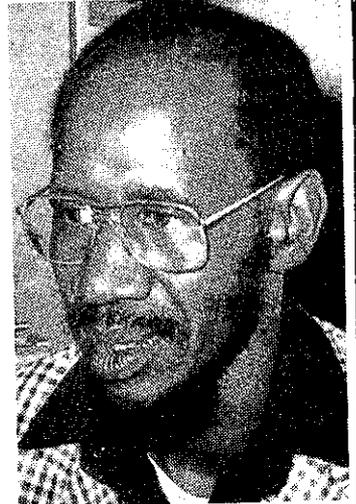
Sacrifice

"How can we say violence is a sacrifice? Sacrifice is a symbolic act containing an element of mystery done for the good of the family or society. In the past we used things other than human beings for sacrifice."

"What is happening today clearly borders on barbarism. It is indefensible."

"It is my wish that our political organisations should strive to build on spiritual personhood values above material ones."

"A sound moral fibre of our



TEBOGO MOSELANE

cadres should be stressed over and above that of executing the policy of our organisation and the elimination of people who differ from our ideological stance. To deal ruthlessly with people who differ with your ideology is an indictment on the personhood of our nation."

Rotten

"Our youth do not mind pelting people old enough to be their mothers with rotten eggs, forcing them to drink detergents or frog-marching adult professionals under the guise of liberation."

"How can you say in earnestness 'a luta continua' when you have failed an examination? Struggles are not for failures but for victors."

"Our cry of one nation should be rooted in the rule of God and justice. We should march forward in the words of Pope Paul VI who says 'if you want peace, work for justice'. Let each individual be allowed the opportunity to fulfill his or her potentialities regardless of ideological inhibitions."

Abdul Minty remains at anti-apartheid front

South 16/5 - 22/5/91

11A

MORE than 30 years after Abdul Samad Minty began campaigning against apartheid, he is determined to remain in the thick of the fray.

Minty, the honorary secretary of the Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM), says it must "discharge its duty to end apartheid".

"We cannot give up until apartheid no longer exists. Whatever De Klerk's changes, apartheid still remains," Minty said.

Back in South Africa for a brief visit after an absence of 33 years, Minty says he is struggling to adjust to being back in the country whose cause he has fought so hard for abroad.

Minty left South Africa in 1958 for Britain where he attained a masters degree in international relations after which he became a research fellow at the Richardson Institute for Conflict and Peace Research in London.

Key role

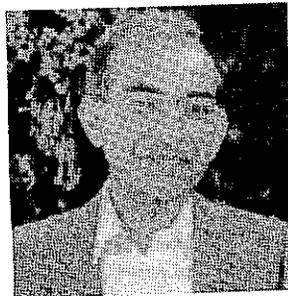
As the man who played a key role in putting pressure on governments around the globe into adopting anti-apartheid policies, Minty was viewed as the government's public enemy number one.

A founder member of the AAM, Minty served as its membership secretary before becoming honorary secretary, a post he has held for the past 27 years.

He played a central role in the campaign to secure the exclusion of South Africa from the Commonwealth in 1961 — the first major breakthrough in securing South Africa's international isolation and has since represented the AAM at Commonwealth summits.

He also played a key role in securing South Africa's sports isolation. He was part of the delegation to a meeting in Baden in October 1963 which led to South Africa's exclusion from the Olympic movement.

The same year Minty was part of a delegation which met with the British Minister of Sport over the "D'Oliviera affair" and was at the forefront of subsequent protests against the Springbok tours, effectively ending



Abdul Minty, a "thorn in the side" of the government for many years, has returned home. In recent years Minty has become the chief monitor of "gun-running" to and from South Africa. His biggest concern now, however, is the industrialised world's neglect of South Africa and the developing countries, CHIARA CARTER reports:



RALLYING SUPPORT: British Anti-apartheid Movement members drew large crowds to its demonstrations

British sports links with South Africa.

Minty also served as administrator for the World Campaign for the Release of South African Political Prisoners following the Rivonia trial and has maintained an ongoing focus on political prisoners and detentions — including the Harare children's conference.

The UN Special Committee on Apartheid was Minty's brainchild and he has maintained close contact with it and the UN Centre against Apar-

theid. In 1964 he was on the steering committee of the international conference for sanctions against South Africa which drew up the basis for international sanctions policy and he has been active in numerous AAM sanctions campaigns.

Minty says there is a danger that the industrialised world is turning its back on South Africa and developing countries.

"The global situation has changed and the Western governments are looking to Eastern Europe; they are

seeking to avoid their responsibilities in the southern hemisphere.

The world rushed to the rescue of Kuwait but ignores the millions who face famine in Africa.

"It is not a question of benign neglect, rather total neglect. Western governments have been quick to reward De Klerk rather than the people who suffered from apartheid policies."

As an expert on international armaments, Minty's greatest contribution to the anti-apartheid struggle was the arms embargo.

He persuaded the Norwegian government to table the first resolution on the arms embargo in the UN Security Council.

In 1970 when the British government was seeking to lift the embargo, Minty delivered a 100 000-signature petition to the Commonwealth conference in Singapore at the time when the Commonwealth was facing a major split on the issue.

In 1975 he addressed the Security Council on the arms embargo.

His contribution has not been limited to top-level meetings.

He was instrumental in uncovering several arms deals that were aimed at sidestepping the embargo.

Minty says that while the embargo remains, several countries continue to break the boycott.

He says the implementation of the embargo is another example of international duplicity.

"The same security council that passed the resolution calling for Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait, passed the resolution calling for the mandatory arms embargo.

Resolutions

"The question of implementation shows the Security Council lacked political will where South Africa was concerned.

"A greater effort to implement UN resolutions could have hastened the end of apartheid and meant I could have come home years ago".

He worked consistently for Namibia's independence and was actively involved in campaigns of solidarity for the Frontline states.

"The impact of apartheid reached far beyond South Africa's borders and its victims must be assisted.

"Mozambique has suffered more since independence as a result of apartheid policies".

Minty says wryly that the challenges facing those involved in international solidarity work with Southern Africa represent a more difficult "struggle".

ANC Youth League to hold first congress in 33 years

By Kaizer Nyatsumba
Political Staff

The PWV region of the ANC Youth League (ANCYL) will hold its inaugural congress in Soweto at the weekend, according to a statement yesterday.

The publicity secretary of the ANCYL's PWV region, Ned Kekana, said the congress — with the theme "Youth action for unity, peace and freedom now" — would be attended by 236 delegates representing 49 launched and 41 interim branches.

Beginning tomorrow evening and ending on Sunday, the congress will be held at the Diocesan Centre in White City, Jabavu, Soweto.

Mr Kekana said "A World Apart", a film written by Shawn Slovo, daughter of South Afri-

can Communist Party general secretary Joe Slovo, would be shown at the Nu Metro cinema in Hillbrow on Sunday to raise funds for the youth league.

The PWV regional congress, the first ANCYL congress for 33 years, would bring together formerly exiled youths from the ANC's Youth Section and members of various ANC-aligned youth and student organisations.

These would include, among others, the National Union of SA Students, the SA National Students Congress and the Congress of SA Students.

The congress would focus on policy issues and political analysis of the present violence.

A programme of action identifying the interests of various youth groupings in the country would be mapped out.

ANC vows to make trip 'uncomfortable'

(11A) Star 16/5/77.

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Former British prime minister Margaret Thatcher and Sir Denis Jetted into Cape Town yesterday and were welcomed by Foreign Minister Pik Botha bearing a single long-stemmed red rose.

Asked how she felt to be back in SA (she was last here in 1972), Mrs Thatcher said:

"I feel the visit is long overdue."

She declined to react to the prospect of ANC protests.

The ANC Women's League yesterday vowed to make Mrs Thatcher's visit as uncomfortable as possible.

The league said: "We certainly don't think she belongs to the same sex as us."

"Thatcher go home. We do not need you here."

ANC publicity head Dr Pallo Jordan said the organisation's national office did not plan any protest action but would not have any objection to its regions or affiliated organisations taking part in protests.

"Our position has always been that important international figures should not visit the country because South Africa needs to be isolated," Dr Jordan said.

ANC daggers out for Brutus

11A

Steve 16/5/91



Coming home
Dr Dennis Brutus

IT MAY be the last hurrah for Dr Dennis Brutus, political activist and, next to Peter Hain, the most zealous and successful opponent of South Africa's place in world sport.

Banned and imprisoned on Robben Island 27 years ago, and now to return to South Africa after repeatedly being denied a visa, Dr Brutus, a self-described "architect of the campaign against apartheid", commanded a full page in last weekend's Sunday edition of the New York Times — a consideration America's foremost newspaper usually accords only to such noted personalities as Leonard Bernstein, Madonna, Winston Churchill, Al Capone or Bob Hope.

It may, however, be the final recognition abroad for Dr Brutus, the man who, among other things, headed the international crusade that led to South Africa's expulsion from the Olympics in 1964 and who, almost single-handedly, master-minded the boycott by 29 nations of the 1976 Montreal Olympics to protest at the

When veteran anti-apartheid campaigner Dr Dennis Brutus returns to SA, it may not be to a hero's welcome, writes RAMSAY MILNE.

inclusion of New Zealand for having gone ahead with an All Blacks tour of South Africa in the face of anti-apartheid objections.

For Dr Brutus, now a declining force in the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (Sanroc), which he founded in 1963, will return to his country of origin not as a hero, but as someone for whom even the ANC has found it necessary to warn publicly that he should not seek to impose his views on those who had stayed behind to fight for nonracialism in sport.

The admonition came this week from Steve Tshwete, national organiser, and sports

liaison officer for the ANC, who offered Dr Brutus this blunt counsel: "He will have to reacclimatise himself like everybody else who is coming from abroad.

"He must not think of imposing his own ideas, because there are people who have been working here who are better acquainted with the situation. They have remained here all the time; they have fought for nonracialism in sport. He would do well to listen to them."

That sounds awfully like being told to mind your own business.

Whether Dr Brutus, when he gets back to South Africa, accepts the advice or not, he has already declared his position: he is dead against South Africa's re-entry to world sport at this stage.

Until there is full removal of racism and apartheid in South African sport, South Africa does not conform with the Olympic Charter, and does not qualify for membership, he says. □

Nelson Mandela was calm when he heard the news about his wife, writes Shaun Johnson

Stoicism in the mountains

Steve 16/5/91

11A

NELSON Mandela sat, erect, on a sofa in a charming Cape Dutch voorkamer set on the slopes of the mountains outside Stellenbosch. He was smiling and, save for the incongruity of his surroundings, it looked like one of the more ordinary days in his and the country's, political life.

In fact it was a moment of potentially epochal political importance, and it was filled with a degree of pathos which Greek tragedians might have found excessive.

For, barely 10 minutes before he chatted to the small knot of journalists in the Stellenbosch guest house on Tuesday this week, Mr Mandela had been informed by telephone that his wife had been sentenced to six years in jail.

As those journalists had rushed to short notice from Cape Town to see the ANC deputy leader after

his address to students at the University of Stellenbosch, they had done so with a feeling of excitement and dread. It was quite possible that they were about to witness the collapse of the negotiations process, if Mr Mandela decided not to accept Mr Justice Stegmann's verdict.

And besides this startling possibility, the extraordinary nature of the event was not lost on them — who could have imagined, little more than a year ago, that one could be driving to Stellenbosch to meet a free Nelson Mandela who, having just addressed a gathering of Afrikaans students, would comment about the fact that his wife had been sentenced to imprisonment? There is surely no adequate precedent, anywhere, for the unfolding South African saga.

In the event, the historic moment in the Stellenbosch voorkamer will be remembered for being strangely placid, rather than explosive. Mr Mandela, with almost incomprehensible composure, read out a short, hand-written statement, drafted upstairs only minutes earlier. Its contents were clipped, and to the point. His voice sounded heavy, but it was not querulous. He said: "As you know, my wife was sentenced to six years this morning. I have never believed that she was guilty of assaulting anyone."

"My faith in her has been vindicated. The witnesses who accused her of assault and other terrible crimes have been thoroughly discredited. The judge found her guilty of not reporting the assaults committed by others. "I believe she did not know about them ... We trust that soon her

name will be cleared completely. The last word on this issue has not yet been spoken."

Then he "spaced the statement in Xhosa and sat back, graciously inviting questions. Had he now lost all confidence in the South African legal system? Mr Mandela would not be drawn. "It is premature," he said, "to deal with that point now."

Once an appeal has been made, it is proper to leave the matter in the hands of the court."

How had he felt when only a few minutes before, he heard of the sentence? "Well," he said calmly, "in the light of the judgment delivered yesterday (Monday), the sentence passed was not unexpected. But only in the light of the way in which the learned judge handled the matter."

It was clear, almost immediately, that the moment of potential crisis had passed. It was scholasticly clear that he had passed through Mandela's remarkably placidly interpretation of events, the acerbicly accepted the sovereignty of the courts — it would have been easy enough for him to denounce the white-centric legal system — and he resisted what must have been a burning temptation to expunge himself of all the anger and frustration he felt as a result of the present situation in which he found himself. He stressed what was positive in the judgment and, as a result, he had a dignified and untroubled bearing at a crucial moment. It was surely this that Mr Mandela went for when he was hurried away by aides concerned about their appointment. He stopped to shake with journalists and in so doing made a crucial

off-the-cuff statement about the effect of the winding Mandela saga on the broader peace process.

The case itself has no direct relevance to negotiations, he said. The relevant question of course is whether the government is going to respond. He remains, though, we have seen, a man who is not dependent on the circumstances in which he finds himself.

Mr Mandela had had some difficulties in the past, but he had some good friends. He had some good friends in the South African government, and he had some good friends in the South African press. He had some good friends in the South African parliament, and he had some good friends in the South African judiciary. He had some good friends in the South African church, and he had some good friends in the South African labour movement. He had some good friends in the South African business community, and he had some good friends in the South African academic community. He had some good friends in the South African sports community, and he had some good friends in the South African arts community. He had some good friends in the South African entertainment industry, and he had some good friends in the South African media industry. He had some good friends in the South African education system, and he had some good friends in the South African health care system. He had some good friends in the South African social services sector, and he had some good friends in the South African environmental sector. He had some good friends in the South African cultural sector, and he had some good friends in the South African tourism sector. He had some good friends in the South African transport sector, and he had some good friends in the South African energy sector. He had some good friends in the South African telecommunications sector, and he had some good friends in the South African information technology sector. He had some good friends in the South African defence sector, and he had some good friends in the South African intelligence sector. He had some good friends in the South African foreign relations sector, and he had some good friends in the South African international law sector. He had some good friends in the South African human rights sector, and he had some good friends in the South African human development sector. He had some good friends in the South African gender equality sector, and he had some good friends in the South African social justice sector. He had some good friends in the South African anti-corruption sector, and he had some good friends in the South African public administration sector. He had some good friends in the South African labour relations sector, and he had some good friends in the South African occupational safety and health sector. He had some good friends in the South African consumer protection sector, and he had some good friends in the South African competition law sector. He had some good friends in the South African intellectual property sector, and he had some good friends in the South African trade law sector. He had some good friends in the South African investment law sector, and he had some good friends in the South African tax law sector. He had some good friends in the South African insolvency law sector, and he had some good friends in the South African bankruptcy law sector. He had some good friends in the South African estate planning sector, and he had some good friends in the South African probate law sector. He had some good friends in the South African succession law sector, and he had some good friends in the South African wills and estates sector. He had some good friends in the South African trusts and fiduciary law sector, and he had some good friends in the South African agency law sector. He had some good friends in the South African contract law sector, and he had some good friends in the South African tort law sector. He had some good friends in the South African property law sector, and he had some good friends in the South African real estate law sector. He had some good friends in the South African intellectual property law sector, and he had some good friends in the South African trademark law sector. He had some good friends in the South African patent law sector, and he had some good friends in the South African copyright law sector. He had some good friends in the South African trademark law sector, and he had some good friends in the South African trade mark law sector. He had some good friends in the South African trade mark law sector, and he had some good friends in the South African trade mark law sector. He had some good friends in the South African trade mark law sector, and he had some good friends in the South African trade mark law sector.

Civics vow to stay independent

11A
Soul 16/5-22/5/91

THE national civic organisation to be launched in August intends to represent the interests of "ordinary" people and sees its role continuing, even after the election of democratic local government structures.

Representatives from 12 regions throughout the country resolved at a conference last week to remain independent of political organisations.

"Most civics were born out of the political climate created by legislation in the 1980s which led to the formation of Black Local Authorities and the tricameral system of government," the national coordinator of the National Interim Civic Committee, Ms Zohra Ebrahim, said.

"To say that civics are not political is farcical, the ghettos in which people live have clear political dimensions.

"Civics unashamedly have a political role to play."

However, the conference distin-

guished between "constitutional" politics and "local politics".

They agreed that civic structures would concentrate on politics as it impacted on people's daily lives and leave national constitutional negotiations to the political parties.

Identify

"We may identify with the broad political aims of the political organisations, but we do not believe that we will ultimately shape many constitutional issues," Ebrahim said.

"At the same time, people should not underestimate the power of the civic movement, we have great potential."

"We want to create political space for our own agenda and place those issues on the national negotiation table.

"There will be strategic alliances between the civic movement and any political organisations where both articulate the same demands."

Ebrahim said there was no conflict between the civic movement and political organisations for political terrain, and it was unlikely that there was potential for conflict in the future.

Civics were not vying for members from the political organisations.

A priority for the national civic body will be the training of its members, preparing them for managing and administering their organisations at present and local government structures in the future.

Most of their work will be "issue orientated" and civics will relate to their communities through their participation in struggles to win their demands.

"Even when there are democratically elected local government structures, civics will continue to play an important role," Ebrahim said.

"We will monitor whether changes are taking place the way people want them to.

"Our political role will diminish, of course, but we see our major function as being a watchdog body."

The national civic body will also play an important role in determining people's expectations of a new government. Many people believed that in the new South Africa there would be houses and jobs for all.

Reshape

"We want to reshape people's understanding of what is possible," Ebrahim said.

"This does not mean that people should stop demanding houses for all, but that they must realise that it is not possible for the state to provide rental accommodation for all.

"We in the civics have to take people through the process of understanding these things themselves, it is our responsibility."

The conference instituted a civic charter campaign to articulate their policy guidelines.

1/A

ANC steps in to save teacher unity ^{South} 16/5 - 22/5/91



Thabo Mbeki

By Lorna Daniels

THE executive committee of the Cape Professional Teachers' Association (CTPA) will meet the African National Congress this week in a bid to resolve problems hindering teacher unity.

The meeting, held at the request of the CTPA, is expected to discuss problems arising from the formation of the South African Democratic Teachers' Union (Sadtu).

According to the CTPA's president, Mr Archie Vergotine, a promise that

his organisation would have proportional representation on Sadtu's executive committee, had not been fulfilled.

Principles

The CTPA was also opposed to Sadtu's involvement in trade union activities which were contrary to the professional principles of the organisation, said Vergotine, a principal at Cape Town's Ravensmead Senior Secondary School.

The ANC delegation for the meeting would comprise members of its national executive committee,

including Mr Thabo Mbeki, and other representatives, said the administrative-secretary of the ANC's Education Department, Mr Lindelwe Mbandla.

He refused to comment on the ANC's objectives for the meeting, saying the matter was "delicate" and that it did not want to "jeopardise the chances of a successful outcome to the meeting".

Vergotine said the CTPA hoped to reach a solution and "carry on with the unity process".

A Sadtu spokesperson could not be reached for comment.

Mandela to meet Thatcher

South. 16/5 - 22/5/91

THE deputy president of the ANC, Mr Nelson Mandela, and the head of the ANC's Department of International Affairs, Mr Thabo Mbeki, are likely to meet with the former British prime minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, in Johannesburg within the next few days.

Well-placed sources within the ANC said the British embassy was setting up a meeting between Thatcher and a top-ranking ANC delegation headed by Mandela and Mbeki.

The sources said the ANC group would brief Thatcher on the situation in South Africa and the meeting was likely to discuss the ongoing violence in the townships and the ANC's demands for an interim government and constituent assembly.

Meanwhile, several ANC regions as well as other organisations have threatened to stage protests against the visit which is taking place at the

invitation of the state president, Mr FW De Klerk.

ANC spokesperson, Ms Gill Marcus, said while she was unable to confirm or deny that a meeting was on the cards, the organisation had no objection "in principle" to such a meeting.

"We regard the role played by Thatcher in the past as not in the interests of South Africa and view her visit as untimely. But we do not have an in-principle objection to meeting with her.

"We often have to meet with groups or individuals whose views and actions we do not like," Marcus said.

She said ANC regions were free to organise protests against the visit.

Protest threats have prompted British officials to keep details of the Thatchers' itinerary under wraps. It is understood they will be in the Transvaal on Monday next week.



Margaret and Denis Thatcher being welcomed by Foreign Affairs minister Pik Botha

'Durban an unsafe venue'^{south} (11A) 1615-2215191

From Mono Badela

THE Eastern Cape region of the ANC has raised its concern over the use of Durban as the venue of the movement's national congress in July.

The historic conference is to be held at the University of Durban-Westville.

Natal is regarded by many as a "danger zone" following the internecine strife between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party which has claimed thousands of lives in recent years.

"We are extremely concerned about the venue," said an ANC official in Port Elizabeth this week.

"We're worried about our security. Tensions are running high, people are being killed on a daily basis by supporters of the IFP.

The safety of delegates is not guaranteed and our security is at stake," the official said.

An official letter, raising the concerns of the

region, has been sent to the movement's National Executive Committee (NEC).

About 2 000 delegates, double the number of those present at the Consultative Conference in December last year, are expected to attend the July Congress.

The theme of the conference is "Transfer of Power to the People for a Democratic Future" and will decide on several policy issues.

These include negotiations, violence, the economy, land reforms and education.

The highlight of the conference is expected to be the election of the new NEC. The ANC could not confirm reports that Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda will officially open the conference.

"Several notable guests will naturally be invited to attend our conference but as yet we cannot be specific on who is coming," said general-secretary, Mr Alfred Nzo.

ANC ahead in street poll

6/10/77 Political Staff 11A

CAPE TOWN — street survey in the PWV area has found that 39% of black people would vote for the ANC and only 2% for the NP.

The survey, published in the latest issue of Drum, found that 24% of respondents were too afraid to make any kind of commitment, 6% did not want all the fuss about it and 8% said they could not care less.

It also established that 12% would vote for the PAC, 5% for Azapo and 4% for Inkatha.

THE PRESIDENCY

SHOW US SOME STEEL

FM 1715791

DE KLERK'S OPTIONS FOR ENDING THE VIOLENCE



"Give us chaos!" That was Gandhi's mad demand for India after World War 2. The British tried at first to avoid partition and ensure an orderly transition to independence. Patience turned to despair. In

1946 the Viceroy, Lord Wavell, wrote of the endless talks with Indian leaders: "Continual hard work, and almost continual failure. No rest, no success." Eventually the British simply set a random date and pulled out. Gandhi got his chaos and half-a-million people died.

Wavell's remark calls to mind the predicament of President F W de Klerk.

De Klerk has made it clear that he is prepared to negotiate the end of white minority rule. He has refused to make apartheid a bargaining chip and is determined to abolish it completely. He has even said he would be prepared to serve in a Cabinet under ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela — the gesture of a statesman rather than a mere party hack.

De Klerk's commitment is shared by his Cabinet. His NP caucus has not suffered one defection since he started on radical reform. Ministers like Barend du Plessis and Gerrit Viljoen are visibly eager to get negotiations off the ground.

But De Klerk and his team ("bristling with car phones and fax machines," as a UK newspaper put it) are all dressed up with no one to talk to. "No rest, no success," indeed.

This is the latest twist in a weird political history: that when white men finally announce that they are prepared to give up exclusive power, black men are too busy carving one another up to respond appropriately.

Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the two most important black leaders, have not been so stupid as to emulate Gandhi's call for chaos (though ANC strongman Chris Hani has come close to it.)

But they might as well have, when you consider the violence that flares continually and which, if not stopped, will scare off investment and eventually make SA a wasteland.

There are vital social and economic aspects to violence: poverty, unemployment, lack of access to basic resources, appalling conditions in some hostels and squatter camps. But when one

group attacks another, there is almost always a political split, a tacit acknowledgment that one side is ANC and the other Inkatha. Revenge is exacted along these lines, and so the spiral continues. Both sides have shown utter contempt for the rule of law.

Buthelezi and Mandela have shown a personal willingness to make peace with each other — which suggests that, as leaders of stature, they should be able to stop the killing.

One theory is that, simply, their supporters are out of control, pursuing their own agendas and reacting purely to local conditions. Neither leader can afford to admit this, of course. The implication is that the police will have to stop violence on their own. The situation is complicated by common criminals who take advantage of general lawlessness; tribal rivalry between Xhosas and Zulus can be an inflammatory factor.

The second theory is more sinister: that it is in the interests of both the ANC and Inkatha to bid for power, and that each is trying to fill the enormous black political

vacuum left by decades of apartheid. For both, the stakes are high.

The ANC is generally regarded — probably by the Nats as well — as the major black party in negotiations, and it wants to retain that indefinable but powerful mandate. Inkatha, in turn, resents this perception: Buthelezi claims support from and beyond the Zulu millions, and wants equal status at the talks table.

This is why each takes every opportunity to weaken the other, and intimidate the township residents into support. Divisions and prejudices in the townships — between squatters and hostel dwellers, for instance — are exploited accordingly.

The third theory, even more sinister, is often aired by the ANC: that agents of the State are deliberately favouring Inkatha in the violence, to weaken the ANC and enable whites — even after the vote has been granted to all — to keep effective control over divided black factions.

The more charitable version of this theory is that the NP leadership and SAP generals may well be trying to ensure that the police act impartially — but commanders on the ground see matters differently.

It is, of course, possible that all of these theories have elements of truth; but what matters more is that people *believe* they are true. Politics is as much about perception as reality. For instance: those who refuse to see nasty motives on the part of any of the players will prefer the first view; many worried whites go for the second; and the ANC certainly believes the third version.

We guess there is some truth in the first two views — but with enormous variations according to local conditions. But while there may be maverick policemen who for some reason are not executing stated policy, we have difficulty accepting that De Klerk deliberately intends by the use of clandestine agents and a deliberately biased force to weaken the ANC. We have no proof. It is our judgment of the man from his actions since he has been in office.

What is abundantly clear, however, is that De Klerk needs a strong ANC to make a negotiated settlement stick. He knows that it would serve no purpose to Balkanise the country, depriving Mandela of popular support. Simply put, despite the fears of leftwing conspiracy theorists, it is not in whites' interest to weaken the ANC. (Cynics would say that the ANC is show-



Victim of violence . . .
one of too many



Buthelezi



De Klerk



Mandela



Vlok

continued



"Traditional" and modern weapons ... dead men can't tell the difference

ing itself quite capable of weakening itself, anyway.)

All the grandstanding and rhetoric should not obscure the fact that De Klerk and Mandela need each other badly. This is why the regular "crises" that arise over deadlines, broken promises and so on are only part of the greater game. Neither the ANC nor the NP can afford to let talks break down, because neither has any alternative. The Nats cannot revert to white supremacy; the ANC knows very well that if it were somehow to turn "armed struggle" and "mass action" into reality, it would not have a country to inherit.

There has been a perceptible pattern in the past few months. Ultimatums are issued; the political temperature rises as the deadline looms; a way out is found; each side is pretty decent about not exploiting the other's loss of face; and things carry on as before. In short, politics — a very healthy sign, were it not for the killing going on during the dalliance.

The wild card is Inkatha. It is not in Buthelezi's interests that the other two major players should steadily move towards an accommodation, all the time effectively eroding the position of Inkatha and its allies (apparently including some whites).

If De Klerk had to choose one black leader to deal with, it could only be Mandela. But Buthelezi cannot be ditched: he is too important a player. He leads the largest minority group.

However much dispute there is over his following, it is undoubtedly significant. He must be given credit for his impeccable anti-apartheid stance over the years and his adherence to principles of democratic capitalism. Buthelezi has never been a sell-out.

In our view, in these circumstances, whatever else De Klerk does, he must stop the violence and accommodate Buthelezi.

Another State of Emergency is not the answer. It would suffocate reform and pervert the progressive political atmosphere, as well as negate the enormous moral support won by De Klerk abroad. Government has sufficient powers of arrest and detention un-

der present legislation. It has in the security forces a potent peace-keeping resource.

Policy is often a matter of tone as much as content. De Klerk has shown himself to be accommodating; now he must get tough. There is no doubt that Law & Order Minister Adriaan Vlok is a decent man doing his best. But the forces under his control too often fail to keep the peace and protect the citizenry.

In politics generally and in the current circumstances in particular, loyalty and decency are not the virtues that count. Machiavellian though that may be, if De Klerk thinks otherwise, he is not as shrewd as we thought.

The pattern of the violence suggests that it tends to flare in conditions of social dislocation and deprivation — which makes it less than random, and possibly open to a rational solution. So while government obviously has



Reef squatters ... only a draft removal plan

to put out the fires it must also seek ways of removing the fuel.

Last year, De Klerk made a much-publicised visit to one of the Reef hostels. At the time the *FM* pointed out in detail how conditions in the hostels were contributing to the violence. Yet almost nothing perceptible has been done to replace them. Plans to deal with squatter camps, and with land which was taken away from communities under the Group Areas Act, are still in draft form.

De Klerk has moved with lightning speed on legislative reform. He has done nothing yet to improve conditions on the ground. To retain credibility he has to move significantly on both fronts.

Both Mandela and De Klerk must find a way of according Buthelezi the kind of status to which he aspires — and which his support, even if it be exaggerated, suggests he deserves. If the test for De Klerk is effective policing, for Mandela it is to persuade enough of his followers to accept that Inkatha is a political force with which to be reckoned. If Buthelezi indeed has minimal support, as the ANC claims, this will be revealed in due course when elections are held. Until then he and Inkatha must be taken at face value.

The all-party conference, scheduled for early August, will be another opportunity to level the negotiations playing field.

De Klerk wants desperately to get negotiations going. He has made that abundantly plain. But he must be ruthless in creating the right conditions for them, relentless in his demands on his own Ministers, uncompromising with truculent rightwing terrorists and vigorous in his approach to redressing the damage done by apartheid.

He could do worse than emulate Jan Smuts, the only other Afrikaner leader with claims to being a statesman, and display the cold steel in his character. Otherwise his legacy will be precisely what some ANC and PAC hardliners want: not peace and prosperity for every citizen of this country, but the totalitarian power that would inevitably follow chaos and civil war. ■

Move to woo ANC to talks

THE Government is making a bold move to get the ANC to the peace summit despite the organisation's emphatic refusal to do so.

Invitations have been sent to church leaders who the Government thinks would represent or even draw the ANC to the summit.

When President FW de Klerk first raised the issue of a peace summit the ANC was ambiguous over whether it would attend. *Sowetan 17/5/91*

In subsequent media reports, ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela stressed that on issues of "national interest", he felt that the movement had to be consulted.

Mandela indicated that he would agree to a peace initiative being arranged by the churches.

Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Gerrit

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

Viljoen said in Cape Town last night that "church leaders" had been invited to contribute towards organising the conference. ~~11A~~ 11A

"We have asked them to make suggestions and, if they wish, to meet with us," Viljoen said.

He said that while no responses had been received from the ANC or Inkatha, he hoped both parties would attend. Organisations which did not attend the summit would be held accountable.

The absence of leading groups at the peace summit would influence argument and consultation there, Viljoen said.

Unity can solve carnage - Azapo

Sowetan 17/5/91



THE Azanian People's Organisation yesterday warned that the continued violence in the black townships was grad-

By MOKGADI
PELA

ually assuming proportions similar to the civil wars in Mozam-

bique and Angola.

Azapo said this was characteristic of the kind of violence initiated by counter-revolutionary forces immediately after

the independence of many African countries, with the exception of Zimbabwe where "the able leadership of Zanu (PF) and Zapu was able to crush this phenomenon."

In a statement, Azapo's president, Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe, said the current violence was a result of an orchestrated campaign by the South African government and its collaborators, using the following tactics:

- * stabilisation in the form of killings;
- * division of the liberation movement by encouraging individual talks;
- * harassment of followers of the various movements by using its agents;
- * encouragement of mistrust among the various liberation forces; and
- * use of its resources to boost images of other liberation movements.

Struggle

"It is time that those who are champions of the struggle come together to fight this monster.

"We should leave political point scoring and concentrate on ending one single thing: Violence. No one organisation, party or individual can do it alone.

"This is a national issue affecting various black communities, which should be involved in the resolution of the conflict.

"President FW de Klerk's security forces cannot stop the violence. The people themselves will have to enhance black solidarity and unity at all cost," the Azapo official said.

PAC man criticises Thatcher

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — At a memorial service for people killed in the attack on Swanieville squatter camp on Sunday, Mrs Thatcher was criticised by PAC speaker Mr Dikgang Moseneke.

Mr Moseneke, one of the advocates for Winnie Mandela during her recent trial, called Mrs Thatcher an "arch settler colonialist". During the speech, a man shouted: "One Thatcher, one bullet".

Mr Moseneke said Mrs Thatcher "had made it her duty to support a system which in every way is insupportable".

Referring to the veil of security surrounding Mrs Thatcher's visit, Mr Moseneke said his organisation did not know her movements and was anxious "to express our opposition not only to her presence in this country, but also what she represents".

Women must push to get ahead

Ginwala slams whites' attitude

By SUSAN MILLER

IN one of the ANC offices in Johannesburg sits the small, energetic and articulate Frene Ginwala, one of the organisation's top women.

Sowetan spoke to Ginwala - ANC member, lawyer, one-time journalist and currently researcher in the secretariat of deputy president Nelson Mandela - about her years in exile and the role she feels women should play within the ANC and society generally.

ANC headquarters was humming with activity as a Press conference took place in one room and a conference in another.

Ginwala fitted an interview in-between a meeting and a briefing.

When she left the country 31 years ago to study in Britain she had "no intention of leaving the country permanently" but was unable to return because of the banning of

the ANC in 1961. (She points out that the ANC had already planned to establish an external mission before it was banned.)

Her years of exile were spent in Tanzania, Mozambique and England.

While in exile, Ginwala obtained a Law degree and later a history doctorate from Oxford University.

Most of her time was spent working on information and research "in the office of ANC

president Oliver Tambo" in London.

Somehow there was time for journalism as well and Ginwala became a "stringer" in East Africa for *The Guardian*, the BBC and others "to earn my living" she says.

In 1969, the Tanzanian government nationalised their Press and asked Ginwala to be managing editor of the *Tanzania Standard*.

She admits she was probably not ready for the job after a brief stint "and I'm not going to tell you how brief" at the *Times* of Zambia.

However, she feels the

idea of training young journalists at cadet schools was initiated at the *Tanzania Standard*.

Ginwala is a firm believer in the emancipation of South African women.

This is a topic that really gets her talking as she believes that unless women "really push themselves" they will not achieve emancipation.

"If I wasn't an optimist, I would never have been in the ANC. I really believe things will change," says Ginwala.

While she feels the ANC is far ahead of other liberation movements and many governments in its policies towards women, she says "an ANC government would not automatically set women free".

A structural change is needed to fully eradicate sexism and the fact that "men's eyes don't see women".

Problem

Ginwala illustrates this by pointing out that men always answer charges of discrimination with "What women? Give us names" but they never need to be given any men's names.

To get past this problem Ginwala feels that a quota system might have to be implemented with 30 percent of all ANC structures, including the national executive, made up of women.

She points out that the office of the deputy president is the only major department in the ANC that has appointed three women.

The ANC Women's League intends to launch a Women's Charter later this year and hopes to attract as many women's organisations as possible including those from the

National and Conservative Parties.

Ginwala feels that women can unite on issues such as taxation and abortion. However, she is scathing about the attitude of white women whom she feels have been willing "to sit in the back-ground".

She points out that while white women have long had the vote there are none on the boards of companies like Anglo-American or De Beers.

"Are white women saying they did not have the education?"

Marika de Klerk's statement that "women are not important - they are there to serve" has caused much controversy already and Ginwala feels that it is "truer of white women than black women".

Assertive

Black women are far more assertive and "there is no question of serving".

This was illustrated at the first national conference of the ANCWL earlier this year where women queued up to take part in a discussion on "How do you understand oppression".

Rural women especially are more assertive than most people expect them to be.

The idea that women should function only as women and mothers is outdated in a society where many women are members of MK and others the heads of households.

Ginwala says the ANCWL is encouraging women to join self-defence units to avoid being victimised.

She finds it strange that while people accepted white women going to firing ranges and learning to shoot, they cannot accept black women being part of self-defence units.



FRENE GINWALA

Sowetan 17/5/91
WOMAN

11A

300A 07/15/91

Mandela 'blew his chance to win over business'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Business leaders indicated they would prefer President F W de Klerk's summit on violence to go ahead without the ANC after emerging disappointed and sceptical from a high-level briefing on violence by Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday.

The briefing, the biggest meeting between business and the ANC since last year's Carlton conference, was at the ANC's request and was held under the auspices of the Consultative Business Movement.

Attended by 107 top businessmen at Premier Group's headquarters, its main purpose was to allow Mr Mandela to explain the ANC's April 30 ultimatum.

Prominent business sources said Mr Mandela "blew" his chance to win understanding and sympathy by portraying the ANC as innocent victim of the violence and failing to explain why people were killing each other.

"You cannot treat businessmen like fools. Many present... had put a lot of energy into the violence issues. They are well informed and know the explanation is not that simple.

"They will not accept pious exclamations of innocence."

Indonesia issue tarnishes ANC's image

W/mail 17/5-23/79. (114)
NELSON MANDELA'S visit to the south-east Asian nation of Indonesia last October was a shock to many. The Indonesian military regime is among the worst violators of human rights on record and is an aggressor against the national liberation movements of West Papua and East Timor.

After a state banquet in his honour in the capital, Jakarta, Mandela was awarded the Republic of Indonesia Star and received a cheque of \$10-million (about R25-million) for the African National Congress.

Added to controversy about the ignoring of racial discrimination in Australia and human-rights abuses in Kenya and India, the Indonesia trip highlighted serious questions about the ANC's international policy.

President Suharto came to power after the slaughter of an estimated one million Indonesians in 1965 and 1966, aimed at destroying the country's left-wing movement. The Communist Party, then third largest after the Soviet Union and China, was all but wiped out. Suharto's rule since has been characterised by repression.

Indonesia has been in occupation of East Timor since 1975, violating the United Nations Charter and numerous resolutions, and despite an intense struggle by the East Timorese resistance movement, led by Fretilin.

This tiny country, occupying half an

Nelson Mandela's trip to Indonesia raises serious questions about the ANC's international policy, according to London-based anti-apartheid activist **CELIA MATHER**

island across the deep-water straits from Australia, is estimated to have lost a third of its people through war, starvation and disease since the Indonesians took over.

Jose Ramos Horta, who has represented Fretilin at the UN for many years, was among those who reacted with anger at Mandela's visit to Indonesia. Accusing the ANC of "hypocrisy and opportunism", Horta said Fretilin had made three representations to the ANC about the visit which had been met with silence. Not only had Mandela refused a request to speak out on behalf of East Timor and Indonesia's political prisoners while in Jakarta, but the ANC had failed to respond to subsequent requests to issue a statement supporting East Timor, Horta said.

East Timor solidarity groups from around the world, meeting in Portugal last month, reacted with consternation at the ANC's handling of the East Timor question. The ANC's representative in Spain assured them that the ANC was well aware of repression in Indonesia and East Timor, but requests for



Nelson Mandela ... awarded the Republic of Indonesia Star

a formal statement have remained unanswered.

It is also possible that the ANC's handling of the Non-Aligned issue has weakened an important pressure point on the Suharto regime. While in Indonesia, Mandela visited the provincial capital of Bandung, site of the famous 1955 Conference which heralded the Non-Aligned Movement of the newly independent nations.

While ignoring East Timor, Mandela said Indonesia's own struggle for independence 40 years ago was a continuing inspiration for the ANC. Southern Africa's Frontline States have in the past blocked Indonesia's ambitions

in the Non-Aligned Movement precisely because of East Timor.

According to Tapol, the London-based campaign for human rights in Indonesia, "Suharto has been trying for ages to woo the governments of the African continent. The Mandela visit helped him in this respect and could enhance his chances of chairing the Non-Aligned Movement, a long-cherished ambition of the Indonesian dictator."

The anti-apartheid struggle is seen by many as the core of anti-imperialism worldwide. International support for continued sanctions and pressure on the South African government, however, is undermined by short-term and single-minded pragmatism which is viewed as furthering the ANC's self-interest while trampling on the interests of others.

What, for example, does the ANC's silence over East Timor say about its support for the sovereignty of other oppressed peoples?

In Australia, Mandela is reported to have said that discrimination against aboriginal people was an internal matter. The irony was not lost on Fretilin's Jose Ramos Horta. "For years, Mandela has asked the rest of the world to interfere in the internal affairs of South Africa", he said. "The fight for self-determination and freedom from repression in other countries is no more an 'internal matter' than apartheid is in South Africa."

ANC needs to solve some pressing problems at its July congress. **ANTON HARBER** examines the issues

Wanted ^(11A) strong, competent leaders

W/Mar 17/5-23/791.

