

BLACK POLITICS - 1992

OCTOBER .

Women concerned about their future

■ Not "consulted" on changes to discriminatory laws:

By Pearl Majola

ONLY a few days before possible changes are made to laws discriminating against women, a group of women have again voiced their concern about being excluded from decisions concerning their future.

The women were from various political organisations including the ANC, PAC, IFP, Democratic Party, Azapo and the NP.

They met at a conference on Women and the Constitution organised by the Community Development Foundation.

Durban attorney and speaker at the conference Linda Zama said while the changes raised hopes of advancement in the status of women generally, they could possibly not be implemented in homelands like KwaZulu.

"In KwaZulu there is the bizarre Public Service Commission Act which calls on unmarried women teachers who fall pregnant to resign. Even if they don't, they are deemed to have resigned anyway," said Zama.

"There are township regulations which require a house to be registered in the husband's name

"Briefly, the homelands - where the majority of black women are to be found - are fossils of outdated, oppressive and retrogressive laws and are not affected by the enlightened decision of the State President," she said.

"The removal of discriminatory laws from the statute books will not benefit women unless accompanied by the reconstruction of society as a whole," she added.

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We must compromise — Slovo

STAR 1/10/92

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By Shaun Johnson and Esther Waugh

Joe Slovo believes the ANC alliance should consider offering a conciliatory "sunset clause" to its negotiating partners — promising compulsory power-sharing for a fixed number of years after the adoption of a new constitution in South Africa.

Mr Slovo, chairman of the SACP, ANC executive member and key negotiator, will publicly make this remarkable suggestion — along with ideas for compromise on the fraught issues of amnesty and regional powers — next week.

The Star is in possession of a paper entitled "Negotiations: What room for compromise?" scheduled for publication in the SACP journal the African Communist.

In the document, which Mr Slovo stresses is his "individual contribution ... not reflecting at the moment the collective thinking of our alliance or any of its constituents", he says he has chosen to "grasp the nettle" of what compromises might be necessary in order to achieve an acceptable settlement package.

He urges alliance supporters to recognise that they are not "dealing with a

defeated enemy" and that a "revolutionary seizure of power" cannot in these circumstances be "realistically posed".

Mr Slovo says the fact that "sooner or later we will be back at the negotiating table", coupled with these realities, means that "the immediate outcome of the negotiation process will inevitably be less than perfect" from the ANC alliance's point of view.

He adds that if the alliance continues to believe, as it does at present, that negotiations are an acceptable route forward, then "a degree of compromise will be unavoidable. We must not fear to be upfront about this reality with our mass political constituency".

Mr Slovo's intervention is likely to be seen in political and diplomatic circles as an important further conciliatory initiative from the

Slovo calls for compromise

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commit themselves in advance to supporting these positions when a constitution-making body got under way.

● Indicating now that the alliance will, as part of an interim government of national unity, support a general amnesty for all those who disclose the activities for which they require indemnity.

● An approach to the restructuring of the civil service — including the police and defence force — which "takes into account existing contracts and/or provides for retirement compensation".

This means "bottom lines" must be adhered to strictly. The "bottom lines" Mr Slovo identifies include the insurances that the constitution must be adopted by a democratically-elected sovereign body, free and fair elections must be ensured, time-frames must be agreed for the transition, and the constitution-making body must supercede the tri-cameral parliament.

Also, there can be no minority veto, no permanent entrenchment of compulsory power-sharing, and no permanent prevention of State intervention to redress social imbalances.

Mr Slovo says the negotiating table is not the

"sole terrain" of struggle for democracy, but "holds out the possibility of bringing about a radically transformed political framework in which the struggle for the achievement of (our) main objectives ... will be contested in conditions far more favourable." For this and other reasons "we need to weigh up the (negotiations) package as a whole and not get bogged down in its individual elements."

He concludes: "The prospect of a period of power-sharing, a shared vision of the future regional dispensation, some security for incumbents in the civil service, and undertakings which will promote reconciliation, will make it exceedingly difficult for the other side to continue blocking the transformation."

ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance, in the direction indicated by ANC leader Nelson Mandela two weeks ago in an interview with The Star.

Drawing a distinction between "qualitative" and "quantitative" compromises, Mr Slovo says there are "certain retreats from previously held positions which would create the possibility of a major positive breakthrough". Among these are:

● The "sunset clause" providing for compulsory

power-sharing for an agreed number of years after the adoption of new constitution. This would be "subject to proportional representation in the executive combined with decision-making procedures which would not paralyse its functioning".

● Reaching bilateral understanding with the government on siting of regional "power" which would "both to

● To be 2

NEWS Ciskei defence force should conduct a full inquiry

We won't censure Kasrils, says ANC on Goldstone report

Sowetan 1/10/92
Own Correspondent and Sapa

■ **STRONG ACTION** Judge recommends

criminal charges against those responsible:

THE AFRICAN National Congress' National Executive Committee yesterday rejected the Goldstone Commission's recommendation that its official Mr Ronnie Kasrils should be publicly censured.

"The NEC wishes to firmly state that, if there was any error of judgment, this was a collective decision of the leadership of the ANC and its allies for which we bear collective responsibility."

Kasrils had led marchers through a gap in the fence around the Bisho Stadium on September 7, a move which the Goldstone Commission found was the "immediate cause" of the Ciskeian soldiers opening fire and killing 29 people.

Mr Justice Goldstone stressed in his report that his criticism of the march organisers could not in any way justify or excuse the conduct of the Ciskei soldiers.

The ANC NEC resolved, however, that addi-

tional precaution would be taken in future marches to minimise the possibilities of any loss of life or injury

It said the Goldstone report on the Bisho massacre contained many positive observations and recommendations.

Ciskei attorney-general Leon Langeveld said he had already begun investigations into possible criminal charges against Ciskei Defence Force (CDF) soldiers who killed 29 ANC demonstrators and injured more than 200.

The report called on the Ciskei government to publicly acknowledge that the CDF had acted "reprehensibly and unacceptably".

Last night the Ciskei Council of State welcomed the Commission's call for the ANC to censure Kasrils and others and its recommenda-

tion that the alliance should abandon any political action calculated to result in conflict and violence." It said it would comment on the commission's recommendations regarding the CDF after studying the report.

The report was welcomed by the National Party, the Democratic Party, the National Peace Committee, the Transkei government and in part by Inkatha Freedom Party.

NPC chairman John Hall said mass action should be suspended pending a meeting of all Peace Accord signatories to be held this month.

NP's Dr Stoffel van der Merwe said he hoped that all parties involved and referred to in the commission's report would act expeditiously to give effect to its recommendations.

● **Commission castigates Ciskei - page 19.**

Is it a Record of Misunderstanding?

Martin Challenor reports

'Heading for the same old pitfalls'

STAR 11/10/92

(11A) (200)

IN signing the Record of Understanding, F W de Klerk and Nelson Mandela agreed that a democratically elected constituent assembly would be set up to draw up a new constitution and serve as an interim parliament.

They envisaged there would be a single chamber and members would take decisions by a special majority. The constitutional assembly/interim parliament would be bound by principles agreed to beforehand. It would operate for a fixed time, would be elected within an agreed time frame, and would have deadlock-breaking mechanisms.

Overseeing the constitutional assembly/interim parliament would be an interim government of national unity, operating in terms of an interim constitution.

Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, secretary-general of the National Party, was quick to say these understandings did not go beyond the consensus reached at Codesa. Other parties differ.

Ken Andrew, national chairman of the Democratic Party, was concerned that what the DP saw as a major flaw in the proposed Codesa 2 agreements had been perpetuated in the NP/ANC accord. "The proposal that the constitution-making body also serves as an interim parliament is most unwise and indirectly led to many of the problems experienced at Codesa 2."

The type of person "one wants to have drafting a new constitution" was often very different from a person best suited to being part of an interim government.

Mr Andrew said the constitution-making body would do its work best if it concentrated on writing a new constitution: "It should operate in a cool, calm and collected way to produce a good constitution. Making the same people responsible for interim government means disputes over interim government administration will sour the constitution-making process and vice versa."

Any decision to combine the two functions fell into the same trap as that which precipitated the Codesa 2 deadlock. "One can either give the constitution-making body a largely free hand to write a new constitution or one can have a comprehensive interim government operating under an interim constitution, but not both.

"If one wants the latter, the primary responsibility for writing a new constitution will lie with a Codesa-type multiparty conference.

"We need to have a transitional government and free and fair elections as soon as possible. Following the old Codesa 2 route of an interim government under an interim constitution will undoubtedly slow down the whole process, as it has already done once before.

"There is always the danger that the constitution-making body/interim parliament will enjoy being in power and be so impressed with its own abilities that it succumbs to the temptation of perpetuating its own existence for a prolonged period.

"The DP strongly favours the separation of the constitution-making and interim government bodies so as to make the most rapid progress possible and to produce the best possible constitution," Mr Andrew said.

Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said the constitution was a multiparty matter. All political parties and interest groups were entitled to be in on the ground floor on any constitutional matter.

"An attempt is being made to give the impression that the constitutional agreements in the Record of Understanding are identical with those allegedly reached at Codesa. This is not so. The IFP has certainly never agreed that a constitution-making body/constituent assembly shall act as an interim/transitional parliament.

"This suggests a single-chamber parliament which we never agreed to," Chief Buthelezi said. □

ANC will not act against Kasrils

Political Staff

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ARC

11/10/92

THE ANC National Executive Committee has decided no action will be taken against Mr Ronnie Kasrils, who led marchers through a gap in the fence at Bisho Stadium on September 7 just before the shootings.

The Goldstone Commission's inquiry into the tragedy in which 29 people were killed and more than 200 injured, recommended that Mr Kasrils be censured.

"The NEC wishes to firmly state that, if there was any error of judgment this was a collective decision of

the leadership of the ANC and its allies, for which we bear collective responsibility," an ANC statement said.

The commission's report, lashing both Ciskei government and ANC have been considered by the cabinet. There will be a government media conference in Pretoria today.

Ciskei attorney-general Mr Leon Langeveld said he had begun investigations into criminal charges against Ciskei Defence Force (CDF) soldiers.

The report was welcomed by the National Party, the Democratic Party, the National Peace Committee (NPC),

the Transkei government and in part by Inkatha Freedom Party.

DP law and order spokesman Mr Peter Gastrow said the report was a major contribution towards guidelines for political conduct.

NP secretary-general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe hoped that in its re-examination of mass action the ANC would take note of commission views.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said the report provided more evidence that Ciskei's ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, should be removed from his "undesirable" position of power.

The road to reconciliation is a thorny one, argues Joe Latakomo

Releases reopen old wounds

STAR 1/16/92

THE question of a blanket amnesty looks set to bedevil any future negotiations between the Government and the ANC. President F W de Klerk is determined to push through a law which would empower him to grant amnesty for any crimes committed for political purposes — including those committed by state officials. The ANC has reacted furiously to this, threatening to reverse any such amnesty in the future.

This threat has brought the whole question of amnesty back to the discussion table, where it should have been resolved in the first place.

There will be those in the security forces, in particular, who will argue that their crimes, if crimes they were, were no worse than some of the crimes committed by ANC members who have now been freed.

They will argue that they acted in the interest of the country at the time, and while obeying the orders of the politicians. The political nature of these acts will determine the nature of the response, and President de Klerk is clearly under pressure to ensure that a deal is struck which will clear them of culpability.

It is interesting that Justice Minister Koble Coetsee, no doubt pressured by security heads, has been the person who tried to link the release of prisoners like Robert McBride with the question of amnesty. His colleague Hennis Kriel accused the ANC of wanting to apply amnesty selectively.

The determined nature of the attempt to link the amnesty issue to the release of political prisoners indicated that the Government must be aware of quite a few acts for which people could be brought to book. The question is: on whose orders did those people act? If they acted in the name of the Government, then the chief executive of the Government at the time must take full responsibility.

This week McBride, Barend Strydom and necklaced killers were

freed, all in the name of reconciliation.

But can there be reconciliation? The security forces — or whoever else the Government had charged with the responsibility of ensuring the total onslaught was met with full might — will continue to argue that requiring them to "come clean" and confess is expecting too much, particularly in these uncertain times when nobody knows just how a future government will respond to such revelations.

The bitterness remains with the families of the victims of McBride and Strydom and others. The mother of a Magoo's Bar bomb victim simply said that as far as she was concerned, there was no more justice in South Africa.

That some of those who were freed declared, in recalling their actions, that they would do it again, has almost made sure that no reconciliation will result from the releases. Perhaps what the ANC should have done is to take full charge of their cadres, debrief

them, and only later let them loose to the media. The damage that their statements have done is incalculable.

The wounds that had healed slightly have been reopened. On talk shows, the freed prisoners have been described as murderers who should have been hanged. Nobody was expecting the relatives of the victims to forgive, but time had somewhat healed the wounds, creating an atmosphere in which people could begin to forget. That is all damaged, and the bitterness is back. The hatred is back.

Blacks argue that people like Strydom should not have been released. He killed blacks simply because they were blacks.

But that is like arguing that killing members of one racial group has merit over killing members of another racial group — and even McBride admits there can be no morality in killing anybody "in a normal society".

Those against Strydom's release fear that he may now have been

spirited away to an indoctrination camp — from whence he truly must have come when he committed his dastardly act — there to have his mind poisoned before he is let loose once more to kill. At least, they say, the ANC has suspended its "armed struggle", and there is no likelihood of McBride and others planting bombs which will kill civilians.

The danger is, of course, that for as long as there is uncertainty about indemnity, those that may have been involved will feel insecure enough to continue wreaking havoc, and making sure that a political settlement is years away. If they have been involved in destabilisation through assassinations, they will continue killing political leaders and thereby sow the seeds of more violence.

For the ANC — or any other black organisation — to talk to the Government while these killings go on, with the hope that a

settlement will bring with it peace and stability as a bonus, would be politically naive. Constituents want peace, and they want it now. They want security in their homes, in the streets, on the trains, and on buses and taxis.

There may be a compromise for Mr de Klerk, though. He may have gone too far down the road in his determination to introduce an indemnity law during the forthcoming short parliamentary session. Enabling legislation could be put on the statute books, and the actual implementation left to an interim government. That will secure two vital ends: those who know they have been involved in technically criminal acts in the name of the Government can breathe a little easier, knowing the terms of the law and how it will be implemented by an interim government; and the ANC will assure its followers that the National Party Government will not be sitting in judgment upon itself. □

JOURNALIST Ameen Akhailwa recently suggested that squabbling South African political leaders be shipped off to Robben Island and left there until they sorted out the country's political problems.

Away from their followers and the glare of the media, he argued, they would begin to establish a much-needed rapport which would make it much easier for them to make compromises and reach binding agreements.

Late last month Dr Oscar Dhlomo's Institute for Multi-Party Democracy (MPD) and the Bonn-based Friedrich Ebert Stiftung tried to do just that: they took representatives of five political organisations on a week-long visit to Germany

Breaking the ice far from home

STAFF 11/10/92

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where they attended an international conference on federalism. They attended meetings together, had meals together and socialised together. In the process, something began to happen — tongues loosened up, friendships developed and they accepted one another.

The delegation, led by MPD trustee advocate Vuka Tshabalala, comprised ANC national executive committee member and constitutional committee chairman Dr Zola Skweyiya, PAC publicity and information secretary Barney Desai, Azapo

vice-president for political education Motalhegi Thale, IFP central committee member and Kwazulu Finance Minister Dr Denis Madide, Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Dr Tertius Delpoit and MPD trustee Professor Mervyn Frost of the University of Natal.

The tensions and suspicions which exist among political organisations in South Africa were initially obvious. Dr Madide hung around with his former high school friend Mr Tshabalala, Mr Thale was in Mr Desai's company, and Mr

After spending a week together in Germany last week, senior members of rival political organisations began to find one another, writes Political Reporter KAZER NYATSUMBA.

Skweyiya walked alongside whoever was next to him during a tour of Hanover last Sunday.

Dr Delpoit joined the delegation in the evening and, with the group, was a guest of the German Institute of Federalism for supper. During supper, tensions almost became physical, with

Dr Delpoit telling Azapo's Mr Thale that he would "tear him apart" in debate.

That was the sentence which caught everybody's attention, and silence descended on the table. The two men had had a disagreement in front of their German hosts. But the nature of

the gathering soon defused this mood: the dinner ended amicably, and friendships began to be forged in the days that followed. Individuals began to review their character assessments of one another.

Dr Madide turned out to be a non-ideological, most likeable man with interesting views, and he became the centre of attraction among group members. Some began to say behind his back that he was a most atypical IFP member.

Another side of the scholarly Mr Desai began to emerge: he is

a friendly man with a sense of humour, with a penchant for self-deprecation. Mr Thale came across as a serious man who cherishes his organisation's philosophy, but he, too, made friends with other group members and evidently enjoyed Dr Madide's company.

Dr Skweyiya did a lot more listening than talking during conversations, and remained open-minded throughout.

A disappointment was the unavailability of Dr Delpoit, who did not spend much time with the group. He was often closet-

ed in his hotel room, and had to leave early to attend last Saturday's meeting between the Government and the ANC at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park.

Professor Frost extolled the virtues of federalism for South Africa whenever he found a chance to do so, and mixed freely with members of all political organisations. So did delegation leader Mr Tshabalala, whom group members fondly referred to as "The Führer".

After a week together in Germany, far from the hurly-burly of South Africa, most of the leaders came back as friends — all bemoaning the fact that members of different political organisations at home do not do nearly enough socialising. □

Goldstone recommendation spurned: Kasrils will not be censured

BIDAy 11/10/92

RAY HARTLEY

THE ANC yesterday rejected a Goldstone commission recommendation that SACP militant Ronnie Kasrils be censured for "knowingly or negligently" leading Bisho marchers into a hail of gunfire.

"The national executive committee wishes to firmly state that, if there was any error of judgment, this was a collective decision of the leadership of the ANC and its allies for which we bear collective responsibility," an ANC statement said.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said the organisation had not ruled out censuring the leadership behind Kasrils' action, but add-

ed this would happen in private if such a decision were reached. "The fact that there were people killed means we would have to evaluate the process," she said.

The Ciskei's Council of State said it welcomed the recommendation that Kasrils be castigated, but said it was too soon to comment on sections of the report that criticised the Ciskei Defence Force (CDF).

The report said the CDF acted "reprehensibly and unacceptably in reacting in a wholly disproportionate manner ... causing the unnecessary deaths and injuries to people who were fleeing from them.

"Whatever criticism may be levelled at the organisation of the demonstration and whatever criticism there may be of the decision to lead the demonstrators through the gap in the fence, they cannot in any way justify or excuse the conduct of the Ciskei soldiers," the report said.

Government and Ciskei were expected to respond in full to the report by today.

The report called on TBVC leaders to publicly declare themselves "willing to tolerate and facilitate reasonable and ne-

gotiated public mass demonstrations".

Inkatha and Bophuthatswana spokesmen said the report supported their contention that ANC marches aimed at toppling homeland governments should not be allowed to go ahead. Inkatha spokesman Suzanne Vos said: "We agree that people have a right to march, but when and where is another matter."

The Goldstone report called on the Ciskei attorney-general to investigate criminal charges against "any person responsible for death or injury of any person shot in or in the vicinity of the Bisho stadium".

It also called on CDF officers to review training procedures to ensure there was no recurrence of the "undisciplined, unprofessional and wholly unacceptable conduct".

The report also called on leaders to "immediately and publicly abandon any political action calculated to result in conflict and violence".

National peace committee chairman John Hall welcomed the findings, saying the report proved there were "no heroes" at the Bisho protest. The report was also welcomed by the DP and the NP.

● See Page 6

Strikers to meet

■ All those who were dismissed urged to attend:

Sowetan 11/10/92.
THE Johannesburg Central Local branch of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa will meet at the Neac Centre, Dobsonville on Saturday.

The branch chairman, Mr Aubrey Thomas, said: "The meeting is very important. We are calling on all our members including those who were dismissed during the strike.

"We also call on any member who was a victim of any mass dismissals to attend the meeting."

A series of important issues are scheduled for discussions.

Exiles group threatens ANC with violence

Sowetan 11/10/92
THE Returned Exiles Committee (REC) has again threatened violence against the African National Congress - this time to pressure the ANC into releasing dissidents allegedly held in detention camps outside South Africa.

"We foresee the possibility of reaching a stage whereby we will be forced to resort to violence as a means of pressuring the ANC to release our prisoners should an agreement not be reached peacefully," said REC chairman Mr Patrick Hlongwane.

In a statement on Tuesday, Mr Hlongwane emphasised that "we do not

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■ Returned exiles group calls on the Red Cross and the Ugandan and Tanzanian governments to visit 'hell camps'

wish to resort to the violent means used by the ANC to pressurise the government into releasing ANC prisoners".

Mr Hlongwane was broadly criticised for stating his organisation would kill ANC leaders allegedly responsible for the deaths and torture of dissidents.

In his statement on Tuesday, Mr Hlongwane also requested the International Red Cross to pressure the ANC and the Ugandan and Tanzanian governments into allowing the Red Cross to

visit the ANC's "hell camps" in those countries.

"Based on the ANC's previous record we feel that our comrades are in danger of losing their lives should this matter not be attended to in the near future."

Hlongwane also asked the Red Cross to request State President FW de Klerk to negotiate the release of ANC captives "in view of the fact that we are in the process of releasing all political prisoners in South Africa". - Sapa.

Blazing chemicals poison 19 firemen

NINETEEN firemen of the Midrand and Sandton fire departments were admitted to hospital with chemical poisoning last week after fighting a fire that destroyed the Rhone-Poulenc chemical factory in Midrand.

Boksburg fire chief Nick Swanepoel confirmed yesterday the firemen were being monitored after symptoms of vomiting and headaches re-occurred after an average three-day hospital treatment for organo-phosphate poisoning. New blood tests were being done.

The firemen had been poisoned despite wearing full protective clothing, he said.

Swanepoel investigated the factory premises yesterday with the Johannesburg and Roodepoort fire chiefs, brothers Ronnie and Allan Cloete. They were instructed to do so in terms of the Fire Services Act by TPA community development deputy director-general Len Dekker. A report will be issued next week.

Swanepoel claimed Rhone-Poulenc supplied insufficient information to the fire departments about the presence of dangerous chemicals and their likely effect on the environment when fire fighters arrived at the scene.

Two officials from the Department of National Health and Population Development were appointed to probe the incident, and attended yesterday's investigation.

Other government departments, including Water Affairs and Environment, had visited the site "and the situation there now seems to be under control", Swanepoel added.

Rhone-Poulenc MD Simon Grimbeek yesterday denied allegations he had withheld information on the chemicals present in the factory, saying he had personally supplied a list of products to the Midrand deputy fire chief at a meeting on Tuesday.

He said Midrand residents would be invited to inspect the site, from where all chemical debris had been cleared by yesterday afternoon. — Sapa.

ANC blamed for release of Malaza

RAY HARTLEY

CORRECTIONAL Services yesterday accused the ANC of putting gangster Lucky Malaza's name on a list of political prisoners whose release was agreed at the weekend summit.

Malaza, who was jailed after killing a policeman in a bank robbery, was released at the weekend after posing as a necklace killer.

A Correctional Services spokesman said the ANC had originally submitted a list of 1 292 names, including that of Malaza, for consideration for release as political prisoners.

The spokesman was unable to say what checks had been made of the ANC list after meetings between the Human Rights Commission and the department, to "audit" claims to political prisoner status, were broken off last year. An announcement by senior government officials on the release of political prisoners is expected today.

Correctional Services spent yesterday in discussions with legal advisers on how to resolve the crisis, which has soured the goodwill generated by the weekend summit.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said a final list of about 500 names was drawn up jointly by the HRC, ANC regions and the prisons service.

It has been established that 21 of the 148 prisoners released at the weekend were placed on the list by the ANC and Correctional Services, while the remaining 127 were supplied by the HRC.

Marcus said she did not have time to comment on allegations made by Correctional Services that Malaza had been placed on the list by the ANC.

Sapa reports that a Correctional Services spokesman said Malaza could not be summari-

ly re-arrested as he had been released unconditionally.

Meanwhile, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus yesterday retracted a statement he made earlier in a Radio 702 interview that the SA Police had manipulated a "Mr Lagordier" into targeting Magoo's Bar for the 1986 bombing for which recently released Robert McBride was jailed.

A brief ANC statement said Niehaus regretted "the incorrect statement made regarding Mr Lagordier, colleague of Robert McBride, and apologises for any inconvenience, embarrassment or misunderstanding caused".

Police spokesman Maj-Gen Leon Mellet earlier rejected Niehaus's suggestion that security police were linked to the bombing, describing it as "a calculated effort to vilify the SA police."

"I question Mr Niehaus's motives in making such slanderous allegations, especially in the light of the contradictory statements made by himself regarding the existence of arms caches in Angola," he said.

Meanwhile, a row has erupted between Unisa journalism professor Koos Roelofse and Rapport editor Kobus van Rooyen over the newspaper's decision to pay released "Wit Wolf" Barend Strydom for an exclusive story.

"Rapport will boost Strydom's image and give him a celebrity status. Extremists may become unhinged when they think they will be rewarded rather than punished for their actions," Roelofse said.

But Van Rooyen defended his newspaper's decision. He said murderers had been paid for their stories in the past and would be paid for them in the future.

ANC torture claims to be probed

LONDON. — The spectre of murder and torture of ANC guerillas who fell foul of their own security officers at training camps in Angola and Mozambique will be raised again here next week.

Mr Mwezi Twala, a senior military commander who trained in the former Soviet Union before falling out with the ANC leadership, will be hosted here by the right-wing International Freedom Foundation.

Spokesmen for the International Red Cross in Geneva and Pretoria said last night the ANC had agreed the organisation could visit ANC camps in Uganda and Tanzania.

● From Durban, Sapa reports the Returned Exiles Committee has threatened to pressure the ANC into releasing dissidents held in its detention camps. — Sapa

ANC backs talks — and mass action

B/DAM 11/10/92

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THE ANC last night decided to return to constitutional talks but emphasised that mass action would continue as it had reaped important rewards.

This follows the recommendation to the organisation's national executive committee by ANC president Nelson Mandela after the weekend's meeting with President F W de Klerk.

De Klerk will respond to the ANC announcement at a news conference today.

An ANC statement last night said: "The meeting was of the unanimous view that the agreement indicated sufficient movement to enable the ANC to return to negotiations." It added that such negotiations required careful preparation to ensure that they were fruitful.

It said its social and economic mass action campaigns would go ahead, but the organisation would take precautions to "minimise the possibilities of any loss of life or injury". All campaigns would be conducted within the framework of the national peace accord and Goldstone commission recommendations.

It is understood that the planned blockade of Parliament and a general strike on October 12 will be shelved.

The ANC appears to be stalling the march on Ulundi, but has issued a set of demands to De Klerk for free political activity in the homelands.

BILLY PADDOCK

National peace committee chairman John Hall last night called for a suspension of mass action until after the meeting of the peace accord signatories next month.

In its statement, the ANC said the central problem impeding the country's transition to democracy was the absence of free political activity with "the ANC and its allies still not free to pursue political activity in many parts of the country".

The ANC noted that phase four of its mass action programme was premised on there being a deadlock in negotiations. "In the light of substantial movement ... certain aspects of this programme, such as the proposed general strike of October 12, are no longer necessary."

The organisation also threatened repercussions should government unilaterally embark on restructuring in certain areas, such as local government and the SABC.

The NEC at this stage rejected a summit between Mandela and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi because "the climate for such meetings needs to be created through implementing practical measures to ensure free political activity" in keeping with the peace accord and Goldstone commission recommendations.

It is also understood that Mandela

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phoned Buthelezi 12 times in the recent past but the Inkatha leader refused to take his calls. This was why the ANC leader was resisting a summit with Buthelezi.

Today De Klerk will also address the issue of Inkatha and KwaZulu withdrawing from talks, and Buthelezi's meeting with Ciskei leader Brig Oupa Gqozo and Bophuthatswana's President Lucas Mangope.

Also present at the briefing will be Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee, Correctional Services Minister Adriaan Vlok, Acting Constitutional Development Minister Dawie de Villiers, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel and Constitutional Development Deputy Minister Tertius Delport.

It is understood the strong lineup is designed to deal in detail with criticisms of the prisoner release programme, the way forward for constitutional issues and a discussion on mass action and the extreme situation in violence-ridden Natal.

Buthelezi is coming under strong international pressure to rejoin negotiations.

At least four foreign ambassadors have separately arranged meetings with him to urge him "in non-placatory terms" to stop holding up the process.

The UK, Germany and the US are three of the four and it is understood that their

message will be that the agreement between the ANC and government at the weekend was a vital breakthrough for the resumption of multiparty talks.

Inkatha negotiator Walter Felgate yesterday denied his organisation was planning an anti-ANC bloc or going into any alliance with the CP. He said Inkatha was wanting to build a front of parties with common ground.

"We are also gathering support to mobilise public opinion for a multiparty conference of review to assess why Codesa failed and to prevent a recurrence of the ANC walking out," he said.

However, it appeared that Inkatha was reneging on agreements reached at Codesa. Felgate insisted that it was always opposed to an elected constitution-making body, saying this would play into the hands of the ANC.

He also said Inkatha was experiencing very serious problems with the whole concept of proportional representation despite having agreed to this at Codesa.

The main concern about proportional representation was that if this was applied at regional levels, Inkatha's showing outside Natal would suffer.

INTROD.

Apla non-committal

THE Azanian Peoples Liberation Army (Apla) on Wednesday would neither confirm nor deny that convicted Bloemfontein murderer Gabriel Mahakoe was an Apla member. *Sowetan 1/10/92*

Apla chief political commissar Romero Daniels said his army had "a very big membership inside the country, which cannot exclude the possibility of members being unknown to some of us". - *Sapa*. *11A*

remembered that the school, unlike other faculties in the university, is a profit centre. It proposes to be self-financing and Hall would surely have wanted to see the project through.

While it is possible that a professor of Hall's international stature may deserve to be better remunerated than colleagues who have no international reputation, salary apparently has nothing to do with his departure.

Perhaps the resignation is linked to the position of the school within the UCT structure.

It is possible that Hall was not allowed the managerial autonomy he desired, considering he was responsible for making the school eventually pay for itself. ■

NEGOTIATIONS — 2 FM 2/10/92
Points victory

Aside from the release of political prisoners, securing of hostels and the carrying of dangerous weapons, significant "understanding" between President FW de Klerk and the ANC's Nelson Mandela was also reached on a constitution-making body at their summit meeting last Saturday.

It was the first time the two leaders had met since the ANC withdrew from negotiations in the wake of the Boipatong tragedy. The fact that the agreements alienated another important player, Inkatha's Mangosuthu Buthelezi, was unfortunate but cannot negate the breakthrough most South Africans desperately wanted to see and which the international community had urged on the leaders.

The De Klerk/Mandela "Record of Understanding" states that the two sides agreed



ANC's Ramaphosa ... one of the main players

that their summit has laid the basis for the resumption of the negotiating process."

To this end the ANC advised the government that it would "recommend" to its national executive committee that negotiation be resumed, after which extensive bilateral discussions will be held, facilitated by the existing channel between Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa. The two held a series of meetings after August 21 to prepare the ground, but a number of issues have yet to be resolved. At least the impasse has been cleared — with the ANC generally regarded as having got its way on the issues it regards as important.

The two sides agreed that there is a need for a democratic constituent assembly/constitution-making body and for it to be democratic it must:

- Be democratically elected;
- Draft and adopt the new constitution, implying that it should sit as a single chamber;
- Be bound only by agreed constitutional principles;
- Have a fixed time frame;
- Have adequate deadlock-breaking mechanisms;
- Function democratically — that is, arrive at its decisions democratically with certain agreed majorities; and
- Be elected within an agreed predetermined time period.

They say the details will have to be worked out in the negotiation process.

During the interim or transitional period, there will be constitutional continuity. Because of this principle, it is agreed that the constituent assembly will also act as the interim/transitional parliament (a proposal which has been severely criticised by the Democratic Party); that there shall be an interim government of national unity; and that this combined authority (assembly/parliament/government) shall provide for national and regional government during the transition and incorporate guaranteed, justiciable basic rights and freedoms. The interim parliament may function as a one- or two-chamber body.

On prisoner releases, it was agreed that "all prisoners whose imprisonment is related to political conflict of the past and whose release can make a contribution to reconciliation should be released."

The two sides did not agree whether these prisoners should fall within the guidelines defining political offences. Nevertheless, those who committed offences with a "political motive" on or before October 8 1990 will be released in stages before November 15 this year. To this end, the parties have commenced a process of identification.

The document notes "the government's position that all who have committed similar offences but who have not been charged and sentenced should be dealt with on the same basis." No agreement could be reached on this question and it was agreed that the matter will receive further attention.

Taking government to the people

SOUTH African political organisations may be deeply divided on federalism as an option for the future, but on one thing they are agreed: there is a need to bring government close to the people.

How that is going to be achieved, and what powers regions are going to have to accomplish that ideal, remains to be debated.

An international conference on federalism in Hannover last week, arranged by the German Institute for Federal Research, may yet prove to have helped advance the debate on federalism in this country.

The three-day conference, whose theme was "Federalism between integration and secession: chances and risks of federal systems", was addressed by

academics and experts from countries as diverse as Germany, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, the Commonwealth of Independent States (formerly the Soviet Union), Belgium, Italy, Spain, Australia, Canada and the United States.

Different kinds of federal systems were discussed, including problems which led to the disintegration of former federal countries in Eastern Europe.

Listening to the discussions was a group of South Africans, including representatives of five local political organisations. These were ANC national executive committee member and constitutional committee chairman Dr Zola Skweyiya, Pan Africanist Congress publicity and information secretary Barney Desai, Azanian People's

Organisation vice-president for political education Molathegi Thale, Inkatha Freedom Party central committee member and KwaZulu Finance Minister Dr Denis Madide, and Constitutional Development Minister Dr Tertius Delport.

Discussions initially focused on unitary countries with strong regional governments, such as Spain and Italy, and proceeded to those countries where federalism was adopted to deal with ethnic conflicts, such as Belgium and Canada.

Germany and Australia were given as examples of federalism based on consent, and the US, Australia and Switzerland were said to be examples of federalism based on integration.

It became clear during the deliberations that the evolution

STAN 2/10/92 (114)

Representatives of South African political organisations attended an international conference on federalism in Germany last week, and came back with their views somewhat modified, writes Political Reporter KAIZER NYATSUMBA.

from a unitary state to a federal one was a process. Countries emerging from being strong unitary states were advised to start with strong regions before going on to become fully fledged federal states.

Another point germane to the South African debate was stressed: federalism does not mean a weak central government. It was pointed out that Germany, Canada, Australia and the US were all federal countries and yet they had strong central governments in Bonn, Ottawa, Canberra and

Washington.

One speaker described federal states as "tax collectors", and said a federal system was better suited for redistribution from richer regions to poorer ones.

A point stressed throughout the conference was the fact that federalism presupposed the existence of democracy and socio-economic homogeneity. Without democracy, various speakers repeatedly said, there could be no federalism.

And later in Bonn, Wolfgang Weege of the opposition Social

Democratic Party warned that if federalism were advocated as a means to entrench white privileges and ethnic divisions in South Africa, it would cause more problems than it would solve.

At the end of the Hannover conference, one could see a greater appreciation of some form of federalism in South Africa. There was consensus among the five political organisations represented that the term "federalism" had to be dropped because of the negative connotations it had come to have, and that what had to be discussed was a way of bringing government closer to the people.

Canadian Professor Brown-John argued strongly in his presentation against the use

of the word, saying it had "hung around with bad company in Eastern Europe and in the process had become tainted".

He said it did not matter what name was given to a relationship which people in different regions of a country had agreed upon for their government, as long as that relationship encouraged co-operation and functioned properly.

Dr Delport, who circulated a map showing the National Party's proposed seven regions for South Africa, remained a staunch advocate of federalism, as did Dr Madide. Dr Skweyiya said although he did not think federalism was "the right thing for South Africa", he believed it was "worth studying".

Mr Desai said South Africans had to approach the debate on

federalism with caution and added that his organisation would "pursue the democratic ideal as far as possible, and that means bringing government as close to the people as possible".

Mr Thale commented: "Azapo has very deep-rooted suspicions about federalism because of our opposition to ethnicity. However, we cannot stand against it as a concept. I will recommend that Azapo looks at it and informs itself, even if it might eventually reject it. I don't believe we should throw out the baby with the bathtub."

If the people who went to Germany last week have any influence in their organisations, it is quite likely that the debate on federalism/regionalism will be approached much more rationally in future. □

Turning to hostels, it is noted that the Goldstone Commission brought out an urgent report indicating that the problem was one of criminality and that it would have to investigate which localities are affected.

"In the meantime, some problematic hostels have been identified and the government has undertaken as a matter of urgency to address and deal with the problem in relation to hostels that have been associated with violence." Further measures will be taken, including fencing and policing to prevent criminality by hostel dwellers and to protect hostel dwellers against external aggression. Progress will be reported to the Goldstone Commission and the National Peace Secretariat.

The document goes on to say that in the present volatile atmosphere of violence, the public display and carrying of dangerous weapons "provokes further tension and should be prohibited." Government would issue a proclamation within weeks to prohibit this countrywide "subject to exemptions based on guidelines being prepared" by Goldstone, who will also assist in preparing the proclamation. The granting of exemptions is to be entrusted to one or more retired judges.

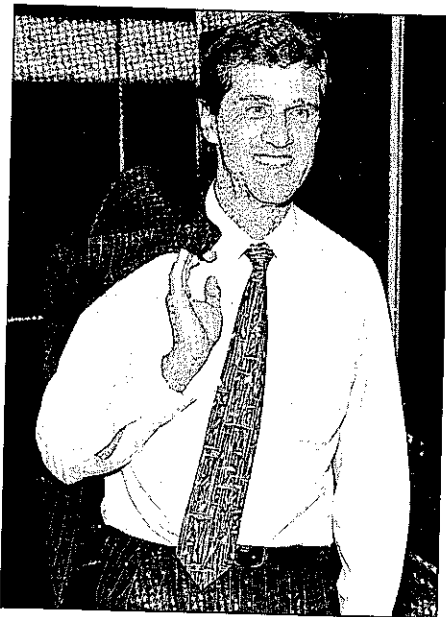
Government acknowledged the right of all parties to participate in peaceful mass action in accordance with the Peace Accord and Goldstone's recommendations. For its part, the ANC reaffirmed its commitment to the code of conduct for political parties in terms of the National Peace Accord.

The two parties also committed themselves to strengthening the Peace Accord and

said it would urgently consult its constituency "with a view to examine the current programme of mass action."

The two sides agreed to hold further meetings to address and finalise uncompleted matters. These include: a climate of free political activity; repressive security legislation; covert operations and special forces; and violence.

Perhaps, at last, it is time to roll. ■



**Meyer ... paved the way
with ANC's Ramaphosa**

to do "everything in their power to calm down tensions and to finding ways and means of promoting reconciliation in SA."

In view of the progress made in the summit "and the progress we are likely to make when negotiations are resumed," the ANC

Hope for SA amid doom and gloom

STAR

2/10/92

11A

ISRRAELI Ambassador Zvi Gov-Ari leaves South Africa at the end of the month, having watched the country pass through the euphoria generated by the release of ANC leader Nelson Mandela in February 1990 and the agonised despair caused by the terrible bloodletting in the townships.

But Mr Gov-Ari, a man with a ready smile, remains hopeful that South Africa will survive the ordeals of transition and become a fully fledged nonracial democracy.

His optimism stems, in part, from contacts he has made with a wide spectrum of South Africans and the impression of resilient resourcefulness they have made on him.

One image remains indelibly with him: of South Africans of all colours singing at a recent choir festival in a harmony of co-operation, emphasising, for him, a reconciliation between diversity and unity.

But Mr Gov-Ari, a man in his early fifties who was born in Iraq, is not a romanticist: he knows that the road ahead is tough but he believes it can be traversed.

While the outside world can help by offering encouragement, South Africans ultimately have to make the journey themselves, he says, recalling that Israel lifted sanctions on South Africa during his ambassadorship.

Mr Gov-Ari, ever the diplomat, is loath to prescribe to South Africans how they should tackle the challenge of forging a durable settlement. He does, however, make two general observations.

South Africans of all political persuasions must work together

Departing Israeli Ambassador Zvi Gov-Ari expresses optimism about South Africa's future in an interview with PATRICK LAURENCE.

to prevent any further deterioration in the economy.

With South Africa now poised to experience its third successive year of economic contraction, the difficult task of political transformation has been compounded greatly.

South Africa cannot afford further economic decline, Mr Gov-Ari warns sombrely before making his second observation. For the political settlement to be durable it must be as comprehensive as possible, he states, adding that there is a need to balance the demands for an early settlement against the danger of making errors by moving too quickly.

Mr Gov-Ari has had to face charges that Israel gave military training to Inkatha Freedom Party members. He denies them flatly, insisting that Israel has not given military training to any of South Africa's competing political organisations.

It has, however, trained scores of South Africans of all political hues for the enormous task of reconstruction which lies ahead in agriculture, education, health and so on.

The ANC has been decidedly cool to Israel, having chosen to identify with Yasser Arafat's PLO as a fraternal organisation and to compare Zionism with apartheid as a "form of racism".

ANC president Nelson Mandela, who has visited several

Arab countries, including Libya and Iran, but not Israel, is on record as saying of Mr Arafat: "Like us, he is fighting against a unique form of colonialism and we wish him success in his struggle."

Mr Arafat agrees. He says of the ANC: "We are in the same trench, struggling against the same enemy."

Mr Gov-Ari disagrees vehemently with the equation of Zionism with apartheid and has invited Mr Mandela to Israel to assess the situation for himself at first hand (thus matching an invitation from Mr Arafat to the ANC leader to visit "occupied Palestine").

Mr Gov-Ari, reflecting on the ANC's cool attitude to Israel, asks: "Who is behind it and what are their motives?" He declines to answer his own question.

He does, however, insist that there is no comparison between the ANC and PLO: the ANC, he argues, is seeking to transform South Africa from a racial oligarchy to a nonracial democracy, while Mr Arafat's PLO is involved in a "murderous struggle to destroy the Jewish state".

Mr Gov-Ari recalls a brush with tough-minded anti-Israel militant in Cape Town who, he says, were calling for his head. A student of philosophy with a belief in the power of rational argument, Mr Gov-Ari wanted to engage his detractors in dialogue. "The security people wouldn't allow me to," he says.

He leaves South Africa and the diplomatic corps to go into business. A married man with five children, Mr Gov-Ari still hankers to concentrate on one of his first loves: philosophy in general, and Aristotle in particular. □

xpected to resume soon ● Excessive alcohol i

Scene is set for resumption of talks

■ TIGHTEN UP The Government to engage

PAC and ANC in bilateral talks next week:

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

A FLURRY OF ACTIVITY around negotiations starts on Monday when details of a series of bilateral meetings between the Government and liberation movements are expected

to be tightened up.

A high-level summit between the Government and the PAC will be confirmed early next week, and the ANC is expected to meet Pretoria shortly before the entire Cabinet leaves for Cape Town later in the week for the special Parliamentary session which starts October 12.

The ANC's national executive committee this week ratified the agreement reached at last Saturday's summit.

Sources within the movement are confident that bilateral talks will begin before the Government goes to Parliament.

It is hoped multi-party talks will be resumed later this year, possibly next month.

The Government is expected to effectively abolish the tricameral constitution when it goes to Parliament to prepare the way for interim arrangements.


Meanwhile, State President FW de Klerk yesterday said agreements reached at last Saturday's summit should not be misinterpreted.

Sowetan 2/10/92

11A



Meet Buthelezi, UN asks Mandela

By PHILIPPA GARSON (11A) 
UNITED NATIONS secretary general Boutros Boutros-Ghali made a personal appeal to African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela early this week to meet Inkatha chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi before his departure to China. *WJM*

However, sources say Mandela is reluctant to concede such a meeting, and the ANC's three Natal regions are fiercely opposed to it.

Since the Inkatha leader withdrew from negotiations in protest against bilateral decisions taken at the weekend between the government and ANC, Mandela has come under strong pressure to meet Buthelezi.

President FW de Klerk has made several public appeals for the two leaders to meet. *2/10 - 8/10/92*

After heated debate at the ANC's national executive meeting on Wednesday a decision was taken not to give the green light for a Mandela-Buthelezi summit — at least not yet.

Deputy secretary general Jacob Zuma argued strongly for such an encounter to take place, the sources said, but met opposition from representatives of the three Natal regions.

JUNE 14 1986. It was exactly one year, to the day, after a South African Defence Force sortie into Botswana left 12 people dead, only five of whom even had African National Congress links, and one of whom was a six-year-old child. It was two days before the 10th anniversary of the Soweto uprising. It was two days after President PW Botha renewed his State of Emergency.

It was the day on which a powder-blue Cortina exploded outside the crowded Magoo's Bar on the Durban beachfront, killing three young white women and making horribly clear to white people what blacks had known for years: that, in the words of Oliver Tambo, "the distinction between soft and hard targets is going to disappear

I bombed Magoo's on ANC

w/mail 2/10-8/10/92

(11A) ~~(11B)~~

in an intensified confrontation".

The car-bomb was planted by Robert McBride, commander of a Durban-based Umkhonto weSizwe cell. McBride was sentenced to death in 1987 — and released this week after an agreement between the ANC and the government over the weekend.

Was McBride a renegade firebrand acting on his own volition? Or was he a disciplined cadre acting, albeit reluctantly, on the orders of his exiled commanders? The question is critical, for it cuts to the heart of questions

*Was Robert McBride really acting on orders? In a candid interview with *The Weekly Mail*, the recently-released MK commander sheds new light on the ANC 'soft target' policy during the years of the Emergency. By **MARK GEVISSER***

about what constitutes a "political murder" and whether McBride should have been released.

Upon McBride's release, ANC southern Natal chairman Jeff Radebe said: "Whatever he did he did on the instructions not only of MK High Command but the entire political

leadership of the ANC." And in April last year, in a statement to the Indemnity Committee, ANC secretary general Alfred Nzo wrote: "At all times hereto McBride acted under the command and instructions of his superiors in Umkhonto weSizwe."

In his trial, McBride stated under

oath that he had been "undisciplined that day", and that he had acted against the orders of his superiors. But today he refutes this and is adamant that he was "acting under the express orders of my commanders, who instructed me to target the Why Not bar, next to Magoo's, as this was in keeping with the 'soft target' policy of the ANC".

McBride told *The Weekly Mail*: "I received this instruction from my commander when I visited Botswana a few days before the bombing, and I was told that it had to happen on June

Slovo stirs the

Power-sharing plan welcomed

STAR
31/10/92 POLITICAL STAFF (11A)

COMMUNIST Party chief Joe Slovo's proposals for compromises in negotiations to provide for a power-sharing deal in a new constitutional system are generating keen interest in political circles.

Government sources said that in principle they welcomed any move towards pragmatism from any party. However, they said the Government was not only interested in a so-called "sunset clause" providing for compulsory power-sharing for an agreed period after the adoption of a new constitution:

The Government, a spokesman said, wanted to negotiate a constitution that would protect the rights of all people not only for a period of three to five years.

It wanted a system that would lay the basis for long-term stability and not only for a new constitutional system that might collapse later on.

Eventually there had to be a hand-over of power, not to some political party, but to a strong new constitution that would be sovereign.

SACP general-secretary Chris Hani said: "I am not in a position to say whether I support it. I need time to study the article first." He said he was not rejecting Slovo's views, which he described as being indicative of the party's openness and frankness, but merely that he wanted time to reflect on them.

He emphasised, however, that the sentiments attributed to Slovo were his own and not necessarily the party's. "Neither our politburo nor central committee has discussed the newspaper article. But Slovo's views are important because he's not an ordinary party member," Hani said.

He said "theoretically" Slovo was trying to break the constitutional logjam. "His position is in line with the party's frankness and openness. We'll discuss his views, but not to censure him. We do not want to stifle the voice of individual members."

Democratic Party national chairman Ken Andrew said it was "encouraging" that people, including Slovo, appeared to be looking for conciliation and compromise rather than simply ways of scoring points off existing or anticipated opponents.

Piet Coetzer MP, information chief of the National Party, welcomed what he described as Slovo's clearly conciliatory approach. "This is what we need from everyone if we are to move forward."

Apart from his proposals for a power-sharing deal Slovo also proposed a deal with the Government on regional powers, support for some general amnesty and an approach to the restructuring of the civil service, including the police and defence force, to take into account existing contracts or to provide for retirement compensation.

He has stressed the need to address some of the more basic and immediate fears and insecurities of "our adversary" (Government) and its constituency.

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Mandela in Pakistan, China

27 3/10/92
11A
KARACHI. — ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela arrived here yesterday on the first leg of a 13-day trip to Pakistan and China.

It is Mr Mandela's first visit to the countries, neither of which has formal ties with South Africa.

Pakistan does not recognise the government in Pretoria and has barred all diplomatic, economic and cultural contact with South Africa. However, Pakistani government officials have said that that policy is under review.

On his arrival yesterday Mr Mandela was given a welcome normally accorded to heads of state.

After this Mr Mandela and his 12-member delegation visited the mausoleum of Mohammed Ali Jinnah, who fought for the creation of an Islamic homeland for Indian Muslims in the 1947 partition of the subcontinent.

Before leaving for Beijing tomorrow, Mr Mandela is scheduled to hold talks with Prime Minister Mr Nawaz Sharif and to deliver a lecture at the Institute of Strategic Studies today in the Pakistani capital, Islamabad.

Mr Mandela will also be presented with the Nishan-e-Pakistan, the country's highest civilian award, in recognition of his 30-year struggle against apartheid in South Africa. — Sapa-AP



PRAYING . . . Mr Nelson Mandela (centre) at the grave of Pakistan founder Mohammed Ali Jinnah in Karachi yesterday. Picture: AP

STAR 2/10/92

We want peace for all - PAC

THE PAC yesterday announced its programme of advocating reconciliation and ending violence among peace-loving people in South Africa.

Publicity secretary Waters Toboti said the organisation would be negotiating peace with all people, irrespective of political affiliation, and would concentrate mainly on violence-stricken areas such as Natal.

Toboti said senior national executive committee member Joe Mkhwanazi had been mandated to head the PAC mission that would be negotiating with leaders in the Natal region in efforts to end violence. (11)

Toboti said President de Klerk and the Government should take the blame for the instability in SA. He alleged that violence was being generated by security forces and this caused serious divisions among the oppressed masses. — Sapa.

Hope for peace in SA are rekindled

TALKS between the government and the African National Congress are back on track. Political organisations which refused to participate at Codesa are now preparing for discussions

with the government. All over the country, people are hopeful that there will be democratic elections soon.

All South Africans will be charged with in the next few years with the responsibility

of making a success of the settlements won by political leaders. To achieve this, they need to be empowered to understand and become involved in the process.

To assist in this process SOUTH, in

conjunction with Matla Trust, begins a new 12-part series today, aimed at helping South Africans understand the process of democracy and prepare to make their crosses in the ballot box.

TO VIEW democratic elections as majority rule is a "gross simplification" of all the issues involved, says Sir Shridath Ramphal, former Commonwealth secretary-general.

Visiting South Africa for the first time, Ramphal argued this week that free elections should rather be seen as the best possible way of building a peaceful nation.

"Democracy is essentially self-rule," says Ramphal, who delivered the keynote address at Matla Trust's public launch in Johannesburg on Monday.

"It is the capacity of a society to regulate affairs on the basis of what the majority of the people want to see happen.

"There will never be a perfect society because human nature is not perfect, but it is the closest we can ever come to best serve the overall interests of society."

Ramphal was closely involved in Zimbabwe's independence negotiations in 1980. He said South Africa could, to an extent, learn from Zimbabwe's independence process.

"The greatest obstacle to independence in Zimbabwe was essentially fear, particularly among the white community who had controlled power for themselves.

"They had a fear of releasing their grip on power and sharing it with the majority of Zimbabwe's people. They believed that independence would end everything for them — but what was the reality?

"A black government took office but did not strip white Zimbabwe of their rights — the government, instead, looked to that community to play a major part in restructuring the country.

"Whites were accommodated and their fears were pushed aside. The

3/10-7/10/92 'Fear is the obstacle to peace'



POLL POWER: The PAC's Bathembu Lugulwana casts his vote in a voter education workshop organised by the Matla Trust in South Africa, Ramphal believes it is important for the ANC to show a similar flexibility to minority groups inside the country — even now, before they contest elections. On the question of imminent free elections in South Africa, Ramphal said he was "hopeful of progress in this direction, especially since the breakthrough bilateral summit between the government and the ANC over the weekend." "What is desperately needed is swift progress towards a settlement and the world will take a very dim view of any party which retards the pace of this progress." Quentin Wilson

Plan to ensure millions get it right the first time

South 3/10 - 7/10/92

~~SECRET~~ (11/1)

SOON millions of South Africans will, for the first time, participate in elections. To do this they need to understand the basic principles, institutions and practices of democracy.

In July 1991 Matla Trust initiated the Community and Citizen Education Programme (CCEP) to educate people about these aspects of democracy.

CCEP wants to reach disadvantaged people, including the illiterate, the poor and those in remote rural areas. In the past year the programme has held workshops throughout the country, in conjunction with Damelin Management School.

A theatre group was contracted to perform a play on democracy and voting in schools, factories, villages,

community centres and shopping malls throughout the country.

CCEP resource centres are being set up in every region, staffed by trained workers and equipped with educational material.

Videos will be screened on television and taken to communities throughout the country.

Air time is being acquired from various SABC radio stations for programmes geared to reach people unable to read. These will also be distributed in cassette form.

Booklets, posters, billboards and cartoons on democracy and voter education are being prepared.

A programme of essay and other competitions, as well as debates on democracy and elections will be held at schools and universities.

MATLA: Power to the people

MATLA Trust was formed in response to Mr Nelson Mandela's call, on his release from prison in February 1990, for an organisation to attend to the needs of disadvantaged South Africans across the political spectrum.

After consultation between a wide range of people, it was decided to launch a non-partisan trust which could channel financial and project assistance to South Africans in their quest for democracy.

On April 15, 1991 Matla Trust was formed as an educational and charitable trust with Mr Ismail Ayob, a prominent lawyer, as chairperson.

The name Matla derives from the Sesotho word meaning empowerment.

The Trust provides educational, social, welfare, charitable

and informative programmes based on the requirements of current socio-economic and political realities. (11A)

They promote the development of a democratic society through educational programmes aimed at teaching people about democratic principles, institutions and practices.

Matla Trust facilitates activities that fulfil their objectives through material, financial and technical support in conjunction with other organisations that have similar objectives.

Initial funds used to launch the Trust were raised by Mandela from overseas sources. Since then, funds have been donated from sources inside and outside South Africa.

The Trust is controlled by a board of trustees of prominent

South Africans, including author Ms Nadine Gordimer, ANC national executive committee member Ms Barbara Masekela, director of the Institute for Contextual Theology Father Smangaliso Mkhathshwa, and Peninsula Technikon rector Mr Franklin Sonn.

Running of the organisation is supervised by Mr Billy Modise, former assistant director at the United Nations Institute for Namibia, who was appointed executive director of Matla Trust in August 1991.

Projects which have been established include the Community and Citizen Education Programme, the African Institute for Technology, the Veterans' Project, a Sewing Project, education and training for returned exiles and a reception and training centre.

ANC will demand a parliamentary address

(11A)

South
3/10 7/10/92

WHILE parliamentary committees are hard at work considering draft legislation for debate in parliament, the ANC is mobilising to change the agenda.

With the opening session in February, the ANC planned to knock on the door to demand entry.

On October 12 the organisation plans to be a little more insistent. The ANC, Cosatu and the Communist Party, have called for a march on parliament to demand its leaders be given an opportunity to address it.

"If our request is denied by the Speaker, we will call on people to sit around parliament until it is met," the three organisations said in a statement.

They said parliament should discuss only giving effect to agreements arising out of the summit between Mr Nelson Mandela and president FW de Klerk and passing a Transition to Democracy Act to ensure an interim government.

"We believe other issues the government is proposing for discussion, in particular the question of a general amnesty, should be dealt with by an interim government," they said.

ANC PRESIDENT NELSON MANDELA writes:

WITHIN the last five years, major changes have taken place in the world political map. These transformations have affected and continued to impact on both South Africa and Germany.

Neither the process of the reunification of Germany nor the democratisation of South Africa has as yet run its full course.

But no one can doubt that these changes, the one in the "north" and the other in the "South", have important implications for both countries, for the regions in which they occur — the European community and the Southern African Development Community — and for the larger question of north-south relations.

The changes taking place in both countries will establish the basis for the further evolution of a system of relations between our two peoples based on a common pursuit of the objectives of world peace, freedom of and democracy for all people, development and human fulfilment and mutually beneficial co-operation.

Our separate histories, which, at one time or other, include state policies of racism, crimes against humanity, denial of human rights and external aggression, place our respective peoples in a strong position to oppose these evils now and in future.

In more recent years, the engagement of the German people in the common struggle to end the system of apartheid has served as a signal of how well they have learnt important lessons from their own history.

The involvement of the ordinary people of Germany and their popular organisations in the anti-apartheid

struggle, also constituted a commitment to help us end racism in our own country and thereby contribute to the emergence of a better world based on the equality of the peoples and the eradication of the scourge of national and racial chauvinism.

There exist links between the peoples of South Africa and Germany which encompass a broad spectrum of opinion and institutions including political parties, the trade unions, corporations and business organisations, religious groups, non-governmental organisations — including the anti-apartheid movement, the media, the

foundations, academia, governmental institutions and others. (11A)

We can and must build on these links to develop strong and healthy people-to-people relations and, in the process, give meaning to the true north-south co-operation and the fashioning of an equitable new world order.

These are challenges that will face the broad spectrum of leadership in our two countries for many years to come. Whatever the daily problems they face, today's leaders in both countries have a responsibility to set an example which their successors will be proud to emulate.



OH LUCKY MALAZA



Lucky and his wife, Khosi.

CPres 4/10/92.

(11A)

By ELIAS MALULEKE

CONFUSION still surrounds the release from prison of SA's luckiest man - Lucky Malaza.

No one can explain exactly why Malaza was freed this week, but among the rumours gaining ground is that the murderer and bank robber bought his freedom.

The Department of Correctional Services has admitted Malaza might have bought his way out of prison.

A Correctional Services spokesman said on Friday that a full investigation into how Malaza's name came to be on the list of political prisoners to be released would be conducted - and this would include the allegation that he used some of the more than R100 000 he stole in two bank robberies to buy his way out.

Both the ANC and the Human Rights Commission deny Malaza's name was included on the list of political prisoners to be released. Yet he was one of the first to be let out.

Another possibility is that Malaza's release might have been through a loophole which stems from his conviction on the illegal possession of two firearms.

In its report Correctional Services stated that the two convictions were security-related. This means the firearms might have been those used by guerrillas during the days of the armed struggle by MK and Apla soldiers.

Department of Correctional Services Minister Adriaan Vlok described the rumours surrounding the release of Malaza as "wild allegations and unsubstantiated claims".

However, the department said on Friday it was investigating how Malaza's name was included in a list containing the names of political prisoners - including allegations that Malaza may have paid a bribe to be released.

The department at first said Malaza's name was on the list submitted to it by the ANC.

However, it has since been proved that his name was first on the list

'Mncube turned me to ANC'

By THEMBA KHUMALO

LUCKY Malaza has now joined the ANC.

Speaking from his home in White City yesterday, Malaza said he was a reformed criminal and had taken up ANC membership.

He said he made the decision to join the ANC while he was in prison, after he had met Umkhonto we Sizwe commanders Mthetheli Mncube and Robert McBride, both of whom were freed on Monday.

Malaza said: "I met Mncube while I was held on the Death Row."

We discussed politics at length and he explained to me what the ANC stood for."

He said he was surprised when the commanding officer at New Local Central Prison in Pretoria told him of his release.

Malaza, who passed Sid 8, insisted yesterday that he was a "victim of circumstances created by apartheid".

"Were it not for the system I wouldn't have been a criminal and I would have been educated and living a decent life with my family," he said.

His immediate plans were to buy a taxi and register as a taxi owner in order to help maintain his family, he said.

of political prisoners prepared by Correctional Services, who then handed the list over to the Human Rights Commission.

The "mistaken" release of Malaza was spotted by the HRC, who made it known that he was not a political prisoner.

Correctional Services is now investigating who was responsible for listing the notorious bank robber as a political prisoner.

Yesterday Malaza acknowledged the activities he had been sentenced for

were criminal and not politically motivated.

He said in a statement issued by the ANC that he fully regretted what he had done and undertook not to commit "such crimes" in the future.

"I am representative of many people in SA who, because of the harsh conditions in our country, have been criminalised."

"I hope that a new non-racial, democratic and just SA will enable people like myself to live a life that has meaning. I pledge to work in all ways possible to achieve such a society and to give people like myself a chance."

Malaza was serving more than 16 years in jail for crimes ranging from robbery and murder to being in possession of unlicensed firearms. He was also still an awaiting-trial prisoner at Pretoria Central for another bank robbery charge.

Malaza is the third dangerous prisoner convicted of non-political crimes to be released by Correctional Services as a political prisoner this year. Killer policeman Khethani Shange was released after serving nine months of a 27-year jail term for a "callous murder".

Thulani Choeni was sentenced to 18 years' imprisonment in 1990 for the murder of two people who accidentally bumped his car. He served a mere 17 months in jail.

Malaza's controversial release sparked a mud-slinging match between the ANC and Correctional Services, each blaming the other for his release.

The department at first claimed the convicted killer's name was on a list of 1 292 names of political prisoners.

However, it turned out that Malaza was described as a political prisoner in an earlier list drawn by the department last year. The list was handed over to the HRC to compare with the names prepared by the HRC and Lawyers for Human Rights.