THE African National Congress faces its moment of reckoning in July.

When thousands of delegates from around the country gather in Durban for the organisation's first proper congress since its unbanning 18 months ago, they will face the formidable challenge of transforming the organisation into a coherent, well-structured and tightly run political machine capable of dealing with the massive demands and pressures of the negotiating process.

At the moment, the organisation is weighed down enormously by a great deal of historical baggage. Since its unbanning on February 2 last year, it has postponed dealing with many of these issues.

It can delay no longer. The organisation's honeymoon period is over and it is under considerable pressure from its alliance partners, the media, local and international political observers, and international supporters and, most important of all, its membership, to sort out lingering problems.

Most media anticipation of the congress has concentrated on personalities, suggesting that the key issues facing the congress will be who gets what job. This will undoubtedly be

relevant, but of more fundamental importance will be whether these people inherit a modernised and workable political structure and whether the gap between them and ANC members is closed.

If the ANC does not deal with these issues in July, it faces little prospect of stemming the slow deterioration in its political and organisational position. It will enter the critical period of negotiations still carrying the burden of many historical problems.

Some of these are:

- A leadership that has been inherited from a period of covert struggle rather than elected to deal with the pressures of a political party. This means that it carries an overload of incompetence — people who hold their position due to long and honourable

service rather than merit. It also means that the leadership is not always accountable to the membership, and this has been a source of frustration to many members.

This was clearly expressed at last December's consultative conference, at which members demanded an end to secret meetings with the government, an injunction that was ignored.

- An anachronistic structure in which many key ANC departments and regions are not even represented in the body making most crucial decisions, the National Executive Committee. Thus, for example, the organisation's biggest region, the PWV, can form a view on a critical issue, but since it does not have automatic representation at a national level, it cannot be assured of having its view heard.

Similarly, there is no representative of a department as crucial as the economics department on the NEC.

This had led to gaps between the views of membership and leadership which become dangerous because there is no structured way of mediating such differences.

- A lack of coherent strategic and tactical direction. ANC policy has often seemed erratic in the last 18 months, motivated as often by the chance proximity of certain individuals to Nelson Mandela and their desire to hold on to their jobs, rather than careful strategic planning.

- An inability to draw on the enormous resources available to it. The ANC carries enormous goodwill among a wide range of South Africa's best experts (lawyers, economists, ed-

ucationists...) as well as long-standing activists from ANC-aligned bodies such as the United Democratic Front and Cosatu. So far, the organisation has failed to draw on these resources.

The main reason is that returning exiles have often felt threatened, and have tended to exclude such experts rather than expose their own vulnerability. The result has been that during negotiations, for example, the team of advisers behind Mandela has not been as strong as it should. Faced with a government team that has all the state resources and expertise at its command, Mandela has failed to bolster his team with the formidable expertise of lawyers and other professionals available to him.

ANC leaders acknowledge many of these problems and express optimism that they will be sorted out at the conference.

The first signs, however, are troubling. The congress is to consider a new constitution that improves representation on the NEC and the accountability of leadership, but opts for an unworkably large executive of 120 people rather than a tight and more coherent leadership.

Coupled with the outgoing NEC being given extraordinary powers (such as being recognised as a region in itself, giving it the power to nominate some of the delegates and electoral candidates), this has led to a growing suspicion that there is a covert attempt to protect the positions of leaders under threat from dissatisfied members.

ANC leaders deny this, but there is little doubt that some of those holding key positions such as general secretary and treasurer general are fighting a rearguard action to avoid being cast out into the cold.

There is little chance of this working, since dissatisfaction with these individuals is widespread. However, their personal battles to make sure there are jobs for themselves risks making the ANC's structure top-heavy and ponderous.

More than anything else, the organisation needs to develop a sophisticated leadership core that is able to run a tight organisation during a difficult period of political uncertainty. Mandela needs to know that he is surrounded by the best advisers who have the ability and resources to be planning long term strategy, rather than letting the ANC continue to stumble unpredictably from issue to issue.

To achieve this requires toughness. The ANC will have to show that it will not allow itself to be slowed by an inability to deal with incompetence and weakness. If it is to present itself as an alternative government, its leadership will have to demonstrate an ability to deal resolutely with these issues.

If this does not happen at the July conference, it probably never will.

Winnie 'high on ANC talks agenda'

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff

Winnie Mandela's conviction and subsequent six-year sentence will be one of the main issues to be discussed by the ANC's national executive committee (NEC) when it meets in Johannesburg today, according to well-placed sources.

The NEC meeting, which will also be attended by ANC regional chairmen from across the country, will be held at a secret venue in Johannesburg and is expected to deal with a number of burning issues, including the question of violence and the organisation's May 9 ultimatum to the Government.

NEC members and regional executive committee chairmen from across the country started

arriving in Johannesburg yesterday, where they were booked into different hotels, the sources said.

Mandela's conviction and sentence, sources within the ANC told The Star, would be one of the main issues on the agenda.

Other issues to feature prominently would include the organisation's national congress in July, the Government's response to the ANC's demand for the banning of cultural weapons, and the Government-convened May 24-25 multiparty conference on violence.

The ANC has so far refused to attend the conference, arguing that Pretoria convened it for propaganda purposes while failing to do anything significant to curb violence in the townships.

The organisation wanted a neutral body such as churches to convene the meeting.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela is expected to brief the NEC on his confidential meeting in Pretoria last week with President de Klerk.

The State President, who later told the Pretoria Press Club that "great progress" had been made at the meeting, conceded to the ANC's demand for the conversion of single-sex hostels into family units and the immediate banning of cultural weapons — except for spears "at this stage".

The ANC leadership is also expected to assess any progress made in the release of political prisoners, one of the organisation's key demands.

Anti-Winnie ire mounts in UK

LONDON — The ripples of Winnie Mandela's conviction on kidnapping charges are continuing to be felt in Britain.

The London borough of Brent is to change a housing office named after her.

Labour and Liberal Democrat council spokesmen said they would press for Mandela's first name to be dropped, changing the building's name to Mandela House in honour of her husband.

The Tory councillor agitating for a name change, Irwin van Colle, said: "The woman is now no better than a common criminal. We went off her when she refused to condemn necklacing, but she has always been a disreputable character."

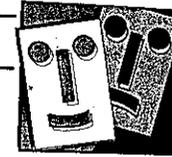
In Aberdeen, Scotland, there are moves by Tory councillors to withdraw Mandela's freemanship of the city.

This is being opposed by Labour councillors. Mayor Robert Robinson said: "The freedom was given to the Mandelas for their great effort in the cause for freedom in South Africa."

LEAP OF FAITH

FM 17/5/91

11A



Not bad, hey? That's my proposed national flag for "the new SA" down on the right there.

It upset quite a few people when I described it in a Radio 702 broadcast last month. They were shocked that I had made no attempt to retain anything of the present flag. Actually, I don't care about flags one way or the other, and I suspect most people feel the same way. But when we get back into the Olympic Games we'll have to have a flag, because sooner or later we're going to win a medal and you can't have an Olympic awards ceremony without national flags.

The present flag is an attractive one. It should be, given all the agonising and fierce argument that went into it; in the Twenties, no political issue was hotter.

Orange, white and blue make a pleasing overall impression; the "Union Jack" and the flags of the old Boer republics are not obtrusive, and highly significant historically.

It would be nice to retain some aspects in a new flag, but political

realities make this unlikely. The leaders of the black majority, for so long not represented at all on the flag, are not likely to allow any vestige of Brit and Boer colonialism. Unreasonable, perhaps, but there it is.

Conservative energies would be much better expended in trying to retain the springbok as the national sporting symbol. Whites might be appalled by a flag composed of black, green and yellow, the colours of the ANC (and Inkatha, which people tend to overlook) — but they would get used to it. On the other hand, whites would not easily

forgive the abolition of the famous springbok, especially for rugby.

The ANC doesn't seem to have strong views on the springbok, tending to the view that sportsmen should decide for themselves. But politicians can never resist interfering (as rugby and cricket know to their cost, at the hands of the National Party), and it might be a good insurance policy to include it in the flag.

In any case, most black sportsmen seem to favour retaining the springbok.

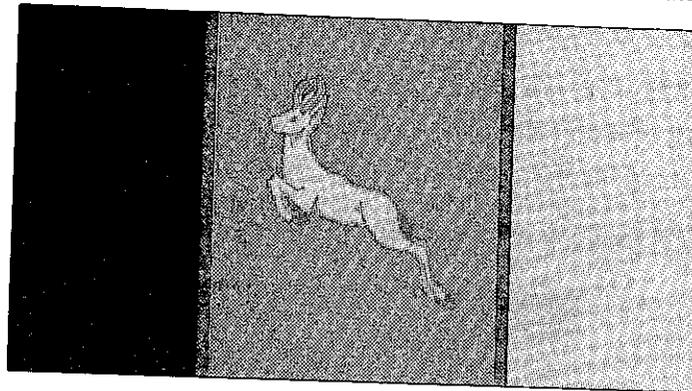
Naturally, if there is a leaping animal in the centre of the flag, other symbols will be kept out.

We can do without the Afro-socialist realism of gear cogs, spears, tractors and the faces of heroic guerrillas.

A small concession should be made to the socialist dream, of course, without making the trade unions think that it could become reality: hence the thin red stripes.

They might also serve as a discreet but sombre reminder of all the blood that has been shed.

David Williams



WEEKEND reports that a phoenix is about to rise out of the ashes of the United Democratic Front to challenge the African National Congress have been dismissed as "utter nonsense" by members of the UDF, the civic associations, Cosatu, and the ANC itself.

The rumours started with a conference, held in Bloemfontein this weekend, that was purportedly to launch a South African National Civic Association. Quoting prominent members of the UDF like Archie Gumede, who are known to be dissatisfied with current ANC leadership, weekend newspapers implied that this new association was being set up as a radical, mass-based option to the ANC.

"But last week's *Saturday Star* lead article was mischievous and misleading," said UDF Treasurer Azhar Cachalia. "It was a deliberate attempt to set a possible new national civic structure up against the ANC, when that was not the intention at all."

"All we were doing in Bloemfontein," added Civic Association of Trans-

vaal (Cast) vice-president Kgabisi Mosunkutu, "was exploring the possibility of a national federation of civics. We are in no way challenging the ANC, and we would never allow the civics to become a platform for opposition to the ANC."

Gill Marcus, spokesperson for the ANC, confirmed that "we welcome an independent national civic association. We have always believed in it."

Mosunkutu said: "It is vital that civics remain independent from all political parties if we are to do our work, which is to tackle bread-and-butter issues in the townships. But the fact that we are independent of the ANC seems to have been misconstrued as opposition to the ANC. Nothing could be further from the truth. We have always believed in forming alliances with political parties who share our agenda, and, right now, the ANC is such a party. So we are in

New body won't challenge ANC

W/maail 1715-23/5/91

MARK GEVISSER
investigates the rumours that a
new organisation is being
formed to challenge the ANC

strong alliance."

And Cosatu's Niel Coleman said that, contrary to reports in the *Saturday Star*, "Cosatu has no vested interest in the creation of such an association. Our leadership has been involved, however, because through the years of repression they had a protected role while the civic leaders were in detention."

He added that "far from detracting from already-existing alliances, an independent National Civic Association would only strengthen them. UDF and Cosatu have been calling for such a body for years. It would be like a Cosa-

tu for the civic associations. It's critical." Critical, explained Mosunkutu, "because it would provide all the local civics with a forum where they could exchange strategies and develop a common agenda. We need such an agenda if we are to fight government initiatives like the Local Government Bill." This bill would allow conservative towns to remain segregated if they chose.

Cachalia added that "the need for a national civic association became all the more urgent once it became clear that the UDF was to disband. Because to date the local civics have worked within the UDF, and once it disbands, they will have no common meeting point."

Coleman believes that "civics might evolve different policies to the ANC, and they might have a different style and substance. But this is healthy and is encouraged by the ANC itself, which

has always believed in the necessity to develop a civil society that is independent to the state."

It is a reality that many of the old UDF leaders, who emerged from the civics in the 1980s, are dissatisfied with ANC leadership. And this new civic association might well provide them with a new forum. But Coleman believes that "things are being confused. It is assumed that because the National Civic Association is being launched in August and the UDF is disbanding in August, the one is going to replace the other." But while the UDF was a broad front of resistance, this new association will be very specifically a federation of civic associations, dealing with bread-and-butter local issues.

The only way civics could be construed as a threat to the ANC, Mosunkutu said, is "if and when the ANC comes to power, we will not disband. We will become watchdogs to make sure leaders remain accountable to the people and deal with local issues such as housing, water, and electricity."

Bitter speech at scene of weekend massacre accuses



FW of racism
 W/mad 17/5 - 2315791
 By GAVIN EVANS and WALLY MBHELE

NELSON Mandela yesterday delivered his toughest speech since his release from prison 15 months ago, warning the government that violence would spill over to the white areas unless drastic moves were made to stop the carnage.

Mandela was speaking on the eve of a crucial African National Congress National Executive Committee meeting to consider the government's response to the ANC's ultimatum on violence, with talks between the two groups balanced on a knife edge.

In an angry off-the-cuff speech at a commemorative service in Kagiso, the scene of a massacre of 28 people on Sunday by Inkatha-supporting hostel-dwellers, Mandela warned there would be no negotiations unless the government banned the carrying of spears and sticks — and said he had been unable to move President FW de Klerk on this issue.

The ANC deputy president accused De Klerk of racism, said Inkatha wanted to "rise to power on the corpses of dead people" and blamed the government and security forces for actively promoting anti-ANC violence.

Addressing a commemorative service at the Kagiso Hall for the 28 people murdered at the Swa-
 nenville squatter camp, Mandela warned the government that the violence would spill into the white areas, and that white civilians would be hit, unless drastic moves were made to stop the carnage.

He warned the community against taking such



A smile for supporters, but when the words foll

●To PAGE 3

giso on Thursday Photo: KEVIN CARTER

Angry Mandela warns the state

action.
 Addressing the issue of the ANC's ultimatum for the banning of spears, Mandela said the ANC was "putting tremendous pressure on the government", adding that there was "no question of negotiations in this country" unless De Klerk conceded.
 He repeated this point several times, but noted that "I was not able to move Mr De Klerk because like all average whites he has no regard for the black man's life".
 He said De Klerk told him that if the government found that there was abuse of spears and sticks he would take action.
 "I told him that over 8 000 blacks had died in the violence since 1984, and that these spears are being abused

now. How many more people should die before you ban these dangerous weapons?"
 He added that "if only 50 whites had been killed there would have been a revolution in this country" and the government would have banned all weapons immediately.
 "But because it is blacks, we have to work for years to convince him that he needs to protect the lives of our people, and for spears to be banned."
 Referring to Inkatha as "an organisation with no membership in the Transvaal", he said they were unable to get members by "appealing to the people to join them" and therefore were using

force for this end.
 "They want to rise to power on the corpses of dead people."
 He added that Inkatha had a habit of bussing people to rallies in areas where they didn't have a "single member".
 Dismissing police claims that they had been unaware of Inkatha plans for Sunday's massacre, he said the police had spies in every hostel, and if hostel dwellers "decide to attack tomorrow, the police will know immediately".
 "It is therefore not true when they say that they were not aware of what was happening when the hostel attacked."
 Mandela said these massacres were happening because "it has become the policy of the government to allow this

in order to weaken the liberation movement".
 He warned that when people realised "the government is working with the black organisation which is killing our people", they would move into the white areas and kill innocent people.
 "The liberation movements will not support it because there are many innocent people there who have nothing to do with the violence. There are many whites who value the lives of our people, and in any attack both innocent and guilty will be killed... We don't want you to do that."
 He added the government was making a mistake because one effect of its support for violence was to help forge unity between the ANC, Pan-Africanist Congress and the Azanian People's Organisation. He firmly embraced these organisations, referring to the unity which had been forged between them on Robben Island.
 "By killing so many innocent people they have succeeded in bringing us together."
 Yesterday's service was co-hosted by the three organisations and addressed by Dikgang Moseneke of the PAC and Pandelani Nefolovhode of Azapo, as well as by SACP general secretary Joe Slovo and Umkhonto weSizwe's Chris Hani.
 Outside the hall about 15 000 people gathered, many toyi toying, and some armed with "traditional weapons".

●Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi on Thursday night accused the ANC of "moving in for the kill" by calling for the banning of cultural weapons by Zulus.
 "One does not call for the banning of lollipops when you are confronted by serious drug abuse amongst teenagers."
 Buthelezi said the ANC cynically knew that it was putting tremendous pressure on De Klerk to decide whether to placate the ANC by banning traditional weapons. He said if De Klerk did not do this, he would have to decide between confronting the ANC or confronting the IFP.

W/mad 17/5 - 2315791

●From PAGE 1

Negotiations poised on the edge of a spear

By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

TALKS between the government and the African National Congress are poised on the edge of a spear as the movement's National Executive Committee meets today to consider President FW de Klerk's response to its ultimatum on violence.

Well-placed sources indicated yesterday that De Klerk was prepared to accede to ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela's demand that spears be included on the list of dangerous weapons banned in unrest areas.

However, an international press conference held by Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Gerrit Viljoen last night failed to produce an expected major announcement on the subject.

Viljoen merely announced details of next week's planned peace conference which is in danger of seriously bombing without the participation of the ANC.

ANC sources indicated they would have been prepared to attend the conference if the government made it clear that it was simply a preliminary meeting to plan a much more extensive peace conference hosted by a neutral party or co-hosted by all the major parties.

It appeared, judging from Viljoen's performance yesterday, that the government is determined to press on with the conference.

In talks that led to the ultimatum, which was originally set to expire on May 9, being extended by one week, Mandela last week gave De Klerk seven days to ban "traditional" Zulu spears or the ANC would break off negotiations.

The IFP central committee will also meet in the next few days, but judging by Buthezezi's statements this week — as well as those from King Goodwill Zwelithini — there has been little softening of the IFP position.

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FW's summit 'should go ahead'

ANC briefing disappoints businessmen

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BUSINESS leaders indicated they would prefer President F W de Klerk's summit on violence to go ahead without the ANC after they emerged disappointed and sceptical from a high-level briefing by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela on violence yesterday.

The briefing, the biggest meeting between business and the ANC since last year's Carlton conference, was at the ANC's request and was held under the auspices of the Consultative Business Movement.

It was attended by 107 top businessmen at Premier Group's Killarney, Johannesburg headquarters. Its main purpose was to allow Mandela to explain his organisation's April 30 ultimatum.

Prominent business sources said Mandela, by portraying the ANC as the innocent victim of the violence, "blew" his opportunity to win some understanding and sympathy from business.

"You cannot treat businessmen like fools. Many present ... had put a lot of energy into the violence issues. They are



● MANDELA

PATRICK BULGER and THEO RAWANA

well-informed and know the explanation for the violence is not that simple.

"They will not accept pious exclamations of innocence."

Among those present were Neil Chapman (Southern Life), Kevin de Villiers (Allied), Murray Hofmeyer (retired JCI chairman), Mervyn King (Frame), Gavin Relly and Michael Spicer (Anglo), Leon Cohen (PG Bison) and Peter Wrighton (Premier).

Mandela's delegation included ANC international affairs chief Thabo Mbeki, Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani, Umkhonto commander Joe Modise and national executive committee member Stanley Mabizela.

Business sources at the meeting told Business Day that Mandela admitted the ANC had erred by imposing an ultimatum on government before briefing the SA business community.

Sources said Mandela had reiterated that government was to blame for not quelling the violence and for not being firm with Inkatha.

Mandela was adamant that the ANC would not attend a government-initiated peace conference as it should have been consulted beforehand on the conference.

One informant said Mandela said he did not see how he could be blamed for the violence because he had warned about it while he was still in prison.

Mandela, however, sounded a conciliatory note towards Law and Order Minister

□ To Page 2

Summit

BIPAY 171591

From Page 1

Adriaan Vlok, saying that he was attempting to do something about the violence, but that the Cabinet was holding him back.

One delegate said while the Mandela tone was conciliatory the discussion was disappointing because he had failed to explain why it was that people in the townships were killing each other. It seemed as if the ANC wished to distance itself from the violence, the delegate said.

Mandela said business had a direct responsibility to get involved in attempts to end the violence by throwing its weight

behind the ANC and other organisations in putting pressure on government to take concrete steps to address the issue.

Sacob had warned the ANC soon after the publication of its open letter that the weak level of confidence in SA was likely to plummet further as a result of its ultimatum.

Sacob also forecast that potential new investment from overseas would be affected if political talks collapsed.

● Picture: Page 3
● Comment: Page 10

ANC, allies to decide today on ultimatum

Sow

THE ANC and its alliance partners will decide today what action to take on the Government's response to its open letter ultimatum on violence.

A special extended national executive committee meeting, including the ANC's regional representatives and representatives of Cosatu and the SACP, will be convened in Johannesburg to evaluate the Government's response and decide what further action, if any, needs to be taken.

The ultimatum, unofficially extended by a week following a meeting between President FW de Klerk and ANC deputy President Mr Nelson Mandela, expired last night.

The extra time was agreed on to enable De Klerk to arrive at some agreement with Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi on Zulu "cultural weapons".

In a joint statement after talks between De Klerk and Buthelezi the two said they had only discussed the issue of dangerous weapons, including firearms

and spears.

The reference to firearms has been seen as an indication the IFP leader wants to trade off the assegai issue for a concession from the ANC regarding the organisation's arms caches, particularly of AK-47 assault rifles.

The assegai issue is the crux of the dispute between the ANC and the Government.

Agreement on most of the seven demands of the ultimatum appears attainable with the ANC willing to compromise on the call for the immediate dismissal of the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, and of Defence General Magnus Malan.

Government negotiators are hard at work trying for a breakthrough on the Zulu assegai issue.

Sympathy for the Zulu cause has been waning since graphic demonstrations of the deadly role it is playing in township violence has permeated the print and TV media. - Sapa.



This So



— Mr Nelson Mandela told Stellenbosch University students this week that the ANC did not seek black domination in a post-apartheid South Africa, he was repeating earlier assurances. Political Correspondent MICHAEL MORRIS writes that the fact that Mr Mandela holds the same general view after a turbulent and eventful 18 months of politicking in freedom amply conveys a sense of consistency in his approach.

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Mandela reaches out to whites

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela chose his tempestuous appearance at Stellenbosch University this week to reach out to whites with an assurance that a post-apartheid future would not mean domination by blacks.

Though this was not the first time he had given such an assurance, he acknowledged that a "mere rhetorical assurance" would not be enough and that there was a need for "structural guarantees" to ensure that the realisation of the principle of the one-person-one-vote "will not lead to the domination of whites by blacks".

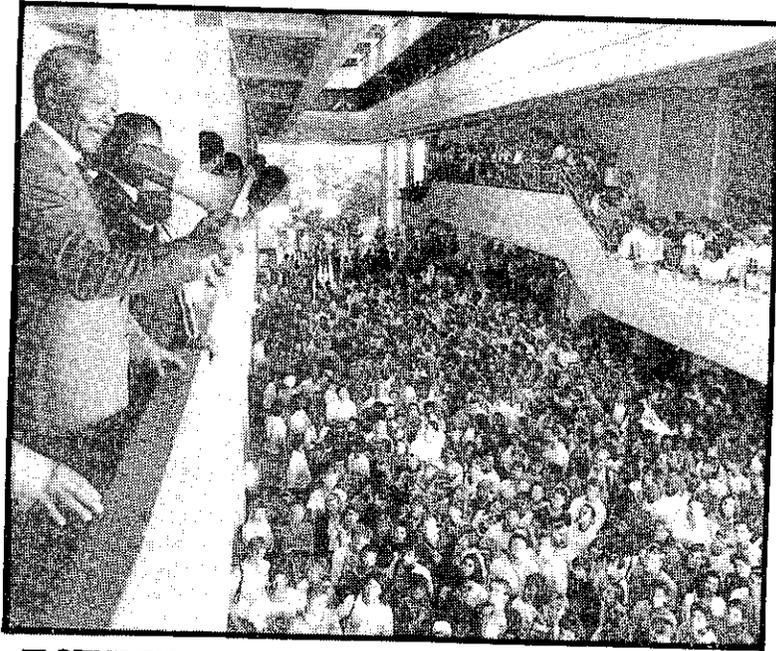
In a significant, if loosely defined, assessment of South Africa's constitutional needs, Mr Mandela went on to say that the mere adoption of the revered tenets of Western democracy would not be enough to ensure a democratic political milieu here.

He told his student audience that he had set out his concerns about allaying white fears in a letter to former President P W Botha.

"We have to address the fears of whites and we should go beyond a mere rhetorical assurance in order to address structural guarantees which will ensure that this principle (one-person-one-vote) will not lead to the domination of whites by blacks."

Departing from his prepared speech at Stellenbosch, he said: "Of course, the principle recognised in all democratic countries is that the political party which gets the most votes forms the government, and there is no reason why we should not observe that principle here."

Then he added: "But all principles, democratic or otherwise, must be applied in accordance with principles in existence here."



□ **STUDENT MEETING:** Mr Nelson Mandela at the University of Stellenbosch this week.

"Having regard for our background, it may not be enough to work purely on one-person-one-vote, because every national group would like to see that the people of their flesh and blood are in government."

Mr Mandela joked: "I am sure you will want to see a Terreblanche (economics Professor Sampie) in government. And Trevor Manuel (ANC publicity secretary in the Western Cape), however democratic he is, would like to see his flesh and blood in government, and so would Thabo (Mbeki) and Ahmed (Kathrada)."

He believed it would not be wise simply because a principle was recognised throughout the West that it should be "enough".

"We have to solve our problems

in accordance with our situation," he said.

Returning to his speech, and reverting to Afrikaans, Mr Mandela also went out of his way to assure the students that the ANC did not regard Afrikaans solely as the "language of oppression" and that, indeed, the Afrikaans "now in the process of development is the Afrikaans of the new South Africa, a language of liberation".

He said: "If respect for cultures and religious beliefs is what is meant by 'group rights', we certainly respect them".

However, he firmly rejected any form of "disguised racial privileges".

In fact, Mr Mandela's comments in Stellenbosch about structural guarantees are not new.

He had been out of jail for one day when he gave a press conference at which he said: "The ANC is very much concerned to address the question of the concern of whites over the demand of one-person-one-vote."

"They insist on structural guarantees, that is the whites, to ensure that the realisation of the demand does not result in the domination of whites by blacks."

"We understand those feelings and the ANC is concerned to address that problem and to find a solution which will suit both the blacks and whites of this country."

So, one can surmise, in the past year, his view, generally stated though it remains, has not changed.

In the final analysis, however, it is hard to determine whether the absence of definitions and details of exactly what the ANC envisages when it speaks of "structural guarantees" and "existing principles" means it is anything more than what the deputy president described as a "mere rhetorical assurance".

In the fluid, shifting environment of political transition, there are few certainties.

Undoubtedly, however, Mr Mandela's remarks reflect a measure of flexibility — and a recognition of the need for an imaginative, rather than a textbook, approach — on the vexing question of future constitutional arrangements.

Flexibility — particularly from so an important player as the ANC — is probably the single most important factor in the constitutional debate.

And the fact that he holds the same general view after a turbulent and eventful 18 months of politicking in freedom amply conveys a sense of consistency in his approach.

CT 18/5/91

Tambo to come back for good?

Own Correspondent

(11A)

LONDON. — ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo will return to South Africa for good when he goes there next month for July's national conference — provided he can receive the treatment he needs following the stroke he had in 1989.

A report in the Evening Standard's Londoner's Diary yesterday said that "in his hour of need Nelson Mandela has recovered one of his oldest and staunchest allies.

"For I hear that Oliver Tambo, 73, is to return permanently to South Africa, 31 years after being exiled".

The diary quotes an aide: "He is going to South Africa in June to attend our national conference in Durban. If we are happy that his treatment can continue over there he will stay."

The diary says author Anthony Sampson, a friend of Mr Tambo since he met the young partner of lawyers Mandela and Tambo 40 years ago, is also optimistic.

One factor said to be worrying Mr Tambo's aides is the added stress of returning to South Africa.



HOME TO STAY ... Mr Oliver Tambo

ANC reviews ultimatum

11A
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THE ANC National Executive Committee was locked in an all-day meeting yesterday to decide on action after the expiry on Thursday of its ultimatum.

The ultimatum for the Government to curb violence and fire two key security Ministers was extended by a week, after a meeting between President F W de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela.

The extension is apparently meant to make possible an agreement with Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi on "traditional weapons". — Sapa.

Can Samson Survive Delilah?

After nearly 28 years in jail, Nelson Mandela emerged triumphant; can he now survive his wife's disgrace? For the sake of his people, he must find a way, says John Carlin, who has been covering the South African scene for *The Independent*, London.

11A
Stev
18/5/91

It had to be the most remarkable moment in Winnie Mandela's life, but she emerged from the Rand State Court building, having just been convicted on charges of kidnapping and accessory to assault, with a broad smile of triumph, her fist raised in response to the muted cheers of a crowd of barely 100 supporters.

Nelson Mandela, who had loyally taken the day off from attending to the nation's catastrophic affairs to be by his wife's side, looked as if his mother had just died.

The contrast — he in white raincoat, she in black suit — said much about this most ill-matched of couples, about the difference in their perceptions of reality. This was the spectacle, on a cold day in Johannesburg, reminder as once before what a child Mrs Mandela is, how tenuous, how fantastic, her grip on reality.

If the African National Congress, as a whole has tended to inhabit a mythological revolutionary world, full of the motifs of "armed struggle" and "popular insurrection" but little of the substance rightly appropriated in their time by Fidel Castro, the Sandinistas, the Vietcong, no one has presented a more caricatured spectacle than Mrs Mandela.

All fire and bombast, her political image has rested on appealing to the most facile, most crude instincts of the adolescents who provide the ANC with so much of its energy but so little useful thought.

She rants and postures while her grave husband — the very personification of the ANC with all its present troubles and its worthy principles of old — attempts to wrestle with the complex nitty-gritty of political life in South Africa, to hammer out the details of his people's future and at the same time seek an end to the worst bloodshed the country has endured since the Beer War. Never before can a 72-year-old man, who has spent so much of his

life locked in prison, have had to bear so impossibly heavy a political burden.

And now this. No more tragic spectacle — tragic in the classical Greek sense of the word — must exist anywhere in the world right now. The heroic individual brought low by the fatal flaw.

The question now is, how low? Will Mrs Mandela go to jail and will then, the ANC leader be psychologically and politically crushed in the process?

He dotes on his wife. He hugged her in court just moments after the verdict. He kissed her on the lips and called her "darling". She stood by him, as he sees it, during his long imprisonment, and she can do no wrong.

He suspends his reason and, blinded by love, ignores the howls of protest from within his own movement, from those in the Mass Democratic Movement — which was the ANC until the ANC was legally unbanned last year — who on February 16 1989 publicly denounced Mrs Mandela's "reign of terror" in Soweto, a position that has not changed to this day among those who shunned exile and avoided jail to fight the good fight.

Such has Mr Mandela's dedication been to his wife that death-beats in the movement — like ANC secretary general Alfred Nzo — have sought to preserve their dubious hold on their positions by slavishly proclaiming their loyalty to "the mother of the nation".

AND, indeed, Mr Nzo, for one, has been rewarded by Mr Mandela, who makes a point of publicising his esteem for the man.

Mr Mandela now faces as challenging a political test as he has ever endured.

At a time when the ANC leadership faces an internal crisis, essentially a crisis of confidence among its own rank and file, he must rise above his personal difficulties, place them in perspective alongside his far graver task of doing battle for the rights of those

millions who have had no rights under apartheid.

For in this vexed marriage is dramatised the fundamental problem Mr Mandela and his fellow members of the ANC's National Executive Committee confront — the perception among the MDM people, the lifeblood of the ANC as expressed in the unions and the recently defunct United Democratic Front, that their leaders are motivated more by petty vanities and personal ambition than by a sincere wish to do justice to the cause which originally inspired their rebellion.

The NEC is perceived, in turn, to be out of touch with the feelings and aspirations of "the masses" it says it represents.

THE recent tough line against the Government on the issue of the township violence has helped, but the grievances run deep.

And few things have helped spur those grievances more than Mr Mandela's — and, by extension, the NEC's — insistence on standing by the self-professed "mother of the nation".

So Mr Mandela must rise above his personal calamities, forget his wife and get on with the far more serious business at hand, if the image of the ANC leadership is not to be eroded still more.

For he is the very image of the leadership and if he falls, they all do — with potentially catastrophic consequences at this most delicate of times.

Mr Mandela has had to dig into his deepest reserves of courage and dignity.

For his own mental and physical health are tied to the health of the ANC and the black nation as a whole, whose dreams he represents.

What he must now do is break a spell that has held him since the day 33 years ago when he abandoned his quietly spoken first wife, Evelyn — she might have been forgiven a little gloating this week — for a beguiling Delilah 18 years his junior.



WORRY PILED ON WORRY: Nelson Mandela, at 72, must grapple with major personal problems as well as the ANC's and the country's massive political headaches.

Be kind, she had a tough time ...

Star 18/5/91.

11A

IT is possible to sympathise with Mrs Winnie Mandela without in any way condoning the crimes for which she was recently convicted. Very few young and newly-married women could have survived what she went through during the past 30 years.

At a young age and newly-married, she was deprived of her greatest natural supporter — her husband, who was sentenced to life imprisonment in the early 60s.

Even after this emotional trauma, she was not spared any psychological assault by the Security establishment and the Bureau of State Security (Boss). She was hounded and tailed by the Security Police until she was eventually banned and exiled to Brandfort in the Free State.

Still, this did not break her moral resolve to fight for what she believed in. She continued to play a prominent leadership role in the struggle of the ANC and later the UDF and MDM.

While all this was happening to her, she also had to create a home and bring up her children, virtually as a single parent. It is clear that somewhere down the line bitterness did catch up with her, as is evident from some of her fiery speeches — the most notorious of which was the "necklaces and boxes of matches" speech.

Her husband being in jail and the senior leadership of the ANC being exiled, imprisoned or banned, it appears that there was no-one of influence available to counsel and advise her on what a public figure could and could not say or do.

Obviously concerned about her security, owing to the unrelenting attention she received from the police over many years, she eventually surrounded herself with a

Through My Eyes

OSCAR
DHLOMO



group of young men who were completely unhelpful to her, to say the least.

Horrible stories of barbaric and criminal behaviour began to surface in the local media, casting serious aspersions on the characters and actions of these young men. The stories culminated in the tragic death of Stompie Sepei and the subsequent conviction of Jerry Richardson.

When the UDF leadership of the time condemned her and called on the community to ostracise her, it was ironically Inkatha and the ANC that came to her rescue. Inkatha reminded those who condemned her that she had had to endure unprecedented hardships in the past, when amongst other things, she lost her husband through imprisonment. The ANC, on the other hand, appealed to the community not to ostracise her but rather to bring her into the flock and counsel her.

It would appear that is still the challenge facing the community today. It would be easy to throw stones and socially bury Winnie Mandela because of her mishap, but it would be more humane to accept what has happened to her and assist her to rehabilitate herself and be re-absorbed into normal socio-political life.

Fortunately, she now has her husband to lean on and seek advice from — a blessing which many married couples take for granted — but which was denied Winnie Mandela virtually throughout her young married life.

Why Winnie probably won't go to jail

WINNIE Mandela is unlikely to serve a single day of her six-year jail sentence, even if she loses her appeal.

A conjunction of political forces seems set to save her from the indignity of incarceration for kidnapping and being an accessory to severe assault and not, as in the past, for political opposition to apartheid.

It is operating quite independently of the legal forces set in motion by the application for leave to appeal launched by her lawyer, George Bizos, SC, only minutes after she was sentenced.

Examination of two possible developments — both premised on the entirely theoretical assumption that her appeal will fail — shows how political considerations are likely to rescue her from internment.

Her appeal may take as long as three years to be heard by the Appeal Court, although it is not likely to take as long.

If it takes three years, however, it is possible that the present minority regime may have been replaced by then by either an African National Congress administration or by one in which the ANC is a major component.

If so, it is a betting certainty that the new government will not allow Mrs Mandela to go to jail; it will persuade the head of state, who may well be ANC leader Nelson Mandela, to exercise, in favour of Mrs Mandela, his prerogative to pardon felons.

It is relevant to recall two positions taken by ANC on Mrs Mandela in recent months:

PATRICK LAURENCE

first, an ANC statement describing the trial as "part of the pattern of harassment and persecution" directed at "Comrade Winnie" for the past 30 years; second, the more recent declaration by Chris Hani, chief of staff of the ANC's guerilla army, pledging that Mrs Mandela would be freed by an ANC government if she was in jail when it acquired power.

The logic of Mr Hani's declaration is that if the ANC can pre-empt imprisonment with a timely pardon, it will do so.

But even if President de Klerk is still in power when Mrs Mandela's appeal is heard and — for argument's sake — lost, the chances of her going to jail are miniscule.

South Africa's settlement negotiations will, in all likelihood, be well advanced three years or even 18 months from now. Mr Mandela, judging from opinion polls and barring the unforeseen, will be looming large as the man most likely to succeed President de Klerk.

It is preposterous to visualise Mr Mandela preparing himself for the role as president while Mrs Mandela readies herself for life in prison.

The ANC will certainly put pressure on President de Klerk to pardon her. The ANC's political clout, and the indispensability of its approval to any lasting settlement, make it virtually certain that Mr de Klerk will accede to ANC pressure to pardon Mrs Mandela.

The whole issue may, of course, be resolved more simply: the Appeal Court may uphold Mrs Mandela's appeal and set aside the sentence imposed on her by Rand Supreme Court judge M S Stegmann.

Mrs Mandela thus seems likely to escape imprisonment, one way or another.

It does not, however, seem possible for her to recover the esteem and power she wielded in ANC circles before disclosures were made of her role in the kidnapping of three young men and a teenage boy, Stompie Moeketsie Sepel, from the Methodist manse in Soweto in December 1988.

Even before Mr Justice Stegmann's damning judgment — he labelled her an "unblushing liar" and a woman who had no compassion for her victims — Mrs Mandela's influence was on the wane.

One clear sign was her crushing defeat in last month's contest for the presidency of the ANC Women's League: Gertrude Shope won twice as many votes as she did.

Another was the conspicuous absence of support from high profile ANC leaders at the end of her trial; they did not demonstrate their sympathy by attending the trial on Monday when judgment was given or Tuesday when sentence was pronounced.

Mrs Mandela, of course, has enemies in the ANC, many of whom occupied key positions in the Mass Democratic Movement, which unequivocally condemned her in February 1989.

In its now celebrated statement the MDM accused her of violating the "spirit and ethos of the democratic movement", of allowing the Mandela Football Club to conduct a "reign of terror" in Soweto and of refusing to co-operate with black leaders in the crisis committee who tried to mediate a reconciliation between her and aggrieved people in the black community.

The MDM statement ended with a call to the black community to distance itself from Mrs Mandela in "a dignified manner".

Its statement led to "bad blood" between Mrs Mandela and MDM leaders associated with the statement, some of whom were pushed to the side after the ANC was unbanned, Mr Mandela released and Mrs Mandela reinstated — allegedly from above — as an ANC leader.

But now, in the aftermath of Mrs Mandela's trial and the nadir in her political fortunes, election of a new ANC national executive by secret ballot is imminent. It will take place at the ANC's national conference in July.

The probabilities are strong that the election will see the rise to positions of prominence of former MDM leaders; while they will not allow Mr Mandela's wife to go to jail, they will probably thwart any attempt she may make to assert herself politically.

Mrs Mandela, however, is a formidable and resourceful woman who should not be underestimated.

UDF denies formation of civics body is result of rift

A SENIOR official of the United Democratic Front (UDF) this week denied that the formation of a national civics body came about because of a rift in black politics.

Such a rift was suggested last weekend as the Saturday Star made a series of disclosures concerning the birth of the new civics body.

Azhar Cachalia, national treasurer of the UDF, said the creation of a civics body was not a consequence of a rift between the UDF/MDM and the ANC, nor was it a resistance movement.

Mr Cachalia said there was

^{18/5/79}
a "mischievous" attempt to attribute the discussions around the formation of the national civics body to the alleged "rift in black politics".

^{18/5/79}
"It is widely known that there have been concerns expressed within MDM structures about the lack of consultation between the leadership of the ANC and its supporters," Mr Cachalia said.

"In fact, this criticism was made by the ANC itself at its consultative conference in December last year. But this is not why a national civics body is being launched. It is certainly not being formed in op-

^{18/5/79}
position to or in competition with the ANC."

The UDF, which hosted last weekend's national consultative conference, will disband in August. Mr Cachalia said that until now the UDF had been co-ordinating the activities of civic organisations.

"The UDF had been seen to be too closely aligned with the ANC. There was therefore a widespread feeling within the UDF that for the civic movement to be effective in campaigning around civic issues, it

would have to be independent of any political organisation so that these issues could be addressed on a non-party basis."

A strong mass-based civic organisation would be able to campaign on day-to-day bread and butter issues such as housing and rents.

Last weekend's conference, organised by the UDF's National Interim Civic Co-ordinating Committee, was attended by 160 delegates from 12 regions.

After the meeting, Sthembi-so Redabe, secretary of the interim committee, said it had been agreed in principle that

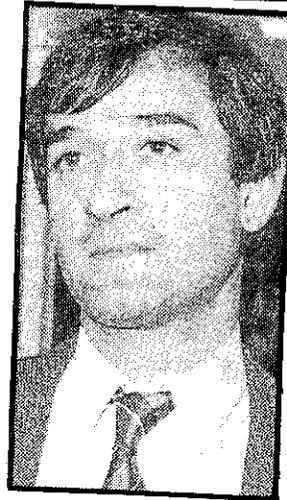
civic associations were independent of political organisations and groups within civil society. But this independence did not imply antagonism.

The statement denied that the Civic Associations of the Southern Transvaal (CAST) would disband as a result of the formation of the new body.

Mr Cachalia also said that Saturday Star reported the National Consultative Conference was convened by CAST. "It was hosted by the UDF's National Interim Civic Co-ordinating Committee."

● Aim not to create rift in black politics. See page 12.

STAFF REPORTER 11A



RIFT DENIED:
Azhar Cachalia.

Govt 'aims at class power' in new SA

Staff Reporter

THE government wanted to make the transition from racial to class power, while the ANC wanted "a substantial transformation of society".

This was said by Dr Zola Skweyiya, head of the ANC's constitutional affairs, at the National Association of Home-builders' conference yesterday.

His speech was poorly received and he was faced with a barrage of seemingly hostile questions afterwards.

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Many of the questions focused on boycotts of bond repayments and others reflected home-builders' concerns with vandalism and the ANC's approach to private sector housing developments during the transition to majority rule.

Dr Skweyiya said steps the government had taken in the 1950s to provide houses for poor whites fell squarely into his definition of affirmative action which he advocated.

He said housing subsidies could be given to blacks in the same way they are given to whites.

Dr Skweyiya admitted that race and class divisions would remain in South Africa "for decades to come", and the ANC would also take decades to fulfil its Freedom Charter promise of "homes and security for all".



COMRADES IN ARMS ... Allan Boesak and Patrick Lekota a standing ovation

Boesak's heart is 'with the ANC'

11A
51 Times
19/5/91

By KURT SWART

AFTER a year in the wilderness, Allan Boesak made a triumphant return to the political stage with a rousing speech at the University of the Western Cape this week.

His appearance at UWC with the ANC's Patrick "Terror" Lekota is being seen as part of an ANC strategy to use the former minister as a spearhead to win support for the movement in the Western Cape and abroad. In an interview, Dr Boesak hinted strongly that he would soon sign up as a member of the ANC.

He added he also intended resuming his career in the church from which he resigned after the storm that ensued over his affair with TV personality Elna Botha.

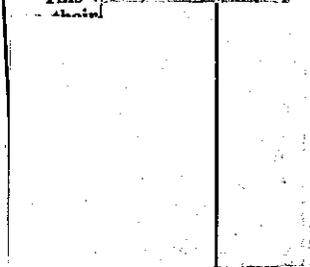
Picture: AMBROSE PETERS "I want to return to the ministry. There are specific channels that one has to go

through to do this," he said. Dr Boesak said he had not felt any hostility from "ordinary" people after the controversy over his divorce and his resignation from the church.

"I was warmly received when I addressed a welcome rally for (released political prisoner) Cecil Esau in Worcester this year.

"The crowd would not let me speak until I gave in to their demands that Elna come on stage to stand at my side."

This week, students were



IN THE minds of many South Africans — and many people abroad — the United Football Club based at the home of Winnie Mandela has come to symbolise the evil that is abroad in the townships: murder, vanished witnesses, assault and terror, kidnapping and child battery, a general depravity.

This imagery has been overlaid, thanks to a curiously irrelevant defence presented in court on behalf of Mandela, by suggestions of sodomy and three-in-a-bed that has tainted the defenceless Christian church.

The total effect of all this has been unfortunate. It has reinforced in the minds of whites the racist stereotype of Africa as the heart of darkness, where people are expected to react to any frustration by violence. Hence the instinct, especially strong on the trendy left, to constantly appease and mollify blacks lest they behave like mad dogs. One of the more pernicious aspects of white racism is that it expects so little of black people.

This view of Africa, incidentally, is not confined to white South Africans. It is just as firmly held in Europe, as those of us pestered this week from London for alarmist predictions of mayhem in the wake of Mandela's sentence can testify.

In this tawdry landscape of

concealed racism and atavistic fear one man has raised a moral beacon: Nelson Mandela responded to his wife's conviction and sentence by saying simply: Let the law take its course. He believed in her innocence and put his trust in an appeal to a higher court.

His stern rectitude and faith in the rule of law stood in glorious contrast to the surreptitious fears whispered among whites, many of whom actually expressed the hope that Mr Justice Stegmann would prove sufficiently corruptible to trim his judgment to the political wind, which he did not do.

At that moment, Nelson Mandela took on the stature of true moral leadership, seeming to tower over his more expedient countrymen. Yet, within days, he was himself flinging down the most reckless accusations of police collaboration with the impis and warning that blacks would soon carry the violence to the suburbs. His intemperate words amounted almost to incitement. They were also woefully foolish — all I can say is that no impi will twice venture into those heavily armed and trigger-happy suburbs. In all the fuss about traditional weapons, we seem to have forgotten that the "traditional weapon" of the Afrikaner is the Mauser rifle or, in its modern version, the R4.

KEN OWEN ON SUNDAY

St Ives 19/5/91

But how does one explain the two faces of Nelson Mandela? He wavers between an instinctive faith in the law and a desperate resort to violent threats.

The best explanation is that he seems torn between his own convictions as a lawyer and the misguided, disastrous policy of revolution by violence on which the ANC embarked in 1961.

SOUTH AFRICA'S original sin was apartheid, but, as Alan Paton argued to the end, to oppose apartheid by violence was to risk taking South Africa into the heart of darkness.

The conditions he feared and warned about in vain now prevail in the townships, and Mr Mandela risks compounding the damage when he

11/8

talks of violence in the suburbs.

The Big Lie of the past 30 years has been the ANC's pretence that it was forced into armed struggle because no other course remained open to it.

In fact, liberals put forward other ways, but the ANC and its ideological pilot fish, the SACP, conducted an unending campaign to create the conditions for revolution, and to do so they did everything in their power to discredit the peaceful alternatives of the liberals.

In the end, some younger liberals — the ARM crowd and Nussas at one stage — actually did succumb to the pressure to prove their *machismo* by playing with bombs.

To more mature liberals, like Alan Paton and Ernie Wentzel, it was obvious that violence could succeed only



by debilitating the country, by ruining the economy, by demoralising and corrupting the security forces and by tempting the rulers to more extreme and undiscriminating oppression. And, of course, by destroying the rule of law. Anyway, that was standard Marxist theory.

IN THE event, the ANC campaign was only partially successful. President De Klerk stopped the rot by changing direction before the country had become completely ungovernable.

Now only some communities, mainly in Natal and on the Witwatersrand, have passed out of the control of the police and the courts into the control of cadres, wardors, vigilantes and gangsters, none better than the other. People's courts, here as in Peru, are

a symptom of the failure of the legal system to deliver the most elementary kinds of justice. The vengeful fends that rage between Inkatha and the ANC are similarly a signal that people have lost hope of lawful redress and seek their own.

To restore law is not, as Mr Mandela persists in suggesting, a matter of issuing orders. The sad fact of the matter is that the SAP, as an instrument of order, is largely ineffectual.

It has been profoundly corrupted, first by apartheid and then by the regime of the securocrats, and the damage has been compounded by the loss of legitimacy, poor training, meagre manpower. It operates in a culture of lawlessness and has forfeited the trust of the people.

In short, the police are incapable of ending the violence except by paramilitary methods — in effect, large-scale massacre — which nobody, least of all the ANC, wants to revive.

To berate the police now is vain. The force must be reconstructed before it can become effective, and reconstruction can hardly be expected to succeed without at least some political agreement that invests it with legitimacy.

That is why it is foolish to make negotiations hostage to the violence.

negotiations are part of the means of ending violence. Of course, some steps could be taken immediately: the Police Act could be amended to define the mandate of the SAP clearly as the protection of citizens, not the maintenance of order.

The paramilitary units could be separated entirely and the police could revert to plain blue uniforms with their service numbers on their shoulders.

Military camps could be converted into police colleges, black militants recruited as officer material and an elite unit might be established to investigate and prosecute police crimes.

But in the end, let's face it, nothing will succeed unless the police gain reasonable legitimacy in the townships as custodians of the rule of law.

Mr Mandela has, in the case of his wife, set the proper standard: Let the law take its course. That is also the proper standard for dealing with violence.

Either we all work to make the country governable again or we slide into chaos. It's a stark choice, and even Mr Mandela can't have it both ways.

Black intimidation 'rampant'

SI Times 19/5/91

Sunday Times Reporter

AT least a third of adult black urban residents have been forced against their will to take part in stay-aways or boycotts at some stage, a survey by the South African Institute of Race Relations has revealed.

Two-thirds of people supporting Azapo, Inkatha or even the National Party claimed to have been threatened in some way to force them to stop paying rent, service or electricity fees.

Four out of every five people who supported Azapo or Inkatha claimed to have been forced to take part in boycotts or stay-aways.

The details were

released yesterday by the institute's executive director John Kane-Berman in a graduation speech at the East London campus of Rhodes University.

"I suspect a large part of the explanation for violence is a backlash against this type of coercion and that the so-called 'Third Force' — widely blamed for township violence — is in fact ordinary people striking back," said Mr Kane-Berman.

Without an end to coercion, he said, there would be no end to the backlash and no end to the violence.

Mr Kane-Berman also

revealed that guns and explosives comprised 50 percent of the weapons used in political violence in South Africa while knives and pangas and other sharp objects accounted for 18 percent.

Firearms were more frequently used than even home-made weapons like petrol bombs, he said.

While it was difficult to ascertain information about the type of firearms most often used, the largest single category that could be identified comprised AK-47s, followed by shotguns.

Mr Kane-Berman said his institute's statistics showed that, on average, 10

people were killed every day last year and that this year's fatality rate was edging towards that figure.

Political violence had claimed more than 10 000 lives between September 1984 and April this year, he said.

Necklacing and other burning methods accounted for nearly all deaths since the violence began 6½ years ago.

Asked what short-term action could halt the violence, Mr Kane-Berman said the first step was disarmament. People should not be allowed to carry lethal weapons — such as pangas, knives and axes — to political meetings.

He added that, in order to lower the political temperature, the toyi-toyi be banned and the use of inflammatory jargon by people at all ends of the political spectrum stopped.

Another step would be to create a visibly independent tribunal to investigate complaints against the police, to separate propaganda from fact and to take severe disciplinary action against policemen where appropriate.

He added that strategies leading to violence needed to be abandoned — including the campaign against black local authorities and the intimidation of township residents.

Now it's more boycotts — and a two-day general strike

ANC SNUBS FW PEACE APPEAL

11A

By MIKE ROBERTSON and EDYTH BULBRING

THE African National Congress yesterday pulled out of constitutional talks with the government and announced it would boycott President De Klerk's "peace summit" in Pretoria next week.

ANC leaders brushed aside a last-minute appeal from President De Klerk to ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela for more time to overcome the difficulties perceived by the ANC to be obstacles to negotiation.

SITimes 19/5/91

Instead, a meeting of the ANC's "expanded" National Executive Committee, including youth leaders and women's leaders, decided on Friday to declare a two-day general strike, mass protests on June 15, a consumer boycott, and a day of fasting in support of political prisoners on May 22. At

the same time, said secretary-general Alfred Nzo, the ANC would continue to negotiate for controls on the carrying of "traditional weapons", better policing and the dismissal of two cabinet ministers.

The ANC's willingness to continue discussion on these points, and to continue to take part in the joint committees on prisoner release, exile return and the suspension of armed struggle, suggested that the rift was not absolute.

Last night the government declared the ANC's actions to be "unjustifiable and irresponsible" and warned that mass actions would only lead to an aggravation of violence.

Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said the government's peace conference would go ahead, but he expressed disappointment that the ANC — the most knowledgeable group on political violence — would not be attending.

He said all the issues raised by the ANC would have been discussed at the peace conference. President De Klerk met Chief Mangosuthu Buthe-

Lawyers
say: We
know
Webster
killer

By MARTIN WELZ

LAWYERS representing the Webster Family Trust believe they know the identity of one of the men involved in the murder of Dr David Webster on May Day in 1989.



Look who's become a mum

By BILL KRIGE

THE country's favourite gymnast teenager has become a mother.

Petite, raven-haired Clara Joubert — better known as the winsome schoolgirl Hess van Tonder in the hit TV series *Orkney Snork Nite* — this week showed off her baby son.

"We've named him Lomo, which is short for Solomon. He really is the most fantastic baby in the whole world," bubbled Clara, an Eastern Cape housewife whose private life is at odds with her TV personality.

Admitting to being "somewhere between 25 and 40", Clara is married to land surveyor "ST" Maarschalk.

Orkney Snork Nite is being rerun on TV1 on Friday nights and a new series begins shooting in September. "There are some 18 episodes and the whole gang is there. I'm in the last of the most important course," Clara said in her elegant home on the outskirts of Johannesburg. Despite her black hair and

negotiation. **SITimes** 19/5/79
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Lawyers
say: We
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By MARTIN WELZ

LAWYERS representing the Webster Family Trust believe they know the identity of one of the men involved in the murder of Dr David Webster on May Day in 1989.

But they want certain personal assurances from President De Klerk before they reveal what they know about the murderer of one of the country's leading left-wing academics.

They are afraid of what might happen once they disclose the nature or source of the evidence to the police.

Two weeks ago Idasa leader Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert saw Mr De Klerk at his office in Parliament and conveyed a top-secret message from the lawyers.

Dr Slabbert had an appointment to see Mr De Klerk about other matters, and agreed to use part of the time to convey the lawyers' request.

Fear

The Sunday Times has been told the lawyers fear interference from military quarters. The lawyers point to the open defiance shown by senior military officers last year when they were ordered by President De Klerk and Defence Minister Magnus Malan to produce records of the notorious CCB.

Dr Slabbert confirmed this week that he had seen Mr De Klerk in Cape Town. "I had one of my rare interviews with him and wanted to invite him to address a meeting. He was unable to accept the invitation."

Told that the Sunday Times knew of the lawyers' request, Dr Slabbert confirmed that he had agreed to convey a message from "certain lawyers" to Mr De Klerk.

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President De Klerk met Chief Mangosuthu Buthe-



HARD LINE ... Joe Slovo and Alfred Nzo yesterday Picture: COBUS BODENSTEIN

lezi, leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party, on Tuesday in an effort to persuade him to accept curbs on traditional weapons. The meeting ended inconclusively, and Mr De Klerk telephoned Mr Mandela to tell him he believed a compromise was in sight. He asked the ANC National Executive Committee to bear this in mind at its meeting on Friday.

It was also suggested that the ANC attend a preparatory meeting early in the week with church leaders and Inkatha in an effort to overcome the ANC's objections to attending the peace summit.

This was rejected at the extended ANC NEC meeting.

This week, diplomats report, Mr De Klerk is to meet King Goodwill Zwelithini in another attempt to persuade the Zulus to accept controls on weapons, despite a decision by the Inkatha central committee yesterday not to bow on the issue. The committee did agree, however, that Inkatha should attend the peace summit in Pretoria.

Tough new measures are expected to be announced within days, government officials have indicated.

Urgent meeting

Other effects of yesterday's ANC announcement are:

- While the ANC will boycott Mr De Klerk's summit, it is willing to take part in a church-initiated attempt to convene another peace conference.

The South African Council of Churches is to meet Chief Buthelezi tomorrow and will hold an urgent meeting on Tuesday to discuss the stalemate over the peace summit;

- The ANC will continue to take part in joint committees;

- It will not, however, continue discussions through the so-called Paragraph 9 working group which is debating the establishment of a multi-party conference for constitutional negotiations.

SA Communist Party chief Joe Slovo said at a press conference yesterday that the ANC was not

SITimes 19/5/79

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ANC rejects FW's peace appeal

SAT Times 19/1/91
From Page 1

being churlish in refusing to attend the government's peace conference.

"The convening of the peace conference by President FW de Klerk has implicit in it the inference that the state is an impartial body standing above the violence and is calling all those connected with it plus a broader section of the community to discuss it. We dismiss that implication."

The ANC response yesterday quashed government attempts to reach an eleventh-hour compromise

with the ANC on its boycott of the peace conference.

Mr De Klerk proposed to Mr Mandela in his telephone conversation that the ANC attend a smaller preparatory meeting between itself, church leaders and Inkatha. It was hoped that after such a meeting the ANC would agree to attend the peace conference on Friday and Saturday.

But the ANC said yesterday it would take part in a church-initiated peace conference which would be prepared for by all political parties, the govern-

ment, unions and employers.

Even though the government would continue with its own peace conference on Friday, ANC sources said the government would take part in the church initiative.

Dr Viljoen indicated at a press conference in Cape Town this week that the government expected that whatever was decided at the peace summit, there would have to be follow-up meetings.

He said the government had an open mind about attending a conference

organised by church leaders.

Dr Viljoen would not disclose which or how many organisations and individuals had accepted invitations to attend.

However, it is understood that by Friday, 90 had accepted invitations. President De Klerk is believed to have issued about 150 invitations.

The SA Chamber of Business said in a statement yesterday that it believed many businessmen deeply regretted the ANC's decision to suspend formal negotiations and

not to attend.

The recourse to consumer boycotts and stayaways could only aggravate the serious economic recession, the statement said.

Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer called the ANC's announcement "bad news" for South Africa and for the ANC.

● The ANC hard line coincides with an ominous new surge in urban violence. Fourteen people were injured in 48 hours in central Johannesburg when two limpet mines exploded. The ANC condemned the blasts.

needed and all leaders should come together and act collectively against violence. — Sapa

ANC/IFP rally for peace



DURBAN. — Hopes for an end to political violence in the Umgababa area on Natal's South Coast were raised yesterday after a successful joint ANC/IFP peace rally in the area.

The ANC's Southern Natal chairman, Mr Jacob Zuma, and Inkatha's national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose both expressed optimism after the rally that the joint peace initiative would help end violence in the area.

About 300 Inkatha and ANC supporters packed Umgababa's tribal court yesterday morning to hear their leaders plead for political tolerance.

"There is no doubt this is the beginning of peace in the area," Dr Mdlalose said after the rally.

Mr Zuma said it was important to note that yesterday's peace drive was supported by both the ANC and IFP. — Sapa

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Talks off, demos planned

By LEN KALANE

THE ANC has unveiled plans for massive country-wide stayaways, consumer boycotts and other mass demonstrations to force the government to agree to its demands, including the total ban on traditional weapons.

It has also conditionally suspended "constitutional talks" with the government until the demands contained in its open letter to President F W de Klerk have been met.

However, discussions will continue between delegations of the ANC and the government in an attempt to secure "firm commitments" from the government on ANC demands on violence.

At a press conference called by the extended National Executive Committee yesterday, the ANC also announced it would not take part in the All-Party Congress on violence of May 24 and 25, called by De Klerk.

Instead, the ANC said it supported the current initiative by religious leaders who are planning to convene a similar conference involving all parties and organisations.

The ANC's press conference followed Friday's marathon meeting of members of its extended NEC - which comprised representatives from the ANC's Youth League, Women's League, SACP and Cosatu - to discuss the deadlines of April 30 and May 9 and actions in support of the demands.

Obliged

In a document read out by general secretary Alfred Nzo, the ANC said a peace conference convened by the clerics - unlike the one called by De Klerk - would reach multilateral, binding agreements with all parties obliged to act in accordance with the agreement.

"No single individual or party can resolve the conflict that exists in South Africa," said the ANC statement.

There are strong feelings within ANC ranks that De Klerk's government, as one of the players in the present strife, would not be an appropriate convenor for a conference of such magnitude. This would make the government both player and referee.

The ANC said: "To ensure a workable and serious peace conference, the religious leaders could facilitate the convening of a preparatory committee that comprises all the key actors - employers, labour, unions, political parties, the government and religious bodies."

It was felt such a preparatory committee should be responsible for organising a peace conference.

Reconstruction

The ANC said agreements with enforcement mechanisms needed to be reached in the following areas:

- a code of conduct for all political parties;
- a code of conduct for the security forces;
- elaboration on the powers and functions of any Standing Commission on Violence, which should offer speedy and effective relief to victims of violence; and
- a comprehensive approach to reconstruction.

Backing demands "which are all centred in bringing about a rapid end to violence" and contained in its open letter to the government, a series of mass actions being planned was also unveiled.

These included nationwide consumer boycotts - the timing and duration of which would be determined according to regional conditions.

The ANC also plans mass demonstrations on June 15 and a national stayaway on a date to be determined within the next few days.

The organisation said it was outraged at the cruelty with which some of the political prisoners on hunger strike had been treated, and to this effect, was calling on the community to observe Wednesday May 22 as a day of fasting in solidarity with these political prisoners.

The ANC also disassociated itself from a series of bombings in central Johannesburg recently, saying "the perpetrators are clearly those opposed to the negotiation process for a democratic South Africa".

Many scrambling to distance themselves from Winnie

LONDON — In the aftermath of Winnie Mandela's conviction on kidnapping charges, many of those who previously honoured her are scrambling to distance themselves.

At Sheffield University, students are to start a campaign to rename the Winnie Mandela Room after Stompie Moeketsi.

At Durham University, the Mandela ballroom is expected to be renamed.

Councillors in the London borough of Southwark are seeking to change the name of an office block, named after Mandela, to Pelican House.

The borough of Islington,

which once had a Winnie Mandela children's resource centre, does not intend to honour her again.

The Brent council in London has already removed Mandela's name from a council building.

In Scotland, the Aberdeen council is to ask Mandela to relinquish her freedom of the city.

Top-level steps to restart talks

star 20/5/91
Political Staff

A hurried series of top-level meetings between the main figures in South Africa's latest political crisis are scheduled for this week.

The twin aims of the meetings are reaching agreements aimed at curbing township violence, and getting the negotiating process back on the rails after the ANC's withdrawal at the weekend.

At the centre of the dispute which has led to the breakdown in constitutional talks between the Government and the ANC is the carrying of "cultural" spears and axes by Inkatha supporters.

Talks scheduled for this week include:

- President F W de Klerk is expected to meet Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini within the next two days, following the President's meeting last week with Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The President, faced with the main ANC demand that weapons be banned at political rallies, is expected to announce a ban this week.

His meeting with the King is seen as a bid to gain some compromise, possibly that "cultural" weapons would be carried on cultural occasions only — excluding political meetings.

- The Rev Frank Chikane, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches (SACC) is to meet Chief Buthelezi in a bid to boost the stalled peace process.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu said Mr Chikane would meet Chief Buthelezi later today.

Mr Chikane would seek the Inkatha leader's support for a church-sponsored peace conference aimed at stopping township violence.

"All the church leaders will be going to Johannesburg tomorrow for an emergency meeting about ways we might be able to help to get things going again," Archbishop Tutu said.

Alternative

The proposed church peace conference is strongly regarded as an alternative to the Government peace talks scheduled for Friday and Saturday in Pretoria.

Major extra-parliamentary parties, apart from Inkatha, have said they will boycott the Government talks, while there are indications a meeting of the main players under the auspices of the churches is possible.

However, the ANC is to arrange a two-day general strike, mass protests on June 15, consumer boycotts and a day of fasting on Wednesday to support political prisoners on hunger strike.

Top ANC sources said yesterday that the ANC decision to suspend constitutional talks would probably be reversed immediately if the Government imposed a ban on "cultural" spears and axes at political meetings.

The Government believes the ANC, in its statement after Friday's meeting of the extended NEC, "left the door open" for a return to constitutional talks if the Government made progress towards meeting the ANC's demands for action against violence in its original ultimatum of April 5.

"It is significant that the ANC's statement talks of progress towards meeting the conditions and not complete satisfaction of the conditions," a senior Government source said.

- Margaret Thatcher held a 40-minute telephone conversation with Nelson Mandela yesterday, Sapa reports.

She is expected to meet Chief Buthelezi before returning home this week.

Banned groups looking into seized assets

BIDAY 2015/91

11A

TIM COHEN

AZAPO is investigating ways to get back R2,5m seized by government following the banning of 17 black consciousness organisations in 1977.

Azapo publicity secretary Strini Moodley confirmed last week that members of the organisation's legal staff were investigating the seizure of Azapo's assets, done in terms of the Internal Security Act.

However, Azapo had not yet decided whether to ask for the money back, Moodley said.

The most prominent organisation banned at that time was the Black People's

Convention, which had cash and assets of about R1,5m, including a maternity home, a health clinic, and mobile clinics.

The SA Students' Organisation (Saso) also had a clinic, Moodley said.

He estimated Saso had assets of about R1m in today's money terms.

At the time, a regional court magistrate was appointed liquidator of the assets of all the banned organisations.

In terms of the Act the Minister of Police was empowered to designate to which

charitable or scientific organisations the funds would be paid after debts had been settled.

The Press then estimated the assets of all the banned organisations, including the Christian Institute, to be R1m.

It was also reported at the time that the Health Department would take over the BCP maternity home near King Williams' Town.

ANC-aligned organisations, including the UDF, which were restricted in 1986 were able to maintain their bank accounts, a UDF source said.

Thatcher at game lodge

20/3/91 TIM COHEN

FORMER British prime minister Margaret Thatcher spent the weekend at the exclusive eastern Transvaal game lodge of Mala Mala in the company of British ambassador Sir Robin Renwick.

It was believed that President F W de Klerk would join Thatcher for at least part of the weekend.

She is expected to meet political leaders from extra-parliamentary political groups before she leaves SA on Wednesday.

It is understood that she will meet senior members of the ANC, possibly including ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela if his schedule permits.

British embassy officials do not regard his presence at this meeting as vital, as Thatcher met Mandela in London two weeks ago.

However, Thatcher will meet other senior members of the ANC, which has vigorously opposed her visit, vowing to make it "as uncomfortable as possible".

Thatcher is also likely to meet Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi tomorrow.

ANC decision ends first phase of negotiations

New deal on talks looms

(11A) (S) Sowetan 20/5/91.



By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN

THE ANC's decision to hold no more constitutional talks with the Government opens the way for a new and broader-based phase of negotiations.

When talks start again, the Government will face not just the ANC but a united "patriotic front".

It has not been ruled out that talks between the Government and a "patriotic front" would be at a multiparty conference.

What is your opinion of the ANC's decision to hold no more constitutional talks with the Government?

Telephone Radio Metro DJ Tim Modise between 4.30 and 5pm today and tell the nation what you think.

The hotline number is 714-8063. Listen to the *Sowetan*/Radio Metro Talkback programme on mediumwave 576KHz.

However, bilateral talks between the Government and the ANC on constitutional matters will not take place, the movement said at the weekend.

● To Page 2

P.T.O.

New deal on future talks looms

(11A)
Sowetan
20/5/91

From Page 1

The ANC has for more than a year been involved in preliminary talks with the Government about the removal of obstacles before the start of actual negotiations on the country's constitutional future.

A well-placed source within the ANC, yesterday said that "there has been substantial movement" with regard to the removal of obstacles - particularly the release of political prisoners, the return of exiles and the review of security legislation.

A spokesman for the Department of Justice yesterday corroborated this and said that of 7 103 applications for indemnity, only 23 had been refused.

Earlier this month the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, tabled legislation in Parliament to purge the internal security act of "draconian measures".

The department also confirmed that more applications requesting release from prison were still flowing in and were being dealt with.

The ANC has identified a new obstacle - violence in the country.

The ANC's Mr Joe Slovo said on Saturday that for Government to imply, as it does by calling a peace summit without consulting the ANC and other political movements, that it was not part of the violence, was unacceptable.

ANC sources yesterday confirmed this.

"We accept that progress has been made with regard to the obstacles first identified (the release of prisoners and return of exiles)". What we will not do is enter discussions on a future constitution, a source said.

On Saturday, the ANC also announced that it would not take part in a multiparty conference before the Government addressed the fundamental problems surrounding the current violence.

In an open letter - relating to the violence - which was sent to the Government on April 5, the ANC called for, among other things, the dismissal of two Ministers, the blanket banning of "dangerous weapons" and absolute impartiality of the police.

"The Government banned a whole lot of them, but people can still carry spears in public," the source said.

The ANC holds its national congress in six weeks' time and within a month later it will enter into a formal "patriotic front" with the PAC, Azapo and other political organisations as well as a host of cultural, religious and business groups.

BCMA calls for black united front

119
Sowetan
21/5/91

THE Black Consciousness Movement of Azania has urged all liberation movements to form a united approach on negotiations against the South African Government.

"The preliminary talks about possible negotiations initiated by the regime of De Klerk are in a crisis," the BCMA said in a statement.

"The BCMA urges all liberation movements to come together against the enemy and have a united approach on negotiations.

"The settler-colonial regime has not shown any good faith about moving towards negotiations, nor about the violence it has carried out against black people in Azania."

"Local black communities belonging to different political organisations are able to come together and prevent outbreaks of violence or to reconcile factions which are already in conflict.

"The BCMA believes this is the way in which factional violence in our community can be contained."

The ANC and Pan Africanist Congress decided at their recent summit in Harare to call a "patriotic front" congress in Cape Town in August.

"Even if all three movements retain their separate identities in the front, the unity will lessen conflict among organisations which have always fought against the same enemy. - Sapa.

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The hardest part of negotiations is getting the parties to the table, writes Ron Kraybill

Why won't the ANC play?

Star 21/5/91

11A Broom

SO why won't they play? If the name of the game is reducing violence, why won't the ANC take part in a forum proposed to bring together the most influential political forces in the country to address violence?

Part of the answer points to the most fundamental principle of conflict resolution: process matters more than outcome. People and organisations are more sensitive about how a decision is reached than they are about what the decision itself is.

Consider the principle at a mundane level. It is tea-time at a meeting of professional colleagues. The chair suggests a 30-minute break and announces the names of four women who will be excused early to prepare the tea. A small riot follows as the women insist that the group of tea servers includes men as well as women.

In another organisation, it is also tea-time. Here too, the leader announces the names of four women chosen to serve tea. But here the women laugh good-naturedly as they rise. Why? Their names were randomly chosen by "pulling straws".

The outcome was the same in both groups — individuals were chosen to serve tea against their preferences. But in one, the outcome was accepted because the process was fair.

Democracy is built on this principle. In every democratic election there is a group of people whose candidate lost. For the

losers and their supporters, an outcome has been reached which they actively opposed.

Nevertheless, losers rarely stage a rebellion, even where the stakes are vast, such as in the recent Namibian elections.

"Losers" can almost always be counted upon to step aside and allow the "winners" to move ahead, if the process of elections has been agreed upon in advance by all key parties and the ground rules have been observed.

But the converse holds as well. People will reject almost any outcome — even a wise and fair one — which they feel is the result of bad process.

"It's not that we oppose the idea of further development in our community," complained a leader in a community dispute recently.

"What we resent is the high-handed way the planners go about ramming this proposal down our throats. This is our community and we want to be consulted about decisions affecting us."

The most critical skill for leaders in any setting is to learn to "think process". This is true in the best of circumstances, but even more so where polarisation is high and trust is low.

Outcomes are important, to be sure, and every political leader must have some in mind. But outcomes are worthless if the process is bad. Key parties will reject the best of ideas and proposals if they are created in processes they find objectionable.

What then are the marks of good process? How to set up a decision-making process whose outcome will enjoy the support of key parties?

In this case, how to reach an important outcome — a gathering of political actors capable of exercising leadership to reduce the violence — by a process capable of succeeding?

The first characteristic is obvious enough, though history shows leaders frequently ignore it. Good process involves all parties who will be affected by the outcome or who are in a position to block implementation of the outcome.

On this point, the Government deserves credit in its proposal to convene a conference; it appears there has been a sincere effort to invite all key parties.

The second characteristic is less obvious, but equally important. Good process involves all key parties, not only in the process of decision-making, but also in the design of the decision-making process itself.

Suppose you were leader of a key faction involved in a community dispute over what to do with the vacant lot next door. One Saturday you receive a polite invitation announcing that your chief opponent is convening a meeting at his house next Wednesday at 7.30, to "bring together responsible citizens to make decisions critical to the future of our community".

Do you go? You are likely to be less than thrilled about the invita-

tion, given the lack of consultation with you. Typically key parties are sceptical of any proposed discussion in which they have not had a role in sorting out such issues as where, when, involving whom and under the auspices of whom.

Strong temptations exist for leaders to design a process they think will work in convening meetings or reaching decisions, and then go and try to "sell" it to other key parties. Government strategists appear to have yielded to this temptation, and are now discovering reality.

Where trust is low, no party to that conflict can realistically hope to "sell" a decision-making or negotiation process to other parties, especially if the "selling" takes place after a public announcement that the seller will be sponsoring the event.

Suppose your opponent takes a different approach. He announces plans one day to convene a commission to discuss the problem. He invites suggestions on the commission. How do you respond now? Well, it's better than it used to be — at least he seems open to suggestions. But even so you are not pleased. Your archival is still in the role of making the final decision about how the talks will be arranged, plus he gets the credit if anything successful results.

Key parties want to be more than co-owners of the negotiation forum; they want to be co-architects as well. Don't try to sell them a finished house. Don't expect that

asking their advice will cause them to "buy in" to a house being built in the name of an opponent. Instead, give them a fundamental role at every level of process design.

Go to them and say: "Look, we need to build a forum in which all of us can talk. Would you be interested? What should it look like? Who should be there? When and where should we meet? Who should convene it? Should it be on the record or off the record?"

In short, you can't "sell" a process, you can only create one jointly, by means of tentative and low-key private discussion before any public announcements of plans to talk are made.

A third major characteristic of good process: it is conducted under auspices acceptable to all. Here too, the current initiative fails the mark. Rarely can one party conduct negotiations under its own auspices and win the support of other parties for the process. To participate would already imply a major concession of "broker" to that party.

Fortunately, good options exist here. One approach: conduct negotiations under the joint auspices of all key parties. Another: find a "clean" outside convener acceptable to everyone.

The South African Council of Churches has been suggested as one such convener, but Inkatha rejected this. Fair enough. But surely other conveners within or without the country could be agreed upon.

Another approach: create a team of outsider people or organisations, none perhaps totally acceptable in its own right, but in their totality acceptable as a "balanced" set of conveners. For example, "balance" the SACC with one or two other organisations.

Yet another approach: conduct negotiations unofficially, without naming them as such. For example, an academic or research organisation might convene a conference for its own purposes, and invite second-level leaders from all key organisations to attend. Any progress that is made can then be validated through official channels.

Among mediators there is a well-recognised rule of thumb: the hardest part of most negotiations is getting the parties to the table in the first place. Negotiations about negotiations are often where the game is won or lost.

With people in South Africa dying every day, the question of how to bring the key parties together to wrestle with a response deserves the most painstaking attention to process planning that is humanly possible.

One would like to believe that the Government's initiative for peace is intended to reach the most laudable of outcomes. The process thus far of getting to that outcome still leaves much room for improvement.

● Ron Kraybill is director of the Training Centre for Intergroup Studies in Cape Town. □

Spears ban but ANC resists talks

Political Staff

PRESIDENT De Klerk's latest concession to the ANC — to ban all cultural weapons including spears and axes in unrest areas — was unlikely to persuade the ANC to attend the government's peace summit in Pretoria this week, the organisation's spokeswoman said.

After a meeting with Kwa-zulu Chief Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini in Ulundi yesterday, President De Klerk announced that the Zulu leaders were "prepared to support the government in efforts to improve the control on dangerous instruments in unrest areas".

The government, President De Klerk said, was now drafting legislation amending regulations along lines agreed on and these would be published soon.

Today ANC spokeswoman Gill Marcus said her organisation welcomed any move that was likely to reduce violence and tension. However, she said the ANC would respond fully once it had read the government's draft legislation.



Gill Marcus

Asked if the ANC would now change its decision not to attend the government-convened two-day multiparty conference on violence in Pretoria on Friday and Saturday, Ms Marcus said this was "quite unlikely".

"The issue of the peace conference has nothing to do with the banning of spears at all. Rather, the question is whether the conference can produce any results.

"We don't think it (the conference) should be a public relations exercise, but we believe it should be convened by a neu-

tral party and that there should be chances of it producing results."

It was, therefore, "quite unlikely" that the banning of spears and axes would lead to the ANC changing its decision, she said.

Measures to ban the carrying of spears and assegais in unrest areas are to be announced by the government within days.

The display of Zulu "traditional" weapons is likely to be restricted to purely cultural occasions and specifically excluding political rallies.

The ban will initially be confined to unrest areas where Zulus will have to give notice to magistrates that they intend carrying traditional weapons on cultural occasions.

The steps follow a meeting in Ulundi yesterday between President De Klerk, King Goodwill, Chief Buthelezi and Zulu elders.

Mr De Klerk was accompanied by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, and the Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Roelf Meyer.

The breakdown in talks between the African National Congress and the government was a result of spears being excluded from a ban on these weapons in unrest areas. Zulu leaders have resisted a ban and there has been a round of tough talks between President De Klerk and Chief Buthelezi.

There is concern that the inclusion of spears only may not satisfy ANC demands, but government sources were hopeful the measure would be enough.

The expected partial ban will reflect government sympathy for the need for Inkatha sympathisers to be able to defend themselves until the ANC lays down its arms.

In a joint statement President De Klerk and Chief Buthelezi said Zulu leaders had made a clear stand on their cultural heritage but were prepared to support the government in its efforts to improve control on dangerous weapons in unrest areas.

It said the government was drafting amending regulations along the lines agreed on in their talks and these would be published soon.

Aug. 21/5/91

South Africa

ANC youth plan Reef anti-crime campaign

6 10 27 11 11 11
PATRICK BULGER

THE ANC Youth League's PWV region was planning an anti-crime campaign in Reef townships, its chairman Peter Skosana said yesterday.

Skosana said in an interview the campaign would be launched soon at a conference, including political organisations and churches.

"The country is riddled with crime. We are going to have a conference and crime workshops to discuss ways of discouraging gangsterism," Skosana said.

The crime conference was one of several resolutions passed at a weekend launch of the league in the PWV region. Delegates also resolved to back the ANC's suspension of talks with government.

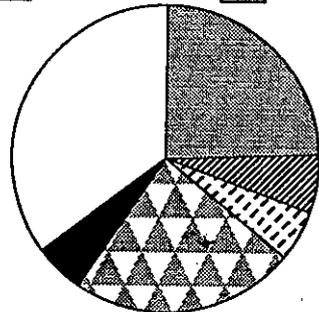
"We believe that the De Klerk regime is unmoved by the killings of our people and is unwilling to create a climate conducive to talks. It is the state which is responsible for this violence. We therefore endorse the ANC position not to be part of De Klerk's so-called peace conference," the league said in a statement.

Skosana said the league would support a suspension of all ANC talks with government.

Sexism was also on the congress agenda, and the ANCYL resolved to build up women in leadership.

NBS Hallmark Mutual Fund

-  Industrials
-  Eskom
-  Mining
-  Property
-  Financials
-  Liquidity



Graphic: LEE EMERTON

In yesterday's unit trust survey, the property and industrial sectors were switched in the graphic of NBS Hallmark Mutual Fund. This is the correct version. Business Day regrets the error.

Xhosa nationalism 'is rising'

Business Day 21/5/91

11A

PATRICK BULGER

A SURGE in Xhosa nationalism was further complicating attempts to bring peace to Reef townships, the Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression said yesterday.

The board is made up of prominent human rights lawyers and clerics. Its researchers say Xhosa nationalism manifests itself in the singing of Xhosa songs in praise of Transkei and Pondoland. In an area on the East Rand a squatter camp has been named after Transkei's military ruler Bantu Holomisa.

The report is the first public acknowledgment from a non-partisan, credible quarter that Zulu chauvinism is fuelling a similar reaction among Xhosas. Researchers say Xhosas are adamant the ANC is a Xhosa organisation and that there is no place for Zulu leaders in it. The researchers attribute the rise in Xhosa nationalism to an influx of rural Transkeians.

ANC leader Chris Hani was recently drowned out by squatters singing tribal songs at Katlehong while he tried to put the Zulu contribution to the ANC's history in perspective. He was speaking after 15

squatters were killed when Xhosa-speaking residents of Holomisa squatter camp attacked squatters at neighbouring Mandela camp because they had heard Inkatha-supporting Zulus were living there.

The Community Agency for Social Enquiry (Case) claimed yesterday that Inkatha had been reported to be responsible for 10 times more acts of aggression during Reef township violence than the ANC.

A Case report said the media and monitoring organisations blamed Inkatha for 66% of 146 incidents between July last year and this month, and the ANC for 6%.

The report also claimed the reported use of AK-47s was restricted to Inkatha.

Reacting to the report, Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi said Case had a "highly politicised partisan reputation", and accused it of distorted analysis.

The ANC said the report's finding that traditional weapons were used in 31 of 82 incidents attributed to Inkatha explained why the ANC had called for a prohibition on the carrying of traditional weapons.

Polish mission may spend R50m locally

GERALD REILLY

A POLISH trade mission arrived in SA at the weekend expecting to set up orders for SA goods worth more than R50m.