"Malaza was not in our lists and while we were checking, Correctional Services suspended the audit committee and went it alone," said HRC national director Safoora Sadek.



HOORAY! ... These water-babies are celebrating the coming of summer, and what better way to welcome it than a dip in the pool. By PLOI MIKE MZILENI

CP Reporter

THE vicious gunning down two weeks ago of deputy secretary general of the ANC PWV region, Bavumile Vilakazi, was carried out by "fed-up" former exiles attempting to "clear their way to finding jobs", a confidential source revealed this week. CPres 4/10/92.

Vilakazi was gunned down by unknown gunmen as he emerged from a hardware store.

This attack follows a spate of killings aimed at activists affiliated to the ANC in the Vaal.

According to sources in

Vilakazi shot to open jobs'

the Vaal, Vilakazi had been accused of "blocking" jobs.

Vilakazi was critically wounded in the attack and is presently receiving treatment at a Vaal clinic.

Vilakazi's brother, Paul, who is a minister on the East Rand, refused to comment on the issue, saying he had no right to talk about the controver-

sy. ANC PWV region organiser Paul Mangaliso said the organisation was not aware the shooting was an "inside" job.

He said the Vaal was a highly militarised area which was teeming with Askaris, Civil Co-Operation Bureau assassins and "sellouts".

Mangaliso added: "A commission has been instituted by the ANC to investigate the matter and locate who was responsible for destroying democratic organisations and ANC comrades like Floyd Mashele."

Poison drips cover-up alleged

By MOSES MAMAILA

ADMITTING a baby to a hospital intensive care unit has become a nightmare for many parents, following revelations that more than 60 infants and adults might have died because of contaminated drips.

An undisclosed number of babies have died in

Bisho bomb

Winnie's 'lover' hits out at cabal

STimes 4/10/92 11A

WINNIE MANDELA's speech-writer and alleged lover, Mr Dali Mpfu, came out fighting this week for the first time since a "love letter" she wrote to him was leaked to newspapers last month.

In an effort to clear his name after allegations of misappropriation of hundreds of thousands of rands when the two were in charge of the ANC's department of social welfare, Mr Mpfu:

- Lambasted an alleged power-seeking cabal in the organisation which he claims tries to undermine Mrs Mandela and anyone close to her;

- Reacted to persistent rumours of an affair with Mrs Mandela;

- Vowed to take the ANC to court for unfair labour practice — he was sacked on May 4 as Mrs Mandela's deputy in the department of social welfare.

Shadowy

Mr Mpfu insists that "there is not even a cent missing from the department".

Mr Mpfu, 30, described the alleged cabal as a "shadowy grouping" establishing themselves in key positions in the ANC.

Though Mr Mpfu refused to name any members of the cabal, an ANC member close to Mrs Mandela called them an "Indian Broederbond" which included prominent ANC leaders such as Mohammed Valli Moosa, Mac Maharaj and Pravin Gordhan.

Also included in the group, the source claimed, are the organisation's secretary-general, Cyril Ramaphosa, and Codesa administrator Murphy Morobe.

"I refused to be sidled by the cabal," said Mr Mpfu. "One of the biggest crimes against the cabal is to be African, independent-minded and assertive."

"Ultimately they want to get at Nelson Mandela," Mr Mpfu said. "They want to portray him as a tinpot African dictator who uses his office to solve his domestic problems."

Questioned about the rumour that he had had a relationship with Mrs Mandela which was further exacerbated by the passionate tone of the letter, Mr Mpfu said: "It is none of anybody's business. I am sick and tired of being



DALI MPOFU... coming out fighting
Picture: GARTH LUMLEY

By CHARLES LEONARD

questioned about it.

"If there were not allegations about money I would not even have bothered to respond, as I don't give a damn about it. But I do give a big damn about the money."

"I've never denied having a close friendship with Mrs Mandela."

Repaid

"In the course of the friendship we have loaned money to and fro, as I think it is normal for friends to loan money. Most of it was repaid during the course of time."

"All the big amounts have subsequently been repaid. One of the reasons why I had to borrow money from her was that I was hired by the ANC at a salary of R5 000 a month."

"After two months it was reduced to R3 000, with no reason given. She was sympathetic as head of the department and there is nothing sinister about it."

"At no stage was ANC money involved. It was all personal."

Describing himself as a friend and adviser, Mr Mpfu got to know Mrs Mandela when she "unbanned" herself in 1986 — she defied her banning orders which restricted her to the Free State town of Brandfort and moved back to Soweto.

"We became friends then but only became close in the late 80s during the onslaught from the Mass Democratic Movement," he said. "As a lawyer I also advised her in defiance of the MDM, who said that nobody should touch her case."

Last month the ANC failed to attend the conciliation board set up to resolve a labour dispute it has with Mr Mpfu.

He said the case would now go to the industrial court at a date still to be determined.

The East London-born lawyer plans to qualify as an advocate next year so that he can join the Bar.

Continuing

"All I am interested in now is to clear my name for professional reasons," he says.

An ANC spokesman said that the investigation into the finances of the department of social welfare was continuing because other matters were arising.

The ANC was not present at the conciliation board because it did not intend settling the matter out of court, he said. The board was informed of the decision.

"The ANC also dismisses the allegations of the existence of a cabal in its ranks," he said.

Dogs of war

A REPORT in the Sunday Times last weekend said that Mr Keith Maxwell, of the South African Institute for Maritime Research, had provided 150 mercenaries to serve with the Compagnie Internationale in Zaïre.

In fact, Mr Maxwell said he had 150 men eager to serve but he knew nothing about the Compagnie Internationale.

The wheels are in motion

3
Clare 4/10/92
 PART from the fact that both the ANC and the government had made

concessions on constitutional matters, one of the most meaningful messages of the summit is that the key players still abide by the most important agreements reached at Codesa's Working Groups 2 and 3 before the suspension of the negotiations.

"This is imperative," says Dr Bertus de Villiers, head of the Centre for Constitutional Analysis at the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC). "It gives the immediate assurance that planning can take place within specific parameters."

Secondly, it appears as if the interim government, which was agreed upon in the working groups of Codesa 2, could be instituted in the last part of the year, or next year.

"This is the joint executive authority which will not be an elected body, but constituted from the ranks of Codesa."

"The third matter of importance is that, while the ANC seemed to be in favour of a mere amendment in the present constitution, the parties have now agreed that a fundamentally new constitution must be produced to control the transitional process.

"It shall therefore not be a somewhat amended constitution. There will have to be basic amendments in respect of regional government, a Bill of Human Rights and other issues."

While the ANC initially perceived the interim government as a government ruling by decree, this government will govern with constitutional power and legal authority.

"The fourth matter is that the new constitution will provide for a regional government. This is apparently a strong federal tendency. The moment a constitution provides for regional government, one moves into the debate on federalism."

"I think this is an important concession by the ANC."
 "It does not appear to me that,



BACK ON TRACK... After months of deliberation, negotiations finally seem set to roll following a recent summit between the ANC and the government.

Plans can take place within specific parameters, says expert

Clare 4/10/92

Last Saturday's summit between the government and the ANC has produced various important concessions which could considerably promote the constitutional debate. Our SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT reports on the opinions of constitutional expert Bertus de Villiers.

with the application of an interim constitution, all the regions need to be demarcated. It rather appears as if the constitution will provide for regions and the regions will be delimited later. The interim constitution could be phased in.

Progress regarding the issue of a Bill of Human Rights is probably one of the most far reaching. The parties have agreed that provision for a bill of rights should be made in the interim.

"This is very positive, but specific questions must be asked in this regard," said De Villiers.

"As far as the bill of rights is concerned, one can say that basic agreement has already been reached on 80 percent of the new bill of rights."

"One finds it in the ANC's proposals, in the Law Commission's proposals, but no consensus has yet been reached on 20 percent of the bill of rights. These are the most crucial aspects."

"The first is the compilation

of the judiciary. What the ANC and the government are respectively proposing are relatively divergent.

"Secondly, the provision for affirmative action in the bill of rights, as proposed by the ANC and by the Law Commission, are poles apart. To reach agreement on this could entail long-lasting negotiations."

"The same applies to socio-economic rights. The ANC proposes that people should have the right to employment, a home, and schooling. The government foresees that people must have the right to work. There is a big difference. With one you should have the freedom to look for employment, with the other, the

government must provide for work."

"While socio-economic rights only form 10 percent of the bill of rights, the implications of socio-economic rights and affirmative actions will have a profound effect on the future economic dispensation."

"Another interesting aspect is that provision is being made for one or two chambers in the constituent assembly."

"The ANC shifted fundamentally. Provision was made for a single chamber consisting of 400 members."

"The fact that provision is now being made for a second chamber is very important. This means that a future parliament

will probably also consist of two chambers."

De Villiers noted the following four important uncertainties:

■ There is no clarity about the position of a future head of state, also not in the interim. The government still adheres to its idea of a presidency consisting of two, three or five people. The ANC adheres to the idea that the head of government must be elected directly.

■ The second uncertain issue is whether a parliament can simultaneously draw up a constitution. This is the double function which is being provided for the constituent assembly. This will cause a tremendous workload. It could also cause political

problems, which may arise from day to day, and could flow over to the process of constitution making.

■ The third uncertain issue is the time limit to which reference has been made. The ANC's latest proposals indicate that, after a constituent assembly has been elected, a constitution must be approved within nine months, or another election must be called.

"The question is what would be the sense of providing for such a comprehensive interim government as agreed upon between the ANC and the government if it would only apply for nine months. I have an inclination that the ANC would be

compelled to scale down its expectations."

"The duration of an interim constitution will probably be longer than what the ANC is anticipating," says De Villiers.

■ The fourth uncertain issue is what is being considered to be the interim constitution and what would be considered to be the final constitution.

It is very clear that the interim constitution will contain much more detail than initially foreseen.

"The parties have shifted positions as far as all these things are concerned. The most important shift is probably that the NP has now committed itself irrevocably to an interim government which will replace the present government. The 1983 Constitution will be replaced by an interim constitution."

"Secondly, the NP now accepts that a constituent assembly will have the authority to conclude the process. It will write the constitution and should the public approve of it with a specific majority, the constitution will become operative."

"Previously the government had insisted that parliament should approve the new constitution. There could be referendums, but the present parliament had to approve it. This is a shift away from the previous stand."

"The ANC has agreed to a relatively detailed interim situation. The more detailed the interim situation, the more drawn out it will be. It strengthens the impression that the transitional period will last relatively long because it will be the phase of learning, adaptation and application."

"I think this is all in line with the Codesa process before it was suspended. At the end of the day, the direction of the negotiations still remain unchanged."

While the government had foreseen an interim period with the maintenance of the present constitution, it now foresees an interim body which will replace the present constitution.

Freed ANC commanders go into hiding amid safety fears

By THEMBA KHUMALO

APREP 4/10/92
11A

THE ANC has whisked away its three guerrilla commanders freed from prison on Monday to an unknown destination, sources within the organisation said.

Robert McBride of Wentworth in Durban; Euclid Nondula of Mdantsane, East London; and Mthetheleli Mncube of Diepkloof, Soweto, had hardly greeted their families when an order came from the ANC headquarters that they report to the organisation's leadership on Tuesday.

It is believed the three were advised that they be kept in a safe place until such time the dust had settled because of the sensitive nature of the actions for which they were convicted.

All three had escaped the hangman's noose after they were convicted in two separate trials of charges ranging from murder and terrorism to high treason.

McBride was convicted for the killing of three whites outside Magoo's Bar on the Marine Parade in Durban in 1986. His death sentence was subsequently commuted to life imprisonment after he spent about three years on Death Row.

Nondula, whose trial together with Mncube in Messina in 1988 attracted worldwide attention, was also sentenced to death for six murders involving whites, among them SADF soldiers, as a result of a series of landmine blasts in the northern Transvaal.

His death sentence was also commuted to life earlier this year after he spent four years on Death Row. He was subsequently transferred to St Albans Maximum Prison in East London.

Like his co-accused, Mncube also got three death sentences for his part in the planting of landmines in Messina and for the killing of two policemen who were transporting him to an unknown destination.

Their release was preceded by months of controversy as the government stuck to its argument that they did not qualify for release because their crimes fell outside the ambit of the Pretoria Minute's definition of a political prisoner.

The ANC however insisted that no meaningful

bilateral or multilateral talks would take place before their freedom.

Matters came to a head two weeks ago when the continued imprisonment of the three commanders posed a serious stumbling block to a summit between ANC leader Nelson Mandela and State President FW de Klerk.

The summit eventually took place last Saturday after Pretoria agreed to release the three together with other political prisoners.

All three commanders were welcomed with much fanfare by their families and ANC supporters. They said they regretted the killing of civilians during their operations but definitely not the death of security forces.

PAC talks the 'best thing' (11A)

ADDRESSING students and academics at Rhodes University on Tuesday night, PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander said the PAC's current talks with the government were the best thing to save the country from further turmoil.

Alexander said the PAC does not condone the present acts of terror "which are being instigated by the National Party government". *CPres*

He reminded the audience that all transitional periods were characterised by uncertainty and turmoil but added that in SA the violence has transcended the normal transitional crises.

Alexander said Koevoet and 32 Battalion, as well as the SAP, were "mercenaries of the government sent to perpetuate violence". *4/10/92*

"Instead of serving the people, the police in SA consider civilians as their enemy. That is why you have generals and captains instead of sheriffs and officers in the SAP - which is a kind of a military-offensive aimed at killing our people."

He said although the PAC had anticipated the recent failure of Codesa, the time was now right "for us to come in and show the way forward".

He told the audience, however, that "no organization is the most important political player or deserves to be the sole representative of the oppressed people".



ON NEUTRAL GROUND . . . The PAC's Barney Desai, left, Azapo's Molahlegi Thiale, the University of Natal's Prof Mervyn Frost and Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Dr Tertius Delport in Germany. **PICTURE BY ZB MOLEFE**

Ideas traded on federalism

Opies 4/10/92

11A

GERMAN Institute for Federal Research director Professor Hans-Peter Schneider reckons that the debate around federalism will be one of the main problems in the making of the SA Constitution.

"It might be the key question," his voice rang across the conference hall in Hannover's landmark Leibnizhaus.

At the Natal NP congress last weekend State President FW de Klerk said the government believed federalism was the only constitutional deal which would work in SA as a bulwark against majority domination.

In mid-September CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said in Pietersburg that he was negotiating with "anti-communist" leaders such as the Ciskei's Brig Oupa Gqozo to lay the foundations for a confederal or commonwealth system.

While the government is laying stress on devolving real political power to regions with consequent weakened central government in a future SA, black liberation movements, particularly the ANC, are talking of a strong central government.

In fact, the ANC is also pointing to the Bosnian nightmare in Eastern Europe as holding a grave warning for a future SA if it opted for a weakened central government.

In all, judging from the SA liberation movements' representatives in the IMPD delegation in Germany last week, federalism lies somewhere on a road strewn with minefields - if it is not already doomed in favour of a unitary post-apartheid SA.

Swiss scholar Prof JF Aubert set the cat among the pigeons after he had detailed the intricacies of federalism in his homeland.

The SA situation is complex. The Swiss model will not give them a solution," he said.

That seemed to have been the cue the South Africans were waiting for. It became clear that the European, American and Australian academics did not know what emotions federalism can stir among South Africans.

The PAC'S Barney Desai retorted: "The disparities (in our country) are of such a kind to make conflict inevitable. We have

Last week an Institute for Multi-Party Democracy delegation - consisting of ANC, PAC, Azapo, Inkatha and NP/government representatives - attended a conference on federalism in Germany with constitutional scholars and scientists from around the globe. Deputy Editor ZB MOLEFE accompanied the delegation and gives his impressions in this first article of a two-part series.

heard (in this conference) that the cultural factor is the soul of federalism. Where is culture in our country? It does not exist."

Desai told the conference that SA had "a terrible history of distrust, a history of oppression".

Then journalist Phillip van Niekerk wanted to know why SA needed federalism when there were pressing and specific needs. These, van Niekerk said, were the desire for peace, addressing white fears, and the need to stop township violence.

"To what extent does federalism answer these questions? The question in Natal, which might threaten secession, is an ideological one between Inkatha and the ANC. There's also the question of the Afrikaners who talk about a separate state. The debate (in SA) is not honest. Is federalism on the table to block the possibility of an ANC majority government?" he asked.

Schneider reminded SA delegates at the conference that "federalism will not give you fresh water".

"If you ask questions about violence, you must ask what are the reasons. Otherwise you will continue with an oppressive government," he added.

Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Dr Tertius Delport warned that South Africans must not allow federalism to become a theoretical debate.

"We have been propagating federalism as

a starting point. A constitution can't create a welter of confidence. It can't build a nation. It can only create a framework to address issues. We must not run away from reality," he said.

That seemed to have stung ANC constitutional committee chairman Zola Skweyiya. He charged that since 1990 the NP had been quiet on federalism.

"It (the NP) comes out only now with federalism when everybody comes with liberation. Why create a cloud around federalism? Where did federalism work? I don't think there is any party in Africa which can agree to this," he said.

On the last leg of the Germany trip the IMPD delegation spent two days in Bonn where it met a number of government officials and held a lively press conference.

It was here that some "home truths" emerged when German journalists put some probing questions to the delegation.

TV journalist Klaus Rommerskirchen asked why different SA liberation movements were meeting in Germany as a united front.

Desai explained that his movement had a principle of unity among the liberation movements. For instance, Desai pointed out, when the ANC and Inkatha first confronted each other about four years ago, "we offered our facilities" to resolve the problem.

"Had it not been for the Bisho massacre, Mandela and (PAC president Clarence) Makwetu would have long met on this question of unity. The OAU has constantly urged to meet in a united front," added Desai, who said his movement was hopeful the Patriotic Front would be revived.

Inkatha central committee member Dr Dennis Madide added: "Let us look constructively at our politics, so that we can challenge the system (as a united black front)."

Skweyiya concurred: "Our coming here has provided us with a forum to listen and share ideas as South Africans. And I hope it will not end here."

■ NEXT WEEK: How does federalism operate in countries that have embraced it?

Admiration on the wane

JOEL MERVIS observes the parting of the ways between the liberals and the ANC

(11A) ~~11A~~

S/Times 4/10/92.

FEW people were more delighted than South Africa's white liberals when, in 1990, Nelson Mandela was released from jail and the ANC unbanned. How times have changed!

In the 30 months that have elapsed, the ANC has not only managed to offend and alienate its white liberal admirers, but it has virtually driven them into the arms of the Nationalists.

The event is notable not only as an example of a stunning switch in political attitudes. The change of heart by the white liberals carries with it the explicit censure of ANC strategy and deeds.

The liberals, after all, are not burdened with an apartheid millstone around their necks. They occupy the high moral ground. They voice their disapproval of the ANC not as a suspect enemy. They were, until recently, a warm friend, filled with goodwill and eager to help a people who have suffered not merely for 40 years but for generations.

That is the stated case. Nor is there any shortage of evidence to prove the white liberals have indeed become disillusioned. Nobody has conveyed this more forth-

rightly than John Kane-Berman, executive director of the SA Institute of Race Relations.

As is well known, the institute is not a political organisation but primarily a fact-finding body. Despite its liberal orientation, it is committed to sticking objectively to the facts.

Mr Kane-Berman no doubt had at his disposal the facts on which he based his recent remarks to the Pietersburg Chamber of Business. These were reported in the Star on September 18: "The major reason for violence in SA was the ANC's strategy to make the country ungovernable. The ANC's strategy of a people's war was formulated in the 80s to focus on the government. It was also a declaration of war against sections of the black community."

Further evidence of the gap is provided by Dr Zach de Beer, who speaks from the largest liberal base in the country. Formerly leader of the Progressive Party and now of its largest successor, the Democratic Party, Dr De Beer has for years fought for the political emancipation of blacks, and never more hopefully than in the euphoric

days of 1990. How does he feel now, after 30 months of ANC activity?

Dr De Beer does not beat about the bush. Addressing a DP congress in the Free State last month, he warned the ANC to break with the Communist Party or "be dragged into ever-increasing stubborn and violent conduct".

The clear implication was that the ANC was already involved. Dr De Beer went on: "The greater the polarisation between the ANC and the NP, the greater the likelihood that the security forces would intervene. Civil war and total destruction of the economy would follow." Strong words indeed.

Expressions of liberal disappointment with the ANC have come from many sources. Dr Frederik van zyl Slabbert, former leader of the Progressive Party and a man tipped to play an important part in a future dispensation, declares himself to be an admirer of Mr Mandela and in sympathy with ANC aspirations. But he warns the ANC to give up its links with the SACP. "If they don't, they don't get my vote," says Dr Slabbert.

Mr Tony Leon MP, successor in Houghton to Helen Suz-

man, notes that the link between liberals and the ANC was a forced relationship. "Apartheid threw us into each other's arms. We had little else in common. But now that we know each other better, we find there are more and bigger things that divide us."

Mrs Sheena Duncan, former president of the Black Sash, says the organisation was always in broad sympathy with the ANC's objectives, but a gap between them was developing.

Dr Willie Breytenbach, a political authority from the University of Stellenbosch, said recently: "Disillusionment with the ANC has clearly made its appearance in liberal circles."

The liberals have made clear their strong disapproval of the ANC strategy on violence, mass action and the SACP. One wonders whether the ANC, in turn, has asked itself where it went wrong in alienating white friends.

The answer seems to lie in its eagerness to gain political power. But there can be no quick fix for our problems. These are massive and their solution must take time, patience and forbearance on all sides.

SITIMES 4/10/92

Zambia likely venue for PAC talks

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

ZAMBIA is the most likely neutral venue for crucial bilateral talks between the PAC and a government delegation, which are expected to be chaired by former Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda.

This would be the third prepara-

tory meeting aimed at setting up a meeting between PAC president Clarence Makwetu and President FW de Klerk. (11A) (S468)

A government delegation first met with the PAC on April 10 in Arusha, Tanzania, under the chairmanship of the Nigerian Foreign Minister.

On August 25 Constitutional Minis-

ter Roelf Meyer met a PAC delegation headed by the movement's foreign affairs secretary, Mr Gora Ebrahim, in Johannesburg.

A PAC spokesman said "at this stage" talks with the government are "preparatory and exploratory", which would hopefully set the stage for the summit.

Round 3 of PAC/govt talks

By **THEMBA KHUMALO**

q/pres 4/10/92

THE PAC will hold a third round of high-level talks with the government in Pretoria on Wednesday, PAC spokesman Gora Ibrahim said yesterday.

He said the talks would decide whether the PAC would join other organisations in the multilateral talks with the government to find a new dispensation.

Although Ibrahim would not divulge the agenda for the summit, it is expected that the main issues to be discussed will be a venue for talks and the chairman.

The PAC insists bilateral negotiations between the two should take place in a neutral venue outside SA

and that the chairman should also be a neutral person who is a foreigner.

The PAC has dismissed Codesa as a legitimate negotiating forum because "in it were a bunch of unrepresentative leaders who will never see the light of day in democratic elections".

The two parties have held two separate meetings last month and they have agreed on a number of substantial issues over which they differed before. The venue and the chairman of the meeting seem to be the only remaining issues to be ironed out.

Ibrahim would not say whether the Wednesday meeting would be attended by PAC president Clarence Makwetu and State President FW de Klerk.

Collusion evidence — ANC

THE ANC's Southern Natal region this week claimed it had "once again" uncovered collusion between the security police and Inkatha leadership.

ANC spokesman Dumisani Makhaye said "extensive investigations" had revealed that facsimile messages to and from the ANC's regional offices in Durban were diverted to the security forces.

"One of these messages was sent to Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi by the security police," he said.

The claim follows Buthelezi's disclosure of the facsimile message at a news conference in Durban this week. The document named Umkhonto weSizwe officials who are operating in Natal which, the IFP leader said, proved that MK was behind violence in the province.

The message was sent by MK chief-of-staff Siphwe Nyanda.

Makhaye said MK was a legal organisation with

full-time functionaries.

"We never intended to make these appointments a secret, so what Buthelezi showed to journalists was not a political bombshell."

"The bombshell is that the IFP/security force collusion continues unabated even after the Inkathagate scandal."

He claimed ANC regions in Natal know facsimile messages were being diverted to the security forces, and no longer used the machines for sensitive information.

"The only way Buthelezi could have received that fax is through the handlers of Inkatha within the security forces," Makhaye said.

Police spokesman Capt Hamilton Ngidi denied police had delivered the document to Inkatha and described the ANC's allegations as "very unfair".

IFP spokesman Ed Tillet declined to comment and referred queries to Buthelezi's office. — Sapa

Collusion evidence - ANC

THE ANC's Southern Natal region this week claimed it had "once again" uncovered collusion between the security police and Inkatha leadership.

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Row over missing Boipatong money

By THEMBA KHUMALO

A NEW controversy has erupted over the alleged disappearance of thousands of rands which were collected for the burial of Boipatong massacre victims in June this year.

The money was also meant to help the families of the shooting victims who are struggling to make ends meet.

Boipatong ANC branch chairman Ernest Sotsu said a local working committee appointed a relief committee with the task of collecting the funds and opening a bank account.

On July 17 the working committee felt that bereaved families were ready to receive the money and asked the relief committee to wind up its matters and give a report-back meeting.

Sotsu claimed that the relief committee was evading the report-back meeting and instead they have asked the local civic association to call a meeting of the victims of violence to hand over

the money directly to the affected families.

He claimed the relief committee was by-passing the working committee in order to avoid the discovery of the missing funds.

Since its inception the relief committee had ignored repeated requests by the working committee to supply them with an audited statement of the collected funds.

Sotsu said: "We are sceptical of the way these funds are being handled. We are also surprised by their refusal to give us an audited statement."

He claimed that three of the members of the relief committee were not Boipatong residents and that they by their actions wanted to divide the township community.

About 48 people died during the massacre by alleged IFP members from KwaMadala Hostel on the night of June 17. Hundreds of others were wounded during the raid.

CP Reporter

THE vicious gunning down two weeks ago of deputy secretary general of the ANC PWV region, Bavumile Vilakazi, was carried out by "fed-up" former exiles attempting to "clear their way to finding jobs", a confidential source revealed this week.

Vilakazi was gunned down by unknown gunmen as he emerged from a hardware store.

This attack follows a spate of killings aimed at activists affiliated to the ANC in the Vaal.

According to sources in

Vilakazi shot to open jobs

the Vaal, Vilakazi had been accused of "blocking" jobs.

Vilakazi was critically wounded in the attack and is presently receiving treatment at a Vaal clinic.

Vilakazi's brother, Paul, who is a minister on the East Rand, refused to comment on the issue, saying he had no right to talk about the controver-

sy. ~~236~~ ~~237~~
ANC PWV region organiser Paul Mangaliso said the organisation was not aware the shooting was an "inside" job. 11A

He said the Vaal was a highly militarised area which was teeming with Askaris, Civil Co-Operation Bureau assassins and "sellouts".

Mangaliso added: "A commission has been instituted by the ANC to investigate the matter and locate who was responsible for destroying democratic organisations and ANC comrades like Floyd Mashele."

State owns up: We funded foreign paper

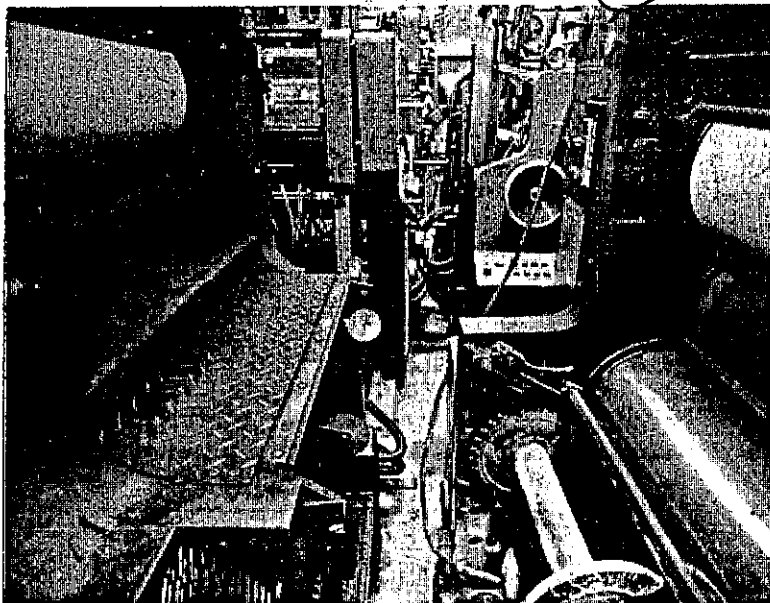
WJ Mail 30/10 - 5/11/92

The government has finally admitted secretly funding a Gaborone-based newspaper. Now it is fighting to recover millions of rands spent on the project, reports

ARTHUR GOLDSTUCK



Abel Rudman



Newslink's press lies idle in a warehouse

Photo: KEVIN CARTER

THE government has admitted for the first time that the South African Defence Force provided secret funds to launch a foreign newspaper — and that it is now involved in a legal tussle to reclaim assets bought by the newspaper's publisher.

Newslink, the Gaborone-based newspaper which closed down last December, four months after its links with Military Intelligence were exposed by *The Weekly Mail*, is believed to have cost the government up to R3,4-million in start-up and running costs.

The disclosures could send shock waves through the Botswana establishment. It is understood there are close links between *Newslink's* management and both South African Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha and Basimanyane Masire, brother of Botswana's President Quett Masire.

The Weekly Mail was unable to obtain comment from the Botswana government this week, but was told last August by the country's CID chief, assistant commissioner T Katlhalo, that "if the reports prove accurate, it would amount to subversion".

Within days of President FW de Klerk announcing on July 30 last year the curtailment of 41 secret projects, a monthly subsidy of around 200 000 pula (about R150 000), necessary for the newspaper to break even, suddenly dried up.

"Even before the president's an-

nouncement, the SADF had decided to terminate its relations with, and interests in, the printing press and newspaper," a spokesman at the State President's Office said this week. "As is the case with other curtailed projects, this termination was embarked upon with a view also to ensure that potential losses are limited."

Casper Venter, the president's press secretary, confirmed that *Newslink* was funded from the Special Defence Account, which last year had a budget of R4,17-billion for secret projects. He said the government was still trying to recover assets bought with state funds by private individuals who acted as fronts for such operations.

Referring to the curtailment of funding for *Newslink*, Venter said: "A part of the exercise was also to retrieve all assets belonging to the state. This entails, inter alia, an application to the supreme court, which is now about to

be finalised."

The supreme court is, however, becoming the scene of a three-cornered tussle for control of *Newslink's* assets.

Its publisher, Pretoria businessman Abel Rudman, who bought a printing press with initial secret payments amounting to about R1,3-million, is fighting to keep the assets from being auctioned by liquidators. Rudman is also understood to be preparing a civil case against the government for curtailing its funding, on the basis that *Newslink* was originally devised as a five- to 10-year project.

At the time that the secret projects were curtailed, Rudman insisted he was the sole source of funds for setting up and running *Newslink*, and that he would continue publishing it.

However, he was unable to persuade senior staff members of the newspaper's independence. After several key resignations, the premises of *Newslink*

and its publishing company, Magnum Press, were secretly cleared out last December and the contents transported to Johannesburg.

Rudman refused to compensate staff members — several of whom had relocated to Botswana from South Africa upon being hired — for loss of employment and income. Four ex-staffers then successfully applied to the Botswana High Court for the liquidation of Magnum Press. The liquidator, Price Waterhouse Botswana, was given permission by the supreme court in South Africa to be recognised here, and attached the assets.

The printing equipment was due to be auctioned off on August 20 at 10.30am. At nine that morning, Rudman brought an application in the Rand Supreme Court for an urgent interdict preventing the sale. He said the equipment had been sold by Magnum Press to *Newslink*, which was a separate enti-

ty owned by himself.

The judge granted the interdict, on the basis that he would have to read through about 600 pages of documentation before making a ruling. The return date of the hearing was set for October 29, but Rudman's attorneys have since succeeded in postponing it to November 17.

Rudman and Basimanyane Masire were partners in several Botswanan companies, including Tshepho Safaris and Tshepho Trading, an import/export company. A second member of President Masire's family, T Masire, was also a director in several of Rudman's companies.

Funds for *Newslink* are believed to have been channelled from the SADF via Strelley Investments, a front company based on the island of Jersey. When Magnum Press was placed under liquidation, Strelley put in a claim for R2 767 391, on the basis that it had loaned the money to Magnum. Total liabilities to other creditors amounted to about R1,5-million.

Reg Webb, a partner in Price Waterhouse Botswana, said Strelley's claim was rejected because "at no stage was such an amount ever recorded as a liability in the books of Magnum Press. However, a similar amount was recorded as being owed to Abel Rudman."

Documents lodged with the Rand Supreme Court in opposition to Rudman's application for an interdict include a telex message from Volkskas Bank's head office in Pretoria to Lloyds Bank in London, dated February 15 1990, authorising the transfer of R2 327 366 to Strelley Investments' account in Jersey.

A week later, an equivalent amount in pula was transferred from Strelley's account to Barclays Bank Botswana, Magnum Press' bankers.

HARRY Temba Gwala is a man with a fearsome reputation but he speaks in a gentle voice, clothing his political convictions in the modulated tones of a kindly schoolteacher.

A veteran member of the ANC's underground army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, Mr Gwala, a self-acknowledged Stalinist, has been dubbed an "ANC warlord" by the press.

His political foes in the IFP see him as the master brain behind the increasingly bloody war for control of the townships and villages around Natal's once tranquil capital city of Maritzburg.

Mr Gwala, a prison graduate who was twice jailed for his dedication to the ANC's cause, smiles when asked about his reputation as an ANC warlord. He uses the collective pronoun "we" to include his comrades in the leadership of the Natal Midlands.

"There has been a calculated campaign from the State, from Inkatha and the media to give us a bad name because we called on the people to defend themselves."

The tone of his voice rises a fraction as he stresses that he is not in favour of attacking people because they subscribe to different political views. But, he adds, if people are attacked they must defend themselves.

"I am not a warlord. I am very much for people defending themselves. If that is a warlord, then I am one. I will always call on my people to defend themselves."

Mr Gwala, a former school-teacher of humble working-class origins who became a member of the South African Communist Party before joining the ANC, believes that "the people" must decide who should represent them.

Natal is a vital area in the coming struggle for the people's vote. More than a quarter of South Africa's 38 million people live in the province, which has long been a stronghold of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's IFP.

How, then, does Mr Gwala see the balance of power as politicians begin to position themselves for South Africa's first nonracial election next year or, at the latest, the year after?

"My assessment will be a bit biased but I try to make the assessment from what I noticed in 1989 after my release from prison," Mr Gwala replies.

"Inkatha was predominant and very visible. But today I can say with very little fear of

Stalin, the struggle (11A) and victory STAR 5/10/92 his impetus



Harry Gwala (above), a veteran of the struggle against apartheid, is a controversial man. Dubbed an "ANC warlord," he subscribes to Stalinism more than 30 years after it was denounced by Nikita Khrushchev. He speaks to PATRICK LAURENCE.

contradiction that the ANC has made very big headway and has got majority support."

He goes on to list a series of townships and villages where Chief Buthelezi's IFP used to be a major force but whose support has now dwindled to negligible proportions.

The IFP charges that the ANC, under Mr Gwala's direction, has wrested control by force, using AK-47s and petrol bombs rather than rational argument to silence opposition.

Mr Gwala, a member of the SACP central committee, smilingly dismisses the charges. He offers a different explanation.

"It lies in the traditional allegiance (of Natal's black people) to the ANC. Very important leaders of the ANC came from Natal: the founder of the ANC, Dr Pixley Seme; the first president of the ANC, Dr John Dube; and the most popular leader of the ANC, Chief A J Lutuli.

"People have been traditionally ANC. When they joined Inkatha they did so because they felt it represented the message of the ANC.

"But they found there was something amiss. Instead of

concentrating on attacking apartheid, Inkatha was more concerned with fighting the ANC and the (pro-ANC) United Democratic Front."

The IFP has noted that Mr Gwala was in Umgababa, on Natal's South Coast, before the massacre there of eight IFP members in an ambush.

Mr Gwala notes that he was in Umgababa two weeks before the massacre and dismisses the inference that there is a connection between the two events.

On a more sombre note, Mr Gwala, who was unanimously elected regional chairman of Natal Midlands in 1990, recalls: "Several attempts have been made on my life ... I have learnt to live with it."

Mr Gwala, however, is not full of false bravado. He admits that he was frightened during the ANC's September 7 march on Bisho, when Ciskei soldiers opened fire, killing 28 people and wounding scores more.

Mr Gwala, who sent a message of congratulations to the hardline communists who attempted to overthrow Mikhail Gorbachev in August 1991, says: "Yes, I am so described. I am proud (of the label). I am a hardliner."

Referring to Stalinism, Mr Gwala credits it with "some of the great achievements that have been made in the struggle of the working man and woman." He adds: "Stalin, together with the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the people of the Soviet Union, contributed to the defeat of Hitler. That was something to be admired."

But he concedes that Stalinism did have "ugly features" and brutal excesses, including the untrammelled power of the KGB and the murder of people on mere suspicion.

Mr Gwala, who has been accused of inciting his followers against the press for its alleged bias, does not leave the point there. "Which man does not have his own shadow?" he asks rhetorically.

On the future, the veteran communist says: "We shall build a new South Africa where we shall re-educate ourselves, transform our way of thinking, our own psychology. In transforming our environment, we shall transform ourselves."

He is against the granting of a general amnesty which would include security force members who assassinated anti-apartheid activists. He denies that he or his comrades want revenge. □

STAR 5/10/96

Ramphal blasts apartheid

By Brian Sokutu

Not until Friday did Benoni pensioner Monica Masondo know who Sir Shridath "Sonny" Ramphal is.

"But I've heard of the contribution against apartheid by people like him," said Mrs Masondo, who boarded a taxi from Benoni to Sandhurst to meet the former Commonwealth secretary-general hours before he left South Africa.

It was an emotional experience for Sir Shridath, who met Mrs Masondo and a group of other well-wishers, some of whom came from as far as Bloemfontein to attend his farewell party at the Sandhurst home of ANC chairman Oliver Tambo.

The president of the World Conservation Union was in South Africa to help launch the Matla Trust, a non-governmental development agency.

He told the guests: "Comrades, there are some moments in your life that become precious to yourself — what you hope another generation will remember you for. This is one of those moments."

"It was a great honour and duty to do whatever



Honoured . . . former Commonwealth secretary-general Sir Shridath Ramphal shares a drink with ANC chairman Oliver Tambo. Picture: Alf Kumalo

we did to advance the struggle for South Africa. We're not heroes, but people who played a part in what will be regarded as a struggle for freedom. Apartheid is slavery's counterpart in this century.

"I would be happy if my grandchildren and great-grandchildren would be in a position to say: 'You know, in the 20th century there was an evil called apartheid and my great-grandfather played a role.'"

Godfather of the Gleneagles Agreement on sport sanctions and the 1986 Eminent Persons Group, and the man behind South Africa's isolation during the years of official race discrimina-

tion, Sir Shridath said the international community had put sanctions on hold pending political developments in South Africa.

However, he warned: "There should be no question of me campaigning for the reimposition of sanctions if the Government fails to deliver."

During his visit Sir Shridath met business and political leaders and visited Boipatong.

"I was moved by what the survivors of the Boipatong massacre told me. It was distressing to hear that not only were the attackers from the hostel but that as the victims fled, security forces opened fire on them."

Mohammed Valli Moosa puts the case for the ANC's 'Transition to Democracy Act'

Simplicity is not always enough

STAR 5/10/92

~~STAR~~ (11A)

VARIOUS members of the Democratic Party, including Tony Leon and Ken Andrew, have criticised the ANC's proposed "Transition to Democracy Act" on the grounds that it links far too closely governance during the transition period and the constitution-making process.

They proposed that the first democratic elections in this country should result only in the creation of a democratic constitution-making body. The constitution-making body will do just that — that is, make the constitution. In the meantime, the NP should continue to govern the country while the tricameral Parliament passes legislation.

The DP's proposals are indeed attractive, mainly for their simplicity and neatness. Unfortunately a constitutional process which is neat, simple and clinical but nothing else may fail dismally to answer the requirements of present-day South Africa, with all its complexities.

Incidentally, the DP and the

PAC have a very similar model for the transition. Both have an aversion to the notion of an interim government. The DP is concerned about the implementation of an interim government operating in terms of an interim constitutional framework, whereas the PAC does not want to soil its hands by being part of a multi-party interim government.

The ANC is of the view that the realities of this country compel all of us to establish an interim government of national unity as soon as possible.

● The first democratic election will be a very significant and dramatic political, social and psychological event for the South African nation. The product of the elections must seek to meet the aspirations of the people. For years and decades, the majority of South Africans have yearned for an end to white minority rule. It would be inconceivable to ordinary South Africans if after they have voted for the party of their choice, they still live under white minority rule. The lack of authority and leg-

itimacy of the NP Government and the tricameral Parliament, and the resultant inability to govern the country, would be exacerbated tenfold after the elections.

● We have seen from our recent experience, that for negotiations to proceed smoothly and for the transition to work, the population at large must have confidence in the process and the governing authority. Negotiating a new constitution and the process of reconciliation and building of trust must go hand in hand. The former will not work without the latter.

● Economic recovery should not be postponed for a single day if possible. The major international institutions have made it clear that they are unwilling to negotiate agreements with an unstable and unrepresentative minority government. This is what drives (Finance Minister) Derek Keys to being so vocal about the need for an interim government.

Most important for the international financiers, of course, is that the establishment of an interim government of national unity

would be the first real sign of political stability.

Ken Andrew expresses the view that it is inadvisable for the same people to be writing the constitution and attending to legislative functions. The implication of this view is that the tricameral parliament should continue making laws in spite of the fact that there would exist a democratically elected body.

The ANC's draft "Transition to Democracy Act" makes it clear that the two functions viz constitution-making and law-making *must be separate*. But to do this does not require the discredited tricameral Parliament. It proposes that elections be held for a National Assembly which would:

1. Sit as a Constituent Assembly bound by certain rules, procedures and General Constitution principles.
2. Sit as an Interim Parliament bound by a different set of rules and procedures.

The two functions will be kept separate and not enmeshed. The advantage of this is that both

structures would be democratically elected and therefore legitimate.

Mr Andrew also seems to suggest that the executive authority should be appointed by the present State President in consultation with a Codesa-type structure. This could only result in the extremely warped representation which exists in Codesa.

Our proposal is that the interim executive authority should be a product of the elections. All parties which enjoy more than at least 5 percent of the vote should be represented proportionally in the executive authority. This Cabinet should seek to operate as a government of national unity by, as far as possible, operating as a consensus government.

Mr Andrew also says that there is a danger that the interim government may be tempted to perpetuate its existence for a prolonged period. We cater for this by insisting that the Constituent Assembly complete its work within a fixed time-frame and that adequate deadlock-breaking mecha-

nisms be agreed upon beforehand. Mr Andrew would know that it was precisely the NP's refusal to agree to a fixed time-frame that contributed to the Codesa 2 deadlock. In the Record of Understanding between the ANC and the Government the principle of fixed time-frames and deadlock-breaking mechanisms have now been agreed to.

In any event, we believe that if there is any constitution that has a self-perpetuating tendency, it is the tricameral Parliament in which people who would otherwise lose an election enjoy a position of privilege and power grossly out of proportion to their actual voter strength.

I do find it surprising that Mr. Andrew raises objections when the DP, and he personally, was party to the adoption of a scenario for interim rule which was agreed upon in working Group 3, prior to Codesa 2, and which has now become part of the Record of Understanding. □

● The author is a top ANC negotiator at Codesa.

the nation

in brief

Mandela, FW nominated

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela are among a record number of nominations for this year's R3.7-million Nobel Peace Prize.

The two South African leaders have been nominated for working to end apartheid and violence in the country.

Among national leaders in this year's nominations list are US President George Bush, Russian President Boris Yeltsin, German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak and former Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir.

The award will be announced in Oslo, Norway, on October 16.



Mandela STAR 5/10/92 welcomed as hero in Beijing

BEIJING — ANC president Nelson Mandela arrived in Beijing yesterday for talks with Chinese leaders.

China and South Africa are moving towards diplomatic relations and Beijing is expected to seek Mr Mandela's opinion on the timetable.

"In China you are regarded as a hero," Chinese President Yang Shangkun told Mr Mandela when he welcomed him at Beijing's Great Hall of the People. "We all know of your suffering and your long fight against apartheid," he said.

China has staunchly supported the anti-apartheid movement but has indicated that the dismantling of racist laws has made relations with South Africa possible.

South Africa has diplomatic relations with the rival Chinese government in Taiwan.

It is Mr Mandela's first visit to China. He is scheduled to meet Premier Li Peng and Chinese Communist Party general-secretary Jiang Zemin. — Sapa-Reuter.

Military greeting . . . Nelson Mandela and Chinese President Yang Shangkun review a guard of honour during welcoming ceremonies at the Great Hall of the People yesterday.
Picture: AFP

Disband MK says Buthelezi

5/10/92
Political Reporter

Negotiations could not continue until the ANC's "ruthless army" — Umkhonto we Sizwe — was disbanded, KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

Speaking at a Shaka Day celebration in KwaMsane outside Mtubatuba, Chief Buthelezi said that as long as MK continued to exist, the IFP and the KwaZulu government would not return to negotiations.

He accused the ANC-led tripartite alliance of orchestrating violence against IFP members, and Zulus in particular, and said "the anarchy now reigning in some parts of the country" was a direct result of the ANC's previous campaigns to make South Africa ungovernable.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus yesterday said the organisation would not disband MK at this stage. He said MK was not operative and the armed struggle had been suspended.

"MK is not a problem for the negotiations process and as far as violence is concerned. It sounds as if this is once again an excuse raised by Chief Buthelezi. Perhaps he doesn't want to return to

● To Page 3

Disband MK: Buthelezi

● From Page 1

negotiations and the consequences of full democracy," said Mr Niehaus.

Chief Buthelezi said the ANC's support in KwaZulu was negligible, and it was "unable to establish a foothold in our communities".

This, he said, had put "the destabilisation of the KwaZulu region high on (the ANC's) political agenda".

"Umkhonto has to go. There can be no negotiations at a national level while the ANC's army remains intact," he said.

"If it is to remain ... after an interim government is established, either on its own or as part of the SADF, you can count me out of these agreements."

Chief Buthelezi's angry speech contrasted with ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa's weekend statement in which he expressed the hope that multilateral negotiations would resume before the end of the year.

In a speech at the University of Durban-Westville on Sat-

urday, Mr Ramaphosa also said he expected constitutional talks to be followed by elections for a constituent assembly next year.

Chief Buthelezi vehemently criticised ANC president Nelson Mandela and President de Klerk yesterday, saying their September 26 "Record of Understanding" amounted to a declaration of war against the IFP, the KwaZulu government and the Zulu people.

He accused the Government of siding with the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance against the Zulus, and said the agreement to ban the carrying of "cultural weapons" was indicative of a plot "to culturally and ethnically castrate the Zulu people".

He said that by signing the "Record of Understanding" with Mr Mandela, Mr de Klerk knew that he would oppose it, and in so doing Mr de Klerk has made a fundamental mistake that could lead to his isolation".

Chief Buthelezi said he did not understand why the Government continued to "fall all over itself to capitulate to the ANC-SACP alliance".

Vosloorus residents vow to resist eviction ● Buthelezi warns De Klerk

Disband MK - Buthelezi



■ IFP leader says he is disgusted:

NEGOTIATIONS cannot go ahead without the immediate disbandment of Umkhonto we Sizwe and the demobilisation of its military personnel, Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

Speaking at the Shaka Day celebrations at KwaMsane, KwaZulu, Buthelezi said he regarded as a "declaration of war" last weekend's summit agreement between President FW de Klerk and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela.

"Last week President FW de Klerk signed an agreement with the ANC while knowing full well that I would oppose it vehemently - and in doing so Mr De Klerk has made a fundamental mistake that could lead to his isolation," Buthelezi warned. - Sapa.

Bisho bomb 'not Apla's'

STAR 5110192
Claims that the PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, was responsible for Friday's Bisho car-bomb blast were devoid of truth, the PAC said yesterday. (11A)

PAC publicity director Waters Toboti referred to a telephone call to Sapa on Saturday by a certain Karl Zimbiri, who claimed he had been informed by the eastern Cape unit of Apla that it had planted the bomb in a car belonging to Ciskei Defence Force Colonel Horst Schubesberger, the man who reportedly gave the order to fire on ANC marchers at the Bisho stadium on September 7.

"We spoke to the Apla political commissariat and they say Apla is not responsible," Mr Toboti said. — Sapa.

Buthelezi issues ultimatum

B10AM 5/10/92

TIM COHEN

INKATHA leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday issued a potentially crippling ultimatum, ruling out national negotiations until the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) was disbanded.

In a strongly-worded speech which disregarded diplomatic and government efforts to woo him back to negotiations, Buthelezi called on his followers to be prepared for death.

Buthelezi was speaking in the Hlabisa district of Natal in the latest of a series of Shaka Day speeches.

Buthelezi said he would not stand by and watch his people massacred in the ANC's "bloody battle for power".

"It is time to say: Thus far and no further. If that means we will die, so be it."

The ANC's support in KwaZulu was negligible and hence the destabilisation of the KwaZulu region was high on the ANC's

agenda, he said.

Arms caches had been recently discovered outside Ulundi, "intended for the use of the ANC marchers in their attempt to topple the KwaZulu government".

Issuing an ultimatum to government and the ANC, Buthelezi said without the immediate disbandment of the ANC's "ruthless army" and the demobilisation of its military personnel, negotiations could not proceed.

"MK has got to go. There can be no negotiations at a national level while the ANC's army remains intact.

"If it is to remain and to continue after an interim government is established either on its own, or as part of the SADF, ... count me out of these agreements."

□ To Page 2

Buthelezi

B10AM 5/10/92

He said the Zulu people had been dealt the ultimate betrayal by government, who was supporting the ANC's vendetta against Inkatha and the KwaZulu government.

Sapa reports that Buthelezi told a meeting at Umbumbulu on the Natal South Coast on Saturday if government erected fences around hostels to cage in his people, he would ask them to tear them down.

Buthelezi also threatened to consider

(117) (117) (117)

□ From Page 1

pulling out of the national peace accord.

Regarding the ANC's proposed march on Ulundi, Buthelezi said he was surprised government and the international community had so far said nothing about protecting the Zulus during such a march.

He said if they intended to stand by and watch the slaying of innocent human lives, then the Zulus would defend themselves.

Mandela hailed as 'hero' on his first visit to China

BLOM 5710192
BEIJING - Nelson Mandela arrived on his first visit to China yesterday for talks with Chinese leaders.

"In China you are regarded as a hero," Chinese President Yang Shangkun told Mandela when he welcomed him at Beijing's Great Hall of the People. "We all know of your suffering and your long fight against apartheid," he said.

Mandela will meet Premier Li Peng and Chinese Communist Party general secretary Jiang Zemin.

Mandela said in Pakistan on Saturday that the ANC and government had made progress towards combating violence and preparing for full-scale constitutional talks.

"The foundation for further talks has been laid. We are facing the future with

confidence," Mandela said.

Mandela said that among the major issues still to be resolved was the release of about 500 political prisoners.

But earlier, in a lecture to government officials and diplomats at the Institute of Strategic Studies in Islamabad, Mandela said "we have made very solid progress" in the latest talks. *(IA)*

Earlier, Acting President Wasim Sajjad awarded Mandela Pakistan's highest civilian award.

Pakistan does not have diplomatic relations with SA. However, Pakistani government officials have said privately that the country's policy on SA is under review. — Sapa- Reuter-AP.



in Islamabad at the weekend during a...
Picture: AP

Hospitals battle to make own drips

KATHRYN STRACHAN

SINCE Isotec drip solutions were withdrawn from all hospitals after the deaths of eight babies, allegedly due to contaminated drips, hospitals had been forced to prepare their own solutions, often in very unsuitable conditions, hospital sources said on Friday. *(15)*

Johannesburg Hospital paediatrics department head Prof Alan Rothberg said the hospital had contracted Isotec to supply the drip solution because its own pharmacy could not maintain the necessary level of sterility. But with the withdrawal of all Isotec paediatric intravenous products, hospitals were again having to mix their own solutions.

Rothberg said Isotec had developed procedures, which were more stringent than the international standards followed by Sabax, when it took over the manufacture of the product, and it was impossible for the hospital to meet the same levels. Sabax stopped producing the solution after 13 babies died in 1990, and Isotec is the only company producing the solution locally.

Rothberg said that in 1990 and in the present cases, the babies were over the critical stage, but he emphasised that hos-

pitals in these cases were dealing with patients with a very high mortality rate.

Meanwhile, allegations that witnesses were forbidden to give evidence at the inquest after the Sabax drip deaths, have been described as "strange" by the TPA's communication services, reports Sapa.

It was alleged that prominent witnesses, including professors, pathologists and micro-biologists, were forbidden by the TPA Hospital Services director to make any public statements or give evidence in court. *BLOM 5710192*

In a statement issued in Pretoria on Saturday, the TPA said allegations that an official had banned prominent witnesses from making public statements or giving evidence in court, "sounds strange".

"It is common knowledge that when a person is subpoenaed by a court of law to give evidence, then nobody else can prevent him or her (from doing) so.

"Furthermore, it is common practice that when a case is sub judice, nobody is entitled to comment on that case."

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Hani: Marches will take place

117

ET 5/10/92

CARLETONVILLE. — SA Communist Party secretary-general Mr Chris Hani said yesterday the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance would continue with its planned marches on Ulundi and Mmabatho, Bophuthatswana, despite warnings they could lead to violence.

Speaking at a National Union of Mineworkers' health and safety rally here, he said the presence of United Nations monitors and the National Peace Secretariat would help ensure the marches took place without violent incidents.

He added the alliance was at the receiving end of the violence and not the cause.

On the recent release of prisoners, Mr Hani said criminals were taking advantage of the political prisoner release programme and such people as "Wit Wolf" Barend Strydom and Dube

gang member Lucky Malaza should not have been released. — Sapa

● The National Peace Secretariat (NPS) has been asked to investigate the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance's alleged failure to implement findings following contraventions of the National Peace Accord (NPA).

This was said by deputy Justice Minister Mr Danie Schutte in a statement issued in Pretoria on Saturday.

He did not say which NPA contraventions he was referring to, although recently the ANC in Natal was found by the NPS to have ignored the accord.

Mr Schutte said the government would also ask the NPS to urgently convene a meeting to consider the ANC-alliance's planned marches on Mmabatho and Ulundi, "in an effort to prevent the real possibility of further loss of life". — Sapa

11A

Picture: AP
CT 5/10/92

Mandela mum on ties with Chinese

BEIJING. — ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela arrived here yesterday for talks with Chinese leaders but declined to say whether he would discuss the opening of Sino-South African diplomatic relations.

Mr Mandela said it would be "discourteous" to his hosts to comment on such speculation.

China has indicated the dismantling of apartheid laws has made diplomatic relations possible.

The two countries have already opened unofficial offices in each other's capitals.

In Pakistan on Saturday Mr Mandela told an Islamabad press conference

that governments who do not recognize the present South African government should not rush to do so.

He told reporters a "breakthrough" in creating an interim government of national unity was "not very far away" but added it would be "premature to recognize the present government".

Earlier he said at Islamabad's Institute of Strategic Studies that the De Klerk government's efforts to maintain veto power in the upper house of parliament negated "the very spirit of democracy".

The ANC would not accept "any system aimed at undermining the interests of any group". — Sapa-AP, UPI

Prayers for cell deaths

Sowetan 6/10/92 (1A)
■ PAC calls on people of goodwill to observe minutes silence:

THE Pan Africanist Congress yesterday called on "people of goodwill" to pray or observe a minute of silence on Sunday for prisoners who had died in police custody.

More than 20 prisoners have died in custody since July 26 when private forensics pathologist Dr Jonathan Gluckman alleged numerous irregular prisoner deaths.

Demonstrators to surround building in sitdown protest

ANC 'siege' plan for parliament

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11A
ARG 6/10/92

"On the agenda are a number of Bills whose purpose is to restructure the current political environment unilaterally by pre-empting decisions that should correctly be considered by an interim government of national unity.

"We reject, in particular, the Bill proposing a general amnesty. Through this proposed legislation it is clear the government intends to protect itself and its agents from public investigation of its crimes against the South African people.

"It is our view that the only purpose of the present racist parliament at this stage of our history is to ratify the necessary legislation for a transition to democracy.

Deputy secretary Mr Willie Hofmeyr said access to city shops would not be "unnecessarily restricted" during the demonstration.

He said the route of the march had yet to be decided but "broadly" it would be up Adderley Street and all the way to Tuynhuys.

"We want to put people into all the little nooks and crannies, like Government Avenue," he said.

Mr Yengeni said the mass action had three motives — to protest against unilateral legislative amendments by the government, to rename Stalplein after Chief Luthuli and to welcome recently released political prisoners such as Mago's Bar bomber Robert McBride.

ANC figures at the rally will include secretary general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and national executive committee member Mr Ronnie Kasrils.

An ANC statement said: "On October 12, once again, the

During the rally Stalplein would be renamed after Albert Luthuli, ANC leader and winner of the Nobel peace prize.

The square would henceforth be known as Luthuli Square, said Mr Yengeni.

After the rally the crowd would return to the Parade and disperse. Mr Yengeni said the ANC had consulted the city council and obtained agreement in principle for the demonstration, though details had to be agreed.

There would be briefing sessions with marshals, who would ensure proceedings were orderly, peaceful and disciplined, he said.

Mr Yengeni said earlier plans to blockade the building and to have a member of the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance address parliament directly had been dropped after consultations with the national leadership and because of the agreements between Mr Mandela and Mr De Klerk at their summit nine days ago.

**TOS WENTZEL
and JOHN YELD**
Staff Reporters

THE African National Congress today unveiled plans to surround parliament when it opens on Monday for a special short session.

ANC regional secretary Mr Tony Yengeni said demonstrators would gather on the Grand Parade at 10am to march on parliament.

Between 11am and noon they would surround parliament, sitting down, "to highlight our opposition to further government restructuring."

At midday speakers would address a rally on Stalplein, outside the gates of Tuynhuys, repeating the ANC's call for an interim government of national unity in order to prepare for free and fair elections for a

Power-sharing period likely

13/10/92 6/10/92

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CAPE TOWN — The average finding of more than 20 opinion surveys demonstrated that it was very unlikely the ANC would obtain an absolute majority in a future election, Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) GM Lawrence Schlemmer said at the Western Cape Growth Organisation annual meeting yesterday.

He said when taking all the findings together, the ANC would probably garner support of between 45% to 50% of the electorate, the NP would get about 25% to 30% and Inkatha 10% to 12% with smaller parties taking up the rest.

Schlemmer said the findings took into account rural opinion polls which were normally excluded from research surveys.

He added that such an election outcome could hold in store some surprises, and give relatively small parties such as the CP, the DP and the PAC a certain amount of leverage to form alliances.

In this context he thought it unavoidable that there would be a period of power sharing between the ANC and the NP.

Because they needed each other, they would have to govern together, but unhappily so. This would result in a lot of dualism, a continuation of mass action by the ANC and manipulative strategies by

LINDA ENSOR

state institutions.

Schlemmer believed there would be two dominating forces in policy making — a commitment to social welfare policies, high levels of state expenditure and state intervention in the economy, and on the other hand, constraints by minority-controlled state institutions to check such populist policies.

Power sharing would probably be tense, resulting in trade-offs and a fair amount of instability.

Regional powers would be fairly limited because of duress at the centre of the political system.

Schlemmer said such an outcome would mean moderate business confidence, foreign capital from loans rather than investment, an average GDP growth rate of about 2% to 3%, high levels of state spending, and an inflation rate of between 14% and 16%.

Trade unions would be aggressive and wages would tend to rise about 2% above the inflation rate while unemployment would continue to rise. The division of society into First and Third World components would have to be accepted and development strategies devised for each sector, giving emphasis to productivity and self-sufficiency.

The present tax regime would

probably continue, with the addition of a capital gains tax.

A more optimistic scenario of the NP and ANC forming a centrist alliance was unlikely, Schlemmer said.

RAY HARTLEY reports the ANC has stepped up its preparations for a future election and advertised 23 posts on its elections commission.

The organisation has trained thousands of supporters in everything from how to cast a vote to campaign strategies and public speaking.

One of the officials, a communication systems operator, would take responsibility for setting up and operating a computer network between the ANC's national office and its 14 regions, according to the advertisement.

Fourteen regional and two national organiser posts have been advertised.

The organisers would work with ANC regions in implementing the elections campaign, facilitating the setting up of structures, advising on organising methods, running workshops and promoting voter education, the advertisement said.

Other posts advertised included a receptionist, senior administrator, accountant and fundraiser.

Demonstrators to surround building in sitdown protest

ANC 'siege' plan for parliament



ARG 6/10/92

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B10m 6/10/92

Mandela addresses students on reform

BELJING — Nelson Mandela yesterday stressed the importance of promoting democratic reforms and personal freedoms in SA, priorities that differ from those of the hardline leadership in China.

Mandela spoke to about 400 students at Beijing University, which was at the forefront of the Tiananmen Square democracy movement crushed by the military in 1989.

"The struggle for independence, national liberation and democracy has been the leitmotif of the history of this century," the ANC leader said. (UAF) (ES)

Some of the students chuckled during his speech, once when he referred to China as a developing country and again when he

noted the leading role Chinese students had played in past struggles for social change.

Mandela thanked China for its support of anti-apartheid efforts, saying the Chinese had "stood with us in the frontline trenches of the struggle against national oppression, colonialism and apartheid." He did not refer to China's recent moves to establish diplomatic ties with Pretoria.

He said recent agreements he had reached with President F W de Klerk had "rekindled the hopes of millions throughout SA and our region who have fought for and sacrificed so much to witness the end of the apartheid regime". — Sapa-AP.