Polish-SA Chamber of Commerce and Industry director-general Stefan Mathew said yesterday Polish businessmen were aware of the "vast" potential for two-way trade. Business Day 21/5/91

The current mission was a "pathfinder operation" which could lead to closer economic ties, he said.

The delegation's shopping list includes domestic furniture, clothing, vehicle spares, chemicals, beer and wine.

"We are also looking for a new source of raw materials and non-ferrous metals, among other basic industrial products, as well as SA technology in a number of fields," Mathew said.

The mission was one of a number which would visit SA this year.

Soft loans were also being sought from financial institutions in SA.

The Polish Telecommunications Minister would visit SA in July for talks with local industry.

Release

them!

11A ~~11A~~ Sowetan 2/5/79

'Mass action' to focus on hunger strike

India votes



EVERY LITTLE BIT HELPS: Former prime minister Rajiv Gandhi casting his vote yesterday on the first day of elections as 560 million Indians went to the polls to choose a new government for the world's biggest democracy.

THE ANC, Azapo and PAC are planning to embark on "mass action" campaigns this week to highlight the plight of more than 190 political prisoners on hunger strike.

And President FW de Klerk has agreed to meet Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu on Thursday to discuss the continued incarceration of the hunger-striking political prisoners, a spokesman for Tutu said yesterday.

This came after Tutu visited six hunger-striking political prisoners in Cape Town's Somerset Hospital on Sunday.

Doctors yesterday warned that six hunger strikers were on the brink of moving into the "very high-risk phase" of their fast.

"It is a very difficult situation. They are at the point where tissue damage is irreversible and they cannot be resuscitated," Professor Roy Keeton, head of the department of medicine at Somerset Hospital, said yesterday.

The prisoners are on their 21st day without food.

The ANC, PAC and Azapo are demanding the un-

By KAMAL SINGH and Sapa

conditional release of the political prisoners.

The ANC held a demonstration at Pollsmoor Prison last night and is due to demonstrate at Somerset Hospital

Muslim organisations were also planning demonstrations to express solidarity with Mr Rafiq Rohan, former news editor of *Post Natal*, who is also at Somerset Hospital.

Doctors said Rohan had suffered permanent kidney damage as a result of the hunger strike.

Hunger strikers 'critical'

From Page 1

from ulcer complications, loss of concentration, drowsiness, inability to sleep and is passing blood in his urine.

His sister, Mrs Charmaine Bengsten, who visited him on Sunday, said Rohan was determined to continue the hunger strike.

The Hunger Strike Committee, in conjunction with South African Students Congress and the National Union of South African Students, have planned a mass rally at the University of Cape Town tomorrow.

Mr Chris Hani, Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff, will be a guest speaker.

Parliament will be the scene of lunch-time demonstrations on Thursday.

The Congress of South African Trade Unions resolved at the weekend to organise an hour-long work stoppage on Thursday.

The National Association of Democratic Lawyers is apparently discussing the possibility of staging a lunch-time demonstration this week. One of the hunger political prisoners.

Mr Gordon Webster, is believed to have lost consciousness.

Mr Chris Mofokeng, the first to be admitted to the hospital, cannot walk or talk properly, according to Hofmeyr.

Hofmeyr also said seven hunger strikers at Barberton Prison had vowed to fast until they died or were released.

Meanwhile, about 40 public figures in Holland, including a judge and the mayor of Amsterdam, will embark on a 24-hour hunger strike tomorrow in support of South Africa's political prisoners.

Mandela goes north

MR Nelson Mandela, deputy president of the African National Congress, held talks with Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi, Chief Minister of Gazankulu, and his entire Cabinet in Giyani yesterday.

The talks, which lasted for four hours, were described as "fruitful".

Earlier, Mandela urged public servants to forget about the past and work towards building a new South Africa, according to Mr Howard Khosa, a spokesman for the homeland's government. - Sapa.

11A

Sowetan 22/5/91

PAC urged to slam attack

Staff Reporter

CT 22/5/91
17A

THE UCT Students' Representative Council (SRC) yesterday called on the PAC-aligned Pan-Africanist Student Organisation (Paso) to distance itself from a weekend attack on a white student by a group chanting "one settler, one bullet".

About 15 young men attacked student Mr Chris Lott, 18, with a metal pipe in the subway under Rhodes Drive on Saturday, shortly after the launch of the UCT branch of Paso.

SRC vice-president Mr Duncan Parsley said last night that the SRC also called on Paso to commit itself to "taking every step to prevent a recurrence of last Saturday's violence".

He stressed that none of the attackers had been identified as UCT students.

● Paso was discussing the issue last night. A statement is expected today.

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — An upsurge of Xhosa nationalism was further complicating attempts to bring peace to Reef townships, the Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression said yesterday.

The board comprises prominent human-rights lawyers and clerics. Its researchers say Xhosa nationalism manifests itself in the singing of Xhosa songs in praise of Transkei and Pondoland. An East Rand squatter camp has been named after Transkei military ruler General Bantu Holomisa.

The report is the first public acknowledgment from a non-partisan and credible quarter that Zulu chauvinism is fuelling a similar reaction among Xhosas.

The researchers say the Xhosas are adamant that the ANC is a Xhosa organisation with no place for Zulu leaders.

Xhosa nationalism is hampering peace'

They attribute the upsurge in Xhosa nationalism to an influx of rural Transkeians.

ANC leader Mr Chris Hani was recently drowned out by squatters singing tribal songs at Katlehong when he tried to put the Zulu contribution to the ANC's history in perspective.

He was speaking after 15 squatters were killed when Xhosa residents of Holomisa squatter camp attacked neighbouring Mandela camp because they had heard Inkatha-supporting Zulus were living there.

The Community Agency for Social Enquiry (Case) claimed yesterday that Inkatha had been reported to be responsible

for 10 times more acts of aggression during Reef violence than the ANC.

A Case report said the media and monitoring organisations blamed Inkatha for 66% of 146 incidents between July last year and this month, and the ANC for 6%.

The report also claimed the reported use of AK-47s was restricted to Inkatha.

Reacting to the report, Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said Case had a "highly politicised partisan reputation", and accused it of distorted analysis.

The ANC said the report's finding that traditional weapons were used in 31 of 82 incidents attributed to Inkatha explained why the ANC had called for a prohibition on the carrying of traditional weapons, including spears.

ANC document rejects legitimacy of State

Star 22/0791

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WITH little more than a month to go before the ANC's crucial national conference, divergent strategic approaches are beginning to compete in earnest within the organisation. It is an important, if quiet, development.

This jockeying — it will intensify along with the countdown to the ANC's own "Durban July" — will have a vital bearing on the policies to which the ANC commits itself at the conference. In turn, these policies will in large measure determine the mood, pace and content of subsequent real negotiations.

The Star is in possession of a hard-hitting discussion paper on strategy and tactics, focusing on the issues of an interim government and a constituent assembly.

It is already in circulation within ANC, Communist Party and Cosatu ranks. Should the views contained in this document prevail at the conference, the Government is in for much tougher negotiations than it seems to expect. (See accompanying story.)

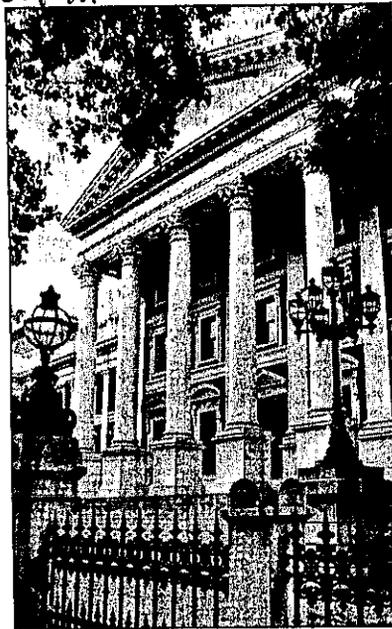
The document's points of departure are in clear conflict with the underlying premises emphasised by the Government, and so are the conclusions flowing from it.

The document centres around a rejection of the crucial notion that the South African State is legitimately constituted, sovereign and independent — the notion that is central to the Government's argument against transitional authorities and, in particular, a constituent assembly.

"In 1910 Britain handed over South Africa to the white section of the population," it is argued in the ANC paper. "That was legal then, just as slave-based states were legal at one time. Eighty years later, international law considers the creation of states through the denial of self-determination as contrary to norms from which there can be no deviation.

"A state created on such a basis, it can be argued, is illegal today, irrespective of the legal status at the date of its creation."

This leads the ANC paper to insist that as "whoever manages the process of transition can determine the extent to which the process is



The Parliament buildings in Cape Town . . . according to an ANC paper, the present Parliament and Cabinet must go.

democratic and also condition the outcome", an interim government is essential to ensure "a definite democratic result, and simultaneously a fundamental rupture with the existing order.

"The existing Government is not merely delegitimised, but removed from the scene. If any of the existing Cabinet enters an interim government, that person does so under fundamentally different conditions.

"The Government is naturally adamantly opposed to this demand precisely because it wants to manage transition in a way that does not concede full democracy."

Thus even in the "talks about talks" phase, this ANC view rejects the right of the existing Government to "be left to decide on the limits of freedom of speech, political association and movement. (And that the) security forces operate fairly." If others are acting as "guarantors of the process", it is held, "your influence is only indirect, as a petitioner."

Even if the Government came to accept the principle of an interim

government in some form, it is argued, the ANC must insist that "despite being a caretaker administration, the IG (interim government) must be conceived and should act to get rid of remnants of apartheid, as part of the process of democratisation."

Crucially, and in diametric opposition to the Government's construction, the document holds that "the IG is not a recipe for 'power sharing' nor dual power. It must focus itself on the transfer of power."

For this reason, "the demand for an interim government is the most revolutionary demand of the day because it displaces the illegitimate existing Government and, also, because it does that without an open mind as to the outcome. The outcome must be agreed: majority rule."

The authors caution that the Government might attempt "to preempt our plan for an IG with something that bears an outward resemblance to it." This must be rejected, it is suggested. The document warns, specifically, against proposals for a "super-Cabinet which would leave

existing power relations intact but would provide for inclusion of ANC leaders as part of the existing authority.

"The Government bottom line on an interim government, at this stage, appears to be one where they remain fully in control but draw in leading ANC figures at various levels. If it can remain symbolic, one should not be surprised if ANC leaders are offered very high governmental positions. This would be a very dramatic gesture and the pressures would be very great for us to accept." The solution, according to the document, is for ordinary people to be shown that such a route would lead to "co-optation and the goal would definitely not be transfer of power".

Similarly, a Government proposal to distinguish between "those involved in Government and those who represent the NP as full-time negotiators" is seen as a ruse, as are proposals to appoint a mediating party directly accountable to the Government, such as the SA Law Commission.

"An interim government cannot start to implement a total social programme. Nevertheless, all sections of the administration fall under and are directly accountable to the IG. The IG will be the supreme legal authority, to whom the security forces and the civil service (and, incidentally, the SABC) would be accountable."

The paper insists that the objective of the entire negotiations process must be clarified before it begins in earnest, and that the objective is set out in article 16 of the Harare Declaration. Further, "where that objective is not shared, there is no possibility of negotiations succeeding. That there is not such agreement now does not mean that the possibility of agreement is never going to be there. Logic, supplemented by judicious mass action, sometimes has a powerful persuasive effect."

The paper concludes with an insistence on the need for a constituent assembly, flowing out of the interim government period. "The demand for a constituent assembly is a demand for normal democratic processes to be brought to bear in the negotiation process." □

Viljoen's blueprint for new SA

5 Jan 22/1991

Formally, constitutional talks between the Government and the ANC are off. In fact, writes SHAUN JOHNSON, both sides are furiously preparing their strategies for eventual "real negotiations". But the latest documents and speeches from each show that from first principles onwards, there remains a yawning chasm between them.

THE MOST detailed picture yet of Government thinking about the transition to the new South Africa — and the structure of that future society — emerged in three key speeches delivered to Parliament by Dr Gerrit Viljoen last week.

If one reduces the mass of detail to its essence, it becomes clear that while there is agreement with the ANC on shared aims in broad brush-strokes — one person, one vote in a non-racial, unitary state — the Constitutional Development Minister's thinking is otherwise poles apart from that of Nelson Mandela's organisation.

The Government is committed to structural mechanisms which would severely restrict the power of any party which won a majority in democratic elections; the standard "winner-takes-all" model is rejected out of hand. The ANC dismisses such "power-sharing", and insists on a "transfer of power".

Dr Viljoen's revealing contributions to the debate on his ministry's budget vote were divided into three discreet sections: Constitutional Principles for the New South Africa, Transitional Arrangements, and Power Sharing and Protection of Minority Rights.

Besides commitments to "justice", "equality" and the like — which have become almost platitudinous since Febru-

ary 2 1990 — Dr Viljoen opened a window on detailed Government strategising to ensure that it emerges from negotiations with as much as possible of its power intact.

The ironic thrust of much of this argument is that a new Government should not be allowed to enjoy the structural power which the National Party has itself utilised for more than four decades.

Regarding constitutional principles, the Government — through Dr Viljoen as its chief negotiator — argues that:

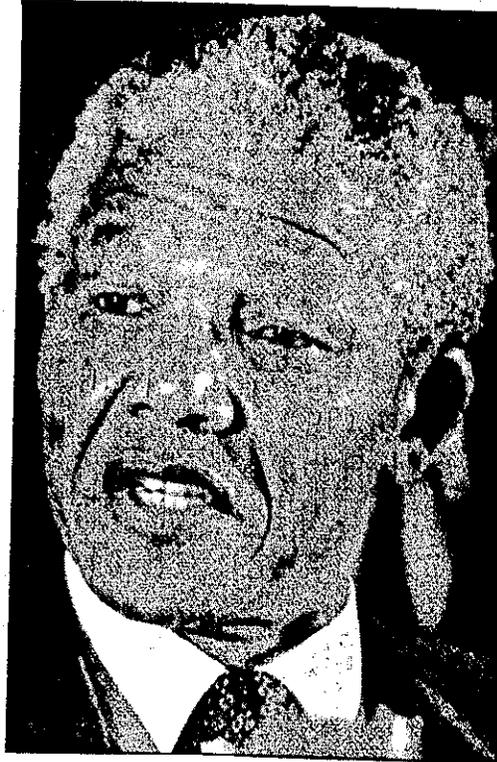
"There must be a much greater division of powers between the legislative, judicial and executive arms of the State. The parliament should be able to 'control the Cabinet more effectively', and an independent judiciary should be able to 'test' parliament's legislation and the performance of the government's executive authority.

"In other words, the constitution will be sovereign (reverting to the present situation, based on the British model) and the new South Africa will emerge as what the Government dubs a "constitutional State". The new government will be on a much shorter leash than the present one.

"There is no prospect of the Republic of South Africa ceasing to exist as a State; rather, there will be a 'radical renew-



Poles apart . . . while there is agreement with the ANC on shared aims for a nonracial, unitary state — the Government's chief negotiator Dr Gerrit Viljoen's thinking varies widely from that of Nelson Mandela's organisation.



al' of South Africa.

"As an instrument of minority protection, consideration should be given to a central legislature comprising two Houses. "In this way a balance will be achieved between universal voting rights and majority power in the one House, and

minority rights protection through special representation and decision-making power for minorities in the other House, a multiparty compilation of the legislative authority (or Cabinet) and a spreading of the powers that are concentrated in the office of the President.

deal with community matters, including aspects of education, welfare, surroundings and culture. Such structures must be able to generate their own funds.

"Powers should be devolved to regions as far as possible. "A justifiable bill of rights to protect individuals from (future government interference will be part of the sovereign constitution."

Regarding transitional arrangements, the Government argues that:

"The 'continuous, complex and most responsible business' of governing a nation remains the task of the National Party Government until such time as the proposed changes have taken place. The same applies to the present Constitution and its institutions'. The Government will continue to govern and the National Party will negotiate . . . The lawful institutions of government and administration, set up according to the valid Constitution and laws of the land, will continue to provide sound government and administration . . . But there are four possibilities for 'acceptable transitional arrangements'.

"Firstly, the mooted negotiating forum might 'itself acquire the stature and capacity to influence the legislative, executive and administrative processes directly and with great authority' — but its primary task will remain the achievement of consensus on a new constitution.

"Secondly, an informal, influential leadership corps could emerge during negotiations, which might even develop into a formal structure.

"Thirdly, the Cabinet could be expanded, with the approval of the negotiating forum, to in-

clude a relatively broad spectrum of competent South Africans.

"Fourthly, multiparty working groups specialising in various fields of government could emerge and provide guidance in the transitional period to the established Government institutions."

Regarding power-sharing and minority rights protection, the Government argues that:

"There is no possibility of its simply disappearing from the political stage and handing over the reins of power to one or other potentate or group with no experience of what the governance of a sophisticated country involves. South Africa is not a colony that is now becoming independent; it has been constitutionally emancipated for decades.

"A system in which the arithmetic majority is effectively given all political power for a period is unacceptable and unworkable. There must be a balance between one person, one vote, and the effective protection of minorities.

"There could be a head of state and a head of government, elected by each house, or the Swiss model could be followed, providing for a collective multiparty college with a rotating chairman."

It is clear from Dr Viljoen's presentations that the Government is devoting a great deal of time and energy to constitutional detail, to be presented at the negotiating table. The picture that emerges is of a complicated set of proposals which will have to be sold both to the ANC and the international community on their own merits — and this will mean producing a convincing case that they are not merely the latest and most sophisticated NP trick to ward off true majority rule. □

Mandela on working visit in Cape Town

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN, Political Staff

MR Nelson Mandela arrives in Cape Town tomorrow for a two-day working visit during which he will meet executive members of ANC branches in closed sessions.

This confirms that he will not attend President De Klerk's peace summit in Pretoria on Friday and Saturday.

Mr Trevor Manuel, Western Cape secretary of the ANC, said there was a constant need for the ANC leadership to consult members, hear their views and be informed of the needs of the people.

Most of Mr Mandela's travelling would be by road, but plans were being made to fly him to some venues.

Meanwhile, Umkhonto we Sizwe chief-of-staff Mr Chris Hani is to speak in support of hunger-striking political prisoners at the University of Cape tonight.

Tomorrow the ANC (Western Cape) will hold a placard demonstration near parliament.

The Standing for the Truth Campaign (Western Cape) will hold a church service in support of the fasters in the Central Methodist Church, Greenmarket Square, on Friday.

Govt can
stop action

— Mandela

JOHANNESBURG. — The government was determining the use of mass action by the ANC because it was not open to argument and persuasion, ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela said here yesterday.

He was referring to the ANC's 24-hour fasting campaign which started at 6pm yesterday.

Mr Mandela said the ANC had discussed with the government the method of resolving the problem — a simplification of the release mechanism for political prisoners.

Discussions were continuing and would be taken up by Archbishop Desmond Tutu, who was due to meet President F W de Klerk tomorrow.

Discussions with the government would continue because lives were involved.

"If argument and persuasion fails, we have no alternative but to take action," Mr Mandela warned. — Sapa

Groups reject peace summit

Sowetan 22/5/91
THE major liberation movements will not attend the Government-initiated peace summit in Pretoria this weekend.

The possibility of the ANC-Cosatu-SACP alliance attending the summit was virtually ruled out by senior ANC officials yesterday.

The ANC said that the imminent ban on spears would not change its mind.

ANC information officer Miss Gill Marcus said: "The issue of the peace conference has nothing to do with the banning of spears at all, rather the question is whether the conference can produce any results.

"We don't think it should be a public relations exercise, but we believe it should be convened by a neutral party and that there should be chances of it producing results."

The ANC further refused to rescind its decision to withdraw from constitutional talks.

The PAC and Azapo have also rejected their invitation to the summit, saying it came from the "instigator" of violence.

"Liberation movements must meet and discuss the question of violence among themselves.

"We also need to look at violence directed at the liberation movement and the black population at large

Council is silent

on cash shortfall

By PHANGISILE MSHALI, MOKGADI PELA and Sapa

by the State," said Azapo projects co-ordinator Mr Lybon Mabasa.

PAC information secretary Mr Barney Desai said: "In our meeting with the ANC in Harare we identified the Government as one of the principal causes of this raging violence."

Transkei has withdrawn from the summit because it was only afforded observer status, chairman of the military council Major-General Bantu Holomisa said yesterday.

Previously, the Transkei government had indicated its strong desire to participate in the deliberations.

"Even President FW de Klerk had admitted that Transkei was an affected party in the violence through the loss of lives of its nationals working in the Transvaal," Holomisa said in a statement.

The Government had, however, replied that it was only prepared to accord Transkei observer status at the conference.

The South African Democratic Teachers Union has also turned down an invitation to the summit, accusing the Government of harassing and victimising teachers.

"We are, therefore, of the opinion that it is such insensitive and undemocratic actions which breed an atmosphere of instability, conflict and violence in the country," it said in a statement.

Give us power now — Nafcoc

PRETORIA. — The National African Federated Chamber of Commerce has called for the government to immediately hand over power to the black majority.

Chief economist Mr Vincent Phaahla said yesterday that Nafcoc did not welcome the new draft bill on the Abolition of Racially Based Land, which included provision for a land commission to advise the government on possible cases of restitution.

Nafcoc wanted a majority government to establish the commission.

Therefore, the organisation was calling for the immediate hand-over of power. Sapa

ca 22519

(11A)

More join ANC solidarity fast

at 23/5/91

JOHANNESBURG. — Several organisations yesterday joined the ANC's call to fast for a day in solidarity with a reported 197 political prisoners on hunger strike, and to press for their immediate release.

The 24-hour fasts here were led by ANC leaders Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr Walter Sisulu, and SA Communist Party secretary-general Mr Joe Slovo. They ended the fast at 6pm yesterday.

Members of local branches of the ANC, SACP and the Congress of SA Trade Unions began fasting at noon.

Representatives of the National Union of SA Students, the National Medical and Dental Association, the SA Health Workers' Congress, the World Congress for Peace and Reconciliation, the Union of Democratic University Staff Associations and the Hunger Strikers Support Committee joined the fast.

There were two evening rush-hour pickets by a handful of protesters in central Johannesburg.

Marchers toyi-toyi

ANC spokesman Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa claimed at a press conference that several people in Holland, the United Kingdom, the United States and Germany were also fasting.

A special message of support had been received from the mayor of New York, he added.

In Stockholm, Sweden, youths protested outside the South African embassy.

In Pretoria, ANC regional chairman Mr Abe Nkomo said several branch members had joined the fast.

In Durban, about 800 toyi-toying people held a lunchtime march through the city centre in support of the hunger-strikers.

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu is to meet President FW de Klerk in Cape Town today to discuss the problems facing the country.

It is understood their talks will centre on the violence and the hunger strike by political prisoners.

The march was the culmination of an all-night vigil on Tuesday.

Also in Durban, students from the University of Durban-Westville boycotted lectures in support of the hunger strike.

● Six prisoners, on the 22nd day of their hunger strike, are being treated in Somerset Hospital, Green Point.

Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee said in a statement from Cape Town on Tuesday that all of the prisoners had applied for release.

A decision on one of the cases was expected shortly, and another four would be considered next month, he said.

"It is therefore completely irresponsible for these prisoners to remain on hunger strike."

At Barberton, in the Eastern Transvaal, seven hunger-striking prisoners were in leg-irons and handcuffed when they were admitted to hospital, according to the Human Rights Commission.

One of the prisoners was reported to be in a serious condition.

A spokesman for the Department of Correctional Services denied any allegations of mistreatment.

All prisoners have vowed to fast until they are released or until they die.

— Sapa

Patrick Laurence looks at the SACP since its re-emergence as a lawful party last July

Setting itself high standards

SAW 23/5/91

11A

LITTLE has been heard of the South African Communist Party since it was re-launched as a legal political organisation at a huge rally in Soweto last July.

SACP leaders have become inured to what they see as the indifference or hostility of the "commercial press", believing that its commitment to capitalism — or, to use the latest terminology, the market economy — prevents it from reflecting accurately or analysing dispassionately.

The Party, as SACP members proudly refer to their organisation, sets itself high standards. "Party members should be honest," exhorts an internal SACP education document.

"They must tell no lies and claim no easy victories," Jeremy Cronin, poet, prison graduate and SACP spokesman, is not a boastful man; he speaks softly, weighing his words carefully, preferring understatement to exaggeration.

Since the Soweto rally, the SACP has launched regional branches in six regions: the PWV (including the Orange Free State), Natal, the Western Cape, the Eastern Cape, Border and Transkei.

The biggest of these launches was in the Eastern Cape where, Mr Cronin estimates, 140 000 people turned out to declare their support for the re-emergence of

the SACP.

The party has established about 50 local branches throughout South Africa.

At present it is establishing district branches as the vital nexuses between regional and local branches.

It has established district structures in Klerksdorp and is setting up two more in Welkom and Soweto.

The choice of locality for the first district branches is instructive. It reflects the party's priorities.

It sees itself as a working class party, reflecting and advancing the interests of workers.

In South Africa the vast majority of workers are black.

Hence Soweto, as South Africa's largest black township, is a natural target area.

Klerksdorp and Welkom are significant for a different reason; they are primarily mining towns where black mineworkers — many of whom are members of the National Union of Mine-workers, South Africa's biggest trade union — are a powerful force.

At the Soweto rally to commemorate the emergence of the SACP from its subterranean existence as a prohibited movement, party officials distributed membership application forms and received 10 000 requests to join, Mr

Cronin says.

Since then it has been trying to locate its new members in local branches, accepting applicants who concur broadly with the party programme.

Only "notorious police agents or criminals" are excluded. The joining fee is R2. After that dues are determined according to the wages of members.

The immediate target is to have 30 000 well-disciplined members. The party does not want sluggards or dilettantes.

The internal education document quoted earlier says: "The first mark of a good communist is activism."

Mr Cronin admits that nearly all the SACP's 10 000 members are also members of the ANC.

The overlapping membership is consistent with a common aim shared by the SACP and the ANC: to build — in Mr Cronin's words — a strong and democratic ANC.

It is consistent, too, with another injunction in the SACP education document.

"The activism of the party members need not necessarily be mainly within the party itself."

Activism in fraternal organisations, of which the ANC is a prime example, is not only accepted but encouraged.

The thought of communists working industriously for the ANC or in the trade union movement

raises the spectre of manipulation from within.

It is, of course, an image which haunts establishment leaders who realise the imperative need to negotiate a deal with the nationalists in the ANC, but who are wary of the "undeclared agenda" of the ANC's communists.

Mr Cronin and his co-members of the SACP's "interim leadership group" react with a measure of irritation to the accusations that communists have instigated themselves into key positions in the ANC and are manipulating it from within.

Positions which party men or women hold in the ANC are posts to which they were elected by ANC members, communists re-join; they were chosen because of their loyalty and value to the ANC, they add.

The internal education document defines the party line: "Especially in fraternal organisations, party members have a duty to uphold the internal democratic processes of those organisations. Party members... are under the discipline of those organisations when they are carrying out the tasks of that position."

Challenging the thesis of manipulation of the ANC by anonymous communists is the SACP's wish to take a separate seat at the proposed all-party congress on how to negotiate a new constitution for

South Africa.

"In principle we would like to have an independent presence there," Mr Cronin says.

But as political allies, the SACP and ANC would hold joint caucuses and work closely together.

Sydney Matimadi, another of the SACP's interim leaders, makes the same point in a position paper presented to communist leaders.

Lamenting that the SACP role in negotiations has been confined to "explaining agreements" reached between the ANC and President de Klerk's governing National Party, Mr Matimadi calls for a more conspicuous and positive input from the SACP.

The image projected by communists is one of a political troika, in which three alliance partners, the SACP, the ANC and the Congress of South African Trade Unions, pull together. They are identifiable but pulling in the same direction.

But, some observers persist, a parting of ways between the SACP and the ANC is inevitable: sooner or later, the SACP's commitment to socialism as "a stage towards a completely classless society" will cause it to move in one direction, while the ANC, with its "bourgeois nationalists", will veer off in another.

Mr Cronin disagrees. He thinks that after the triumph of the "na-

tional democratic revolution" and the eradication of apartheid, the ANC will see that the way ahead is along the path of "democratic socialism".

He cites the experience of the black student rebels of 1976: they started as black nationalists convinced that they were oppressed because they were blacks, but realised later that the "real enemy" was the capitalist system.

The majority of the "generation of 1976" who fled South Africa to take up cudgels to continue the fight became party members, he says.

Mr Cronin, like his comrades in the SACP interim leadership, uses the word "democratic" freely. His phraseology reflects the SACP's discovery, with the collapse of communist regimes in Eastern Europe, of the virtues of multiparty democracy and its belated rejection of Stalinism.

Its conversion is suspect to many South Africans, stretching from bourgeois liberals through well fed Broeders in the National Party to unabashed capitalists.

South Africans, of course, have every right to be sceptical of the SACP's democratic credentials. Many of these same sceptics, however, have no trouble in accepting the National Party's renunciation of apartheid and its sudden conversion to democracy and non-

racism. □

ANC-Goyt rift widens over releases, peace summit

Star 2315191

● From Page 1 (11A)

been accompanied by an international campaign.

Minister of Justice and Correctional Services Kobie Coetsee said a decision on the application for release of one of the prisoners in Somerset Hospital was expected soon. He said the applications of four others in the hospital would be considered between June 11 and 14.

In the light of this, he said in a statement, it was irresponsible for these prisoners to remain on hunger strike or for anyone to encourage them to do so.

● Of the main protagonists, only Inkatha and the Government will attend the

peace summit.

The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Dr Gerrit Viloen, last night defended the summit.

Commenting on the latest political organisation to publicly decry the summit, the PAC, Dr Viljoen said the organisation had become known for its "consistent refusal to engage in any talks or negotiations with the Government on the country's future and is apparently not prepared to become involved constructively in any way whatsoever".

● Spearheaded by Winnie Mandela, the ANC yesterday sought to bring the issue of

political prisoners to the fore.

Police fired teargas and threw stun grenades into a crowd of ANC women protesters in central Johannesburg yesterday afternoon — and arrested and charged Mrs Mandela for the second time in a day — prompting threats of further protest action today.

Mrs Mandela was released after being charged with obstructing traffic and resisting arrest, and promptly returned with other protesters to the intersection of Market and Rissik.

At about 2 pm, when a crowd of mostly women

ANC supporters failed to disperse, police fired teargas and threw stun grenades — which they said are intended to shock and frighten, but not injure — and arrested Mandela again.

"What are you doing? ... don't pull me, don't pull me," Mandela shouted at police who dragged her across the intersection in front of City Hall fountains as her supporters scattered.

She told reporters before being driven to police headquarters in John Vorster Square: "You see for yourselves these vicious men who have manhandled me for the second time ... they man-

handle me right in front of the public in this manner.

"This is not going to deter me. The struggle goes on."

Magistrate Johan Moolman told Mandela's lawyer, Ismael Ayob: "I think you should speak to your client about her behaviour. I hope there are no further attempts of this nature."

She was not asked to plead and both cases have been postponed until June 21.

Mr Mandela later said: "Her second appearance is regrettable." He was considering laying a charge of assault against the policemen who allegedly manhandled her.

Hunger strikers critical, SACC quits talks

Rift widens over crucial issues

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23/5/91
Staff Reporters

The rift between the Government and the ANC widened today as hunger strikers reached a critical stage, and it became clear President de Klerk's peace conference will start tomorrow without several of the major players.

The main points at issue are the release of political prisoners and the convening of a peace summit to end township violence.

With moves having been made to curb violence, including the banning of spears and assegais in unrest areas, six men in hospital beds in the Cape were today the focal point of the political rift.

The six started a hunger strike with fellow prisoners on May 1. They claim political amnesty.

The South African Health Workers' Congress warned today that the threat of irreversible damage to strikers' health "is now very real".

There is also widespread concern over the backlash to the death of a hunger striker.

Latest developments in the dual impasse are:

● Three ANC nominees yesterday withdrew from the Government-appointed indemnity committees.

They declared that they were "appalled" that a meeting would take place as late as June 11 by which time the prisoners will have been on hunger strike for over 40 days, stated advocates Dullah Omar and T L Skweyiya, and human rights expert Dr Max Coleman.

● Government and ANC estimates of the number of political prisoners differ to a massive extent.

The ANC said last night that about 1 800 political prisoners were still in prison 22 days after the April 30 deadline for their release.

The Ministry of Justice said it had received only 1 084 applications for release before April 30.

And of the 1 574 applications lodged since April 30, 70-80 percent fell outside the guidelines of political offences agreed to between the Government and the ANC.

The ministry said it appeared an attempt was being made to frustrate the process of releasing political prisoners.

● The South African Council of Churches (SACC) will not attend President de Klerk's peace summit in Pretoria tomorrow and on Saturday, SACC general secretary the Reverend Frank Chikane announced yesterday. The ANC, the PAC and Azapo and other extra-parliamentary organisations have already indicated they will not attend.

● Yesterday's widely covered "free the prisoners" protests by the ANC — including the double arrest of Winnie Mandela for blocking a Johannesburg intersection with other protesters has

● To Page 3 ■

Mandela spells out ANC stand on peace summit

The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — The African National Congress was not attending President De Klerk's peace conference because it was not proper that the meeting should be convened by one of the belligerents, the organisation's deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela, has said on US television.

Interviewed in South Africa for NBC yesterday, Mr Mandela said the ANC was not merely engaged in negative action by boycotting the De Klerk conference. It was putting forward positive proposals as to how a peace conference should be called and by whom.

He said: "We are not going to attend a conference which is called by one of the belligerents. The proper thing to do is to ensure the conference is called by an entirely impartial body or individual, which is not the case with this conference called by the government."

Asked what the ANC would like the government to do to quell the violence in South Africa, in addition to banning the use of cultural weapons in unrest areas, Mr Mandela said the government could not be dictated to as to what it should do.

"They have got experts in the art of maintaining law and order and dealing with violence, and it is them who should put that skill and knowledge into practice.

PAC rejects peace summit invite

Political Staff

THE Pan Africanist Congress has formally rejected President De Klerk's invitation to take part in this week's peace summit, saying the government was responsible for the violence in the country,

In an open letter to President De Klerk read by PAC deputy president Dikgang Moseneke at a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday, the PAC said the government had "to recuse itself from the convening chair as it was a party to the conflict and has an interest of its own in the outcome of the deliberations".

The government, Mr Moseneke said, had for many years

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"played a key role in destabilising several African countries in this region".

He said the government's plan to set the liberation movements against one another had failed because the PAC had not been drawn into the violence.

The PAC, he said, would continue to work closely with the ANC, the Azanian People's Organisation and the Inkatha Freedom Party in an attempt to end the violence and "to prevent a Beirut situation in our own country".

Mr Moseneke said the PAC's view was that the blame for the violence was not solely the government's, and that "sections of the liberation movement have used or are still us-

ing the barbaric necklace murders, children run so-called 'people's courts' with jungle justice and undemocratic civic practices".

The PAC called on the perpetrators of these acts to desist from them because they allowed the people's "enemies" to manipulate the situation and increase violence from outside.

"We demand and welcome steps to form non-sectarian and democratic civic bodies and we implore all tendencies to work together in harmony and democracy within civic structures. We must stand together as mature and wise people or perish together as fools," Mr Moseneke said.

The PAC leader said while

his organisation agreed that calls on the government to end the violence were "legally sound and justified", it nevertheless found such calls to be "politically naive".

The African people, he said, had to defend themselves and resolve their problems "as their own liberators and have the necessary ideological orientation to act in their own interests without any reservation".

Mr Moseneke warned Africans who would be attending the government's summit that the meeting was not likely to achieve much because "a crucial part of the agenda must be to advance the designs of the State".

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THATCHER IN SA F M 24/5/91

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REFLECTIONS IN A COOL EYE

Margaret Thatcher could not have come to this country at a more convenient time. From a detached but not unsympathetic point of view, she has been able to highlight some of the perversities of our Byzantine politics that are hindering a return to peace in the townships and the resumption of the reforms that should lead to justice and prosperity for all South Africans.

She told government very plainly to stop arguing over procedures and simply stop the township violence. And she is quite right. The near hysteria about Zulus carrying sticks and spears is quite beside the point. The forces of law and order — which have been formidable in the past and are firmly in the control of government — must do immediately what is necessary to keep the peace. No one can do their job for them.

Until that happens, the feeling among blacks that whites do not care about the sanctity of black lives will not only persist but will gain credibility. And that in turn will add fuel to the fire.

But Thatcher also became a target of the ANC's wrath over the sanctions battle, which it is rapidly losing. Despite her having brought peace and independence to Rhodesia, helped Namibia along the same route — and done more than any other Western leader to facilitate the unbanning of the ANC, and bring about peaceful reform here without the economic impoverishment that overwhelmed southern Africa — her anti-sanctions stance is being deliberately (and mischievously) interpreted as pro-apartheid.

This fits with the increasing denigration of the business community and what the ANC chooses to call the commercial press (those of us who have to make a profit to survive) as having sustained apartheid by not having done enough to oppose it and by criticising the ANC's dubious attitudes to economics, democracy and freedom. If you are not all for us, you are against us. That is the slogan behind which the ANC finds it convenient to avoid reality.

In the early Sixties the ANC justified resorting to the "armed struggle" — that is, violence — by saying that all other paths of protest and means of mitigating apartheid were closed to it. We have always regarded that as a dubious claim. But assuming it to be correct, why does the ANC believe business could have been any more successful? Is it claiming now that business at that time should have financed or supported insurrection?

The fact is, of course, that business *did* find a way to mitigate apartheid. It did so by concentrating on economic growth, using the free market to chip away at the collective rigidities of

apartheid. The result was a level of prosperity in this country which, while blacks did not fully share in it, certainly gave them a standard of living far better than that available to their comrades anywhere else on the subcontinent.

It avoided the awful social consequences of the economic wasteland that violent revolution would have precipitated.

If blacks had been able to share equitably in that economic growth, and the fruits of enterprise less narrowly spread, we would all (blacks and whites) be substantially better off than we are today.

The ANC claims that it wants a prosperous and free society in which wealth is equitably distributed. Yet almost every one of the policies that it proposes to bring this about would have the opposite effect.

For instance, it wants to raise as much public revenue as possible to finance a sustained programme of redistribution. But it plans to do so by raising taxes, which experience

abroad has shown leads to a shrinking of the tax base as investment is discouraged and real output circumscribed. The Thatcher experience has shown that lower taxes not only stimulate savings, investment and the growth of real output, but, in doing so, also expand tax revenues.

But the perversity of the ANC does not end there. It still advocates a series of collectivist policies, including elements of nationalisation (a mixed economy) and government intervention in the distribution of productive resources, that so undermined the production of the basic requirements of civilised life that a revolution was caused in eastern Europe and dire poverty and suffering in post-colonial Africa.

As Thatcher pointed out on Tuesday, wherever economic freedom was diminished in Africa, political freedom was imperilled.

And she added: "Of course, where the new government was Marxist, that was always the intention."

Perhaps the persistence of the ANC with economic policies that have manifestly failed elsewhere indicates that it is masking a hidden agenda which includes a Marxist desire to foster a totalitarian State here.

Maybe, however, this perversity indicates instead a weakness in the ANC leadership that its forthcoming elections might overcome, enabling it to get to grips with its delinquent youth and dogmatic ideologues.

If it doesn't (and the indication will be the continued denigration of the ANC's best friends: Thatcher, business and the liberal newspapers) then this subcontinent, with its dependence on SA's economy, is doomed to the fate of Ethiopia. ■



16/5/76
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Magnus Malan
catigates ANC
over boycotts

Political Staff

THE ANC's use of protest marches, consumer boycotts and stayaways left serious doubt that it really understood the essence of the democratic process, the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, said last night.

The fact that a radical power group, including the ANC, used intimidation, such as necklace murders, as a primary instrument for mobilising support also placed a question mark about the depth of their intrinsic support.

General Malan, who addressed the Afrikaner Club in Bloemfontein, again singled out Umkhonto we Sizwe's chief Mr Chris Hani for criticism, calling him "the wild horse of the ANC".

Mr Hani's words and actions were an example of the internal conflict within the ANC, he said.

"The misfortune is that his words evidently strike a responsive chord, particularly among militant black youth, who believe the unbanning of the ANC means the takeover of the government."

Far too many empty seats

Star 24/5/91

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SEATING arrangements at President de Klerk's multi-party peace conference in Pretoria today and tomorrow must surely have had to be rearranged as a number of organisations — political and religious — this week announced one after another that they would not attend.

When Mr de Klerk opens what could have been an historically important peace summit to deal with widespread violence in the townships, he will do so with a heavy heart. The seats which would have been allocated to his Government's main negotiating partner, the ANC, will be empty.

Empty, too, will be those seats which would have been allocated to delegates from the Pan Africanist Congress, the Azanian People's Organisation, the Workers Organisation for Socialist Action (Wosa), the New Unity Movement (NUM), the Civic Associations of Southern Transvaal, the South African Council of Churches, KaNgwane's ruling Inyandza National Movement, the Transkei

KAIZER NYATSUMBA of The Star's Political Staff previews the peace summit beginning in Pretoria today.

military government, the Lebowa government, the Boerestaat Party, the Conservative Party and a number of other extra-parliamentary organisations on the Left and Right of the political spectrum.

Present will be Government representatives, the Democratic Party, the Inkatha Freedom Party, business leaders, some homeland leaders and parties operating within the tricameral Parliament.

The two-day conference, therefore, gets under way amid widespread perceptions that it has been a failure before it even began.

The organisations which have refused to attend the conference have given a number of reasons — the main one being that it will not achieve its purpose of ending the violence.

The liberation movements — the ANC, the PAC, Azapo, Wosa and NUM — have accused

Mr de Klerk of having decided on the conference unilaterally. Their main contention, however, has been that the Government is not only party to the conflict, but is also responsible for it.

These organisations have expressed their preparedness to attend a peace conference convened by a neutral body, such as church leaders, where all attending parties — including the Government — would be there as equals.

The ANC and the CP were swift in their reaction to the announcement of the peace summit in Parliament by Mr de Klerk last month. CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said the conference was meant for those who were involved in violence.

The CP, he said, was not involved in violence and would therefore not attend the summit. He also dismissed the summit as "a panic reaction" by the Government.

The ANC, on the other hand, said from the outset it would not attend a Government-convened peace conference which was a mere public relations exercise. The Government, the ANC said, had failed to take decisive steps to end the violence.

All that can reasonably be expected from this conference is a joint statement denouncing violence as a political strategy and pledging to work for political tolerance.

Given the fact that those organisations not attending the conference, both on the Left and on the Right — and they are the ones that matter — will probably outnumber those attending the meeting, the wisdom of continuing with the conference has been questioned in certain quarters.

However, the conference will continue largely because Pretoria cannot afford to be seen to be allowing itself to be dictated to, albeit indirectly, by the ANC and its allies as well as by other extra-parliamentary organisations. □

Government cannot really expect us to attend peace indaba'

PAC leader replies to De Klerk's invitation

SDwejen
24/5/91
11A

WE acknowledge receipt of Mr FW de Klerk's invitation to the PAC dated May 6 1991 to attend the Multiparty Conference on violence on 24 - 25 May and wish to respond as follows:

*By the very existence of a government which took our land by violent means and which maintains itself by the force of arms as opposed to the will of the people, contextualises the whole framework of the society within which the current violence is taking place.

The question of the CCB, Askaris and other death squads employed by the State would never arise under a government of the people, by the people and for the people. Absence of genuine democracy per se engenders violence.

Attacks

*The fact that a large number of PAC leaders including its first deputy president Mr Johnson Mlambo are not allowed to return to their motherland in a dignified and unconditional manner and the fact that PAC leaders like NEC member Enoch Zulu are still in the regime's prison for fighting for a just, democratic and peaceful society, enjoin the PAC to consider whether the regime which invites us and at the same time restricts our leaders from being in the country sincerely expects us to attend the conference on violence, or has extended the invitation merely as a tactical conscience-soother?

*The current spate of internecine violence can be traced to the 1984-86 period when the State responded to mass resistance by among others using vigilante groups such as the Witdoeke and also by taking direct action against the African masses in attacks like the "Trojan Horse" incident.

It is no coincidence that most of these attacks on the oppressed people have been directed primarily at communities which are highly politicised and which show a heightened capacity for resistance

This is the text of an open letter to State President FW de Klerk - sent to him on the eve of his "peace indaba" from the deputy president of the PAC, DIKGANG MOSENEKE.

against State repressive structures.

This violent action is still continuing with the recruitment of Renamo and other killer groups which stalk the African people by day and night.

Notorious

Special murder squads have been established with the sole purpose of terrorising and killing the African people.

The notorious CCB has not disbanded. Three weeks ago the PAC Kagiso branch chairman was arrested by the South African Police and tortured by an Askari who is a former member of the PAC. PAC members turned Askaris are still in the employ of the State and paid to perpetuate violence against our members. During the last two months about 40 PAC members were arrested with the intention of using torture to turn them against their own people.

One of them was put on national TV while in detention to fuel violence between PAC and ANC.

The above clearly indicates the continued involvement of the State in the ongoing violence and the doctrine of "clean hands" disqualifies the regime to convene any conference.

The State must recuse itself from the convening chair as it is party to the conflict and has an interest of its own in the outcome of the deliberations.

*We concur with international law that all governments, including colonial and de facto regimes, have a legal responsibility to treat its subjects in a humane and dignified manner. In this context, all calls on the SA regime to end the violence are legally sound and justified.

Reason

The ideology of the settler colonial capitalist state necessarily leads to the creation and maintenance of a police force and army which are set on protecting the interests of the minority and bosses of the oppressed African masses. For this reason the African masses have formed their own parties and armies. The only way the security forces of the settler state can possibly respond to the demands of the masses is through repression.

Hence every intervention in violent situations by the South African Police Force is followed by a complaint by the masses against their curfews, emergency declarations and repression. It follows

that all calls on the SA security forces to end the violence in our interest, is politically naive even though it is legally justifiable.

Problems

It also follows that the African people must defend themselves and resolve their own problems as they are their own liberators and have the necessary ideological orientation to act in their own interests without any reservation.

*The South African settler racist regime has for many years now played a key role in destabilising several African countries in this region. In that way the SA regime has undermined the efforts of several front line states in addressing the interests of the African masses at the expense of Western interests.

This campaign inevitably led to violence in neighbouring states like, Mozambique, Angola and to a lesser extent Zimbabwe.

This pattern has now moved to South Africa where communities are being destabilised with the intention of undermining their faith in us with the hope of turning the masses to follow De

Klerk who is now posing as a peacemaker.

The neighbouring states were destabilised after independence and we have to be destabilised before independence because after independence the forces of destabilisation will be marginalised.

The imperialist plan to set brother on brother has by and large failed as they have been unable to draw the PAC directly into the fighting with other ranks of the oppressed. Our correct political analysis and apt slogans like "Peace amongst the Africans" are ensuring that the PAC sidesteps the designs of the enemies of genuine liberation. Strife, rivalry and violence among the oppressed African masses undermines and weakens their liberation efforts and are inconsistent with genuine and total transformation of our society.

Blame

We will continue to work closely with the ANC, Azapo, and Inkatha in a bid to end the violence and to prevent a Beirut situation in our country.

*The blame for the violence is not solely that of the regime. Sections of the liberation movement have used or are still using the barbaric neck-lace murders, children run so called "peoples' courts" with jungle justice and undemocratic civic practices. Unjustified and needless disruption of schooling and



Dikgang Moseneke explains why the PAC won't be at the peace talks.

other areas of community life still persist. We call on the perpetrators of these acts to stop forthwith as they are opening the way for our enemies to co-opt those who in the process have become genuinely aggrieved, and allow external fomentation of violence.

We demand and welcome steps to form non-sectarian and democratic civic bodies and we implore all political tendencies to work together in harmony and democracy within structure.

Violence

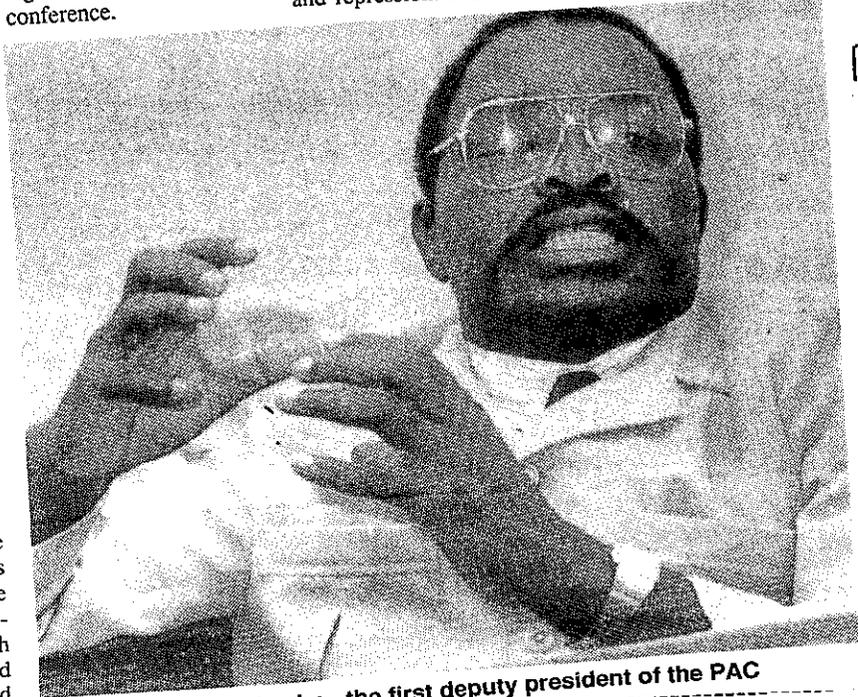
We must stand together as mature and wise people or perish together as fools.

*The PAC can appreciate the motivation of those oppressed persons who are attending De Klerk's meeting. We are tempted to state that we recognise your demo-

cratic right but knowing that you do not meet first before your meeting with De Klerk. We appreciate your desire to see an end to the violence.

We are tempted to say that we appreciate your democratic right but unfortunately you are deprived of that very thing by the same De Klerk. We do not think that you will achieve much as a crucial part of the agenda must be to advance the designs of the State.

Lastly, now more than ever before the historic imperative upon the oppressed is to form a solid alliance of progressive liberation forces encompassing all sections of the oppressed in order to ensure the transfer of power to a democratic majority and the formation of a economical just order which will address all fundamental questions including the re-conquest of the land.



Johnson Mlambo...the first deputy president of the PAC

FM 24/5/91

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Winnie Mandela . . . support visibly declined

WINNIE MANDELA (11A)
AFTER THE STORM

FM 24/5/91

One week later, and the conviction of Winnie Mandela (of kidnapping and being an accessory to assault) and her resulting six-year jail sentence have caused barely a ripple in the ANC.

Her husband, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, set the tone by saying after the trial that he would leave the matter in the hands of the courts. His wife's application for leave to appeal against her conviction will be heard next month.

The strongest hint of how the ANC rank-and-file feels about the trial probably came during the ANC Women's League conference in Kimberley in April, when Winnie failed to get elected to any senior position in the league.

When the trial began Mandela personally invited key activists to attend the trial, and many senior ANC members were in the public gallery. As the trial proceeded this visible support declined. At the end, not even Nelson Mandela was there to hear sentence handed down — he was addressing students in Stellenbosch.

Certain ANC leaders were not happy with the anti-homosexual aspects of the defence case, and they felt that the organisation's reputation for tolerance had been tarnished.

After an initial reluctance to deal internally with the issues surrounding the trial, or even to discuss it, the leadership managed to distance itself and was careful not to endorse isolated claims that the verdict was a political one.

The judiciary emerged with its reputation — tarnished by decades of having to enforce apartheid law — considerably enhanced. There had been much talk of secret deals and trade-offs born of cynical political considerations. In the event the gossips were proved wrong. Justice Stegmann tried the case by

the book, sifting the evidence meticulously and presenting a judgment that no one of any standing has managed to fault.

For a country where, not so long ago, people who inscribed "Viva ANC" on coffee mugs were given six-year jail sentences, this evidence of judicial integrity is cause for hope indeed.

It would be premature to close the door on the political ambitions of a woman as determined as Winnie Mandela. In terms of the new enlarged structure of the ANC's national executive committee, she will automatically serve on that body.

For the moment, her political future depends on whether she is granted leave to appeal. ■

Boesak contemplates a return to the centre-stage

ANYONE speculating that Dr Allan Boesak will put his God-given talents to securing the coloured vote for the African National Congress can think again.

Speculation on these lines has been mounting ever since his meeting last month with Nelson Mandela at the ANC leader's own request — prompted by concern about the ANC's difficulties in recruiting members in coloured areas.

But in a wide-ranging interview this week, Boesak let it be known that the role he sees for himself in South Africa's continuing political drama extends far beyond regional or ethnic boundaries, though certainly within the ANC — “the only political grouping in this country with the right credentials”.

It also does not exclude his returning to the ministry he was forced to quit when his affair with television producer Elna Botha — now the wife who “has more faith in me than I'll ever have in myself” — became known.

“I have never ever seen myself as a so-called coloured leader,” Boesak told *The Weekly Mail*. “I have always experienced, really, what it means to be a national leader...”

“If anyone thinks I am going to be a Western Cape or coloured leader that is simply so far from what I am as to be laughable.”

In the wake of the ANC's unbanning, Boesak virtually dropped from sight on the political centre-stage he held in the days when he was patron of the United Democratic Front.

Word was that he had been sidelined by other Western Cape players: it was said his tendency to ad lib rather than keep to the prepared script raised questions about his accountability; that he was too much the maverick.

But it was also said that some of his fellow members had their eyes on future starring roles and that the charismatic Boesak, with a support-base crossing the urban-rural divide and transcending colour lines, represented too much of a threat. His extra-marital affair justified a request from the Western Cape interim ANC leadership in September last year that he keep a “low profile”.

This week, Boesak frankly admitted to tensions once rife between him and certain local leaders and said: “It's true. I was ostracised.”

Some of the problems were ideological “and will probably remain so”, while some

W/Mail 24/5-29/5/91.

In a wide-ranging interview with **GAYE DAVIS** this week, Allan Boesak indicated that the role he sees for himself extends far beyond regional or ethnic barriers



What now? ... Allan Boesak

were at a “purely personal level”. But he never felt any such tension with the ANC's national leadership and “certainly not with everybody” in the Western Cape leadership.

Such things were “petty — it is really criminal that we allow ourselves the luxury of fighting each other at this level while there are so many important things to do. I would not want to become involved in any form of rivalry or jockeying for position.”

“I would simply say, as I did to Mr Mandela, that you know who I am, what I have done, what I can possibly do, you know my willingness, if I can help, get in touch with me.”

But he also informed Mandela of “concerns” he had — which included criticisms of the organisation's performance since its unbanning, tapped from “friends, rather than enemies of the ANC”, both at grass-roots level and abroad.

Such as the “mistake” the ANC made “when it did not find it necessary to take seriously the contribution of people who had been in the struggle for all these years and utilised them from the very beginning.”

“That has created a gap and a resentment

out there — among activists, among ordinary people whose sympathies have always lain with the ANC.

“It is almost as if an alien leadership, whom we have respected but not known really, imposed itself on the community without taking the trouble to make itself known.”

And while the Mass Democratic Movement, in the days of the UDF, was seen to be non-racial, the ANC, despite its policies, was being seen as “too much of an African organisation, not only in terms of numbers (in the national leadership) but also in its style of operation...”

The ANC now found itself in difficulties — mostly caused by Pretoria and circumstance, but some of its own making. However, they were not insurmountable.

Thus, while he is “seriously considering” joining the ANC, it is also clear that much depends on what Mandela has to say to him when the two men continue their discussion this weekend.

Boesak would not go so far as to say he asked for guarantees related to his coming aboard. There were “no deals, no promises either way”, he said.

He would be prepared to serve on the ANC's national executive if called on — but it would have to be the “people's choice. Then you are so much stronger in what you want to do and have to do,” he said.

If he joined the ANC, he would not “have the privilege” of being an ordinary member. In terms of “the position I have always had in the struggle, I will be called on to talk about the organisation and its policies, try and persuade people to join the movement — get votes, basically — so I will have to be very sure of what it is we are trying to tell people.”

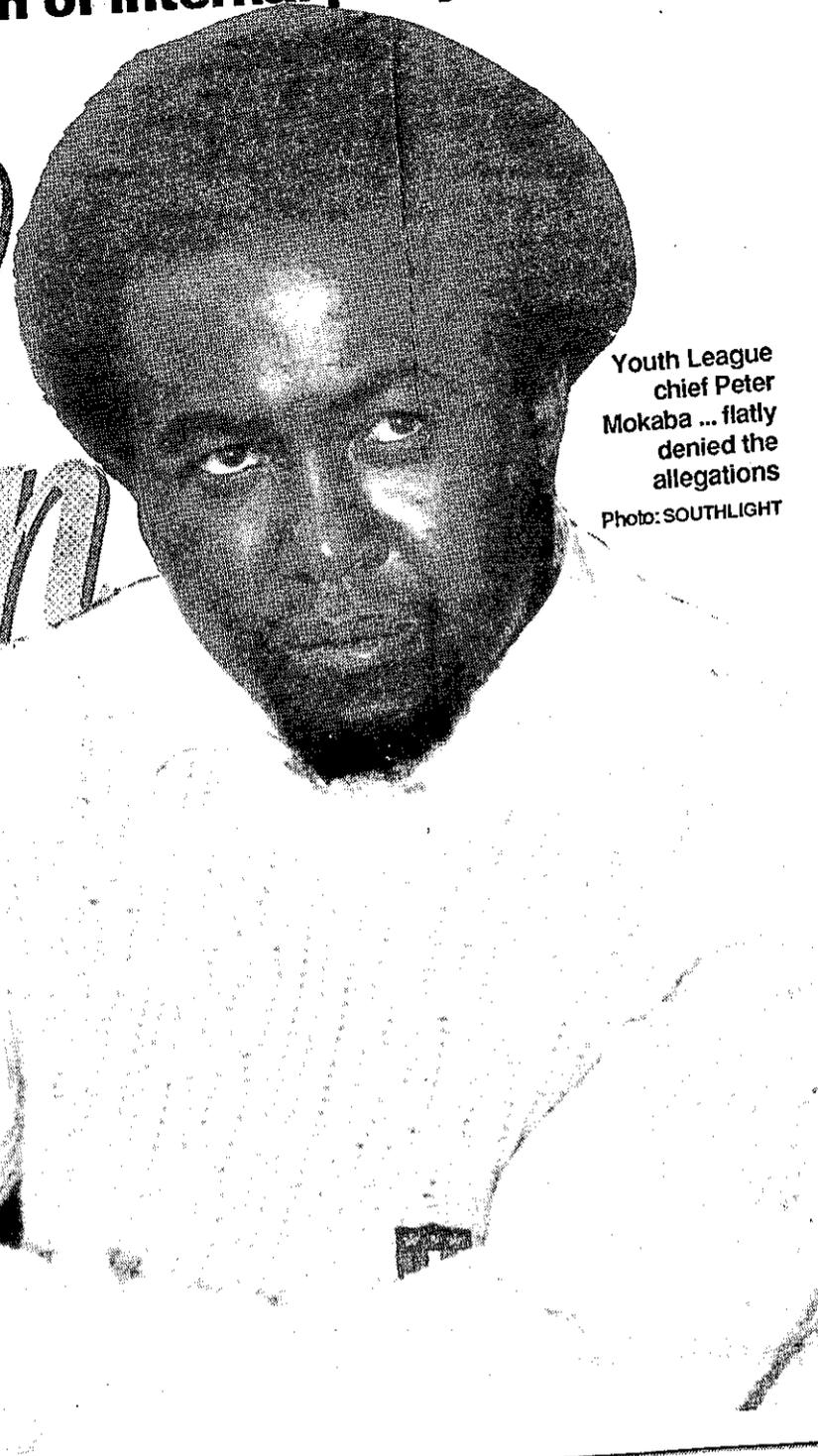
He said it was “already understood that I will be called on to work at a wider level nationally and possibly internationally because of my contacts and my very wide experience there so I will not be the property, so to speak, of the Western Cape”.

Whether he can combine a political with a clerical career is the main factor stopping him taking steps to return to the ministry. He misses clerical life “with a pain that is almost unbearable”, everything he is he attributes to God. He now regrets his resignation from the Dutch Reformed Mission Church, believing he should have listened to colleagues who advised him not to.

“I resigned for other reasons — not the obvious reasons that people thought. But I can't tell you what they were, I would be breaking a promise.”

Charismatic Peter Mokaba: Spy, or victim of internal party intrigue?

Is this top ANC man a spy?



Youth League chief Peter Mokaba ... flatly denied the allegations
Photo: SOUTHLIGHT

For two years, ANC officials have investigated the credentials of a fiery youth leader

Weekly Mail Reporters W/Mail 24/5-29/5/91

HAS Peter Mokaba, the militant and highly popular leader of the ANC's Youth League, ever spied for the security police?

Senior ANC sources have indicated that their Youth League president is under suspicion — and that a two-year-long investigation has not conclusively cleared him.

Sources within the ANC insist that Mokaba was summoned to Lusaka and interrogated about the allegations

some two years ago. The precise outcome of the interrogation is not clear, but he was alleged to have made a confession, and ANC security and intelligence wanted to take action against him.

Conjecture within the ANC is that the president, Oliver Tambo, and those of the national executive privy to the scandal were concerned that exposure would have been too damaging.

Mokaba, the head of the ANC's Youth League said yesterday that he had no knowledge of the allegations, which he said were untrue.

The allegation that he was an agent is common knowledge within the ANC as well as the broader anti-apartheid movement, where it has been circulating for almost two

years. The extraordinary aspect of the affair is the failure of the ANC leadership to confront the issue and to clear up the claims either way.

There are two versions of the story in circulation. The first is that Mokaba was a long-standing agent who had worked for the branch since the early Eighties. The other is that he agreed to work for the security police after being detained in the late Eighties and had failed to inform the ANC about this.

After the confession, a decision was said to have been taken to isolate Mokaba — an extremely popular figure among township youths — and ensure that he had no fur-

● To PAGE 2

Is top ANC man a police spy?

ther influence within the ANC. Despite this, he was allowed to take the key position as leader of the ANC Youth League earlier this year.

An attempt was made to exclude him from the leadership by amending the League's constitution to limit membership to "youths" under the age of 31 — Mokaba being 33. The move was defeated this week, however, and the figure has been set at 35.

Confronted with the story yesterday, Mokaba offered a series of arguments in refutation of the allegations. He said that within the past two years he had successfully defended two important figures within the ANC against similar charges, a defence which would have had no weight if he himself had been under suspicion.

He said that if the ANC seriously did believe he was a police agent he would have been killed in circumstances which would have made him appear a martyr in the eyes of the youth — "it

been done many times before" — which would have avoided repercussions.

Instead, he had been confirmed as the organisation's youth leader; moves were currently under way to have him appointed to the national executive and only this week he had been given responsibility for organising "defence committees" in the townships.

He claimed he had been the victim of sectarianism within the United Democratic Front.

It is a measure of his standing that the definitive anthology of South African political profiles — Shelagh Gastrow's *Who's Who in South African Politics* — gives him as much space as Nelson Mandela.

His profile, for which he supplied some details, has it that he first emerged as a political activist during the 1976

Soweto uprising, when he helped organise school boycotts in the northern Transvaal, where he lived with his family.

He was arrested in November 1977 on charges of public violence, but was acquitted when all 28 state witnesses refused to testify against him. Leaving school to become a teacher of mathematics and science, he returned to his studies in 1980 when he enrolled for a BSc at a "bush" university, Turfloop.

Two years later he was arrested on charges including membership of the ANC, undergoing unlawful training, illegal possession of weapons and attempting to recruit members to the ANC.

He was sentenced to six years and sent to Robben Island, but in 1984 won on appeal.

He was re-arrested on his release and finally freed in March 1985 after being given a three-year suspended sentence for possession of a Makarov pistol.

His political career was interrupted by several other periods of detention. In May 1989 he was acquitted on charges of being an ANC commander in the northern Transvaal, after state witnesses again refused to testify against him. Two of his co-accused were jailed.

During this time Mokaba enjoyed a meteoric rise within the anti-apartheid movement, culminating in his unanimous election as president of the South African Youth Congress (Sayco) in 1987 and his election to head the ANC Youth League at this year's re-launch.

Apart from his organisational positions, Gastrow credits Mokaba with several achievements, including a "key" role in the rejection of independence by the homeland of kwaNdebele as well as having "motivated" the formation of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa — an ANC-affiliated organisation of tribal chiefs. He is also described as a black belt in karate.

● From PAGE 1

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ANC hits out at govt tardiness

THE African National Congress has accused the government of using the Pretoria Minute to hinder, rather than ease, the release of political prisoners — and, by implication, delay negotiations.

In a speech delivered at Wits University on Thursday, ANC leader Walter Sisulu rejected government claims that the organisation itself was responsible for delays in the release of political prisoners.

He pointed out that:

● In terms of the Pretoria Minute, which set the April 30 deadline, blanket categories for prisoners' release should have been granted from October 1990 and concluded by the end of that year. "Instead, Minister (of Justice Kobie) Coetsee announced the first category only on December 18 1990 and the last on April 24, six days before the deadline."

Thus, prisoners to be released under these categories were still being freed early this month.

● Consideration of individual prisoners' cases was hoped to be concluded by February 6, six months after the Pretoria Minute was signed, but no later than April 30. "Instead (indemnity committees) were only formally established when names of ANC nominees for them were published in the Government Gazette on April 24. This despite the fact that the names had been given to the government in September last year and that the judges had been appointed in February."

Sisulu said delays in setting up the mechanism to deal with disputed cases was the major reason for the fact that political prisoners were still in jail after the April 30 deadline. "It is also a clear breach of the agreement that the government made with the ANC," he said.

There was no reason why the government could not have processed in good time applications for release by prisoners held on Robben Island, which in itself meant they were classified as political prisoners, Sisulu said.

Walter Sisulu has accused the government of using the release of political prisoners to delay negotiations.

By GAYE DAVIS



Walter Sisulu

Robben Island prisoners were told their applications had been referred to indemnity committees only in early April. Six were told their cases had been referred only on April 23, another five were told only on May 10 and two have yet to be informed of their referral. "This despite Coetsee's statement that all remaining prisoners have been referred (to indemnity committees)."

Regarding death-row prisoners, the government had decided — without consulting the ANC — to first allow the legal process to take its course before considering applications for release. "This despite the fact their applications were lodged timeously in December 1990."

Sisulu said he was not denying that many applications had been submitted late. The point was that the government could have dealt with those applications submitted in good time.

Accusing the government of "a blatant breach of the Pretoria agreement", Sisulu said delays had been aggravated

ed by regulations governing the operation of the indemnity committees. They were drawn up without consulting the ANC and no attempt was made to remedy matters in the face of ANC protests.

Secrecy provisions meant in effect the indemnity committee hearings would be "secret trials", with ANC committee members barred from saying whether or not they agreed with the verdicts.

The government had further delayed releases by referring to indemnity committees "all cases that do not fit into one or other of the (blanket release) categories".

On May 3 Coetsee said 364 applications for release had been referred to indemnity committees. Lawyers for Human Rights has estimated that if the present rate of referral continues, indemnity committees could be faced with considering more than 600 cases.

Each case would involve detailed reading of court records, police reports, judgments, individual motivations and arguments — which could mean indemnity committees taking more than a year to process all the cases.

Also on May 3, Coetsee detailed various cases of people released in terms of the Pretoria Minute. These included people convicted of murder (where a hut was burned down, causing six deaths). Lawyers are now asking why political offences involving murder or injury should be referred to indemnity committees at all.

According to the Human Rights Commission, applications for release by prisoners have escalated sharply, from 830 on March 22 to 1 971 as at May 10. By the end of April, only 316 applications had been approved.

"The authorities are now caught in a bureaucratic trap of their own making, and it is not surprising that they failed totally to meet their undertaking in the Pretoria Minute to release all prisoners by April 30," the HRC said in a statement.

THE African National Congress' decision to suspend constitutional talks with the government had political observers staring back into the abyss this week, but the movement's stand could have opened the way for a more solid, negotiated peace.

The statement from the extended National Executive Committee contained demands, forwarded originally by the Congress of South African Trade Unions, that the ANC wants to take to a church-convened all-party conference on violence.

These include a code of conduct for all political parties; a code of conduct for the security forces; agreement on the powers and functions of a standing commission on violence; and a comprehensive approach to reconstruction of violence-wracked communities.

These demands, while not replacing those contained in the ultimatum to the government on violence, take ANC policy much further towards seeking practical remedies to the violence.

ANC's stand may pave the way for true peace

w/ma 24/5-29/5/91

The ANC has threatened mass action and a general strike to press the government into meeting the demands on violence, including a total ban on the carrying of all lethal weapons, better policing and the sacking of ministers Magnus Malan and Adriaan Vlok.

Dissatisfaction was expressed at the NEC meeting at the statement by President FW de Klerk that police would continue to maintain law and order with impartiality. It was issued after De Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela were said to have reached broad consensus in their talks of the previous week.

After hours of debate, the NEC insisted that the seven demands contained in

The African National Congress' suspension of constitutional talks and its insistence on a church-convened conference on violence offer the hope for a negotiated peace.

By **PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK**

the ultimatum remained and rejected the whittling down of them to the issue of the carrying of spears. It also rejected a compromise plan that this week's conference be hosted jointly by the ANC, Inkatha and government.

Instead, it stood by a decision taken at a tripartite meeting between the ANC, the South African Communist Party

and Cosatu the previous weekend that the peace conference had to be convened by religious bodies, which are impartial forces in the conflict.

The ANC has kept the lines of communication open over the issue of violence. But it is unlikely to accept De Klerk's conditional banning of traditional weapons only in "unrest areas" — won after much pleading with Inkatha leaders, including the Zulu monarch, King Goodwill Zwelithini, in Ulundi this week.

The ANC also decided to boycott De Klerk's peace summit, setting in motion a spate of cancellations which included the South African Council of Churches, homeland governments and

the Civic Association of Southern Transvaal, and politically dividing the country on pre-February 2 1990 lines.

ANC secretary general Alfred Nzo said, however, that the movement would not quit all talks with the government. The ANC would continue to participate in joint working groups on the release of political prisoners and return of exiles, Nzo said.

And the ANC's decision to pull out of constitutional talks will only have a possible delaying effect because, as Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Gerrit Viljoen pointed out, actual constitutional negotiations between the government and the ANC have not started yet. Constitutional negotiations are, in any event, unlikely to get far while violence continues to rage on the ground.

Viljoen said the ANC's decision not to participate in the peace conference was unjustifiable and that its planned mass action would only aggravate violence by leading to further confrontation and conflict.

Winnie's arrests boost her image

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The double arrest on Wednesday of Mrs Winnie Mandela has helped restore her image as a victim of ruthless white oppression — just a week after she was vilified in the media following her six-year sentence on kidnapping and assault charges.

Britain's major newspapers yesterday carried large photographs of her being manhandled by police. Radio and television also gave the event prominent coverage.

The incident, reminiscent of her treatment in the decades during Mr Nelson Mandela's incarceration, appears set to win her renewed world support.

Mrs Mandela's treatment also ensured that global attention was focused on the plight of the hunger-striking political prisoners, which was the aim of the ANC protest.

A report in The Times said

Mrs Mandela "leapt back to the centre of the South African political stage" when arrested.

It quoted Mrs Mandela as telling bystanders: "You see for yourselves, these vicious men have manhandled me right in front of the public. This is not going to deter me. The struggle goes on."

The Independent, which has been highly critical of Mrs Mandela, said the arrest was "like the old days — pre-De Klerk, pre-Mandela United Football Club".

After thunder-flashes and teargas were fired to disperse the crowd, it reported, "the police, ignoring all the other protesters, made a beeline for Mrs Mandela".

The Daily Telegraph report said the "irrepressible" Mrs Mandela "made a dramatic appearance in the streets of Johannesburg" when she was arrested.

(11A) (11B) (301A) (231)

TOGETHER OR BUST

Behind the hardline facade of the ANC's weekend decision to put constitutional talks on hold, and Inkatha Freedom Party's belligerent insistence on the right to carry what it calls cultural weapons, progress is being made towards resolving differences, according to government sources.

The ANC's refusal to participate in constitutional talks was less dramatic than it seemed. As Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen pointed out, such talks have not even started. And other contacts — working group discussions on the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles — will continue. The ANC's grandstanding has little real effect on the political process: it is ultimately committed to the negotiations process.

President F W de Klerk's talks in Ulundi this week were seen as an important breakthrough. A significant concession on the carrying of traditional weapons has been made by Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini.

De Klerk's drawing in of the Zulu king was not without significance. The Zulu royal family is known to be deeply divided and angry about the continuing violence and the way Zulu cultural norms are being warped — for example, women are increasingly featuring in war parties. While Inkatha has firmly backed the carrying of spears, more and more chiefs, concerned about the conflict, have rejected the bearing of the weapon.

The Ulundi concessions clearly will not be enough at this late stage to reverse the ANC's decision to boycott the weekend summit on violence — but they are a start, and believed to have impressed some senior ANC members.



De Klerk ... may postpone talks

De Klerk was due to meet a joint delegation from the SA Chamber of Business and the SA Council of Churches as the FM went to press, and there were indications that he would be urged to postpone the peace summit because it would be pointless without the ANC.

The Ulundi meeting was also regarded as an important step towards restoring Buthelezi's image as a proponent of nonviolent solutions to crises — a vital move, as the FM argued in its cover article last week.

The ANC has been careful not to heighten tensions between it and Inkatha — relations between the two groups in the Transvaal are at an all-time low. The ANC is coming under strong pressure from leading members to



Buthelezi ... improved image

make its peace with Inkatha. Some fear that if tensions between the two are not subdued, Zulu nationalism could rise and secession become an issue.

The IFP in particular and Zulus in general have been widely portrayed as the aggressors in the factional violence that swept the Reef in recent months. There were indications that some senior Nats were beginning to accept this view.

Buthelezi is understood to have perceived the intense concentration of government attention on the ANC as a snub to Inkatha, a lack of appreciation of his own efforts over the years to resist the armed struggle and oppose sanctions. It is understood that he told De Klerk this at a meeting in Cape Town this month.

In apparent response, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen lavishly praised Buthelezi during a debate in parlia-

ment last week.

He said the perception that government was talking "mainly and exclusively" to Nelson Mandela and the ANC about SA's future was false. "Fact is, talks with the ANC have come nowhere near the core issues of constitutional reform."

Later in the debate he both praised and condemned Mandela for recent public statements. One comment, at Stellenbosch University last week, was regarded as a significant moderation of his views on minority guarantees, while the other, at Swanieville on the West Rand the following day (when Mandela referred to possible violence in white areas) was interpreted as inflamma-



Mandela ... praised and condemned

tory and dangerous.

Viljoen said that while Mandela had repeatedly rejected the concept of minority protection or the protection of group rights, because he regarded it as tantamount to a perpetuation of racism, his speech at Stellenbosch indicated a considerable softening.

Mandela assured students that structural guarantees would be written into an ANC constitution to ensure that whites were not dominated by blacks and that cultural and religious rights would be protected.

"These are very important statements that clarify further common ground on the basis of which we can negotiate for the future," said Viljoen.

The common ground between the ANC and government appears to be broadening all the time, but no progress will be made until the violence is brought under control. ■

Comment →

ANC frees 'agents, spies, assassins'

SA 29/5/91

JOHANNESBURG. — The African National Congress said last night that it had released all "secret agents, spies, agents provocateurs and hired assassins in the employ of the SA government's security services" held by the ANC.

The organisation was also in touch with neighbouring countries holding South African agents and was trying to secure their release.

A statement said: "In February 1991, the ANC resolved to release all persons the movement was holding in detention by on or before 31 May, 1991."

"We hereby announce that this process has now been completed."

"Those who have been released have elected either to return home or to be reintegrated in the ranks of the ANC or to take up scholarships for study and training abroad." — Sapa

ANC man denies 'spy' charges

CT 25/5/91

LONDON. — ANC Youth League president Mr Peter Mokaba has dismissed allegations that he was a South African police agent.

According to a report in yesterday's Guardian, he said he had no knowledge of the allegations, which he said were untrue. However, the newspaper said that "despite his ignorance of them, the allegations are common knowledge within the ANC as well as the broader anti-apartheid movement".

The Weekly Mail reported yesterday that "senior ANC sources" had "indicated" that Mr Mokaba was "under suspicion" and that a two-year-long investigation had not conclusively cleared him.

The ANC said in a statement issued by its department of information and publicity that it had noted the report in which certain allegations were made against Mr Mokaba.

"It is not the policy nor the practice of the ANC to discuss the conduct of its any leaders and its members in the media.

"The ANC is going to look into the matter and act accordingly in due course."

The Guardian report commented: "An extraordinary aspect of the affair is the failure of the ANC leadership to clear Mr Mokaba or confront the issue, which is proving highly divisive. Senior ANC sources confirmed that a two-year investigation into the claims is continuing."

Too damaging

It said Mr Mokaba was allegedly summoned to ANC headquarters in Lusaka and interrogated about the allegations in 1989. "The outcome of the interrogation — which Mr Mokaba denies ever took place — is not clear, but it was allegedly such that ANC security contemplated action against him."

The Weekly Mail story said speculation within the ANC was that its president, Mr Oliver Tambo, and the members of the national executive committee were concerned that exposure would have been too damaging.

The Guardian report claimed that a decision was taken to isolate Mr Mokaba and to ensure he had no further influence within the ANC.

However, he was later allowed to become leader of the Youth League earlier this year. And an attempt to amend the league's constitution to limit membership to under-31s as opposed to under-35s was defeated. Mr Mokaba is 32.

Mr Mokaba told the Weekly Mail that if the ANC seriously did believe he was a police agent, he would have been killed in circumstances which would have made him a martyr in the eyes of the youth — "it has been done many times before" — which would have avoided repercussions.

Instead, he had been confirmed as the organisation's youth leader, moves were currently under way to have him appointed to the national executive and only this week he had been given responsibility for organising "defence committees" in the townships. — Own Correspondent, Political Staff

ANC in dispute over Mokaba 'spy' claims

LONDON. — A dispute has developed within the African National Congress over whether one of its most popular leaders is a South African police agent, the London Guardian newspaper reported yesterday.

According to the report, Mr Peter Mokaba, president of the ANC's Youth League, regarded as a potential successor to the organisation's leadership, has claimed he has no knowledge of the allegations about him despite the fact they are "common knowledge" within the ANC.

Mr Mokaba said that if the ANC seriously believed he was a police agent, he would have been killed.

● Mokaba denies charges — Page 2



Mr Peter Mokaba

Cas drops out of Actstop over wrangles

ACTSTOP publicity secretary Cas Coovadia has confirmed his resignation from the central Johannesburg civic organisation, which now has internal wrangles to solve.

Mr Coovadia dismissed reports he was leading a breakaway group that would form a civic body as a rival to Actstop, formed to advise mainly black tenants of their rights, and to act for them against landlords who took advantage of tenants under the Group Areas Act.

Mr Coovadia said he had resigned his position a week after re-election. He confirmed that he was one of the 36 representatives who boycotted the organisation's annual meeting two

CONNIE MOLUSI

sonal capacity, Mr Nkosi said Mr Coovadia's resignation had not come as a surprise and had been expected for some time. He said Actstop's executive would consider the resignation at a meeting today.

Mr Nkosi said there was disagreement within Actstop on the Central Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber. Some members insisted that the organisation join the chamber, while others called for more consultation within the membership.

"A democratic organisation should consult its constituency before taking major decisions, and therefore Actstop has remained an observer on the chamber," Mr Nkosi said. "Actstop has refused to join the chamber because there has been no consultation or discussions of the issue in Actstop forums."

Mr Coovadia said he was prepared to rejoin the organisation if the problems were resolved and the majority of the constituency demanded him back.

Mr Coovadia has also resigned his post as assistant general secretary of the Civic Associations of the Southern Transvaal over a disagreement on the metropolitan chamber.

The chamber is constituted by the Transvaal Provincial Administration, city councils in the Witwatersrand and civic associations, and has as its main objective the formation of non-racial local authority administrations. — Sapa.



RESIGNED: Actstop's Cas Coovadia.

weeks ago because of objections to the executive committee's running of the organisation.

Yesterday Mr Coovadia claimed the Actstop AGM was unconstitutional and added that a process had been started to resolve the problems.

Actstop general secretary Mr Pressage Nkosi confirmed that there were problems in the organisation, but said that these were internal matters.

Responding in his per-

Doubt over ANC 'lion'



ACCUSED: ANC Youth League leader Peter Mokaba says 'police spy' reports are malicious and intended to divide the ANC.
● Picture: JACOOB RYKLIFF

Star 25/11
THE Lion of the North, ANC Youth League leader Peter Mokaba, is under investigation by his organisation on suspicion of having been a spy in Lusaka for South African intelligence, says a newspaper report.

According to a Weekly Mail report and London's Guardian newspaper, ANC sources have confirmed that an investigation is being conducted into Mr Mokaba's credibility as a political activist.

However, last night Mr Mokaba, speaking to Saturday Star reporters, emphatically denied he had been a police spy and threatened to institute legal action against the Weekly Mail.

He said the report was malicious, intended to demoralise, weaken and divide the ANC, especially the Youth League.

The ANC, when approached for comment, would only say it had "noted the report in this week's Weekly Mail in which certain allegations against Mokaba are made. It was not the policy nor the practice of the ANC to discuss the conduct of any of its leaders and members in the media. The ANC would look into the matter and act accordingly in due course".

Closed meeting

Top ANC officials held a closed door meeting yesterday after the Weekly Mail and The Guardian's reports.

Afterwards a visibly incensed Mr Mokaba declared to reporters he would fight the Weekly Mail "until his death", to prove his innocence. "They are dealing with a fighter. I'm prepared to fight them to death. I will take the battle to court and their offices. I'm determined not to let the matter rest."

Mr Mokaba denied that he was summoned to Lusaka in 1989, where he was said to have been interrogated and subsequently confessed. "I was in Lusaka in 1989 with other members of the UDF to consult the ANC leadership. This was just before Walter Sisulu and others were released," he added.

He said there was no attempt whatsoever by the security police to try and recruit him. "How could I work for people who have persecuted my sister, detained my mother, broken my family and generally harassed my people?" he said.