Mandela lectures Beijing

STAVL 6/10/92
BEIJING — Nelson Mandela received an honorary degree from China's Beijing University yesterday, but made his hosts uncomfortable by lecturing them on the value of human rights.

Speaking in what was the heart of China's thwarted 1989

(11A) (2)
pro-democracy movement, the ANC president told about 400 students that "those who joined the struggle for freedom did so with their eyes open and under no illusions that it would be an easy path they had chosen". — Sapa-
Reuter.

Anti-ANC front meets

Sowetan 6/10/92.

11A ~~301A 107~~

■ **ALLIANCE LAUNCH** Looking to thwart any plans

ANC, Government may have for the future:

OPPOSITION to the Government and African National Congress moves a step further with the launching of an alliance of homelands and right-wing political parties today.

At a conference at the Indaba Hotel at Witkoppen near Johannesburg the Inkatha Freedom Party/KwaZulu government, leaders of Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, the Conservative Party and its newly formed rival, the Afrikaner Volksunie, are set to lay the foundations for an alternative negotiating forum to thwart any agreement the Government and

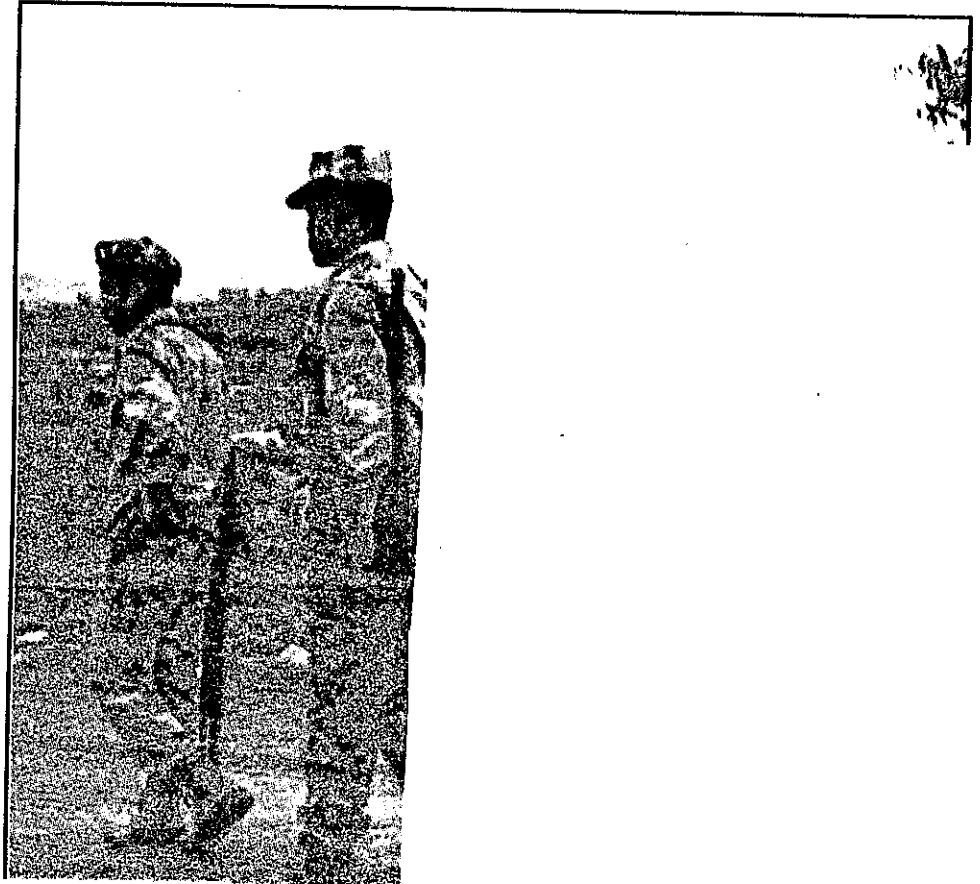
ANC might reach in future.

The catalyst to the new formation is the signing of the Record of Understanding at a peace summit between State President FW de Klerk and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela on September 26.

An IFP spokesman, whose party initiated the summit, said that by late yesterday more parties and business leaders were still indicating their willingness to attend the conference. It was reported yesterday that Ciskei's Oupa Gqozo held discussions with the CP's Andries Treurnicht.

See story page

2



Radicals 'showing their true colours'

EAST LONDON — Both left- and right-wing radicals had unmasked themselves through their actions and the world was beginning to see them for what they really were, NP Cape leader Dawie de Villiers said last night.

"The government did not ban their activities. We allowed them the democratic freedom to show their undemocratic natures," he said at the official opening of the Cape NP congress in East London.

The government had conducted itself with patience, reserve and responsibility.

Law and order had been maintained as well as was possible under "horrendously difficult conditions".

The influence of left- and right-wing radicals was beginning to wane and the opportunity was available for genuine negotiators to come forward, said De Villiers.

"Responsible and constructive people seek to pioneer the road to the future through negotiation rather than conflict. The discussions between the government and the ANC have taken this process further forward."

It was regretted that Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi had decided to withdraw from negotiations on the basis of incorrect allegations against the government.

"Just as it is unlikely that a lasting solution is possible without Inkatha, they surely do not imagine that they can go their own way without the co-operation of the other parties in SA," De Villiers said.

The NP would devote attention to the stumbling blocks which kept Inkatha from participating in negotiations. The overriding aim had to be to resume multiparty talks, he said.

NP leadership faces concerned congress

EAST LONDON — The NP leadership — reeling from a series of setbacks in negotiations — will face the music when the party's Cape congress gets under way in the city today.

Growing perceptions among the party rank-and-file that the ANC has won the lion's share of concessions at recent bargaining sessions and fears that government could be alienating its potentially valuable election allies like Inkatha will have to be addressed directly by government ministers.

KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi's recent decision to break off talks with government will also be dealt with by President F W de Klerk, party sources indicated yesterday.

They say delegates will be looking to De Klerk, who addresses the congress this morning, to allay many of their fears and uncertainties about the future.

These anxieties are reflected in the resolutions to be debated at the two-day congress.

De Klerk is also expected to deal with the growing furore over the release of political prisoners — as well as a number of hardened criminals released as political offenders.

Government's chief negotiator, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, will also be called on later today to allay concerns about the nature of the deal government is holding out for at negotiations.

Political Staff

A resolution which Meyer will have to respond to calls for a commitment that a new constitutional dispensation will ensure that "civilised norms, values and standards remain intact" and that Afrikaans be retained as one of the official languages.

A total of five constituencies have expressed their "deepest concern" over the corruption, fraud and malpractices taking place in government departments and have called for tough action against offenders, including the instant dismissal of officials with loss of pension benefits — instead of the now common practice of transferring guilty parties to other government departments.

With legislation designed to outlaw hard gambling due to be tabled in Parliament next week, another hot topic at the congress is bound to be a request for the government "to clarify its policy with regard to casinos", sources say.

A number of MPs are known to oppose government moves to close up to 2 000 private gaming clubs that have mushroomed across the country in recent months.

Other topics to be debated include the high incidence of violence throughout the country and the "deteriorating security situation in the Transkei", the growing squatter problem across the country, rising unemployment and rocketing food prices.

who put all their money into Volkskas, their insurance into Sanlam and their buying power into Uniwinkel?"

The credit card division had pledged 15c for every R500 spent, while Nedcor employees had been asked to donate up to 3% of their annual bonus, Coggin said.

B12m *6/10/92*
Mandela addresses students on reform

BELJING — Nelson Mandela yesterday stressed the importance of promoting democratic reforms and personal freedoms in SA, priorities that differ from those of the hardline leadership in China.

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ANC willing to meet with IFP

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC will "favourably consider" a meeting with the IFP at presidential level — provided there were thorough preparations to make such a meeting a success. (11A) et b/w/ep

"The policy of the ANC with regard to a negotiated settlement is that it must be as inclusive as possible. There are, however, very good reasons why negotiations of a bilateral nature are necessary," the ANC said yesterday.

"The Record of Understanding agreed to by the ANC and the government is one instance of this." — Sapa

Mandela sells freedom in China

(11A)

075/10/92

BELJING. — ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela received an honorary degree from China's Beijing University yesterday, and immediately made his hosts uncomfortable by lecturing them on the value of human rights.

Speaking in the heart of China's ill-fated 1989 pro-democracy movement, Mr Mandela repeated his belief in civil liberties.

He addressed a carefully-selected audience of about 400 students at Beijing University, which was at the forefront of the Tiananmen Square democracy movement which was brutally crushed in 1989.

The ceremony was heavily policed.

In a later meeting at the Great Hall of the People, Premier Li Peng reiterated China's support for Mr Mandela and others in South Africa trying to dismantle the apartheid system of racial segregation.

Freedom of speech

In his speech, Mr Mandela thanked China for its support in the anti-apartheid struggle.

"The struggle for independence, national liberation and democracy has been the 'leit motif' of the history of this century," Mr Mandela said.

He emphasised the importance of ensuring freedom of speech and ending racial discrimination, religious persecution and abuses of power.

"It is in pursuance of these that the ANC has waged struggle, employing whatever means we deemed necessary to achieve the democratic empowerment of the most oppressed."

Since China's crackdown on dissent in 1989, the communist leadership has faced increased international pressure to allow greater personal freedom and improve treatment of political dissidents. — Sapa-Reuter-AP

'Buthelezi's protests are not justified'

BIDM 7/10/92
EAST LONDON — Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi's reasons for pulling out of negotiations were unjustified, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said yesterday. Meyer also called on the ANC to finally commit itself to ending the armed struggle and to disbanding Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK). He said multiparty talks might resume before the end of the year.

Addressing the NP's Cape congress in East London, Meyer said Buthelezi's recent pronouncements were unjustified. He could give details of how President F.W. de Klerk and Cabinet Ministers had kept Inkatha leaders informed of developments in government's bilateral meetings with the ANC.

One had to accept, however, that Inkatha was an independent party with its own political agenda.

Just as government had undertaken to get the ANC back to the negotiating table, it would continue to do the same with Inkatha and other parties.

Meyer said it was now time for the ANC to show its worth.

The organisation had to return to multiparty negotiations, as there were no further excuses for it not to resume full talks. He said the ANC should review the pro-

gramme of mass action and its use as a threat in negotiations.

In the current climate of violence, mass action, as in the proposed march on Ulundi, was more likely to inspire violence than the carrying of dangerous weapons.

The ANC should contribute to fighting violence and commit itself finally to ending the armed struggle — including the dissolution of MK.

Meyer said the reform process was still on course.

He feared much of the criticism of the Record of Understanding agreed to between government and the ANC at talks on September 26, were based on misconceptions or total ignorance.

He gave an assurance that nothing in the record had not already been agreed on in Codesa structures.

The aim of the last weeks' talks with the ANC had been precisely to get confirmation of what had already been agreed.

Meyer said government intended organising a public conference, hopefully before the end of the year, to further the concept of regionalism or federalism.

It would invite representatives of all political parties, universities and various institutions. — Sapa.

ANC drops plans to address MPs

1114

CT 7/10/92

Political Staff

THE ANC yesterday dropped plans to blockade Parliament next Monday as well as its demands to address MPs, but will still march on the Houses to promote transition and protest against proposed legislation.

It also announced plans for a rally on Stalplein, which it will rename Luthuli Square in honour of former ANC president and South Africa's first Nobel Peace Prize winner, Chief Albert Luthuli.

The ANC's regional secretary in the Western Cape, Mr Tony Yengeni, said the Western Cape wanted to welcome back recently released political prisoners, and it hoped Robert McBride, Mthetheleli Mncube and Mzondeleli Nondula would participate and address the rally.

"The present Parliament has neither the legitimacy nor the moral right to pass legislation that should be dealt with by an interim government or a properly elected constituent assembly," Mr Yengeni said.

He said through the bill proposing a general amnesty "it is clear that the government intends to protect itself and its agents from public investigation of its crimes against the South African people".

PAC wants Inkatha in patriotic front

(117)
CF 7/10/92

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The PAC is embarking on an initiative to get the patriotic front going again and, in an attempt to stop the violence, wants to include Inkatha and other black leaders.

Publicity and information director Mr Waters Toboti said yesterday that PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu would lead a six-man delegation to Ulundi tomorrow to meet Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

"We will be discussing violence and how the warring factions can come together to rid our country of the scourge of apartheid," he said.

Mr Makwetu had also written to ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and would meet ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela when he returned from his trip abroad, he said.

Mr Toboti said the intention was to unite all the leaders in trying to find solutions to the violence. Once this had been achieved a united front could force the necessary changes in the country.

He said the PAC aimed to get the ANC and Inkatha to meet, but it was not certain how successful it would be.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said it was possible that the ANC would meet Inkatha formally at presidential level, but there would have to be a period of thorough preparatory talks, much like the bilateral talks with the government.

He said it was through the bilateral talks between Mr Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer that the meeting between Mr Mandela and President F W de Klerk had been made possible.

Similarly, the preparatory discussions with Inkatha would have to resolve the serious differences between the parties.

Meanwhile PAC national organiser Mr Maxwell Nmadzivhanani said the meeting with the government outside South Africa would take place only after the short session of Parliament.

He said the parties had too many other commitments before they could find time for the meeting.

FW vows to halt marches

Stop your nonsense, ANC told

By Peter Fabricius and Esther Waugh

STAR 7/10/92

EAST LONDON — In a broadside against the ANC, President de Klerk has vowed that he will not allow the organisation to proceed with any march which was unlawful or could be expected to lead to violence.

Stung by sharp criticism from within the National Party's own ranks that the Government was kow-towing to the ANC, De Klerk yesterday used the Cape NP congress as a platform for one of his toughest attacks yet.

Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel said bluntly after the first day of the congress that the Government would not allow the Ulundi and Mmabatho marches to go ahead. He hoped the ANC would decide to call them off. If not, the Government would stop them, using security legislation.

In his speech De Klerk said the ANC "must stop their nonsense. We expect them to stop underground activities."

"South Africans are sick and tired of their inflammatory speeches and their arrogant intolerance of political opponents," he said.

"We cannot accept that any party involved in the negotiation process can say against a co-signatory of the peace accord, 'I am marching on you to topple you.'"

The aggressive speech prompted a sharp counter-attack from the ANC, and the cordial relations achieved at last month's Government/ANC summit appeared to be under threat.

At the congress five demands were identified by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer. Meyer said the Government had fulfilled its side of the bargain and it was now time for the ANC to reciprocate by:

- Returning to multiparty negotiations.
- Reviewing its mass action programme.
- Playing an active role in ending violence.
- Ending the armed struggle and disbanding Umkhonto we Sizwe.
- Ending political intolerance towards its opponents.

Responding, ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said the organisation's national executive had already indicated its willingness to return to multiparty talks but believed that negotiations were best advanced at this stage in bilateral talks.

Macozoma said the ANC had undertaken to review mass action as progress was

being made in breaking the negotiations deadlock.

"However, no climate of free political activity exists in a number of bantustans and mass action commensurate with the repression we experience is necessary. If Meyer does not like mass action his Government must ensure that a climate of free political activity exists."

The ANC had for some time tried to end violence in the country and was the organisation which "sired" the National Peace Accord, Macozoma said.

The ANC would disband MK only once an interim government was installed.

At the congress De Klerk responded to criticism from delegates and from the NP mouthpiece Die Burger that the Government had given in too easily to the ANC.

Die Burger called for "strong and inspiring leadership" and De Klerk attempted to provide just that.

He said it was time for the ANC to stand up and discipline its members, and to curb those acting against the peace accord. He had called for a meeting of all the peace accord signatories.

"In the meantime you may rest assured the Government will take firm steps on marches with unlawful pur-

Stop your nonsense, ANC told

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● From Page 1

forces when they confront him about decisions that will help advance a settlement." The ANC rejected the threat to prohibit marches. "There are laws and conventions in South Africa that determine whether certain types of actions are acceptable or not."

Macozoma told The Star last night: "It is to be expected that Mr de Klerk should sound this bellicose in the light of the rearguard action by the supporters of apartheid who met yesterday afternoon." (the meeting of homeland leaders and rightwingers).

"The sad thing about Mr de Klerk's outburst against the ANC is that it shows his weakness as a political leader. He is unable to stand the pressure of reactionary

In his speech De Klerk said the Government's undertakings to prohibit dangerous weapons in public and fence hostels would have been taken even if talks had not been held with the ANC recently. The final responsibility for order lay with the Government. The options were to reintroduce a state of emergency, to ban people and to imprison them.

57/1972 7/10/92
"But we say 'no' to that option because it is not in the national interest. It is not a sign of weakness to talk to your opponents ... I give the assurance that it is not our intention to exclude people in bilateral talks but to get everyone back to the negotiating table.

"Our responsibility as Government made it essential that we also get the ANC back to negotiations. 7/10/92.

● The ANC's western Cape region yesterday announced further protest action, including a march on Parliament.

● The Methodist Church of Southern Africa has appealed to the ANC alliance to call off its proposed marches on Ulundi and Mbabatho.

FW threat to stop homeland ANC marches

Political Staff

EAST LONDON — President F.W. de Klerk yesterday put himself on a collision course with the ANC by threatening to stop its marches on Ulundi and Mmabatho.

In a tough keynote address to the NP Cape congress, De Klerk said government was "duty bound" to prevent marches which could result in violence. (11A)

Responding to mounting unease and criticism of his leadership style from party ranks, De Klerk moved sharply to reassure the party faithful by launching a blistering attack on the ANC.

In particular he lashed out at the ANC's revised position on mass action, dismissing it as "totally unsatisfactory" and warning that it should "stop the nonsense" as well as its underground activities.

The time had arrived for the real leaders of the ANC to stand up and discipline their regional leadership and "dissident radical elements". B/DAM 7/10/92

De Klerk said it was "completely unacceptable" that parties involved in negotiations could threaten to topple from power those around the table.

South Africans could "rest assured" that government would take firm steps against actions that could lead to violence.

Sapa reports the ANC last night reacted angrily to De Klerk's attack.

The organisation said laws and conventions determined whether certain types of actions were acceptable or not. "It is not the government's political palate that determines what is acceptable and what is not. The ANC observes both the law and those conventions of its own volition, not because of threats from Mr De Klerk."

It said phase four of its protest campaign would be reviewed now there had been movement on talks between itself and government.

Homeland leaders, right-wingers want Codesa scrapped

6/04/92 7/10/92
HOMELAND leaders and right-wingers who met yesterday resolved to call for the scrapping of Codesa, the special session of Parliament and the government-ANC Record of Understanding.

The Conference for Concerned South Africans brought together parties disgruntled by government's bilateral agreements with the ANC.

They included Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Ciskei military leader Oupa Gqozo and Bophuthatswana's President Lucas Mangope; as well as the CP, the Afrikaaner Volksunie and the Afrikaaner Freedom Foundation.

The conference decided to support Buthelezi's demands that ANC military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) be disbanded immediately, its arms caches surrendered and its cessation of recruitment and training before negotiations could proceed.

TIM COHEN
The grouping called for a multiparty conference to examine both the negotiating and peace processes.

It resolved that a delegation from the forum be sent to government to convey the concern about aspects of proposed constitutional legislation.

The delegation would request government not to proceed with the scheduled special session of Parliament and that the Record of Understanding be "stopped". It also resolved to attempt to increase its life and size, establishing a steering committee to approach "like-minded" parties and arrange a further conference.

Buthelezi told a news conference the special session of Parliament "would again represent exclusive — and unacceptable — decision-making."

"The conference discussed at length ways and means of overcoming the polarisation and frustration caused by bilateral agreements between the SA government and the ANC," he said.

There had been total agreement among delegates that without the immediate disbanding of MK, the surrender of its arms caches and the cessation of recruitment and training for military purposes, negotiations could not continue, he said.

"The conference resolved unanimously to resist any enticement to return to negotiations which could in any way be hijacked and turned into the farce which had resulted in the government and the ANC arriving at the so-called Record of Understanding," said Buthelezi.

BILLY PADDOCK reports that it was

□ To Page 2

Homeland leaders

announced yesterday that Buthelezi would meet a PAC delegation led by president Clarence Makwetu in Ulundi tomorrow.

Publicity and information director Waters Toboti said the organisation was embarking on an initiative to get the patriotic front going again. It would include Inkatha and other black leaders in an attempt to stop the violence. *6/04/92 7/10/92*

"We will be discussing violence and how the warring factions can come together to rid our country of the scourge of apartheid," he said.

Makwetu had also written a letter to ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa

11A □ From Page 1

and would meet ANC president Nelson Mandela when he returned from his trip abroad. Toboti said the intention was to unite all leaders to find active solutions to the violence. Once this had happened a united front could force the necessary changes in SA. He said the PAC intended to get the ANC and Inkatha to meet.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said it was possible that the ANC would meet Inkatha formally at presidential level but there would have to be a period of thorough preparatory talks, much like the bilaterals with government.

● See Page 3

● Comment: Page 10

Small business steering group

THEO RAWANA

SUN CITY — A steering committee, which is to formulate a framework of policy affecting small business, has been established.

The Small Business Unity Workshop Conference, held in Sun City yesterday, appointed the five-man committee comprising chairmen of the five workshops.

It is to co-ordinate the different small business committees nationwide to formulate a uniform policy.

The chairmen are Potchefstroom University's small business advisory bureau director Piet Moolman, Sunnyside Group chairman Keith Foster, Dick Robb of Barlow Rand who is chairman of Matchmaker Services, Willie Conradie of Volkskas Bank, and Phil Khumalo, Business Challenge CE.

The workshops they headed were on training/consultation, deregulation, subcontracting/matchmaking, financing and marketing respectively.

The idea of such a committee came when Foster, giving his report on the deregulation workshop, told the meeting that not one party in all the main political players had a small business policy.

"If the situation is left the way it is, small business will always be neglected," Foster said.

"Deputy Trade and Industry Minister David Graaf, who is entrusted with small business, is still finding his way working out a Cabinet view on small business."

He said the Sunnyside Group and Sacob's small business forum were working on merging into a single body and hoped to have the structure in place by the end of the year.

The steering committee would immediately get to work investigating the final structure, he said.

Talk to police, Mandela is told

BLOOM 7/10/92

11A

RAY HARTLEY

ANC president Nelson Mandela should meet police generals and tell them directly what his organisation expected of police, instead of simply criticising them from a great distance, says Idasa director Van Zyl Slabbert.

Addressing an Idasa conference on policing in Vanderbijlpark yesterday, Slabbert said a new negotiating forum dealing with the role of the security forces and stability during the transition to democracy was urgently needed.

Slabbert said a future political accord would depend on "transitional stability" in the public service, including the police.

He warned political leaders that the public service could disintegrate, with grave consequences, if it was left without a sense of purpose while national negotiations were going on.

The public service had been "meticulously and systematically" built up to pursue the goals of apartheid.

Now it was facing a crisis of legitimacy, he said.

Slabbert said he had always regarded Codesa as an inappropriate forum for negotiations because it had created the illusion that politicians could negotiate transition on their own.

He added that efforts by Finance Minister Derek Keys and Cosatu to establish an economic forum and the recently established housing forum, were places where "the most important bargaining is taking place".

"I think it is unreasonable to ex-

pect the police to pull themselves up by their own bootstraps.

"Like most of us, they were singularly unprepared for change," Slabbert said.

"Only five or six years ago it was seen as part of the training of police and soldiers that they had to eliminate the enemy," he said, adding that the same was true of the liberation movements.

Police consultant Kobus Neethling, who has addressed more than 15 000 policemen on ways of improving their creativity, said police needed new skills if changes in their values were to be effective.

He said police and community visions of SA needed to be aligned to truly address the accountability of the force.

Neethling said the majority of policemen he had spoken to wanted to continue with policing and had a "positive awareness" of their role.

Police needed to be caring, emotionally involved, vulnerable, empathetic, humanistic and intuitive to succeed in their work, he said.

Eastern Cape Council of Churches chairman Mcebisi Xundu said community organisations had shown they appreciated law and order by using marshals to control their protest marches.

He said chiefs and headmen needed to be elected by their communities to create confidence and increase the accountability of their policing activities in the rural areas.

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they tour the Great Wall of China yesterday.

Picture: AP

Kriel accused of 'whitewash job'

Blom 7/10/92
LAW and Order Minister Hernus Kriel was deliberately ignoring advice from a recently established police board and "whitewashing" problems facing the police, Cosatu official Jayendra Naidoo told the Idasa conference.

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RAY HARTLEY
Naidoo, who represents the ANC alliance on the national peace secretariat, told the conference on policing Kriel had "totally sidelined" the board, which is made up of equal num-

bers of police and civilian representatives.

The 22-man board was established to advise on strategy and met for the first time in May this year.

"The way that Kriel has dealt with the police board to date is a disgrace. He seems comfortable whitewashing his problems," said Naidoo.

The national peace secretariat needed to play a greater role in policing, including decisions about which officers were stationed in unrest areas.

He said fundamental changes were needed to enhance community participation in policing.

Police accountability to communities needed to be established in the period before an interim government, to minimise the conflict involved in changing police once a new government had been established, he said.

Promotion, discipline and training, which could be called the police force's "carrot, stick and advice", needed to be changed.

Mandela, whose trip was made at the invitation of Chinese President Yang Shangkun, also met Premier Li Peng and Communist Party chief Jiang Zemin during his three-day stay in Beijing.

mal diplomatic links with SA. Such a visit would worry China's leaders, who actively sought diplomatic isolation for Taiwan, which Beijing considers a renegade province. — Sapa-Reuter.

Excessive secrecy shrouds new strategic policing plan

Blom 7/10/92
AN UNNECESSARY degree of secrecy had shrouded the development of a new strategic plan for policing, Wits Policing Research Project academics Etienne Marais and Janine Rauch said in a paper to be delivered today.

The paper, which will be presented to delegates at the Idasa policing in the 1990s conference, blamed a traditional police suspicion of "outsiders" for the secrecy.

"This is further complicated by the SAP's unwillingness to allow any other parties to participate in the evaluation and planning process, or, indeed, to publicise its own new reform plan," the paper said.

Rauch, a Police Board member, was the first outsider allowed to witness any aspect of basic police training.

Rauch and Marais praised the recent announcement by police of a new community relations division, which would be responsible for strategic planning, conflict evaluation and the co-ordination of police participation in commissions of inquiry.

But the researchers added the interchange between different police divisions was difficult and often contradictory.

"Good relations which exist between

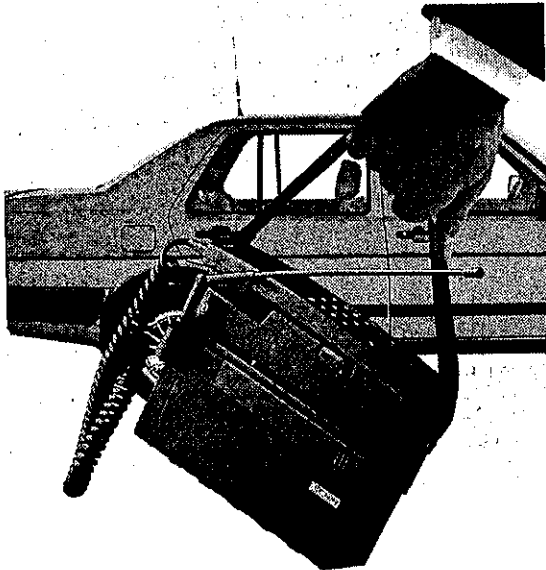
RAY HARTLEY
local station commanders and communities have often been ignored when the Internal Stability Unit has been sent into the area — leading to a breakdown of trust and co-operation," the paper said.

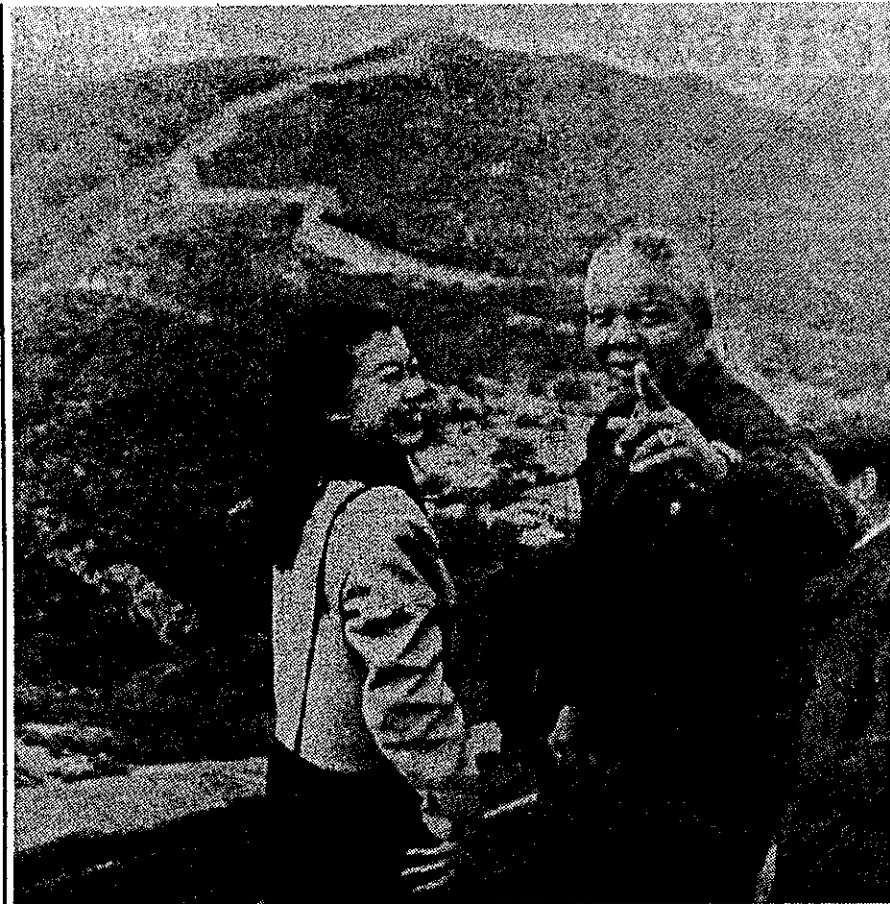
By signing the national peace accord, police had acknowledged they were "not merely a referee, but a significant player in the violence", it said.

Although it was too early to say whether or not the code of conduct signed by policemen in terms of the peace accord had improved policing, there were worrying signs it was "not having much restraining or moderating effect".

Police continued to view criticism of their operations as part of a "political agenda of undermining the credibility of the SAP", allowing police leadership to fob off criticism, the paper said.

Training was still military in character and focused disproportionate attention on the use of firearms, military discipline and the socialisation of recruits into the policing culture, rather than covering areas such as police-community relations, ethical problems and police accountability.





Mandela re-affirms friendship with China

BEIJING — ANC president Nelson Mandela ended his first official visit to Beijing yesterday with firm assurances of Chinese friendship, but no promises that China would avoid establishing links with the present SA government.

Speaking at a news conference after talks with Chinese leaders, Mandela said Beijing had repeated its support for the ANC in its long struggle against apartheid.

ANC officials admitted, however, that Beijing had not made any concrete commitment to hold off on diplomatic links with Pretoria until the ANC's demand for an interim government was met.

"The Chinese government has indicated that it supports that position," spokesman for the delegation Fallo Jordan said. "But what the intentions of the Chinese government are, I cannot tell you."

Political analysts say Beijing may be considering opening formal diplomatic ties with SA. Last year the two countries agreed to swap their first unofficial representative offices.

The move would follow a series of Chinese diplomatic achievements over the past year which included the opening of diplomatic ties with two former foes, Israel and South Korea.

Mandela, whose trip was made at the invitation of Chinese President Yang Shangkun, also met Premier Li Peng and Communist Party chief Jiang Zemin during his three-day stay in Beijing.

He repeated his friendship for the Beijing government, which was among the first to support the ANC, and waved away attempts by reporters to ascertain his views on China's human rights record.

"We judge every country not from the point of view of the internal social order which it follows, but from the point of view of the attitude it takes toward our struggle," Mandela said.

Friendship "is a debt which we owe to them (China), and we are not going to forget that now that we are on the verge of liberation".

Mandela's delicate political statements followed an equally diplomatic speech on Monday at Beijing University, which was at the heart of the student-led pro-democracy protests of 1989.

Mandela told a selected group of students there that the ANC was committed to fighting for democracy and human rights — two goals espoused by the protest movement before troops crushed it at Tiananmen Square.

Mandela said China's leaders had pledged to maintain its policy of providing "financial and material" aid to the ANC, although he did not give details.

He also said he was considering a visit to Beijing's arch-rival, Taipei, which had formal diplomatic links with SA.

Such a visit would worry China's leaders, who actively sought diplomatic isolation for Taiwan, which Beijing considers a renegade province. — Sapa-Reuter.

ANC leader Nelson Mandela chats to Chinese foreign ministry translator Sun Baohong as they tour the Great Wall of China yesterday. Picture: AP

Kriel accused of 'whitewash job'

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BIOM 7/10/92

March on Bop town called off

Southern

8/10/92

■ 'Planning problems' and 'matter of organising it properly' the reason: (11A)

THE African National Congress has called off tomorrow's planned march on the Bophuthatswana capital of Mmabatho.

"It is not going to take place on Friday," ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said yesterday. "There is a good probability, though, that it will take place at a later stage."

The reason for the cancellation was "a matter of organising it properly".

The ANC was committed in principle to continuing with mass action in both KwaZulu and Bophuthatswana, as pledged earlier, Niehaus said.

At this stage the organisation could not give details as the campaigns were still under discussion.

The ANC gave an undertaking at the meeting on September 26 between its president, Mr Nelson Mandela, and President FW de Klerk to review its mass action programme.

An ANC-led march on Ciskei on September 7 ended with the deaths of 29 people and with both sides blaming each other for the massacre.

Bophuthatswana warned the ANC on Tuesday the planned march on the homeland would lead to bloodshed. - *Sapa*.

Now Stoffel castigates the ANC

Stoffel 8/10/92

THE National Party yesterday warned the ANC/SA Communist Party alliance that if their "irresponsible propagandists" did not cease forthwith, the NP would have no choice but to start responding in kind.

NP general secretary Dr Stoffel van der Merwe was commenting on the ANC's rejection of President FW de Klerk's warning on Tuesday that the country was sick and tired of the ANC's inflammatory statements, arrogance and intolerance of the rights of others.

Van der Merwe said the attack on De Klerk went "way beyond what is rea-

■ Van der Merwe says the NP has studiously avoided attacking the person, character of Nelson Mandela:

sonable and, to use a term from the ANC's own statement, is absolute twaddle".

He said despite strong temptations to the contrary, the NP had studiously avoided attacking the person, character and integrity of ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela in order not to "bedevil" the negotiation process. However, the same consideration was not given by the ANC/SACP alliance in their "hysterical at-

tacks".

"True, the State President castigated the ANC on Tuesday for their arrogance and their intolerance. All his accusations can be fully substantiated and, once again, he did not stoop to attacking the leadership, the character or the integrity of the leader of the ANC.

"He simply berated the ANC/SACP as organisations for their failures," Van der Merwe said. - *Sapa*.

(11A) (2)

'Unholy alliance' dangerous - callers

Sowetan 8/10/92

Sowetan & Radio Metro
Talkback



with Tim Modise

By Lulama Luti (IA) (2007)

THE newly-formed anti-ANC/Government alliance between homeland leaders and rightwing parties came under heavy fire for the second time last night.

Speaking during the *Sowetan*/Radio Metro Talkback Show, political journalist of *The Star*, Mr Kaizer Nyatumba, said the alliance had a potential to plunge the country into even deeper political crisis.

"I think the ANC, PAC, Azapo and the Government should be concerned because the alliance is capable of even more chaos," he said.

Nyatumba added that while all the participants in the mini-summit on Tuesday were denying there was an alliance, the fact that they did not dis-

solve, and sought instead to form a steering committee, showed clearly that there was an alliance.

Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi came under heavy attack as listeners predicted he might even lose support for his participation in the summit.

Mohale of Cape Town said the alliance was not only a ploy to disorganise and destabilise the country, but it was also carefully designed to instil fear in the masses.

Andrew of Daveyton, Benoni, said Buthelezi owed South Africa an explanation.

"I'm very happy about the summit. I'm particularly overjoyed that Buthelezi stooped so low as to connive, unapologetically, with racists. However, I'm disappointed at Mangope. I thought he was much more intelligent than that."

Max Mokgale, Cape Town

"I'm not surprised that Buthelezi chose to associate with those rightwingers, especially the CP. For someone to stoop so low, he

must be extremely desperate. I have no doubt that his supporters will be disappointed with him and gradually grow weary of him and leave the IFP."

Joe Bloggs, Maritzburg.

"It's time for them to tell all concerned South Africans as to what their good intentions are. That is what we would like to see in the future."

Andrew, Daveyton

Buthlezi, PAC leader for talks today

DURBAN. — Pan Africanist Congress president Mr Clarence Makwetu and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi are to have their first face-to-face meeting in the Kwazulu capital of Ulundi today, to discuss ways of ending political violence.

(11A) KRC 8/10/92
The leaders and their delegations were due to meet at 11am and join a delegation from the United Nations for lunch, a

Kwazulu spokesman said.

He confirmed this was the first meeting between the two leaders.

PAC general secretary Mr Benny Alexander said earlier this week that there was a possibility that his organisation could bring the African National Congress and IFP together.

He explained that once Mr Makwetu and Chief Buthelezi had met, the PAC president would attempt to meet ANC

leader Mr Nelson Mandela also to discuss ways of curbing bloodshed in this country.

After such meetings the PAC hoped to draft a programme of action, acceptable to both organisations, aimed at ending political violence and normalising relations between the ANC and IFP.

Asked if this could lead to a summit between the two organisations, Mr Alexander said "it could". — Sapa.

NP congress closes with ANC-bashing

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

EAST LONDON — The National Party completed its provincial congress season here with a round of anti-ANC sabre-rattling at the Cape congress to reassure the party faithful.

President de Klerk delivered one of his strongest attacks on the organisation, warning it to abandon mass action and become a normal political party.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer then presented the ANC with a list of five demands, includ-

ing the termination of the armed struggle and the disbanding of its armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel followed with a few sharp digs of his own at the ANC.

Prosecuted

Responding to criticism of police misbehaviour, Kriel said the SAP prosecuted policemen who did wrong.

"We don't protect them the way the ANC protects Ronnie Kasrils," he added, referring to the ANC's refusal to censure the SA Communist Party

member for his conduct on the day of the killings in Bisho, Ciskei.

The reason for the bellicose tone of the NP leaders was the negative reaction among their rank-and-file to the Record of Understanding which the Government signed with the ANC on September 26 for the release of prisoners, the guarding of hostels and banning of weapons.

Delegate Koos Lloyd, a retired MP, expressed the feeling of the congress when he stood up and urged the party leadership not to crawl and kow-tow to the ANC.

STAP 8/10/92

320A
11A

PAC meeting Buthelezi to discuss the violence

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

The Pan Africanist Congress will meet KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in Ulundi today to discuss violence and political tolerance, the PAC announced yesterday.

PAC deputy president Dikgang Moseneke said the meeting — which comes two days after Buthelezi and his allies met in Johannesburg to discuss the ANC-Government's September 26 Record of Understanding — will also discuss recent political developments and "strategies towards the establishment of democracy" in the country.

Moseneke said the PAC wrote to Buthelezi and the ANC this week, asking for meetings with them. He said his organisation had offered to mediate between the two parties, and had indicated that "ultimately it will be up to the ANC and the IFP to get together and talk".

The PAC delegation will be led by its president Clarence Makwetu.

● The PAC, the ANC and the Southern African Development Community have agreed to organise "a blockbuster musical event" in Zimbabwe on April 17 next year to raise funds for famine relief in southern Africa, PAC relief and aid secretary Patricia de Lille said yesterday.

ANC's Mmabatho march put on hold

THE ANC has called off tomorrow's planned march on the Bophuthatswana capital of Mmabatho.

The organisation said the reason for the march not going ahead was "a matter of organising it properly", reports Sapa.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday that there was "a good probability it will take place at a later stage".

The ANC was committed in principle to continuing with mass action in KwaZulu and Bophuthatswana, as pledged earlier, Niehaus said.

The ANC was not in a position to give details of its planned actions as campaigns were still under discussion.

KATHRYN STRACHAN reports that ANC PWV region chairman Ronnie Mamoepa said last night that a mass action committee had proposed the march take place this weekend, but the suggestion had been set aside by "the political structure".

The action committee had now set Saturday October 24 as the new date for the march.

Our Durban correspondent reports that ANC officials in Natal have vowed to go ahead with the march on the KwaZulu capital of Ulundi, despite President F W de Klerk's threat this week to put a stop to activities which could provoke violence.

However, spokesman Dumisani Makhaya said other options were being considered in order for the ANC to make its point that it felt itself to be effectively banned north of the Tugela River.

Symbols fall to change

■ Clear signal about Cape Town's square:

Swafem 8/10/92

STALPLEIN, to be renamed Albert Luthuli Square during next week's protest outside Parliament, got its name in the 18th Century when the Burgher Council resolved to build stables on the site.

It has been targeted in the way that all *ancien regime* symbols and statuary are set up for toppling when political winds change.

All over the world, effigies of generals - British, German, Belgian, Portuguese, KGB - have ended saluting the pavement.

The square is home to the statue of first Union prime minister Louis Botha, a monument which more than once has been draped with the black, green and gold flag of the movement born during his term of office.

Perhaps one day the graven image of Albert Luthuli, the chief stripped of his title by the apartheid government he defied, will stand in Botha's place. Chief Luthuli, leader of the ANC from 1952 until its banning, won the 1961 Nobel Peace Prize.

He was banned in 1952 from entering any major city. This was extended the following year to a ban limiting him to the Lower Tugela magisterial district.

ANC discovers that a lot's in a name.

2044

ARG 8/10/92

11A

CLIVE SAWYER
Municipal Reporter

STALPLEIN, to be "re-named" Albert Luthuli Square after the late ANC leader during next Monday's protest during the opening of parliament, was named in the 18th century when the Burgher Council resolved to build stables on the site.

It has been targeted in the way that all ancien regime symbols and statuary are set up for toppling when political winds change.

All over the world, effigies of generals — British, German, Belgian, Portuguese, KGB — have ended life saluting the pavement.

The square is home to the statue of first Union prime minister, Louis Botha, a monument which more than once has been draped with the black, green and gold flag of the movement born during his term of office.

Perhaps one day the graven image of Luthuli, the chief stripped of his title by the apartheid government he defied, will stand in Botha's place.

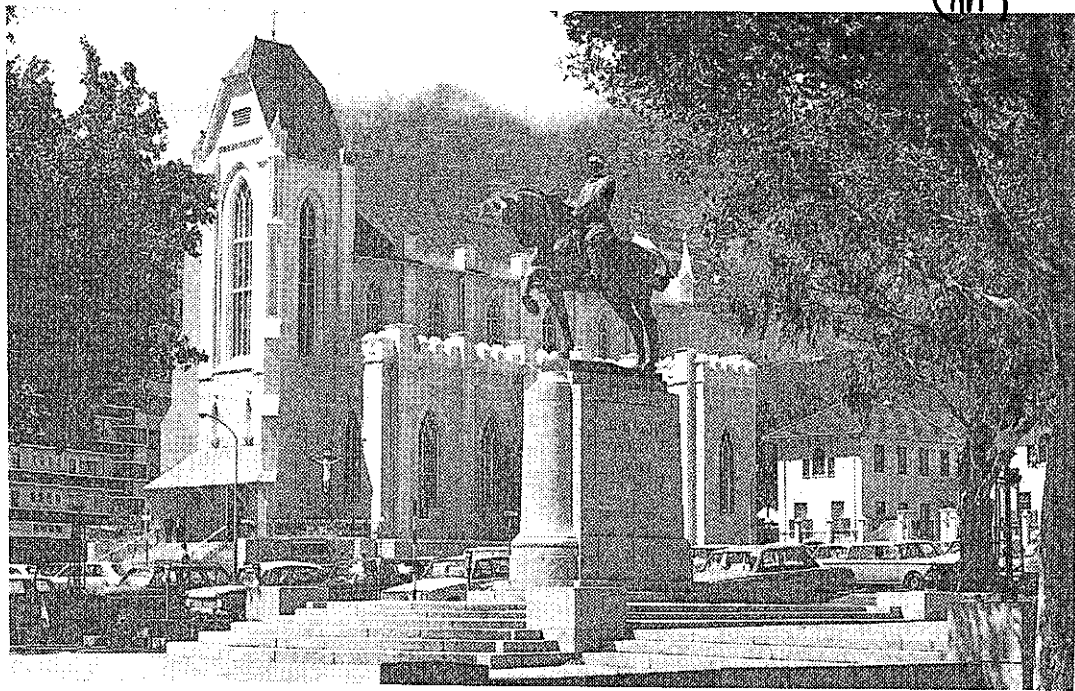
Chief Luthuli, ANC leader from 1952 until the organisation was banned, won the 1961 Nobel Peace Prize.

He was banned in 1952 from entering any major city. The following year the ban was extended, limiting his movements to the Lower Tugela magisterial district.

While Chief Luthuli's claim to a patch of Stalplein may seem tenuous to some — the ANC leader was born in Zimbabwe and educated in Natal — the square has long been a potent political symbol.

It was named in the late 1700s, after councillors J J Rhenius and O G de Wet proposed building the stables, partly as a way to butter up Governor Cornelius van der Graaff, who owned more than 130 horses.

The stables were used for years for the horses of the garrison, the military force underpinning colonial power.



ALL CHANGE: Stalplein, soon to be "Albert Luthuli Square", is dominated by the statue of Louis Botha. Will it survive the changes unleashed by black rule?

Stalplein is home to Tuynhuys, residence of the State President. The first record of a *Lusthuis des Gouverneurs* is on a 1749 map, when the building was much humbler and was used to house the governor's important guests.

During the first British occupation, the building was converted to the grander proportions familiar to Plein Street and Government Avenue passers-by today.

Stalplein is smaller than it once was, having lost the portion known as *Looyersplein* (tanners' square) when land was sold to the Roman Catholic Church to build St Mary's Cathedral.

Beyond the days of colonialism, Stalplein was revamped in grandiose fashion in the P W Botha era.

It acquired in one corner the Great Chamber of Parliament, in another the President's Council and, fronting all, a heavily guarded gate featuring four orange, white, and blue flags.

Fences were put up to stop people using it as a shortcut to

and from the city centre.

The "renaming", whether it has official sanction now or later, is part of a time-honoured ritual built up as flags, over the years, have been run down and replaced over Africa.

Since World War 2, Northern Rhodesia has become Zambia, Southern Rhodesia (eventually) Zimbabwe, Basutoland has become Lesotho, the Congo Zaire, Tanganyika Tanzania, and Nyasaland Malawi.

In Zaire, Leopoldville became Kinshasa and Elisabethville became Lubumbashi.

In post-independence Zimbabwe, Salisbury became Harare, Wankie became Hwange and the Zimbabwe Ruins became officially known as Great Zimbabwe.

In Mozambique, the capital changed its name from Lourenço Marques to Maputo.

Sometimes tides run back: the Central African Republic became the Central African Empire under Bokassa but returned to less grandiose status once he was deposed from his golden throne.

ANC and PAC behind famine-relief concert

WILSON ZWANE

INTERNATIONAL and local musicians are expected to converge on Harare for a concert next year to raise funds for famine relief.

The concert, organised by the ANC, the PAC and 10 southern African states, will be the first major concert held for this purpose in Africa.

The event — the Concert for Southern Africa — will be in Harare on April 17 next year.

ANC president Nelson Mandela, PAC president Clarence Makwetu and heads of Angola, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Namibia will be invited.

PAC relief and aid secretary Patricia de Lille said in a statement preparations for the concert began yesterday after the Southern African Development Community approved the project.

"Proceeds will go to the Southern Africa Recovery Fund, whose board of advisers comprises representatives from the ANC, PAC and permanent representatives to the UN from the governments of Zimbabwe, Botswana, Lesotho and Mozambique," she said.

The recovery fund would use concert proceeds to transport food to famine-stricken areas of southern Africa and to sponsor education programmes and workshops on farming techniques and business development.

US-based accounting firm Ernst and Young would administer, manage and disburse the proceeds, the PAC said.

De Lille said world-renowned US musician Quincy Jones would be among the performers. He had been "persuaded" to cancel another concert to support this one. Names of other musicians would be released later.

Tickets to the concert will cost US\$4 each.

Homeland, right-wing alliance played down

PRETORIA — Politicians and diplomats yesterday played down the formation of an association of homeland leaders and right-wing groups who have called for the scrapping of Codesa and a review of the whole negotiation process.

SACP general secretary Chris Hanu described the partnership as "degrading", saying "every decent black person and democrat in our country is nauseated by the depths into which Chief (Mangosuthu) Buthelezi has now plunged himself".

He called on Inkatha members to distance themselves from the "warm embrace" Buthelezi had given to "diehard white racists".

The SACP had been disturbed by many things the leadership of Inkatha had been saying over the past few years. "But enough is surely enough", he said.

Andries Treurnicht's CP represented the most backward white farmers who oppressed farm labourers, he said.

The NP, while welcoming the prospect of talks on aspects of the negotiations process, has said the meeting between the groups does not constitute a threat.

Secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe indicated the parties did not have any fundamental basis for co-operation. Inkatha had always opposed apartheid, while the CP was seeking to reintroduce it.

Diplomats said yesterday the group's long-term interests were fundamentally different, although a review of the negotiations process could be valuable.

TIM COHEN

A succession of ambassadors have visited Buthelezi recently, partly to encourage him to rejoin the process, but the meeting on Tuesday rebuffed those efforts.

Political groups venting their frustrations was not a bad thing, one diplomat said, although it did mean that a meeting between Inkatha and the ANC might have to be shelved for some time.

Our political staff reports from Durban that PAC president Clarence Makwetu is due to meet KwaZulu Chief Minister and IFP president Buthelezi today, thursday to discuss the continuing carnage and interparty rivalry in Ulundi.

Makwetu will be accompanied by his deputy Dikgang Moseneke and four other national executive committee members.

PAC spokesman Patricia de Lille said the meeting had nothing to do with the recent homeland leaders and right-wing organisations summit held recently.

Other high-ranking PAC officials expected at the meeting will be secretary for projects development Elizabeth Sibeko, legal and constitutional affairs secretary Willie Serati, senior publicity and information officer Siphon Makhandu, and national executive committee member Joe Mkhwanazi. It is not known which IFP officials will accompany the IFP president, but IFP's national chairman Frank Mdlalose is expected to attend.

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ANC to outline plans in US

SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON — The ANC has summoned its US supporters to discuss what kinds of political and economic help they should provide once an interim government is installed and the movement drops its call for sanctions.

ANC president Nelson Mandela and other senior officials will be outlining their "programme of action for the 90s" at a major conference of civil rights, church, union and other activist groups in New York next month.

The gathering, timed to coincide with the UN General Assembly's annual debate on SA, will feature workshops on education, housing, health care, workers' rights, land reform, constitutional issues and foreign investment.

"A particular focus of each workshop will be the organisation of constituent groups to advocate support for US foreign policies that will provide aid and material assistance in each issue area," the invitation states.

There is no mention of sanctions.

Sources close to the World Bank, which is helping the ANC and its affiliates devise economic strategies for the post-apartheid era, believe the meeting may be an important turning point. (IA) (S)

An ANC spokesman said the decision to hold the conference was taken at the movement's policy conference in May. Similar sessions are to be held in Europe and Asia.

The list of sponsors is a veritable who's who of the US anti-apartheid movement, ranging from New York mayor David Dinkins, the NAACP and the Episcopal Church to members of the congressional black caucus. (S)

It also includes a smattering of black US entrepreneurs, mostly from the legal profession and entertainment industry, as well as diamond dealer Leon Tempelman, who has long sided with the sanctions movement while negotiating with pro-sanctions congressmen to ensure that his own interests are not harmed.

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3/10/92

Independent bodies to deal with police

RAY HARTLEY

TWO new independent bodies would begin by December to deal with serious complaints against the police, and with creating new training methods, police spokesman Col Frans Malherbe said yesterday.

The formation of the two bodies was among reforms announced by Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel last week.

A panel, consisting of judges, advocates, political leaders and community representatives, would hear serious complaints about police conduct and report to parliament.

A second independent panel on training, which would "represent the whole spectrum of the population", would appoint new police trainers and develop new training programmes.

Responding to criticism of the police made at an Idasa conference on policing, he said careful note was being taken of what delegates had said.

Affirmative action was under way in the police force and the 55% black and 45% white ratio would "change rapidly".

"My big questions is: we can reform, but when are different sections going to look at themselves to reform and accept the hand of friendship we are holding out?" Malherbe said.

Party political use of SAP 'must end'

A FUTURE ANC government would be tempted to follow the NP's example and use police for party political ends, unless dramatic moves to depoliticise the force were made immediately, SACP official Essop Pahad said in Vanderbylpark yesterday.

"This government must stop using the police as their personal instrument and the police must stop being used," he told delegates at an Idasa conference on policing.

"I don't think (Law and Order Minister) Hernus Kriel has the capacity to act with the breadth and vision to take the police into a new era."

A new independent trade union for policemen, that was not tied to any political party and represented all political persuasions, was needed to give policemen a say in their work, Pahad said.

"There is no earthly reason why police should not be allowed to have trade unions. The police must form a trade union so there is an organised body that will act for them."

The peace accord specifically stated that permission was not required for protests, yet police continued to insist on being asked for permission.

Local dispute resolution committees could form the basis of a new, improved relationship between the community and police, he said.

"We need to move as rapidly as possible to the first phase of transitional arrangements so that we can begin to have multi-party control over the police.

"We would be naive in the extreme to think that a police force that has been trained to view us as the enemy, can change overnight," Pahad said.

"The overwhelming majority of our people are fed up with the spiralling crime

rate and are fed up with the violence. "They want to know what it is that prevents the police force from dealing with violence.

"Why can't the same police force, which was so effective in dealing with the ANC's underground structures, deal with the violence?" he asked.

ANC legal expert Matthew Phosa told the conference police needed to be "thoroughly democratised".

He said police should be service oriented and accountable.

"The police must serve the people by guaranteeing their rights to live in freedom and to exercise their lawful, democratic rights," Phosa said.

Non-partisanship, openness and professionalism were needed along with the minimum use of force.

"The interests of all in the community should be considered and the poorer communities should not be discriminated against because of a lack of resources," he said.

Meetings

Meanwhile the ANC said yesterday it was dismayed by Idasa director Van Zyl Slabbert's suggestion that ANC president Nelson Mandela should meet police generals and not just criticise them from a distance.

"In the first instance, Mandela has held frequent meetings, at his request, with the police at various levels of seniority.

"Secondly, virtually all Mandela's visits to different parts of the country include a visit to police stations and discussions with the commanding officers and senior staff," an ANC statement said.

BIDAY 8/10/92. (11A) RAY HARTLEY

ALL OF us have experienced periods of high hopes and of near despair during the past three years. It was probably inevitable that this would be so.

People tend to overdramatise the situation, and think in terms of the party leaders only. But no party leader is a free agent. One is a leader only because one has followers. If one acts in such a way as to alienate those followers, one is out of business as a leader. This has been especially true of President F W de Klerk and Nelson Mandela.

The people on whom De Klerk relies were all firm supporters of apartheid until three years ago. They are accustomed to thinking of people in terms of ethnic groups. It does not come naturally to an Afrikaner nationalist to put individual human rights first. De Klerk has performed a great feat of leadership in bringing his people so far and so fast along the road to liberalism.

On the other side, Mandela's followers tend to have, with reason, perceived themselves as oppressed for decades by a bunch of white supremacists. Now they are being asked to trust these same people, to negotiate and compromise with them — and it is hardly surprising that they find this very difficult.

As MP Colin Eglin put it recently: "De Klerk's momentous leadership decision and its implications did not filter down sufficiently to the opposing popular forces. This is one of the reasons why both the NP and the ANC have found it necessary at various times to mobilise and consolidate their constituencies, even at the risk of jeopardising the negotiation process."

Students of the negotiating process must be fully aware that it is extremely difficult to keep the two opposing constituencies committed. Never was this better illustrated than in the process leading up to Saturday October 26, when De Klerk and Mandela shook hands, and we were all able to feel that the process was back on track.

NP and ANC find retaining support for talks a struggle

BLOOM 8/10/92

ZACH DE BEER

This was a joyous event; but it was achieved only through an agreement to release a number of prisoners, some of whom had committed awful crimes. No one feels that they deserved to be released on their merits. Some are convinced that no political dividend can justify the wrongness of these releases.

Once again, it is the strength of feeling of the ordinary people which creates the political imperative. To Mandela's followers, McBride, Non-dula and Mncube are freedom fighters. The perception in ANC circles was that they were still being held simply because their victims had been white people. Furthermore, the ANC believed that government had been committed for months to releasing these three, and was dragging its feet.

Quite literally, the price for getting negotiations back on track was the release of these three men. I think it was right to pay that price. De Klerk showed rare political courage in deciding as he did, and he deserves support and praise for it.

The September 26 agreement may have been a bit less difficult for Mandela than for De Klerk. After all, he was widely seen as having gained a great deal and given very little. Yet

he, too, deserves credit for what was achieved. It is extremely difficult for a white audience to understand how great is the pressure on Mandela.

It is so easy for black South Africans to take the position that, firstly, they have suffered all the wrongs, all the oppression for hundreds of years, so why should they make further sacrifices or compromises now? Secondly, their numbers and the justice of their cause have finally brought the whites to the brink of surrender. Blacks have only to tough it out for the whites to collapse altogether.

The mainstream ANC leadership around Mandela resists this kind of thinking. They do not seek a crushing victory. For moral reasons, but also for excellent practical ones, they want the white population to stay here and to contribute its great skills and influence.

But while I have confidence that this is the view of the mainstream leaders, I do not have the same confidence in regard to their allies.

From February 2 1990 until September 7 1992, it seemed to me that the communists within the ANC were lying low. But the episode at

Bisho and its aftermath have entirely changed my view. Communist leaders and most particularly Chris Hani played the major part in drumming up support for the march.

What you may be less well aware of is the interpretation which the communists sought to put upon the massacre at Bisho. In a speech made that very day, Hani was reported as saying: "Our people have learnt a lesson from the struggle and that lesson is that they will free themselves. They will not be freed by sweet talk around a negotiating table."

Hani is saying is that he has nothing but scorn for the negotiating process. The ANC leadership is committed to that process, but the communists reject it. And this is not just a flash in the pan. For this, of course, there is a perfectly good reason. If one negotiates for power, or enters into a democratic competition for it, one is likely to end up with some form of shared power. But if one seizes power by force, one is likely to have total power — and that is what every totalitarian wants.

I do not believe that Nelson Mandela is a totalitarian. I do believe that Chris Hani must be one, for otherwise he could not be secretary-general of the SACP. This distinction

is going to become very important during the months ahead.

Codesa made some progress until the Nats and the ANC started fighting with each other. Starting shortly after the referendum, Codesa lost its constructive, creative spirit and became dominated by brawling and quarrelling between the Nats and the ANC. And, bit by bit, every other party at Codesa except the DP took sides.

To the extent that it remains true that other delegations are supporters of either the ANC or the Nats, there is no need to call them all together, except for what one might call ceremonial reasons. That is why it is quite right, at this stage, for the two big parties to talk bilaterally. Of course, this does not mean that the rest of us are eliminated from the process altogether; they will need to talk to us later. But in the first place they must identify the agreements which they are able to reach between the two of them. For one thing is certain: no progress can be made unless and until they do agree.

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthezi has publicly expressed his disappointment at the attitudes I have taken up. I have a good deal of sympathy for Inkatha's position and certainly have no wish to offend that party. Its agreement and participation in any new SA constitution is very desirable. I hope that peace and friendship between Inkatha and the ANC can be restored, and we shall certainly do anything we can to promote this.

It is extremely urgent that rapid progress now be made in the negotiating process because the economy is deteriorating faster and faster. If the political settlement is delayed for very much longer, we could reach a point of no return.

It is late, but not yet too late. Most of the principles upon which the new SA must be based have already been agreed. What is needed now is chiefly the will to make it work.

□ This is an edited version of a speech delivered yesterday by DP leader De Beer to the Drake International Business Club.

De Beer backs NP-ANC talks

NO PROGRESS can be made in negotiations until the ANC and the NP agree but "they will need to talk to us later", says DP leader Zach de Beer.

De Beer spoke at a breakfast meeting of the AM Business Club which was held in Johannesburg yesterday.

"I think it is quite right at this stage for the two big parties to talk bilaterally. Of course, this does not mean the rest of us are eliminated from the process altogether; they will need to talk to us later.

"But in the first place they must identify the agreements which they are able to reach between the two of them. For one thing is certain; no progress can be made

unless and until they do agree." Confirming the DP's continued support for the negotiation process and Codesa, De Beer said he believed Codesa had played an important role in bringing together South Africans who had been strangers, and even enemies, before then.

It made some progress, too, until the NP and the ANC started fighting with each other, he said. He quoted ANC president Nelson Mandela, who said recently one of the mistakes made by both parties was to have embarked on an election campaign, trying to undermine each other while negotiating. — Sapa.

● See Page 10

11A
SIPA 8/10/82

NEGOTIATIONS

Talks and ruffled feathers

FM 9/10/92

Government statements clarifying — and downplaying — the status of the Record of Understanding signed between President F W de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela on September 26, may yet defuse Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's rage and draw him back into the negotiation process.

State Affairs Minister Gerrit Viljoen — apparently back in action in the mainstream — this week reiterated that the government-ANC agreement was not an act of ganging-up against other parties, but an effort to bring the ANC back into multiparty talks. Nor, he emphasised, did government agree with the ANC that the issue of arms caches should be left to an interim government to deal with — which should comfort the Zulu leader.