Mr Mokaba categorically denied he was a victim of internal party intrigue as the article suggested, and added: "There are no factions within the ANC or the Youth League."

However, Saturday Star's sources have revealed that for about 10 years, Mr Mokaba has been under suspicion by sections of the ANC, and later the UDF, for having links with state intelligence.

Off the record, senior intelligence sources, including Jacob Zuma, the ANC's head of intelligence; Joe Nhlanhla, head of security; Joe Slovo; Mac Maharaj and John Nkadimeng of the SA Communist Party have told journalists this.

ANC sources also leaked this information to Idasa director Dr Frederick van Zyl

ABBEY MAKOE, JOVIAL RANTAO,
STAFF REPORTERS and SAPA

Slabbert and Rory Riordan, the editor of Monitor.

But it is not clear why the organisation has not ousted him if members believed him to be working for state intelligence. The only explanation given was that he was in a powerful position and that it was politically embarrassing.

According to one senior regional member, a report was submitted to ANC intelligence in January 1989 by regional leadership groups. It detailed a seven-month investigation into Mr Mokaba's background.

Among the allegations it contained were facts and queries, including:

- In about 1981, Mr Mokaba apparently attempted to recruit a fellow student for the security police while studying at the University of the North. When challenged about this he claimed he was simply testing the student because he suspected him.
- During the same period Mr Mokaba apparently informed a comrade that MK wanted him to leave the country and that he would be picked up at a particular place and time. The comrade went to the meeting point but hid. The police arrived at the venue.

Serious queries have also been raised about the circumstances of his various arrests:

- In late 1977 he was detained under the Terrorism Act, charged with public violence and acquitted when state witnesses refused to testify. Apparently several others were convicted.

Six years' jail

In June 1982 he was detained under section 29 of the Internal Security Act and charged with being an ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe member, being in possession of illegal weapons, recruiting members for the ANC and undergoing military training in Angola, Swaziland and Mozambique. The next year he was sentenced to six years' jail by the Pietersburg Regional Court.

He served a couple of months on Robben Island.

He then appealed against his sentence, was released on bail and in September 1984 won his appeal on the grounds of an illegality committed by the magistrate and that the investigating officer had used a forged document.

Despite his being a member of the ANC and MK, and having gone for military training, in his re-trial he was only convicted of the minor offence of being in possession of a pistol, for which he received a suspended sentence.

- In May 1989, after over a year in detention, Mr Mokaba was charged with being a commander of MK structures in the northern Transvaal and of being in possession of an arms cache. He was immediately acquitted on the basis that the state witnesses refused to testify, but both his co-accused, Malebane Tsoai and Sam Masemola, were convicted and sent to Robben Island.

Slovo warns conglomerates

By MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent
SOUTH African Communist Party chief Mr Joe Slovo told Stellenbosch students that a multi-party system would be desirable in a future democratic South Africa but would not guarantee real democracy.

Economic democracy, an equality of opportunity, affirmative action to redress apartheid's imbalances and a culture of tolerance were also essential elements.

Furthermore, while "majoritarianism" was not the only important element of democracy, "we must not strangle the central principle of democracy which is the majority".

Ordinary people "must have real power over their daily lives", he said.

Mr Slovo was well received by the carefully vetted student audience of about 300 — only student card-holders were allowed in — and he paid tribute to Stellenbosch University for its courage in inviting figures such as ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela to address students.

There was not so much as a murmur of dissent from the attentive gathering. The only mildly critical note of the lunchtime event was a number of probing questions from the floor on the apparent failure of communism.

He said he was committed to the principle of "multi-partyism".

"I firmly believe the electorate must be given a choice between different competing political parties. As far as the SACP is concerned, multi-partyism is valid for the present, for the transition period and for what we hope will be a socialist future."

One-party systems had proliferated in socialist and capitalist countries in Africa but "the balance sheet is not good for the one-party system".

He said that the democratic empowerment of ordinary people could not be separated from "economic democracy".

"A South Africa in which everybody has the vote and can cast a ballot every few years but in which the present economic realities cannot be changed will be a profoundly undemocratic country."

Apartheid's imbalances had to be redressed.

"Consider also the enormous power wielded by the four big conglomerates — Anglo-American, Sanlam, Old Mutual and Rembrandt. They control around 81 percent of all the shares on the Johan-

APRAG SA YOUTH FOR TO



SPEAKING OUT: SACP chief Mr Joe Slovo addresses Stellenbosch University students.

"This enormous stranglehold on the economy has been secured in the special conditions of apartheid, which is based on racist capitalism.

He sent a warning signal to the country's big-newspaper groups that their "monopoly" in the information market was a hindrance to real democracy.

He described the Argus Group, Times Media Limited, Perskor and Naspers as "conglomerates" which controlled 90 percent of the country's daily and weekly newspapers.

These, in turn, were owned by "bigger monopolies — Argus by Anglo-American, Perskor by Rembrandt and Naspers by Sanlam".

"In these conditions we have to try to conduct a debate in the newspapers on the question of the need for anti-monopoly legislation."

He added: "We do now at least get quoted, but every word spoken is matched by 100 words of attack and polemical reply. In these conditions, every game is an away game."

Responding to questions on events in Eastern Europe, he said he believed the essential reason for the failure of socialism there was that "it was separated from democracy".

ANC cautions on nationalisation

John Spira

Special Correspondent

THE ANC could modify its stance on the controversial issue of nationalisation when it meets for its conference next month, notes an article in the latest Chamber of Mines Newsletter.

"While not calling on the membership to abandon all leanings towards nationalisation, the information circulated to branches does advise of a number of potential risks," it says.

The newsletter was quoting from a document drawn up by the organisation's Department of Economic Policy (DEP) and used as a basis for an article in the ANC's official journal, Mayibuye.

But the article cautions against potential euphoria among business by noting that Tito Mboweni, deputy head, ANC Department of Economic Policy, has stressed that the document is a briefing one and not a document of policy.

The Chamber of Mines article

reports that Mr Mboweni discounted any concern that ordinary members may not have sufficient insight to make a sound decision on nationalisation.

"If we believe in democratic mechanisms we must have faith that people are not stupid, that they are reasonable, mature and can take decisions for themselves," said Mr Mboweni.

The document draws attention to five perceived benefits and four perceived disadvantages of nationalisation:

□ Nationalisation of basic services such as electricity supply could ensure that all are guaranteed access;

□ It could lead to better pay and working conditions and greater protection against discrimination;

□ It could channel some of the

ARGUS 25/5/91
profits of nationalised industries into "useful productive activity" to the benefit of the people

□ It could democratise the economy by reducing the control of conglomerates, and

□ It could be used to set up new industries to provide important services that the private sector "may find unprofitable," — for example sewerage disposal.

On the other hand, notes the document, the disadvantages of nationalisation include:

□ Nationalisation is an expensive exercise that will entail large scale state borrowing which, while bringing about nationalisation, would do nothing to create new jobs;

□ Nationalisation could result in the loss of skilled people through emigration — leaving the state with industries which it could not man;

□ Nationalisation is out of favour internationally and its adoption could scare off foreign investors, and

□ Nationalisation could end up benefiting only a few by creating a self-serving bureaucracy.

ANC paper suggests tough talks could be ahead

Argus 25/5/91

11A

WITH little more than a month to go before the African National Congress's crucial national conference, divergent strategic approaches are beginning to compete in earnest within the organisation. It is an important, if quiet, development.

This jockeying will have a vital bearing on the policies to which the ANC commits itself at the conference.

In turn, these policies will in large measure determine the mood, pace and content of subsequent "real negotiations".

A hard-hitting discussion paper on strategy and tactics, focussing on the issues of interim government and constituent assembly has been obtained by the Weekend Argus correspondent.

It is already in circulation within ANC, Communist Party and Cosatu ranks. Should the views contained prevail at the conference, the government is in for much tougher negotiations than it seems to expect. (See accompanying story).

The document's points of departure are in clear conflict with the underlying premises emphasised by the government and so are the conclusions.

The document centres around a rejection of the crucial notion that the South African state is legitimately constituted, sovereign and independent — the notion that is central to the government's argument against transitional authorities and a constituent assembly.

The ANC paper insists that as "whoever manages the process of transition can determine the extent to which the process is democratic and also condition the outcome", an interim government is essential to ensure "a definite democratic result and simultaneously a fundamental rupture with the existing order".

It is argued that even if the government comes to accept the principle of interim government in some form, the ANC must insist that "despite being a caretaker administration, it must be conceived and should act to get rid of remnants of apartheid, as part of the process of democratisation".

The authors caution that the government might attempt "to pre-empt our plan for an IG with something that bears an outward resemblance to it".

This must be rejected. The document warns specifically against proposals for a "supercabinet which would leave existing power relations intact but would provide for inclusion of ANC leaders as part of the existing authority".

Similarly a government proposal to distinguish between "those involved in government and those who represent the NP as full-time negotiators" is seen as a ruse.

The minimum requirement for an "acceptable" interim government is that it cannot compete for power with the existing parliament. "The present parliament must go, as must the present cabinet."

The paper insists that the objective of the entire negotiations process must be clarified before it begins in earnest, and that the objective is set out in Article 16 of the Harare Declaration.

Further, "where that objective is not shared, there is no possibility of negotiations succeeding. That there is not such agreement now, does not mean that the possibility of agreement is never going to be there. Logic, supplemented by judicious mass action, sometimes has a powerful persuasive effect".

The document concedes that total agreement on detail is not necessary at this stage — for example the question of a unicameral or bicameral parliament is still open — but agreement on principles such as universal suffrage are. A time frame will have to be set for the existence of the interim government.

The authors voice concerns about the government's alleged intention to turn a multiparty conference into a formal negotiating body. Parties with no demonstrable support bases will thus be elevated beyond their station, it is argued, and the ANC has to be prepared for pressure — both local and international — on it to follow that course.

The paper concludes with an insistence on the need for a constituent assembly, flowing out of the interim government period.

"We are saying that people should elect, by one person one vote, representatives to a constituent assembly. If the people favour Inkatha and they get 70 percent of the vote, it means that Inkatha gets the democratic right to have a dominant say in the shape of the constitution. It is essential that an interim government be speedily installed to oversee elections to a constituent assembly. This would enable us to make a constitution of lasting significance."

Boesak accuses WP's ANC of petty power play

119 CT 25/5/91

Staff Reporter

DR Allan Boesak has accused the Western Cape leadership of the African National Congress of playing petty politics.

He has also said he has difficulties with the ANC's alliance with the South African Communist Party.

The ANC's petty politics had damaged the organisation, Dr Boesak told Vrye Weekblad.

He said the ANC had failed to win support in the Cape rural areas because its leadership had no understanding of what was going on in them.

His outspoken comments are bound to exacerbate the tensions between him and the ANC's leadership in the Western Cape.

Dr Boesak, who has discussed this problem with the ANC's deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela, has cited these tensions as the reason for his not yet having joined the ANC.

He said part of the reason for the ANC's not having made an impact in the rural areas was that its Western Cape leadership concentrated on the Peninsula.

"The petty politics have done much damage to the ANC's case.

"There is in general a huge rush for positions and power. People concentrate on themselves and their own power positions rather than making the ANC known to ordinary people."

The ANC/SACP alliance had to be addressed urgently "because this is one of the problems you pick up among people".

"There is a large Christian mass which has fundamental problems with the relationship."

The ANC had not yet found the methods required to involve people in the rural areas.

"You cannot send a group of young political activists into the platteland with language which is a mixture of MK rhetoric and SACP rhetoric.

"That sort of thing will drive the people more quickly into the arms of the National Party."

Mr Trevor Manuel, the ANC's publicity secretary in the Western Cape, said last night: "Dr Boesak has never approached the ANC of the Western Cape to raise these concerns.

"It is likely the matter will be looked at during a regional conference planned for this weekend and a more detailed response will be issued."

Commenting, a prominent ANC and SACP member, Mr Graeme Bloch, said the SACP had "no fight" with Dr Boesak.

He said some of his allegations were probably correct because the ANC was still trying to build its organisation.

"I think Dr Boesak is important to the ANC as a leader. Maybe he hasn't understood some of the mistakes he has made."

Of Dr Boesak's claims about the SACP, Mr Bloch said: "The SACP needs to explain much more clearly its viewpoint on Christianity and its acceptance of the church."

she would say the point... There were then...
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Sunday Profile

The uncrushable spirit of ANC's sport-loving Steve Tshwete

11A

8 Times
26/5/91

TWENTY years ago Robben Island prisoner Steve Tshwete watched warders order his friend to dig a hole, climb into it, and cover himself with loose earth. Then they urinated on his head.

Mr Tshwete's large hands may be scarred from the crushing of rocks in prison — but not his mind.

This week Mr Tshwete, the ANC national organiser and sports liaison officer, came to London with Ali Bacher to plead the case for South Africa's re-admission to international sport.

"There's no room for bitterness or revenge in this cause. The prison authorities tried to break my body and very nearly succeeded — but could not crush my spirit or hope," he said this week.

Mr Tshwete, 52, son of a migrant labourer, was born in Springs in 1938 and attended schools near King William's Town. He played first team rugby for Forbes Grant Secondary School, Welsh High School in East London and for the Township Home Defenders, the Ginsberg township's team.

In February 1964, he and four other members of the ANC's Border Regional Command were charged with sabotage and furthering the aims of a banned organisation. He was sentenced to 15 years on Robben Island.

When Mr Tshwete was released in 1979, he counted himself among the lucky survivors and was determined to get on with the things he had enjoyed most in his youth — sport.

"I played cricket as a youngster and rugby in secondary school. I was elected to the Border Rugby Union in 1979 — a member of the SA Rugby Union."

Following his release, Mr Tshwete was restricted to Peelton for two years and took a key leadership role in the UDF's Border region.

He was detained for four months in the Ciskei and, after his release in February 1984, was fired from his teaching post at the local school.

After three months without work, he found employment as a clerk with a legal firm in King William's Town.

His political commitment remained undimmed. He was detained more than 30 times by the Ciskei authorities. A close friend was killed by the Ciskei Combined Forces in suspicious circumstances. Scores of his friends were rounded up and detained.

In October 1984 Mr Tshwete was declared *persona non grata* in SA and for months he slipped secretly back and forth into SA.

A year later, the tall man with scarred hands went into exile in Lusaka, working from the ANC headquarters. Sport was put on the back burner while he turned his attention to mass mobilisation inside the country.

He underwent military training and was appointed a commissar of Umkhonto we Sizwe and was co-opted on to the

national executive committee in 1988.

But his capacity for reconciliation remained. When a group of white South Africans visited Lusaka in 1988, former security policeman Donald Card was among them. Tshwete was at the airport to greet his one-time interrogator with a warm embrace.

"I was worried about coming," admitted Card.

"You need not have been — you are among friends," replied Mr Tshwete.

He maintained his sporting links and was instrumental in starting the ANC initiative to create alternative sports bodies as a force against apartheid.

"I sometimes thought the problems insurmountable, especially with the rugby and cricket organisations.

"There were those leading the non-racial side who were naturally embittered and difficult. We had to discuss the need to unify at length, but many remained unconvinced.

"On the other hand, we had to

convince administrators that tours of any kind to South Africa should be discouraged while unity talks were in progress.

"Tours would invite demonstrations which, if they turned ugly, would involve police action and the perpetuation of bitterness. It was hard," he said.

Mr Tshwete was part of the ANC's delegation at Groote Schuur and in May last year he returned permanently to SA to take up the position of national organiser and chairman of the national organising committee.

Has Mr Tshwete come the full circle in his fight for South Africa's integration into world sport?

"Not quite. I want world bodies to realise that isolating non-racial, democratic sport in SA is counter productive for the movement. I want to see the end of the boycott for those bodies who are on that list.

"However, I still believe that those sporting organisations which cling to old-style apartheid or refuse to be part of the non-racial, democratic movement need to be avoided at all costs."

Charmain Naidoo



MR TSHWETE: Batting against the boycott Picture: PIERRE OOSTHUYSEN

THE anti-apartheid gray train is grinding to a halt. Organisations inside the country, which 18 months ago received tens of millions of dollars in foreign funding to combat apartheid, are having to adapt to new circumstances — or die.

February 2 last year, which heralded a transition phase in SA politics, has caused a number of organisations to change their emphasis from opposition and protest activities to development work.

And outside SA, anti-apartheid organisations are either winding down their operations or trying to attain new relevance.

The London based International Defence and Aid Fund (IDAF), which for 25 years channelled £100-million (R470-million) into South Africa to pay for political trials, will close its office this month.

The fledgling Cape-Town-based SA Legal Defence Fund will take over its role. It will probably be chaired by veteran anti-apartheid campaigner Dr Beyers Naude, who now heads the interim steering committee.

Director Horst Kleinschmidt says while there is still a need to fund a few continuing political trials, there is a shift towards proactive work — with lawyers having to deal with the aftermath of apartheid — the Land Act and the Group Areas Act to name a few.

Picket

The City of London Anti-Apartheid Group, which for years held a non-stop picket outside SA House demanding the release of Nelson Mandela, has lost half of its 1 000 members since Mr Mandela's release in February 1990. But co-ordinator Andre Schott says the group will not stop campaigning: "We now hold pickets outside the SA Embassy every weekend demanding the release of political prisoners, a constituent assembly and continued sanctions against South Africa."

The City of London AAG is funded by public donations as well as membership fees.

ANC London office spokesman Lawson Naidoo believes the anti-apartheid movement is in a process of transition. He says many organisations are talking to the ANC about refocusing their energies. Many have begun scaling down operations and reducing staff.

The Committee of South Afri-

The gray

train

1114
SITimes
26/9/91

rumors out

Of gray

War Resisters, whose chief function was to arrange political refugee status for conscientious objectors fleeing SA, has closed down its London office.

Britain's Anti-Apartheid Movement co-ordinator Mike Terry believes it still has a vital role to play even though its goal is in sight. But the movement is likely to change its name to Post Apartheid Solidarity in line with changing political events.

Mr Terry says between £400 000 and £600 000 (R1,8-million-R2,8-million) is needed to keep the AAM going each year which comes from membership fees, donations and fund raising. He adds: "We still have a vital role to play, especially since the peace process is now seriously threatened. We are trying to get across to the British government and others the dangers of complacency and complicity. We cannot stop now. Our work is not yet done."

In the US the money has been drying up for some time, says Dan Matthews, former head of the Washington office of the politically non-aligned United States-South Africa Leadership Programme (USSALEP). "Unless some of these groups

ANTI-apartheid activists are heading for lean times. The consequences at home and abroad are examined by Edyth Bulbring, Charmain Naidoo and Patricia Cheney

relief effort and pet projects such as the new United Methodist university in Zimbabwe.

However, he believes the committee could change its focus to reflect events in South Africa.

Inside SA, anti-apartheid groups are shifting their focus from a knee-jerk reaction to state oppression to developmental issues and skills training.

The European Commission's special programme will pump R200-million into SA this year, European Commission head Tim Sheehy says.

Mr Sheehy says while the EC is continuing to support projects in human rights areas, the balance of the projects are gradually moving to support initiatives in the areas of social and economic development.

The largest beneficiary of the EC's special programme is the Kagiso Trust, while others that act to channel funds to projects are the SA Council of Churches, the SA Catholic Bishops' Conference and the Trade Union Movement.

Shift

Kagiso Trust national director Achmat Dangor says the trust scaled down its projects from 300 to 200 last year. Mr Dangor says the organisation resolved last January to shift its focus from funding victims of apartheid in "a passive way" to funding development projects that are self-sufficient.

There is also a shift from funding urban projects to rural development projects, he says.

Kagiso Trust will also stop providing funds to alternative newspapers and urban cultural projects at the end of the year. About 50 unsustainable co-operatives, have already been closed down, he says. In a controversial move, the



HAPPIER DAYS ... the now-defunct South Africa House picket line in London in 1986

Kagiso Trust has also started working closely with the private sector and parastatals to help meet the demand for capital investment.

The South African Council of Churches, which depends on part of the bulk of its funding, the Scandinavian countries and, to a lesser extent the US, has trimmed 12 projects down to three and has frozen its posts.

SACC general administrative secretary, the Reverend Francois Bill, says the SACC is becoming less crisis orientated and is concentrating more on development programmes which deal with the legacy of apartheid.

He says it was made plain to the council by donors that while the SACC was not going to be ditched, they will not continue funding to the same extent. Legal Resources Centre direc-

tor Geoff Budlender says the organisation is increasingly concentrating on land and housing issues and developmental work, such as the provision of services and local government.

Mr Budlender says most of the centre's external funders — European church groups, development agencies and US charitable institutions — believe SA is going through a critical period of transition. Rather than pulling

back, there is a need for expansion. A leading Johannesburg lawyer confirms that money for political cases and legal advice for disadvantaged communities is no longer as forthcoming as in the past.

Human Rights Commission spokesman Max Coleman says his organisation has shifted from reacting to and monitoring state oppression to educating the public and building a human rights climate within the country.

The commission, which is funded by the EC and certain governments, says it is anxious to move away from opposition politics to growth politics.

Questions

The National Anti-Represion Forum, which offered support to detainees, folded at the end of April and workers have been absorbed into community projects.

The national director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA, David Screen, says while the institute is not experiencing a reduction in money from its regular foreign funders, a lot more questions are being asked about the nature of its future work.

"The question is: Are you going to be involved in development? — and development is the big buzz word," he says.

While the decline of apartheid has taken a toll on anti-apartheid organisations, the death of communism in eastern Europe has also had serious political and financial implications for the resistance groups.

End violence, Boesak tells ANC

By MIKE ROBERTSON

DR ALAN BOESAK yesterday called on the ANC to abandon the "language of violence".

The former United Democratic Front leader was addressing the Western Cape regional conference of the Democratic Party.

He said the ANC alliance with the SA Communist Party had to be examined urgently.

"You cannot send a group of young political activists into the plateau with language which is a mixture of MK and

SACP rhetoric," he said.

"That sort of thing will drive people into the hands of the National Party."

Dr Boesak said the belief that problems could be solved by violence was an obstacle to peace and a cause of ongoing violence.

He had earlier appealed to the ANC, he said, to abandon the armed struggle. "But I think the ANC must go a step further."

"It must abandon the language of violence at any level."

S Times

26/5/91

11A

ATTENDANCE, patience. The peace process, as it is laughingly known, won't make much progress until the ANC has elected a new set of leaders in July, and ended out the disarray in its own gross. That's not altogether a bad thing.

This beloved land is going through immense adjustment with, by and large, commendable goodwill and humour. Reform comes faster at times than the ANC and its supporting work of interlocking, faceless committees can shift the goalposts. (I was delighted this week by propaganda pamphlets seeking to generate "mass" over the land Bills which the Government had already abandoned.)

The whites, until recently deemed corrupted by privilege to adapt, reject each new "unthinkable" wage with equanimity, and work hard to hold the show on the road. It is black people, despite the hardships and terrors of their daily lives, who work as reliably as Londoners. Life goes on.

Let us could all do with a breather. De Klerk (and, be fair, President Botha before him) set in motion a social revolution that is transforming every aspect of our life. There is no need to force the

pace of political change — the more social change we can achieve now, the less traumatic political change will be when it comes.

This is not to ignore the violence, or the power struggles among black political parties, or the hardships inflicted on the country by the cynical and destructive methods of the ANC. The violence can be directly traced to the campaign to make the country ungovernable, and the suffering to the assault on the economy.

The desperate army of unemployed is a living monument to the endeavours of the sanctioners — Archbishop Tutu, behold what you have wrought! — and the warfare between Zulu and Xhosa is the plain result of the ANC's attempt to "eliminate" blacks who challenged its political hegemony.

Liberals, who opposed the methods of both the sanctioners and the revolutionaries and who correctly predicted the consequences of their strategies, are entitled to point out that those who sowed the wind are reaping the whirlwind. But it is indecent to gloat and hard to be unsympathetic towards the ANC membership.

The ANC has proved to be so much, much less than it seemed. For one thing, it is poor, and growing poorer. Its financial support from Eastern

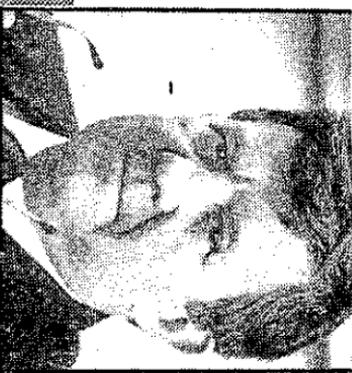
KEN OWEN ON SUNDAY

STIMULATED 26/5/91

Europe has dried up entirely, its support from the West is falling away rapidly. At home, according to one foreign estimate, about 150 000 members have been signed up but many have since fallen away.

HERE are stirrings of dissatisfaction. Gosatu, forewarned by the Soviet Communist Party's subjugation of the trade unions, has begun to stake out an independent, and indeed rather moderate, position. Some interesting political interplay between union leaders and businessmen is occurring behind the scenes.

At the same time, the "internal" leaders — the young men and women who led the UDF and the MIDM, and bore the brunt of the battle against apartheid — are restive under the



view. Everywhere, there is a show of militancy.

Mrs Mandela and Mrs Albertina Sisulu have resumed their street theatre, courting arrest and tempting the police to overreach. Chris Hani is doing the same. The hunger strikes, the ultimatum, and the uproar over "traditional weapons" the boycott of President De Klerk's "peace summit" have all come at the same time, and it is surely no coincidence that this show of radicalism has flared on the eve of the leadership elections.

Nelson Mandela has taken on hawkish airs, though he contrives always to stop short of aborting the process of negotiation. Thabo Mbeki, the leading moderate and the most sophisticated of the exiles, has all but vanished from

sapped the confidence of foreign investors, and it has lengthened the economic recession.

Three explanations offer themselves: the ANC may be trying to rebuild its image by fierce posturing; the moderate leaders may be under challenge from younger radicals; or the ANC has in fact come under the sway of a faction that wants to return to the tactics of violent revolution which it understands much better than the politics of nation-building.

It is worth observing the great care taken by Nelson Mandela and his inner circle to preserve the main elements of the process of negotiation; nothing irrevocable has been done. The chances are that President De Klerk's "peace summit" will be followed by another, more successful, summit, in which the ANC and its satrapis will take part.

At worst, the ANC is seeking a last test of strength, but even this is not too dismal a prospect. Confrontational tactics are intended to provoke the police or the army into ill-judged or murderous responses, and so to revive sympathy abroad and anger at home.

If the police keep their nerve, and act with unflinching rectitude, the tactics will fail. Mrs Mandela runs the risk, if she continues to court arrest, of

becoming another Trevor Tutu, an eccentric and politically inconsequential figure. Only if the police maltreat her can she emerge as a heroine.

The point is that the social revolution is well under way, transforming the character of South Africa in necessary ways, and it needs time to run. The rapid pace of reform has pitted the South Africans under strain and they need time to adapt to a new world. Black politics is in confusion and the major organisations need time to sort out strategies and tactics.

AS for the ANC, it needs time to elect new leaders and to discover its own weakness. It cannot return to the methods of armed struggle, except at the risk of legitimating a resort by the government to a reimposition of law and order, but it does not know how to go forward. It needs time to rethink to redefine its objectives, and perhaps to find new leaders.

The break in negotiations will not despite all the sound and fury, about the process. Meanwhile, *moerme* panic me. This is a chance to gather up loose ends, and perhaps to build up our courage for the next phase. Patience, after all, is a form of courage.

Apartheid is dying, ^{111A} not dead

CP news 26/5/91-

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela took time off this week from his fast in solidarity with hunger-striking political prisoners for an interview on a number of issues.

Q: Do you believe that the end of apartheid is irreversible?-

M: *Apartheid is still in effect, because the masses are without a vote. But in actual fact the people themselves have made apartheid unworkable.*

Q: Do you believe the rightwingers could be involved in the violence?

M: *It is difficult not to accept that the rightwing is involved. What has happened, for example, to the squatters in Goed-gevonden (near Ventersdorp) shows quite clearly that the rightwing is to a very large extent involved. But we must remember there is an element of faction fighting among black political organisations. There is the question of a third force and there is the question of the involvement of security forces.*

Q: The government insists it has an open agenda for negotiations, but does the ANC have one too?

M: *It must be understood that it is the ANC which has initiated this process. We are committed to the negotiations and our agenda is a very open one - and that is to resolve our problems*



Mandela . . . we have gone so far as to suspend the armed struggle. The government has done nothing of the sort.

peacefully.

We have gone so far as to suspend the armed struggle. The government has done nothing of the

sort. They are still using violence against our people.

Q: Do you believe De Klerk will have broken all

the pillars of apartheid by June and do you believe negotiations will start soon?

M: *Well, I don't think*

it is possible for us to think in terms of dates. It would be a mistake to say that by the end of June apartheid will be no more, because even after the so-called main pillars of apartheid are repealed, the practise of and the policy itself will still be there, and it will be years before we can dismantle it completely. What we have done is to send in a set of demands and make it clear that, unless or until the government has responded positively to those demands, there will be no discussions with the government on an all-party congress or a future constitution. But we are talking to the government about our demands.

Q: There are rumours in some of the media of differences in the leadership of the ANC. Could you tell us if there is unity and is the ANC becoming a political organisation?

M: *There is no organisation where there are no differences in opinion and we have our differences on specific issues. But, there are no fundamental issues on which we have differences to such an extent that we have not been able to resolve them. It is incorrect to exaggerate differences of opinion which are expressed on particular issues as fundamental differences in the leadership. - ANO*

Vital ANC talks over spy claims

11A
Sowetan
27/5/91

By MATHATHA
TSEDU

THE national executive committee of the ANC held emergency meetings on Saturday and yesterday to discuss the spy scandal surrounding ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba.

Revealing this yesterday, Mokaba said the meetings involved senior ANC leaders also implicated in some newspaper reports as sources of the allegations against him.

These officials included SACP secretary general Joe Slovo, ANC intelligence chief Jacob Zuma, SACP members Mac Maharaj and John Nkadameng and ANC security chief Joe



PETER MOKABA

Nhlanhla, according to the *Saturday Star*.

The scandal broke on Friday when the *Weekly Mail* ran a front-page report claiming that Mokaba was the subject of an internal investigation by the ANC for allegedly spying for the police.

The paper said the investigation over the past two years had been inconclusive.

Mokaba, the newspaper said, had been summoned to Lusaka two years ago where he was allegedly interrogated.

"The precise outcome of the internal investigation is not clear but he was alleged to have made a confession and ANC security and intelligence wanted to take action against him," the *Weekly Mail* said.

The newspaper said ANC president Oliver Tambo and other senior NEC members had stopped security men for fear of the damage that exposure of the alleged confession would have on the organisation.

Mokaba yesterday refuted all the allegations against him.

He said the people behind the plot were trying

to destroy the credibility of specific people within the ANC prior to the July conference.

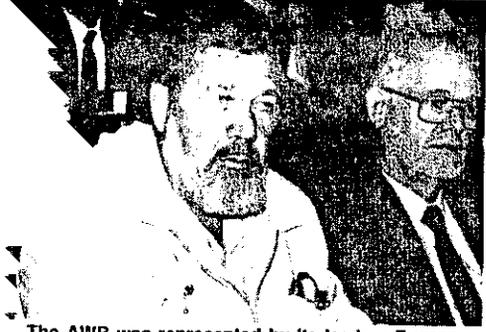
"They are even trying to bring the ANC/SACP alliance into this thing by bringing Slovo and Maharaj so that the commitment of these comrades should be doubted," he said.

He said he was just the first target after the Winnie Mandela saga and predicted that others would follow.

"These would be people that I would be expected to vouch for and the idea now is to tarnish my image so that nobody would believe me," he said.

Mokaba said he would take legal and "political" action against the paper.

Seeking ways to end the violence



The AWB was represented by its leaders Eugene TerreBlanche and Piet "Skier" Rudolph.



The NP delegation to the summit was led by State President FW de Klerk.



King Goodwill Zwelithini and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi were among those who attended.

Peace committee to woo ANC, PAC

Sowetan 27/5/91
PARTICIPANTS at the Government-sponsored summit on violence at the weekend elected a committee to seek ways to involve the ANC, PAC and Azapo.

The committee comprises Government officials, the Inkatha Freedom Party, businessmen and church leaders.

The ANC, PAC and Azapo boycotted the two-day summit held in Pretoria at the weekend.

One of the major proposals at the summit was that a code of conduct be initiated to monitor actions of the police. Guidelines were also suggested for a political code to end faction fight-

By MONK NKOMO

ing. Lawyers for Human Rights said many townships complained about "State violence" and urged for a commitment to lawfulness.

It proposed the appointment of a permanent judicial inquiry to investigate allegations of police involvement in acts of violence in black townships.

Individual speakers and organisations included the Democratic Party, IFP, LHR, the Legal Resources Centre and the Institute for Multiparty Democracy.

The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging was represented by its leaders Mr Eugene TerreBlanche

and Mr Piet "Skier" Rudolph.

The DP proposed that in order to avert instability, returning ANC and PAC combatants be accommodated in SADF bases.

They would retain their own commanders but be trained for the eventual merging with the SADF.

The DP said the violence was aggravated by unsatisfactory socio-economic conditions. The Government should therefore take urgent action to reduce unemployment, phase out single-sex hostels, improve education and address allegations impugning the credibility of the SAP and SADF.

IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said South Africans should help the Government which, he said, had failed to maintain law and order.

He accused some policemen and some of their regional commanders of using their positions for party political gain.

Apartheid - a personal history

Sowetan 27/5/91

OUR MODEST red-brick house, in the goldmine town of Rand Leases near Johannesburg, was in a small black township ostentatiously called "The Married Quarters" in English or the "Skoonplaas" - meaning the clean place - in Afrikaans.

The point about this is we were socially and otherwise firmly separated from black miners, the men who dug the gold on which South Africa's wealth largely depends.

These men were called boys - mineboys - in what was part of a deliberate political process to emasculate blacks. Without putting too fine a point on it, this process - among other refinements of racist attitudes - started, embraced and later systematically reinforced South Africa's apartheid policy.

Urbane

My father was a clerk on the mine. He was a school teacher by profession. An old-fashioned intellectual, he was educated at the missionary-type college in the Cape Province that produced many African intellectuals and political leaders.

He was correct, upright, a straitlaced Victorian. He was in total awe of Western civilisation and a staunch Christian. He believed unequivocally that the white man would one day change. All it needed, my father and his peers thought, for this change of heart to come about was that the black man had to become "civilised" like whites.

My father was a musician, a lover of the arts, literate, urbane, gentle, perfectly boring - a wonderful man.

Fate thrust him amid these black miners who were called boys. Men who were in all physical aspects exactly like him.

Arrogant

The mineboys lived in single male bachelor quarters called compounds. That they might have been married men was unimportant on the mines. They were simply mineboys.

They came from all parts of the continent. From Mozambique there were tiny, wiry, immensely powerfully chested miners - mineboys - dreadfully serious, perhaps even studious. Others came from Lesotho: arrogant, musical, foul-mouthed men from the mountains who must have hated the humiliation of living in such quarters. They came from Zambia and from the then South and North Rhodesias. They came from Swaziland, rather plump, lethargic men with a particularly exotic hairstyle and a lazy type of



dialect.

They were proud men in their own rights. To them fell the spark to the dehumanisation of black South Africans.

All miners spoke the language of the mines, a slave-like mix of tribal words, interspersed with English and Afrikaans phrases, called "Fanakalo". If you heard and knew the pidgin language you would know it was not only functional but another way to degrade. The mineboys, even in communication, were treated like children - a patronising behaviour, surly and disgusting. They took it silently, plainly hurting.

Contempt

Blacks from the "Married Quarters" being a cut above the mineboys, treated them with equal contempt.

The mine compound was an extraordinary cacophony of sounds, of smells, of movement, of an underlying sadness. There was continual shouting, swearing, singing and drinking. Mineboys slept on slabs of stone, packed closely one atop the other. There were no wardrobes. Their belongings hung from the roof, were packed into boxes and occupied most of the confined space.

Their dormitories were

dark and grimy. The earth-soiled mine gear they wore was washed by them in communal open-air washrooms. They shared communal taps, bathrooms, toilets.

On Sundays the mine bosses paraded the mineboys in a nearby stadium where Zulu, Xhosa, Pedi, Mozambican, Swazi men plumed splendidly in tribal dress performed magnificent tribal dances. Men, who were boys during the week, who wore earth-soiled clothes, broken oversize boots, were almost magically transformed into paragons of tribal enchantment on Sundays. The mine dance was special entertainment for the whites who ran the mines. They brought their friends from all over the world to watch the magic "savagery" of fluid black movement.

They hardly recognised the irony behind this spectacular degradation of such proud people.

To us blacks the spectacle of dance and song sent a thrill of excitement down the spine. It was so authentically African, dignified, so ancient, almost primeval in the lazy, somnolent beat of the drum.

The mine dance, as

This is a series, which I will be running as my On The Line column, that tries to cast a light on why there has been so much destruction involving black South Africans lately. It tries to shed some historical light on the damage caused to black life by apartheid.

staged, in fact stage-managed by the mine owners and white South Africa was to my mind, the final insult.

For these men were forced to demonstrate their traditional pride and manhood in a circus-like fashion for the edification of fat mine bosses.

Mine bosses who treated them like animals, or worse, and paid them like slaves.

I have spent time on Rand Leases as it was a small, though vital, part of the unfolding tragedy of apartheid.

I was born 51 years ago and have lived most of my life under National Party rule. The National Party came into power in 1948 and they have ruled or misruled South Africa from that fateful day.

Sadness

We arrived in Johannesburg a year or so before the National Party came to power. I was eight years old. My father and his peers lived, breathed, and always talked about apartheid. They were paranoid over it. I did not know what it meant. I knew vaguely there was a terrible sickness in the land.

When Alan Paton, one of my father's contemporaries, wrote *Cry, the beloved Country* he was reflecting this sadness, this evil cancer that was to destroy the beloved country.

When my father died, the truth, the bitter truth was revealed. Change

that it was the very heart of this intoxicating place.

It had one of the two cinemas in Sophiatown, called Odin, and a renowned shebeen called Thirty-Nine Steps. For that reason Good Street was the centre of spectacular gang fights and some of the most fascinating weekly jazz concerts. Good Street was also the "hide-out" of a nattily dressed, gun-toting gang called the Young Americans.

Peculiar

Sophiatown had blacks, Asians, Chinese, sometimes a stray white or so living together in a packed exhilarating kalidoscope of brotherhood. There were very few race fights but the gangsters and their ways were legendary.

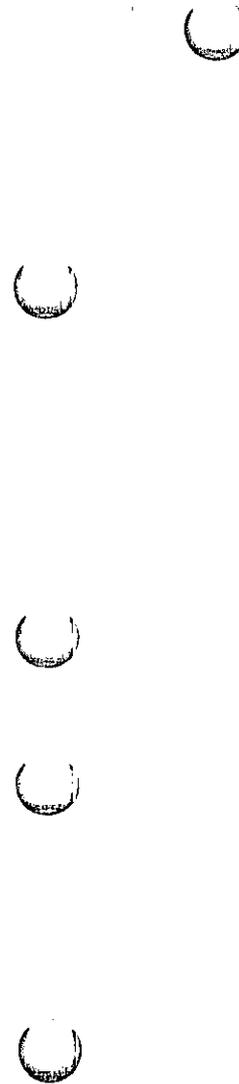
The music issuing from tiny Indian and Mozambican tailor shops was the pure, authentic jazz not heard even in America today. The Chinese shops were a special

feature because of the games of chance played there.

The extraordinary thing is while the Chinese, Indians and such non-Black people did not crash into the culture of Africans, while they lived in their own peculiar domestic Oriental worlds, they were accepted as people of Sophiatown. They were not strangers, a situation that graphically invalidated the attempts by the architects of apartheid to keep races physically apart.

Sophiatown was the world of the world-renowned cleric Father Trevor Huddleston and of the Archbishop Desmond Tutu. It was also the world of famous musicians, writers and numerous shebeens. Sophiatown was the crucible of black politics and breathed the creative spirit synonymous to the Harlem Renaissance of the 1920s.

* Continued next Monday.



Azayo tackles drug problem

11A
Soweto

Soweto 27/5/91

THE Azanian Youth Organisation is to establish anti-drugs and anti-alcohol campaigns to ensure the maximum participation of the black youth in the liberation struggle, according to a statement commemorating Azayo's fourth anniversary this Friday.

Azayo president, Mr Thami Mcerwa, urged the black youth to work with high discipline and obedience with all structures of the community.

Vigilant

"During this process, we must be vigilant. Our discipline should not be hijacked and used to compromise our revolutionary struggle," he said.

Referring to the June 16 commemorative services, Mcerwa pleaded with the youth to remember the day with dignity and unity befitting the fallen heroes of 1976.

He said the difference between the youth of 1976 and today's youth lay in discipline the former displayed, very much in the tradition of the Black Consciousness Movement, which initiated the uprising.

Mcerwa added that Azayo had started fundraising to rebuild the tombstone of Hector Petersen which was destroyed by thugs a few years ago.

By MOKGADI PELA

"Azayo is going to consult the families of the late Azapo defence secretary, Muntu Myeza, 1976 Soweto Student Representative Council president, Tsietsi Mashinini, and Azayo's first interim president, Sam Seema, with the intention of helping towards the unveiling of their tombstones."

On the question of violence, Mcerwa admitted that the black youth has been "terribly involved in the carnage".

He said: "The community has been harassed at different levels.

"In their homes, in the streets and every part of black townships, all in the name of mass action and political involvement.

"The black youth is notoriously known for being ill-disciplined and disrespectful to both our elders and our black working class.

"We also intend holding discussions with youth gangsters in the townships regarding car-hijackings and we hope to explore the possibility of their efforts being directed somewhere else.

"Anarchy and gun-toting is the order of the day.

"This sad state of affairs is clearly epitomised by people who hijack cars

at gunpoint.

"Given this scenario, we want to urge the black youth to understand that the current violence is unwarranted in the black community.

"Our militancy must be directed against our enemies.

"We must refuse to be victims of political games planned by the racist, settler regime led by FW de Klerk and his gangsters.

Socialism

"We must unite the black community on all fronts so as to intensify the struggle.

"The above can only happen if we know who our enemy is.

"We have to hold political discussions at all times - read about our his-

tory so that we can understand that we have been dispossessed of our land and we must fight for its repossession.

"We must also fight against capitalism and build socialism."

Mcerwa said since Azayo's launch in Durban in 1987 the organisation suffered a leadership crisis in terms of harassment by the State and its agents.

Seema was detained along with other executive members in terms of the state of emergency regulations.

The then national organiser, Siphon Mngomezulu, was killed when political thugs attacked him and set him alight.

On the day of his funeral in Emdeni, Soweto, Mngomezulu's coffin was partly burned by people who attacked the mourners.

On February 24 1988 Azayo and 23 other organisations were restricted.

He said his organisation's membership was growing in many parts of the country. The Port Elizabeth branch was launched last week.

Mcerwa accused the United States and Britain for championing ploys to make drugs and alcohol accessible to the black youth "so as to keep our youth psychologically oppressed and physically useless, in order to derail them from involvement in the liberation struggle".

Noses may be bloodied at the ANC's national conference, writes Patrick Lauree

Striving for greater democracy

SEP 23 1991

11A

THE African National Congress has set itself two important and interrelated objectives: democratising South Africa and democratising itself.

To a large extent fulfilment of the first aim depends on attainment of the second; an ANC which is not itself democratic is unlikely to succeed in transforming South Africa from a racial oligarchy into a nonracial democratic state.

An ANC member who risked life and liberty for the organisation during the struggle against P.W. Botha's presidency in the 1980s remarks: "Without a strong and democratic ANC, South Africa will rip itself apart."

These qualities, he believes, are not counter-poised against one another; they are, he reasons, symbolically interrelated.

His views are shared by an upper echelon ANC man who knows what the inside of jail looks like.

As an organisation which had to survive in the twilight world of covert manoeuvres for three decades, the ANC, faced with the exigencies of conducting a guerrilla war and guarding against infiltration by security police agents, could not maintain high standards

of internal democracy.

At its starkest, the ANC's lapses manifested themselves in the detention and torture of dissidents in guerrilla camps in Angola.

Its national conference, to be held in Durban in July, will be the first since the ANC was outlawed in April 1960.

Consultative rather than national conferences were held during the long years in exile, the two most important being the 1969 conference at Morogoro, Tanzania, and the 1985 conference at Kabwe, Zambia.

But these conferences did not fulfil the high standards to which the ANC subscribes: election of office bearers was by show of hands, not secret ballot, and representation of members inside South Africa was necessarily minimal.

Thus great hopes rest on the Durban conference, which will be more representative of grassroots opinion and where election of a new national executive will be by secret ballot.

But these hopes have to be juxtaposed against fears that the incumbent national executive may have weighted the procedure in its favour, that the desire of some of its members to retain office outweighs their commitment to in-

ternal democracy.

The conference will start off on an anomalous note, observes a well-placed member.

It will be held according to the rules of a draft constitution — a copy of which is in the possession of The Star — before the constitution has been adopted.

The procedure for the choice of delegates who will elect a new national executive has caused anxiety in some quarters.

At least 90 percent of delegates will be chosen by secret ballot at regional conferences, "at which all branches will be represented in proportion to their paid up members."

The proportion of delegates assigned to the various regions will be determined by the paid-up membership of each region.

So far so good.

But the 21-page draft constitution gives the national executive the right to nominate 10 percent of the delegates. As delegates will elect the new executive, this arrangement may be critical to the survival of some incumbent executive members.

In an apparent bid to avoid an intense but divisive struggle for seats on the 35-member national executive (a figure which excludes

the "internal leadership corps" and 15 regional chairpersons), the ANC has more than doubled the number of seats at stake.

The new executive will consist of 75 members elected by secret ballot at the national conference. The new figure excludes ex-officio members: the 15 regional chairpersons, 17 representatives from the ANC Women's League and two from the ANC Youth League.

By more than doubling the size of the national executive, the drafters of the new constitution hope to accommodate younger activists who were bloodied in the fight against Mr Botha at home and the "old guard", some of whom are regarded as — to put it kindly — incompetent.

But it is unlikely to avoid a struggle for seats and position between the old and new generations, a division which coincides to some extent with the divide between the exiled leaders who have only returned since the ANC was unbanned last year and internal leaders who raised the banners of resistance on home terrain.

The real source of power in the new national executive will reside in a 26-member national working committee which is already being referred to as a shadow Cabinet.

Membership of this inner chamber will be the real prize.

Noses are likely to be bloodied in the fight for positions on it.

The constitution does not say so explicitly, but the presumption is that the 26 "shadow Cabinet" members will be full-time and paid ANC officials.

Many of the ANC upper echelon members are full-time politicians; for them the fight for membership of the working committee will be — in the words of an ANC insider — "a life and death struggle."

The incumbent national executive has loaded the dice in its favour in the nomination of candidates for the new executive, another highly regarded ANC man observes.

The national executive can nominate 75 candidates in the elections.

Only the names of candidates who are nominated by three regions will appear on ballot papers handed out at the conference.

For this purpose the national executive counts as a region.

These two procedural rules give the outgoing national executive an immense advantage in getting its nominees elected to the new executive, the ANC man argues. Since the new, enlarged nation-

al executive mandated to choose the ember working committee, incumbent executive is post: to prolong its hold on power.

Another fais agitating the minds of soANC members. The enlarged executive will raise hopes of greater democracy in the ANC, but it hopes may be dashed by thimant position accorded to national working committee.

But, it nee be said, these anxieties arene credit of the ANC. They po a commitment to internal decay.

Two clause the ANC draft constitution p e ANC demomcrats with an r tunity to check any attempt inference orga nisers and/or sent office holders to se procedural rules on deleg

"The confere shall determine its own pures in accordance with ocratic principles," the drabstitution stipulates.

"Voting on issues shall be by secret half at least one-third of the gates demand it." □

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PAC leader in Swazi talks

Star 27/5/91.
MBABANE — Pan Africanist Congress president Clarence Makwetu is in Swaziland for talks with its leaders before an Organisation of African Unity summit in Nigeria next week.

He said he hoped to have talks with King Mswati and expected to meet Prime Minister Obed Dlamini today, before leaving for Nigeria tomorrow. The OAU summit begins on June 3.

Hugh sees no change

JAZZ legend Hugh Masekela has returned to his native South Africa from three decades of self-imposed exile, ready to hit the political trail.

Masekela, a staunch supporter of the African National Congress, has no illusions about the country he has come back to, despite a pledge from reformist white President FW de Klerk to get rid of race laws by next month.

"People can talk, but where is the action? It's going to take another generation to sort ourselves out," Masekela said.

He has revisited the townships, the ghettos where he learned his musical craft, and sees little evidence of the new order which may give blacks an equal say in the running of the country if power-sharing constitutional talks are successful.

Poverty

All he sees is poverty and the violence which has turned the townships into battlegrounds, where 10 000 people are estimated to have been killed since 1984.

"I used to live in Alexandra township.

"When I left it was filthy with no water or electricity. I come back and things are the same. Where is this new South Africa?" he asked.

Masekela belongs to a South African jazz elite - other names include his former wife, "Mama Afrika" Miriam Makeba, and Abdullah "Dollar Brand" Ibrahim - who left home because their art was suffering as a result of their skin colour.

He started on the European jazz circuit in the early 1960s, playing in a trio with fellow exiles - Ibrahim on the keyboards and the late saxophonist Kippie Moeketsi.

Duke Ellington heard them play one night, persuaded them to come to the United States, and the rest became jazz history.

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SAPA-REUTER

Masekela has been a major success ever since, at the same time lending his voice to highlight the injustices he left behind.

In his eyes, culture and politics cannot be separated.

His forthright political profile has sometimes landed him in trouble with his peers.

Freedom

He only agreed to play in the massive London concert last year to mark Nelson Mandela's release from jail after promoters promised the extravaganza would not turn into a showcase for European talent, as happened at a 1988 Mandela birthday concert.

He wants to continue blowing his trumpet for freedom now that he has come home.

"I am going on tour and I want the proceeds to go to musical and educational projects for the deprived.

"So many people have lost so much, I want to give something back."

The diminutive, rotund Masekela never forgot his roots, the South African township jazz clubs where he cut his musical teeth.

Shebeens

"I play the people's music. I am one of 32 million South Africans. I am only a channel for the jazz I learned in the shebeens," he said.

Masekela does not see much to cheer about yet in his native country, but he has not given up hope.

His cynicism is tempered after a trip round the white Johannesburg suburb of Triomf, which was built on the ruins of Sophiatown black township when the architects of apartheid decided that the blacks there should be moved to Soweto.

The neat tree-lined

suburb, Masekela says, is testimony to what can be done in a few short years if there is a will.

"Look what the whites did in Triomf after they got rid of Sophiatown.

"If the Afrikaners could do the same for Soweto or Alexandra, we would have no problem."

Peace process back on track as ANC approves summit proposal

11/11 27/5/91
BILLY PADDOCK

THE ANC yesterday welcomed the key proposal from government's summit on violence and said the peace process was back on track.

Although the ANC boycotted the summit it was in agreement that the outcome, a fully representative forum to be established through negotiation and consultation, was the route to take towards addressing the wave of violence.

An ANC national executive committee senior member said the process envisaged by the summit dovetailed closely with what the ANC had proposed.

While the ANC and all parties at the summit agreed that the forum had to be

pursued with urgency, they said it would be conducted with a much lower profile than the weekend meeting in Pretoria and had to be handled very sensitively.

The ANC refused to attend the summit because there had been no prior consultation. With the new initiative clearly spelling out that consultation, dialogue and negotiation is vital in the process of setting up the forum, the key obstacle has now been removed.

A senior government source yesterday said President F W de Klerk had come to realise that consultation was essential.

The summit agreed to set up a continuation committee consisting of representa-

tives of those who attended the conference, including the churches, business, the NP and Inkatha.

Alongside this another independent facilitating or consultative committee would start dialogue with parties that had boycotted the summit. This would attempt to forge a "fully representative forum" that would negotiate proposals. Once this was achieved, the continuation committee would disband.

Following "sabre rattling" on the first day, intense behind-the-scenes lobbying took place on Saturday to head off con-

frontation between different initiatives to get another super conference going. The result was De Klerk getting a mandate from the delegates to set up the new "facilitating mechanisms".

Instead of rejecting the Rustenburg National Conference of Churches' initiative and others by business, the new two-pronged approach incorporated it in a broader and more comprehensive move which government sources believed would stand a better chance of success.

A senior government source said there were fears that competing conferences would result in further polarisation.

A second summit was not ruled out but it was not necessarily a foregone conclusion. The agenda was completely open and it was up to the various parties to reach agreement on the best course of action.

A senior government source said urgency was of the essence. He added that the most important task of the forum would be to negotiate agreements.

Government was concerned that this might not be possible until after the ANC consultative conference in July. He said government was not sure whether the ANC was in a position at this stage to commit itself to binding agreements.

Kagiso Trust discusses joint projects

THE Kagiso Trust, a foreign-funded body formed to aid victims of apartheid, has begun discussions on joint projects with "establishment" development agencies including the Development Bank of SA and the Independent Development Trust (IDT).

The discussions are likely to lead to a gradual ending of the divide between government-backed development agencies and the trust which in the past has had close ties with the ANC and UDF.

The trust has undergone a change in orientation away from activities like paying for legal defence in political trials to a channel for EC development funds.

Trust national director Achmat Dangor said at the weekend discussions with the Development Bank had taken place under

PATRICK BULGER

the auspices of the Consultative Business Movement.

The discussions are aimed at avoiding duplication in SA's development efforts.

An IDT spokesman said that while joint efforts were likely to be controversial initially, given the different histories of the parties involved, political normalisation in SA would gradually change this.

"It is logical that there should be co-operation between the different groups. One cannot speculate on what a powerful force a combined developmental initiative could be," the spokesman said.

A Development Bank spokesman confirmed that discussions were taking place but would not comment further.

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Winnie is yesterday's heroine in Britain



"Yesterday's mother of the nation but today's Lady Macbeth" is how the British press describe Winnie Mandela.

LONDON Yesterday's mother of the nation is today's 'Lady Macbeth' of the anti-apartheid movement.

British press and public are coming to terms with Winnie Mandela's fall from grace.

As Mandela pondered her appeal this week, at least four cities, three universities and a charity in Britain were also considering their options.

All face demands to either rename buildings honouring her, or rescind other titles given her in the past. The mood reflects a sudden reversal in the public image of the woman once called South Africa's First Lady.

London's *Sunday Times* dubbed her a "singularly unpleasant character". A Fleet Street columnist referred to "Nelson Mandela's greedy, manipulative, shrieking shrew of a wife".

Yet these and other papers, just ten years ago, competed for the ultimate accolade.

She was the magnificent Mrs Mandela (the

Observer), or the the lady with a dazzling smile and sparkling brown eyes (the *Times*).

The change, from international heroine to a figure of opprobrium has been sudden and complete. *Sowejan 28/5/91*

Discounts

Winnie Mandela T-shirts were bottom of the pile in the discount bins of Carnaby Street stalls this week; Winnie Mandela jigsaws were on sale at the ANC at R5 each, a 70 percent reduction, and postcards bearing her portrait sold slowly.

In Tory controlled Brent, councillors are pressing for their office block, Winnie Mandela House, to be renamed.

Spokesman Irwin van Colle said the naming was

a legacy of the former Labour administration.

"The woman is now no better than a common criminal. We went off her when she refused to condemn necklacing, but she has always been a disreputable character."

Labour and Liberal Democratic councillors are pressing for just "Winnie" to be dropped from the name, leaving it in honour of the ANC deputy president.

In Aberdeen, Tory councillors fired off a letter to Mandela this week, asking her to relinquish her freedom of the city.

Michael Hastie, Conservative leader, said: "It is important that other recipients, such as the

Queen Mother, are not besmirched by the activities of Winnie Mandela."

Officially, the Labour controlled council says it will do nothing - yet.

Waiting

"We are waiting for the outcome of the whole thing - until her appeal is heard," said a spokesman.

Similar moves are afoot in Southwark, where Tory councillors want to change Winnie Mandela House to Pelican House. Labour, who control the council, want it to remain.

Islington, which recently closed down its

Winnie Mandela Resources Centre, says it has no plans to honour her again.

In Sheffield, a student group kicked off a campaign at the polytechnic this week to rename the Winnie Mandela Room after Stompie Moeketsi, in memory of the 14-year-old boy killed by Mandela's bodyguard.

In Glasgow, university students pressed for her name to be removed from their list of rectors. At Durham, other students were about to launch a campaign to rename the Mandela ballroom, named after Winnie's husband, and call it after Winston Churchill instead. - *Own Correspondent*.

Former foes are now new bedfellows

Sowetan 28/5/91

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DEVELOPMENTS over the past week have signalled the start of the formation of broad alliances on the South African political scene.

Since the Government embarked on its reform, political debate has largely centred on the drafting of the new constitution.

But after the "family affair" at the Pretoria summit where a *de facto* alliance with the Government was established, and following last week's joining of the National Party by coloured MPs, it has become evident that a line has been drawn for a broader based phase of negotiations.

Briefing

The moderates are led by President FW de Klerk and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, while its main opposition is the proposed "patriotic front".

In a media briefing on Friday, former leader of the Labour Party in the Cape, Mr G Morkel, said he and the nine other coloured MP's who joined the NP last week

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

were signalling the end of political formations the way they are at present.

On the other hand, the ANC/PAC-led "patriotic front" sees itself playing a greater role now.

The ANC and the PAC have held wide-ranging talks with organisations which will be part of the "patriotic front", scheduled to be launched in August.

Meeting

Azapo has already been "brought into" the fold of the "patriotic front" and a meeting with the Workers Organisation for Socialist Action is imminent.

In another development, it has been established that the PAC will hold talks with Buthelezi in Ujundi next month.

The PAC will try to get Buthelezi to endorse the call for a constituent assembly and effectively marry his party to the "patriotic front".

If Buthelezi agrees, this could see an end to bloodshed.

ct 28/5/91 (11A)

ANC to meet over dissent

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC will convene a special meeting next month to discuss its proposed constitution in the face of mounting internal criticism of a proposal that it more than treble the size of its National Executive Committee (NEC).

The meeting, on June 15, will be attended by four representatives from each of the ANC's regions, says the latest edition of the movement's magazine *Mayibuye*.

The purpose of the meeting is to accommodate changes to the constitution proposed by various regions in a new constitutional proposal.

The most important of these is the NEC structure and procedures for its election, *Mayibuye* says.

There has been growing criticism, within and outside the ANC, of the proposal to increase the NEC from 35 to 120 members.

The proposed constitution has also been criticised for allegedly favouring the outgoing NEC in elections for the new NEC.

In terms of the proposed constitution, the outgoing NEC has the power to propose 75 members for election to the new NEC at the ANC's consultative conference in July.

Mayibuye says there is general agreement that the NEC needs to be enlarged, but the proposal to more than treble the membership is "an issue being hotly debated in the branches".

Another aspect of the proposed constitution being debated is the NEC's power to co-opt 15 additional members.

"The question of co-option has also been put under the spotlight," *Mayibuye* says.

It adds that other issues being discussed are whether two regional representatives on the NEC are enough and whether women would be represented by the chairpersons of the 14 Women's League regions.

Call to probe ANC 'atrocities in exile'

Political Reporter 28/5/91

A group of ANC dissidents has demanded that the ANC issue a list of members who have been detained in prison camps, those who have died in detention and the names of the detention camps which have been closed.

In a statement yesterday the Returned Exiles Co-ordinating Committee (Recoc) said those prisoners released should be immediately returned under the supervision of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR).

It also called on released dissidents to make themselves available to take part in a public commission of inquiry into "the atrocities in exile".

Recoc welcomed an earlier ANC announcement that all detainees had been released.

However, it was disturbed that the ANC had labelled these prisoners as enemy agents and trained anti-ANC assassins.

"We call on the ANC to bring those men back to their motherland and be accorded a chance to say publicly what led to their internment and their treatment thereafter."

Recoc said the ANC's announcement that most "former inmates" at the notorious Quatro camp had been granted scholarships in different countries was "another ploy to cover up those who are missing since they were arrested some years ago".

He added.

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Mandela reassures investors

Staff Reporter ^{8/28} 28/5/91

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11A

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela yesterday pledged commitment to efforts to encourage the rate of economic growth in the post-apartheid era, but argued that the sanctions blockade should be maintained at the moment.

Mr Mandela assured a private meeting of stockbrokers and business economic consultants in Johannesburg that the ANC was also committed to seeking internal political stability via the negotiating process.

He fully understood that it was not in the ANC's interests to damage the economy but there were still political reasons why sanctions were supported at the current

stage of developments. He added that the ANC would reverse its stance on sanctions "as soon as possible".

The meeting took place at an office block alongside the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, which Mr Mandela visited earlier.



Mandela... ANC seeking stability.

Stockbroker Sidney Frankel, chief executive of Frankel Max Pollak Vinderine Inc, who arranged the meeting, said today: "Mr Mandela made a very positive impression on

most businessmen. "He outlined the background to the violence and repeated what steps the ANC would take to reduce the conflict. He clearly believed it was important to have stability for economic growth.

"Mr Mandela reiterated his belief that Government had the capacity to halt the violence and that there was no need for a state of emergency. The whole session was on a positive note."

Insiders said Mr Mandela seemed eager to make a special effort to reassure investors on the longer term outlook.

But one of them added that Mr Mandela also gave the impression that the ANC wanted to dictate all the measures that should be taken by the Govern...

A group of ANC dis...

STONY...

ANC shift

CT 28/5/91
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Mandela promises sanctions will go ASAP

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday impressed a meeting of 80 stockbrokers and investment managers with his commitment to economic growth and the negotiating process.

The ANC deputy president acknowledged that sanctions were hurting the economy and committed the ANC to reversing its pro-sanctions stand "as soon as possible".

At this stage the organisation could not do so for political reasons. But he was at pains to stress that it was not in the ANC's interests to damage the economy.

The private meeting — at the AA Mutual

building next to the JSE — was attended by representatives from Old Mutual, Syfrets and leading stockbroking institutions.

Earlier Mr Mandela paid his first visit to the JSE, escorted by JSE president Mr Tony Norton.

Businessmen who attended the meeting said Mr Mandela had made a much better impression than at the Consultative Business Movement (CBM) meeting earlier this month, which left many in the audience disappointed at his lack of clarity on the ANC's deadlines on violence and the government's peace summit.

One businessman who attended both meetings said Mr Mandela was possibly disappointed by the cool reception he had received at the CBM meeting and had therefore made a special effort to reassure investors.

A senior economics consultant said Mr Mandela came across as "evidently sincere" about

the ANC's commitment to achieve stability through negotiations.

A stockbroker said that despite the ANC's suspension of negotiations with the government, Mr Mandela appeared to be firmly committed to the process.

"He appeared to be very determined to reassure the business community about the bona fides of the ANC, on violence and on the economy," a businessman said.

Mr Mandela succeeded in doing so and was very careful not to adopt an accusatory tone, particularly with regard to Inkatha, he said.

Mr Sidney Frankel, of Frankel, Max Pollak Vinderine Inc, who arranged the meeting, said Mr Mandela outlined the background to the violence and repeated what steps the ANC would take to reduce the conflict. He believed it was important to have stability in society for economic growth, Mr Frankel said.

Mr Mandela reiterated his belief that the government has the capacity to halt the violence, but said there was no need to reintroduce a state of emergency, Mr Frankel said.

One businessman said that although he was "heartened" by the meeting, businessmen remained concerned that while the ANC called on the government to control the violence, it wanted to dictate what measures the government should and should not take.

Mr Mandela had acknowledged that ANC supporters were involved in violence, but stressed that they initiated incidents of violence in only a small proportion of cases.

On the other hand, ANC casualties in the violence were disproportionately large and this was a cause of great concern to the ANC leadership.

ANC spokesmen yesterday declined to comment on the meeting.

CT 28/5/91 (WA) (SAPA)
ANC man's home fired on

EAST LONDON. — The Border vice-president of the ANC, Mr Smuts Ngonyama, and his family narrowly escaped injury when shots were fired at their Dimbaza home early yesterday.

Mr Ngonyama said he and his family were asleep when he was awoken about 2am by a sound "like thunder", followed by breaking glass. He waited for 20 minutes after the shooting stopped and then called the police who found 30 spent cartridges, apparently fired from an R5 rifle. — Sapa



Summit yielded little — ANC

CT 28/5/91
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Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The government-initiated peace summit on violence produced "little by way of meaningful results", the ANC said yesterday.

Although the ANC boycotted the weekend summit in Pretoria, the organisation said in a statement that it would assess available documentation and deliberations from the two-day conference.

The statement added that the ANC would "continue to support the initiatives undertaken by religious leaders and organised business" to convene a broad-based conference on violence.

Echoing proposals delivered at the summit, the ANC said a future conference on violence should produce a binding agreement with enforcement mechanisms for a code of conduct for all political parties.

The ANC said such a conference should also: Produce a code of conduct for the security forces; elaborate on the powers and function of an independent commission on violence; and produce a comprehensive programme of community reconstruction.

The ANC rejected a newspaper article which said that the organisation welcomed the summit's proposal for the establishment of a fully representative forum to address the violence. The source of the article, an unnamed senior ANC national executive committee member, had made a "hasty judgment" which was "ill-advised . . . inaccurate and unauthorised".

● Azapo yesterday said Mr F W de Klerk's peace summit was a failed attempt by the state to exonerate itself as a party to violence, Sapa reports.

Expanded NEC a key issue at ANC meeting

8/04 28/5/91

11A

TIM COHEN

THE ANC will convene a special meeting next month to discuss its proposed constitution in the face of mounting criticism of a proposal that it more than treble the size of its national executive committee committee (NEC).

The meeting — on June 15 — will be attended by four representatives from each of the ANC's regions, says the latest edition of the ANC magazine Mayibuye.

The purpose of the meeting is to accommodate changes to the constitution proposed by various regions in a new constitutional proposal.

The most important of these is the NEC structure and procedures for its election, Mayibuye says.

There has been growing criticism, within and outside the ANC, of the proposal to increase the NEC from 35 to 120 members.

The proposed constitution has also been criticised for allegedly favouring the outgoing NEC in elections for the new NEC.

In terms of the proposed constitution, the outgoing NEC has the power to propose 75 members for election to the new NEC at the ANC's consultative conference in July.

Mayibuye says there is general agreement that the NEC needs to be enlarged, but the proposal to more than treble the membership is "an issue being hotly debated in the branches".

Another aspect of the proposed constitution being debated is the NEC's power to co-opt 15 additional members.

"The question of co-option has also been put under the spotlight," Mayibuye says.

It adds that other issues being discussed are whether two regional representatives on the NEC are enough and whether women would be represented by including the chairmen of the 14 Women's League regions.

Tambo noncommittal on presidential post

8/04 28/5/91

ANC president Oliver Tambo, 73, says he cannot say now whether he will offer himself for re-election as president of the movement at its congress in Durban in July. He would not elaborate. 11A

His announcement appears in an interview in the latest issue of the weekly newsletter Southern African Report.

The newsletter says his answer could mean that he feels his health will not stand up to the rigours of office or that he be-

lieves he should retire and allow deputy president Nelson Mandela or a younger man to take over the movement.

It could also mean he feels he may be required to support Mandela who has been losing ground in the movement.

In the interview Tambo said he had great hope for SA's future. "I still believe in the sincerity of President de Klerk. It is clear whites in SA — except the AWB — have come around to an acceptance of the 'new SA'." — Sapa.

Blacks' attitude to trial hurts Winnie

WINNIE Mandela, in her first interview since her trial, said she felt "very hurt" that some blacks had turned against her because of assaults on young anti-apartheid campaigners at her Soweto home.

Mandela, wife of ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, said some blacks had connived in what she called a government plan to destroy the ANC by putting her on trial.

"Naturally I was very hurt ... when it happened with the connivance of my people it was very hurtful," she said in the June edition of Tribute magazine, published yesterday.

Mandela was sentenced to six years in jail this month for kidnapping and being an accessory to the assault of three men and a 14-year-old boy who was later found dead.

She was released on bail pending an appeal. She denied all the charges.

Her chief bodyguard was sentenced to death last year for the murder of the boy, Stompie Seipei.

Mandela said her trial was really a trial of the ANC and her black critics had seen her as being on trial for Stompie's killing.

"We cannot pretend that this is not true," she said. "This whole thing would not have assumed the proportions it did were it not for my people."

"It was never really my trial. It was the trial of the ANC ... you can imagine the irony of it all. The murderers of my people trying me for a so-called indirect murder. I had nothing to do with Stompie's death." —
Reuter.

Tambo's health key to July re-election

African National Congress president Oliver Tambo (73) says he cannot say now whether he will offer himself for re-election as president of the movement at its congress in Durban in July.

Asked whether he will stand for re-election,

Tambo said, "It's not a question I can answer now."

He would not elaborate.

His announcement,

which could have far-reaching consequences for the ANC, appears in an interview in the latest issue of *Southern African Report*, the weekly newsletter published by former *Rand Daily Mail* editor Raymond Louw.

The newsletter says his answer could mean that he feels his health will not stand up to the rigours of office - he suffered a mild stroke in August 1989 and has been under treatment since then.

Another is that he believes he should retire and allow Nelson Mandela or a younger man to take over the movement.

Belief

It could also mean that he plans to retire but feels he may be required to stand to support Mandela who has been losing ground in the movement.

"I still believe in the sincerity of President de Klerk. It is clear, too, that whites in South Africa - except the AWB (Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging) - have come around to an acceptance of the 'new South

Africa'. I hope they will continue to support the process of reform and negotiation."

Tambo, whose illness has left him with a partially paralysed right arm and has slowed his movements, was cheerful and optimistic.

His response to questions has always been thoughtful and deliberate and his illness appears to have accentuated these characteristics, without dimming his perceptions, according to the newsletter.

Sanctioned

The opposition to embracing change was on a small scale, he said.

On the sanctions issue, Tambo said the lifting of sanctions depended on De Klerk complying with the demands made on him. He had to go all the way in removing restrictive legislation and in releasing political prisoners.

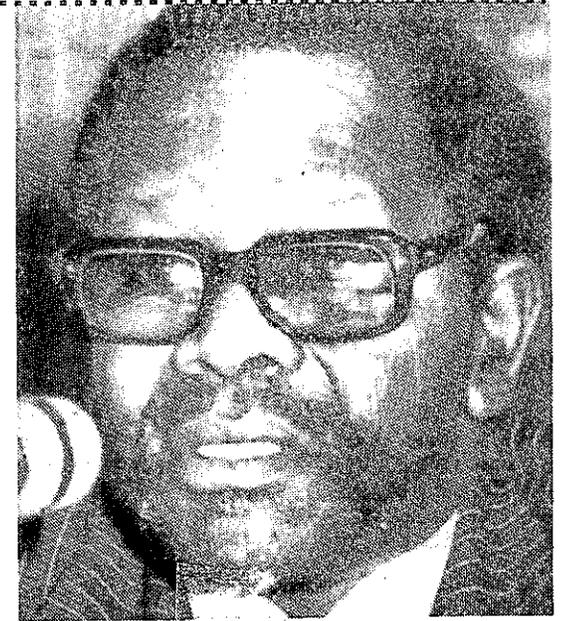
The ANC would also have to decide on its attitude to sanctions.

"Tambo was cheerful and optimistic despite the sombre reports of continuing violence in South Africa. The discussion

lasted an hour but he showed no signs of fatigue at the end.

"Though his views are broadly in accord with those of the ANC in Johannesburg, there are differences of emphasis between the two. For example, Tambo's view on how violence can be contained lays more emphasis on activity on the ground by the leadership of the ANC and Inkatha and less on the Government.

"He also maintains a confidence in De Klerk which is deteriorating among the ANC in SA," the report states. - *Sapa*



Oliver Tambo.

11A

Sowetan 29/5/91

ANC rejects Mokaba allegations

JOHANNESBURG. — The African National Congress has strongly backed its Youth League president, Mr Peter Mokaba, and denied media reports implying high-level suspicions within the organisation that he had spied for the security police.

Newspaper reports at the weekend said a two-year investigation of the suspicions over Mr Mokaba by the ANC's security department had not cleared the youth leader.

(11A) CT 27/5/91
But in a statement last night, the ANC said it would like to place on record that they regarded Mr Mokaba as a fully-fledged member of the ANC, in good standing.

"The ANC does not doubt the bona fides of Peter Mokaba," the statement concluded.

They further denied that any ANC officials had spoken to the media over the allegations. — Sapa

ANC ^(11/13) ^(11/13) women to meet FW

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk will tomorrow become the first National Party leader to officially meet a delegation of the ANC Women's League.

The meeting, to be held at Tuynhuys, will discuss the violence and how to solve it.

The 25-member delegation will include veterans of the ANC's struggle for liberation and will be led by president Mrs Gertrude Shope.

Sowetan 29/5/91
Solution

Others in the party will include her deputy, Mrs Albertina Sisulu, Mrs Winnie Mandela and Mrs Hilda Ndude, deputy leader of the ANC in the Western Cape.

The league decided at a meeting in Johannesburg at the weekend to meet De Klerk and approached ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela to arrange it.

Ndude said: "We are women and mothers concerned about the situation in South Africa. We feel that we can offer a solution." - *Sowetan Correspondent*.

Winnie to meet FW at Tuynhuys

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Mrs Winnie Mandela will be part of an ANC Women's League delegation scheduled to meet President F W de Klerk at Tuynhuys today, to discuss violence.

The delegation, which will be led by ANC Woman's League president Mrs Gertrude Shope, will comprise members of the league's national executive committee.

An ANC spokesman said yesterday the league had been trying for some time to meet Mr De Klerk to express their concern about violence.

The group will present a petition on violence to Mr De Klerk, and discuss the release of political prisoners.

16/5/92
CT 29/5/92



Kraai's man tells of help for farmers

14/5/91
CT 29/5/91

Own Correspondent

PRETORIA. — The Departments of Agriculture and Agricultural Development gave the farming industry direct and indirect aid of almost R12 billion over the past 10 years, a spokesman for Agriculture Minister Mr Kraai van Niekerk said yesterday.

Last week in Parliament, Mr Van Niekerk accused some farmers of squandering R5bn of their R17bn debt on coastal holiday homes, importing saddle horses, gambling and on other non-agricultural activities.

His criticism was roundly rejected by the SA and Transvaal Agricultural Unions and the National Maize Producers' Organisation.

Van Niekerk's spokesman said the bulk of the Agriculture Department's aid of almost R3,9bn was in direct subsidies to the grain industry and grain producers — maize receiving R1,6bn and wheat R1,9bn.

The spokesman added a large percentage of these subsidies went towards subsidising wheat and maize prices, with the resulting increase in demand substantially benefiting producers.

"Other" direct subsidies, which the spokesman was unable to specify, amounted to R104,2m.

The total paid in other interest subsidies amounted to R125,7m.

Direct aid, to agricultural co-operatives in the past 10 years, totalled R23,5m, and interest subsidies R85,7m.

JOHANNESBURG. — The repeal of the Population Registration Act could spell the end of military conscription for white men, lawyers said yesterday.

Legal experts said they believed the act's repeal would mean conscription could be challenged successfully in court, assuming no new race classification measures beyond the existing bill were introduced.

The government last month tabled a bill in Parliament repealing the act, which included

Super-race creation 'ethically unacceptable'

Staff Reporter

THE moral nature of society should prevent the idea of creating a "super-race" through genetic experimentation ever gaining credibility, the head of the Department of Philosophy and the Unit for Bio-ethics, Professor A A van Niekerk, said this week.

He was speaking at a conference on the ethical implications of genetic engineering held at the university on Monday.

Prof Van Niekerk broadly defined genetic engineering as the changing of genetic components of organisms in a way not resulting from evolution.

"Therapeutic" genetic engineering — aimed at changing bodily defects where the patient desired it — is ethically acceptable, he said.

"Eugenic" genetic engineering, or that which concentrates on genetic improvement, is ethically unacceptable because it compromises the autonomy of the individual, Prof Van Niekerk said.

Student group condemns attack on 'European'

THE Pan Africanist Student Organisation of Azania (Paso) yesterday condemned in the "strongest possible terms" the incident at UCT 10 days ago in which a "European student" was attacked "by people purporting to be our members".

First-year UCT student Mr Chris Lott was last weekend attacked by students wearing green T-shirts and chanting, "one settler one bullet".

Paso general-secretary Mr Lawrence Nqandela said yesterday: "We wish to distance ourselves from these actions."

"If our investigations reveal that our members were involved, such members will be brought before a tribunal of Paso." CT 29/5/91

Conscription 'could be challenged'

29/5/91
the retention of racial classification until a new constitution was in place. The three-clause bill makes no reference to the Defence Act.

An attorney said that if the Population Registration Act was entirely repealed, conscription provisions in the Defence Act would apply to all South African males.

The validity of the existing whites-only call-up could then be challenged on the basis it was not legally reasonable because it was based on discrimination.

● An SADF spokesman said the force had received legal opinion that the act's repeal would not affect the Defence Act.

Paso slams Cosas for protests

JOHANNESBURG. —

The Pan Africanist Student Organisation of Azania (Paso) yesterday criticised the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) over its protest marches.

A statement said: "Paso is opposed to the continued disruption of education in African schools. Current marches organised by Cosas are one of the key factors contributing to the high level of failure rate in African schools.

"We call on all African students to disregard these uncalled for marches, and seize every opportunity at their disposal to equip themselves for the future."

Paso also called on the Department of Education and Training to address the crisis at black schools. — Sapa

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Tambo rejects return to violence

LONDON. — Mr Oliver Tambo, the ailing ANC president, has rejected suggestions by radical elements of a return to the policy of violence — and has left questions over his leadership open.

His view on any return to armed response is made clear in an interview with former Rand Daily Mail editor Mr Raymond Louw, but he refused to say if he intended standing down.

He was also more flexible on vital issues such as sanctions and responses to township violence than some radical ANC executive members — including Mr Chris Hani.

But Mr Tambo, 73, and still recovering in London from a stroke

he suffered two years ago, told Mr Louw it was unlikely that the ANC would go back to the armed struggle, suspended in August last year.

In the interview, published in Mr Louw's newsletter, Southern Africa Report, Mr Tambo said: "We must adhere to the suspension of the armed struggle. To go back means deceit, and it would be a tragedy because it would also mean the destruction of a new South Africa.

"It is so unnecessary because it is right that we should live peacefully with one another, and sort out our problems man to man."

Mr Louw said Mr Tambo's views were "broadly in accord

with those of the ANC in Johannesburg", but there were "differences of emphasis between the two".

Mr Tambo also said that he could not confirm whether he would stand down as president at the ANC's National Congress in Durban in July.

Mr Tambo also placed greater faith in President F W de Klerk than ANC leaders — including Mr Nelson Mandela.

"I still believe in the sincerity of President De Klerk. It is clear, too, that whites in South Africa — except the extreme right-wing AWB — have come around to an acceptance of the 'New South Africa'," Mr Tambo said.

Businessmen ask Mandela for answers

Star 29/5/91

Staff Reporters

11A 1500 20

The group Businessmen for Growth and Stability took out an advertisement in 10 national newspapers yesterday demanding that the ANC formally set out its position on business in South Africa.

The advertisement, published under the heading "Answer Please, Mr Mandela", poses 17 questions to the ANC leadership asking for official statements on economic issues from a minimum wage to nationalisation.

The group also published an "Open letter to the ANC" on May 7, challenging its vision of the negotiations process.

According to Rob Emmet, managing director of Midrand Property and a founder member of the group, the organisation was formed earlier this year by businessmen concerned about possible economic policy under an ANC government.

Although there were no further ads in the pipeline, Mr Emmet said the group was growing rapidly and would continue to ask questions and try to get answers from the ANC on the country's economic future.

Unless these answers were forthcoming, businessmen

would be forced to "seek a more hospitable climate elsewhere" with "devastating consequences for all South Africans."

● The ANC yesterday said the advertisement smacked of propaganda.

It said that while the 17 questions raised by the businessmen were of concern to all South Africans, the advertisement was not a real attempt to address the serious issues facing SA.

It noted that in the earlier advertisement, Business for Growth and Stability "raised questions in such a way as to portray the ANC as a terrorist organisation".

The ANC proposed that these businessmen should invite the organisation to meetings, consultations and briefings so that the ANC could put forward its own views.

Earlier yesterday, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said many of the questions would presumably have been answered by Mr Mandela at a private briefing attended by stockbrokers and investment managers in Johannesburg this week.

He said Mr Mandela's remarks had reportedly been well received by the gathering.

Mokaba 'spy' reports denied

By MATHATHA TSEDU

ANC intelligence and security director Mr Joe Nhlanhla yesterday denied reports that he had leaked information on the alleged spying activities of youth league president Peter Mokaba.

Mr John Nkadimeng and Mr Mac Maharaj had over the past two years spoken off the record to newsmen about Mokaba's alleged spy activities.

Security

"We categorically reject the implication that the department of intelligence and security is involved in any way in this issue," Nhlanhla said in a statement.

Nhlanhla also questioned - in view of his denial to have spoken to journalists about the matter either here or abroad - whether the article had needed "this invention to make it credible".

He said the timing of the revela-



PETER MOKABA

tion, shortly before the crucial July national ANC conference next month, "showed that the enemies of the organisation were trying to sow division and suspicion".

Except for stating that articles in both *The Weekly Mail* and the *Saturday Star* did not reflect "the official viewpoint of the movement",

the statement stopped short of denouncing the allegations as false.

The ANC Youth League has, however, absolved its president and said it would no longer comment on the allegations.

Assistant general secretary Mr Billy Masetlha said as the Press reports attributed the allegations to the ANC "if anything further is to be said, the ANC is better placed to do so".

Confessed

In a report last week *The Weekly Mail* said Mokaba had been the subject of investigation by the ANC for allegedly spying for the police.

The paper said Mokaba had confessed to the deeds during interrogation by security personnel outside the country but was not detained because ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo had intervened, arguing that the move would demoralise the youth and lead to unfavourable Press reports.

Mokaba has denied the allegations.

Winnie in delegation to meet De Klerk

WINNIE Mandela will be in an ANC Women's League delegation scheduled to meet President F W de Klerk at Tuynhuys today to discuss violence.