In an address in East London at the Institute of International Affairs, Viljoen defended bilateral talks of the kind which led to the Record of Understanding. He explained that the meeting with the ANC was aimed at bringing the organisation back to the table. "This bilateral effort was necessary because no really viable multilateral solution is possible without the ANC as one of the major role players." But neither could other parties, Inkatha in particular, be sidelined, warned Viljoen, formerly government's chief constitutional negotiator and still a close De Klerk adviser.

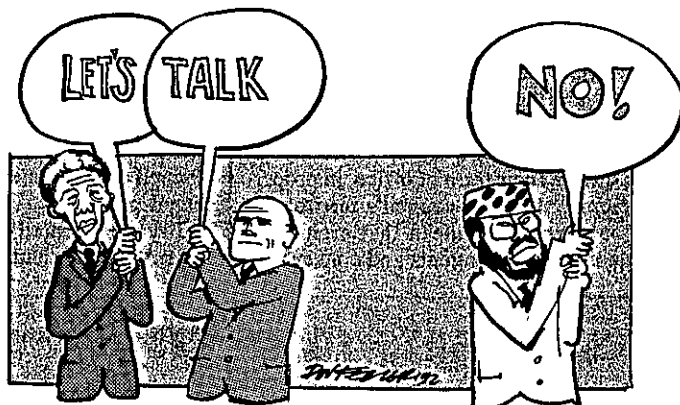
According to Viljoen, it had all along been government's intention to seek multilateral support for the agreement. "The government, therefore, considers it urgent to achieve multilateral consideration of those aspects of the Record of Understanding which affect more parties than the authors of the Record."

He explained that it was a serious misjudgment to suppose that a range of constitutional matters had been negotiated and agreed on in the course of formulating the Understanding. "There is still a big job awaiting Codesa to actually negotiate agreements on all these vital issues."

Dealing with the obvious contradiction of prohibiting dangerous weapons in public (one of Buthelezi's sore points) while there was no apparent action over the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), Viljoen stressed government's disagreement with the ANC's view that the question of arms caches should await an interim govern-

ment. The Record of Understanding, he pointed out, provides for further talks on such unresolved matters. Among these are covert operations and special forces and violence (*Current Affairs*, October 2).

Viljoen also underlined the point that the understanding with the ANC contained nothing new in constitutional terms. It provides for a transitional constitution "which still has to be negotiated at Codesa" to ac-



commodate national and regional government during the transition period (see next article).

It was clear, he added, that the issue of regionalism would be a hard nut to crack in negotiations.

While all this might appear to give succour to Buthelezi, his great objection, leading to his withdrawal from talks recently, is that Inkatha and others were not party to the agreement affecting, as it does, other players like himself.

The question is whether, in making the disbanding of MK such a hard-and-fast condition for his re-entry to talks, Buthelezi has set an impossible condition. Everybody remembers Mandela's blistering attack on De Klerk at Codesa 1 for daring — quite legitimately — to raise the matter of MK.

Including Buthelezi

Few believe that Buthelezi and Inkatha could or should be bypassed — even the ANC is prepared to "favourably consider" (provided it's guaranteed to succeed) a meeting between Mandela and Buthelezi. But government does not regard wooing him back as a one-way affair.

Opening the National Party's Cape congress on Monday, Public Enterprises Minister Dawie de Villiers came close to warning Buthelezi not to abandon the negotiation process and attempt to "go it alone." His withdrawal was based on incorrect allegations against the government, said De Villiers.

"Just as it is unlikely that a lasting solution is possible without the IFP, they surely do not imagine that they can go their own way without the co-operation of the other parties in SA. We must negotiate ourselves out of the morass. We need the IFP and Buthelezi. Neither the ANC nor the government can go it alone."

De Villiers also attacked "leftwing radicals" in the ANC alliance for seeking to create a climate of ungovernability through mass action aimed at the overthrow of the government. "The radicals want confrontation so that the government can be blamed. It would have suited them if the government had announced a state of emergency. Then they could have blamed the undemocratic forces in a police state. But, instead, we have given them democratic freedom to demonstrate their undemocratic methods."

The mass action campaign had hampered efforts to set up an interim government; radicals in the ANC's national executive committee would have to take responsibility for poor investor confidence and the poor performance of black schoolchildren.

Meanwhile, on Tuesday, Buthelezi, together with Bophuthatswana's Lucas Mangope, Ciskei's Brigadier Oupa Gqozo plus the Conservative Party and other rightwing Afrikaans formations, all opposed to the Record of Understanding, duly convened their summit meeting in Johannesburg, to "examine obstacles" to the negotiation process.

Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose reportedly explained at the start of the gathering that their meeting was not regarded as an alternative to Codesa. This would, at least, appear to leave the door open for all parties to come together again at Codesa 3, which can't be too far off.

Such gatherings and common fronts raise the possibility of some bizarre electoral alliances.

CONSTITUTION FM 9/10/92

To build on

A constitutionally entrenched finance commission has been suggested by the DP as a way of ensuring the equitable distribution of taxes raised by a future federal government. The suggestion is part of a discussion document on constitutional proposals published by the DP in Cape Town this week.

It proposes a constitution that is above ordinary law. The courts, or possibly a special constitutional court, should have the power to overrule laws or executive acts that violate the rights of individuals or the basic principles of the constitution.

continue

PAC calls for an economic Marshall Plan

The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) has proposed an economic Marshall Plan to address the issue of scarce resources, the destruction of skills by apartheid and the income gap between the haves and have-nots.

PAC secretary for economic affairs Professor Siphoshe Shabalala told the conference of three goals of socio-economic development:

- The restructuring of the economy.

STAN 9/11/92
● Social, economic and political stability.

- The strategic repositioning of SA as a winner in areas of economic and technological development.

He said massive investment was necessary to meet vital social consumption needs such as the health, education and housing of African people.

The Government had a responsibility to meet these needs

and the PAC proposed a new tax system to create incentives in the use of resources in a "direction desirable for national prosperity".

The PAC's plan would involve the balancing of three factors: "Redistribution, the economic accumulation process of the economy and economic development that does not marginalise any of the members of our society," Shabalala said.

He also put forward that a "Restoration, Reconstruction and Development Fund" be established "to which minimum specific sums of money will be contributed by the private sector, rich individuals, the state and foreign donors".

This would be over a period of five to ten years and could also receive contributions through an income tax surcharge on working individuals and corporations. — Sapa.

PAC meeting with Buthelezi 'opportunistic'

By Kaiser Nyatumba
Political Reporter

The ANC has criticised the PAC for meeting Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in Ulundi yesterday, saying the meeting was an opportunistic attempt by the PAC to gain political advantage.

Acknowledging receipt of a letter from the PAC asking for

STAR 9/10/92
a meeting with ANC president Nelson Mandela to discuss violence, the ANC accused the PAC of seeking to ingratiate itself with Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo shortly after the Bisho massacre.

PAC president Clarence Makwetu met Gqozo in Bisho after the September 7 killings to express his concern about developments in the homeland.

Gqozo later issued a statement saying the PAC leadership had offered its support for him.

"The ANC is disturbed by the insensitivity of the PAC which sought to ingratiate itself with Gqozo so soon after the massacre at Bisho. The ANC views the PAC's meeting with the IFP as an attempt to gain political advantage from the differences between the ANC and the IFP."

Responding to the ANC's criticism, PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander said it was the duty of his organisation "to meet all sides and organisations of the oppressed".

Alexander denied the PAC was ingratiating itself with homeland leaders, and said the ANC was responding to Gqozo's misrepresentation of the meeting he had with Makwetu.

ANC allays fears on future of public sector

STAR 9/10/92

By Sven Lünsche

The ANC is attempting to allay fears it will swell the ranks of the public sector with its own appointees when a new government is in place.

In a speech to an economic conference, organised jointly by The Star and Southern Life in Johannesburg, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa yesterday called for a restructuring of the economy "within the boundaries of our limited resources".

Ramaphosa, in a speech delivered on his behalf, said the rationalisation of the public sector was one of the major components of a restructuring programme.

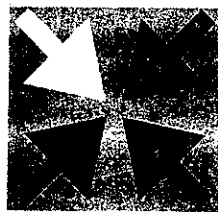
While ruling out privatisation, he said public corporations should be subjected to competition and adopt new employment practices.

"This process may entail the reduction in the size of the public sector in ways which enhance efficiency and advance affirmative action, while ensuring the protection of consumers and the right of workers," Ramaphosa said.

A second key component of the programme involved the restructuring of the Budget by "radically revising downwards expenditure on the military and thus freeing funds to be spent on social investments".

He said the ANC's primary concern in restructuring the Budget would be to achieve equity in expenditure.

"Essentially, we propose that concrete targets be established for each area of expenditure, in line with a national development



BLUEPRINT FOR
PROSPERITY
CONFERENCE

High price of job creation

By Derek Tommey

SA will have to invest R19 billion a year in 1985 terms in job creation if it wants to make an impression on the huge pool of unemployment.

The current total gross private fixed investment, including replacement investment, in 1985 terms, is only about R16 billion a year.

Dr Stef Naude of the Department of Trade and Industry told the conference it cost the private sector about R54 000 in 1985 terms to create employ-

ment for one additional worker.

The labour pool increases by almost 400 000 a year and to provide employment for 350 000 of these people would cost R19 billion a year in 1985 terms.

"This serves to indicate the magnitude of the challenge we are facing".

Naude said there were clearly no easy options or quick fixes. "We will simply have to scale down many unrealistic expectations and be prepared to make short-term sacrifices to reap the long-term benefits of higher sustainable economic growth."

Other vital components of the economic restructuring programme included industrial strategies, the redistribution of land and income, the deconcentration of the private sector and the development of an appropriate trade policy.

The redistribution of land could be facilitated through a representative claims court, which would also take into account the need to achieve higher levels of food production.

Ramaphosa listed two advantages in changing the currently skewed distribution of income.

It would provide the means for mass consumption and would consequently impact on the way the industrial sector responded to new patterns in demand.

"Also, redistribution of income at the low end of the scale may be an essential requirement for the growth of the labour-intensive component of the manufacturing sector."

Ramaphosa told delegates the concentrated nature of the private sector was not conducive to the development of a prosperous economy, although he stressed that large enterprises "per se are not necessarily bad news".

"Our suggested instruments in this regard will rather be anti-trust and monopolies and mergers regulations."

Turning to industrial strategy, Ramaphosa said SA needed to focus on meeting domestic demand and becoming internationally competitive.

"Years of inappropriate import-substitution industrialisation policies and blind dependence on and exploitation of primary resources have resulted in an uncompetitive manufacturing sector which, on average, is unable to integrate itself successfully into the global economy," he said.

Ramaphosa concluded, however, that the success of any economic restructuring programme depended on the achievement of a broadly acceptable political settlement.

"We must, therefore, get the politics of the country right and do so as quickly as possible."

The ANC should stop being distracted by the homelands, argues Cosmas Desmond

Deal with the organ-grinder

STAR 9/10/92

THE homelands have no meaning without the apartheid state . . . when apartheid is abolished they too will crumble.

The ANC would do well to head the advice Aneurin Bevan once gave to his opposition colleagues in the House of Commons:

"It is not necessary to attack the monkey when the organ grinder is present. I trust it will be appreciated that this is a metaphor and that it will not be taken literally, as an insult to the individuals concerned."

President de Klerk must be laughing all the way to the Constituent Assembly as attention is diverted from himself and focused on his puppets, which is how the ANC has for long described homeland leaders.

One of his own agents could well have been planted in the ANC to come up with the suggestion that, being at a loose end following the suspension of negotiations, they should turn their attention to the homelands.

CIA and MI5 colleagues would doubtless have supported him, since it could only enhance the image of "their man" to have the ANC wanting to entrust millions of people to his direct (and therefore presumably benign) administration.

De Klerk and his government, it seems, are no longer the real enemy; they must be dealt with by negotiation or not at all, while mass action and confrontation are reserved for Gqozo and company.

But De Klerk's government is not only just as illegitimate and undemocratic as those of the homelands, it is also responsible for their illegitimacy. De Klerk is still the organ grinder.

Apart from any other consideration, the ANC's present policy towards the homelands seems to me to accord a legitimacy and importance to them which they have never had and still do not have; it is also an acknowledgment of the success of the apartheid policy. That policy was deli-

berately designed to thwart the growth of a unifying African nationalism, by defining and dividing people according to their ethnic identity.

I was certainly not alone in saying, over 20 years ago, that this would inevitably, and purposefully, lead to conflict between blacks. It has. But it is the cause rather than the effects of the divisions and conflicts which needs to be attacked. The inhabitants of the homelands, even the leaders, oppressive as they themselves might be, are still oppressed by apartheid. In being liberated from the homeland governments, they will only be jumping from one frying pan into another.

It was white rule which created the climate of violence that so cheapened the lives of black people that they could be massacred almost with impunity, whether at Bulshoek, Sharpeville, Langa, Boipatong, or Bisho. Like his mentors Gqozo did not kill any white people. And few white lives would be endangered by further

planned marches.

I am not suggesting they should be — I rather value my own — but I do not see why not only the agents, but also the objects, of mass action should be almost exclusively black. The people who paid the price for apartheid are also being charged for its replacement.

The homelands have no meaning and no relevance without the apartheid state, which created them and continues to sustain them. When, or perhaps if, apartheid is abolished they too will crumble; even the Nationalist Government now acknowledges that they have no future. They were created, partly, according to Verwoerd himself, as a sop to international opinion, in an attempt to lend an air of legitimacy to the policy of separate development, and as a means of exercising political control.

Of course, they are oppressive; they were meant to be. And their rulers have proved to be adept pupils; though I doubt that they

have yet outdone their masters.

Political leaders may be able to prescind from their own oppression and votelessness and treat with members of the ruling class in "white" South Africa as former oppressors; but for the vast majority they still very much are. Freedom of expression, despite its exalted status in Western society, is not the only, or even the most important, human right. For many, probably most, the right to eat, the right to work, the right to have accommodation are all more pressing; and are denied them, whether or not they live in certain homelands.

I hold no brief for the homelands or the actions of their leaders, but if violations of human rights are now restricted to them, the rest of us could at least be told.

We should, I suggest, be more concerned about the creators of apartheid than about its creatures. Old-style apartheid served all sections of the white commu-

nity very well, though some did very much better out of it than others. But it is not they who are being made to accept responsibility for its failure and for its lasting effects on the rest of the population.

Mass action is undoubtedly a democratic right and probably the most effective tactic to hand at present but it is surely worthy of more significant targets.

If, however, the ANC choose to go ahead and exercise their moral right to march on Umtali, they might consider the epitaph of a self-righteous motorist:

"This is the grave of Mike O'Day, who died maintaining his right of way."

His right was clear, his will was strong,
But he's just as dead as if he'd been wrong." □

● Cosmas Desmond is a former priest who was banned and placed under house arrest while working in South Africa.

Sasco calls for action

11A WILSON ZWANE

KWAZULU, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei should be made ungovernable, a senior SACP official said yesterday.

Addressing a mass meeting of the Wits University branch of the SA Students' Congress (Sasco) yesterday, SACP PWV chairman Gwede Mantashe said his party and other democratic formations had an obligation to campaign for free political activity in the homelands.

Mantashe said "no-go areas" had been created for the ANC/Cosatu/SACP alliance in KwaZulu, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei. *Blom 9/10/92*

"We have a political obligation to remove these bantustans' tyrants. In order to achieve that objective, we must revitalise ungovernability in these areas," he said.

Sasco publicity officer Mogomotsi Mogodiri said yesterday marked the launch of his organisation's "Hands off the University of Bophuthatswana campaign".

Mogodiri claimed the university, which was closed on Tuesday, had been turned into a police barracks.

He said protest action would begin on October 14 and would be called off only after the Bophuthatswana authorities had acceded to demands which included the reopening of the university.

Mantashe and ANC national executive committee member Ronnie Kasrils said they supported the campaign as part of the ANC/Cosatu/SACP alliance's initiative for free political activity in the bantustans.



ANC national executive committee member Ronnie Kasrils makes a call for free political activity in the homelands, in his speech to the SA Students' Congress at Wits University yesterday.

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

Buthelezi, the king and ANC

8702 9/10/92.

(11A)

Could Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi survive politically if the ANC won over the Zulu king? PATRICK LAURENCE put the question to Buthelezi during an interview in Ulundi.

THE African National Congress has offered King Goodwill Zwelithini "a more glorious kingdom" in a bid to woo him onto its side politically, charges Mangosuthu Buthelezi, KwaZulu's Chief Minister and Inkatha Freedom Party president.

The wooing of the Zulu monarch is reportedly motivated by an attempt to break Chief Buthelezi's power-base in the Zulu community.

But, Buthelezi says, the stratagem is based on a false premise: his power is independent of the king and even if the monarch is enticed into the ANC camp his political power would remain intact.

"It is a fact," Buthelezi says of talk in political corridors that the ANC is trying to lure the king to its side.

"Before it was banned, the ANC invited the king to Lusaka. The intention was to drive a wedge between me and the king. There were messages to the effect that if he agreed, if he played ball, he would be made King of all South Africa.

"Which, of course, made the king smile... he is not so dim that he can't see that that is not possible."

Buthelezi goes on to recall an attempt by ANC leader Walter Sisulu to see Zwelithini "on his terms" — not in Ulundi in the presence of Buthelezi — and a later attempt by Nelson Mandela to persuade him to agree to Sisulu's proposal.

"It is concrete evidence that there are efforts, even now, to try and do that," Buthelezi says.

There is even corridor talk of an ANC plan to buy the king's loyalty and guarantee his present monarchical status and his financial standing under an



Chief Buthelezi... confident of his position.

ANC government.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus strongly denies that there is a plan to bribe the king.

Mandela does want to meet the king, he confirms. But, he adds, there is "nothing sinister" about Mandela's wish for a meeting, especially as it could help lower the political tensions and restore peace.

Buthelezi, a descendant of the great Zulu king, Cetshwayo, is aware of the corridor talk.

"There are promises like that," he says. "I don't know if they have been put to the king directly. I wouldn't know. But there are promises of a more glorious kingdom if the king goes along with them."

But, Buthelezi says, even if the ANC did succeed, it would not break his political power because the "ordinary Zulu people" do not see the king as a political leader.

Their reverence for him is the reverence due to a monarch, not the obedience given to a political leader, Buthelezi avers.

He refers to attempts by the Vorster government in the 1970s to use the king to establish opposition parties to challenge and break Inkatha's hold, first by promoting Shaka's Spear and

then Inala.

Both attempts failed, Buthelezi says, predicting that any bid by the ANC to use the king politically will similarly fail.

A high-ranking member of the Zulu royal family, Israel Mcwayizeni, is already a member of the ANC. Mcwayizeni, who acted as regent until Zwelithini came of age and who was elected to the ANC's national executive committee last year, is seen by some observers as a harbinger of changing political fortunes.

Buthelezi, however, is not concerned by Mcwayizeni's ANC membership. Mcwayizeni, who used to be the king's representative in KwaZulu's Legislative Assembly, was "pushed out" by the king, he says.

"It was I who pleaded with the king not to push him out," Buthelezi adds. "After all he was a senior uncle and (the king) should not be without him. But the king, apparently, had seen through him even then."

Buthelezi, who cites Mcwayizeni's presence in KwaZulu to rebut ANC charges that he is intolerant of political dissent, adds: "They quarrelled. I think the ANC influenced him to politicise (the quarrel) to have a dig at me. It has nothing to do with me."

In recent weeks Buthelezi has referred to the ANC challenge, and in particular to its plans to march on Ulundi, as a threat to the Zulu people.

His statements have evoked anger among the ANC's Zulu members. They insist — to quote Aaron Ndlovu, chairman of the ANC's Northern Natal Region — that they are as much Zulu as Buthelezi and that their opposition to Buthelezi is not, and cannot be, a threat to the Zulu people.

Buthelezi defends his right to talk on behalf of the Zulu nation, citing the positions of his great grandfather and his father as "prime ministers" to the Zulu kings, Cetshwayo and Solomon Dinizulu, as precedents for his own prominent role.

"From the beginning of the Zulu kingdom my family has been very close to the Zulu king," he says, adding: "My great-grandfather was, of course, the prime minister of Cetshwayo and the commander-in-chief of the Zulu army."

Then, he continues, there was "a hiatus", when the Buthelezis did not fulfil their role as "prime ministers".

The link, however, was re-established during the reign of Solomon, the present king's grandfather, Buthelezi says, recalling that Solomon asked his father, Mathole Buthelezi, to help solve a family quarrel.

His father, "a man of natural wisdom", solved the problem with tact and understanding, causing Solomon to ponder how he could revive the old link with the Buthelezi family.

"The principal induna of the king then said: 'Why don't you offer the hand of one of your sisters in marriage?' That is how the marriage of my father to my mother took place. It was really political."

Buthelezi, who succeeded his father in 1953 and who has served as KwaZulu's Chief Minister since 1970, says of his political leadership: "Even if there was no KwaZulu Legislature that would still be my position." □

the nation in brief

Sowetan 9/10/92
Terse PAC reply (11A)

THE Pan Africanist Congress yesterday denied it had tried to act as a mediator between the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

"We told the ANC to convene a meeting between (PAC) president Clarence Makwetu and (ANC) president Nelson Mandela to discuss political intolerance and violence," the PAC said in a terse statement.

According to the PAC, the ANC was reacting to praise that the PAC might get for its efforts to end the violence and this was a typical sign of political immaturity.

"The PAC position is not inconsistent with the ANC national executive decision that they are prepared to meet with all parties to discuss the violence," the movement added. - Sapa.

Sowetan 9/10/92
Children catered for (11B)

THE Department of Education and Training yesterday officially opened a R17 million industrial school at Ogies in the Eastern Transvaal.

The school, which was built by the Transvaal Provincial Administration and is known as the Vikelwa School for Industries, caters for neglected children and is being run by the DET.

In his address the Minister of Education and Training, Mr Sam De Beer, emphasised the need for making the education of "our children" relevant to the needs of the country.

He said teaching at Vikelwa was centred on life skills, social rehabilitation, labour practice training and entrepreneurial skills. - Sowetan Reporter.

Sowetan 9/10/92
Cast conference (11C)

THE Civic Associations of Southern Transvaal will hold its first biennial congress at the World Trade Centre today, Cast general secretary Mr Dan Mofokeng said yesterday.

Topics to be discussed at the three-

Sowetan 9/10/92

day conference include the rent, bond and service boycotts, the disbandment of white and black local authorities, and the approach to democratic elections. New leadership will also be elected.

Sowetan 9/10/92
Vista students picket (11D)

ABOUT 40 students of Vista University's Mamelodi campus yesterday picketed outside the institution's head office in Pretoria to show their dissatisfaction with their examination roster.

Police spokesman Major Andrew Lesch confirmed that student representatives were holding a meeting with Vista's management council, and that no violence was reported. - Sapa

Sowetan 9/10/92
DP goes it alone (11E)

THE Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer yesterday warned that his party would not be "sucked into either the National Party or the ANC".

De Beer was speaking at a Press conference in Johannesburg to announce the party's aim to embark on a massive fundraising and election campaigns in preparation for the election.

"We have never been associated with corruption in any form. We have no connection whatever with any of the violence which has marred and scarred the face of South Africa," said De Beer. Sowetan 9/10/92

Sowetan 9/10/92
End call-up call (11F)

THE End Conscription Campaign has called for decisive action to end South Africa's whites-only military call-up.

A statement yesterday by Chris de Villiers of the ECC calls on all those affected by the call-up either to refuse outright to serve, or to actively avoid their call-ups. Sowetan

"By standing together, we can end the call-up and move one step closer to really closing the book of apartheid. Sapa. 9/10/92

W

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Ramaphosa's restructuring plan

BIDM 9/10/92
A RESTRUCTURING programme based on stability, growth and socio-economic development is needed to ensure the success of a democratic SA, says the ANC.

ANC economist Tito Mboweni, speaking on behalf of secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, said: "We are well aware we need to restructure the economy... within the context of the maintenance of macro-economic stability."

Public sector corporations should be rationalised, restructured and subject to competition. This did not spell out privatisation, but rather managerial accountability and transparent budgetary systems.

Reducing the size of the public sector would enhance efficiency and advance affirmative action while ensuring consumer protection and workers' rights.

Restructuring of the national budget by redirecting expenditure away from unproductive current expenditure and towards socio-political development, so as to

11A
HILARY GUSH
bridge the racial welfare gap, was also called for.

The ANC stood firm on its policy of income redistribution, which would provide the means for mass consumption and alter the industrial sector's response to shifting demand patterns.

Redistribution of income at the low end of the scale might be an essential requirement for the growth of the labour intensive component of the manufacturing sector.

Department of Trade and Industry director-general Stef Naudé stressed the need for an export-led recovery, based on final manufactured goods.

"SA's future economic development depends largely on industrial growth, which will also have to be much more export-oriented to increase the import capacity of the economy," Naudé said.

DP launches campaign for election funds

THE DP has swung into election mode despite its leader Zach de Beer's criticism that it was the electioneering of the ANC and the NP that was preventing a speedy negotiated settlement for SA. *BIDM 9/10/92*

At a media breakfast yesterday, De Beer launched a national fundraising campaign to collect R15m by the end of the year to help pay for a general election campaign.

Southern Transvaal regional fundraising co-ordinator Ronnie Napier said the party

BILLY PADDOCK
hoped to raise R4m in this region alone.

Whereas the DP had previously fought elections in chosen constituencies, the upcoming general election would involve proportional representation from a national electorate, which meant it had to canvass and fight for support at grassroots community levels, said De Beer.

The DP was expecting to win 10% of the national vote in an election.

Political deal needed for investment

BILLY PADDOCK

THERE was an urgent need for a political settlement because, while it would not stop the ANC and Inkatha fighting, it would bring the stability to stimulate investment, DP leader Zach de Beer said yesterday.

Speaking at the Blueprint conference, he argued that this settlement would have to contribute to the demise of a third force. *BIDM*

Persistent violence was the single most discouraging factor for investment. It would be a negative factor even if there was political stability and the causes of the violence were fully understood.

De Beer said that if some of the violence was designed to prevent a political settlement, then the need for the settlement was more urgent.

However, there was no certainty that it would stop the fighting between the ANC and Inkatha, he said. "After all, both organisations are parties to the peace accord and to the Codesa Declaration of Intent, and that has not helped."

De Beer said it appeared that the leaders of these two organisations had limited control over their followers. *9/10/92*

Governments and political organisations would in the future be judged by their ability to deliver economic prosperity.

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Offer and general meeting results

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Row over 'bid to sideline Mandela'

W/Mand 9/10-15/10/92
11A

●From PAGE 1

The document's authors are not known, but there is speculation that it emanates from a largely Indian dominated "cabal" with its roots in the South African Communist Party.

The document, which argues that real power be placed in the hands of secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa in the light of Mandela's "continuing tactical and strategic blunders in negotiations", has elicited an angry response from the ANC leader himself, sources say.

The authors recommend that "within the movement we must continue to subtly strengthen the position of comrade CR (Ramaphosa) but take care not to publicly harm Mandela's position. We should work inside and eventually it will appear natural for CR to take his position."

While the document's credibility has not been established, well-placed sources within the ANC believe it to be authentic. Certainly, it is being taken seriously by the organisation and, according to one source, its surfacing prompted the resignation of Winnie Mandela.

It is understood she was advised by close associates such as ANC Youth League leader Peter Mokaba to take notice of veiled threats contained in the document to tarnish her husband's image further by disclosing more damaging information about her. According to sources, Winnie Mandela's alleged lover Dali Mphofu intends to use the document as evidence in the lawsuit he is bringing against the ANC for his alleged unfair dismissal from his post of deputy head of social welfare by the organisation on May 4.

Charting a strategy of rapid negotiation with the government, uncluttered by the involvement

Is this document authentic?

W/Mand 9/10-15/10/92
11A

IS this potentially explosive document for real? The ANC's Department of Information categorically rejected it yesterday: "It comes into circulation as the culmination of a consistent propaganda build-up that harps on cabals, attempts to isolate Mandela, divisions in the ANC leadership and a renewed offensive to break the tripartite alliance."

However, it stopped short of accusing the government and did not rule out the possibility of the document emanating from within the ANC's own ranks.

One of the individuals whose initials feature in the document said it was probably the work of the government's security apparatus, which was quite capable of replicating the handwriting of individuals.

Though the rather crude phrasing and blatant articulation of ideas cast doubts over the document, the following question must be asked: If it was a state-inspired propaganda ploy, why has it only surfaced eight months later?

It could be the divisive work of elements

within the movement wanting to discredit the "cabal"; such blatant moves to sideline a faction within the organisation would to some extent point to the faction's existence. But the same question must be asked: Why wasn't it leaked months ago when it was written?

According to an article in the August 1991 edition of the authoritative newsletter *Frontfile*, Mandela was furious on returning from an overseas visit on August 8 to find that restructuring aimed at shifting the ANC's political departments from his office to that of ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa had taken place.

"The manoeuvre has thrown the upper levels of the ANC into some confusion. Some are calling the group who executed it a 'cabal' ... it appears the cabal operated so skilfully that the majority of NEC members were not aware of the full implication of what they were endorsing."

The article says the cabal is a tightly organised group of about a dozen NEC members, of whom at least six are also on the ANC's national working committee.

of other parties or the cumbersome phases of interim government and a constituent assembly, the document argues that Mandela is a stumbling block to this end and that Ramaphosa should instead hold the reins.

"Our vision to develop an alternative leader to Mandela has already paid handsome dividends — especially seen against the background of the effect his planned statements on many issues has had.

"Mandela, however, still has some time left but his continuing tactical and strategic blunders in negotiations with the regime increasingly limits his usefulness. His popularity has waned considerably and we should expect Winnie's capers to eventually seriously harm him. Already there is the rumoured split in the marriage which once it becomes public knowledge will further tarnish his image.

"Through VM, PG and Mac (believed to be Valli Moosa, Pravin Gordhan and Mac Maharaj) we are suitably placed to execute this strategy and our goal should always be on the longer term rather than aimed at short-term tactical victories."

The five-page document (the last page is missing) outlines a ruthless strategy of sidelining anyone — from Mandela, to Mangosuthu Buthelezi to signatories to the Patriotic Front — standing in the way of a speedy transfer of power. The document's central theme is the objective of making a smooth deal with the government and dodging any stumbling blocks, including democratic accountability.

It argues the need for the protection of President FW de Klerk's position — more pertinent perhaps to the pre-referendum era when the Conservative Party was gathering support.

"Our strategy should thus be to protect De Klerk's position. It is ironic that we can only successfully take power from a strong government. In this, Comrade Mandela must be held on a tight rein to prevent certain unfortunate incidents from recurring. For, and again ironically, through our actions we can substantially strengthen the racist right wing. De Klerk must be allowed to score certain victories in the international arena."

The document notes attempts by former exiled leadership, who have threatened the "moral integrity" of the movement, to discredit "our efforts" and argues that the replacement of exiled leadership with "more acceptable internal leaders such as CR, MM, CC, PM and BN" (believed to be Ramaphosa, Murphy Morobe, Cheryl Carolus, Popo Molefe and Billy Nair) has to some extent alleviated this.

The document describes Umkhonto weSizwe as "an albatross around the movement's neck. The sooner we rid ourselves of this potential timebomb, the greater the opportunity to ensure major political gains," the document argues, also recommending that MK be left to "Winnie and her cohorts".

The document gives credence to claims from some quarters that the SACP "cabal" of the 1980s, then dominated by Natal-based Indians, is still running things, or attempting to run things, behind the scenes. Significantly, key figures, now occupying strategic positions in negotiations and electoral commissions, are either peo-

ple long suspected being of being part of the "cabal" or of being lobbied by it. These include Maharaj, Moosa, Molefe, Carolus, Allan Boesak and Dullah Omar. Certainly, there are repeated reference to the strategic gains the authors crudely claim to have made by getting some of these people into office-bearing positions.

"Some time ago and after we consolidated our position on a national level, we defined an urgent short-term objective to spread our influence to certain regions ... Our people have been elevated through the participation of NIC/TIC (Natal Indian Congress/Transvaal Indian Congress) at Codesa."

One argument for the re-emergence of the "cabal" is that sections within the SACP, foreseeing possible moves afoot within the ANC to sever the marriage of the party and so woo the support of anti-communists in the event of elections, are keen to safeguard key administrative positions for themselves in a future government. Citing the ultimate aim as "the transformation of South Africa into a true socialist state", the authors are clearly SACP-linked. However, the "cabal" is said to be driven by the desire for strategic power gains rather than ideological victories. Its SACP links are said to be historical rather than ideologically based.

The document argues that "the movement should forge ahead with its strategy without getting a mandate for each and every move it wants to take".

While the document argues that "we should at all times appear to insist on the correct mechanisms" it suggests that an interim government and a constituent assembly would slow down the process and "are not important if our aims are served through other forms. What is important is the end result and not the name or body of a forum".

The document reveals a power struggle or clash between the "cabal" and the former exiled leadership, which is accused of bolstering its support with ANC returnees and of "us(ing) every opportunity to vilify us and discredit our efforts". It lists among the most prominent in the returnees ranks as Josiah Jele, Mzwai Piliso, James Stuart and Alfred Nzo and argues that these people will be sidelined when eventual disclosures on atrocities are made: "What they conveniently forget is that during their years in exile many wrongdoings were committed which place them in a precarious position.

"Allegations concerning the atrocities committed by the security establishment provides the ideal climate in which we must delicately push for these people to come clean on what happened in exile. Through such an investigation and the accompanying publicity most of them will be completely discredited and isolated."

The failure of the Patriotic Front is attributed to opportunistic attempts by the Pan Africanist Congress and "to a lesser extent" Azapo to see themselves as equal partners.

Row over 'cabal bid to sideline Mandela'

W/Mail 9/10 - 15/10/92 (11A)

By PHILIPPA GARSON

THE African National Congress is conducting an inquiry into a controversial internal document which recommends that president Nelson Mandela be sidelined.

The ANC has dismissed the document as "mischievous" and "divisive". It indicates a "clear intention of trying to undermine the organisation, sow divisions among the leadership, exacerbate existing tensions within broader society

and ultimately delay the process of transformation".

The document, in *The Weekly Mail's* possession, is entitled "State of the Nation: The road to victory, the path to power". Probably written before the whites-only March referendum, the document has only surfaced in ANC circles in recent weeks, causing ripples through the organisation. ANC spokesman Gill Marcus has confirmed that attempts are underway to trace its origins.

●Continued on PAGE 2

P.T.O.



ANC torture 11A report held up

W/Mail 9/10 - 15/10/92

Weekly Mail Reporter

THE African National Congress has still not released its report on the allegations of abuses in its camps in exile almost a month after it was handed over to Nelson-Mandela.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said last week that it was due to be released last week. Later he said it would probably be released this week. It wasn't — and now Niehaus says it may be out next week.

The hold-up, he said, is the availability of the right people to release it. The ANC is obliged to make the report public, according to the terms of reference agreed when it was commissioned.

The report — drawn up by two ANC members and independent advocate Gilbert Marcus — will be crucial to determining the way the ANC handles the criticism over torture and other abuses that occurred in its camps.

The ANC has already gone further than Swapo did by having a full inquiry into alleged abuses. The question now being asked is whether the ANC will carry this through and deal with the culprits named in the report.

The ANC may face a wave of civil actions for damages from victims of the abuses. The rightwing International Freedom Forum is funding its own inquiry under Advocate RC Douglas of Durban, who is currently conducting public hearings.

It is believed that the main function of this inquiry is to gather information that can be used in civil actions against the ANC.

IN NEXT WEEK'S WEEKLY MAIL:
FULL PROGRAMME OF
THE WEEKLY MAIL/GUARDIAN WEEKLY
FILM FESTIVAL

Revealed: ANC election strategy

W/maif 9/10 - 15/10/92.

11A

THE African National Congress plans to enter the election campaign leading an alliance which will not only include the SA Communist Party and Cosatu but other political groupings and individuals as well.

An election strategy report given to *The Weekly Mail* rules out the possibility of the ANC running without the SACP, and also rejects the idea of cam-

paing with the Patriotic Front. However, it makes it clear that it will lead the campaign, and its allies will fall under the ANC banner.

Its strategy is being based on the "likely voting scenario" that the ANC will draw, from a 100 percent poll, 50 percent of the overall vote. It estimates that this would comprise 68 percent of the African vote, three percent of whites, 20 percent of coloureds and 30

An ANC election strategy document provides insight into its hopes and fears for the coming elections,
reports PHILIPPA GARSON

percent of Indians.

The report, intended to form the basis of the ANC's Electoral Act draft due to

be drawn up soon by the constitutional committee, gives a fascinating picture of the ANC's hopes and fears for the future elections.

Based on a recent weekend workshop of 150 participants from the ANC's head office, regions, Youth and Women's Leagues, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the SACP, the report charts a detailed election strategy with an emphasis on a

door-to-door, mass-based campaign that will target ethnic, religious, cultural and community groups.

The "ANC-led campaign" means that individuals from its allies, Cosatu and the SACP, and "selected other forces or individuals" will most likely stand on an ANC election list under ANC symbols.

The report rejects four other election campaign options: the ANC on its own (this would exclude many supporters); the ANC and its allies (this would mean having to defend its alliance with the SACP); the ANC and its allies plus Patriotic Front forces (the lack of credibility of many PF parties would become a liability in elections); the ANC and its allies plus bilateral pacts (this would allow pact partners to destabilise the ANC and force it to treat all parties equally).

The document argues that an "ANC-led campaign" would give the "leader of the liberation struggle", the ANC, its rightful place at the helm of the campaign. It would "avoid needing to work with unpopular organisations while maintaining a broad front, allow for a more coherent platform to be advanced, avoid the danger of break-aways, as experienced after the Durban Patriotic Front meeting ..."

It also argues that while Africans are the most important force to mobilise, Indians and coloureds "are part of the oppressed and should be seen as an important area of contestation". Special approaches would have to be developed for whites, Indians and coloureds.

The report notes the importance of targeting groups, including community, cultural, church and sporting bodies. It emphasises the need to understand the electorate in terms of region, class, ethnic or language group.

It observes that while it may be "objectively correct" for Africans to vote for the ANC, their "subjective inclination" may be otherwise.

Estimating that the ANC will need between R200-million and R300-million for its election campaign, it suggests that the government set up a supporting electoral fund which parties could claim back from after elections on the basis of the percentage of votes they win.

The report recommends that the elections, based on proportional representation and not constituencies, be fought with the four provinces as regions and that future regions be drawn up by a constituent assembly. With a 400-member national assembly, elections would be fought on a single list, with 200 names drawn nationally and the other 200 drawn regionally. The percentage of votes of any party would determine how many people on its list get into the national assembly.

Listing the strengths of the ANC, the report notes the organisation's history of mass mobilisation, access to the people on the ground and progressive policies that represent the aspirations of the majority. Its self-criticisms include weak branch structures (which are being depleted), complacency, lack of coordination, unclear and contradictory public positions, neglected rural areas and lack of involvement of women.

While the ANC will challenge the National Party on apartheid, violence, misuse, corruption, collapse of the economy and unilateral restructuring, the NP in turn will attack the ANC on its role in violence, its alliance with the SACP, human rights violations and mass action. "It will exploit 'divisions' in leadership — doves and hawks, *swart gear* — black domination, nationalisation and our economic policies."

As part of the process of "levelling the playing field", the ANC will push for "free political activity"; access to hostels, farms; removal of security and restrictive laws; ensuring joint control over media and security forces; and ensuring that the interim government has the capacity to reach local areas, address illiteracy and voter education."

ANC moves to calm fears of bloated bureaucracy

SVEN LUNCHE

Business Staff

1119
ARG 10/10/92

THE ANC is trying to allay fears it will swell the ranks of the public sector with its own appointees when a new government is in place.

In a speech to an economic conference, organised jointly by sister newspaper to Weekend Argus, The Star, and Southern Life in Johannesburg, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa called for a restructuring of the economy "within the boundaries of our limited resources".

Mr Ramaphosa, in a speech delivered on his behalf, said the rationalisation of the public sector was one of the major components of a restructuring programme.

While ruling out privatisation, he said public corporations should be

subjected to competition and adopt new employment practices.

"This process may entail the reduction in the size of the public sector in ways which enhance efficiency and advance affirmative action, while ensuring the protection of consumers and the right of workers," Mr Ramaphosa said.

A second key component of the programme involved the restructuring of the Budget by "radically revising downwards expenditure on the military and thus freeing funds to be spent on social investments".

He said the ANC's primary concern in restructuring the Budget would be to achieve equity in expenditure.

"Essentially, we propose that concrete targets be established for each area of expenditure, in line with a national development strategy."

Mr Ramaphosa added, however, that government expenditure should be guided by the criteria of efficiency and equity.

"Macroeconomic populist pitfalls which can have the opposite of good intentions in the medium to long term have to be avoided," he said.

"Programmes aimed at housing, infrastructural development, health, human resources development, training and improved access to resources have to meet both equity and efficiency criteria."

Other vital components of the economic restructuring programme included industrial strategies, the redistribution of land and income, the deconcentration of the private sector and the development of an appropriate trade policy.

● The Pan Africanist Congress has

proposed an economic "Marshall Plan" to address the issue of South Africa's scarce resources, the destruction of people's skill by apartheid and the income gap between the "haves and have-nots", reports Sapa.

PAC secretary for economic affairs Professor Sipho Shabalala outlined three goals of socio-economic development.

These were "the restructuring of the economy, the bringing about of social, economic and political stability in the country and the strategic repositioning of our country as a winner in areas of economic and technological development."

Prof Shabalala proposed the manufacturing sector would have to become more labour intensive and position itself to achieve competitive advantages internationally.

ANC denounces 'cabal' plot document

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
and BARRY STREEK

THE ANC yesterday denounced an alleged internal document which stated a South African Communist Party "cabal" had proposed that its president, Mr Nelson Mandela, should be sidelined.

The ANC had yet to establish who had issued or drafted the document, ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said last night.

"But its contents are clearly rejected by the ANC

as an organisation and the leadership, including the members of the so-called cabal, everyone of note in the ANC, has denounced it as unacceptable," he added.

ET 10/10/92 (11A)
The ANC dismissed the document as "mischievous" and "divisive".

However, it said it was conducting an inquiry into the source of the document which indicated a "clear intention of trying to undermine the organisation, sow divisions among the leadership, exacerbate ex-

isting tensions within broader society and ultimately delay the process of transformation".

The contents of the document entitled "State of the Nation, the path to power", which surfaced about a week ago and has one page missing, were published in yesterday's issue of the Weekly Mail.

ANC spokeswoman Ms Gill Marcus said the ANC was trying to trace the source of the document, but another ANC source said he was surprised the document had been given so much credibility by the weekly press because it was "clearly rubbish".



'PLOT' ...
Nelson Mandela

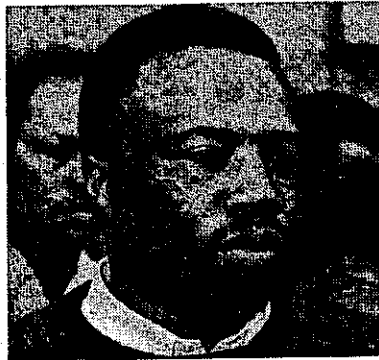
24 Voter education

Democracy: the road to peace

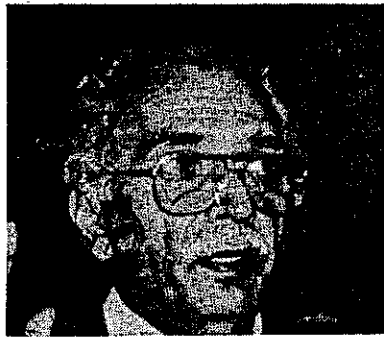
South 10/10-14/10/92

national publicity secretary:

Democracy means government by consent. If democracy is to be effective, it has to give all citizens an equal chance to influence the process of government. In this it needs grassroots participation in structures and the devolution of autonomous power to the regions. This will not



Mr Barney Desai, Pan Africanist Congress



be easy.

Mr Tony Yengeni, African National Congress regional secretary:

Democracy means that grassroots people — from squatters to factory workers and those in the rural areas — will have a say in the decision-making of the country.

All organisations, not only political ones, but trade unions and civics too, should be part of democratising the country. They should remain vibrant, independent organisations.

Ms Hilda Ndude, ANC Women's



League national executive member:

My understanding of democracy entails the participation of everybody in whatever decision is taken and the agreement of at least the majority on that decision.

But the legacy of apartheid is that many people have had no experience of democracy. Teaching about the concept is therefore a vital but necessary challenge.

Dr Neville Alexander, chairperson of Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action:

Democracy is not simply the representation of people in parliament — it



goes beyond the enjoyment of political, civil and legal rights by all people.

True empowerment extends to the economic, cultural and social spheres.

The only real guarantee of a democratic culture is an established and vibrant civil society comprising, among others, independent trade unions, civics and organisations for women, sport and churches.

The value of your vote

DEMOCRACY is defined as "rule by the people". But in many countries, it is politicians who rule, not the people.

The development of nation states which cover vast territories has made it difficult to implement "rule by the people".

It has been substituted with representative democracy, where the people rule through their elected representatives.

Some forms of direct democracy still exist — as is the case when a government calls a referendum to test public opinion on an issue.

An example of this was South Africa's referendum in March on whether or not negotiations between the government and the ANC should continue.

But this was not democratic because only whites could vote.

In the modern world, most people rely on their political party or representative to make correct decisions on their behalf.

This is what makes the vote such a significant political right. It allows ordinary people a significant say in who should rule and what policies should prevail in the government of the day.

Because of this, it is important that people remain informed about the policies of political organisations so that on election day, they can make a choice which guarantees that their interests will be served by the party or person they voted for.

There are additional safeguards for the voter under a democratic form of government — the checks and balances built into the constitution of the land. These safeguards are aimed at preventing abuse of power.

The specific types of checks and balances are generally decided on in advance — when a constitution

is adopted.

It is important that once a constitution is chosen for South Africa, people become aware of the precise limitations to the unilateral exercise of power that the government is allowed.

One consequence of the scale of democracy practised in the massive nation states of today is the greater political rifts encompassed with the widening of the boundaries of the state.

A much greater variety and complexity of political interest groups co-exist within the national boundaries.

Political rifts within a country can lead to political violence and intolerance depending on the type of political culture prevailing there.

The only antidote to disruptive political conflict is if all citizens and parties recognise the legal finality of free and fair election results.

Once citizens have voted and if they are convinced that the elections were free and fair, then it becomes their democratic duty to accept the legal authority of whichever party comes to power as a result.

In the context of the extreme political intolerance in South Africa at present, it is vital that all people prepare themselves in advance for the possibility that even if the party of their choice does not win the election, they are nevertheless bound to accept whichever party has been elected into power.

To fail to react this way would mean nullifying the power of the very vote for which black South Africans have been clamouring for decades.

An offshoot of constitutional democracy at governmental level has been the adoption of democratic principles and procedures at the level of non-governmental organisations such as trade unions, societies and clubs.

Democratic ideals have so greatly impressed human thought that very often modern families implement democratic type decision-making and consultation within the home.

Certain essential pre-conditions must exist in order for democracy to succeed. An important one of these is an independent media.

Once the government of the day owns or controls some of the media, the freedom of speech and objectivity of that media is inevitably compromised.

During election campaigns, all parties contesting elections rely heavily on favourable media coverage. Ordinary citizens are faced with a variety of parties clamouring for their votes. It is essential that citizens are able to rely on a relatively non-partisan media to keep them informed in as objective a manner as possible about each party and prominent politician.

In South Africa, the current state ownership of television means that during an election campaign, the present government would enjoy an unfair advantage over the other parties contesting the elections.

A basic principle of democracy is that government exercises as little control as possible over the media. The media should be allowed to play a watchdog role and assist the people in finding out when the government abuses its power.

Shining examples of the media playing such a role were the Watergate scandal in the United States which resulted in the toppling of the Nixon administration. Another example is the exposure of the My-Lai massacre perpetrated by American troops in Vietnam and which fuelled the growing resistance of ordinary citizens to the involvement of their government in the war.

In South Africa we had the Information scandal which brought the cabinet of then-prime minister BJ Vorster crashing down.

THIS PAGE WAS MADE POSSIBLE BY THE SUN

Capitalist Sacob and socialist PAC parley

STimes (Buss) 11/10/92

THE South African Chamber of Business (Sacob) has held discussions with the Pan Africanist Congress about political and economic obstacles facing the country.

It was the first meeting between the two organisations which hold opposing views about restructuring the economy. 11/10/92

Although Sacob is capitalist in spirit and believes in a free market operated through private enterprise, the PAC holds strong socialist views and backs redistribution of wealth in favour of "indigenous" blacks.

It also believes in the creation of new economic activities to oppose capitalism and market forces.

Minutes of the meeting were confidential and meant only for members of the board of management, major chambers, national associ-

By NORMAN WEST, Political Reporter

ations and direct members.

The Sacob delegation comprised its president, Hennie Viljoen, deputy-president Spencer Sterling, director-general Raymond Parsons, chief economist Ben van Rensburg and manager of labour affairs Gerrie Bezuidenhout.

The PAC delegation was led by its first deputy president Johnson Mlambo, secretary for foreign affairs Gora Ebrahim, secretary for legal affairs Willie Seriti, member of the national executive committee Carter Seleka, chief of protocol Count Pietersen and director of economic affairs Mos Malatsi.

Army

Mr Mlambo is chairman and leader of the PAC's armed wing, the Azanian Peoples' Liberation Army.

The two-hour meeting, held at Sacob's request, was to exchange views on the economy and the political situation.

Mr Viljoen sketched the concerns of business about the economy, particularly the impact on it of the political logjam and violence.

Sacob was also concerned about mass action and the resultant turbulence which, Mr Viljoen said, was destroying the economy and harming business confidence.

A concerted effort was needed to rebuild and restructure the economy to support the political transformation process and to redress the inequalities caused by political actions of the past, Mr Viljoen said.

Mr Mlambo claimed that the PAC never took part in violence and was convinced that poverty and unemployment played an important role in causing conditions for continued violence.

It was these conditions, be-

cause they affected the PAC constituency most, that compelled it to talk to organised business, the Government and others.

Mr Seriti identified "a remarkable degree of convergence" between the PAC views and those of Sacob on the need for economic revival.

Mr Parsons said Sacob believed negotiations could not be left only to politicians.

Sacob was anxious to see negotiations back on track. Business could not support actions which could further damage the economy because of its implications for economic growth, unemployment and the capacity to reduce social imbalances.

Business pinned its hopes on the resumption of negotiations. It hoped they would be seen to lay the foundations for SA's political and economic future.

The PAC agreed that all political parties as well as organised labour and business should be involved in negotiations.

STimes (Buss) 11/10/92
Budget

Mr Gora Ebrahim said the PAC was opposed to an interim government which could perpetuate the present dispensation beyond 1994.

The PAC proposed that the present tricameral system be allowed to continue, but it should be linked to a transitional authority (TA) which would be more representative.

The TA would take over the responsibility for the budget, security, ensuring free and fair participation in the political process and international relations.

The PAC reiterated its contention that a "more representative" negotiating forum should be established.

11A

Bargaining chips are on the table

City Press 11/10/79

By S'BU MNGADI

INKATHA president Mangosuthu Buthelezi is waiting with baited breath as the ANC deliberates over the logistics of a mass march on Ulundi.

The ANC's three Natal regional executive committees held a mini summit in Richards Bay on Friday to discuss the pending march.

However, instead of announcing the date and programme, the Natal executive leadership was vague.

Southern Natal ANC chairman Jeff Radebe told City Press yesterday the meeting resolved to establish "a sub-committee to map out details of a campaign of free political activity in KwaZulu" which the ANC-led tripartite alliance would soon launch.

He added the campaign would culminate in a march on Ulundi.

Natal ANC leaders stubbornly persist that the march will go ahead,

and this position was endorsed by the ANC's national executive committee a fortnight ago.

But as days go by without even a tentative date for the march, the Natal executive appears to have changed its tune.

Sunday picnic

Privately they concede the organisation would not dare lead its supporters to the slaughter which Inkatha leaders have warned would mark the beginning of a civil war and would make the Bisho massacre look like a "Sunday picnic".

Natal senior ANC sources told City Press the tripartite alliance was merely waging a "psychological war" on Buthelezi whom they allege had been successfully driven to sleepless nights at the prospect of ANC-supporting Zulus marching on his seat of power.

Northern Natal ANC chairman Dr Aaron Ndlovu said the psychological war will "ultimately force the Inkatha leader to concede free political activity in KwaZulu.

The prospective march this week prompted the SA government to appeal to the National Peace Secretariat to intervene in a bid to stave off the tensions, according to Law and Order Deputy Minister Danie Schutte.

NPS chairman Dr Antonie Geldenhuys said meetings would be held with all concerned parties to work out "suitable conditions" for the march.

The ANC hopes the NPS will persuade it to call off the march in exchange for free political activity in KwaZulu.

Northern Natal ANC secretary Senzo Mchunu maintains free political activity in KwaZulu is much closer.

Breaking the sound

By S'BU MNGADI

establish SA's first national theatre of the deaf

S/ Times 11/10/92
By CHARLENE SMITH

A LIST of ANC members allegedly involved in torture at ANC camps has been handed to Nelson Mandela.

This follows an investigation by an ANC commission, whose report is due to be released this week.

Although few names appear in the 70-page report, it has been reliably learnt that a full list of alleged torturers has been handed to Mr Mandela.

The commission is empowered to delete names from the report "for reasons of privacy, reputation, safety and confidentiality".

But Mr Mandela will be under pressure to reveal the names on the list in his possession.

PROBE HANDS MANDELA LIST OF 'ANC TORTURERS'

One of the few apparently named in the report is former senior Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Mzwai Piliso.

Mr Piliso, a former ANC national executive committee member, was at one stage in charge of controversial Angolan detention camp Quatro.

It is believed the report makes 10 recommendations. It also contains a full account of the ANC's investigation into the death of top Umkhonto we Sizwe cadre, Thami Zulu, whose death was clouded in controversy

and caused division in ANC circles.

The commission comprised Johannesburg advocate and non-ANC member Gilbert Marcus, and two ANC members — Bridgette Mabandla, who is on the organisation's constitutional committee and Durban lawyer Louis Skweyiya. It heard evidence for eight days in August.

Mr Marcus apparently wrote the report which was approved by his colleagues. There has been criticism that the commissioners should all have been independent —

a statement with which the report apparently concurs.

It is believed that eight senior officials of the ANC testified before the commission including SACP head and former Umkhonto we Sizwe chief Chris Hani and deputy-secretary general and former intelligence chief Jacob Zuma.

An official of Amnesty International attended a number of hearings.

The report has been kept a closely guarded secret with copies apparently only in the hands of Mr Mandela who returns from a lengthy overseas trip today and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa.

The ANC is believed to still hold about 100 prisoners in a camp in Uganda, but has promised to free them by December.

IT IS almost two weeks since I was bundled into a car with prison guards and policemen at the New Mill Prison in East London. I was awoken at 5am on Monday and by 6.30am was home.

All I had was my sleeping shorts, a T-shirt, a pair of socks and a pair of training shoes.

Coming home was different to how I dreamt it would be. I used to imagine mum would be there to hug me and say 'Welcome home'. Caleb, my elder brother, was the only one there.

I felt so hollow; I can't describe it. I put my things down and walked to the shop. No one in my family is employed, and there was no food in the house but for half a bag of mielie meal.

I knew I was out and free but felt nothing. Home felt empty and desolate, cold. I felt as though the world was crumbling down on me. At home after 10 years away, it felt as though I did not belong there any more.

I was born on May 19, 1963, in East London. My dear colleague Mthetheleli Mncube was born on that same day three years earlier.

By African standards we were better off in prison than at home: we had electricity, and did not have to sleep on an empty stomach; we were quite a big happy family.

My dad, Joseph, worked in a motor assembly plant. In 1968 he passed away. This is where my life actually begins — with dad's departure the family broke apart.

In 1988 Mzondelele Nondula and Mthetheleli Mncube were sentenced to death for laying landmines that killed 10 people — including children — in the Messina district. Both claimed they were prisoners of war. Here, to illustrate the mind and motives of a political killer, the Sunday Times publishes Mzondelele Nondula's story in his own words



FREEDOM DAY: Mzondelele Nondula being interviewed after his release ... 'The country can't continue bleeding'

CONFESSIONS OF AN MK SOLDIER

THE strong tiller of the house had fallen; only the pillar of the home remained, mum, Nosidina Nondula.

It is a wonder how she managed to bring us up. It was two years before she found employment as a domestic worker. She was unable to care for us, and from 1969 to 1976 we were a family scattered among friends and relatives.

I was six when I was sent to a rural place near King William's Town for two years, but I pined and was brought home to live with my aunt until 1976. Inside I was lonely, though I had many friends. Once in three months we saw our mother, who would visit when she could.

We lost the family home, because mum could not keep up rent payments. However, in 1976 we got this house. It was a victory; the family could be reunited.

Mum lived away from home as a domestic worker. I never got to know my dear mother like other children, and this shall remain a sorrow for the rest of my life, although I was always certain of her love for me.

On the eve of my departure for the unknown, on January 24, 1982, mama had already left for work when I came home to pack. I had no contact with her until I was arrested and awaiting trial in Pietersburg in 1987.

She said: 'Toto, I'm very proud of you.' After that I regretted nothing.

She attended the trial. When I was sentenced to death she was so brave. She didn't cry; she just hugged me. I was the one who cried, I was so sorry for her. She visited me on Death Row in Pretoria about four times from 1988 to 1990.

She died on May 2, 1990. It was the month of the first summit between the government and the ANC. On May 6 Madhiba (Nelson Mandela) came to brief us. It was the moment of my life.

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I went back to the cell so happy and began writing a letter to mum. It was then that the prison authorities informed me of her death. I still wrote the letter — to be read at her funeral.

That's when I began to question some values. I couldn't say killing people, whether judicial or otherwise, was wrong, because I had already condemned those

life. Who stood in my way and I didn't feel regret.

I asked myself what moral justification I had to oppose the death sentence. I debated that with many people, especially abolitionists.

It would be hypocritical for me to be an abolitionist. On Death Row at times you would not want to make friendships, because you could be dead tomorrow. I found an outlet for this emotional turmoil through pen

and paper, writing poems and short stories. It gave me internal peace.

You get used to death. In Angola I survived a close-range ambush on December 25, 1983, on the eastern front against Unita, when I lost a dear friend, Mbongeni. He was only 20.

My political life began in 1976, my elder brother Bongani, 33, was an activist and my political mentor. After

every detention period Bongani would come home with scars, bruises and cigarette burns all over his body. He is now deaf as a result of torture.

It was a nightmare for all of us. When the security branch came in the early hours to fetch him, the house would be ransacked, torches and guns all over the place, the dignity of my home violated. It was unbearable. We never knew if he would come back alive.

Those were the days of black consciousness. Mandela and Robert Sobukwe were our heroes. I wanted freedom, but most of all I wanted to see my family rise above squalor. Education seemed the only way.

I studied hard, but my political baptism came in 1979 when the first MK combatant, Solomon Mahlangu, was hanged. I took part in the boycott on the day of his execution. The story of Mahlangu touched me. I knew MK was alive and I could defend myself.

I became involved with ANC underground structures distributing political literature. Then finally the call came to leave the country.

We went in a group of four to Lesotho. I stayed there the whole of 1982. I was 19 years old.

On December 9, 1982, I sur-

vived an attack by the SADF on Maseru. In that raid we lost about 29 lives.

For me that is when and how the steel was tempered. The regime claimed victory, saying they had killed ANC terrorists when all I saw were corpses of innocent women, men and children, some ANC members and others Lesotho nationals, gunned down in the early hours of the morning in their sleep.

The ugly ghost I had left

He was everything should be. Caesar has been through hell and never failed me.

Later that year a group of 40 that we Germany for advancing. On our return played on the eas. against Unita ban. was quite an experi. came a political i. joining the commi. MK.

I later complete mando course in

We are a people without dignity, a nation without nation, without citizenship. We ask ourselves: What could be worse than that?

behind was with me again, even more vicious than before.

In January 1983 I left Lesotho for Mozambique, then travelled to Angola for military training. I am proud that my platoon had a very good reputation in matters of discipline, morale and military skills.

A week or so after commencing training I was made the first section commander by our platoon commander, Caesar, the MK name for Mncube. That is how we met.

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At that time the consultative confere the ANC approved a fication of armed along the northern

We infiltrated So. in November 1985. There were two g to each unit, one it tern part of the te. other in the west. supposed to get h come back the sa but our commander was against us.



Nondula being interviewed after his release ... 'The country can't continue bleeding as it is'

We made a bivouac until the following day. Standing on the banks of the Limpopo watching South Africa on the other side was the most exciting moment of my life.

We had a lot of food with us, which was heavy. We journeyed south through scrubland — not ideal for day operations. The other unit had already come in, planted a mine and returned to Zimbabwe.

The terrain they moved across was irrigated cotton plantations; their footprints were all over.

The first detonation came at 8am. I heard something like thunder about 10km away. One chap said: "No Gabu (my MK name), that is a landmine." We later heard it had blown up a cement truck.

You can imagine the tension. We had all our stuff with us and could see enemy activity. We split into three groups of two each, about 25m apart.

A helicopter came by and we thought we were for the high jump. We laid low. It is difficult for people to see you when an area is rocky and you are on grey blankets. It circled three times above us. The commander said no one must shoot as it hadn't seen us. On that occasion we were in South Africa for four days.

MISSIONS OF A SOLDIER

Times 11/10/92

11A

BY December 15, the day before Umkhonto we Sizwe Day, we were in a safe house back in Zimbabwe, reading newspaper stories of how farmers were complaining about ANC attacks in the northern Transvaal.

They spoke as though that area was not a military area, but our reconnaissance told us they were commando units.

We were told to lay mines along the main road to the border, but we were under such pressure from the enemy that we scattered our mines far apart.

On the 15th we heard about two families that had exploded a landmine; five died, including children. It is always regrettable that there should be loss of human life, but this was war.

We are a people without dignity, a nation without a nation, without citizenship. We ask ourselves: What could be worse than that?

It was a military area and, from a strictly military point of view, how can a soldier who is deployed to monitor enemy activity take his family to a braai when barely a week or so before landmines were exploding in the area? What kind of soldier or father is that?

I support negotiations in principle. What I don't support is the government tactic of negotiating and conducting war. If the government continues this strategy I am afraid the future of our country is bleak.

Nevertheless, the ANC is committed to peaceful solutions, and whatever I do will be in line with that.

We need reconciliation. The country can't continue bleeding as it is at the moment.

every detention period Bon-gani would come home with scars, bruises and cigarette burns all over his body. He is now deaf as a result of torture.

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The ugly ghost I had left

He was everything a soldier should be. Caesar and I have been through hell and he has never failed me.

Later that year I was in a group of 40 that went to East Germany for advanced training. On our return I was deployed on the eastern front against Unita bandits. That was quite an experience. I became a political instructor, joining the commissariat of MK.

I later completed a commando course in Tanzania

‘We are a people without dignity, a nation without a nation, without citizenship. We ask ourselves: What could be worse than that?’

behind was with me again, even more vicious than before.

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and was sent to Zimbabwe in 1985.

At that time the national consultative conference of the ANC approved an intensification of armed activities along the northern border.

We infiltrated South Africa in November 1985.

There were two groups, six to each unit, one in the eastern part of the terrain, the other in the west. We were supposed to get inside and come back the same night, but our commander felt time was against us.



Mr Slovo tempts the Nats with their base desires

STimes 11/10/92

(11A)

COMRADE Joe Slovo has laid a cunning trap for the government, baiting it with the ruling elite's dearest wishes: a few more years to slurp tax money from the public troughs, and indemnity for the sins of apartheid.

To ease the pain of losing power, Mr Slovo offers the Nationalist leaders four things:

- A so-called "sunset clause" that would guarantee cabinet portfolios to President De Klerk and his closest party colleagues for a fixed number of years in an ANC government;

- A blueprint, acceptable to the SA Communist Party, for regional government;

- A general amnesty for crimes committed in the service of apartheid, provided the perpetrators confess to the crimes for which they seek pardon;

- A new approach to restructuring the civil service — including the SADF and the police — which will take account of existing contracts and/or provide for retirement compensation.

It's devilishly clever. It strikes at the moral weakness of a party and a government that has, through long years in office, grown wealthy, vain and greedy, and which now fears the loss of liberty less than the loss of privilege. It tempts the Nats with their own desires.

In return for pensions, jobs and forgiveness, the Nationalists are asked to yield power. Mr Slovo's price, however, is high and the main features of that price deserve careful examination:

Firstly, he wants a sovereign constitution-making body, elected by universal suffrage in free and fair elections, to replace the tricameral parliament. The CMB will double as a legislature.

In drawing up the constitution the CMB will be constrained only by principles contained in Codesa's platitudinous declaration of intent or by principles agreed in advance by the main actors (meaning, presumably, the ANC, the SACP and the National Party).

There will be no minority veto, whether by a second chamber or by any

other device. The CMB will operate "democratically", presumably meaning it will take decisions by majority vote. The day it sits, the Nationalists will be emasculated.

Secondly, the SACP rejects entrenchment of compulsory power-sharing. The guaranteed seats in the cabinet will vanish when the sunset clause expires, though Mr Slovo does not say when this will happen.

Thirdly, the boundaries, functions and powers of the regional governments, and indeed the whole question of federalism, must be determined by the CMB, where the Nationalists and the federalist Democratic Party will be outvoted, not by prior negotiations in which all parties have equal weight.

Finally, the SACP (and the ANC?) will not allow anything to prevent a future government from intervening, as it thinks fit, to redress "racially accumulated injustices" in all spheres of life.

To put it succinctly, if President De Klerk accepts Mr Slovo's offer, we shall quickly end up with a centrally controlled state, presiding over weak regional structures, and unfettered by constitution or by law in anything it chooses to do in the name of righting past inequalities. It will have the power not only to tax, confiscate, redistribute and nationalise the private wealth of the nation, but also to plan, manipulate, or command the economy.

The minorities — in particular, Afrikaners and Zulus — will find, on the very day of the election of the CMB, that they have lost all power to direct the future, or even to protect themselves.

Their representatives, fat with perks and promises of pensions, will sit without power in the cabinet, without power in the CMB, without power in the central government, and without power in the regional governments. After a while, they will be put out to pasture.

The question to ask now is whether President De Klerk and his government can resist Mr Slovo's offer. He has, in

effect, given them the things for which they have been negotiating: offices for themselves, security of pensions and jobs for civil servants, and liberation from the terrible fear that their evil past might catch up with them.

Mr Slovo has discerned, with the unerring eye of a man who understands the temptations and rewards of power, the weakness of the Nationalist negotiating team: they have no firm political principles on which to take a stand. They negotiate not for posterity, but for their own short-term interests.

The danger now is that South Africa's ordinary people, having won for themselves an historic opportunity to secure their liberty and prosperity, will instead be led from one totalitarian condition to another totalitarian condition. In effect, Mr Slovo is trying to buy the Nationalists with baubles and vanities, the fruits of office that lie so close to their corrupted hearts.

For the rest of South Africa, for those of us who stand on the slave block wondering whether President De Klerk will sell us to Mr Slovo, and for what price, this is the moment to break free. Later will be too late.

Much has been achieved in the past two years. There is now a reasonable consensus on universal suffrage, on proportional representation, on most clauses of a bill of rights, on the division of powers between the executive, the legislature and the judiciary, on the independence of the judiciary, and so forth.

Four more elements of democracy are necessary: strict constitutional limitations on the power of central government, a guarantee of private property rights in the bill of rights, a system of regional government that will enable the regions to stand up to the central state, and a constitutional court whose only function will be to protect individual rights.

Anything less will be a sell-out.

KEN OWEN

UK tabloid lashes 'fatcat ANC and its violent thugs'

BRITAIN'S biggest-selling newspaper, the tabloid Sun, this week accused ANC leaders of living like kings while their followers endure grinding poverty.

The newspaper, read by 10-million Britons, pictured Mr Nelson Mandela's plush Houghton mansion alongside a squatter shack built of corrugated iron and old oil drums.

"Nearly half of South Africa's 29-million blacks are uneducated, unemployed and living in hovels. But the party's communist-supporting leaders have quit the townships for millionaire mansions in smart suburbs," wrote correspondent Mike Ridley.

In a two-part report, the paper also claimed the ANC had become a "dangerous monster, dominated by violent communists" and warned that South Africa was teetering on the brink of a bloody civil war.

Under the headline "Mandela's Mercedes had to be red ... to mark blood of workers", yesterday's report claimed that the ANC was South Africa's richest party with an income of R100-million a year "some of it raised by stars like Madonna and Robert deNiro".

Tycoon

Other claims in Friday's report were:

- That former ANC president Oliver Tambo's R3-million home in Hyde Park — "Johannesburg's most expensive suburb" — was paid for by British tycoon Tiny Rowland;
- That Mr Tambo lived in greater luxury than President FW de Klerk and his-and-her Mercedes Benzes were parked in the drive;
- That SA Communist Party leader Chris Hanu paid R10 000 a year — "the equivalent of what most black families live on for a year" — for his 12-year-old daughter, Lindiwe, to attend the exclusive Saheti private school.

By PETER MALHERBE
London

When Mr Hanu called state school pupils out on strike, he ordered his daughter to keep going to her school.

ANC legal adviser Matthew Phosa was quoted as saying that Mr Tambo and Mr Mandela's big homes did not "diminish their commitment to the ANC".

This was contrasted with an interview with Soweto mother Joyce Molefe, 53, who claimed her family survived on scraps of food.

Mrs Molefe told The Sun: "It is a scandal that we are in poverty while the leaders we had faith in live in the lap of luxury."

The report claims that the ANC "blatantly terrorise their opponents".

Smear

"The truth is that Nelson Mandela simply cannot control hundreds of violent thugs who are enlisting support for the ANC through intimidation."

The ANC's London office said the reports were part of a smear campaign.

"It is deeply regrettable that The Sun newspaper should choose to report the tragic political violence in South Africa in such a repugnant and sensationalist manner."

May I have the next dance, FW?

By **QUINTON RHODES**

APR 11/10/92

THINK of a game of political musical chairs. South African politics has looked a lot like that recently.

When the music of the last round of talks stops, everybody sits in the closest chair. Then, in the political version of the game, you form an alliance with whoever happens to be sitting in the chairs closest to you.

Sometimes in the game you try to sit on more than one chair when the music stops. But whatever, the real fun of the game lies in hurling abuse at whoever happens to be sitting on the chairs not included in your alliance.

At least that is the way it has appeared to bewildered observers.

How else do you begin to understand the image of white racist CP leaders Andries Treurnicht and Ferdi Harzenberg embracing and kissing black homeland leaders at this week's Conference of Concerned South Africans? Or the burgeoning alliance between the far right AWB's Eugene Terre'Blanche and Ciskei military ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo? Or the footsy-footsy being played between the government and the PAC? Or the sudden softening of the ANC's hardline position in relation to the government? Or for that matter the way State President FW de Klerk's major partner in federalist scheming and in political powerplays against the ANC - Inkatha's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi - has now become his most implacable enemy?

In looking closely at the shifting of alliances, they are far from random.

In general they represent one of two things: either an acceptance in the wake of protracted deadlocks and restatements of ideological position, or the essentially reactive banding together of minor players seeking strength in numbers in the fight for their political lives.

There's a logic in the unusual shifting of political alliances, the most recent example being the meeting between Inkatha and the far right. Reporter QUINTON RHODES argues it's a case of strength in numbers.

Crucially, there was a moment of rapprochement between the government and the ANC which accompanied the Mandela/De Klerk summit of two weeks ago. De Klerk was forced to accede to ANC demands for a ban on dangerous weapons, an isolation of violence-prone hostels, and the long outstanding release of political prisoners.

The summit itself was crowned by a Record of Understanding, which appeared to signal a period of renewed rapid movement in the negotiations process.

This version of the negotiating process represents the fruition of a shift in ANC strategy - though of course it reverts to the mode of functioning in the Pretoria and Groote Schuur Minutes. It is equally significant that the international community has also been active in reinstating this interpretation of the settlement in SA as one essentially between the ANC and the government.

This follows a shift in blame which places Inkatha at the centre of the recent violence.

With Buthelezi effectively sidelined, the ANC went a step further at last week's NEC meeting, essentially modifying its earlier confrontational mass action-based tactics with regard to the homelands.

The NEC decided on - but did not publicly announce - a move to lock the homeland governments of Ciskei, Kwa-Zulu and Bophuthatswana into a series of bilateral discussions aimed at securing a climate of free political activity

for the ANC within the relevant areas. Mass action will only be used as a last resort.

Although the issue of SACP chairman Joe Slovo's so-called sunset clause calling for the guarantee of a period of power sharing has been publicly shelved in the face of NP nerves and Buthelezi's petulance, it is still being explored behind closed doors. It remains the most significant intervention of the immediate past.

Of course an incipient NP/ANC alliance is the worst of all nightmares for the lesser figures in South African politics. It would spell the demise of the homeland regimes and the end of big brother De Klerk's protection of the powers of their leaders.

The point is that none of the homeland leaders - and this includes Buthelezi - can afford a democratic political process.

The hidden agendas behind the federal alliance, which De Klerk was trying to put together before the Bisho massacre, were essentially aimed at avoiding open elections and maintaining the homelands status quo.

Particularly at risk here was Buthelezi's power base in KwaZulu. The nod-and-wink agreement embodied within the federal alliance was that, by careful manoeuvring, he would be guaranteed at least the northern areas of Natal.

But with the signing of the Record of Agreement, all that slipped away, not only because the government was beginning to pursue different relationships at his expense, but also because his militarist trump cards - traditional weapons and the hostel armies - were taken away.

The government pulled the carpet out from under Bop's feet too by endorsing in the Record of Understanding the ANC's right to free political activity in the homelands.

Hence Bop's hardline rejection of the

Record of Understanding, the Goldstone report's similar insistence on free political activity, and its threats of force against mooted mass action.

Ciskei was presented with a special problem.

With the continuing insistence by Mandela that Bisho should again be targeted for the ANC's next show of popular force, Gqozo knows its defence force simply cannot afford to react the way it did on September 7.

However, homeland hardliners received some respite when NP leadership had to face the Cape Congress in East London this week.

The overwhelming message they delivered was one of anger against the ANC.

There is also real anger growing against the ANC for failing, as De Klerk sees it, to honour written and unwritten undertakings which came out of the summit.

First among these is the agreement that the ANC would "review" its mass-action campaign - which it has done only to the extent that certain protests have been scaled down and others deferred.

There is also the question of a general amnesty for State-connected political criminals, which individual members of the ANC promised would be endorsed as a quid-pro-quo for releasing political prisoners. It has since become clear that the ANC has no intention of supporting legislation De Klerk will be passing through parliament this month in an attempt to close the book on the past, thus avoiding further inquiry into State crimes which would certainly reach cabinet level.

In the end the homelands, fabrications of the more deranged fantasies of apartheid that they are, cannot survive without the support of De Klerk. He in turn has no alternative but to pursue bilateral talks with the ANC.

Parents ask: How did our son die?

South 10/10 - 14/10/92
THE PARENTS of a Khayelitsha youth who died in a Tanzanian camp run by the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) — military wing of the Pan Africanist Congress — are upset at the way PAC officials handled the matter.

Mrs Victoria Meselane said she was still awaiting a certificate confirming the death of her eldest son, Daniel, 21.

She said the first the family knew of Daniel's death was when a neighbour told them it had been announced at a PAC meeting in Khayelitsha.

The following day two PAC officials arrived at their home with a fax from Dar es Salaam saying he had died, "but they could not tell us how he died," she said.

"We struggled for information and eventually were told we could go to Dar es Salaam. We wanted to bring his body home for burial, but when we got there we found that he had already been buried."



Patricia de Lille

Meselane said that while in Dar es Salaam she and her husband, Howard, were shown a video they were told was of their son's funeral.

They were given a post mortem report which stated that Daniel had died of cerebral malaria.

She said the family was also unhappy about PAC officials in Cape Town suddenly changing the date of a memorial service planned for their son in Khayelitsha.

Invitations had gone out to family and friends when the date was changed, so they had their own ser-

vice, she said. Later the PAC also held a memorial service.

"I can't say anything sinister happened to my son," said Meselane. "But there is so much confusion around his death that a person can't

help thinking.

"Surely they can tell me what happened — I am after all his mother. Why did they bury him first, before asking us what we wanted done with the body?"

Ms Patricia de Lille, the PAC's national secretary for relief and aid, said it was untrue his death had first been made public at a meeting.

De Lille said the PAC had made every possible effort to assist the family — arranging visas and air tickets for them to travel to Dar es Salaam, holding vigils at their home in Khayelitsha and organising a memorial service attended by Western Cape PAC chairperson Mr Theo Mabusela and national executive committee member Mr Kwedi Mkalipi. — **South Reporter**

Media chastises Mandela

■ British newspaper correspondent accuses Mandela of ignoring Chinese racism (11A)

LONDON - Mr Nelson Mandela has been accused by a leading British Sunday newspaper of turning a blind eye to human rights abuses in China in a bid to gain support for the ANC.

Reporting on Mandela's visit to China last week, where he was "welcomed as a near head of state" in Beijing, *The Observer* correspondent Jonathan Mirsky says Mandela gave "moral abso-

lution" to his host, China's president, premier and party general secretary, (Li Peng), the man who ordered tanks into Tianenmen Square.

"Now, not even his enemies would accuse Mandela of being stupid or ignorant. He knows of the massacre and the crackdown in dozens of other Chinese cities. Nor can he be unaware that for years African students in China have

demonstrated against their segregation, and against the belief that they are stupid, smelly and oversexed," he writes.

But, says Mirsky, Mandela does not mention these things because he is grateful to China. He quotes the ANC leader as saying that the West "supported the oppressor" when the ANC sought help, but in China "our leaders were accepted with open arms".

Sowetan 12/10/92

USA

Sanco launch at Guguletu

Staff Reporter

THE Guguletu branch of the South African National Civic Organisation (Sanco) was launched at the Guguletu Civic Centre yesterday.

Mr Johnson Mpu-kumpa, a Sanco spokesman, said about 1 000 people attended the launch. The chairman was Mr Walter Mputing and the secretary Mr I Sontshatsha, he said.

The Southern Cape, West Coast and Boland sub-regions of Sanco would be launched next week.

7 found slain

PAC, Govt to meet in Botswana

11A
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Sowetan 12/10/92.

■ Summit will be neutral:

A HIGH-powered meeting between the Government and the Pan Africanist Congress will take place in Botswana on October 23 and 24.

The meeting was announced in a joint statement to *Sapa* by the Minister of Constitutional Development Roelf Meyer and PAC secretary for foreign affairs Gora Ebrahim.

Government will be represented by senior Cabinet members and the PAC by senior members of its national executive committee.

The Government's delegation is likely to be led by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha.

Deputy president of the PAC, Mr Dikgang Moseneke, might lead its delegation.

The Gaborone summit will be the culmination of "talks-about-talks" encounters, which began in August.

While the PAC considers the summit a victory for its demand that the Government meets with them at a neutral venue under a neutral chairman, the Government's ultimate aim is to draw the organisation to a multiparty conference table, hopefully Codesa 3.

The Gaborone meeting is expected to formalise a future summit meeting between De Klerk and PAC head Clarence Makwethu.



ANC's R200m campaign

(11A) DIRK HARTFORD

THE ANC is considering raising between R200m and R300m locally and internationally for its election campaign — and it is suggesting government establish an electoral fund from which parties could claim on the basis of votes received.

The R200m figure is based on an estimated 20-million voters at R10 a voter. 6100000/20/10/92

The NP and DP are reportedly aiming to raise R50m and R15m respectively for their campaigns.

The ANC's framework for an election strategy was thrashed out at a weekend workshop with its allies two weeks ago.

It envisages placing 15 000 full-time campaigners in the field in the month leading up to the election.

The ANC's strategy is to lead an alliance including the SACP, Cosatu and other political organisations and individuals, who would be brought on board following bilateral discussions.

All will campaign under the ANC banner and symbols. Candidates, even if from other organisations, will stand under the ANC banner on the ANC's election list.

The meeting rejected the ANC campaigning alone, or with its alliance partners, or with patriotic front members.

It believes it could win 68% of the black vote, 20% of coloureds, 30% of Indians and 3% of whites based on a 100% poll.

It argues for special approaches towards the white, coloured and Indian constituencies as well as targeting groups such as sports, church and cultural bodies.

Popo Molefe, a former UDF leader and ANC NEC member, is chairing the team managing the ANC's election strategy.

STAR 12/10/92

Report on camp 'torture' out soon

By Abdul Milazi

The report of the ANC's commission of inquiry into alleged killings and torture in ANC prison camps will be released this week, the organisation said yesterday.

An ANC spokesman said the report, containing names of people believed to have been involved in torture, has been handed to ANC president Nelson Mandela and will be discussed by the national executive committee before publication.

Labour Party moves closer to ANC camp

By Michael Sparks

The Rev Allan Hendrickse's embattled Labour Party, which has seen a number of its MPs defect to the National Party and the Democratic Party recently, has strongly opposed the Government's proposed legislation to grant a general amnesty and has supported the ANC's mass action campaign.

In resolutions passed at its eastern Cape congress in Port Elizabeth at the weekend, the LP also called for the disbanding of the tricameral Parliament, rejected the concept of "own affairs" legislation and called for multi-party control of the armed forces.

In a press statement yesterday, the LP said its resolutions — which are very close to positions adopted by the ANC, were adopted unanimously.

The congress further rejected the short session of Parliament beginning today and opposed last

week's petrol price increase.

Supporting the ANC against the Government on the question of amnesty, the LP opposed "all attempts by the criminals to absolve themselves unilaterally".

"We believe that, at the minimum, only a government of national unity can consider such an act and then only after the criminal has confessed to his/her crime," the LP said.

It called for "a government of national unity ... as the only way to save the country from further violence, instability and economic mismanagement and disaster" — a call already made by the ANC.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus welcomed what he described as "the positive tones of the resolutions", adding that the ANC was prepared to work with any political organisation that distanced itself from the tricameral Parliament and wanted full democracy.

57A 12/10/92

11A

ANC blasts UK tabloid for attacking its leaders

Staff Reporter

STAR 12/10/92

The ANC yesterday dismissed as "gutter journalism" critical reports about itself in Britain's biggest tabloid newspaper, The Sun, which compared ANC leaders' lifestyles with those of rank-and-file ANC members.

The article, written by the tabloid's Johannesburg correspondent Mike Ridley, compares the lifestyles of ANC leaders with those of unemployed blacks and includes pictures of what is called the "10-bedroom Johannesburg mansion" in which Nelson Mandela lives.

The story says a R3,5 million Hyde Park, Sandton, mansion was bought for Oliver Tambo "by British tycoon Tiny Rowland through one of his companies".

ANC executive member Chris Hani is criticised for sending his 12-year-old daughter Lindiwe to a private school at a

cost of R10 000 a year — the amount most black families must live on for a year, the paper says.

A colour photograph is captioned: "One of Mandela's henchmen hacks at the body of a political opponent". The headlines read: "Dateline South Africa: on the brink of civil war" and "The machete flashes ... this is democracy ANC style".

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the articles were approached with the preconceived purpose of hurting the ANC, but he did not believe that would happen.

"People will judge the value of the story from where it comes," Niehaus said, adding that "The Sun is not known for serious and insightful journalism". He said that while The Sun was publishing stories about the ANC, it had at the same time been forced to publish a retraction for other stories it had written which were inaccurate.

ANC vows to intensify mass action campaign

BIDAY 12/10/92

11A

RAY HARTLEY

THE ANC vowed at the weekend to intensify its campaign for free political activity in the homelands.

The announcement came as Bophuthatswana security forces prevented ANC supporters from attending an ANC mass meeting in the homeland.

ANC western Transvaal spokesman Ike Moroe said the meeting had been called to discuss a march on Mmabatho, which was recently deferred to October 24.

Moroe said Bophuthatswana security forces used roadblocks to prevent workers from Impala platinum mine near Rustenburg from attending the mass meeting, Sapa reports.

The ANC and its alliance partners — the SACP and Cosatu — said at the weekend a new phase of their "campaign for peace and democracy" would begin this week.

This would include a local and international campaign against "those homeland despots who are terrorising the people".

An ANC statement said the campaign would "put pressure on bantustan regimes, irrespective of who they are, who are refusing to allow people in their areas to freely express their political views".

It is understood that the ANC's western

Transvaal region has decided it will not delay its proposed march on Mmabatho beyond October 24.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, SACP chairman Joe Slovo and Cosatu officials are expected to lead a march on the opening of parliament in Cape Town today as part of the campaign.

An "Asinamali" or "we have no money" campaign would be launched tomorrow to "focus on the socio-economic crisis facing our people". The campaign would begin by focusing on high food prices, VAT and the drought, the ANC statement said.

The campaign also aimed to "put an end to their-unilateral economic restructuring, which is only worsening the situation".

Meanwhile Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi told an Inkatha Women's Brigade rally at the weekend that Cosatu's involvement in mass action was turning the economy into a political battleground.

"The economy of SA is now in dire straits. The burdens of this are carried by you as women of our nation, for it is you who are concerned about feeding, clothing, education and housing," he added.

Ciskei requested help, says SADF

STEPHANE BOTHMA

SADF involvement in Ciskeian operations followed a request for assistance by Ciskei's government, SADF spokesman Col John Rolt said yesterday.

All operations were of a purely "protective" nature, he said.

The reaction followed joint operations by the SADF and the Ciskei Defence Force (CDF) in which ANC members' homes were raided last week.

After the Bisho shootings on September 7 the Ciskei government had requested assistance from the SADF through normal diplomatic channels, Rolt said.

The homes of two ANC members in Ciskei were raided early on Thursday morning during which "political literature" was demanded, the ANC said yesterday.

The operations were a response to information received which was directly linked

to intelligence pertaining to ANC military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe's planned actions in the Ciskei, SADF spokesman Maj CF Loxton said.

The SADF said in all cases where homes had been searched, the occupants had signed "indemnity forms" which was standard practice.

In response, ANC Border region publicity secretary Mcebisi Bata accused the SADF of joining Ciskei ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo in harassing ANC members.

He said it was strange that SADF members would search for political literature in a civilian's house if the SADF was not a politically motivated army.

● Comment: Page 6

'Racist' exhumation opposed

WILSON ZWANE

PLANS by the Edenvale Town Council to dig up more than 5 000 graves of blacks have met with strong resistance from the East Rand Civic Association, which described the council at the weekend as "racist".

Council official Daan Pieterse said the exhumation of 5 434 bodies from a cemetery on the outskirts of Edenvale had been on the cards for more than a year.

Pieterse said the council planned to rebury the bodies at Kempton Park's Mooifontein cemetery.

This was to make way for construction of a new road connecting Edenvale and Kempton Park, he said.

Civic Association chairman Ali Tleane said his organisation was "totally opposed" to the move.

Tleane said his organisation would seek an urgent meeting with the council to "discuss this matter, about which we were not consulted".

"We see no reason why the bodies should be exhumed to make way for a stupid road," he said.

Pieterse said the council had placed legal notices in newspapers in July, warning families and people with misgivings about the plan to object in writing within 14 days.

No one had objected, he said.

However, the council was organising a meeting with all interested parties to discuss the matter, Pieterse said.

The meeting was planned for October 30.

Should people object to the exhumations, the council would not carry them out, Pieterse said.

New PAC govt talks

ET 13/10/92
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THE Botswana government is to host a meeting of senior government and PAC delegations in Gaborone on October 23.

The meeting, aimed at establishing the forum for a summit, was announced by the Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer and PAC secretary for foreign affairs Mr Gora Ebrahim. — Sapa

● FW will try to win confidence — Page 5

SACP stirs up business deal

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Several top businesses, including mining houses, have agreed to fork out R500 a head to sit down to a slap-up meal with leading communists and digest their views on the economy here on Wednesday.

Among those expected to serve up the SACP's new economic policy are general-secretary Mr Chris Hani and chairman Mr Joe Slovo.

The dinner party . . . er, party dinner will gross an estimated R75 000 for the organisation.

"Looking at the target constituency, I'm sure the R500 is not too high. So far we've had a response rate better than 50%," SACP regional-secretary Mr Jabu Moleketi said.

He said top mining houses including Genmin and Gencor had already indicated they were hungry for more information and had booked seats at the banquet.

But Anglo American officials have turned down the invitation, saying their CEO's would be "otherwise engaged".

Mr Moleketi said the SACP would use the occasion to get a firsthand taste of what business thought of the organisation.

"All I can say is . . . it won't be pap and vleis," he said.

Legacy of apartheid

JOHN VILJOEN, Education Reporter

FOR many released Robben Island prisoners, cardboard apple boxes were the only way to bring their personal possessions to freedom on the mainland.

Dr André Odendaal, co-ordinator of the Mayibuye Centre for History and Culture at the University of the Western Cape, has several of these valuable boxes at his "living museum" of apartheid.

The boxes contain personal possessions, documents and relics from life on the island. Their contents provide a silent commentary of life in the prison.

The centre was recently established on the UWC campus as a museum and archive of the struggle against apartheid.

Mayibuye is a popular slogan meaning "let it return" — appropriate when one considers the flood of material that has poured into the centre from South Africa and overseas.

Piled high in one room are 90 boxes of material freighted from the London office of the African National Congress. Material has come from New Zealand and the United Nations Centre Against Apartheid in New York among other places.

While there is a strong international contribution, the centre was also preserving important aspects of Cape Town history, Dr Odendaal said.

Cape Town lawyers have given files on, for example, the destruction of the KTC squatter camp in the 1980s and the long-running Yengeni terrorism trial.

Perhaps attracting the most interest is the material gathered from Robben Island political prisoners. Dr Odendaal finds the simplicity of these objects striking and poignant.

On a shelf in his office is a hand-made trophy awarded to the winners of a prison soccer tournament. A photograph of beautiful pop singer Sadé taken from a magazine has been placed in a simple wooden frame.

The Mayibuye Centre was intended as a "living" community oriented resource, serving the university, researchers, and future generations.

A cultural emphasis ensures that the centre was "not just trapped in the past".

Far from being a dead archive, the multi-purpose centre hosts exhibitions, workshops and research programmes. A jazz and heritage festival featuring Abdulla Ibrahim is planned for next year.

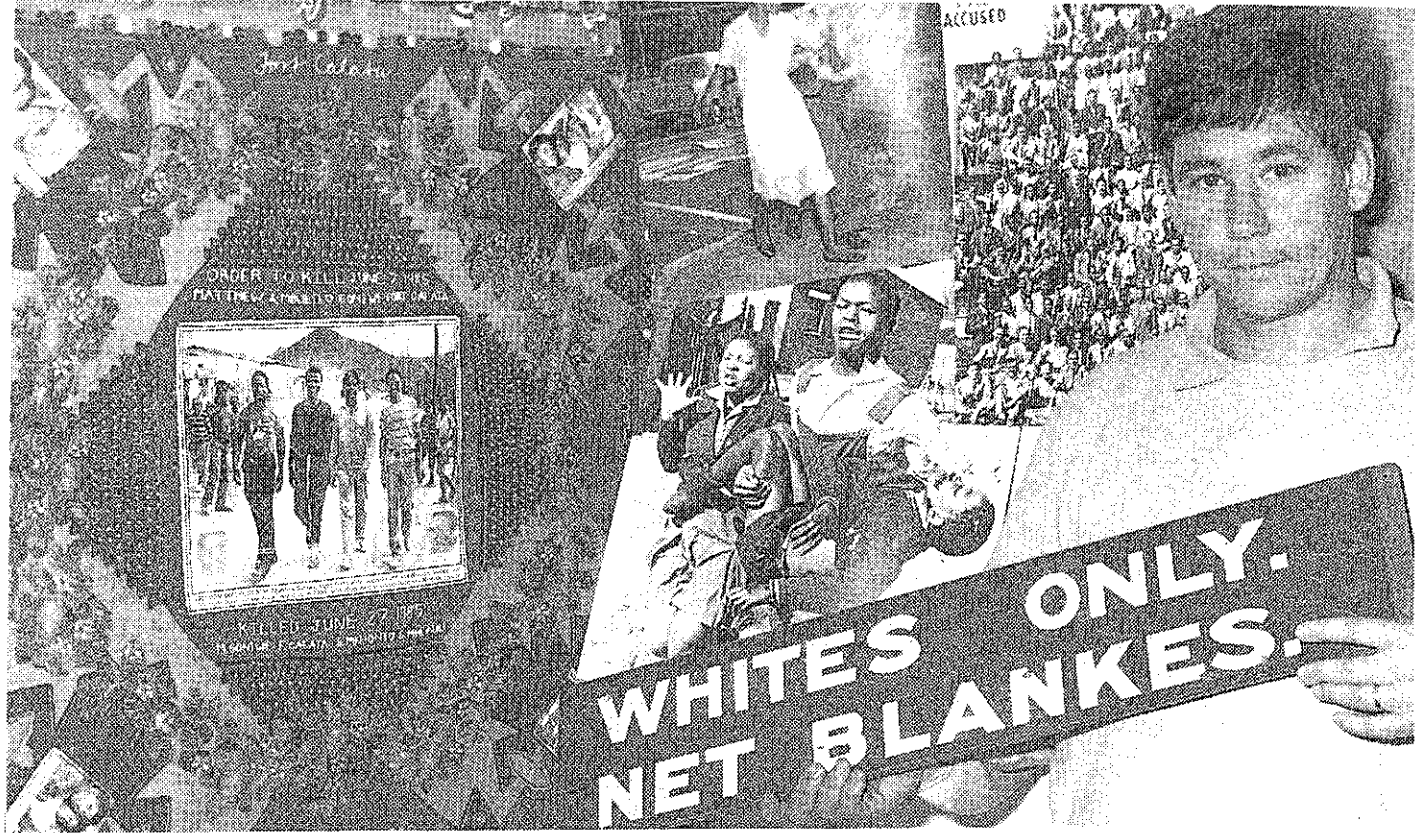
The centre's publishing unit is one of the most active university publication efforts in South Africa, with 43 titles.

The benefit of increased co-operation between the Mayibuye Centre and the SA Museum and the SA Cultural museum will be demonstrated at a series of joint exhibitions.

The collection of archival material has begun for an ambitious project to produce a film on women and women's role in resistance. A pilot video has been produced for funding purposes.

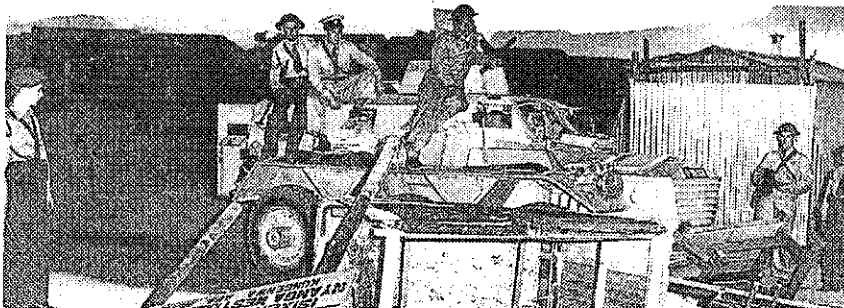
The centre's store of film and video material, most of which has not been seen in South Africa, is just one aspect of what Dr Odendaal calls "a national treasure".

He said: "This is unique material given to us in trust to preserve for future generations. A big responsibility rests on us."



Picture: WILLIE de KLERK, The Argus

APARTHEID'S PAST: Dr André Odendaal co-ordinator of the Mayibuye Centre at the University of the Western Cape.



FROM THE COLLECTION: The centre has more than 70 000 photographs showing various aspects of apartheid.

Top left: A youthful Nelson Mandela burns his pass in 1960.

Above: A mineworkers hostel 1950s style.

Left: A Saracen armoured troop carrier in Nyanga during a state of emergency in the 1960s.

FW's warning to military wings

13/10/92
LUTHULI SQUARE ANC's Walter Sisulu leads

3 000 marchers to Parliament to rename Stalplein:

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk warned yesterday that "the struggle" must end and negotiations must resume or the Government would clamp down on the ANC and PAC military wings.

Opening the short session of Parliament yesterday, De Klerk said negotiations could not continue while "underground activities" and mass action continued or while there were still arms caches stored in the country.

He said the unbanning of certain political organisations did not give them licence to continue their "revolutionary" objectives.

De Klerk said the ANC and PAC (as well as the AWB) would have to "deactivate and dissolve" their private armies completely.

"It remains a crime to be in illegal possession of weapons, to be in control of arms caches, to take part in illegal marches," De Klerk said.

He said considering the intensified violence and breakdown of negotiations over the past four months, Parliament was gathering under

difficult and challenging circumstances.

This short sitting of Parliament was not a denial of the importance of negotiations.

Meanwhile, the deputy president of the ANC, Mr Walter Sisulu, led about 3 000 people to Parliament yesterday in a march and rally that was a lot cooler than a Cape Town spring Monday.

After the weekend estimates of 25 000 marchers, the small crowd marched from Cape Town's Grand Parade to the House of Parliament, to rename Stalplein - a square outside Tuynhuys, the office of the State President - Albert Luthuli Square.

Meanwhile, Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer has confirmed the meetings with the PAC and IFP, and said that they bode well for the speedy resumption of multi-party negotiations, as early, possibly, as November.

The Government is confident that multi-party talks will resume within a month as it prepares for two high-level meetings with the Pan Africanist Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party this week.

Support for Slovo's proposals spreads

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

11A

STAR 13/10/92

Support is spreading for SA Communist Party national chairman Joe Slovo's compromise proposals for the transition, according to the weekly newsletter Southern Africa Report.

Slovo outlined the idea of sunset clauses — including compulsory power-sharing for an agreed number of years — in a paper entitled "Negotiations: What room for compromise?"

Although the article contains Slovo's individual views, the newsletter said: "But independent confirmation that this view is dominant in some departments of the ANC indicates that it is spreading throughout the alliance."

ANC sources yesterday told The Star the Slovo article had not yet been discussed



Joe Slovo . . . his recent proposals include compulsory power-sharing.

within the organisation and therefore also not with the Government.

It is expected to be discussed at the executives of the ANC, SACP and Cosatu which

meet separately this week before a proposed alliance summit. The alliance is then expected to meet the Government in a "bosberaad" to discuss issues not dealt with at the violence summit last month.

Southern Africa Report said power-sharing was being discussed among senior members of the ANC and Government.

"The compromise arises from the realisation that they are both in a no-win situation.

"The ANC will win an election but will be unable to govern, except in name, because it will be incapable of manning the civil service. The NP Government will lose the election but will have the administration of the country firmly within its grasp because its followers are the civil service."

This meant that the two parties would be forced into an alliance or coalition, the newsletter said.

NEWS De Klerk warns ANC and PAC 'struggle' must end

ANC, PAC lash at De Klerk

Sowetan 13/10/92
■ FW 'can't rise to occasion':

STATE President FW de Klerk once again demonstrated his remarkable inability to rise to the occasion when Parliament resumed yesterday, the ANC said last night.

The organisation said De Klerk and the National Party still entertained the "vain hope" of sowing tension in the ANC by targeting those of its members who were communists.

The ANC also criticised the NP's 11th-hour conversion to federalism as a device to conceal its intention of clinging to power despite the verdict of a democratic election.

Amnesty null and void

"Equally, De Klerk's insistence on constitutionality would be more convincing if the NP's track-record demonstrated any real commitment to a government based on laws.

"There are very few parties in South Africa that require instruction in democratic politics from the NP," the organisation said.

In its reaction, the PAC warned the Government that unilateral attempts to pass legislation on a general amnesty would be null and void.

It said only a democratically-elected government could grant such an amnesty.

It said "an illegitimate regime cannot legitimise crimes committed against humanity by declaring a blanket amnesty".

'Mandela gun' shown on TV

Sowetan 13/10/92 *(11A) (100)*
■ **Zambian minister claims automatic weapon given as a gift was used in robberies:**

LUSAKA - A Zambian minister at the weekend displayed an automatic weapon on national television and said it had been given to African National Congress (ANC) leader

Nelson Mandela by Ugandan president Yoweri Museveni as a present.

Home affairs minister Newstead Zimba said the gun had been used in armed robberies in the country. A

woman had been arrested in connection with some of the robberies, the minister said.

The gun bore the inscription "Presented to ANC leader Nelson Mandela by President Yoweri

Museveni".

Ugandan High Commissioner to Zambia Karakuza Baguma said yesterday he had never heard of Museveni giving presents to Mandela.

ANC march on SA embassy

Own Correspondent

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN. — The ANC-led tripartite alliance yesterday marched to the South African embassy here where they presented a list of demands to the ambassador, Mr Pieter Goosen.

The march started with a rally at the Victoria Grounds.

Receiving the memorandum, Mr Goosen said it would be forwarded to the government urgently.

(11A) CT 13/10/92

African aspirations will be put on ice, says Barney Desai

Proposed agreement can lead only to conflict

Star 13/10/92

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JOE Slovo's much publicised and praised proposal to "break the logjam" of negotiations is not new and it needs to be noted that the compromise he now suggests was incorporated in a tentative agreement between the regime and the ANC at Codesa months ago (February 1992).

It was the regime's arrogance, after its sweeping victory in the white referendum, that scuttled the arrangement.

Except for intentional leaks, this agreement never saw the light of day. It would not be an unreasonable inference that Mr Slovo of the "militant" SACP is flying a kite for the ANC. This is an exercise to test the reactions of people in what can only be seen as yet another retreat from an unfettered constituent assembly.

The terms (and timetable) of the accord between the regime, the ANC and the Communist Party were as follows.

● June 1992 — Interim governing

council appointed by Codesa and approved by the racist tricameral parliament for a term of one year. No agreement has been reached on the re-incorporation of the bar-bustans.

● June 1993 — Elections to a hybrid unicameral legislature on the basis of one person, one vote. This legislature will encompass a constituent assembly and an interim legislature elected by proportional representation.

The tricameral parliament will be dissolved. The constituent assembly will take decisions by a two-thirds majority and the interim legislature by "sufficient consensus". The Cabinet will have representation on the basis of the percentage of voters received with a cut-off point of five per cent.

Decisions of the Cabinet will be on the basis of "consensus" not majority. The presidency will rotate.

● March/June 1994 — The new



Joe Slovo . . . flying a kite for the African National Congress?

constitution is finalised. There could be new elections but the unicameral legislature could also convert itself into the lower House. (The agreement between the axis makes provision for an Upper House representing regional interest). No agreement had yet been reached on a rotating presidency for this period.

However, the NP/ANC Communist Party axis has struck a deal

on matters of far-reaching importance to frustrate the aspirations of the oppressed African masses. The terms are: majority government, with built-in consensus (white veto) for five years, which will elect a new Cabinet — but all parties will be represented in the Cabinet.

Consensus decision-making on the Budget and other matters must be enshrined in the constitution. This agreement has been referred to by the ANC as the "Sunset clause". It's the same clause that Slovo has now pulled out of his hat.

The import of this temporarily torpedooed agreement is that all radical political or economic policies (particularly where they affect white interest) will be frozen for five years unless the whites, by whomsoever they are represented, agree.

Thabo Mbeki of the ANC, who presented this plan to Codesa, explained that one example of the

"sunset clause" would be an agreement that the winner of the first election under the new constitution will appoint a coalition Cabinet, or a "government of national unity, that includes all major parties for a given period, say five years".

He envisaged that on its expiry the "sunset clause" would cease to exist. Other "sunset" clauses could provide guarantees that no major changes would take place in the civil service, or that no affirmative action or other economic restructuring programmes would begin for that period. Nelson Mandela has confirmed that the civil service — presently dominated by whites — will not be interfered with.

● March/April 1995 — elections or regions (10 or 11 in number) who will constitute the upper House.

The manner in which the regions will be elected to the upper House had not been finalised. The

National Party proposed that each region have an equal number of seats, ie northern Cape region will equal the PWV regions' number of seats in the upper House.

No legislation of the lower House will become law if not approved by the upper House. The regions by this formula will thus be able to frustrate the wishes of the majority in the lower House.

The ANC/Communist Party proposed that the upper House powers be confined to reviewing but not blocking legislation.

The advocacy of a settlement on the aforementioned basis, which effectively means putting African aspirations on ice for a decade, can lead only to prolonged conflict, the dimensions of which are frightening. □

● Desai is head of publicity and a response to Joe Slovo's remarks revealed exclusively in The Star.

'Hope if Govt, ANC agree'

S 747 13/10/92
The Democratic Party believed that negotiations between the Government and the ANC offered the best hope for progress to a political settlement, DP leader Dr Zach de Beer said yesterday.

Speaking during debate on the State President's address, he said the DP wanted to be part of the negotiation process and expected to be included once the time was ripe.

"But the months at Codesa taught us one thing: when the Nats and the ANC were in agreement, progress could be made. When they were fighting, we all got nowhere. We believe that what is now happening is for the best."

The shocking state of South Africa's economy necessitated an urgent political settlement. All parties had to accept that an early constitutional agreement was vital and more important than its fine detail.

The agreements reached at the September 26 summit between President F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela were in the national interest.

De Beer said the Government seemed to lack a vision of the future.

He was similarly concerned at the ANC's refusal to become a political party and the growing role of communists within the organisation. — Sapa.

Trials even after amnesty – Hani

By Brian Sokutu

Even if President de Klerk passed legislation for a general amnesty, Civil Co-operation Bureau agents and other people implicated in hit squad activities would be brought to trial if the ANC come to power, SACP general secretary Chris Hani warned yesterday.

Addressing a lunch-hour rally in central Johannesburg to protest against the opening of Parliament, Hani said De Klerk sought to "conceal evidence" on the activities of CCB agents, askaris ("turned" MK cadres) and Government officials through a general amnesty.

Referring to the right-wing/homeland alliance, he said: "These creatures of apartheid like Buthelezi are afraid. Let the elections come and we will see who commands support."

Speaking at the same rally, ANC PWV chairman Tokyo Sexwale said South Africa had to learn a lesson from the war in Angola.

"Those puppets representing the right-wing homeland alli-

STAN 13/10/92
ance think they can topple this country's democratic government, as Unita is trying to do in Angola after elections. They'll fall here," said Sexwale to loud cheers.

Earlier, ANC alliance leaders led a health workers' march to the Johannesburg offices of the Department of National Health and Population Development where SA Dispensing Practitioners (SADP) chairman Dr Joe Maelane presented a petition to the department's acting regional director, Robby Hamilton.

The petition from the SADP, SA Health and Social Services Organisation, National Progressive Primary Health Care Network, South African Students' Congress, CAST, ANC, Cosatu, the Disabled People of South Africa, and the SACP protested at what was called the Government's "unilateral restructuring of health services".

The petition called for a moratorium on the closure of hospitals in Natal and other regions, and for the Government not to go ahead with the privatisation of public hospitals.

'ANC negotiating takeover'

(11A) 5 JAN 13/10/92
The ANC was negotiating to take over the government of the whole of South Africa, Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said yesterday.

Speaking during debate on the State President's address, he said the Government was busy negotiating itself out of a position of governing.

The CP believed a nation's right to self-determination was non-negotiable.

A settlement without the Afrikaner was impossible.

There could be no talk of a democracy of 25 million people consisting of different nations.

Jac Rabie (NP Reiger Park) said there was a consensus inside and outside Parliament that the status quo could not be maintained. — Sapa.



Andries Treurnicht . . . a settlement without the Afrikaner is impossible.

IFP 'yes' to PAC mediation

JOHANNESBURG. — The Inkatha Freedom Party has accepted an offer from the PAC to act as an intermediary between it and the ANC.

However, the PAC is looking to the ANC for a reply to its proposals to end violence in South Africa, the PAC said yesterday.

Meanwhile PAC president Mr Clarence Makwethu yesterday said decisions taken by the government and other organisations would not be binding on other parties. — Sapa

CT 13/10/92

Gun 'given to Mandela by Ugandan leader'

Star Africa Service (11A)

LUSAKA — A Zambian Minister at the weekend displayed an automatic weapon on television which he said had been given to ANC leader Nelson Mandela by Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni as a gift.

Home Affairs Minister Newstead Zimba said the gun had been used in armed robberies in the country. A woman had been arrested in connection with some of them.

The gun bore the inscription: "Presented to ANC leader Nelson Mandela by President

Yoweri Museveni". It is not yet clear whether the detained woman is a member of the ANC.

Ugandan High Commissioner to Zambia, Karakuza Baguma, said yesterday he had never heard of Museveni giving presents to Mandela.

"It's a pity that, be-

cause of the government and the Minister being new, he may have overlooked diplomatic etiquette," Baguma said, adding that Zimba should have left the matter to his Foreign Affairs Ministry.

Authorities have blamed liberation move-

ments, particularly the ANC, for the crime wave in the country due to illegal guns which they sometimes sell to Zambians.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the organisation would investigate the matter.

STAR 13/10/92

Politics a subject for adults

Sowetan 13/10/92

11A

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

THE MEETING began promptly as scheduled, the main speaker arrived on time, the chairman called the gathering to order, the applause was proper and people raised their hands at question time.

What made this particular event extraordinary was the conspicuous absence of the usual motley legion of youths, the "comrades", who would besiege the township and turn the whole thing into a fanatical craze, complete with the toyi-toyi and parody. Especially if an ANC politician of stature was expected.

On Sunday at the Fonts Secondary School in Diepkloof Extension, Soweto, it was different. Only adults went to the ANC branch meeting.

Not even the bawling of an odd baby, as is usual at any township gathering, no matter how life-threatening or harmonious, was evident.

The guest speaker was ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa who is also the organisation's chief negotiator with the De Klerk administration.

The chairman was an amiable man in his 50s whom one would have expected to be at a *lekgotla*, enjoying a Sunday afternoon beer with his cronies and reminiscing. Patrick Vatsha is his name and he is the branch chairman.

The only reminder that the venue, a double-storey building of white face-brick, was utilised by youths, were the signs so typical of black townships, whether they are elite or squalid.

Ramaphosa did not fail to notice the graffiti on the walls of Fonts. He remarked in his usual engaging, non-table-banging, yet effective fashion that pupils at this school were highly politicised.

■ **LAI D BACK** In stark contrast to others, this

political meeting was like the real thing:

flash a smile even when making a serious point about the fact that he and his followers must get ready to vote in a few months' time.

"I still have to be elected," he said and the audience laughed good-naturedly.

He might have unwittingly thawed some hardened attitude when he said he was a member of the Students Christian Movement during his schooldays.

The ANC leader acknowledged the writings on the wall of Fonts Secondary School. In bright yellow paint the school had been renamed *Mthetheleli Mncube Secondary School*.

The only flaw was that Karl Marx had been misspelt on one wall, he said laughingly, and the audience of about 80 joined in.

Mncube is an Umkhonto we Sizwe soldier and Diepkloof resident released from prison on September 28.

Ramaphosa spoke off the cuff, presumably from the heart, about the current political scenario, negotiations, violence and that the ANC was now ready for elections.

He also spoke about forgiveness, saying blacks can only forgive the apartheid sinners after a democratic order is in place and irreversible.

For more than an hour the audience listened - like a real political meeting addressed by an elected representative in a defined constituency.

You could even take in the surroundings.

The last lesson in that classroom was Setswana and the blighters were taught the different parts of speech. It was on the chalkboard.

He said the marches would go ahead eventually because free political activity was non-existent in those homelands.

These marches, as had been falsely reported in the media before Bisho, were not intended to topple anybody but to demand free political expression, which was essential if the ANC - and/or any political party - were to mobilise for elections there.

At the start of the meeting Ramaphosa mentioned that negotiating with the Government had been tough but it had sharp-

ened the ANC's negotiating skills.

"We have seen this Government crack, minister accusing minister and Afrikaner fighting Afrikaner, as we stood and watched like obedient Africans," he laughed again.

A young woman asked Ramaphosa if the "ANC comrades" intended to speak to the "Pan Africanist Congress comrades" because that organisation publicly accused the ANC of refusing to talk to it.

Ramaphosa reminded the questioner that the Press was present. It would not help to reveal more. The ANC and PAC had very fundamental differences which they were both addressing and which would hopefully be resolved.



Cyril Ramaphosa

Blacks can only forgive the apartheid sinners after a democratic order is in place and irreversible

The mood was laid-back too. A typical Sunday afternoon feeling. No one wore a tie. Some women looked decent in summer shorts, the ones that cover the knees.

Ramaphosa wore a snow white track suit with a brilliant green (not the dark green of the ANC's black, green and gold) label above the left top pocket and grey-and-blue designer takkies.

As is now his custom, he was ready to

Ramaphosa fielded questions. In fact, he invited questions.

The first was why the ANC kept postponing the marches on Mmabatho and Ulundi.

Ramaphosa replied: "After the Bisho massacre (of September 7) we had to engage in self-criticism and analysis ... and concluded that future marches will have to be more carefully planned. If it is because we want to save lives that we keep postponing these marches, then so be it..."

Sooelan 13/10/92
'Reconvene PF' (IA)

THE president of the Pan Africanist Congress, Mr Clarence Makwetu, yesterday said decisions taken by the Government and other organisations would not be binding on other parties, SABC radio news reported.

Speaking at Graaff Reinet at the Robert Sobukwe Memorial, Mr Makwetu said black political organisations needed to reconvene the Patriotic Front and address the current violence in the country. He added that Codesa was not suitably structured to deliver a Constituent Assembly, and, therefore, the PAC was not a party to the arrangement.

Focus on Africa

Sowetan

13/10/92.

~~20/10/92~~

11A

~~11A~~

So much by so many is being done in the name of democracy. Everyone has an agenda. However, when one man's democracy is not the same as another's, a problem arises. **Themba Molefe** cuts to the bone (of contention?) of SA political ideals



LIKE BEAUTY, to an average South African of any colour or persuasion, democracy seems to be in the eye of the beholder.

In the townships it is not uncommon to hear the phrase "democratic forces" thrown around by youths who might be enforcing a stayaway. What do they mean?

Ever ventured to ask someone to define democracy and he replies: "Yes, what is democracy?"

But first, hear this:

Scene 1: In July 1990 a disgruntled man who lost his job in the United States of America was arrested for burning the American flag on the steps of a court building in Chicago. He said it did not stand for what he always believed it did - freedom, justice and security.

The publicity surrounding the man's arrest led to more flag-burning in the US, prompting Congress to hastily push through an anti-flag-torching law. But the US Supreme Court ruled that this law was illegal and it was quickly removed from the Statute Book. The judges said flag-burning was a democratic right protected by the First Amendment of the US Constitution which guaranteed freedom of expression.

Scene 2: In 1989 Wits University students burned the South African flag. They maintained it was their democratic right to burn the "racist flag".

It was while they were exercising this "right" that the South African Police intervened. They sjambokked the daylighters out of the protesters. Some were dragged kicking, cursing and bleeding into police vans.

The police were protecting the Government's democratic right to govern and keep the flag at high mast. The then State President PW Botha wagged a finger and said burning the Republic's flag would not be tolerated.

And now, in 1992, how do the "main" political players perform in the democracy stakes?

The African National Congress, whose call for a democratic South Africa could only be transmitted through bush telegraph until 1990, is now marching for a democratic interim government.

The Pan Africanist Congress says democracy can only be negotiated at a neutral venue. It will not regard any democratic outcome, for example through Codesa, as democratic unless it is chaired by a neutral convenor.

So says the Azanian People's Organisation. It has already appointed its convenor - Anglican Bishop Walter Makhudu of Botswana.

The South African Communist Party is an ANC cheerleader, nay, ally, and marches along.

De Klerk, after incurring the wrath of the white right - and centre - defended the SACP's democratic right to exist and unbanned the communists in 1990.



Marchers tear down the South African flag while being watched by police.

The Inkatha Freedom Party is considered a main player in the political sphere.

Leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi actually heaves when he says no democratic dispensation would be democratic without him, the IFP and the Zulu "nation" in that order.

Hold a minute. It is becoming increasingly difficult to distinguish between the IFP - with its suave white English-speaking spokesmen - and the KwaZulu government and Zulu royal kingdom.

For example, at an IFP Press conference in Johannesburg on September 21 a statement said the ANC's planned march on Ulundi would anger the Zulu people.

However, the point is that the IFP/Kwazulu/Zulu Royal Kingdom reserve their democratic right to defend themselves - whatever this means - against the ANC's democratic march for democracy.

Then there is Bophuthatswana. An ANC democratic march for free political activity planned for September 19 was aborted when Mr Justice Goldstone counselled that the march would beget violence.

This was after president Chief Lucas Mangope was televised the preceding week saying in Tswana: "I am like the prickly pear which is sweet inside but thorny and dangerous on the outside."

Mangope was warning the ANC not to exercise its democratic right because he would not hesitate to stop anyone who threatened Bop's democracy.

Subsequent to that Mangope used the homeland's security laws and detained more than 100 University of Bophuthatswana students who protested against "the absence of democracy" in Bophuthatswana.


March on Parliament

ANC deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu, Western Cape chairman Dr Allan Boesak and national executive members Mr Kader Asmal and Ronnie Kasrils lead a march of about 3 000 supporters on Parliament yesterday.

11A
Dwefan 13/10/92



LAWSUIT
Former NSL boss
Mofasi Lekota sues
Tribune magazine for
R250 000 for
defamation **PAGE 3**




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FW warns MK, Apla

Dwefan 13/10/92
CLAMPDOWN President de Klerk hits out at

“radicals” as ANC marches on Parliament:

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk warned yesterday the Government would clamp down on the armed wings of the ANC and PAC if they continued with underground activities. Opening a short session of Parliament, De Klerk failed to outline a bold new vision to break the negotiations logjam.

He warned that negotiations could not continue while mass action continued. Outside Parliament the deputy president of the ANC, Mr Walter Sisulu, led about 3 000 people to rename Stalplein, a square outside the State President’s office.

See story page 2

ANC backs Pik's mission

THE ANC backed Foreign Minister Pik Botha's peace mission to Angola, ANC international affairs head Thabo Mbeki said yesterday.

"To the extent that the SA government can persuade (Unita leader Jonas) Savimbi to accept the result, we have no problem," he said in an interview.

Heavy fighting broke out in the streets of Luanda at the weekend after a rise in tensions following Unita's refusal to accept the outcome of recent elections.

Unita claimed they had not been free and fair.

On his arrival in Luanda yesterday, Botha said: "Not one of us can afford more

RAY HARTLEY

conflict. There must be a way to avoid further destruction. (11A)

"I am not coming here to preach. I hope I will be received here like a brother who can talk with experience. Our interest is southern Africa. Just as Angola will one day help us, we must help Angola. We are bound together."

Sapa-Reuter reports the UN and Western governments hope Botha can use his relationship with Savimbi during his three-day stay to persuade him to avoid war. A meeting in Savimbi's highland stronghold of Huambo is planned for today.

□ To Page 2

Pik's mission

Unita is trailing well behind the governing MPLA of President Jose Eduardo dos Santos as results from last month's election continue to come in.

A senior Unita official said yesterday that publishing the results of the poll would bring disaster.

"Now the situation is so grave we cannot imagine a possible publication of such fraudulent results because that will mean immediate war. No one wants war, but whoever continues on this path will be taking the country to catastrophe," said Elias Salupeto Pena.

"To save this country at this grave hour, goodwill is needed from all interested parties," he said.

Troops and police manned roadblocks throughout Luanda yesterday and many

people stayed indoors, in the wake of Sunday's gun battles in which at least two people died.

Yesterday Mbeki disclosed that ANC president Nelson Mandela had written to Savimbi and Dos Santos before the election, urging them to accept its outcome and form a government of national unity.

Mbeki said he had been informed the US government believed the result was fair and wanted Savimbi to accept it. The ANC would look at the outcome of a special UN mission sent to Angola to investigate the election before deciding what action it would take.

The UN mission had a meeting with Savimbi yesterday.

● See Page 6

□ From Page 1



Thousands of marchers jammed Cape Town's streets yesterday to protest against the two-week special session of Parliament. Picture: AP

McBride cheered outside Parliament

CAPE TOWN — Thousands of people marched through Cape Town's streets yesterday to protest against the reopening of the tricameral Parliament for a special session.

Outside the gates of Parliament the ANC welcomed new heroes through a booming public address system. The loudest cheer was reserved for Magoo's Bar bomber Robert McBride, one of the leaders of the march.

The ANC leadership, addressing thousands of supporters in the blazing sun in Roeland Street, insisted that the current government had to go.

ANC vice-president Walter Sisulu, Joe Slovo and Allan Boesak addressed the crowd gathered in Roeland Street — renamed "ANC Memorial Street" for the day.

Stalplein, next to Parliament, was renamed Luthuli Square in memory of former ANC president and Nobel peace laureate Albert Luthuli.

McBride and Mthethleli Mncube, released from prison recently after both had spent time on Death Row after being found guilty of murder, were met with sustained applause when they were introduced to the crowd.

ANC leader Ronnie Kasrils rejected any comparison with those who had been killed in defence of apartheid, saying the linking of McBride with Strijdom Square mass murderer Barend Strydom was "utterly disgusting".

Sisulu, who replaced ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa as leader of the march, said this Parliament's last task was to rubber stamp agreements negotiated with "the legitimate representatives of the people".

Sapa reports six UN observers kept a high profile throughout the day, and were joined by six local monitors from the National Peace Secretariat and two representatives of the Goldstone commission.

Policemen in camouflage uniform watched the proceedings, while dozens of ANC marshalls in khaki controlled the demonstrators. A man was apprehended by marshalls for allegedly breaking a window in Plein Street.

Health bodies protest against restructuring

HEALTH organisations yesterday staged a demonstration in Johannesburg in protest against government's plans to "unilaterally restructure health services" during the current session of Parliament.

The "Stop Rina Venter and Co" rally — which included supporters from the SA Health and Social Services Organisation, SA Dispensing Practitioners, ANC, Cosatu, SACP and Disabled People SA — was led

by SACP general secretary Chris Hani. A memorandum submitted to the health department's regional offices claimed that the session was intended to safeguard "the privileges of the ruling minority". It called for a moratorium on restructuring in the public sector which could lead to more than 50 000 retrenchments.

KATHRYN STRACHAN

8/10/92 13/10/92

B10M 13/10/92 Political Staff (11A)

Session a waste of time, says Dalling

CAPE TOWN — The ANC regarded the present session of Parliament, which would cost the taxpayer more than R10m, as a total waste of time and he and its other members would not support any of the legislation, David Dalling (Ind Sandton) said in Parliament yesterday. *BIDM*

Speaking during debate on the President's address, he said none of the Bills now before Parliament were urgent or essential and the ANC would "not assist the President in this farcical window-dressing".

The October session had originally been scheduled by President F W de Klerk to give legislative effect to agreements reached at Codesa II. *13/10/92*

While no agreements had been reached at Codesa II, De Klerk and the NP had since conceded virtually all the issues raised by the ANC which had led to the breakdown in the first place.

Dalling said the Record of Understanding signed by government and the ANC on September 26 was belated but real progress, and had laid the basis for a resumption of the negotiating process. *13/10/92*

De Klerk should not be deterred by his detractors. He would enjoy the support of the overwhelming majority of South Africans in the rapid implementation of the agreements reached on September 26.

Dalling called on the President to take urgent action to restore free political activity in homeland territories, particularly Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and KwaZulu.

He urged De Klerk to call off the present parliamentary session and instead to start preparing to negotiate the transfer of power to the democratic majority. — Sapa.

ANC 'will reject any new law on amnesty'

BIDM 13/10/92
CAPE TOWN — The ANC would reject any legislation by government for a general amnesty and would refuse to recognise such a law, ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu said yesterday.