The delegation, which will be led by ANC Woman's League president Gertrude Shope, will include members of the league's national executive committee.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday the league had been trying for some time to meet De Klerk to express its concern about violence.

Blom 29/5/91 (11A)
TIM COHEN

Niehaus could not say how many members of the league would be present or where the meeting would be.

However, highly placed sources said the meeting was scheduled for Tuynhuys.

A league member said yesterday that the group would hand over a petition about violence to De Klerk and raise the question of the release of political prisoners.

The meeting will not be the first time

that De Klerk and the wife of ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela have met.

Mandela, in the company of her husband, shared a podium with De Klerk and his wife Marike at a Johannesburg Press Club function in February this year.

But that meeting took place before Winnie Mandela was sentenced to an effective six-year prison sentence for kidnapping and as an accessory to assault.

And Mandela has since also been arrested twice in one day for resisting arrest and disrupting traffic.

Our man IIA Mokaba is not a spy, says ANC

THE African National Congress has come out in defence of its youth leader Mr Peter Mokaba who was last week reported to have spied for the police.

In a statement released by the organisation's department of publicity and information, the ANC said it regarded Mokaba as "a fully-fledged member of the ANC in good standing".

"The ANC does not doubt the bona fides of comrade Peter Mokaba", the statement said.

It added that investigations of allegations that

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senior members of the organisation had been responsible for the "leak" had revealed that no official, "let alone a senior official", had discussed the matter with the media.

Reports last week said Mokaba had been under investigation by the ANC for the past two years for allegedly spying for the police.

The reports said Mokaba had been interrogated and had confessed to the deeds.

He has denied the allegations and said there were attempts by liberals to destroy his credibility

before the ANC's July conference.

In *Sowetan* yesterday, our report incorrectly stated that Mr John Nkademeng and Mr Mac Maharaj had spoken to reporters over the past two years about Mokaba's alleged spying activities.

The report should, however, have stated that ANC security director Mr Joe Nhlanhla was reacting to a report in the *Saturday Star* which alleged that he, Nkademeng and Maharaj, as well as Mr Jacob Zuma and Mr Joe Slovo, had spoken to newsmen about the matter.

Hundreds to march tomorrow

Sowetan 30/5/91

11A

AFRICAN National Congress leaders will lead mass marches in Cape Town, Bloemfontein and Pretoria tomorrow to demand an interim government, the ANC Youth League said yesterday.

Mr Alfred Nzo, Mr Walter Sisulu, Mrs Albertina Sisulu, Mr Joe Slovo and Mr Chris Hani will lead the marches to the Union Buildings in Pretoria, the Appellate Division in Bloemfontein and Parliament in Cape Town.

Leading musicians, artists, sportsmen and women, church and homeland leaders and thousands of supporters would also participate, although no permission for the marches had been sought.

"We will inform the Government that we will be holding the marches. The Government will have to accept that we have a right to mass action," the ANCYL's Parks Mankahlana said.



TALKS ... ANC Women's League president Ms Gertrude Hlope leads her delegation, which included Mrs Winnie Mandela, to the Tuynhuys for talks with President De Klerk last night.

Winnie, FW in talks

CT 20/5/91
11A

Political Staff

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk and an ANC Women's League delegation — which included Mrs Winnie Mandela — were locked in marathon talks at Tuynhuys until late last night.

It was Mrs Mandela's first visit to Tuynhuys.

Leading the group of about 15 women were Women's League president Mrs Gertrude Hlope and Mrs Ruth Mompoti, an ANC National Executive Committee member.

The women arrived at 5pm, two carrying babies.

While being escorted through the gates to Tuynhuys amid a heavy security presence, Mrs Hlope said the women would be discussing "the problems of South Africa".

It is understood that the ongoing violence and the breakdown in talks between the government and the ANC were at the top of the delegation's agenda.

Another issue almost certainly discussed was the hunger strike by political prisoners.

Mokaba issue still on the boil

w/mauel 30/5-6/6/91

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THE African National Congress this week stood by its Youth League president, Peter Mokaba, following a report in last week's *Weekly Mail* that he was being investigated for allegedly working as a security police agent.

A statement from the movement's publicity and information department said: "With regard to Comrade Peter Mokaba, the ANC places on record that we regard him as a fully-fledged member of the ANC, in good standing. The ANC does not doubt the bona fides of Comrade Peter Mokaba."

However, neither the ANC statement nor a statement from Joe Nhlanhla, director of the ANC's intelligence and security department, addressed the substantial questions raised in last week's report.

There was no denial that Mokaba ever

worked for the security police nor that he was summoned to the movement in exile and confessed.

The ANC statement claimed that after the appearance of reports in *The Weekly Mail*, the *Guardian* and the *Saturday Star*, the movement had investigated if any of its officials had spoken to the media regarding the allegations.

"Our investigation reveals that no official of the ANC, let alone a senior official, has discussed this matter with the media."

However, *The Weekly Mail* approached top National Executive Committee (NEC) officials, who confirmed the story last week before the report was published.

The Weekly Mail has been able to piece together some of the background to the Mokaba saga.

A host of grounds for suspicion have

Despite African National Congress assurances this week that the movement does not doubt the bona fides of its Youth League interim leader, Peter Mokaba, substantial questions raised by *The Weekly Mail* remain unanswered

been cited by ANC sources, among them the continued failure of the state to pin charges against him when others around him were being jailed in connection with similar allegations, and a belief that he was trying to create divisions within the movement or play one group off against another.

However, until 1989 within the United Democratic Front there was a reluctance among activists to voice their suspicions for fear of being branded as a spy or "cabal member" by Mokaba backers.

The cabal was a Natal-based group, said to be operating as a secret, moderate caucus within the movement. Several activists who had no connection with this group were accused of being cabal members after criticising Mokaba.

An independent source of suspicion came from Zimbabwe — the "forward area" responsible for controlling MK and underground activities in the Northern Transvaal, where Mokaba was a senior commander.

Senior intelligence officials and other Harare-based operatives became suspicious in the mid-to-late Eighties after divisions emerged and courier routes were broken.

Top level ANC sources, including several members of the current NEC have told political activists and certain sympathetic journalists that Mokaba was interrogated by senior ANC intelli-

gence officials in Lusaka in 1989 and that he confessed to having worked for the security police.

However, there are two accounts of this session — one that his period with the security police spanned several years, and another that it only amounted to a few months.

The latter version is that he agreed to work for the security police while being held in detention, and failed to inform the ANC of this after being released — though later admitted it under interrogation.

His confession presented the movement with a massive dilemma, and for several weeks it was hushed up. Against the advice of intelligence officials, the decision was made by ANC president Oliver Tambo to allow him to return home on condition he cut all links with the security police and had nothing to do with the security of the Sisulu group of prisoners, who were soon to be released.

The reasons for hushing it up, according to one senior ANC source, were: "First, his confession came six months or so before the ANC was unbanned and OR felt it would be very disillusioning for the youth, for whom he was a hero.

"He had powerful backers within the NEC, some of whom may have felt their positions would be undermined if their protégé was exposed.

"Then, Tambo may have been concerned about a repeal of the Thami Zulu affair."

Zulu, who headed the ANC's underground and military structures in Swaziland in the mid and late Eighties was widely suspected by ANC intelligence of being an agent because scores of underground operatives in the area — some of them known only to Zulu — were being assassinated, detained and deported or abducted by South Africa's security forces.

However, he was protected by military intelligence and it took several years before ANC intelligence was allowed to interrogate him. He died in detention.

Within two months of Mokaba's exposure his confession was "leaked". At first Zimbabwe-based underground operatives, and several operatives within the country were informed.

Later certain UDF leaders and youth leaders known not to be close to Mokaba were tipped off. Later still, certain "sympathetic liberal" leaders and some pro-ANC journalists were also informed.

In most cases those doing the leaking were senior members of the movement, including some NEC members. Because of the variety of ANC sources on this question it is highly unlikely that any clique within the movement could have been behind it — and impossible that it emanated from the state.

Senior ANC sources say they were informed he would be blocked from all leadership positions within the ANC, and for several months this happened.

However, over the last nine months Mokaba has moved back into prominence, particularly within the Youth League, where he has served as interim president.

Several top-level sources who previously spoke openly about the matter are now reluctant to discuss it, even off the record, and some of those in exile who were most vocal about the matter were not granted early indemnity to return.

While some ANC NEC members were not initially informed of his confession, others now hold the belief that whatever "mistakes" he made in the past, he should be forgiven, and some have backed him openly.

According to ANC sources the movement's deputy president, Nelson Mandela, was given a "soft version" of the story several months after his release. He is said to believe that Mokaba is playing a useful role with the youth and that exposure would serve no purpose.

FW, ANC women talk for 5 hours

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — President de Klerk and the ANC Women's League struck deadlock on the issue of releasing hunger strikers, after a historic meeting at Tuynhuis lasting more than five hours last night.

Women's League president Gertrude Shope led a delegation of 22 members to the meeting to discuss various problems including violence and political prisoners.

The delegation included Winnie Mandela, head of the league's PWV region.

Despite the deadlock, Mrs Shope described the meeting as a "breakthrough".

"It was a breakthrough because at least we sat down and

discussed a few things together," Mrs Shope said.

"Unlike 1956 when Prime Minister JG Strijdom didn't want to talk with the women when they wanted to see him."

Sources close to the talks disclosed that Mr de Klerk had given each one of the 22 delegates a hearing.

Political observers said it was clear Mr de Klerk had taken pains to show respect to the women.

The delegation of women — all dressed in black to mourn the violence — arrived at Tuynhuys at 5 pm and left after 10.30 pm.

Mrs Shope said the talks ended in deadlock and the league would be meeting today to review the talks before holding a press conference.

Although she did not say so, it is understood disagreement over the release of hunger strikers caused the deadlock.

Mr de Klerk issued a statement after the meeting, saying he believed women had a "very important contribution to make in changing attitudes which underlie the culture of violence gripping our country".

"In respect of your main plea on the hunger strikers, the Government is deeply concerned about the situation," Mr de Klerk said.

He was satisfied that all prisoners who clearly qualified for release had been released.

"All that now remain are those individuals who have committed serious common law crimes, such as murder, rape, assault and robbery."

Third break-in bid, says ANC

A third attempted break-in into the offices of the ANC in Frederick Street, Johannesburg, was made early yesterday.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said security personnel detected two whites dressed in military or police camouflage uniform at the ANC's offices.

The men sped off in two vehicles, a van and a private vehicle, after being spotted.

Major Dave Bruce said police could not investigate unless the ANC reported the matter, which they had so far failed to do. "It is a pity the allegation — which is not substantiated — was made to the media. It appears to be another attempt to implicate the security forces."

— Staff Reporter



Govan Mbeki ... an intellectual guru to many of those imprisoned for political activity

Lessons in the struggle at the Island university

W/mail 30/5 - 6/6/91

For many years, Robben Island was the university of the struggle, and Govan Mbeki one of the tutors. Now his prison writings have been published.

He spoke to **MONDLI MAKHANYA**

FORTY years after publishing his first book, African National Congress stalwart Govan Mbeki has released his second — a collection of his prison writings.

Learning from Robben Island (David Philip, R29.99) consists of essays that Mbeki wrote as political education lessons for inmates of Robben Island. The essays range from tributes to fellow Communist Party members Ruth First and Moses Mabhida to tips on mass mobilisation and analyses of the "apartheid economy".

Mbeki's first book, *The Peasant Revolt*, written in the early 1950s, dealt with the Pondoland rebellion. Another book, written during his 19 months under banning orders, is due out before the end of the year. Historian Colin Bundy is also writing a biography of Mbeki.

Mbeki was one of the main authors of the syllabi for ANC-aligned prisoners on Robben Island. Explaining the need for formal political education, Mbeki told *The Weekly Mail* that "There were the comrades who grew up when the ANC had already been banned and they were confused about the relationship between the ANC and the SACP. We decided then that we should draw a syllabus which would deal with the national democratic struggle."

The "syllabus" — which ran for three years — was conducted under very difficult conditions. The study material, which took so much energy and time to smuggle into and around the prison, was often confiscated by the prison authorities.

"When they discovered our 'banks'," says Mbeki, "they would confiscate all our material, which was often all in handwriting. But we were fortunate because we always copied whatever material had been smuggled into jail. Even books of 500 pages were copied."

Political education on the island took place during hard-labour sessions on the quarry and over the table at mealtimes. The fact that until 1980 newspapers were not permitted on the Island did not hamper prisoners' ability to accurately comment on the political situation outside.

"We depended on our own ability to analyse the situation and we were also guided by the policy objectives of the ANC," says Mbeki.

"We also made sure that those who were studying obtained all the books which were rec-

ommended by the University of South Africa."

Old age and 25 years of incarceration have not blunted the intellect of a man regarded in ANC and SACP circles as something of a guru, nor have they left him bitter.

"We are not bitter, not because we have forgiven but because there is so much to be done that we cannot afford to waste valuable time and resources on anger."

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THE RISE OF ZULU NATIONALISM ...

AFTER decades of government obsession about ethnicity, the African National Congress and Inkatha are responding to this emotive subject very differently: the ANC ignores it and seeks a non-racial, supra-ethnic unity; Inkatha uses it as a powerful political mobilising force.

There are millions of people in South Africa — among them many Zulus — to whom ethnic feelings are important, perhaps a driving force in their lives.

Because of its strong insistence on unity and non-racialism, the ANC is not responding to these feelings, in particular among Zulu people, and this has left the field open to Inkatha.

Under the leadership of its president, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, this organisation appears to have a virtual monopoly on Zulu "cultural symbols". For example, the king, who is supposed to be the king of all Zulus, is closely associated with Inkatha. Last weekend's strongly political "imbizo" is just one example of this. The idea that he

The power and the danger behind

might attend and address a pro-ANC rally is improbable even if that rally were convened by an exclusively Zulu membership of the ANC.

Yet there was a time when it might not have been quite so difficult to imagine. Shortly after the first life prisoners were released from Robben Island, the king invited Walter Sisulu and the others to visit him for talks — they declined.

In his first Durban rally after being released, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela delivered a speech which would have pleased even a traditionalist with strong ethnic feelings.

Nokukhanya Luthuli, widow of former ANC president Albert Luthuli, was almost literally held up to the huge crowd as the "mother of the na-

tion" and Mandela paid tribute to the role of Zulu people in the struggle against apartheid.

Then the promise Mandela's approach seemed to offer of an accommodation with traditionalists evaporated.

He has still not visited the king, and given the bitter attacks on the ANC from the king, it might now be too late for such a visit.

The result is that Zulu ANC supporters in Natal cannot easily speak about "our king" — he is the king of that section of the people which identifies with Inkatha's approach on ethnic issues.

By having virtually no Zulu representatives in national leadership positions, the ANC has left the way open for Buthelezi to claim the organisation is "anti-Zulu". This gibe appears to take on

Unleashing powerful ethnic feelings — as Inkatha has done — can have enormously dangerous repercussions, argues
CARMEL RICKARD

more weight in the light of the ANC's handling of a number of other issues.

For example, even if Inkatha's justification of the carrying of "cultural weapons" is questionable, the campaign to ban them in public was presented in a way which allowed Buthelezi to make enormous political capital, claiming the ANC hated Zulus and "Zulu-ness". It has also created the impetus for renewed expressions of ethnic feeling which should not be underestimated.

Perhaps if there had been a stronger sensitivity towards Zulus whose ethnic feelings are close to the heart, the same demand could have been handled in a way which did not further alienate so many people, and deepen divisions in society.

The delicate approach of ANC southern Natal regional chairman Jacob Zuma to difficult issues such as these, shows it can be done.

Another example — instead of calling for the repeal of the Act that established black homelands all over South Africa, the ANC urged the "dissolving of kwaZulu". This again opened them to criticism that they were not against the homeland policy, but only against the Zulu homeland and therefore against Zulus.

So strongly has Inkatha come to be identified

... A SPECIAL WEEKLY MAIL FOCUS

the ethnic wave

05-6/91

with "Zulu-ness" that the conflict between ANC and Inkatha supporters is presented in some media as a Zulu/Xhosa issue. Questionable as this analysis is, it is particularly ludicrous in Natal, where there are Zulus on both sides with much in common but with many differences. ANC supporters would however tend to be people for whom appeals to ethnicity do not have the same resonance as for Inkatha supporters.

Both sides have many followers, but Inkatha has projected the image that only traditionalists are "real Zulus" and therefore Inkatha is the only true mouthpiece of Zulu people. This has been challenged by the ANC in Natal, whose executive insists the ANC be recognised as representative of "the majority of Zulus" in the region.

The very fact that they have to make this challenge, however, shows how successful Inkatha's "Zulu" image building, at the expense of the ANC, has been.

Ironically it seems that the ANC's insistence on unity might be weakening it as a unifying force.

Unfortunately broad South Africanism has a poor record in our political history: Smuts' fate bears testimony to this.

The apparent reluctance of the ANC to devise a strategy to deal with Zulu ethnic feelings — or its inability to do so — has some similarities with the 1948 period when Dr DF Malan pitched a strong election message at Afrikaner ethnicity, almost to the exclusion of anything else.

Smuts did not experience being an Afrikaner in

a way which enabled him to respond in kind. Either he did not realise the significance of Malan's call or, just as fatally, he was unable to bring himself to use ethnic feelings in the same way.

Malan's victory shows the danger of not having a policy which takes into account those people who rally at the call to the volk. The many years of misery caused by the triumph of Malan's sectarian appeal also illustrates the dangers of a policy that exploits and abuses ethnic feelings.

The question of how to deal with ethnic feelings is an excruciatingly difficult problem. Years of enforced, often officially trumped up ethnic divisions have made many people wary even to acknowledge ethnic feelings exist lest this be mistaken for racism.

Yet the lesson of Eastern Europe shows that such feelings are so powerful they can unleash enormous political energy.

Serious consideration must be given to a policy which neither ignores nor exploits these feelings.

Talks to set up a catalyst for peace

8/Day 30/5/91

TIM COHEN

ATTEMPTS continued yesterday to set up an eight-person group which would serve as a catalyst in creating the "facilitating committee" mooted at government's peace conference last weekend.

Rustenburg National Conference of Churches joint chairman Louw Alberts said yesterday he was talking to a range of people who would act as catalysts in establishing the committee.

None of them would be drawn from political groups.

He declined to say which individuals had so far agreed to take part in the group, but said an announcement would be made in the next few days.

The mechanism or forum to combat conflict in society would be decided by the "facilitating committee", he said.

The committee, agreed upon at the weekend summit, was to draw into

the peace process parties which had not attended.

Meanwhile, a government source said yesterday that although the Rustenburg group had not been mandated to bring together facilitators to establish the facilitating committee, there was no objection to members of the Rustenburg group being seconded to the committee.

The ANC has indicated it probably would be prepared to take part in the facilitating committee, if its functions coincided with ANC proposals.

The ANC has called for a code of conduct for political parties and police as one of the measures to help reduce conflict and unrest.

Inkatha has so far resisted attempts by church bodies to establish a peace mechanism or forum because it considers church bodies to be too close to the ANC.

Jockey Club told to repay fines

SUSAN RUSSELL

A RAND Supreme Court judge yesterday ordered the Jockey Club of SA to repay fines totalling R10 000 it imposed on trainer Alan Forbes after two of his horses tested positive for a prohibited substance.

Stipendiary stewards convicted Forbes twice of contravening Jockey Club rules after they held that the winners of two races on December 7 1988 and April 1, 1990, Pastoll and Northern Sheik respectively, had tested positive for the anti-inflammatory drug Naproxen. He was fined R5 000 in respect of each conviction.

Forbes's appeals against the convictions were dismissed by local executive stewards of the Transvaal and Free State district of the Jockey Club and head executive stewards.

Mr Justice van der Merwe overturned both convictions yesterday after holding that the hearings in front of the stipendiary stewards were unfairly conducted and in breach of Jockey Club rules.

He ordered the Jockey Club to pay Forbes the R10 000 fines plus interest.

Women's League delegation in talks with FW

8/Day 30/5/91

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk and a delegation of the ANC Women's League were still locked in talks three-and-a-half hours after the group had entered Tuynhuys last night amid speculation that they planned a sit-in in the presidential office.

Included among the group was Winnie Mandela, on her first visit to Tuynhuys. Two others in the delegation of about 15 women were carrying their babies.

They arrived for the meeting at 5pm. Leading the group was Women's League president Gertrude Hlope

and Ruth Mompoti, an ANC National Executive Committee member.

Security at Tuynhuys was heavier than usual. Hlope said as she was escorted through the gates to Tuynhuys that the women would be discussing "the problems of SA" with De Klerk.

It is understood that the violence and breakdown in talks between government and the ANC were top of the delegation's agenda. The delegation presented a petition on violence to De Klerk.

Another issue almost certainly discussed was the hunger strike by prisoners claiming they should be freed because they were sentenced for politically motivated crimes. The league had been trying to arrange a meeting with De Klerk for some time.

'Odd partnership' seen as SA's hope

11A
B1 Day 30/5/91

IAN HOBBS

LONDON — Progress towards settlement that is taking SA back into the world community depended heavily on the physical survival of the "strange partnership" between President F W de Klerk and ANC vice-president Nelson Mandela, the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS) said yesterday.

Presenting the annual Strategic Survey, IISS director Francois Heisbourg said developments in SA were unusual because progress depended "very much on two individuals."

Without one or the other, a "dangerous" situation would become "disastrous", but while they and their work survived they were fated to succeed in their efforts to create a democratic SA.

He said the "explosion" of township violence had been expected and was proof that repressive societies were at their most volatile when they em-

barked on reform.

But the survey acclaimed De Klerk's ditching of apartheid and held out more hope for South and southern Africa than anywhere else in a "seething continent" beset by repression, corruption, bloody uprisings, violence and ethnic and religious fighting.

It said black township violence had threatened at times to imperil the process of transition and the hope that a post-apartheid SA would escape the factional strife and economic decline of other African countries.

But events were marked also by profound and irreversible political change "which cleared SA's path back into the world community".

The survey said: "Under the leadership of President De Klerk the National Party, which has ruled SA since 1948 and had constructed the apartheid state, has performed a remarkable

political volte face."

It said the ANC's own hopes for the future had been complicated by the "paralysing" division in its own ranks and its alliance with Cosatu and the UDF.

Tension was mirrored in the violent clashes with rival political parties including the PAC, Azapo and Inkatha.

A key factor in the violence was Inkatha's determination to "wring acceptance from the ANC as a legitimate political party which could not be excluded from the constitutional negotiations without plunging the country into civil war".

The black political rivalry was only one factor in a "highly combustible cocktail of political and social issues".

Lending credibility to ANC claims of a "third force", the report said it was clear the bloodletting was being provoked to an extent by maverick white right-wing elements in the police force itself.

It added: "There was, however, little supporting evidence" for allegations that this amounted to a government conspiracy to derail negotiations for which De Klerk continued to push throughout the year.

But the impetus for negotiation remained strong.

ANC Youth League to take to the streets

TIM COHEN

11A

THE ANC Youth League is planning marches to the Union Buildings, the Appeal Court and Parliament tomorrow, Republic Day, to underline its call for an interim government.

ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba told a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday he expected "thousands" of league members to take part in the marches.

Formal permission had not been requested, but government had been informed that the marches would take place, Mokaba said. *blom 30/5/91*

A league statement said several other marches to government offices across the country would also take place.

It said: "We find it difficult to understand why the regime cannot, despite developments here at home and abroad, accept the sanctity of the demand for an interim government."

ANC, SA Communist Party and Cosatu members, as well as musicians, artists and sportsmen would take part in the marches, it added.



Announcing the campaign yesterday to call for an interim government were, from left, ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba, publicity secretary Parks Mankahlana and labour officer Norman Mashabane.

Picture: CATHERINE ROSS



WOMEN'S LEAGUE . . . ANC Women's League president Mrs Gertrude Shope (left) with Mrs Nkosazana Zuma (centre) and Mrs Ruth Mompoti at a women's league press conference yesterday.

Talks 'a breakthrough'

Staff Reporter

TALKS between the ANC Women's League and a government delegation led by President F W de Klerk at Tuynhuys on Wednesday were a "very big breakthrough" but ended in a deadlock, the league said yesterday.

The women's wing of the ANC said in a statement yesterday that it met with the government for five hours, and discussions had centred on political prisoners, violence and indemnity.

League president Mrs Gertrude Shope said yesterday that the meeting was a "very big breakthrough" because it was the first time such a meeting had taken place, and "in all fairness, they gave us a good hearing."

"It was a pity we could not have agreed," she said.

And according to yesterday's statement, "it was vividly clear that the two delegations live in two different worlds".

Defining political prisoners remained a problem, the statement said.

While the league was mainly concerned with the humanitarian plight of hunger-striking prisoners, the government regarded the remaining hunger strikers as common criminals.

Mr De Klerk's main concern was for the league to use its influence to end the hunger strike, "despite the fact the Women's League delegation stated that it was impossible at this point to persuade hunger strikers to stop, as their action is based on deep conviction".

MA
21/5/91

Land Bills showdown

By MIKE ROBERTSON
Political Correspondent

TOUGH opposition from the Labour Party has put President FW de Klerk in a dilemma over his efforts to dump the last of South Africa's racially based laws.

In April 1990 the President promised he would not push five important Bills scrapping the controversial Land and Group Areas Acts through Parliament without the support of the coloured and Indian houses.

But unless he can reach agreement with the houses, there is a danger that he will not meet international commitments to scrap the last of the discriminatory laws by the end of this parliamentary session.

At the heart of the dispute is a government attempt to write into law measures which ensure "standards and norms" in residential areas. The Labour Party insists the provisions are racially motivated.

Initially, the provisions were contained in the Residential Environment Bill — but it was dropped after fierce opposition inside and outside Parliament.

Racist

Now the government is trying to include watered-down versions of the same measures in the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Bill — but the Labour Party will not be mollified.

It believes existing council bylaws are enough to enforce the maintenance of norms and standards. The inclusion of additional measures in a Bill which seeks to scrap the Group Areas Act, it argues, is racist and tantamount to an attempt to perpetuate the status quo.

The Bills are up for debate in Parliament tomorrow.

Under normal circumstances, the National Party would overcome opposition by forcing the Bill through the President's Council where it has a built-in majority.

But Labour Party members said this week they would hold Mr De Klerk to his undertaking not to rush the Bills through.



FW DE KLERK
Facing foreign deadlines



HERNUS KRIEL
Land may be returned

Deputy Education and Training Minister Piet Marais, who chairs the parliamentary committee which has been trying to resolve differences on the Land Bills, said there would be no opportunity to amend the Abolition Bill when it came before Parliament this week.

This leaves Mr De Klerk with little room to manoeuvre.

The repeal of the Group Areas and Land Acts is one of the provisions of the American Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act. Mr De Klerk wants the Bills scrapped by the end of this parliamentary session so that President George Bush can start lifting sanctions.

One option is to persuade enough Labour Party members to break ranks and support the government on this measure.

The row with the Labour Party is not the only problem for Mr De Klerk on the land issue.

The government's package, which originally consisted of five Bills, represented a first attempt not just to repeal discriminatory legislation but to set in place laws that would promote non-racial urban and

Dilemma for De Klerk as Labour vows to block 'flawed' reforms

rural development.

Mr Marais's committee is still discussing the remaining three Bills — the Rural Development Bill, the Less Formal Township Establishment Bill and the Upgrading of Land Tenure Rights Bill.

So far, the committee has received representations from 282 organisations and individuals.

A common complaint from many of the organisations was the government's initial refusal to appoint a land commission to investigate claims for restitution by those who were victims of the Group Areas or Land Acts.

This was partly offset this week by the inclusion of a provision for the establishment of an advisory commission on land allocation in the repeal Bill.

Planning and Provincial Affairs Minister HERNUS KRIEL said the commission would advise the government on:

- The identification of state-owned land which had been obtained by the state to further the aims of the Group Areas Act and the 1936 Land Act and which had not been allocated for other purposes.

- The identification of rural land with the aim of establishing agricultural units;

- The development, within the state's financial ability, of land so identified.

Sensible

Mr Kriel said the government would look at the possibility of returning state-owned land to the original owners.

He mentioned District Six in Cape Town as an example.

Urban Foundation executive director Anne Bernstein said this was a "partial response" to opposition to the original package.

Miss Bernstein said that by pressing ahead with the Bills, the government would miss a unique opportunity to devise sensible development strategies. Instead of seeking com-

munity involvement, it was proposing bureaucratic ways of handling development.

The foundation, she said, proposed that the government should go ahead with the repeal Bill while dropping the other four.

It proposed that instead, rural and urban working groups consisting of representatives of all political parties and development

organisations should be appointed to investigate the issues and propose comprehensive development strategies that would have the support of the majority.

Commenting on the Bills, Miss Bernstein said the Less Formal Township Establishment Bill would hinder, not help, the supply of housing.

The Upgrading of Land

Tenure Rights Bill sought to change peoples' tenure rights without consulting them.

The Rural Development Bill proposed setting up a development institution without first conceiving a development strategy.

Miss Bernstein said the Urban Foundation had the support of several foreign governments for its proposal that only the repeal

Bill should go through this year and that a development strategy be worked out in consultation with all parties.

Mr Marais said the government's legal experts were studying the Urban Foundation proposals and objections to the Bills. He said the committee still had to decide whether to call for further evidence on the remaining Bills.

Asked whether the government would attempt to get the Bills through Parliament this year, Mr Marais said no decision had been taken as this had to be worked out with the Chief Whip of Parliament.

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SITimes 20/5/91

Paso and Cosas in war of words

By PETER DENNEHY

A ROW erupted yesterday between the Pan Africanist Student Organisation of Azania (Paso) and the Congress of SA Students (Cosas) over school stayaways and protest marches.

Cosas pupils held at least three marches in the Western Cape yesterday — in Cape Town, Worcester and Stellenbosch. All proceeded without arrests or violence.

But Paso deputy president Mr Junior Taliwe said yesterday: "We are sad and shocked about the continuation of Cosas's senseless, directionless and unplanned campaign."

"Paso cordially urges the students to go back to school and defy the hell campaign of Cosas," he continued.

Cosas Western Cape regional organiser Mr Mcebisi Tshando responded: "Where is

this guy coming from? This campaign has been jointly planned with his organisation. Paso people spoke at a rally yesterday (in New Crossroads), and they took part in a press conference with us at Luh-lazo High in Khayelitsha.

"They did not speak out against us there," he said.

Yet Mr Taliwe said Paso had not been officially consulted. Pupils were in danger of failing at the end of the year, he said. He added that pupils ought to be under the control of their parents, who "did not like what was going on".

According to Cosas, pupils are due back at school today, in defiance of Republic Day. A decision would be taken at the weekend as to whether they would return to classes on Monday.

Mr Tshando said police in Worcester had blocked the pupils' path into town. An officer had wanted to take delivery of the

pupils' memorandum, but they did not hand it over as he was not regarded as of sufficient seniority. The marchers returned to the township, however.

Another Cosas office-bearer, national organiser Mr Mfusi Klaas, said pupils demanded books, more teachers and less overcrowding in classrooms.

He said the authorities ought to anticipate large increases in pupil numbers, as these happened every year.

He said only a few pupils had gone in to Cape Town yesterday, because local Cosas president Mr Sipho Kussie had urged them not to proceed at an early stage, after police had "blocked" them.

None of the pupils made it as far as the Department of Education and Training (DET) offices on the Foreshore, as police chased them back towards the station. Nonetheless, the DET offices were closed for the day before lunch, in anticipation of the planned march.

11A

ET 31/5/91

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ANC women give FW 'a tough time'

star
Political Staff 31/5/91

CAPE TOWN — The ANC Women's League gave President de Klerk "a tough time" during five-hour talks on violence at Tuynhuys on Wednesday night, according to members of the 22-woman delegation.

Disclosing details of the historic first meeting between a Nationalist State President and the women's arm of the ANC, one member said: "We gave De Klerk a tough time."

Initially, Mr de Klerk was very "undermining".

The 22 women, including ANCWL president Gertrude Shope and Winnie Mandela, had the impression that Mr de Klerk thought the meeting would be over in 40 minutes to an hour.

They started debating an agenda prepared by the women.

They said Mr de Klerk was unhappy with it because he felt he had discussed some of the points with the ANC previously.

"We told him we were an autonomous body. We told him we were lay women asking him as head of state and as a father to

consider these things," one of the women said.

She said they found his views on violence ridiculous.

"He was trying to blame the ANC. He surprised us by standing very firm in defence of the Inkatha Freedom Party. I am convinced that this man is not prepared to fully ban Inkatha's cultural weapons of death. His views convinced me that we still have a lot to do if we want peace in South Africa."

Shocked

The delegation was taken aback when Mr de Klerk brought up the subject of AK-47s. "We told him the AK-47 was no longer the ANC's cultural weapon. Rightwingers, bank robbers and other bandits were using it as well."

She said the women were shocked when Mr de Klerk said he could not understand why the ANC had not terminated its armed struggle.

"He said the armed struggle was hanging like a sword over our heads. I don't think he realises how much discussion went into the decision to suspend it."

When they came out at 10.30 pm, Mrs Shope said the

meeting had ended in deadlock but was nevertheless a breakthrough. "It was a breakthrough because at least we sat down and discussed a few things together. Unlike 1956 when the prime minister (JG Strijdom) didn't want to talk to the women when they wanted to see him."

In a statement after the meeting, Mr de Klerk said he believed women had a "very important contribution to make in changing attitudes which underlie the culture of violence gripping our country."

"In respect of your main plea on the hunger strikers, the Government is deeply concerned about the situation."

He was satisfied that all prisoners who clearly qualified for release had been released.

"All that now remain are those individuals who have committed serious common-law crimes such as murder, rape, assault and robbery."

He said he had taken careful note of the plea to curb and end the violence.

The Government would continue to play its part in changing attitudes which "underlie the culture of violence".

funding; funding is always limited by the economy's capacity to grow; and that growth faces the "internal sanction" of violence. Perhaps it was for this reason that government decided to convene a talking-shop on the issue — its top men like Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen believe in rational debate as a solvent when passions are high. Unfortunately, this isn't always so.

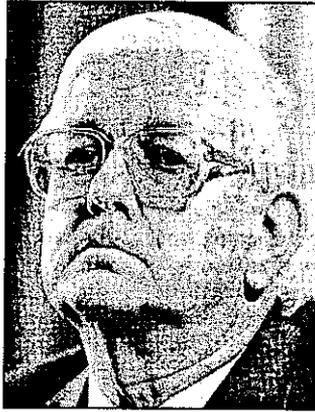
Last Sunday, King Zwelithini Goodwill ka Bhhekuzulu addressed a mass rally at the FNB stadium in Johannesburg. He made a powerful and sensible plea for his subjects to "desist in the use of violence for political purposes." His presence outside KwaZulu was a major step, authorised by the KwaZulu Cabinet. He also spoke forcefully on the issue of cultural weapons: "I am the Zulu nation. He who attacks the Zulu nation attacks me . . . The call to ban the bearing of cultural weapons by Zulus is an insult to my manhood. It is an insult to the manhood of every Zulu man."

The sensitivities revealed here suggest how far we have to go before a constitutional settlement acceptable to all is found. While cultural weapons should obviously not be on aggressive display in unrest areas, in the long term the Zulu nation clearly feels it has the right to bear these arms.

From what was said at the conference, at the FNB rally, and by those who did not attend the summit, an outline of how the current violence arose can be formed. It is not a clear-cut issue, but these are among the major factors:

□ The call by the ANC-in-exile in the mid-Eighties to make the townships ungovernable and to replace local "government" structures and officials with "representative" ones had effects which have far from abated, particularly since the programme continues in various forms. It is called "mass action." From this period date people's courts, necklacings, "liberation before education," and so on;

□ The behaviour of the police and SADF during the State of Emergency — in certain well-publicised incidents — led to violent confrontations that fuelled sanctions campaigns and lost the security forces credibility among blacks, which can only be regained



Viljoen



Dhlomo



Parsons

through a long process of confidence-building at community level;

□ The denigration of Inkatha — and "Zulu pride" in general — by the ANC led to attacks by Zulu impis spurred on by motives of self-defence and helplessness, certainly engendered in part by the conditions of life in the hostels and squatter settlements; and

□ The emergence of what the ANC terms a "third force" — but one, in the FM's view, composed of political malcontents, possible rogue elements within the security establishment and, above all, criminals exploiting the situation. This coincided with gun-running to the Reef as part of a general infestation of southern Africa by AK-47s.

It should be remembered that this last "group" is not cohesive in the way any of the others might be — but also that it has nothing to lose and everything to gain from continued violence. They will have to be dealt with by the police — and the communities that give them succour need redemption from helplessness. "There is no simple solution," F W de Klerk pointedly told the conference, "because of the tremendous complexity of the problem and the deep divisions which need to be bridged."

He also said there was "a need to address the fundamental causes of violence, and not only the symptoms." By this, of course, he meant that reform must continue

— that the legacy of apartheid is a "fundamental cause" of violence, however tangled and obdurate the problem has become.

This view was almost immediately reinforced by Viljoen. Speaking to the Cape NP mouthpiece *Die Burger*, he agreed with the view expressed by many at the Pretoria summit that another peace conference was pointless. Rather, the proposed multiparty negotiating forum should be facilitated as soon as possible — and it was for this forum to debate ways to achieve peace and transitional arrangements as a first step towards wider constitutional talks.

Viljoen said that proceedings at the peace summit led to a new realisation that the multiparty conference must take place as soon as possible. And it would negate the need for the "continuation committee" proposed by De Klerk further to investigate

methods of ending the violence, with a parallel body sounding out the views of those who boycotted the summit.

Viljoen favours the early establishment of a multiparty forum and the creation of broadly acceptable transitional mechanisms as a means of defusing tension and easing political frustration over the perception that the reform process has stalled (*FM* May 24).

There is the possibility of a second conference being convened by the churches — but the initial proposal has effectively been rejected by government and the Inkatha Freedom Party. So it would be as meaningless without their participation as De Klerk's meeting was without the attendance of the ANC, PAC, SACP and the SA Council of Churches. It would be disappointing in the extreme if another round of political tit-for-tat arose out of the convening of another conference on violence. The conferences would merely become a relatively polite form of violence themselves.

What was also learnt at the summit was the need to consult widely before launching initiatives that affect a broad political spectrum, and to have independent conveners and chairmen. Some senior Nationalists who slammed the refusal by the ANC and other groups to attend the Pretoria meeting now agree that consultation — petty as it may seem as an issue on which to hold up the peace process — has to be a priority in future dealings with extra-parliamentary groups.

The need for impartiality was stressed by former MP Frederick Van Zyl Slabbert who told the summit that all groups in SA had no choice other than to keep searching for impartial referees and mechanisms to assist in the transitional phase and the monitoring of violence. He said government could not be both participant and referee and government opponents could not simply reject attempts at negotiation in an effort to get out of a dilemma.

It now remains to be seen whether the ANC's hedging on the issue of multiparty talks can be overcome. In April the congress threatened to break off negotiations with government on a new constitution if violence had not been ended by May 9 — and the rest, including the peace summit, is history. We wrote at the time: "There are some deadlines to be met — the expiry of the statutory term of the current parliament is one — and the ANC should be aware that many people, here and abroad, will grow impatient if it refuses to participate in all-party talks aimed at justice for all."

"Of course, violence is in some ways the most important issue of all — but who in the months ahead, if constitutional talks fail, will be seen to foster it most? Government or the ANC?"

Viljoen's impatience with another conference on violence is understandable — and his sincerity in wanting to get on with reform is patent. So the question we asked in April still stands, and the answer is, after all, clearer after the peace summit. Those who delay a settlement foster violence. ■

THE PEACE PROCESS

FM 311591

LOOKING THROUGH A WINDOW

A SECOND SUMMIT IS UNNECESSARY — ALL-PARTY TALKS HOLD THE KEY

The point about the peace process is that it is a process — and that it continues. Who did or did not attend last week's peace conference is less important than that the major political powers in the land — broadly, the government, the ANC and Inkatha — rein in the weapons of death and the killing stops.

The ultimate success of the process will be measured by criteria such as the averting of a civil war and the willingness of foreign investors to commit long-term funds to SA. As Sacob's Raymond Parsons (who attended the summit) has pointed out: "What SA must now guard against is the replacement of external sanctions with an internal sanction — violence. This would equally place a ceiling on our economic performance in the years ahead."

Estimates of that ceiling hover around the 2%-a-year growth mark, which assumes no political

meddling with monetary policy if unemployment soars further, and no disruptive transition to a centralist State influenced by the Marxist theory that wealth is finite and needs to be spread around more evenly by confiscatory legislation.

The economic potential of SA — making possible growth rates of 6%-7% a year, new wealth and work — needs to be unlocked, but in Parsons' words, "we can only unlock that potential if the political negotiations are back on track and if violence is eliminated."

This of course points to the tragic, and circular, nature of the violence.

Oscar Dhlomo, executive chairman of the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy, pointed out to the summit that the post-apartheid reconstruction of the economy would directly be targeted on the conditions that led to violence in the first place: "It is not a mere coincidence that violence seems to be rife in informal settlements and hostels where people are forced to live under disgraceful and unhygienic conditions."

Amelioration of these conditions depends on appropriate



King Goodwill at rally ... the heart of the matter

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