Addressing an ANC/SACP/Cosatu rally outside Parliament, he said the ANC would continue to insist on full disclosure of criminal activities by state officials. "Before the apartheid criminals can be forgiven, their crimes must be exposed. We must know who did the killing and kidnapping. We must know who stole our taxes. We must know who gave the orders and who committed the murders."

Amnesty could be negotiated by an interim government of national unity only once the offences had been made public.

The only legislation Parliament had still to pass was that which would ensure speedy transition to democracy and installation of an interim government.

Renaming Staplein Luthuli Square in honour of the late ANC president Albert Luthuli, Sisulu said the ANC had begun a process to ensure that heroes of SA's struggle were recognised and honoured.

SACP chairman Joe Slovo said President F W de Klerk had recently used NP platforms to "spit venom at the ANC and abuse us".

Referring to the President's call to the ANC to "stop its nonsense", he said: "It was through our 'nonsense' that we got to Groote Schuur and that we got the government to move on the banning of dangerous weapons, securing of hostels and the release of political prisoners. We

will continue with our nonsense."

While De Klerk said SA was "sick and tired of the ANC's arrogance and intolerance", Slovo said: "If anyone is sick and tired after 300 years of racist rule, it is the people of this country. We are sick and tired of the government's delays in the negotiating process, of the way in which it is clinging to power and trying to find methods for a minority veto."

Government had to set the example by disciplining state officials whom commissions of inquiry had shown to be involved in murder.

Slovo also called on government to end its financial and military support for "puppets" such as Ciskei leader Brig Oupa Gqozo.

Mass action would continue until demands for an interim government and a nonracial constituent assembly had been realised.

At a small rally in Johannesburg yesterday SACP secretary-general Chris Hani called for the dissolution of Parliament, saying it was convened by people who did not represent most South Africans.

The SACP, he said, was not bound by the decisions of the extraordinary session called to pass legislation drafted by Codesa.

The ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance would march on Ulundi, Bophuthatswana and again on Bisho when it chose to, he said.

Before the rally demonstrators marched to the Department of National Health and Population Development's offices to present a memorandum calling for an unconditional moratorium on restructuring of public services and the economy. — Sapa.

Goyt, ANC 'hold key to progress'

CAPE TOWN — The DP believed negotiations between government and the ANC offered the best hope for progress to a political settlement, DP leader Zach de Beer said yesterday. *B10M 13/10/92*

Speaking during debate on the State President's address, he said the DP wanted to be part of the negotiation process and expected to be included once the time was ripe. "But the months at Codesa taught us one thing: when the Nats and the ANC were in agreement, progress could be made. When they were fighting, we all got nowhere. We believe that what is now happening is for the best."

The shocking state of SA's economy necessitated an urgent political settlement. All parties had to accept that an early constitutional agreement was vital and more important than its fine detail.

The key to reopen the door to economic growth was investment, and that depended absolutely on a political settlement.

The agreements reached at the September 26 summit between President F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela were in the national interest and had helped to revive negotiations.

"Everything will now depend on whether the process is handled sensibly by the government, the ANC and the rest of us."

De Beer said he was concerned at government's administrative incompetence. It seemed to lack a vision of the future and appeared to rely on ad hoc decisionmaking.

He was similarly concerned at the ANC's refusal to become a political party and the growing role of communists within that organisation. "We will have to look to the ANC leadership to take a firm grip on things and keep the ANC on the road to negotiation."

The recent decision by six former Labour Party MPs to join the DP indicated its principles were gaining ground among all South Africans. In this way the DP was progressively winning the middle ground between the ANC and the NP — Sapa.

NEWS IN BRIEF

Van Eck is reinstated

LEADER of the House of Assembly Adriaan Vlok moved a motion yesterday that independent MP for Claremont Jan van Eck be reinstated from July 1 1992.

This would rescind an earlier decision that Van Eck be suspended until January. The motion was carried unanimously. *B10M 13/10/92*

CP to call for adjournment

CP LEADER Andries Treurnicht gave notice yesterday that he would move today that the short session be adjourned immediately.

Government was not able to proceed with its stated agenda and it could not afford such a waste of money, he said. A motion by Vlok that oral questions and interpellations not be dealt with in this session was passed after a division in which the CP and DP opposed it.

ANC 'dragging its feet'

SA COULD have been a year further with negotiations had the ANC not dragged its feet, Stoffel van der Merwe (NP Helderkruijn) said yesterday.

Speaking during debate on President F W de Klerk's address, he said the ANC still wanted a private army.

Parliament 'must repent'

A YOUNG woman was ejected from the public gallery in Parliament shortly before President F W de Klerk delivered his address yesterday, after she called on Parliament to "repent in the name of Jesus".

As the Speaker, Eli Louw, ended the parliamentary prayer, she stood up and called out: "This government must repent in the name of Jesus."

In the stunned silence that followed, she said: "This nation is crying and it is our cry too . . . I ask you in the name of Jesus, Parliament repent." A man presumed to be policeman led her away.

B10M REPORTS: Sapa. 13/10/92

13/10/92

13/10/92

ANC march on SA embassy

Own Correspondent

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN. — The ANC-led tripartite alliance yesterday marched to the South African embassy here where they presented a list of demands to the ambassador, Mr Pieter Goosen.

The march started with a rally at the Victoria Grounds.

Receiving the memorandum, Mr Goosen said it would be forwarded to the government urgently.

(118) CT 13/10/92

IFP 'yes' to PAC mediation

JOHANNESBURG. — The Inkatha Freedom Party has accepted an offer from the PAC to act as an intermediary between it and the ANC.

However, the PAC is looking to the ANC for a reply to its proposals to end violence in South Africa, the PAC said yesterday.

Meanwhile IFP president Mr Clarence Makhwethu yesterday said decisions taken by the government and other organisations would not be binding on other parties. — Sapa

CT 13/10/92

15/10/92

ANC 'dragging its feet' (1A)

SA COULD have been a year further with negotiations had the ANC not dragged its feet, Stoffel van der Merwe (NP Helderkruijn) said yesterday.

Speaking during debate on President F W de Klerk's address, he said the ANC still wanted a private army.

15/10/92

ANC told to become party

STAX 14/10/92 (11A)

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — President de Klerk has warned that he will not serve in a government of national unity with the ANC in its present form.

Addressing Parliament at the close of a two-day "state of the nation" debate, De Klerk said he did not think the SA Communist Party would be in the government of national unity because it would not win enough support from the population.

He did not go as far as to say he would refuse to serve in a government with the ANC while it remained in an alliance with the SACP.

But he did say that before he would sit with the ANC in government, it would have to "take hold" of its radicals, transform itself into a proper political party.

De Klerk was responding to Conservative Party expressions of scepticism about how the Government and the ANC could serve in the same government when they were constantly attacking each other.

He said a government of

national unity meant that political parties with differing policies had to sit down together to solve the complex problems of transition.

The ANC, as one of the three to four biggest parties, would be in that government — but not as it was now.

He was not demanding that the ANC change its policies or standpoints. But it would have to change from a militant movement to a political party.

De Klerk launched a broad attack on all his political opponents and defended his controversial decision to proceed with the present short session of Parliament — despite the lack of any negotiated transitional agreements to legislate.

There was an "element of urgency" about the Bills to rationalise "own affairs" administrations and transfer some of their functions to provincial authorities.

This would help to prepare for a new dispensation with strong regional powers.

It was also important to seek approval for legislation to allow Government to grant a general amnesty.

ANC denies ^{11A} plot reports

Political Correspondent

THE ANC yesterday described reports about a communist plot to take over the security forces as "a scandalous fabrication". CT 14/10/92

It believed there was a connection between the "Red plot" reports and a document supposedly written by a communist cabal within the ANC allegedly trying to sideline ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela.

ANC

'secret'

talks

on talks

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC's negotiations commission and senior officials, including secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, began a two-day strategy meeting at a secret Transvaal venue yesterday.

The meeting is expected to discuss negotiations and a detailed ANC response to President FW de Klerk's opening of Parliament speech in which he said certain NP policies would "have to be included in a new constitution".

The meeting is also expected to prepare the ground for the ANC's input at the coming "bosberaad" with government.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela would take part in some of the discussions at the meeting, an ANC spokesman said.

ANC steps down on parliament (11A) address

South 10/10-14/10/92
By Quentin Wilson

THE ANC regional executive has scaled down plans to "blockade" the opening of parliament on Monday and will not insist on a address by an ANC heavyweight.

Instead the ANC alliance will opt for a "non-confrontational" surrounding of parliament and a renaming of Stal Plein outside the gates of Tuynhuis to Luthuli Square.

Mr Tony Yengeni, ANC secretary, said the change of protest against the "unilateral amendments to be made in parliament was because of the substantial progress made" in last month's agreement between the government and the ANC that cemented the release so far of 147 political prisoners.

"It is no longer necessary for us to insist on forms of mass action like blockading parliament and getting speakers inside.

"We are not seeking confrontation with anyone on Monday," Yengeni said.

the nation in brief

Sowetan 14/10/92

No prisoners - Mandela

AFRICAN National Congress President Nelson Mandela yesterday denied the organisation had any prisoners in camps in African countries.

Speaking after a meeting with US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Mr Herman Cohen, in Johannesburg, he said he had invited SA Council of Churches secretary general the Reverend Frank Chikane and Mr Justice Richard Goldstone to inspect ANC camps.

ANC must 'change its colours'

BIDAY 14/10/92

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk took a stern stand against the ANC yesterday, saying he would not form an interim government with the ANC as it existed now.

He told Parliament he expected the ANC to be transformed from a militant movement into a registered political party and to shed its uniforms and weapons. He did not expect the SACP to be a part of an interim government "because it did not have the support of the people".

Winding up the debate on his opening speech on Monday, De Klerk also reduced the CP to a remnant of a faction which had no right to talk of declaring any war.

He said the only reason the ANC and the CP did not want the short session of parliament to take place was because they no longer held Parliament in esteem and were thinking in extra-parliamentary terms.

He said Parliament should hold the current debate so that voters could be brought up to date with the state of play in politics.

De Klerk said it had been argued that some of the session's envisaged legislation could stand over. This was so, but in the case of others there was an element of urgency. The path had to be cleared administratively for the new constitutional dispensation.

Legislation on by-elections provided for proportional representation. And legislation was envisaged dealing with political prisoners.

He said he stood by the apology he made last week for apartheid. All Nationalists who were instrumental in and who took part in decision making under that policy were also sorry for having clung to it for too long.

He also made it clear that:

- Government would act against any threat to Ulundi or Bophuthatswana;
- No party, including the ANC, was in a position to make promises about what it would do after the next election as it would be part of a government of national unity, jointly deciding what was to be done;
- The Record of Agreement with the ANC did not contain any constitutional principles which had not already

been agreed to at Codesa by the very same (homeland) parties which now objected; and

The Record of Agreement reflected, in terms of action taken on hostels and dangerous weapons, actions government had in any case committed itself to taking.

He said the two "independent" homelands were free to stay out of Codesa and that government would not interfere in their internal affairs but KwaZulu had opted to remain in SA when offered independence.

Inkatha was so far removed from the CP that he failed to see how the parties could sit at the same table. This was clear opportunism by the CP.

He also warned that he would not sit in a unity government with the ANC as it was now. "It will have to change. It will have to get to grips with its radicals."

He did not envisage sitting on a government of national unity with the SACP because he believed the latter lacked popular support. — Sapa.

Committee slams govt over investment record

CAPE TOWN — A parliamentary committee yesterday slammed government's record on private sector investment, and recommended strict controls.

The joint committee on public accounts said statutory bodies had regularly flouted official guidelines to make suspect or unsound investments.

The committee recommended in a report to Parliament that:

- Private sector investments should be matched by a certificate from the institution attesting that no one was paid a commission or offered an inducement;
- No further investments should be allowed to be based on insurance policies linked to officials' lives;
- Statutory bodies should spread their investments in a manner that ensured the highest rate of return and maximum security for the funds concerned.

The committee also reported on mismanagement in state departments and state-owned institutions.

Criticisms took in the management of the former Civil Co-operation Bureau, the Department of State Expenditure, the Department of Correctional Services, the Human Sciences Research Council, the Meat Board, the SA Medical Research Council and the SA Rail Commuter Corporation (SARCC).

The committee said the SARCC invested R2,6bn for money market transactions aimed at marginal profit, and covered only 29,8% of its expenses. It was expected to make up its annual deficits by borrowing in the money and capital markets. — Reuter.

Investec Holdings Limited

CONSOLIDATED INCOME STATEMENT

CONSOLIDATED

| 30 Sept 1992 | % | 30 Sept 1991 | 31 March 1992 |
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RAY HARTLEY

THE ANC's negotiations commission and senior officials, including secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, began a two-day strategy meeting at a secret Transvaal venue yesterday.

The meeting is expected to discuss negotiations and a detailed ANC response to President F W de Klerk's opening of Parliament speech in which he said certain NP policies would "have to be included in a new constitution".

The meeting is also expected to prepare the ground for the ANC's input at the coming "bosberaad" with government.

ANC president Nelson Mandela would take part in some of the discussions at the meeting, an ANC spokesman said.

ANC begins secret strategy meeting

Meanwhile, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) spokesman Calvin Khan said yesterday De Klerk's suggestion that MK disband was "totally unacceptable".

He said government had to realise MK would never be absorbed into the SADF, but would disband when a new army was created under an interim government.

In its response, Cosatu said De Klerk's speech represented "the return of the Groot Krokodil P W Botha".

"De Klerk's finger-waving bluster was completely inappropriate, given the delicate state of the negotiations process," Cosatu said.

11A
BLOM 14/10/92

Restraining order on ANC in Mfuleni

Supreme Court Reporter

THE Mfuleni Town Council has been granted an urgent interdict restraining the African National Congress, the Mfuleni People's Joint Committee and 11 ANC members from harassing and assaulting its members and damaging its property.

The application was heard in chambers last night by Mr Justice Prest.

The applicants were the council, the mayor, Mr Attwell Mvumvu, 65, and five councillors.

Mfuleni is near Kuils River.

Mr Mvumvu and the others said in papers they had been asked by members of the ANC to resign.

When they refused they were intimidated and harassed.

ANC members staged sit-ins, signed petitions and had meetings in their attempt to get the council to resign.

They claimed the homes of at least two councillors had been burnt down by ANC members, Mr Mvumvu's house had been stoned and his wife injured.

The order restrains the respondents from intimidating, harassing and assaulting the councillors and their families and interdicts them from damaging their property and homes.

Court order against ANC

Staff Reporter

THE ANC, its Mfuleni branch and the executive members have been restrained, in terms of a Supreme Court temporary order granted yesterday, from intimidating and harassing members of the town council and their families. (11) 21/5/10/92

The application was brought by the Mfuleni Town Council and a temporary order was granted by Mr Acting-Justice C B Prest. It follows recent violence between ANC members and town councillors in the area.

The ANC has to show by November 10 why the order should not be made final.

Mrs G J Treverso (SC), assisted by Mr A de Villiers and instructed by Carikus Brand and Partners, brought the application. It was unopposed.

Changes to building societies tabled

LINDA ENSOR

CAPE TOWN — The Mutual Building Societies Amendment Bill, bringing mutual building societies into line with deposit-taking institutions in terms of minimum capital and reserve requirements, was tabled in Parliament yesterday.

The Bill empowers mutual building societies to issue permanent, unredeemable interest-bearing shares to drum up a hard core of capital.

This in turn will enable them to strengthen their capital bases to meet the new capital and reserve requirements.

The memorandum to the Bill, which would come before Parliament next year, said it had become imperative that mutual building societies be subjected to the same prudential requirements as deposit-taking institutions in the light of the greater freedom they had been granted by the adjustments made this year to their mandatory financial ratios. *B/DAM 15/10/92.*

Competitive

These new ratios made it necessary for mutual building societies to conform with a standard of risk management commensurate with the risk exposures that would be encountered as a result of the extension of their business.

New regulations came into effect on July 1 enabling mutual building societies to utilise their operating capital more profitably in the highly competitive financial services market.

The maximum ratio of operating capital that they were permitted to apply to business advances and general advances was increased from 30% to 70%. The minimum ratio of operating capital building societies were required to apply on housing advances was lowered from 70% to 30%.

Govt forces gambling legislation through

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — In spite of vigorous opposition, government yesterday forced its controversial anti-gambling legislation — which will outlaw "hard gambling" from February 1 — through Parliament.

Crucial to its success was the support of the ruling House of Delegates party, Solidarity, which had blocked the legislation in the standing committee before the end of this year's parliamentary session on June 19.

The DP, with support from the Labour Party, argued vigorously that the legislation should have been suspended until the Howard commission completed its probe into gambling.

However, the NP majorities in the House of Assembly and the Solidarity support in the HoD gave government the numbers it needed to push through the legislation.

In terms of an amendment to the Gambling Amendment Bill, the legislation will only become applicable on February 1. Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee said that this was to give "illegal" casinos time to wind up their business.

However, there was still hope for at least some of the estimated 2 000 casinos that have

sprung up this year. Coetsee confirmed yesterday that the Howard commission was to be expanded to include an urgent investigation into the desirability of permitting gaming in regions or areas where it was presently banned.

It is understood that areas or cities such as Cape Town, without easy access to a homeland casino, could be considered for an exemption.

Coetsee yesterday defended government's actions, saying it had no other aim than to create order in the present chaotic hard-gambling situation.

The DP mounted a scathing attack on the legislation during the debate, with Houghton MP Tony Leon saying it was a "piecemeal", "futile" and "knee-jerk" measure which made a mockery of careful and considered law-making.

The CP supported the Bill as the party was "strongly opposed to gambling", said Roo-depoort MP Jurg Prinsloo.

ANC 'will ignore FW's demands'

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The ANC has chosen to ignore President F W de Klerk's insistence that it must control its radicals before joining the NP in a government of national unity, saying "we have heard it all before".

Spokesman Gill Marcus said the ANC would not react to the President's hardline pre-conditions, but sources in the organisation have already described them as unacceptable.

Marcus said the ANC's reaction to De Klerk's speech in Parliament on Monday still applied.

In that, the ANC said the President's "indul-

gence of his McCarthyite proclivities was as undignified as it was puerile. That he and members of his party still entertain the hope of sowing tension in the ANC by targeting members who are communists betrays a naivety that is laughable," it said.

Sapa reports CP leader Andries Treurnicht called for De Klerk's resignation and demanded government crack down on the ANC.

● Comment: Page 8

ANC borders 657 1 1

"Phew!"

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CNA

First with the goodies

ANC ponders Bisho march

RAY HARTLEY

THE ANC's Border region is considering a second march on Bisho despite concern that this would lead to another massacre in the Ciskei capital.

ANC Border spokesman Mcebisi Bata said yesterday the march was being considered because of repression being conducted by the Ciskei Defence Force (CDF).

But the CDF said this week more than 700 attacks on soldiers and supporters of the ruling African Democratic Movement (ADM) had been recorded since the September 17 massacre.

Bata said a private firm — Peaceforce Security — was training recruits who were taking action against the ANC "under the guise of being security guards".

Well placed sources have claimed Peaceforce Security is being paid a large sum by the Ciskei government to put recruits through a three-week "kits-konstabel course".

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Major black parties speak on elections

Sowetan 15/10/92

11A

■ **STATING POSITIONS** Reaction to tabling in

Parliament this week of election guidelines:

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

MAJOR political organisations with predominantly black followers have stated their position on the first nonracial general election, set to take place late next year.

This follows the tabling of a report in Parliament on Tuesday by the President's Council setting out guidelines for a one person, one vote general election.

The African National Congress says it had hoped an interim government would be in place by the end of this year.

Spokeswoman Gill Marcus said the Government's view that

elections would only take place at the end of 1993 was unacceptable.

The ANC, however, had begun mobilising its members and embarked on an election education campaign. It planned to publish a book on elections and voting.

The Pan Africanist Congress said elections should be held within the next nine to 12 months as agreed with the Government.

Secretary for information and publicity Mr Barney Desai said there had to be a voters' registration process. This should be preceded by issuing identity documents to blacks. "About four million Africans presently have

no IDs," he said.

The Azanian People's Organisation said true and meaningful elections can be held only after the National Party Government had resigned.

Publicity secretary Mr Strini Moodley said any elections conducted by the National Party would fail. They would be taking place in a climate of violence and intimidation.

The Inkatha Freedom Party believed it was too soon to talk about elections.

Spokeswoman Suzanne Vos said agreement had not yet been reached even on constitutional principles, let alone a constitution.

THE NATIONAL MOOD

3044A 11A

A new kind of standstill

Fm. 16/10/92.

Originally intended to ratify constitutional agreements reached at Codesa 2, the short session of parliament which began this week had no agreements to ratify. So it ended up as a symbolic restatement of positions — government within the tricameral system defending its record of caution, the ANC/Alliance surrounding parliament with the now-familiar rhetoric of mass action and personal abuse levelled at President F W de Klerk.

While government will shortly be speaking — at bilateral level — to various notional participants in constitutional negotiations, there is still no indication when full-fledged bargaining will resume at Codesa or its equivalent.

Talk now is of elections for a constituent assembly being held late next year at the soonest. The September 26 Record of Understanding signed between De Klerk and the ANC appears even more irrelevant to a proper settlement than it did at the time. Yet it was bought with the notorious exchange of psychopaths that will haunt the constitutional process for years to come since it subordinates the rule of law to political expediency.

In his address to the nation, De Klerk was quite right to lay emphasis on the unacceptability of mass action — underpinned by the continued existence and activities of Umkhonto we Sizwe — and the evident ascendancy of communist factions within the Alliance. To continued and escalating economic travail has been added a degree of uncertainty that will freeze aid and investment so long as Joe Slovo, Chris Hani and Ronnie Kasrils lead marches to express their hatred of free enterprise.

Just as these men's interests are ultimately served by the

Bisho massacre, economic destitution will turn the masses to their leadership in the name of a vindictive, one-and-for-all appropriation of wealth. It doesn't matter that there will be no wealth left after that — it will be the more formal talking heads of the ANC who, as participants in government, will take the blame when things go wrong.

To the extent that De Klerk has set new preconditions for a national election — of which the cessation of violence seems most impossible to achieve — the groundwork is being laid for a new round of meetings that lead nowhere and a new round of mass action. This may be too pessimistic a view, and exhaustion may yet bring the parties together where reconciliation bristles with cynicism and mistrust.

The national perception is that our leaders are not really leading. Exhaustion, indeed, seems a terribly applicable term for a conclave of political hacks whom outsiders believe are bent on feathering their own nests and who are shadowed by a sense of their own mortality. One is also made a little weary of ANC president Nelson Mandela making his rote statements of gratitude to the regime in China, so grudgingly conceding a "socialist market economy" even as the ideas of capitalism and human rights flash across its provinces.

So we have economic and political stasis interspersed with street theatre, rule by inertia, and a slow but inexorable degradation in the quality of life. Only the work of decent people in the National Peace Accord, the Goldstone Commission, and a few parliamentarians who keep the liberal flame alight pre-empt the kind of naked hostility which presages complete social breakdown.

Where would we be without them? ■

Stop harassment of journalists - Azapo

Swefer 16/10/92



■ **FREE PRESS** Commemoration of 15th anniversary of the banning of two newspapers and black organisations by State:

By Mathatha Tsedu

THE Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) has called on political organisations to stop harassing journalists. In a statement to mark the 15th anniversary of the banning of black organisations and newspapers by the Government in 1977, Azapo cautioned journalists to stop "allowing personal bias to cloud their judgment and colour their stories".

Azapo publicity secretary Mr Strini Moodley said the anniversary should be used by black people and their organisations to bring unity and an end to inter-black killings.

"Azapo calls on the ANC and the PAC and all components of the broad liberation movement to meet urgently behind closed doors to work out strategies to defend and protect black people from the continued onslaught of the nationalist regime," Moodley said.

He said a free Press was an integral

part of a free country, adding that the banning of newspapers in 1977 was part of the onslaught to deny people the right to know.

Meanwhile, Azapo will hold a commemoration service to mark the day at the Paul Nel Hall in Bekkersdal on the West Rand. Other services will be held in Port Elizabeth and Seshego.

The Jabulani branch of Azapo has called on black people to commemorate the day in any manner they deemed fit.

FM 16/10/92 (11A) school, his questioning was simply "slapped down."

He became involved in anti-apartheid activities when he was a student at Rand Afrikaans University (RAU). In his second year, he met his wife-to-be, Jansie, an art teacher, whom he married in prison in 1986.

Niehaus was expelled from RAU after placing posters on campus calling for Mandela's release, equal education and so on. NP secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe, then head of political science, was the prosecutor. Niehaus refused the chance to retract. He worked in a community upholstery factory in Alexandra before he was accepted at Wits after David Webster (mysteriously assassinated in 1987) and others interceded on his behalf.

He read industrial sociology.

Niehaus was arrested on charges of treason for which he received a 13-year jail sentence in November 1983. His wife was sentenced, to a lesser term, in the same trial.

Since 1980, when he joined the ANC in Botswana, he had been involved in gathering information for the then banned organisation.

A member of his underground cell turned out to be a security policeman.

He was released in March last year after nearly eight years. While in prison, Niehaus started working on a dissertation, which he has yet to complete, titled: "Hope in Suffering — the eschatology of SA black theology from 1970 to 1990."

In his free time, Niehaus pursues his studies and relaxes with jazz and classical music. He also dabbles in pencil and ink drawing. ■

FM 16/10/92
CARL NIEHAUS (11A)

Breaking with tradition

About the most frequently quoted ANC spokesman these days seems to be Carl Niehaus (33), a serious Afrikaner student of (liberation) theology who, until last year, was serving time for treason.

As one of the ANC's two-man head office media liaison team (together with Saki Mazonzoma), Niehaus responds to journalists' inquiries for information and interpretation of ANC policy. He does his job well, with business-like clarity, fluency and patience.

Niehaus comes from a traditional Afrikaner background. His parents are Conservative Party supporters and attend the Dutch Reformed church. Born in Zeerust, where his father worked as a fitter and turner on the railways, he moved to Krugersdorp at 13.

Niehaus says he has not really broken with his roots despite the unconventional path his career has taken. "Obviously, on a political level, there's a lot of tension between me and my parents. They've also been rejected in their own community for what I've done."

His "political awakening" came when, at 16, he became involved in mission work mostly in the townships and hostels. A year later, the Soweto 1976 riots erupted. At



Niehaus ... one of the ANC's two-man media liaison team

ANC restrained (1A)

THE Mfuleni Town Council at Kuils River in the Cape has been granted an urgent interdict restraining the ANC, the Mfuleni People's Joint Committee and 11 ANC members from harassing and assaulting its members and damaging their property. *Sowetan*

The application was heard in chambers on Wednesday night by Mr Justice Prest. The applicants were the council, the mayor, Mr Attwell Mvumvu (65) and five councillors. *16/10/92*

Mvumvu and the others said in papers they had been asked by

Sowetan 16/10/92 (1A)
members of the ANC to resign.
When they refused, they were intimidated and harassed.

ANC 'will
keep meeting
government'

GABORONE — The ANC was determined to continue bilateral meetings with Pretoria to find a solution to SA's problems, ANC president Nelson Mandela told the OAU ad hoc committee meeting on southern Africa in Botswana's capital yesterday. (11A)

Before meeting government the ANC would have talks with other "patriotic front" organisations to evolve a common position.

Codesa would have to reconvene once the round of bilateral discussions was completed, paving the way for structuring an interim government. (11A)

PAC president Clarence Makwetu told the committee violence had not subsided in SA because the root causes had not been addressed adequately. (11A)

He accused the state of sponsoring violence through mercenaries from Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Namibia. (11A)

"These mercenaries must be expelled under international supervision. Until this is done there will be no end to violence."

The PAC was offering itself as a mediator because it desired to end the violence. It awaited a response from the ANC. In that spirit, the PAC had met Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi and would meet government soon. (11A)

OAU secretary general Salim Ahmed Salim recommended that OAU observers be sent to SA to monitor the situation. — Sapa.

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Income Statement

Turnover

Operating income
Interest received

Income before taxation and distribution
unit holders
Interest paid

Income before taxation
Taxation

Income after taxation
Dividends

Retained income

Dividends per ordinary share (cents)
Interest per debenture (cents)
Dividend and interest per combined
(cents)

Combined units in issue

Balance Sheet
Capital employed

Share capital
Debentures
Debenture premium
Retained income
Deferred taxation

Employment of capital

Fixed assets
Current assets:
Debtors
Cash resources

Current liabilities:
Creditors
Unit holders for distribution

Mandela: ANC plans more talks with govt

(11A) CT 16/10/92

GABORONE. — African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday said his organisation was determined to continue bilateral meetings with Pretoria to find a solution to the problems in South Africa.

He told members of the OAU ad hoc committee meeting on Southern Africa that, following its last meeting with Mr F W de Klerk's government, the ANC would hold further bilateral meetings with Pretoria next month.

"We will do everything in our power to ensure

that the government honours the agreements which it makes with our organisation," Mr Mandela said.

He said that before these additional bilateral meetings, the ANC would also have discussions with a wide variety of other organisations in the Patriotic Front to evolve a common position which would be put to the South African government.

He also said that Codesa, which had been put on hold after the Boipatong massacre followed by the Bisho massacre, would have to reconvene once the bilateral round of discussions was

OAU 'aims at role in SA'

GABORONE. — Organisation of African Unity (OAU) secretary-general Mr Salim Ahmed Salim said yesterday the OAU was determined to play an active and constructive role in South Africa.

Mr Salim said this in his report on the situation in South Africa to the ninth session of the OAU ad hoc committee meeting on Southern Africa, which began yesterday.

He said it was only through the presence of the OAU in South Africa that efforts to bring about a new and democratic, non-racial society could be made. He recommended that an OAU observer team of 15 experts be sent to South Africa.

● Botswana President Sir Ketumile Masire called on Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi to accept defeat with honour after the recent Angolan elections. — Sapa

completed.

"This will pave the way for the construction of structures for the interim government," Mr Mandela was quoted as saying by Ziana, Zimbabwe's domestic news agency.

"We hope that such arrangements will be reached before the end of the year so that next year we begin negotiations for a new constitution."

Mr Mandela added that the ANC had an obligation to oppose repression in the "bantustans". For this reason, the ANC was preparing for further marches. — Sapa

**SACP's R500
dinner**

1/17
16/10/92

JOHANNESBURG. —

South African businessmen on Wednesday evening paid R500 a head to discuss economic policy at a five star hotel here with the South African Communist Party.

Initially, journalists had been invited to attend the sumptuous affair but later this invitation was withdrawn.

Questioned on whether the occasion was possibly a fund raising effort, Ms Hanekom said it was not, but rather an effort to have discussions with businesspeople in an environment conducive to the business community. — Sapa

Row over beauty in belly of the beast

W/mail 16/10 - 22/10/92

11A



AFRICAN National Congress members in Bophuthatswana are outraged over an apparent deal struck between the organisation's cultural desk and Sun International giving the green light for the multimillion rand event — to be staged on December 12 as part of the opening celebrations for casino magnate Sol Kerzner's African-fantasy theme resort, The Lost City.

Also under fire is the ANC's international affairs head, Thabo Mbeki, who is accused of having developed a "cosy" relationship with Kerzner.

At issue is the ANC cultural desk's alleged failure to consult the organisation's members in the region, who are vehemently opposed to the political and economic mileage President Lucas Mangope's government will earn from the event — to be watched by 600-million television viewers in 60 countries.

The pageant coincides with renewed agitation around the homelands in the wake of Bisho, including proposals for an ANC march on Mmabatho.

This week the ANC's Mafikeng branch called on the ANC's Department of Arts and Culture (DAC) to schedule an urgent meeting with Sun

The African National Congress' endorsement of the Miss World Pageant at Sun City has set off a bitter row.

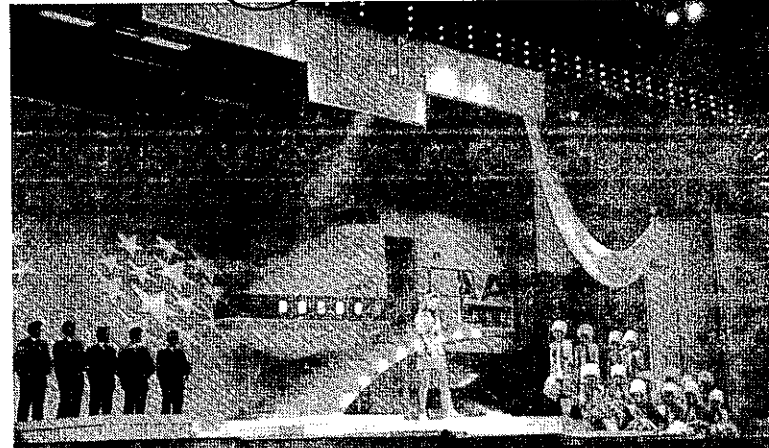
By **GAYE DAVIS**

International, aimed at eliminating from the event the presence of Mangope, his cabinet ministers and officials, as well as the Bop flag and anthem.

Failing this, they want the event moved to another venue outside the homeland — and have threatened to unleash an international campaign of protest if it goes ahead as planned.

"The DAC maintains that Sun City is part of South Africa — but the reality is that taxes earned from the Miss World pageant will pay for repression in Bophuthatswana," said Mafikeng ANC branch spokesman Roy Williams.

He said members were questioning the relationship which had sprung up between Kerzner and Mbeki. Kerzner, adroit in keeping both sides of his bread buttered in smoothing the way for his showbiz extravaganza, was pho-



Not just a pretty face ... ANC members are opposed to the Miss World Pageant at Sun City

tographed as a guest at Mbeki's birthday celebrations recently.

According to Williams, the Mafikeng newspaper, *The Mail*, recently announced that Miss Bop would be among the 80 Miss World title contenders, who include South Africa's Amy Kleynhans. A subsequent news report, however, stated that Miss Bop — to be chosen within a few weeks — would not be a contestant, but a hostess.

"Downgrading Miss Bop's role to that of hostess is no satisfaction to us at all," Williams said. "If the pageant is to be staged as a South African event then this must be explicit. There must be no Bop government role at all."

Mafikeng Anti-Repression Forum (Maref) chairman Andy Manson said negotiations between Sun International, the DAC, Maref and ANC structures in the region took place last year, with a

view to drawing up terms under which entertainers could perform at Sun City and assist Bophuthatswana communities. "The next thing we heard was that this event was going ahead."

He said Maref wrote to the DAC and received a "woolly response". The issue was again raised with the ANC two months ago but nothing had been done.

Various organisations in Bophuthatswana have now formed committees to co-ordinate opposition to the pageant.

Group entertainments director for Sun International Ltd, Hazel Feldman, said yesterday: "I certainly don't see any necessity for a furore. We have been working with the ANC, Pan Africanist Congress and Azanian Peoples' Organisation on fundamental criteria established years ago for ongoing consultation with regard to international performers at Sun City."

Feldman said Miss Bop would not compete in the pageant as "a country must be a license-holder. Licenses are issued by the Miss World office in London, based on specific criteria relating to United Nations' recognition of a country".

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus was unavailable for comment yesterday.

To party or
not? It will
be costly
for ANC

By MICHAEL BOWERY and
PHILIPPA GARSON

FINANCIAL headaches are looming for the African National Congress as it comes under growing pressure to transform into a political party. When this transformation occurs, foreign donations will be reduced to a mere trickle.

The ANC is looking for at least R200-million for its election campaign, but its donors — including Scandinavian governments which provide the bulk of the ANC's funds — are unlikely to give the organisation direct funds for elections.

ANC treasurer Thomas Nkobi reportedly told senior ANC officials last month that the organisation was already "in the red".

●To PAGE 3

P.T.O.

Ignorance and intolerance kill

South 17/10 - 21/10/92 South

~~20/11/92~~ ~~21/11/92~~ 11/11

CAN DEMOCRACY thrive in a country torn apart by political violence and a lack of tolerance of dissenting political opinions?

When the National Party came into power in 1948, it created a system which gave equality before the law and democracy to only a minority of South Africans — white citizens.

The majority of black South Africans were denied fundamental democratic rights, the most basic of these being the vote.

Even now the majority still has no power to decide who rules the country and what laws and policies the government makes.

Blacks were also denied the right to free political association — the right to form and belong to political organisations of their choice.

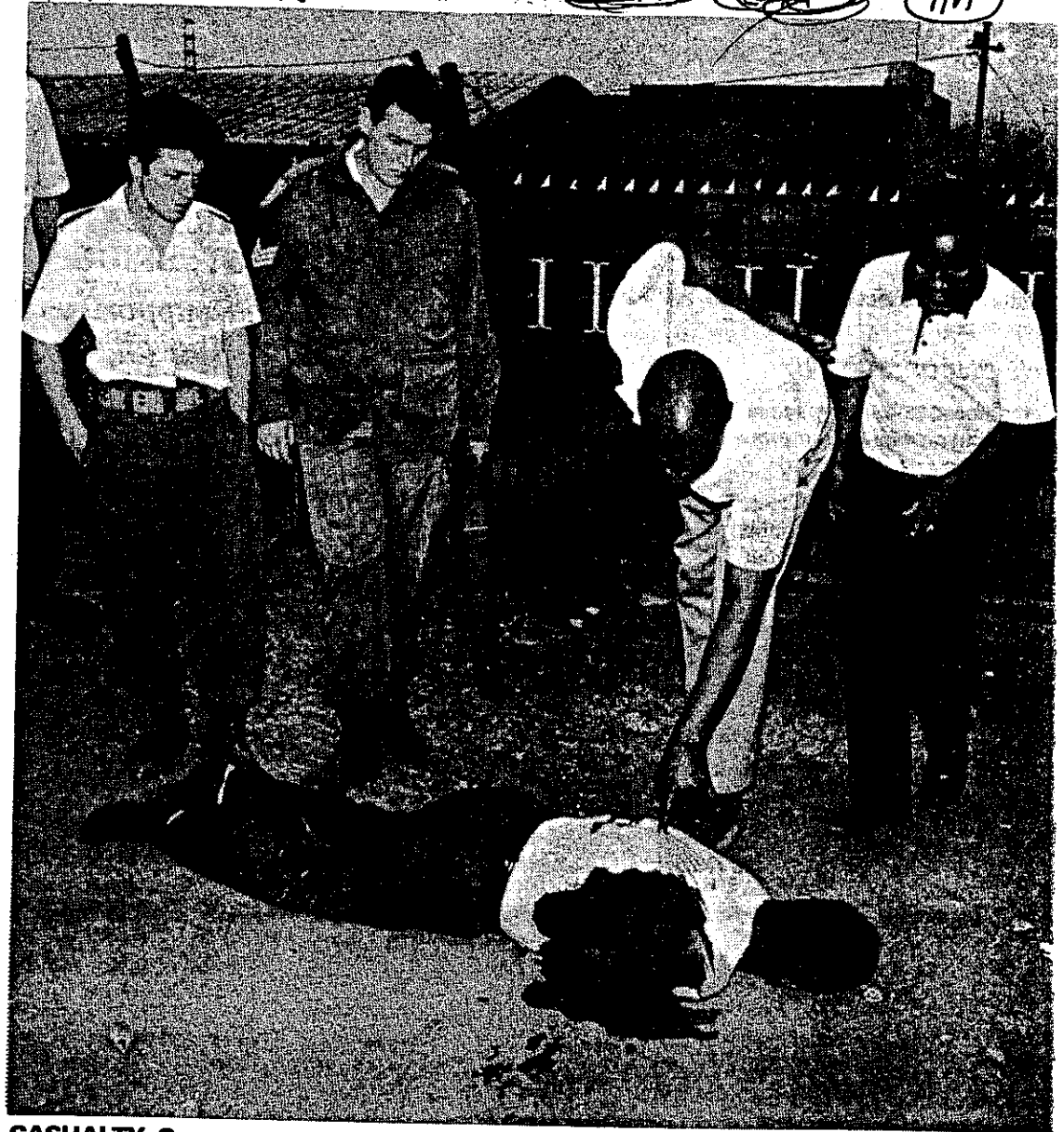
Attempts by blacks to do so was met with a barrage of legal and physical deterrents, which inevitably led to confrontation between the white establishment and extra-parliamentary political organisations.

The government's tradition of responding to opposition with coercive measures such as arrests, detentions, torture, banishment and killings has resulted in a culture of political violence stemming directly from political intolerance.

Confronted by this state violence, opposition political groupings were forced to mobilise under conditions of secrecy because of their illegality.

The need to organise in secrecy to minimise detection by the security forces included limiting the extent of participatory democracy at all levels within such organisations.

An offshoot of the restrictions on political literature and political debate, has been that the grassroots members of such organisations do



CASUALTY: Soweto residents identify another victim of political violence

not clearly understand concepts such as democracy and freedom of political association.

It is at this grassroots level that intolerance of opposing viewpoints and political affiliation is most clearly seen.

It is also at this level that people

have been most easily deluded and misled by attempts to foment "black-on-black" violence.

A few strategic incidents of violence perpetrated by "unknown" gunmen has resulted in a spiral of violence in which members of extra-parliamentary

organisations blame "the opposition" for violence affecting their members.

The organisations have tended to react punitively with yet more violence. Rather than serving as a deterrent, these retaliatory strikes have exacerbated the situation.

ANC chiefs row over camps torture report

SI Times

18/10/92

11A

By CHARLENE SMITH

THE long-awaited ANC commission findings into allegations of torture in its camps will be released tomorrow after a furious eight-hour row in the ANC's National Working Committee.

It will be the first time the ANC has released the findings of a commission into misconduct by its security and military services.

Members of the key policy-making body would not comment on Friday's debate which occupied the entire day. It is believed

some were vehemently opposed to the release of the report while others felt some sections needed further investigation.

There was also controversy about whether ANC president Nelson Mandela should release a list of names appended by the three-person commission of those involved in wrongdoing, including torture.

The ANC is keen to release the report now in the hope that it will prevent torture allegations

being used against it by opponents in national elections.

The report is a 70-page dossier that finally lances the boil of long-standing controversies — including Mbokodo (the ANC security department) atrocities that began in 1981, the Mkatashinga mutiny of 1984, and the detention and probable assassination of MK commander Thami Zulu in 1989.

The commissioners who heard evidence for eight days in August from 25 witnesses were advocate

Gilbert Marcus (a non-ANC member), ANC constitutional lawyer Bridgette Mabandla and Durban attorney Louis Skweyiya.

In terms of the commission's rulings, names can be deleted from the report "where this is considered appropriate by the commission for reasons of privacy, reputation, safety, confidentiality or the like".

Those named in the past as having been involved include Andrew Masondo, Umkhonto we Sizwe chief commander Joe Modise, and Mzwai Piliso.

In May 1984, SACP chief and former MK leader Chris Hani and Timothy Mokoena used a crack MK unit to crush a mutiny in Pango camp, killing a number of mutineers.

A later military tribunal, of which neither Hani nor Mokoena were part, beat mutineers who were kept naked. Eighteen were sentenced to death.

Some were executed before Mr Hani and Gertrude Shope ordered an end to the torture and executions.

Coetzer no match for Big Bruno

BIG Frank Bruno ended Pierre Coetzer's world title hopes with an eighth round technical knock-out in London last night.

Coetzer hung on gamely but was outclassed, outboxed and, surprisingly, outmanoeuvred by the much heavier Englishman.

The punch that ended the fight was an overhand right that sent a dazed Coetzer stumbling into the ropes and then crashing out of the ring.

Coetzer's corner, who had battled to close cuts on his face from the second round, threw in the towel before their fighter had to endure any more punishment after 2 minutes 15 seconds of the eighth round.



VICTOR: Naas with his Man of the Match award

PICK 6

GOSFORTH PARK
There were 93 winners with each collecting a consolation dividend of R3 530,50. Numbers: 9; 8; 4; 11; 3; 6; 1.

CLAIRWOOD
There were 109 winners with each receiving R2 987,10. Selections: 4; 8; 4; 4; 7; 13.

MILNERTON
9 punters received R19 523,70 each. Combinations: 9; 9; 4; 4, 15; 13; 6, 7.

IFF dipping in to sad saga

By S'BU MNGADI

ALLEGATIONS of abuses in ANC camps in exile continue to haunt the organisation.

No sooner had an ANC-appointed three-person commission of inquiry into the allegations submitted its findings to president Nelson Mandela than another equally damaging commission began hearing evidence from former ANC detainees earlier this month.

Advocate Robert Stuart Douglas of Durban has been crossing the country gathering evidence from returned exiles who claimed they were detained, beaten and tortured into admitting they were security police agents. Some alleged their friends were killed by members of the ANC's security department.

Appointed by the rightwing Washington DC-based International Freedom Foundation (IFF), the Douglas Commission has been as controversial as the ANC-appointed commission. The ANC commission consisted of independent advocate Gilbert Marcus, Durban advocate Louis Skweyiya and ANC lawyer Bridgette Mabanda, also a member of the ANC's constitutional committee.

Maverick US congressman Jesse Helms, who heads the IFF, is a renowned ANC-basher and supporter of Renamo in Mozambique, Unita in Angola and other rightwing causes elsewhere in Africa and Latin America.

However, Douglas dismissed the parallel between the two commissions: "I can't speak for the IFF. All I know about them (the IFF) is that they stand for a free-market economy and multi-party democracy. Why that should make them a rightwing organisation, I don't quite understand," the advocate said.

In an interview with City Press this week, Douglas denied the main function of his inquiry was to gather information that could be used in a wave of civil actions against the ANC.

But Pat Hlongwane, chairman of the Returned Exiles Committee, which initiated the commission, said the commission formed phase two of the REC's campaign which could culminate with the assassination of ANC leaders and cadres who allegedly committed atrocities against detainees in exile.

"If the commission fails to bring the ANC leaders and cadres to justice, we will immediately proceed with our assassination campaign. And coupled with assassination campaign will be a wave of civil actions for damages against the ANC," Hlongwane



BITTER AND TWISTED ... Exile Pat Hlongwane wants to kill ANC officials.

said. Douglas replied that although he was aware of Hlongwane's assassination threat, that had nothing to do with his inquiry.

"I can't see why my findings would lead to violence. It's accepted by the ANC that human rights abuses did take place in their camps. So, that's not really to a great extent an issue. There is nothing new even if there is (such) a finding.

"The main function of my inquiry is to ascertain the truth," Douglas said.

About 40 former ANC detainees, most of them from the PWV region, and others from Natal and KwaZulu, had so far testified before the commission, he said.

A number of the witnesses preferred to remain anonymous because they feared reprisals. Those witnesses who didn't mind their names being published had their affidavit deposited with the SA office of the IFF in Johannesburg, the advocate said.

Former ANC member Alfred Kunene told the commission he survived a firing squad at which four people were mowed down by members of the ANC's security department in the presence of then-Umkhonto weSizwe chief-of-staff Chris Hani, and other senior MK members.

Kunene claimed his only crime was to have an affair with an ANC member who had spurned propositions from a member of

Imbokodo - a clique in MK.

As a result of severe torture and beatings at the Quattro ANC camp in Angola, he had suffered mental breakdowns and the gunshot wound in his stomach caused him to frequently pass blood.

Other witnesses repeated allegations of severe torture and beatings at the hands of ANC guards, who acted with the apparent authority and acquiescence of MK leaders.

The commission's hearing in Maritzburg last week was meek and mild. Former ANC prisoner Ndabakayise Mbatha, 55, gave Douglas a statement during a hearing attended by Hlongwane in which he said that although he was wrongfully imprisoned by the ANC, he felt no bitterness as he understood that the paranoia within the ANC was caused by the assassination of a number of its members by "enemy agents".

He said he was not tortured during his imprisonment and received proper food and medical care. He said he had raised the matter of his wrongful arrest with the ANC leadership to get redress and advised Hlongwane to do the same.

There were frequent exchanges between Hlongwane and Mbatha during the interview, debating - among other things - whether food was good or bad in prison.

When Mbatha suggested he could set up a meeting between ANC leaders and Hlongwane for him to state his grievances, Hlongwane retorted that if he were to meet ANC leaders, he would do so with a "time-bomb around my waist to die with all of them".

Explaining Hlongwane's presence during the hearing, Douglas said the interview was open to the public and that Mbatha's three observers were also allowed in. The advocate said Hlongwane was present at Mbatha's invitation. He added that the REC leader had previously attended some hearings.

This week, REC political researcher Skesana "Keke" Kheswa resigned from the REC barely a week after testifying before the Douglas Commission.

Kheswa, who was detained by Imbokodo and "falsely" accused of being a State agent, said in his statement this week he joined the REC because he wanted redress as he had been abused by the ANC. He said ANC allegations that he was a spy were "blatant lies and a distortion of my image".

The former exile has been staying in the Inkatha stronghold of Lindelani near Durban since returning last year. He now wanted to return to his home in Maritzburg and start a new life with his family, he said.

Kheswa said REC secretary Siphso Lalisa had also left the committee.

Chief Albert's name to grace the plein

By CHIARA CARTER

C/PREP 18/10/92

THE ANC is to apply to the Cape Town Council for Stalplein, the square in front of the houses of parliament, to be officially renamed Luthuli Square.

The square was "symbolically" renamed by ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu at a rally at the square on Monday.

The ANC says other squares, roads and buildings will also be renamed.

About 6 000 people took part in Monday's ANC-alliance march and rally to protest against the opening of the tricameral parliament.

Speakers at the rally included Joe Slovo who called on the crowd to cry: "Viva nonsense!" saying it was through what FW de Klerk termed "ANC nonsense!"

that the ANC had got the government to fence off hostels and ban weapons.

Recently released political prisoners Robert McBride and Mthethleli Mncube were cheered by the crowd - who were later joined by teachers protesting against proposed large-scale retrenchments.

Praised the march

At one stage the marchers formed a "human chain" around parliament.

They were watched by a large group of monitors, including United Nations representatives, members of the National Peace Secretariat and independent monitors.

Angela King, head of the UN monitoring mission to

SA, praised the march for being "peaceful and successful".

She also praised police and the SADF whom she said showed "responsibility".

Meanwhile, inside parliament, opposition MPs condemned the special parliamentary session as a waste of money.

David Dalling (Independent Sandton) said none of the Bills before parliament were urgent yet the session would cost the taxpayer more than R10-million.

The ANC-aligned member for Claremont, Jan van Eck, resumed his seat in parliament after his suspension for claiming that ex-President PW Botha knew about the existence of hit squads.

ANC in 'boere braai' with MPs

5 Times [cape metro]

11A

18/10/92

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

TOP ANC officials protested outside parliament on Monday — then joined MPs for a "boere braai" at the exclusive Fernwood Club reserved for parliamentarians and their guests.

The protesters renamed Stal Plein, outside the main gates of parliament, Albert Luthuli Square.

Among the hosts at the party were the five Independent ANC Members of Parliament — Jan van Eck, Peter Cronje, Rob Haswell, Jannie Momberg and Dave Dalling.

MP for Claremont Jan van Eck had reason to celebrate after being readmitted to Parliament, from which he was barred during the earlier session for claiming former State President PW Botha "knew about the hit squads".

He suffered a slip of the tongue when approached



EXCLUSIVE . . . the Fernwood club, which is reserved for parliamentarians and their guests

for comment and attributed the function to the "the DP", but then immediately corrected himself.

He said the function was hosted by the ANC Western

Cape division and a German media project organisation called the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, to entertain 14 newspaper editors from the Southern African Develop-

ment Community Countries. Also present was ANC Western Cape chairman Dr Allan Boesak and ANC stalwart Reggie September, a member of the ANC's national executive committee.

It was a normal *braai en dop* affair, said Mr Van Eck and not a "red plot" to overthrow the government.

He said there were no high-profile "communists" present.

Ronnie Kasrils and Magoos Bar bomber Robert McBride, who were among the leaders of the march on Parliament, were not present.

"It was a social function and nothing sinister. It is possible the ANC used the occasion to check out the furniture and the state of repair of Fernwood which they are, in any case, going to inherit," Mr Van Eck quipped.

Mr September said: "It was enjoyable and relaxing and quite ironic that we of the ANC could now enjoy the luxury of Fernwood. All I can say is that it's a beautiful place."

Commemoration stayaway called

By THEMBA KHUMALO

AZAPO has called for a massive stayaway in Reef townships tomorrow to commemorate the banning of 18 political organisations and the *World* newspaper by the government 15 years ago.

Azapo spokesman Lundi Sigabi said teachers and pupils have been excluded from the stayaway and should go to school as usual.

Asked if other organisations were contacted about the proposed stayaway, Sigabi said Azapo's general secretary wrote letters to the ANC and PAC about the mat-

ter, but he did not know what their response was.

The stayaway would culminate in a rally to be addressed by the organisation's Dr Gomolemo Mokae, at Bekkersdal Hall near Westonaria.

In a similar development the South African Municipal Workers Union has called for a stayaway in Dobsonville to protest against the dismissal of town council employees in August this year.

They were fired after they downed tools demanding higher wages and better working conditions.

Labour Party 'delays' spur MP to defect to ANC fold

City Press 18/10/92

11A

DAN DHLAMINI

THE delay in seeking a suitable political bedmate during negotiations in Codesa has prompted the Labour Party's MP for the Ruster-Vaal to quit and join the ANC.

In an exclusive interview Samuel Louw - who worked for Herald Printers in Potchefstroom before being elected as a member of Representa-

tives' MP for the Ruster-Vaal constituency in 1982 - said he was frustrated by the LP's political timing.

Louw, the first HoR MP to join the ANC, told City Press that while other participants in Codesa had alliances, the LP kept on postponing the decision to form allies with the ANC.

He said the Nationalist Party kept on hammering

the LP, accusing them of being the ANC's bedmates, while the opposite was the true.

"I have joined the ANC because it is the organisation of the oppressed majority and I am one of those who has felt the burden of oppression," said Louw.

He said he would remain in parliament as an independent for as long as

the tri-cameral parliament existed. He joins the ANC caucus of Jan van Eck, Jan Momborg, Dave Dalling, Rob Haswell and Piet Cronje - the five former DP MPs.

Louw claimed that he enjoyed the support of voters in his constituency, many of whom were joining the ANC.

He said he had no quarrel with the LP leader-

ship, but was only concerned that they were being overtaken by political and historical events.

He said the LP did not want to accept his resignation and had requested him to wait for the national congress in December, but he felt it would be too late.

LP Transvaal chairman Jan Douw said Louw's resignation was "news to me".

NEWS ROUND-UP

Amnesty Bill gets scornful reception

ST. TIME 18/10/92
THE ANC is refusing to honour legislation introduced in Parliament this week allowing assassins and terrorists to be pardoned at secret hearings for so-called politically motivated crimes.

In terms of the Further Indemnity Bill, only the names of the perpetrators of politically motivated crimes will be made public.

However, their crimes and the names of their victims will be kept secret.

ANC executive committee member Gill Marcus says the organisation will not honour the legislation if it comes to power.

The ANC, she says, sees the legislation as an attempt by government to give amnesty to policemen and army officers, particularly those involved in hit-squad activities.

ANC is 'boring'

STIMES 18/10/92.
By CHARLENE SMITH

TOKYO SEXWALE, chairman of the PWV region of the ANC, said yesterday that bad administration was threatening to make the ANC ineffective and inefficient.

Mr Sexwale alleged that:

- Officials often failed to report back on time — or at all;
- Meetings were poorly attended;
- ANC speakers were boring their audiences with

long-winded speeches.

He suggested meetings be integrated with films, picnics or braais to encourage people to attend.

Mr Sexwale also said the ANC was alienating itself from its constituency's bread and butter issues: "The ANC has become a negotiations department of a struggle which concerns itself mainly, or only, with issues pertaining to the demand for an interim government, the constituent assembly and elections."

NEWS Wide indemnity powers for FW de Klerk ● Low-intensity war in Natal alleged

APLA

IFP report slams ANC over 'hit squad campaign'

Sowetan 19/10/92
(IFP)
(ANC)

■ MK operatives wearing SAP, SADF uniforms - claim:

By Themba Molefe
 Political Reporter

THE Inkatha Freedom Party has released a special report claiming covert ANC hit-squad operations against its supporters in Natal.

Compiled by the IFP information centre in Durban, the report is titled "The new face of low-intensity war in Natal: Killers in SAP and SADF uniforms".

The report says 49 IFP office-bearers have been assassinated since the signing of the National Peace Accord in September last year, bringing to 230 such deaths since 1985. Since last August, 55 lives, including those of four leaders, have been lost.

The report says: "Intensifying military-style attacks on IFP supporters and assassinations of tribal and IFP leaders in Natal since August have triggered a sinister new phase of covert ANC hit-squad operations in the province.

"These killings have further receded

dwindling peace hopes and increased prospects of civil war.

"Significantly, where arrests and convictions have been made (and the police record in this regard is abysmal), the assailants have mostly claimed to be ANC members or supporters.

"The systematic elimination of IFP leaders and supporters cannot be said to reflect a random ad hoc pattern of violence. Instead, it illustrates the ANC/SACP alliance agenda to broaden its base by paralysing the IFP and rendering its rival politically impotent."

The report details the attacks on its supporters and notes: "Evidence of ANC infiltration of the SADF and collusion between elements of the security forces and the ANC is also likely to emerge in the future."

The IFP says the Government "appears reluctant" to address the existence of Umkhonto we Sizwe (the ANC's military wing) and cautioned that there can be no negotiations if MK is not disbanded, disarmed and its cadres demobilised.



Inkatha Freedom Party supporters brandish traditional weapons during a march through the Johannesburg city centre on Saturday. The marchers went to John Vorster Square police headquarters to protest against the banning of all dangerous weapons.

Azapo calls for work stayaway on Reef

Sowetan 19/10/92.

~~11A~~ 11A

By Joe Mdhlela

THE AZANIAN PEOPLE'S Organisation has called for a work stayaway on the Reef today to commemorate the 15th anniversary of the banning of organisations and the closure of newspapers. Azapo's national organiser Mr Fundile Mafongosi said the stayaway would be coupled with rallies and marches in various parts of the country. Students, teachers, nurses and doctors would not be affected by the stayaway, Mafongosi said.

The stayaway was not publicised beforehand and has created confusion on the Reef.

"We took a position to embark on these actions during Azapo's national council in Kimberley last month to commemorate the Black Solidarity Day.

PEOPLE POWER Marches and rallies to

commemorate bannings 15 years ago:

"As these actions are meant to commemorate Black Solidarity Day, we wish to remind the oppressed people of Azania that the government of the day was responsible for the ban of newspapers and organisations 15 years ago," said Mafongosi.

"We will be agitating for unity among all the oppressed people to put an end to the violence and forge unity in order to unseat the present regime."

Mafongosi said the stayaway call was the brainchild of the Central Witwatersrand region and not a national decision.

Even though Mafongosi said the rallies and

stayaways were going to happen nationally, he indicated that "only those regions which have made the necessary preparations will be having the activities".

Rallies will be held in the following areas: Social Centre, Galashewe (5pm); Lutheran Centre, Seshogo (3pm); Philip Smit Hall, Thabong, Welkom (2pm); and Paul Nel Community Centre, Bekkersdal.

Another organisation, the South African Municipal Workers Union, has also called for a one-day stayaway in Dobsonville in protest against the failure of Dobsonville Town Council to reinstate fired workers.

PAC, Govt prepare for summit

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

THE Pan Africanist Congress and Government are expected to meet today to finalise preparations for their high-powered summit in Gaborone on Friday and Saturday.

Although both sides are not issuing statements at this stage, it is understood the agenda for the Botswana summit will be discussed, chief among which would be the PAC's armed struggle and the Government's position on the constituent assembly.

It is expected that the Government will insist that the PAC abandon arms and disband its military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), while the PAC will seek guarantees that the Government commits itself to a constituent assembly as a means of achieving a government of national unity.

The Government delegation on Friday will be led by Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha in his capacity as State President FW de Klerk's sec-

Sowetan 19/10/92
■ **Erswhile foes battle to find common ground, and talks in Botswana thought to focus on armed struggle, constituent assembly:**

ond-in-command.

The PAC delegation will be led by first deputy president Dikgang Moseneke.

The Botswana meeting is the culmination of talks which began in August between the Government's chief negotiator, Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer, and PAC foreign affairs secretary Gora Ebrahim.

The summit will be opened by Botswana President Ketumile Masire and comes exactly a week after a two-day conference of the Organisation of African Unity Ad Hoc Committee on Southern Africa in the same city.

The OAU meeting was addressed by PAC president Clarence Makwetu and African National Congress president Nelson Mandela.

Mandela 'support for IRA terror' sparks UK row

CT 19/10/92



From IAN HOBBS

LONDON. — Mr Nelson Mandela has caused outrage by appearing to support IRA terrorism in a TV interview to be broadcast tomorrow.

The ANC president told pop star and African aid-raiser Bob Geldof that the ANC supported the IRA's right to fight against British colonialism and "in any conflict, civilians must be hit by crossfire".

According to the Sunday Express of London, which published extracts from the interview, Mr Geldof was shocked by Mr Mandela's position and rebuked him.

According to the report, Mr Mandela told Mr Geldof: "The IRA are conducting a struggle for self-assertion. They do not want Britain — a foreign country — to run a colony (Ulster).

"We do not want any form of colonialism and, wherever it is, we support those who fight it. People have a right to self-expression."

Shock

According to the Sunday Express, Mr Mandela added: "In any conflict, civilians must be hit by crossfire."

Mr Geldof, for many years one of the world's best known anti-apartheid radicals, replied in shock: "I am from south Ireland, and I do not accept your analysis."

Mr Geldof and his production company, Planet 24, and executives of Channel 4 TV, which will broadcast the explosive interview, were not available or willing yesterday to release the full text or to comment.

The Foreign Ministries in Dublin and London are awaiting the full text before responding officially.

Senior official sources in Dublin said the government there, which has long been outspoken in its support for Mr Mandela and the ANC, would be embarrassed and angered if he maintained support for the IRA and its terrorism.

IRA bombs

Mr Geldof's interview with Mr Mandela comes amid one of the worst sustained campaigns of IRA terrorism against civilian targets on mainland Britain.

Conservative MPs, including right-wingers who have long alleged terrorism links between the IRA and the ANC, are already protesting.

Hardliner Mr Nicholas Winteron said Mr Geldof had exposed Mr Mandela's naivete and ignorance.

"I don't think any rational person could support terrorism, particularly when it is completely mindless and kills innocent people," he said.

Approached for comment, ANC spokeswoman Ms Gill Marcus said Mr Geldof had come to SA months ago to interview Mr Mandela and the ANC would only respond, if necessary, once it had seen the interview.

warned that the
would be obliged to

2 Cape Times, Monday, October 19 1992

Local ANC preparing for poll

CT 19/10/92 (11A)

THE ANC in the Western Cape is already gearing up for South Africa's first non-racial election — expected to take place about this time next year.

The ANC held a closed strategy session at the University of the Western Cape yesterday in a bid to prepare the organisation for the rigours of electoral politics.

An ANC spokesman was reti-

cent about the brainstorming session.

"It was an internal meeting to look at strategies towards preparing for elections.

"Like any organisation, we are moving towards an election and need to ensure that we are ready," the spokesman said.

However, it is understood that

the ANC is particularly anxious to improve its popularity among so-called coloureds in the Western Cape, particularly in rural areas.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela has made a number of pleas to leaders in the Western Cape to make the organisation more attractive to coloured people.

Internal ANC documents state bluntly that ANC recruitment efforts among coloureds is unacceptably low.

Both National Party and Democratic Party strategists are confident that their parties will attract the largest number of votes in the Western Cape in South Africa's first non-racial poll.

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The ANC held a closed strategy session at the University of the Western Cape yesterday in a bid to prepare the organisation for the rigours of electoral politics. An ANC spokesman was reti-

cent about the brainstorming session.

"It was an internal meeting to look at strategies towards preparing for elections.

"Like any organisation, we are moving towards an election and need to ensure that we are ready," the spokesman said. However, it is understood that

the ANC is particularly anxious to improve its popularity among so-called coloureds in the Western Cape, particularly in rural areas.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela has made a number of pleas to leaders in the Western Cape to make the organisation more attractive to coloured people.

CT 19/10/92 (11A)
Internal ANC documents state bluntly that ANC recruitment efforts among coloureds is unacceptably low.

Both National Party and Democratic Party strategists are confident that their parties will attract the largest number of votes in the Western Cape in South Africa's first non-racial poll.

Bilateral talks seen as vital

THERE was a growing consensus between government and the ANC that comprehensive bilateral talks between various parties needed to take place to ensure that when multiparty negotiations resumed they would be successful, senior negotiators said at the weekend.

However, Inkatha yesterday rejected this approach, insisting that the only legitimate topics for bilateral discussion were setting the agenda for multiparty talks and working out the form a new multiparty forum should take.

It is understood that a meeting last week between Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, State Affairs Minister Gerrit Viljoen and representatives of Inkatha, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei made

~~SECRET~~ BILLY PADDOCK (HA)

little headway in getting Inkatha back to the table.

Inkatha was waiting for government to "correct the impression given that there was full consultation with Inkatha on the record of understanding reached with the ANC at the summit on September 26".

Government and ANC sources said at the weekend they were involved in a concerted effort to try and find common ground in order speedily to advance to the interim government stage.

ANC negotiator Mac Maharaj said, however, there was absolutely no attempt on the part of the ANC and government to

□ To Page 2

Talks

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(HA) ~~SECRET~~

□ From Page 1

impose conclusive agreements between them on other parties.

"It happens all over the world. Just look at the Palestinian/Israeli negotiations on the Middle East. The US speaks to one party and then another and it results in a joint meeting to resolve the crisis," he said.

"Likewise, we need to hold bilaterals with numerous parties to create the conditions to make the talks successful.

"We see the bilateral process as discussing a range of issues relating to negotiations at multiparty level and trying to find the common thread where we can find agreement, rather than concentrating on the divisive ones."

Another senior ANC negotiator said that it was vital for the organisation and government to clear some of the ground between them, not because the other parties were not important, but because government and the ANC were at loggerheads.

Viljoen agreed that "the time is not right for multilateral talks". A lot of work still had to be done in bilaterals to clear the

obstacles and get common understanding.

He said government saw negotiations with Inkatha and the ANC as top priority.

Inkatha central committee member Walter Felgate said there had been a perceptible shift in the way the ANC and government were now operating, and attributed this to Inkatha's protest at the record of understanding.

"The original intention behind the scenes was for De Klerk and Mandela to take up the reins and direct the whole negotiations process. Only when they saw our reaction did they take up a more cautious attitude," said Felgate.

He said Inkatha would reject any bilateral agreements that had national implications and affected other parties, such as the record of understanding.

However, he said the government/ANC agreement should not be disposed of but that it should be submitted to a multiparty forum for scrutiny and negotiation and adoption or rejection by all the parties.

The fight for Press freedom

Sowetan 19/10/92
■ Today, 15 years ago, the Government clamped down on the black Press:

Sowetan Correspondent

ON October 19 1977, the Government banned *The World* and *Weekend World* newspapers and 18 other black consciousness organisations.

In honour of media practitioners who were victims of this action, and in defence of a free media in this country, Sowetan today hosts a seminar on press freedom at Vista University from 8.30am.

The Union of Black Journalists was one of the 18 organisations that were banned.

Among the others were Sasm, SSRC, Saso, BPC, BPA, Medupe Writers Association, African Women Federation, six provincial youth clubs, Zimele and Siyazingceda Trust Funds.

There have been many occasions since 1977 when newspapers were banned, journalists detained and arrested, and legislation used to curtail access to information and freedom of expression.

(See story on Page 6)

the nation in brief

ANC's torture findings *1/A*

THE African National Congress (ANC) is to release its findings today on allegations of torture at its camps.

A statement said a report of its commission of inquiry into complaints by former ANC prisoners would be released to the Press later today.

"There will be no further comment until then," the ANC said. *Sowetan 19/10/92*

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela appointed a three-member commission consisting of lawyers Louis Skweyiya, Bridgit Mabandla and Gilbert Marcus to inquire into conditions at its camps in the wake of the torture claims.

The commission is expected to make recommendations which may include the removal from office of people implicated in the alleged torture.

It is believed the commission has heard evidence from more than 20 witnesses - both former detainees and high-ranking ANC officials.

325 000 sit matric exams *2*

MORE than 325 000 matric pupils will sit for their final examination from tomorrow amid unresolved problems between the education authorities, teachers and pupils. *Sowetan 19/10/92*

The Congress of South African Students has resolved that the final examinations be written despite the violence and harassment affecting their members in Ciskei, Natal and the PWV areas.

However, Cosas said they were not going to hesitate in calling the exams to a stop if these factors affected students. Cosas blamed the Department of Education and Training for its intransigence and unwillingness in responding to the pupils and teachers' demands.

Chilins abuse

CT 2/10/92
114

ANC: We ran torture camps

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela has acknowledged his organisation's responsibility for "abuses of the most chilling kind" that took place in its detention camps, including the Quatro camp in Angola.

However, he refused to disclose the names of those responsible for the maltreatment of detainees.

The abuses were detailed in a 74-page report handed to Mr Mandela by the ANC's internal commission of inquiry into complaints by former ANC prisoners and released at a press conference here yesterday.

Mr Mandela said no immediate action was envisaged against those responsible, some of whom were still employed by the ANC.

The ANC had undertaken to appoint an "independent and impartial body" to investigate further the allegations of torture and murder in the camps.

The report details "horrific" human rights abuses — including torture, humiliation and "staggering brutality" — in the ANC's detention camps beyond the country's borders.

Among the abuses listed were that:
● Some detainees had disappeared or were murdered in detention while

others had died because of their maltreatment;

● An apparent routine torture the use of a "gas mask": the skin of a detainee was pushed on to the face of a detainee until he could not breathe. In one case, at the same time the detainee's head was beaten repeatedly against a tree trunk;

● Some detainees had been held for between three and seven years;

● The lack of health care, combined with the heat and conditions in detention, led to skin complaints, diarrhoea and malaria. Detainees were allowed to wash their blankets only every six months — and to bath in the water that remained;

● The lack of food. Although the commanders had plenty of food and ate their fill, their leftovers were fed to pigs rather than the detainees;

● The former head of ANC intelligence, Mr Mzwai Piliso, said he had watched as detainees' soles were beaten to extract information "at any cost";

● Punishment and abuse sometimes were meted out for no apparent reason.

Mr Mandela said those accused of responsibility for the abuses needed to be given an opportunity to answer the allegations against them. The evidence of former detainees also had to be verified.

Once the second inquiry had reported

To page 2



ON THE SPOT . . . ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, at a press conference in Johannesburg yesterday, fends off a question about a report on the torture and abuse of prisoners at ANC camps in various parts of Africa in the 1980s.

Picture: AP



African National Congress general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and president Mr Nelson Mandela face the Press at yesterday's media conference . PIC: MBUZENI ZULU

ANC guilty of torture

By Abbey Makoe

■ CAMPS OF DEATH The organisation to compensate victims of torture and abuse:

A THREE-MAN COMMISSION of inquiry into brutalities in the ANC's detention camps yesterday revealed that certain individuals still in the organisation were guilty of inhuman activities.

In response to the findings, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said the organisation's leadership accepted "collective responsibility".

The commission was headed by Advocate Zola Skweyiya and Mrs Bridget Mabandla, both of the ANC, and Advocate Gilbert Marcus.

The ANC is expected to spend thousands of rands to compensate individuals it has wronged.

The commission made several recommendations, saying it was guided by three principles: redress, accountability and prevention.

These included:

- People who were detained without trial should have allegations against them unconditionally withdrawn;
- People who were subjected to torture in ANC camps should receive monetary compensation;
- The ANC should provide medical and psychological assistance to some of the complainants interviewed by the commission;
- The organisation must provide financial assistance to complainants whose academic careers were interrupted by "long periods" of de-

tention;

● Detainees who lost property be compensated for their losses; and that

● Consideration be given to an independent structure to document cases of abuse and give effect to the commission's recommendations.

The commission said it was apparent that many people had suffered. Some of the allegations, according to the commission, were, however, found to be false.

The commission found the "gravest abuses" had been perpetrated in the ANC's camps in Angola, Tanzania and Uganda against suspected infiltrators and agents.

Those detained in the organisation's Quatro camp in Angola were detained without trial for long periods under shocking physical conditions and were denied adequate health treatment.

"The evidence revealed that camp guards and commanders made it virtually impossible for detainees to maintain themselves and their clothing in a healthy condition," said the report.

It described as "unconscionable and pernicious" the lack of adequate nutrition provided to inmates at the camps.

The report said the commanders of the Quatro

camp, which was for suspected enemy agents and dissidents, were "universally hostile to the inmates".

"The inmates, whether convicted of any offence or not, were denigrated, humiliated and abused, often with staggering brutality. It was violence for the sake of violence."

According to the evidence, beatings were meted out gratuitously and brutally. After the 1984 mutiny at the Quatro camp, mutineers were executed. The commission said there was a "sense of unease" that the executions were carried out summarily.

The head of the ANC's department of intelligence and security until 1987, Mzwai Piliso, candidly admitted to the commission his personal participation in the beating of suspects in 1981, saying it was justified on the basis that he wanted information "at any cost".

The chairman of the Returned Exiles Coordinating Committee on Monday expressed doubt about the credibility of the report.

Mr Mwezi Twala expressed concern about the ANC taking collective responsibility for the abuses, and the fact that the names of perpetrators had not been published.

Abuses: ANC takes full responsibility

11A
BDM 22/10/92

BILLY PADDOCK

ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday announced that his organisation accepted full responsibility for the chilling human rights abuses perpetrated in its detention camps.

However, he refused to make public the names of the perpetrators of maltreatment given to him by the ANC's internal commission of inquiry into complaints by former ANC prisoners. No immediate action against these people, some of whom were still in the ANC, was envisaged.

In compliance with one of the commission's 10 recommendations, the ANC had undertaken to appoint an "independent and impartial body" to further investigate allegations of torture and murder.

The commission's 74-page report released yesterday details horrific human rights abuses in detention camps beyond SA's borders, including torture, humiliation and "staggering brutality".

The most important recommendation of the commission is that urgent and immediate attention be given to identifying and dealing with those responsible.

No person "guilty of committing atrocities should ever again be allowed to assume a position of power", the commissioners said.

The commission reports how torture was inflicted to extract confessions. It also

lists incidents of abuse and punishment sometimes for no apparent reason.

These include:

- Detainees disappearing or being murdered in detention, while others died from maltreatment;
- Description of a routine torture called "the gasmask", in which a pawpaw shell was pushed onto the face of the detainee.
- Former head of ANC intelligence Mzwai Piliso, a reluctant witness, stating he watched as the soles of detainees' feet were beaten to extract information; and
- No food for detainees while commanders ate their fill and fed leftovers to pigs.

The three-person commission, two of whom are ANC members, said there was a consistency in the evidence, but ruled out any collusion or fabrication.

The 10 recommendations include appeals for allegations against detainees to be unequivocally withdrawn; monetary compensation and medical assistance for those who suffered, and education provision for detainees who wanted it.

Mandela said he regretted the clear and unequivocal indictment of the ANC and said the abuses were inexcusable. Everything would be done to ensure nothing like this ever happened again.

ANC guilty of torture

11A

20/10/92

■ **GRAVE ABUSES** ANC commission finds gross

maltreatment of detainees in detention camps:

AN ANC commission has found that the "gravest of abuses" have been perpetrated in the movement's camps in Angola, Tanzania and Uganda against persons suspected of being infiltrators and agents.

The three-man commission of inquiry yesterday revealed that certain individuals still serving in the organisation were guilty of these abuses.

In response to the findings,

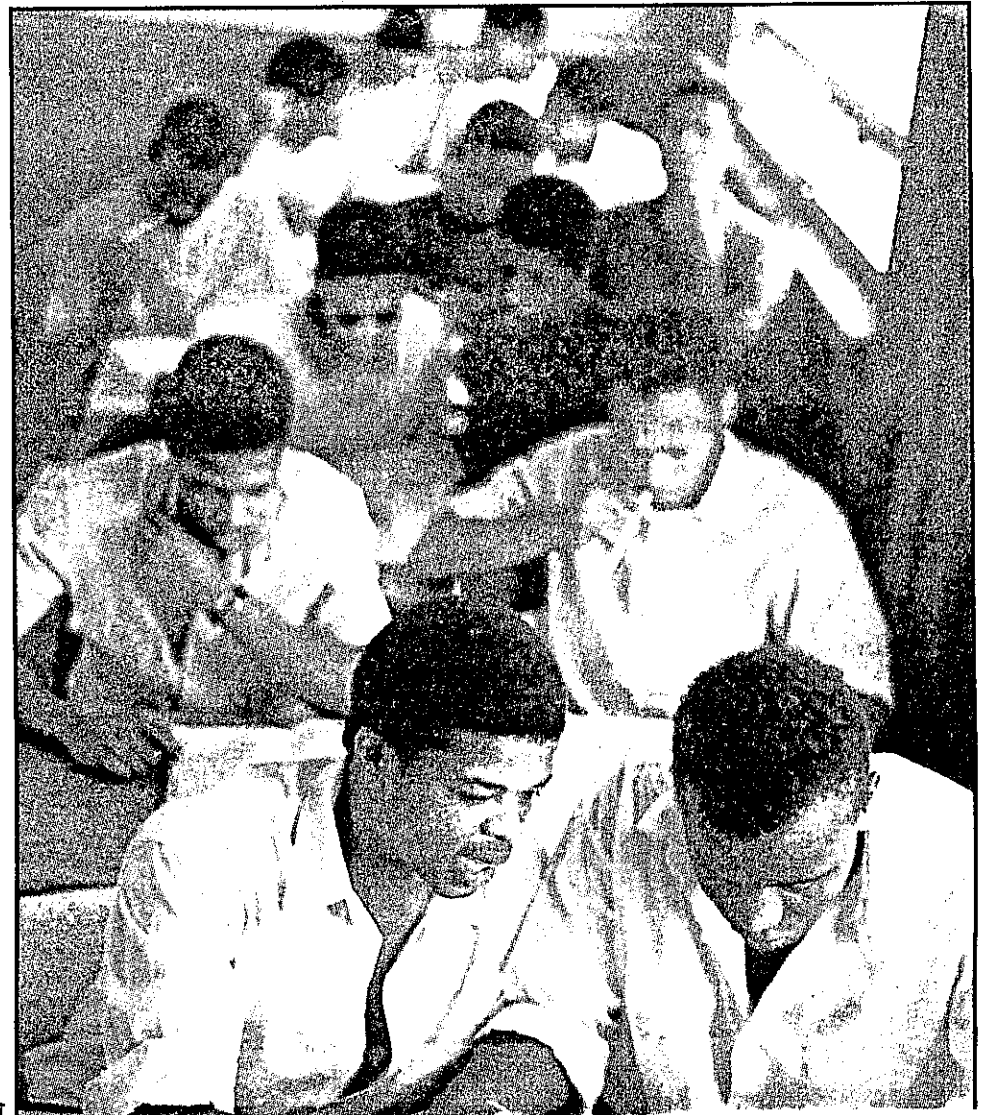
ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said the organisation's leadership accepted "collective responsibility".

The commission found:

- Detainees were held without trial;
- Detainees were provided with inadequate nutrition;
- Detainees were humiliated "often with staggering brutality".

The ANC is expected to compensate individuals it has wronged.

See story page 2



the nation in brief

Sowetan 20/10/92
Azapo stayaway call flops

THE one-day stayaway call by the Azanian People's Organisation on the Reef yesterday went unheeded as workers went to work in their usual thousands.

According to the South African Chamber of Business and transport service organisations, business was normal and buses and trains were full yesterday morning.

A spokesman for Spoornet, Mr Ephraim Mohale, said the call had had no effect on trains. A Putco spokesman, Mr Brian Treweek, supported Mohale, saying as far as he knew there was no stayaway on the Reef yesterday.

Sowetan 20/10/92
Otis charged for lift death

AN elevator company is facing criminal charges following the death two years ago of a man who was cut in half by a lift in a Durban building.

The Natal division of the Otis Elevator Company faces charges in terms of the Machinery and Occupational Safety Act for allegedly designating that Mr K Marimuthu, who was not under the supervision of an experienced person, work on the lift.

The company's director, Mr S Lewis, yesterday pleaded not guilty in the Durban Magistrate's Court to the charge. The case was postponed to November 16.

Sowetan 20/10/92
Red Cross gets R920 000

MORE than R920 000 to assist victims of violence in Alexandra was given to the South African Red Cross Society in Johannesburg yesterday by Social Relief Fund board chairman Dr Piet Koornhof.

The money, totalling R920 801,45, was the first allocation approved by the fund's executive for the Southern Transvaal Red Cross.

Koornhof said the Social Relief Fund was established after parliamentary approval was granted for the Fundraising Act to be amended to make official provision for the granting of financial assistance to communities affected by violence.

Sowetan 20/10/92
Alleged harassment of PAC

SEVERAL cases of alleged harassment by security forces of Pan Africanist Congress members have been forwarded to the organisation's lawyers, PAC national organiser Maxwell Nmadzivanani said at a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday.

Rhodes Press lecture

THE editor of Zimbabwe's leading independent newspaper, the Financial Gazette, will deliver the Rhodes University annual Press freedom lecture on Thursday.

Sowetan 20/10/92
Mr Trevor Ncube's topic will be Press freedom in Zimbabwe. The Financial Gazette made headlines earlier this month after Ncube became embroiled in a dispute with with a parliamentary committee over his source for a report on a multi-million-rand corruption scandal.

Mediation for Willards strike

A PAY dispute that has led to a two-week pay strike at Willard Batteries would be referred to mediation today, National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa spokesman, Mr Bimba Manqabashana, said yesterday.

Sowetan 20/10/92



Former Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda and Judge G Kotzé are expected to decide today whether ANC president Nelson Mandela breached the national peace accord in his recent address to the UN security council. Picture: BRIAN HENDLER

Kaunda adjudicates on Mandela today

FORMER Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda and Judge G Kotzé are expected to decide by midday today whether ANC president Nelson Mandela violated the national peace accord during an address to the UN in July. *8/10/92 20/10/92*

Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi has been refusing to attend peace accord meetings since late July in protest at Mandela's statement to the UN. *20/10/92*

11A RAY HARTLEY *20/10/92*

Mandela allegedly told the international body Inkatha was a government surrogate.

A national peace committee spokesman said yesterday efforts by ANC and Inkatha lawyers to settle the dispute over the alleged transgression failed, and it had been decided that Kaunda and Kotzé would adjudicate after hearing both sides. *20/10/92*

Inkatha vows to defy ban

8/10/92 20/10/92
BILLY PADDOCK

INKATHA would continue defying the law banning weapons in public because it was unenforceable and a product of government and ANC connivance, Inkatha central committee member Walter Felgate said yesterday.

He was reacting to inquiries about why Inkatha ignored Witwatersrand Commissioner of Police Maj-Gen Gerrit Erasmus's ruling that marchers not carry weapons during a Johannesburg march on Saturday.

Felgate rejected the notion that the ruling was made in terms of a government notice of February 28 and not as a result of the summit between President

FW de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela last month. *20/10/92*

Meanwhile, police opened a docket and indicated Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi might face charges, as he led the march.

However, spokesman Capt Eugene Opperman said video footage taken during the march had to be studied before a docket would be handed to the Attorney-General for a decision on whether to prosecute.

Felgate said Buthelezi had not condoned the carrying of weapons but he would not, in principle,

have called on the marchers to lay them down either.

AK-47s, of which "the ANC had thousands stashed in arms caches", were the major cause of violence and killings, he insisted.

□ Meanwhile, Sapa reports gunmen shot and killed five people in Natal yesterday, taking the death toll in two days to 18 in the strife-torn province.

KwaZulu police said three people were gunned down in Umbumbulu township, another in Esikhawini near Empangeni and the fifth victim killed in Kwamakhuta, south of Durban.

The 18 deaths in Natal, where more than 1 200 people have died so far this year, brought to at least 20 the number of people killed in unrest in the country over the weekend.

In the worst incident, eight people were killed early on Sunday at Umgababa by raiders wielding pangas and spears and firing home-made guns.

RISON.

IE

● Report reveals catalogue of abuses in ANC camps

● PAC and Nats demand names of guilty men

(11A)

REC 20/10/92

TORTURE DOSSIER

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN and ANDREA WEISS
Staff Reporters

CIVIL rights campaigners commended ANC leaders today for accepting "full responsibility" for the torture, murder and abuses inflicted on camp detainees.

But pressure is mounting on the organisation to reveal the names of those involved in the catalogue of torture, revealed in the report of an ANC internal commission of inquiry into complaints by former camp inmates.

Civil rights campaigner Mrs Helen Suzman said the revelations brought a sense of extreme dismay.

"But I must say it is to the credit of the ANC that they have expressed how disturbed they are by the report.

"They have accepted responsibility for what took place and undertaken to deal with those found guilty of such gross abuses instead of declaring a general amnesty," she said.

National Party information director Mr Piet Coetzee said the least the ANC should have done was to suspend people allegedly involved in abusing detainees.

He said the organisation's failure to name those people, and the fact that it now planned to appoint an independent commission, showed how "inadequate" its internal investigation had been.

Mr Brian Currin of Lawyers for Human Rights welcomed the ANC commission's findings and commended Mr Nelson Mandela and other leaders for taking full responsibility for the abuses.

"We look forward to the next step of an independent commission, which we believe will result in full disclosure," he said.

The Pan Africanist Congress has asked the ANC to disclose the names of those responsible for alleged atrocities.

Ms Patricia de Lille, of the PAC, said: "You cannot call with confidence for the disclosure of names by the racist regime without naming your own perpetrators."

ANC bares its atrocities

'Extraordinary abuse of power' at camps of torture and death

ANC president Nelson Mandela has acknowledged that there were serious abuses — including torture — in ANC detention camps during its "armed struggle" and that the ANC had failed to live up to its own code of conduct.

Mr Mandela's admission, made at a news conference in Johannesburg yesterday, came after the release of a report detailing "extraordinary abuse of power" by officials in the ANC's security department.

The report is the work of a commission of inquiry appointed by Mr Mandela to investigate repeated allegations of brutality against the ANC's security department by former detainees on their return to South Africa.

It emphasises the need for the ANC to "cleanse its own ranks of those responsible for acts of brutality," declaring: "No person who is guilty of committing atrocities should ever again be allowed to assume a position of power."

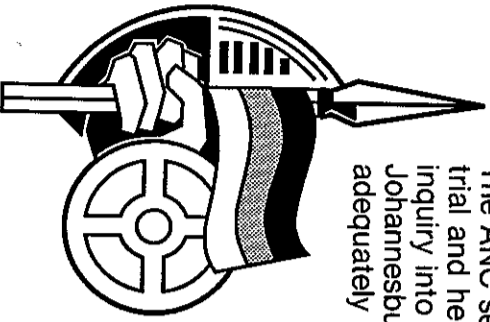
The report does not list the names of ANC officials whom it regards as responsible but the commission supplied a list of such people to Mr Mandela.

The work of three lawyers, one of whom, Mr Gilbert Marais, is not an ANC member, the report concludes that the ANC's security department — known as Mbokodo ("the stone that crushes") — detained people without trial and held them for years on end under consistently harsh conditions.

It speaks of "violence for the sake of violence," of "gratuitous and random violence," and of "unconscionable and pernicious" practices by guards in the camps, many of whose inmates had been sent there after confessing to "crimes" under torture.

Nothing that the abuses violated the high moral standards which the ANC had set for itself, Mr Mandela said. "Nevertheless, as a leadership, we accept ultimate responsibility for not adequately monitoring and therefore eradicating such abuses."

Mr Mandela thanked the commissioners for the "integrity and speed" with which they had carried out the investigation. But he also noted that the speed with which they worked meant that they did not hear evidence from individuals who could have assisted them.



The ANC security department, Mbokodo (meaning "the stone that crushes") detained people without trial and held them for years under harsh conditions in prison camps. The report of a commission of inquiry into allegations of brutality at the camps was released yesterday and at a Press conference in Johannesburg, Mr Nelson Mandela and other ANC leaders accepted ultimate responsibility for not adequately monitoring and eradicating such abuses. PATRICK LAURENCE of The Argus Political Staff reports.

11th REG 20/10/92



The commissioners therefore recommend that the ANC establish an "independent structure" to continue their work, emphasising there would inevitably be "discontent, accusations and recriminations" unless the ANC sees the process through to its logical conclusion.

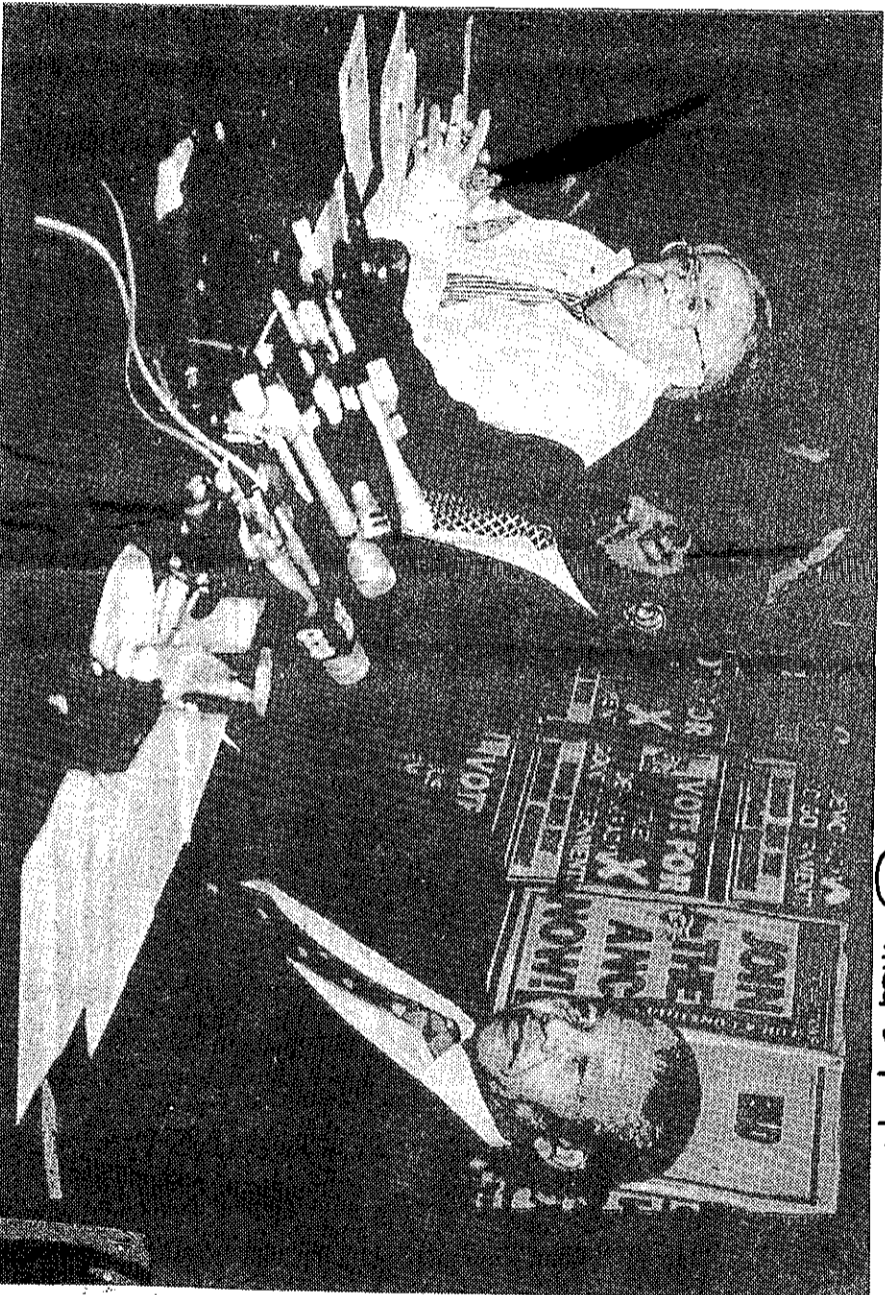
The commission records that it heard allegations that detainees had disappeared and/or been murdered. It then adds: "We therefore suggest that the impartial and independent structure... be charged with the responsibility of investigating all allegations of disappearances and murder."

Emphasising its point, the commission says: "Unless the ANC is prepared to take decisive action, the risk of repetition will forever be present. The best formula for prevention is to ensure that the perpetrators of brutality are brought to account."

Questioned on the identity and whereabouts of these officials, Mr Mandela replied: "The commission has indicated that an independent structure should be set up to look precisely into the question. It is not possible for us now to indicate the names of the persons who have been mentioned."

Mr Mandela referred a question about the existence of unidentified "killers and torturers" from the ranks of both the ANC and the De Klerk administration to Joe Slovo, chairman of the South African Communist Party.

Mr Slovo said: "We have made the point over and over again that we expect the task of establishing guilt for these transgressions to be undertaken by appropriate government of national unity and not self-exculpation by De Klerk."



The Argus Group Picture Service

ANC TOP BRASS: Mr Joe Slovo, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and Mr Nelson Mandela at the Press conference where a report on the ANC's torture camps was released. The ANC leaders said they accepted ultimate responsibility for the atrocities committed at the camp and action would be taken against the perpetrators.

continued

He pledged that the commission's recommendations would be "considered as a matter of urgency" by ANC leaders and that "appropriate action" would be taken. The commission, which was appointed in March and which completed its report in August, made 10 recommendations.

They include: withdrawal of allegations against all detainees, many of whom were accused of being government agents; payment of monetary compensation to them for their ordeal; and provision of psychological, medical and educational assistance where necessary.

The commission acknowledges its own limitations: two of the three commissioners are ANC members, which resulted in it being seen as a biased or "tame" commission by many former detainees, only a fraction of whom testified before it.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, who fielded questions with Mr Slovo and Mr Mandela, drew a distinction between the approaches of the ANC and the De Klerk administration to the questions of amnesty and atrocities by their own members.

"I think it is quite clear that the ANC has taken a courageous step in establishing a commission to investigate what we did in the past and baring it all to the public," Ramaphosa said.

"There is going to be a follow-up investigation to look into allegations that have been put forward and which have been tied to certain individuals in the ANC... "If one puts that against what the government has done about past and present atrocities, the ANC is head and shoulders above the government."

~~SECRET~~ (1/A)
Two MPs join ANC

TWO more MPs have resigned from the Labour Party and signed up with the African National Congress.

Mr Arthur Roper (Alra Park) and Mr Sam Louw (Rust ter Vaal), have confirmed their membership of the ANC. *Donekin 2/11/92*

They join five former Democratic Party members in Parliament who joined the ANC earlier this year.

The seven have moved to a "non-racial" corner of the parliamentary complex at Marks Building.

ANC official jailed

A VETERAN ANC official based in Zimbabwe, Blackie Daniel Mofe, has been jailed for two-and-a-half years for selling the Bulawayo house allocated to him by the organisation and keeping the money.

21/10/92

'Call off ANC marches'

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela should call off the Ulundi and Mbabatho marches, which would be "reckless and provocative" in the present "unusual" climate, Dr Alex Boraine said yesterday.

Addressing a lunch meeting here, the executive director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa said that while no one would dispute

the right of any party to protest peacefully, the complexity of the ANC's programme of mass action was contributing to the unrest.

Dr Boraine also called on IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthe-lezi to overcome his "negative attitude" towards the bilateral talks between the government and the ANC.

"The alternative, namely an alliance with the Conservative Party and the right-wing, can only lead to a cul-de-sac which

CT 2/10/92 (11A) would cost him very heavily in potential support," he said.

Dr Boraine was scathing of all political leaders who, he said, were "betraying the hopes and aspirations of all South Africans" through their lack of statesmanship.

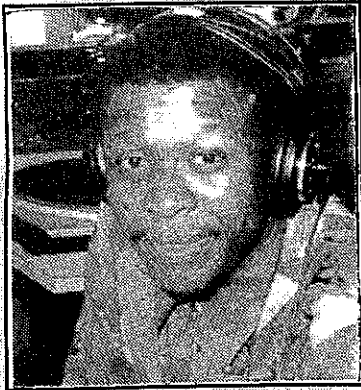
Dr Boraine predicted that a general election would be held "this time next year" and said the key players would be the National Party, IFP and ANC.

Let's work together, Azapo pleads

114

Sowetan & Radio Metro

Talkback



with Tim Modise

By Tsale Makam

IF Azapo were to make headway in talks with the Government, it would not try to hoard the power for itself but would call liberation movements to share in the achievement.

These were the words of Azapo's publicity secretary Mr Strini Moodley on the *Sowetan*/Radio Metro Talkback Show last night.

He said political organisations must get together and thrash out strategies to deal with the Nationalist Party government.

Moodley said political organisations should not include parties based on ethnicity like the IFP and "Bantustan parties" because they were not liberation movements but govern-

ment allies.

"De Klerk is not going to deliver freedom to us on the platter. When he unbanned political organisations in 1990 he was only showing the velvet glove of his party's iron fist. He had no intention of transferring or sharing power."

Moodley said the unbanning of organisations or tinkering with apartheid would not change anything.

Join forces

A caller, Abdul of Noordgesig, asked Moodley: "Why don't you people join forces with the bigger organisations like the ANC or the PAC because you are so small and are not quite recognised?"

Moodley replied: "We do not reject

the ANC or PAC that is why we want to form a solidarity front. As a principle of democracy we must exist - no matter how small we are."

Abdul charged that if Azapo wanted democracy, they should accept the National Party.

In reply, Moodley said the NP was based on a system of white supremacy not democracy.

Referring to Abdul's earlier question about Azapo's size, another caller asked why the organisation wanted to work hand in hand with other liberation movements which had been in-

involved in bilateral talks with the Government.

Moodley said if Azapo were to go it alone, it would hamper the progress to the solution of the country's problems.

Gordon Makeke of Alexandra asked: "It's all well to say that you will sit and talk to the government with a neutral person but what will Azapo do if the Government refuses to meet your demands or to make a reasonable compromise?"

Moodley said political organisations would have to meet and work out a unified strategy.

Sowetan 21/10/92

Multilateral talks 'unlikely' this year

BILLY PADDOCK

CODESA 3-type multilateral negotiations were "most unlikely" to take place this year as there were far too many issues to be dealt with in bilateral talks and coaxing of further parties to join the process, a senior government negotiator said yesterday.

He said it had taken nearly three months of discussions before the multiparty preparatory meeting, which led to the formation of Codesa, could be convened. "And now we have Inkatha, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei, as well as the PAC not in the process."

The negotiator said most of the main players wanted to resolve most of the major difficulties and get fairly conclusive agreements tied up before multilateral talks were convened.

"This is so that we reduce the level of conflict and problems when we reach the multilateral stage," he said.

He said parties had to avoid painting themselves into a corner as they did at Codesa II by setting a clear date for multilateral negotiations. "Dates should be set only once all the problems have been ironed out and agreements reached. This will result in there being no real problems between the major players and the process will advance that much more quickly," he said.

He was hopeful that bilateral discussions with Inkatha would take place in the near future, but could not predict a time frame.

He also said the meeting on Friday with the PAC in Gaborone would be difficult because the organisation had severe problems with the Codesa structure and some of the major players insisted on retaining it as a forum.

Govt and ANC head for the bush for next round of negotiations

THE ANC has agreed to meet government or a two-day "bosberaad" at the end of October to finalise outstanding issues.

It is understood that the two parties agreed to the bush talks after the ANC accepted President F W de Klerk's invitation of some weeks ago to break the impasse in negotiations.

According to the ANC, the bosberaad would have been held sooner but the two sides could not fit in a meeting due to current commitments. ANC president Nelson Mandela is abroad until October 12; then Parliament re-opens and De Klerk will be

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tied up for two weeks.

Two foreign diplomats said ANC international affairs head Thabo Mbeki briefed the diplomatic corps yesterday and confirmed the bosberaad decision.

It is understood the ANC is hoping Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi will attend the meeting of national peace accord signatories on October 17 so that he and Mandela can meet.

On Wednesday the ANC national executive committee (NEC) decided against a summit between the two leaders but were reportedly in favour of the two leaders

6/10/92
BILLY PADDOCK
meeting within the context of a broader gathering.

At the Union Buildings yesterday, De Klerk made an urgent plea for all signatories to attend the meeting. He has called for Mandela and Buthelezi to meet to contribute to lowering tensions in Natal.

De Klerk said it would be "the biggest achievement towards peace if we can get all the signatories" to the meeting.

He expressed disappointment that the NEC had not gone further in scaling down

mass action but welcomed its commitment to minimise the possibility of violence.

He criticised the ANC and some of its spokesmen for creating the impression that "much of what we are doing will be undone later".

De Klerk said he was negotiating within the framework of principles he had received a mandate for in the referendum, and no more.

"I won't say yes to a constitution that will allow any party to undo at random that which has been constructively done to maintain stability and security."

There could only be long-term peace if the interests, fears and aspirations of all South Africans were properly accommodated, he said.

De Klerk vowed to do everything he could to clear up misunderstandings of agreements with the ANC which had led to Buthelezi pulling out of all talks.

It was untrue that government had capitulated to the ANC. The summit talks were not intended to exclude any parties.

"The bilateral talks with the ANC were an essential step toward the resumption of

Bosberaad ^{6/10/92}

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inclusive multiparty negotiations, which remains the ultimate goal," De Klerk said.

Government was committed to the widest possible consultation and it was not possible to negotiate viable constitutional settlements if only some of the parties were present.

The agreements with the ANC also did not rule out or inhibit any other parties from adopting different positions at future multiparty negotiations, De Klerk said.

Since Codesa had broken down, a mood of pessimism and despair had replaced the confidence and growing goodwill. International and domestic confidence in the economy had been eroded, which had led to further hardship and deprivation for many South Africans, he said.

Referring to Buthelezi withdrawing from talks, De Klerk said the government/ANC meeting at the weekend should have made a positive contribution, but its posi-

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tive effect had "unfortunately been undermined by the negative reaction from some quarters".

He said it was essential that all men and parties of goodwill should get together to put a stop to the downward spiral of the past months.

"This is not the time for boycott politics or for the politics of demands and division.

"This is a time when all of us should be throwing our weight toward the centre and those forces that bind us together," he said clearly indicating that he would try to get Buthelezi back but was not going to pander to him.

In a veiled reference to the ANC's proposed march on Ulundi, De Klerk appealed to all parties to "exercise the maximum restraint and responsibility with regard to the volatile situation in Natal".

● Comment: Page 6

From Page 1

To Page 2

ANC and Bop officials call off vital meeting

BIDAM 21/10/92

RAY HARTLEY

HOPES of averting a bloodbath during an ANC march on Mmabatho were quashed yesterday when ANC and Bophuthatswana officials called off a meeting because they could not agree on the composition of the ANC delegation.

Bophuthatswana government spokesman Alwyn Viljoen said the ANC's 15-member delegation, which included ANC international affairs director Thabo Mbeki, was turned away because it was too big and contained regional leaders.

"We only want to meet with national executive committee members when it concerns policy issues," Viljoen said.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus last night rejected Viljoen's claim that the meeting would discuss national policy questions.

"They are not national issues, Bophuthatswana is a region as far as we are concerned. I'm sure the ANC did not try to dictate the composition of the Bophuthatswana delegation," he said.

National peace secretariat chairman Antonie Gildenhuys, who was due to attend the meeting, was trying to reschedule talks last night, but Viljoen said it was unlikely a meeting with the ANC would take place this week.

It is believed ANC secretary-general

Cyril Ramaphosa was also due to attend the meeting, convened at the request of UN monitors and the secretariat.

A Foreign Affairs spokesman earlier described the proposed bilateral talks between the ANC and Bophuthatswana as "heartening".

A weekend meeting of the ANC and its alliance partners — the SACP and Cosatu — decided to press ahead with a march on Mmabatho in the first week of December.

Viljoen said Mbeki had given an assurance no march was planned for the capital before December.

DIRK HARTFORD reports the ANC western Transvaal region is organising a 6km march from Rustenberg to Thabang on Saturday in support of demands for free political activity in Bophuthatswana.

The march — which will be supported by the Bafokeng Action Committee — will also demand the release of committee member Christopher Makgale.

Makgale, who was on hunger strike for 79 days earlier this year, began another hunger strike ten days ago in Odi prison, according to committee spokesman Phis-tus Mekgwe.

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'Come clean on details' ANC urged

PARLIAMENTARY parties yesterday welcomed the ANC's announcement that it accepted responsibility for "chilling abuses" in its detention camps but said the organisation should come clean on details.

National Party secretary-general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe called on the ANC to immediately suspend all members named in the internal ANC report, ask a judge to head an independent investigation, and "reveal the identities of the perpetrators of the abuses".

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said Mr Nelson Mandela had done the right thing by admitting these abuses and taking ultimate re-

sponsibility. "However, the public will want to know the names of the perpetrators and the nature of the action to be taken against them."

The Conservative Party spokesman on law and order, Mr Schalk Pienaar, said it was disturbing that there was no public disclosure of who perpetrated what crimes.

Meanwhile, an International Freedom Foundation-appointed commission of inquiry has been asked to look into identifying individuals within the ANC responsible for human rights violations and to make their names public.

"In the interests of peace and democracy, it is vital that the names of those who are guilty of

atrocities be made known," IFF spokesman Mr Russel Crystal said yesterday.

● The South African Council of Churches yesterday firmly rejected allegations that it had displayed double standards by criticising human rights abuses in South Africa while turning a blind eye to the abuse of political detainees by the ANC.

The SACC was responding to a verbal attack by the chairman of the Returned Exile Co-ordinating Committee, Mr Mwezi Twala, who slammed an SACC conference on human rights abuses in Bophuthatswana in Bloemfontein last week. — Political Staff, Sapa

Mandela comments cause serious offence

LONDON — ANC president Nelson Mandela has offended the Irish and British governments by sympathising with IRA terrorism, on a Channel 4 television interview broadcast yesterday.

The outcry came despite the editing out of a controversial section of the interview, in which Mandela said it was understandable that civilians had to be killed in cross-fire in any conflict.

Spokesmen in Dublin and London said that Mandela's broadcast comments to interviewer Bob Geldof were "naive" and "uninformed".

B10M 21/10/92

IAN HOBBS

Right-wing British Conservative MPs expressed outrage, but the two governments appeared to be trying to avoid confrontation with the ANC.

Spokesmen pointed out that Mandela had been quick to defer to Geldof when the interviewer rejected sympathy for the IRA and its methods.

In London, which is in the middle of a sustained IRA bombing campaign that has killed and injured innocent civilians, the Foreign Office said Ireland and Britain

were emphatic they would never surrender to or deal with terrorists.

The foreign affairs department in Dublin said the IRA was an illegal organisation which rejected democratic values for terrorism, and its violence had only hampered the pursuit of peace and settlement.

Other high-level Dublin officials said Mandela should be aware that an overwhelming majority of Irish people detested the IRA and held it substantially responsible for prolonging Northern Ireland's tragedy through mindless terror-

□ To Page 2

Mandela

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ism.

Asked if he had not been naive when he sympathised with organisations like the IRA, Mandela clearly shocked Geldof by maintaining his view.

He said: "The enemies of Europe are not my enemies. The IRA are conducting a struggle for self-assertion. They do not want Britain — a foreign country — to run a colony (Northern Ireland)."

In the original interview Geldof challenged the taking of innocent lives and Mandela replied: "In any conflict, civilians must be hit by crossfire. It has happened throughout history." This section was edited out yesterday.

Reacting to the interview, the ANC said in a statement last night Mandela's observations should not be seen as support for

the IRA.

Mandela was expressing long-standing support for "a tradition deeply embedded in the struggle of the people of SA of support for struggles for freedom".

"Historically the Irish people have enjoyed a special place in the affection of the oppressed people of SA. At no stage has this been construed as support for the IRA.

"During his visit to Ireland in July 1990 Mr Mandela made it quite clear that the sovereign government of Ireland was the representative of the people of Ireland and their aspirations," the organisation said.

It said Mandela's opposition to colonialism had to be seen in the context of the Irish government's "peaceful attempts to bring about the reunification of the country".

□ From Page 1

NEWS Disclose names, ANC told

Probe deeper call to ANC

Sowetan 22/10/92
■ DETENTION CAMPS Praise for accepting
full responsibility for human rights abuses:

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

THE African National Congress (ANC) has received praise from several organisations for accepting full responsibility for human rights abuses at its detention camps.

Now human rights and political groups have called for a full and independent inquiry and for the ANC to reveal the names of those involved in the torture and abuse of detainees. The Azanian People's Organisation said it appreciated the ANC's admission that "it committed atrocities against innocent people".

It said that not only were the atrocities committed in ANC camps abroad but against Azapo and Black Consciousness Movement formations through the United Democratic Front between 1985 and 1988.

Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) said: "We look forward to the establishment of a full and independent commission empowered to hear evidence from all sides. The commission should further recommend that those found guilty of gross human rights violations should not in future hold public positions."

The South African Council of Churches (SACC) said it welcomed the ANC's acceptance of responsibility but said it was "shocked and aggrieved" at how detainees were treated at ANC camps. The church group supported the ANC's intention to appoint an independent commission and called for the naming of those responsible for the abuses. Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said Mr Nelson Mandela deserved credit.

"People will be satisfied only once the names of perpetrators were known. It is important that the ANC should disclose, just as the Government should disclose."

Included in the report of a three-person commission are details of detention without trial in the Quatro camp in Angola for long periods under shocking physical conditions.

Meanwhile, the Returned Exiles Coordinating Committee (Recoc) chairman, Mr Mwezi Twala, said while he welcomed the ANC's report his organisation wanted a full and independent inquiry. He said Recoc was awaiting the completion of a report into exiles' claims headed by Mr Robert Douglas, SC, which has been sponsored by the Washington-based International Freedom Foundation.

Challenge demands all share load

sdwefon

22/10/92

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By Isaac Moledi

■ Government, business and workers must no longer be enemies:

A CHALLENGE facing the country demanded that the government of the day, business and workers accept a shared responsibility and sacrifice, and understand themselves as no longer enemies but partners in development.

This was said by the director of the Centre for African Studies, Mr Eugene Nyathi, during his address to more than 900 delegates attending the Institute of Personnel Management's annual con-

vention at Sun City yesterday.

Presenting a paper on *The Cost and Challenge of change: South Africa in Transition* Nyathi said that change in the country was unavoidable and the price to pay for it was multi-dimensional.

"Past antagonism should be replaced by a shared value system and shared destiny," he said.

He added that more than ever before the country needed the acceptance of shared sacrifice and responsibility at the leadership level and embrace democracy and accountability.

Nyathi warned leaders and their followers to develop new a "ethos" that would qualitatively improve the leadership even at grassroots level.

"Followers of political and trade union organisations need to develop a new ethos," Nyathi said.

... ..

BPM 22/10/92

Mandela challenged

THE NP yesterday challenged Nelson Mandela to retract his statement to the BBC supporting the IRA, and his assertion that "in any conflict civilians must be hit by crossfire" (S) (IA)

NP secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe said Mandela had "not surprisingly" alarmed and offended the moderate majority of the SA public.

Stayaway

'a success'

Gowden 22/10/92

■ State sabotage efforts fail



By Mandla Zibi

MONDAY'S stayaway called by the Witwatersrand region of the Azanian People's Organisation was a success despite Government efforts to sabotage it.

The stayaway call was made to commemorate Black Solidarity Day, October 19 1978, when the Government banned 18 black political organisations and two black newspapers, *World* and *Weekend World*.

Azapo official Mr Monwabisi Duna said his organisation felt the move had been successful despite the arrest of one of their Soweto organisers, Mr Shiiko Ramasele.

Mr Shiiko Ramasele said he was briefly arrested by police on Saturday after they had seen pamphlets and posters in his bakkie.

"This was clearly a case of political sabotage by the police" said Ramasele, who was released on Monday this week.

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Soldiers and cops guard candidates

Sowetan 22/10/92
■ Many write exams at secret venues:

By Sonti Maseko

THOUSANDS of matric pupils turned out countrywide to write the first Mathematics paper.

In Diepkloof, Soweto, some pupils, fearing disruptions, chose to sit for their examinations at secret venues while others wrote under police and army guard.

The situation at several schools in Diepkloof, where schooling was disrupted for a week, seemed to have returned to normal.

The pupils had vowed they would not write unless their detained schoolmates had been released.

Police in Casspirs and military vehicles patrolled the area and other vehicles were seen parked outside Fidelitas High School, where a private car was stoned, looted and set alight on Tuesday.

The Department of Education and Training, however, said it was unaware of the patrols.

the nation in brief

CCB men 'killed' Webster

CIVIL Co-operation Bureau agents Ferdi Barnard, Chappie Maree and Calla Botha murdered Wits University academic Dr David Webster on instructions from the CCB, a judicial inquest in the Rand Supreme Court heard yesterday.

Journalist Johannes Petrus Gagiano said he received this information from another CCB agent, Staal Burger, who had also been involved in the planning of the murder.

He said he had known Burger for 12 years and the information he had received from him had always been 100 percent correct.

Gagiano said it was clear the instructions to murder Webster had come from a senior SADF officer or a higher source.

The hearing continues today.

PAC meets Govt tomorrow

THE Pan Africanist Congress and Government summit begins in Gaborone tomorrow and will be opened by Botswana Foreign Minister Dr Gaositwe Chiepe, who is to chair the two-day meeting.

The Government's delegation will be headed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, and Mr Roelf Meyer, Minister of Constitutional Development.

PAC second deputy president Mr Dikgang Moseneke and foreign affairs secretary Mr Gora Ebrahim lead the organisation's team.

A joint statement released from Cape Town this week said the meeting would pave the way for "fully representative constitutional negotiations and to address, among other things, ways and means to end the violence".

Although the parties have agreed not to publicise the agenda it is believed the talks will focus on a future summit between PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu and State President Mr FW de Klerk and on the PAC's armed struggle.

ANC plans protests against KwaZulu

22/10/92 RAY HARTLEY

NATAL is on the boil following the deaths of more than 40 people in the past week.

The ANC's three Natal branches are planning a day of protest action against KwaZulu police stations and government offices.

ANC Natal Midlands spokesman Reggie Hadebe said yesterday the day of action was part of a build-up to a march on Ulundi.

A committee had been established to plan the campaign and set an exact date for the day of action and a march on Ulundi.

"The date is not crucial. What is crucial is that the campaign must get off the ground. There is no question of head office trying to postpone the march indefinitely as has been suggested," Hadebe said.

He said no plans had been made to meet Inkatha leaders, but the matter was being discussed at national and regional levels within the ANC. A meeting with President F W de Klerk was also being discussed, he said.

Hadebe said the focus of violence was being systematically shifted back to Natal because Inkatha was coming under greater public pressure in the region.

He said Inkatha had stepped up the military training of its members in preparation for a major assault on the ANC in the province.

The Human Rights Commission recently reported that 125 people died in violence in Natal during September.

Sapa reports six people were wounded when a group of gunmen opened fire with pistols and AK47 rifles at commuters disembarking from a train at the Elandsfontein station in Germiston on Tuesday morning.

In a report yesterday, Witwatersrand police spokesman W/O Andy Pieke said a policeman returned fire when he was shot at, but it was unknown if any of the attackers, who fled the scene on foot, were wounded.

The injured passengers were admitted to the Willem Cruywagen Hospital in Germiston.

The motive for the attack was unknown and no arrests had been made, said Pieke.

Productivity is based on labour's trust, says ANC

WILSON ZWANE

LABOUR and management had to enter into a more trusting relationship in order to minimise trade-offs between a living wage and productivity growth, ANC economist Tito Mboweni said yesterday.

Addressing the 36th annual convention of the Institute of Personnel Management (IPM) in Sun City, Mboweni said there was "growing room" for co-operation between management and labour.

Mboweni said if organised workers were well informed about the possibility of wage growth eroding their companies' competitiveness, they would be more prepared to "co-ordinate their wage demands with increases in productivity".

"This entails a totally new and trusting approach to the relationship between capital and labour. Management will have to alter its secretive stance and provide unions with detailed information about a company's economic position," Mboweni said.

He added that pressure on trade unions to identify with the goals of national development "will be considerable under a democratic government".

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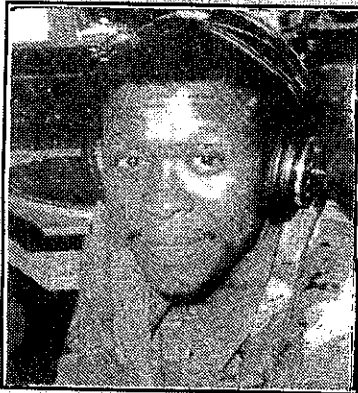
Callers praise ANC's camps inquiry

Sowetan 22/10/92

11A

Sowetan & Radio Metro

Talkback



with Tim Modise

By Tsale Makam

THE African National Congress did well by acknowledging atrocities at its camps, callers to the *Sowetan*/Radio Metro Talkback Show said last night.

They also said the government must admit the crimes it committed against the people of this country.

ANC executive committee Mr Mac Maharaj who was a guest on the show, said: "What has happened is inexcusable. It is something to be sorry about.

"The leadership did receive complaints and outlawed the tortures and detentions without trial which sometimes led to murders. However we did not monitor properly in order to stamp out atrocities if and when they happened."

He said the leadership holds primary responsibility for what happened in the

camps.

The commission found the similarity of the witnesses' information could not have been a coincidence. However, it also found some of the claims to be wild lies.

But, the organisation could not publish people's names until those implicated could give their side of the story.

"I want to commend the ANC for the courage to admit its wrongs and attempt to purge itself. The matter should be viewed in the context of what was happening to the organisation at the time, with many government spies trying to infiltrate the organisation."

Themba Mkhwanazi

"It's accepted the ANC had problems at that time. But is it not

a little premature to want to purge yourselves of your wrongdoings with this blanket indemnity coming on?"

Will you be able to counter the propaganda that will flow from this 'purging'?"

Kgosi Molapo, Wattville, Benoni

"Congratulations by taking a brave step. Let the state also come out clean. Even now people are still disappearing. The government is answerable and responsible to the people."

Mogale Madida

"It's really surprising everybody is making a noise about what a bunch of bad guys the ANC are.

"Let there be an interim authority and let the Government hang out its dirty linen as well. If they confess now who will judge them because they are the rulers?"

Mokgale Modisele, Soweto

"Halala to the ANC. It's a good thing for them to admit their transgressions and make the people feel free about their organisation.

KL Diale, Moletsane, Soweto

focus on **Mothopeng**

TWO YEARS ago today the "Lion of Azania" roared his last ... Zephania Mothopeng had bowed to the ravages of cancer.

The second president of the Pan Africanist Congress had indeed lived, albeit for only eight months, to see his militant organisation resume its rightful place inside South Africa. After 30 years the PAC, ANC and SACP were unbanned on February 2 1990.

Today the PAC's internal regions and branches will gather to commemorate the passing of the "Lion of Azania". Beyond the borders services will be held and the media will run tributes about the fiery Africanist leader.

Mothopeng's political career dates to the 1940s when, as a student, he helped organise political debates for youth leaders such as Anton Lembede and AP Mda.

As a teacher in 1946 and also as a choirmaster, Mothopeng took part in the activities of the Transvaal African Teachers Association (Tata), of which he became president in 1953.

At a conference that year he told teachers that a stormy struggle was on the agenda in the battle of ideas, representing the material interests of the ruling class on one side and of the African masses on the other.

"The objective of ruling class ideas on education was to mould the African child in the morality of black inferiority and white superiority in the natural scheme of things. The black masses sought to establish a democratic order of society in which neither colour, culture nor creed would adversely dominate," he said.

Consequently Mothopeng was dismissed as a teacher.

He then decided to take articles with a black legal firm but was jailed before sitting for his final examinations.

Mothopeng believed in the oneness of humanity, regardless of colour, culture or creed and envisioned Africa's position in that oneness. He saw Africa as a giant emerging from centuries of conquest and oppression and proudly taking its place among the world's countries and contributing its share in all fields of human endeavour.

He believed that the unity of the African people on the basis of African nationalism was the key to the overthrow of all foreign domination leading to "the opening of the road to a new society in which the broad masses of the people would gain control over all that belong to them, the land and the wealth in the bowels of that land, as well as the means of producing that wealth".

Thus was Mothopeng a believer in Pan Africanism, defined in the Pan African Congress held in 1945 as the real economic democracy ... socialism.

At the founding of the PAC in 1959 Mothopeng was elected to its national executive

Today the Pan Africanist Congress remembers its charismatic leader, Zephania Mothopeng, the 'Lion of Azania', a name coined by Mr Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe about his successor, writes political reporter **Themba Molefe**.

Sowetan 23/10/92



Zephania Mothopeng with supporters carrying placards saying: 'Land first, negotiations after'.

committee and assigned to man its judiciary affairs.

In 1960 he was jailed for two years for his part in the anti-pass campaign which led to the Sharpeville and Langa massacres.

On his release he was banned and banished to a Free State reserve for two years. In 1969 he picked up from where he left.

After consultation with the then banished leader of the PAC, Robert Sobukwe, Mothopeng set up a secret headquarters in the Southern Transvaal and through the Black Consciousness Movement, under the leadership of Steve Biko, then a student leader.

In 1978 Mothopeng was sentenced to 30 years' imprisonment in the famous Bethal 18 trial for reviving the banned PAC and sending people abroad for military training.

In 1986, while still in jail, the plenary session of the PAC central committee in Tanzania elected him president of the organisation to

succeed the late Sobukwe, the PAC's founder president.

In 1985 Mothopeng, when rejecting PW Botha's offer of amnesty on condition he rejected violence, said: "A nation without war is no nation at all," thus affirming his stance on armed struggle as an instrument of liberation.

It was Mangaliso Sobukwe who said of Uncle Zeph: "Mothopeng is a political lion."

And a political commentator said of him: "Zeph Mothopeng was both a known and unknown entity in his contribution to the liberation struggle when he went underground, following upon the proscription of the people's organisations, and built a massive youth front which came into confrontation with the oppressors from 1976 onwards.

"A new wave of national consciousness, enriched by the heroism of the youth, wrote our history in golden letters."

8/23/1992
B/DAM

ANC names withheld

THE names of those implicated in cases of maltreatment in ANC detention camps would be withheld until those accused had been heard, the ANC said yesterday.

Responding to demands that it release the names, the ANC said people named had not had the opportunity to give evidence to the commission of inquiry.

REPORTS: Sape-AP-Rauton

FM 23/10/92

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ANC DETENTION CAMPS

A haunted past

The decision by ANC leader Nelson Mandela to appoint — and publish the findings of — a commission of inquiry into complaints by former ANC detainees was a commendable first step. Similar allegations against Swapo were not investigated before it contested elections and became the government of Namibia.

But the real test of the ANC's commitment to ethical standards, openness and the prevention of such abuses in future depends on whether and how it intends acting on the commission's recommendations.

Most important, the commission "strongly recommends that urgent and immediate attention be given to identifying and dealing with those responsible for the maltreatment of detainees."

The commissioners — advocates Gilbert Marcus and Louis Skweyiya and ANC member Brigid Mabandla — say: "It is for the ANC itself to ensure that it cleanses its own ranks of those responsible for the acts of brutality described in this report.

"It is clear that several persons against whom serious allegations of brutality have been levelled are currently employed by the ANC in the security department." A list of these people has been supplied to Mandela.

The commissioners add that those in senior ranks of the security department who were responsible for the situation in the camps should not escape the net of accountability either.

"We consider this recommendation to be of the greatest importance, particularly in the light of the role that the ANC is likely to play in a future government." No-one guilty of committing atrocities should "ever again" be allowed to assume a position of power. The best formula for prevention of such acts in future would be to ensure that the perpetrators are brought to account "and are seen to be brought to account."

For the ANC leadership to accept "ultimate responsibility" for not having adequately monitored the situation in its camps is one thing — ("an example the government might follow," says the Institute of Race Relations' Jill Wentzel). But that would be like the State President simply accepting responsibility for security force dirty deeds in the past without having to reveal all.

However, it would seem reasonable for the ANC not to divulge the names until those in question have had a chance to put their case and defend themselves.

Guided by the principles of "redress, accountability and prevention," the commission also recommends the creation of an "independent structure" which is perceived to be impartial and is capable of document-

ing cases of abuse and giving effect to the type of recommendations in its report. The ANC says it is considering the appointment of an independent commission.

Among the commission's 10 recommendations are compensation to victims including medical assistance, monetary award, psychological treatment and return of property.

A former ANC member and detainee who now heads the Returned Exile Co-ordinating Committee, Mwezi Twala, described the commission's report as "a victory for us," arguing that the ANC was forced into appointing the commission after having attempted to sweep the matter under the carpet. He says the ANC acted partly to preempt the findings of another commission of inquiry, appointed by the International Freedom Foundation and chaired by Durban advocate Robert Douglas, which expects to report by the end of the year. Its terms of reference are wider than the Marcus commission's: it intends naming those responsible and legally accountable and whether anyone is still being detained.

Twala says the ANC's exiled leadership at the time — not its internal leaders or those who were on Robben Island — should accept responsibility for the atrocities. He names as directly responsible: Mzwai Piliso, then head of an ANC security organ called Mbokhodo ("the stone that crushes"); security directorate bigwigs like Andrew Masondo, a

FM 23/10/92 (11A) ~~(11A)~~

national commissar thought to be in Uganda; Sizakele Sigxashe; and Reddy Mazimbo, a former chief ANC representative in Zimbabwe. Twala adds that ANC sports chief Steve Tswete (then army commissar) visited the Quatro camp in Angola in about 1986 and that Chris Hani was a regular visitor. ■

Negotiations step by PAC

Political Correspondent

THE PAC is expected to take another step towards constitutional negotiations at its meeting with the government which begins behind closed doors in Gaborone this afternoon.

The organisation's continued commitment to armed struggle is also likely to feature prominently during the two-day talks.

(11A) CT 23/09/92

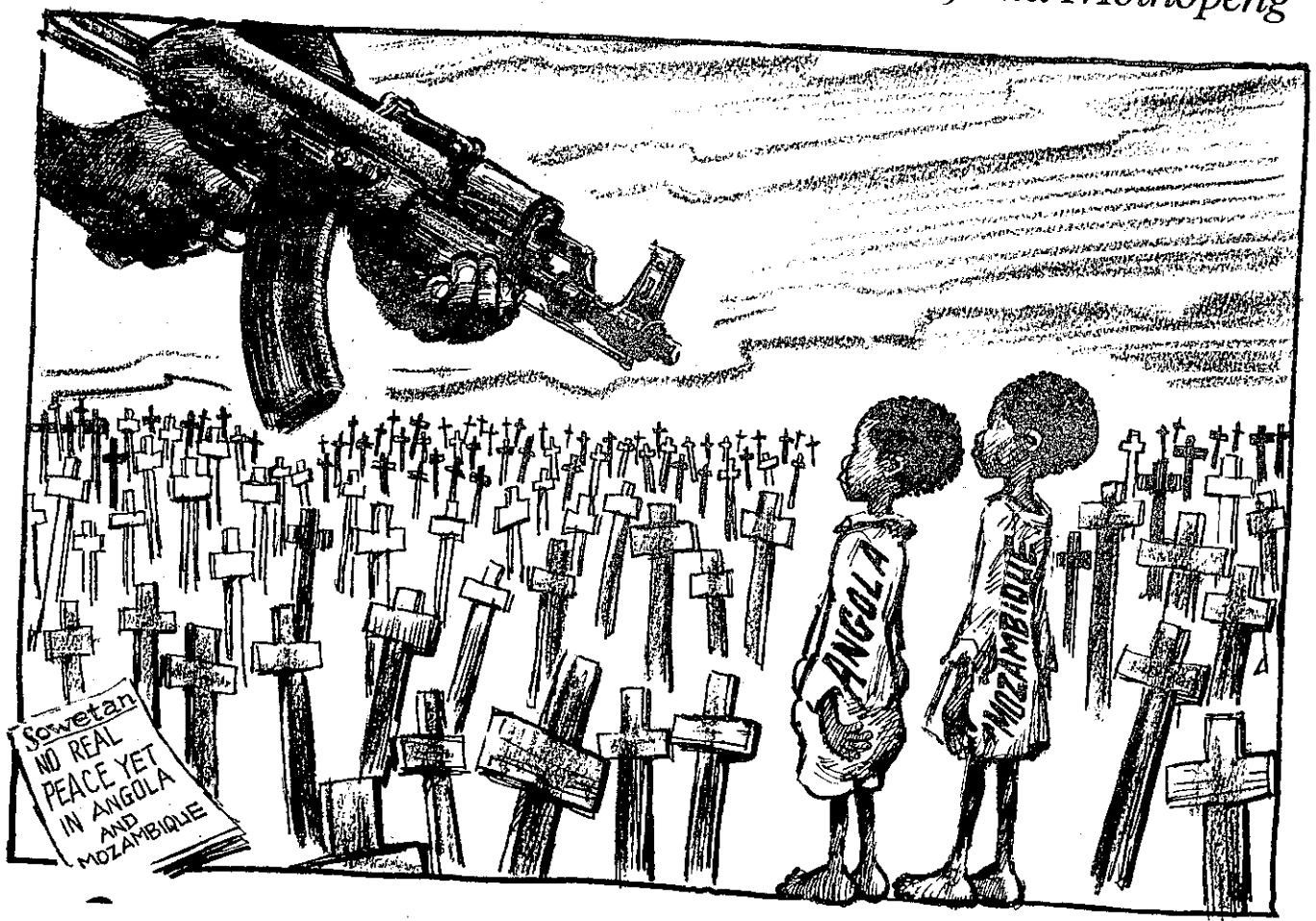
ANC camps: No names yet

JOHANNESBURG. — The names of those implicated in cases of abuse in ANC camps are to be withheld until those accused have been given a chance to be heard.

In a statement yesterday, the ANC said it would be wrong to issue a list that included "people in no way connected with the security department of the ANC."

— Sapa (11) OCT 23/1992

FOCUS *A nation without war is no nation at all, said Mothopeng*



A SECRET document, purporting to come from a "cabal" within the African National Congress, and leaked to the press earlier this month, is being treated as a fake.

This, at least, is the view coming from several prominent ANC national executive committee (NEC) members and department heads canvassed by *The Weekly Mail* (none of whom have themselves been accused of being part of the "cabal"), who spoke on condition they were not named because the origins of the controversial *State of the Nation* document are the subject of an

'Cabal' document a 'fake'

ANC investigation.

Some said they believed the document was the work of the state, while others said it was written by a faction within the ANC which is seeking to discredit prominent critics of Winnie Mandela and those close to her. They say it presents a particularly crude version of a group of former United Democratic Front officials and/or South African Communist Party members (most of whom have little in common other

23/10 - 29/10/92

Top ANC members say a

document outlining a bid

to sideline Nelson

Mandela is a forgery.

By **GAVIN EVANS**

than being critical of Winnie Mandela) who are seeking to undermine Nelson Mandela's leadership from within, and promote that of Cyril Ramaphosa.

The aim, they say, is to cause

conflict within the ANC ranks, and particularly to discredit those involved with negotiations, and those who have been openly critical of Winnie Mandela.

This week *The Weekly Mail* received a new internal document, distributed by the ANC Youth League, entitled *Submission on the continued existence of the cabal*.

Noting that the issue arose in the UDF in the 1980s, it argues it has not disappeared. "What

seems to have happened, if the document *State of the Nation* is anything to go by, is that the faction simply changed its form of operation and became more subtle than before."

In common with past views of an Indian-dominated cabal seeking to dominate the ANC, the Youth League paper comments on the "Indian factor", characterising the "cabal tendency" as involving the "ideological contestation of the centrality of the African compo-

nent of the motive forces of our struggle", "a selfish promotion of group interests", "contempt for the importance of the broad masses" and an "undemocratic style of work".

Winnie Mandela has also entered the fray, suggesting the "cabal" was responsible for her downfall.

One ANC NEC, SACP and Umkhonto weSizwe official (himself a prominent critic of the "ANC moderates" whose initials appear in the *State of the Nation* document), said there was "no doubt" it was a fake.

"It mixes up strategy and logistics, it's transparently crude, and it throws together people who clearly would not be making their beds together."

Another key NEC leader, known to have criticised "cabal" tendencies in the past, went even further: "There are several telling give-away signs. If a secret document was being circulated by a faction, they would never leave their initials on it. That would be shooting themselves in the foot.

"It has all the hallmarks of multiple authorship, it doesn't hang together coherently and it was clearly not written by somebody comfortable in the English language," he said.

Clearly, however, the anger and confusion within the ANC around the *State of the Nation* document, suggests that opposition to manipulative, cabal-like tendencies is simmering, and that there is a strong antagonism to certain individuals, and a perception that Indians, whites and SACP members hold too much power.

Asked to comment, ANC information chief Pallo Jordan said the ANC national working committee (NWC) had instituted an investigation to ascertain authorship. This would be undertaken by the movement's intelligence department and by individual NWC members.

kwaZulu blocking our meetings, claims ANC

Wfmail 23/10 - 29/10/92 (11A)

KWAZULU officials have been accused of systematically thwarting African National Congress meetings in northern Natal, despite repeated assurances by the homeland's chief minister, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, that there are no restrictions on political expression in the region.

The ANC in northern Natal gave the Sundumbili town council until yesterday to authorise a planned ANC rally. If the council turned down the application, ANC officials planned to take the matter to the supreme court.

The kwaZulu authorities are blocking political activity by Inkatha's opponents in Natal, claims the ANC.

By CARMEL RICKARD

ANC regional secretary Senzo Mchunu said the application was the fourth made by his organisation to the Sundumbili council. All had been refused, and the security forces ensured the prohibition was observed.

~~ANC~~
Mchunu said prominent members of Inkatha dominated the councils and that their repeated refusal to sanction rallies violated the national peace accord.

In another move highlighting ANC allegations that they are effectively "banned" in kwaZulu areas, the organisation formally complained to the national peace committee this week about the situation in Esikhawini.

Directed at the kwaZulu government, the Esikhawini township manager and the town council, the complaint says they are in breach of the peace accord because they consistently deny the ANC permission to use the local hall and stadium.

The complaint notes that the town council is headed by a member of Inkatha's central committee and that it is responsible to the kwaZulu department of the interior.

The ANC lists a number of examples where its meetings have been blocked by the local authorities. It notes that the township manager wrote to the ANC earlier this year saying that Inkatha had applied to use the stadium and the hall on every weekend and public holiday from February 29 until June 16.

The ANC claimed the facilities were not used by Inkatha or any other organisation on these dates. It alleged the township manager, the town council, Inkatha and the Inkatha Students' Organisation were together trying to prevent the ANC from communicating and meeting with its members in Esikhawini, thus violating the Peace Accord.

The ANC asked the peace committee to investigate these allegations and instruct the kwaZulu government, the town council and manager to admit that their actions were breaches of the accord.

They also want Ulundi to issue official notices to local and tribal authorities saying that every organisation has full access to community facilities.

Inkatha spokesman Ed Tillett said the actions complained of were not the responsibility of Inkatha but of the local councils. "Obviously, however, they have sound reasons for their action. We are not prepared to take any action against them."

If you're in Klipplaat looking for the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging's local commander, try at the Black Sash office. Otherwise, he may be at the pool hall, shooting pool with African National Congress members.

Johannes Jurie Human is no ordinary member of the AWB. Having drifted into rightwing politics through disenchantment with the "toothless" National Party, he has recently joined an initiative spearheaded by the ANC alliance to save the town of some 3 000 people.

He cheerfully admits his *toenadering* to the ANC will probably lead to expulsion from the AWB. But for now, he is still local commander.

In his home, a full colour portrait of AWB leader Eugene Terreblanche, encased in a 100-year-old frame, still occupies pride of place above his bed, and he shows it off proudly. On his lounge wall, there is a framed replica of an R1 rifle.

As recently as a few months ago, he was part of the armed posse of AWB members who stopped an ANC march in Despatch.

The story of his Damascus-style conversion is full of sheer irony.

It all began when he suggested to town councillors that AWB members be recruited to help evict coloured residents who haven't paid their rent.

The council presented him with a letter addressed to an AWB leader from Despatch, requesting his help, and Human passed it on.

But then he was approached by local leaders of the ANC alliance, who wanted the AWB to be part of a community effort to "save Klipplaat from becoming a ghost town".

Spoornet, the biggest employer, plans to close down its local operation, and there are fears this

It's the Human side of the AWB

W/MAIL 23/10 - 29/10/92

In Klipplaat the unbelievable has happened — the local AWB leader has joined the ANC in an initiative to save the threatened town.

By **SHADLEY NASH**

may kill the town, where unemployment already stands at some 70 percent.

He remembers the ANC leaders' fears: "They were told that if they come to my house they will get a bullet through the head."

That first meeting was a welcome surprise. He was able to allay their fears and they found common ground in their concern for their hometown.

There were differences of opinion, he says, but the AWB and Conservative Party were invited to a meeting of the town council, the ANC alliance and the Cape Provincial Administration to discuss civic demands.

"I wish it came from me," he says, referring to the initiative to set up the first meeting.

Human was immediately catapulted to the fore-

front of the meeting, being asked to chair it. Since then he has been in the forefront of efforts to address civic issues.

To demonstrate his new-found commitment to still sceptical township leaders, Human has told Klipplaat's whites to consult the advice office if they have any civic problems. He also boasts about taking over the lease and opening the town's pool hall to all its residents.

But he's keen to demonstrate he has not lost support among the white community. He calls in some white residents who swear on their lives that they will follow Human to the death in his bid to save Klipplaat.

He supports calls for members of both the black and white town council to resign. He gleefully notes that three white town councillors have resigned, leaving only the mayor, his deputy and one other councillor.

Two out of three black councillors resigned from the Wongalethu town council and three out of four members of the Prinsvale management committee resigned.

"I do believe we all have a future here in South Africa," he says.

Human was born in Port Elizabeth, raised in then South West Africa and in the early 1970s returned to the Eastern Cape to settle in Uitenhage. For the past three years he has lived in a modest house built by Spoornet.

"I was an NP member until Mandela began talking about nationalisation. This goes against my grain," he said.

"I can accept that capitalism is the enemy of the people, but when people start talking about nationalising my banks, then I will fight it."

It was then that he foreswore allegiance to the "toothless Nats" and joined the Conservative Party. He later joined the AWB.

But Human says he is a man of principle and believes that every South African should be involved in politics, both black and white. "I believe in human rights for all. People should fight for their rights in any way."

He says the National Party is no longer a party but a mediator which has lost "the ingredients" that made it a party.

Now it's the task of saving Klipplaat that motivates him. "I want to send a call out to all of South Africa to help Klipplaat financially to settle its debts with the council so that we can move forward. I believe our problems can be solved in a one-city forum." He says he also may apply for a fundraising number to help save the town.

"What we need here is development so people can get jobs." He speaks of a wool wash in the town which could provide hundreds of jobs, Klipplaat being in the centre of the mohair and wool trade.

"We need to get this backlog off our shoulders so that we can move forward positively." — Pen

THE *Weekly Mail* publishes here a list of African National Congress members accused of responsibility for the torture and abuse in the organisation's camps in exile in the 1980s.

The ANC's own inquiry, which published its report this week, catalogued a range of horrors committed by the security department at ANC camps, but fell short of naming the individuals accused of being involved.

The *Weekly Mail* conducted its own investigation to identify these individuals and gives a full breakdown. They fall into three categories: senior officials directly implicated in the abuses or who had immediate responsibility for them; lesser officials; and those who turned a blind eye — senior ANC personnel who are guilty by complicity.

THE INSTIGATORS and TORTURERS
 ●Mzwandile "Mzwai" Piliso — ANC national executive committee (NEC) member until July 1991 (when he failed to secure re-election), head of ANC security department until 1985 and since then head of the ANC's manpower department, member of the South African Communist Party until the early 1980s.

Those who did

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Piliso, who has admitted his involvement in the abuses, is very widely accused of direct involvement in both ordering and in physically carrying out torture and political "executions", at least from 1979 until 1985.

The assaults, torture and murders in the Angolan camps occurred under his direct authority, and frequently under his orders. Mainly as a result of the recommendations of the ANC's 1985 Stuart Commission (which investigated the abuses) he was pushed sideways to the manpower department.

●Andrew Masondo — member of the ANC NEC and the SACP central committee until the Kabwe conference, June 1985, ANC commissar until 1985, currently ANC chief representative in Uganda.

He is widely accused of ordering the torture of dissidents, some of whom died as a result, throughout the 1980s. He was removed from his positions in 1985 as a result of the Stuart

(M/A) (SACP)
 The ANC has published a report on torture in its camps but hasn't named those responsible. Here are the names. By **GAVIN EVANS, PHILIPPA GARSON and MICHAEL BOWERY**

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 Commission report, after which he became the secondary school principal at the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College in Tanzania.

●Thami Zulu (Muzi Ngwenya) — former commander of the Camalundi camp in Malanje province, and later ANC and Umkhonto weSizwe head in Swaziland. Was himself detained by ANC security in 1988 and 1989, and died, probably as a result of poisoning, shortly after his release.

He is accused by several former ANC



Who should take the rap? ... ANC leaders Oliver Tambo, Chris Hanl, Nelson Mandela and Joe Modise

By MARK GEVISSER

ONE of the "heroes" named in this week's African National Congress report on torture and abuse in detention camps was removed from her job and replaced by one of the report's villains.

When Umkhonto weSizwe personnel were transferred from Angola to Uganda in 1989, Thenjiwe Mthintso — an MK commander now on the South African Communist Party central committee and a former close associate of black consciousness leader Steve Biko — was given the title of chief representative in Uganda and the responsibility of "setting up shop".

But the next year she was replaced by Andrew Masondo. According to senior sources within the ANC and evidence from ANC detainees, Masondo, who still runs operations in Uganda, was guilty of some of the most horrifying abuses of detainees in Angola.

Within the ANC, Masondo is widely held responsible for the conditions that led to the MK mutiny of 1984 in Angola.

Mthintso, on the other hand, is widely admired by ANC cadres for the way she handled thousands of dispirited, shell-shocked soldiers coming out of the Angolan hellhole.

In the ANC report, Mthintso is singled out for the positive role she played in combating detainee abuse. The commission reports that she "displayed a genuine capacity to listen to complaints and as a result conditions improved ... For the first time, detainees were able to relate their complaints without the guards being present."

Masondo, however, allegedly abused his position greatly. As one of only three senior ANC officials allowed into the Quatro detention camp — the other two were MK commander-in-chief Joe Modise and head of secu-

The unsung 'heroes' of the camps

(M/A) (SACP)
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 rity Mzwai Piliso — he was, according to several accounts, directly involved in the system of detainee torture condemned in the ANC report.

Why, then, was he appointed in 1990 to the position of chief representative in Uganda and given command over the very cadres who hated him? And why was Mthintso, loved by the cadres in Uganda, sent back to South Africa?

The official ANC explanation is that, after the organisation was unbanned, Mthintso herself "requested to be relieved of her duties so that she could return to South Africa and continue her studies".

But according to some MK sources, another answer lies in the fact that Mthintso was sympathetic to the complaints of the detainees. They comment that she alienated the ANC's military establishment in her quest for fairness and justice, and through her advocacy of the rights of ANC rank-and-file.

While MK rank-and-file members in Uganda felt conditions were stabilising under Mthintso's command, military leaders allegedly held that discipline was flagging. So they replaced her with one of their more notorious strongmen, to the intense dissatisfaction of the cadres in Uganda.

Other sources counter, however, that suggestions that Mthintso was sidelined are mere

rumours resulting from the fact that she is popular and her successor so universally disliked.

Mthintso is unwilling to talk to the press on the issue.

By all accounts, Masondo, despite his unpopularity, runs one of the ANC's tightest ships from his offices in Kampala, and the ANC comments that "there are no plans to recall him at present".

The ANC will not divulge how many cadres are still in Uganda, but rumours put the number in the thousands. Whether Masondo will be relieved of his stewardship over these cadres as a result of this week's revelations remains to be seen.

A second person who emerges in a positive light in the ANC report is Zola Skweyiya.

Now a member of the national working committee and head of the ANC's constitutional department, Skweyiya was appointed officer of justice in 1986 with responsibility for ensuring the implementation of the organisation's code of conduct on the treatment of detainees.

However, he was constantly frustrated in his job, mainly because of "the lack of co-operation from the people connected with security". He was blocked at every turn when he tried to visit Angola and met hostility when trying to carry out his official function. At one stage, he even felt that his life was in danger.

Skweyiya told the commission that matters improved when Joe Nhlanihla replaced Piliso as head of security, but he was still blocked from going to camps in Angola and Uganda to carry out his watchdog function.

It was only after years of trying that he managed to bring certain security department members before a disciplinary tribunal and ensure that others were prosecuted in Zambia and Tanzania.

THE ANC TORTURE REPORT

it and those who knew

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detainees of overseeing the torture of several dissidents, including Oupa Moloi, who died during the first day of his interrogation in 1981 (allegedly for obtaining liquor outside the camp).

- **Morris Seabelo** — Soviet-trained intelligence officer and leading SACP activist, former Quatro camp commissar and later commander, and regional chief of security in Angola, who died mysteriously in Lesotho in 1985. He has been accused of direct involvement in torture and deaths and widely mentioned as one of the most notorious of the security officials.
- **"Africa Nkwe"** (also known as Oupa Shadrack Khumalo) — Soviet-trained intelligence and security officer, former senior commander and commissar at Quatro, and currently an ANC security department official in the PWV. Accused of overseeing and participating in assaults and torture at Quatro.
- **"Cyril Burton"** — former senior Quatro camp official accused of being directly involved in beat-

ings and torture, and in ordering them.

- **"Sizwe Mkhonto"** — East German and Soviet-trained intelligence officer and former student at Moscow Party Institution, and served for several years as Quatro camp commander. Currently with the ANC's directorate of intelligence and security in the PWV region. Accused of being responsible for assaults and torture at Quatro.
- **Griffiths Sebani** — former senior Quatro camp official. Accused of torture at Quatro. Later threatened to shoot anyone who repeated anything concerning problems in the camp.
- **"Itumeleng"** — senior ANC security department official who worked for a while in Quatro. Widely mentioned as one of the most notorious torturers in the movement.
- **"MK Doctor"** — MK and security official in Tanzania, accused by former ANC detainee Skekana Alpheus Kheswa, among other things, of severely assaulting and torturing detainees.

Other senior officials cited by several sources as

being involved in the abuses include: Peter Raboroko (former Zambian security chief); Dexter Mbona (former security chief at Quatro and later ANC regional chief of security in Angola); Pro (former Quatro camp commander); "Ralph" (also known as Lawrence Pieteron — former chief warden at the ANC "Sun City" detention centre at the Chongela farm near Lusaka); John Redi (former ANC director of security, removed from his position in 1988 after a departmental cleanup); Dan Mashingo (former Quatro chief of staff); "Mountain" (former Quatro commissar currently working for ANC security); "Johnson" (former Quatro camp commander).

Among the many guards and less senior ANC officials alleged to have been directly involved in atrocities include:

- **MB Mavuso ("Jomo")** — Nelson Mandela's bodyguard, based at the Shell House headquarters of the ANC. He is a former guard of Quatro, widely alleged to have been directly involved in torture.

- **"Joe My Baby"** — Former Lusaka-based ANC security official and Quatro guard, currently based in ANC headquarters.
- **"Stalin"** — currently in Lusaka mental hospital (may also be Stalin Ncube — former security official in Mozambique). Was directly involved in torture, including of one Cape activist, whose foot he crushed (and who is now suing the ANC).
- **"MK Tekere"** — former guard at Mazimbu detention camp near Morogoro, and currently MK official. Accused by Kheswa of being responsible for the "inhuman treatment" of detainees, including beatings with bicycle chains during 1987.

Other junior officials include: Siphio Mchekan (Quatro guard involved in assaults and torture); Golden Rahobe (former Quatro guard); "Kingsley" (former Quatro guard and Mandela body-guard); "Willy Williams"; FK Khosa (also known as Nkele); "Mojo" (Angola-based ANC security official accused of extensive involvement in torture and assaults); Jackie Mabuza (former Lusaka-based ANC security official — also accused of participating in beating eastern Cape activist "Seku" to death); "Pushkin" (also known as Kgomo and Jabu Kosane — former Quatro guard currently in ANC security); MK Stanley; Refillo Thembele (security and intelligence department member); "Brian" (former Quatro camp official accused, among other things, of shooting Alfred Kunene in the stomach and both legs for no reason).

THOSE WHO TURNED A BLIND EYE

There are many current ANC leaders in the category of those who must, or should have, known and did not act to stop it. It includes current ANC honorary president Oliver Tambo — but several with more direct access to the detainees:

- **Joe Modise** — MK commander, ANC NEC and national working committee head. Widely accused of, at minimum, being fully aware of the torture and "execution" of dissidents carried out by those under his command, and of visiting the camps (such as Quatro) while this was happening, without making any attempt to intervene.

The 1984 mutineers cited Modise (along with Piliso and Masondo) as the chief villains, and continue to regard him in this light as a result of subsequent events.

"He frequently came to the camps — including Quatro — and did absolutely nothing to improve our situation," said former detainee Bandile Ketelo.

- **Chris Hani** — SACP secretary general, member of the ANC NEC and National Working Group, former MK chief of staff.

Hani's role in the whole affair is ambiguous. On the one hand he was the man initially trusted by the 1984 Angolan rebels, and who persuaded them to lay down their arms. He was also critical of the brutal treatment handed out to several and was responsible for their release, and has openly castigated the security department for their "excesses".

On the other hand, according to several affidavits and accounts by former detainees he endorsed the decision by the Military Tribunal for the execution of seven of the rebels (which he denies), and was present at the subsequent execution of four others. They say he was also present when Mwezi Twala was shot in the back in Angola in 1984.

Former ANC detainees also say that at times he suppressed their right to speak and hold office (after their release) and did not keep the promises he had previously made to them. They say he also did little to help them while they were in detention in Quatro.

"Hani visited Quatro a number of times when I was there and he did nothing to assist us. He knew the details of our situation, because we had spoken to him at the time of the mutiny and because he could see with his own eyes the terrible situation at Quatro. For instance, at one time a friend of mine had been severely beaten, and his face was bruised and swollen," said Ketelo.

- **Joe Nhlantla** — served as ANC head of security and intelligence from about 1985 until today, and is currently a member of the ANC NEC and its working group.

According to an affidavit by former ANC detainee Kheswa, Nhlantla frequently visited the ANC detention camp in Mazimbu near Morogoro in Tanzania, which was run by Mbuokedi around 1987. Detainees there were regularly assaulted and tortured and several died as a result. He would tell them that unless they confessed to being enemy agents they would spend the rest of their lives there.

Rebel betrayed by his cause

By PHILIPPA GARSON

IN October 1976 Charles Thembekwayo left the country for military training, his head filled with romantic dreams.

He believed that when he next crossed South Africa's borders, it would be to destroy the apartheid machinery in a blaze of military glory. But after spending six years in the notorious Quatro camp in Angola, Thembekwayo's dreams had turned to nightmares. His soldier spirit had evaporated in the suffocating heat of Quatro's cells.

Articulate and soft-spoken, Thembekwayo (40) is a reluctant rebel stripped of a cause. To many, he's an unpleasant symbol best ignored.

Yet he is still an ANC member, despite the fact that he blames the exile leadership for the brutal treatment he and many others experienced at the hands of a security apparatus gone mad in its frenzied attempts to purge traitors from its ranks. The high-ranking officials who visited Quatro knew what was going on, he claims. Either they were involved, or they turned a blind eye.

A member of the South African Students Organisation, Thembekwayo was among several students from the University of Zululand arrested in 1976. He escaped from jail and fled the country.

After training in Angola and Cuba, he spent time in 1981 in Quibaxe and Pango camps in northern Angola. "We all lived for the day when we could go on a mission," he says, instead of "rotting in the camps".

When they came to fetch him he thought his hour had come. "I was told to collect my civilian clothes and was driven away. I thought we were heading for Luanda, but instead we drove into the mountains and I found myself in prison, in Quatro, or Camp J2 as it was called."

Thembekwayo never saw combat. What began instead was a six-year ordeal of beatings

and punishments. "Mzwai Piliso, Andrew Masondo and others interrogated me. They asked me how I had escaped from prison (in South Africa). They thought I was an agent released to infiltrate the ANC.

"Mzwai himself promised me I would be thoroughly beaten. And I was — with electric cable all over my body. They expected a confession but that was something I never gave them."

Thembekwayo describes how the hungry prisoners would pillar leftover from the dustbins when working in the yards.

After a year of continuous beating and hard labour Thembekwayo appealed to Masondo, who ordered the beatings to stop. However, in a reshuffle at the end of 1982, he found himself in "Battalion" cell, where treatment was even harsher.

"By 1986 I had had enough. I told Mzwai (Piliso) that after six years I still did not know why I was there." After Chris Hani intervened he was freed and sent to Vienna to work in the construction unit.

Thembekwayo lays most of the blame on Piliso. "If the leadership was honest in its attempts to fix the situation it should have got rid of Piliso long ago. He controlled the lives and destinies of everyone in the camps."

Though he lost his youth, Thembekwayo is not as bitter as one would expect. "In a situation like that, obviously you would expect infiltration. It was justified for the movement to defend itself and find out who were the infiltrators. But my bitterness is that instead of going about it in an intelligent manner, they turned themselves into animals."

Now he lives on the east Rand in the midst of the violence. "We failed to take the war to the end, we lost the revolution and now that war has turned inwards on us," he says. "I hope for an ANC government but there will not be the kind of future we dreamt about."



Tortured ...Charles Thembekwayo

The question remains: Who killed Thami?

By PAUL STOBER

IN the end, Thami Zulu fell victim to thequisition of which he had so eagerly been a part.

According to Bandile Ketelo, a former Umkhonto weSizwe commander, Zulu was directly involved in the killing and torture of suspected African National Congress dissidents in 1981, seven years before his own detention in an ANC camp. He died mysteriously days after his release.

The ANC's national executive committee has decided to withhold the commission's report into the death of Zulu, *nom de guerre* for Muziwakhe Ngenyena. The report is carried as an appendix to the main report on complaints of former prisoners and detainees.

In April 1981, says Ketelo, when the ANC security department was beginning to fan through the organisation's camps to investigate breaches of discipline, Zulu commanded the Camatundi camp in Malanje province, Angola.

The head of the political department, Oupa Moloi, was killed at Camatundi on the first day of his interrogation. In a calculated response to the death, Zulu lined up other suspected dissidents and spies — who had been badly beaten — in

front of the camp, and threatened to kill even more of them.

Eight years later, amid allegations that he was a South African government agent, Zulu died shortly after his release from an ANC detention centre. His death and the circumstances surrounding it continue to rankle in the organisation.

According to sources who have seen the Zulu report, it clears him of being a state agent and concludes that he died from unnatural causes. But it fails to answer the key question: who killed Thami Zulu?

A possible reason why the organisation is treating the Zulu affair as particularly sensitive is the persistent allegation that ANC assistant general secretary Jacob Zuma was involved in his detention.

It is known that Zuma opposed Zulu's appointment as commander of Natal MK operations in 1983 because he favoured a Natal-born candidate for the position; Zulu was born and bred in Soweto. And by the time Zuma assumed the powerful position of head of ANC intelligence in the late 1988, he was among those convinced Zulu was a South African agent.

Another reason for the sensitivity of the issue is

the high office Zulu held in the organisation. He was popular in the ranks of the ANC and is often described as having been exceptionally intelligent and able.

While ANC officials continue to insist that much of what has been written about Zulu's death is wrong, the reluctance to come clean about his death is being noted by ordinary ANC members who fear a cover-up.

In June 1988, Zulu was detained in Lusaka by ANC security after two groups of MK cadres were killed by police hit squads while infiltrating back into South Africa from Swaziland.

When he was released 17 months later, in November 1989, he was clearly in a bad state. He died five days later. A Zambian coroner found his death was due to tuberculosis, but a later report by a laboratory analyst found traces of a deadly pesticide, diazinon, in his blood.

The poison had to have been administered during the five days between Zulu's release and his death because it was a quick-acting drug. For whatever reason Zulu was poisoned, it is assumed to have been administered by one or more of the few people who had contact with him during his final days — all of them ANC members.

WEEKLY MAIL

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The names the ANC tried to hide

W/Mail
23/10 - 29/10/92
WEEKLY MAIL REPORTERS



THE *Weekly Mail* this week publishes names and details of African National Congress officials accused of responsibility for torture and abuse in the organisation's camps in exile.

The ANC's own report into what happened at the camps, published this week, confirmed that there had been widespread abuses, but fell short of naming the individuals accused of involvement.

An appendix of names that emerged during the hearings of the commission of inquiry was left off the document handed to the media.

The ANC has come under criticism for failing to come fully clean. However, the organisation argues that a further, more independent, inquiry is needed before allegations can be made against individuals.

The Weekly Mail conducted its own investigation and found that:

- A number of people currently employed at ANC headquarters in Shell House, Johannesburg, were personally and directly implicated in torture and murders. These include one of Nelson Mandela's bodyguards and others who are still in the department of intelligence and security, which was responsible for events in the camps.

- Others involved in the abuses have since been promoted, such as Andrew Masondo, the current head of the ANC mission in Uganda. He replaced Thenjiwe Mthintso, "hero" of the report and one of the few ANC officials who went out of their way to help the detainees.

- Many of the most senior ANC officials knew about conditions in the camp — and did not do enough to stop it. These include the then president, Oliver Tambo, and the commander of Umkhonto weSizwe, Joe Modise.

- A notorious camp commander, Thami Zulu, himself became a victim. He was detained on suspicion of being a spy and died mysteriously within days of his release.

- The victims were not just those accused of being spies, but loyal soldiers who criticised the hierarchy or the camp practices.

The names are given on PAGES 4 and 5.

Something new out of Africa



The newsmagazine of the sub-continent, *Africa South & East*, is included in this issue of *The Weekly Mail*.

It is packed with political, business, sport and cultural news from a southern African perspective and features extracts from editorials and opinion columns from five independent newspapers in the region.

It used to cost R3,85 on its own — now this 40-page magazine will be given free to *Weekly Mail* readers on the third Friday of every month.



Spot the cultural weapon ... Despite the ban on weapons, about 20 000 Inkatha Freedom Party supporters marched through the centre of Johannesburg while police looked on

Photo: KEVIN CARTER

Government on auto-pilot: Minister on auto-Pilate

The British government announced the closure of 31 collieries — putting 30 000 miners out of work — but president of the Board of Trade and Industry Michael Heseltine was forced to back down

PAGES 1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8



Scandal haunts Bush's dog days

Whether he wins or loses the election, a furore involving arms deals with Iraq that will dwarf Watergate is hanging over the president

PAGES 10, 11, 17



ANC officials denounced for prison camp terror

By David Beresford in Johannesburg

SENIOR officials in the African National Congress have been denounced in the strongest terms for "staggering" brutality and torture of prisoners, as well as possible murder, by an internal commission of inquiry.

The investigation, into conditions under which detainees were held in ANC camps abroad during its years of exile, confirms many of the worst allegations made by former members who have been denounced by the organisation as South African government "spies" and "traitors".

It details horrendous maltreatment — with even medical staff partaking in assaults — as well as the systematic use of torture to extract "confessions." In one case a detainee was tortured until "due to a confusion in the use of code names", he "confessed to murdering himself". Another was beaten for 14 hours until he confessed to killing several people who were subsequently found to be alive.

The report calls for further investigation into allegations that some prisoners "simply disappeared or were murdered".

It lists a wide variety of torture, including kicks to the genitals and beatings on the soles of the feet, prisoners being forced to crawl through red ant colonies with pig fat smeared on them to attract bites, starvation, and solitary confinement.

"It was violence for the sake of violence," says the report by three lawyers appointed by the ANC to probe the charges.

"We were left with the impression that for the better part of the 1980s there existed a situation of extraordinary abuse of power and lack of accountability."

Several of the persons accused of committing acts of torture are still employed in the security department of the ANC, the report says.

The findings of the inquiry — headed by a Johannesburg silk and ANC member, Advocate T. L. Skweyiya — were reluctantly released by the ANC leadership after what appears to have been acrimonious debate within its executive, the national working committee.

The ANC's president, Nelson Mandela, said the leadership accepted "ultimate responsibility for not adequately monitoring and, therefore, eradicating such abuses".

But he qualified this by saying it was the view of the working committee that the speed with which the investigation had to be completed meant it was unable to hear mitigating evidence. Such evidence included the difficult conditions under which the ANC operated in exile and "inaccuracies in some of the sources which the commission used as authoritative reference".

The qualification is likely to be received with some cynicism in view of the time it has taken for the ANC to release the report, which was completed in August.

The report is startling for the bluntness of its criticism of the ANC. Although one of its three commissioners, Advocate Gilbert Marcus, is not an ANC member and is highly regarded among civil rights activists, it was feared the inquiry would end in a cover-up.

The commission said it had received evidence from 17 former detainees, including the ANC's present director of publicity, Dr Pallo Jordan, who had been held for six weeks for accusing the security department of "conducting itself like a repressive police force".

Twelve of the 17 had received no trial, and had been held for between three to seven years.

The worst abuses were committed at the notorious "Quatro rehabilitation centre" in Angola, it says. But conditions in other camps and prisons in Angola, Zambia, Tanzania, and Uganda were in no way "remotely acceptable".

It confirms that men who took part in a mutiny at Quatro had been executed. "The circumstances in which this occurred are far from clear. However, there is a sense of unease that these executions may have been carried out summarily."

The commission says no one who was guilty of atrocities should ever again be allowed to occupy positions of power, and it recommends that victims of torture be paid compensation irrespective of whether they were proved to be spies.

A week of spooks and sticky fingers

W/maill 23/10 - 29/10/92

Spectres of the past have returned to remind us of things thoroughly rotten — first in the report on ANC detention camps, and then in FW de Klerk's desperate bid to bulldoze the Further Indemnity Bill through parliament

By **PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK**



"That's just the point," said the little crocodile, cowering in his pyjamas. "I can't stand the idea of Jan van Eck being right."

This column may exaggerate, but how could one ever respond seriously to the government's bizarre performance in parliament this week?

Like the visit from Hamlet's ghost, the spooks of the past have come back to remind us that something is thoroughly rotten in the state of Denmark.

Why, when he has the power to pardon people, does President FW de Klerk insist on proceeding with a unilateral, unpopular measure that the African National Congress has said clearly, upfront, it will not honour if it comes to power?

De Klerk, in explaining his desperate resort to the President's Council to bulldoze the Further Indemnity Bill through, says he is reluctant to use the powers of executive pardon because of the "heinous nature of some of the crimes".

Surely it is a bit late to be coy with his presidential powers. One battles to imagine a more heinous crime than that committed by Barend Strydom, who stepped out of prison a free man three weeks ago.

Besides, the legalistic framework to be set up by the Indemnity Bill amounts to the same thing: the ultimate discretion of the state president and the minister of justice.

Last week, De Klerk told the nation that power-sharing was one of the sacred "principles" that the National Party would insist there be agreement on before elections for a constituent assembly. He is prepared to delay the entire negotiation process and,



The Old Crocodile, FW Botha

according to NP secretary general Stoffel van der Merwe, hold another referendum if any deal does not include power-sharing.

Yet, as the Democratic Party pointed out, the blatant disregard for parliament and consensual decision-making was a victory for the principle of winner-dominate-all — except, in this case, the winner is the minority NP government.

Then, while attempting by all means to push the Bill through parliament, De Klerk said he did not know of a single individual employed by the state or the security forces who had committed any crime.

Appropriately, he made this announcement to the Transvaal Law Society, because it is a very legalistic argument. One is tempted to reply:

Yes, Mr De Klerk, that's because your government has never diligently pursued the wrongdoers in your ranks, or put them on trial.

But then, De Klerk didn't see the look of recognition on Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee's face when he was asked at a media conference whether General "Joffel" van der Westhuizen, the head of Military Intelligence who has been linked to the murders of Matthew Goniwe and others, would qualify for indemnity.

Coetsee's first response was a wry smile. "I'm sorry you mentioned that example," he said, with a momentary twinkle in his eye, before spelling out a scenario that would indeed include the murderers of Goniwe.

According to the same reasoning, former Civil Co-operation Bureau operatives Ferdi Barnard, Calla Botha and Chappie Maree could also stand

in line to be "objectively" pardoned. But then, De Klerk is strictly speaking correct: they are not employed by the state anymore.

De Klerk imagines he can lay the ghosts of his party by forgiving present and former state officials while preventing disclosure of their crimes.

De Klerk was not the only one haunted this week by the crimes of the past. The ANC has little to be proud of in its report on what happened in its camps.

Fingers point at the ANC leadership, not just at a few sadistic prison guards. The decision to set up the Quatro detention camp was taken at the highest level. There was no adequate monitoring from Lusaka, which bore political responsibility. Inquiries set up during the exile years amounted to cover-ups or were drowned in a sea of incompetence.

Yet the fact of the matter is that while attention has focused on the ANC this week, no one has suggested a commission of inquiry into torture in South African prisons.

Many thousands of political detainees were abused, dozens murdered, during the struggle years. Torture was the routine way in which information was extracted, and not just in political cases.

We are supposed to believe it all took place in another country when another National Party was in power. Yet people continue to die in South African cells almost daily, even as De Klerk attempts to close the book on the past.

At times this week, the government's attempts to close that book were almost breathtakingly amateurish.

Coetsee, asked at the media conference on the Further Indemnity Bill if the government was not merely forgiving itself for the sins of the apartheid era, replied: "If you harbour the suspicion that that is the case, then of course you may."

For all that it was sinister, the Bill was the act of a government that has lost touch with reality.

Perhaps they have been in power so long that they just don't think they are accountable anymore. Otherwise, why else would they be prepared to waste so much public money on a parliamentary session whose value, in the most generous account, has been negligible?

Even an old crocodile knows that.

PASS the custard, the Old Crocodile said to his wife. "Well, that's a relief," he said, eyeing the bowl. "We're almost off the hook."
He jabbed his spoon through the skin into the oozing yellow murk below. "And I never thought FW had it in him to fight."
Mind you, the Crocodile went on, the Indians never would have defied him. They were too busy squabbling about who got to handle the funds for the access road to Chatsworth to worry about blocking legislation. Besides, any hint of rebellion and he would have softened the Raj up with the whip in his office.
Not, said the Crocodile, wiping his chin with the back of his hand, that he completely trusted the president to be supported by the President's Council, even if they were all his appointees and had pledged blind allegiance to him. Some people just aren't cut out for politics.
But what if the Bill did go through, he said, ruminating. Then he, the Crocodile, could go and confess all his crimes to the tribunal.
"Imagine the stir when my name appears in the *Government Gazette*," he said, grinning and licking his lips, enjoying the prospect of the game. "I would be saying: I am guilty of offences. I have confessed. I have been forgiven."
"Now it's up to every investigative journalist in the country to find out what for."

The Crocodile and his wife packed up laughing and rolled around the floor in glee. "And, after the journalists have their field day and the ANC comes to power, your full confession will be waiting with the judge president," yucked his wife.
"Yes, and they have said they won't honour this Bill at all," said the Crocodile. "So at that point they would hang me. Now that would be really like closing the book on the past."
Meanwhile, back in Cape Town, the little crocodile woke up in a sweat. "I have had a bad dream," he said to his wife. "I dreamt that the Old Crocodile applied for indemnity and confessed all his crimes to me."
"But that's what Jan van Eck told parliament would happen," replied his wife sleepily. "And you kicked him out of parliament."

Welcome to the Third World, SA

By REG RUMNEY

NEWS that South Africa is to become — officially — a developing country will cause consternation in some quarters. And it will be welcomed by the African National Congress.

That the government is negotiating with trade partners and blocs such as the European Community for such a change was revealed this week by Finance Minister Derek Keys.

ANC economic adviser Alan Hirsch says the organisation should take credit for the development. "The push for this first came from the ANC."

Conservative researcher Erich Leistner described the step in a South African Chamber of Business (Sacob) discussion document, released this week, as "retrogressive". The document is titled *South Africa's Options for Future Relations with Southern Africa and the European Community*.

Leistner wrote: "With an internationally acceptable government in power in Pretoria South Africa might be able to convince the member countries of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (Gatt) that it should be ranked as a 'developing' nation. Such a retrogressive step, however — if it succeeded — might arguably cost it more in respect of international creditworthiness and foreign investment than it would gain by way of European Community development assistance."

The problem is not so much the reality as the perception, adds Leistner, of the Pretoria-based Africa Affairs Institute.

"It is the idea that South Africa is confirming it is turning into a banana republic. Maybe the government knows something we don't know," Leistner says.

Hirsch asserts this is the traditional government response to the drive to change South Africa's status, that it would send the wrong signal to investors. "This was always a foolish idea. There is no other reason for opposing the change than false pride." Some countries identified as developing, such as Taiwan, South Korea and Malaysia, receive more than enough investment.

"The ANC is saying that this is just a recognition of where we actually are." One advantage of the change in status, says Hirsch, is more flexibility in the pace at which South Africa conforms to Gatt.

Also, it puts South Africa in the same league as neighbouring countries and may make multilateral and bilateral trade arrangements easier.

Hirsch and Leistner agree on the limits to development aid flowing from a change in status.

Hirsch explains the introduction of a "least developed" category lessens the impact of South Africa changing its status to "developing". Least developed countries, many African, are first in line for aid.

Hirsch doubts the South African government will be able to achieve the change without the ANC's help.

"The whole process of changing status is a political one." Developed and developing countries can be expected to resist the change. An all-party diplomatic front should be formed to get the new status accepted, he says.

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ANC torture camp horrors exposed

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IT is another horror story of man's inhumanity to man, familiar to most in South Africa, especially those detained or imprisoned by the state.

This time, though, it's not the South African authorities and their agencies who are in the dock, but the ANC, Africa's oldest liberation movement, an organisation which considered itself bound by the Geneva Convention.

For years, as South Africa became infamous for detention without trial, torture, death in custody, and other atrocities, similar things were happening across the country's borders in ANC camps.

Situated in Angola, Zambia, Tanzania and Uganda these camps were the destiny of people accused of being spies and traitors.

Strong and consistent as these rumours of torture were, the truth was never fully exposed, until this week then the ANC released the findings of an internal inquiry into its camps.

The 74-page document did not name those responsible, but a weekly newspaper has named some of them as:

- Former national executive member Mzwandile "Mzwai" Piliso, who headed the ANC's notorious security department until 1985.

- Nelson Mandela's bodyguard, MB Mavuso.

- ANC chief representative in Uganda, Andrew Masondo.

- Sizwe Mkonto, who was Quatro commander for several years.

- ANC security department official Itumeleng who has been widely mentioned as one of the most notorious torturers.

- Former Quatro commander Johnson.

Releasing the report this week, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela acknowledged that there had been serious abuses, adding that the ANC had failed to live up to its own code of conduct.

He said the ANC had undertaken to appoint an independent and impartial body to investigate further allegations of torture and murder in the camps.

And, in a move widely commended, he said: "Nevertheless, as a leadership we accept ultimate responsibility for not adequately monitoring and therefore eradicating abuses."

But this was not considered good enough for a collection of organisations and political movements stretching from the Pan Africanist Congress, National Party, Returned Exiles Committee to Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer who called on the ANC to identify people involved.

Horror stories emerge from South Africa again, but this time it is the ANC which is in the dock, notes **DENNIS CRUYWAGEN** of Weekend Argus political staff.

As Dr De Beer said: "People will only be satisfied once the names of perpetrators were known and we know what the ANC is going to do about it."

As the furor continued about the government's attempts to bulldoze its Further Indemnity Bill through parliament, he added: "It is important that the ANC should disclose, just as government should disclose."

However, Mr Mandela refused to disclose names, adding that no immediate action was envisaged against those responsible, some of whom were still employed by the ANC.

Taking the readers into the ANC camps, the most notorious of which was Quatro, Angola, the report said detainees were held in communal and isolation cells.

"The communal cells were from time to time overcrowded and inadequately ventilated. We were told that on occasions the temperature inside the cell was higher than outside it."

One of the most frequent complaints centred on medical treatment.

"Problems associated with the heat and the conditions of detention included skin complaints, diarrhoea and malaria. We were advised there was no running water in the camps."

Camp guards and commanders made it impossible for detainees to keep themselves and their clothes clean.

"We were informed that blankets were allowed to be washed only once every six months and that detainees were then allowed to bath in the water which remained after the blankets had been washed."

Toilet facilities for detainees were described as primitive.

"Detainees were required to attend to bodily functions by means of plastic containers which were cut in half and emptied once a day."

A doctor visited the camps rarely and his attitude was generally unsympathetic. Medical staff were said to have taken part in assaults.

All detainees were given names including donkey, goat, monkey, pig and fool.

Some witnesses told of a practice called "slaughter".

"A detainee was thrown into a deep narrow pit. Two metres from the base of the pit there was a trench which was the only exit.

"A prisoner would then be ordered to jump and try to get out of the pit through the trench, while at the same time the warders would throw earth on the person trying to get out."

One witness told of a prisoner who had to wear a "gas mask" while his forehead was repeatedly bashed against a tree trunk.

Guards also asked prisoners if they wanted coffee or guava juice. But prisoners knew that this had nothing to do with quenching their thirst — they were given a choice of deciding what they wanted to be beaten with.

Two witnesses said they were forced to crawl through a colony of red ants.

Torture was used to extract confessions.

Mr Piliso told how a plot to assassinate senior ANC officials was uncovered in 1981.

Suspects were beaten on the soles of their feet in his presence.

"The soles of the feet were specifically chosen, according to Mr Piliso, because other parts of the body easily rupture."

Mr Piliso justified his treatment because he wanted information "at any cost".

Such was the nature of torture that one detainee confessed to murdering himself. Another prisoner confessed after 14 hours' torture that he had killed several people who were later found to be alive.

The report said: "It is apparent to the commission that many people suffered in ANC camps. Only a small proportion testified before the commission."

Investigating allegations of the murder and disappearance of prisoners was beyond its terms of reference, the commission said.

But the allegations "are of the most serious nature and demand investigation".

The commissions said some of the witnesses it had seen had been brutalised and broken.

But they were "without rancour", seeking simple justice, a recognition that they had been wronged and assistance to rebuild their lives.

● The report was compiled by Johannesburg advocate member Mr T L Skweyiya, lawyers Ms B Manbada, both ANC members, and advocate Gilbert Marcus.

List of suspects grows

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■ From page 1

nymity is prompted by fear of their alleged tormentors.

According to evidence before the commission, the following names should be added to the list of suspects:

■ Mr Joe Modise. One dissident said: "Joe Modise and about eight lieutenants rounded us up one day and took us to an RC (revolutionary council) house where we were tortured by being beaten with sticks and hose pipes";

■ Mr Joe Nhlanhla, the present head of security;

■ Mr Jacob Zuma, the ANC's immediate past intelligence chief and now its deputy secretary-general; and

■ Mr Sizakele Sigxashe, a high-ranking official in ANC intelligence.

A man whose name cropped up repeatedly in the affidavits to the Douglas commission is Mr Piliso, who was also named in an unfavourable light in the ANC's report on the camps.

Mr Piliso allegedly encouraged guards to strike a suspected spy on the head because

that is where he does his thinking".

Two officials named in the Weekly Mail report are Mr M B Mavuso or "Jomo," and Mr Sizwe Mkonto. The same men are named in the affidavits read by Weekend Argus yesterday.

A detainee said: "I was beaten thoroughly by two guards at Quatro (the notorious camp in Angola). One was called Jomo. He is now a security guard to Nelson Mandela."

Another dissident said: "The camp commander was Sizwe Mkhonto. He was brutal beyond belief." Mr Mkhonto, like "Jomo", works in the ANC's headquarters at Shell House in Johannesburg.

Running through the affidavits is another theme: Members of Mbokodo were taught to regard themselves as an elite force of revolutionary guards, above accountability and reproach.

Among the affidavits were those written by Mbokodo men who, themselves, later were detained, beaten and tortured.

One ex-Mbokodo man said:

"We were told that as Mbokodo no one would touch us. We were the vanguard of the nation ... We also were taught to get rid of comrades who gave trouble by poisoning them."

Another former Mbokodo guard recalled: "Anyone who questioned what was going on fell foul of security and became a victim of its torture and detention."

An ANC dissident leader and former detainee, Mr Mwezi Twala, charged that torture and brutality in ANC detention camps during the "armed struggle" was not an aberration, but a deliberate policy.

Mr Twala, who was detained in various camps for nearly five years and who served as a political officer in the ANC, told Weekend Argus: "The change came about after the ANC leadership visited Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia."

Mr Twala's accusation has added to the already-intense controversy over who was responsible for the appalling abuse of power by ANC security personnel.

■ See page 19

*the path to peace***'Democratic state will bring the violence under control'**

By Barney Desai

South 24/10 - 28/10/92

THE horrifying violence in South Africa is a direct result of apartheid. We are also experiencing the legacy of the eighties, when rival groups fought violently for hegemonistic reasons.

A third, and by far the most important cause of the violence that has taken such a terrible toll on our people, is the secret activities of the state security apparatus used to violently destabilise the liberation movements.

The PAC has little or no confidence in Commissions of Enquiry appointed by the regime. There have been 10 commissions of enquiry since January and not a single conviction has been secured to date!

Violence will not be brought under control until we have a democratic state which replaces the minority racist regime. The PAC has been in the forefront in calling for international involvement, both in respect of violence and the process of negotiations.

We need investigation, mediation, observation and neutral arbitration

**Barney Desai**

in this period of transition to democratic rule.

The PAC is minimally involved in violence but maximally concerned to establish peace amongst Africans. In this regard we have offered to act as a facilitator between the IFP and the ANC in order to bring peace between the principal parties involved in so much of the violent conflicts.

The IFP has accepted our offer and we await word from the ANC.

'Peace through justice and democracy'

South 24/10 - 28/10/92
By Allan Boesak



Allan Boesak

24/10 - 28/10/92
THE ANC is committed to peace and peaceful methods to resolve the conflicts resulting from apartheid and its aftermath.

A peaceful society depends most importantly on the necessity for justice to be seen to be done when violence occurs.

The failure of the regime to address this question, which continues to bedevil the transitional process, lies at the root of many of the conflicts we are experiencing today.

The proper and effective administration of justice begins at the grassroots, with a police force committed to serve the public, to protect its victims and act against its transgressors.

That police force should thus be free of political and social bias or prejudice and should be trained and educated in the principles of what is and what is not permissible in a democratic society.

In order to achieve real and lasting peace in South Africa, it is also vitally important to address the question of the past — of the bitter legacy of apartheid and its many victims.

This is a major reason why the ANC has opposed the NP proposal for a general amnesty. For justice to be seen to be done, those who have committed crimes against human rights must be identified, investigated and publicly exposed.

Ultimately though, peace depends on democracy, and it is only where representative government exists, and where people are able to see real and effective alternatives to the use of violence to resolve the problems they experience in their daily lives that one can begin to lay a proper foundation for a peaceful society.

South Profile

Abe Williams

Teachers in his department want him to quit. He remains embroiled in a housing row in Saldanha.

DIANE COETZER takes a look at the controversy surrounding him: *South 24/10 - 28/10/92*

ABE Williams — teacher, rugby aficionado, traveller and Member of Parliament — is losing it.

Over the past few weeks, the man in charge of education in the House of Representatives (HoR) has been called on to resign from his post time and time again by teachers in his own department.

Teachers say the Nationalist Party member is undemocratic and is out to “destroy education”.

And the boat is not sailing smoothly back in his home constituency of Mamre either.

Saldanha civic leaders charge Williams with showing callous disregard for the wellbeing of his constituents and renege on promises made to them.

They say he has not even tried to upgrade schools in Saldanha, despite holding the education portfolio in the HoR.

All this is a long way from the heady days of the early eighties when, as the self-styled South African Rugby Board “publicist”,

Williams won favour in some quarters as the leading light in the South African campaign to break out of sporting isolation.

During those years he travelled extensively, arguing vehemently for the country’s readmission into the international sporting arena.

Williams remains well-known in the rugby world and it appears to be the one area in which he is free from controversy.

Perhaps his long association with the sport has much to do with this. In his time he has been the South African Rugby Federation’s organising secretary and in 1981 he was assistant manager of the Springbok team during its controversial tour to New Zealand and the US.

Buoyed by this notoriety, in 1984 he was chosen as Labour Party MP for the Mamre constituency which includes Atlantis, Mamre, Darling and Saldanha.

Although Williams made rapid progress within the structures of the LP, becoming national organiser and national secretary, in 1991 he



resigned as deputy Minister of Education and Culture and as member of the party and joined the NP.

On August 30 last year, he was appointed by President FW de Klerk as deputy Minister of National Education and of Local Government and National Housing. When the NP became the majority party in the HoR in 1992, Williams became the Minister of Education and Culture in the new Ministers’ Council. He now serves as part of the government’s delegation to Codesa.

But civic leaders who spoke to SOUTH this week say that contrary to his multifarious positions, Williams is not fit for any office.

Allegations abound of his involvement in circumstances which cast severe doubt on his ability to run a government department.

In a 1989 incident, for example, charges were investigated against Williams after thieves stole 80 crayfish tails and 40 whole crayfish from his Saldanha home. (At that time an individual was allowed 20 crayfish without a licence).

At the time, Williams claimed he had only 25 crayfish in his freezer.

Those in local civics and the ANC charge that he has become intoxicated with his own power.

Former Saldanha ANC and civic executive member Mr Maxwell Moss said Williams had implied in a recent meeting with him he was “untouchable”.

“He actually said to me, ‘I’ve become a political monster,’” Moss claims.

The most serious allegations concern a section of housing in White City Saldanha, owned by Williams and commonly known as “Abe se huise”.

In the mid-eighties controversy erupted over the houses which, at the time, residents described as “only fit for animals”.

Most of the homes did not have electricity, flush toilets nor inside water. Rents jumped from R12 to R30 after Williams bought the houses from Southern Seas Fishing Enterprises.

Tenants still had to pay for their water and the removal of refuse and nightsoil.

At the time Williams said he wanted to “demolish the estate and build a better housing project”, claiming that the local municipality had blocked his request.

The municipality said it had asked him not to demolish the homes as there was no alternative accommodation for the families.

Williams then promised to repair

the houses.

Several years have passed and residents claim that the 16 houses Williams still owns are in even worse shape.

“The houses remain without water and electricity,” said Mr Edgar Solomon, chairperson of the Food and Allied Workers Union in Saldanha.

“People still live in cramped conditions and it is having a severe effect on their health.”

Solomon said Williams wanted to unload “his problem” by selling the houses to Southern Seas Fishing.

“But his asking price of R70 000 for the houses is far too high. The houses are in such disrepair that they will have to be demolished.”

Southern Seas factory manager Mr Robert Millatt confirmed that his company had been in contact with Williams about the housing. But he said he did not think the firm would buy them.

“He has taken everything and given nothing back to the residents who earn very little from seasonal fishing,” said Solomon.

“The support he once had is rapidly dwindling and his last public meeting drew barely 50 people.”

“He has done nothing for the people of this area at all.”

Saldanha Civic chairperson Mr Elliot de Bruyn said it was crazy that Williams was on the government delegation to Codesa.

‘The support he once had is rapidly dwindling and his last public meeting drew barely 50 people’

the path to peace

SOUTH Africa's endless spiral of violence raises disturbing questions about what kind of nation we are. Have we been so brutalised and alienated that we are unable and unwilling to live in peace, showing tolerance for the views of other political groups?

Violence in South Africa is, however, not only politically motivated. There are deeply-rooted social strains, which have resulted in violence creeping into our homes, destroying families and communities.

Both kinds of violence are bound to have long-term effects and raise issues we must all consider if we are to have a truly democratic "New South Africa".

This focus, entitled "Keep Peace Alive", is SOUTH's contribution to the present initiatives to secure peace in South Africa.

One of the most disturbing things about violence in South Africa is that everybody blames everybody else for it, but nobody accepts responsibility for any of the killing, maiming and burning. Very few people are brought to book. When they are — as we have seen in recent weeks — they are released before they have served their sentences.

This creates deep mistrust between political parties. It often fuels further violence and mayhem, again with no-one willing to take the blame.

The extent of this mistrust is highlighted in an anecdote by the

Keep peace alive

South 24/10 - 28/10 92

recently retired executive director of the Centre for Intergroup Studies, Professor Hendrik ("HW") van der Merwe.

Long an opponent of apartheid and a respected facilitator who helped start the mid-eighties dialogue between the Nationalists and the ANC, Professor van der Merwe was approached in 1990 by both the government and the ANC to get to the bottom of the growing spiral of violence.

The government, he says, wanted him to find out whether the ANC was behind it all, either because their members were out of control or because they were being secretly encouraged.

The ANC, on the other hand, wanted him to find out whether the government's security forces were out of control, or being secretly encouraged to stir up violence.

Fascinated by this, Professor van der Merwe considered setting up a special project to get to the bottom of what was really happening, but this never got off the ground.

Today, instead of enjoying the peace of retirement, he is embroiled in another level of mistrust and prejudice — the war of words within the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) and other organisations such as the Human Rights Commission (HRC) about the interpretation of statistics on violence.



Hendrik van der Merwe

As chairperson of the Western Cape branch of SAIRR, he is facilitating in the war of words following criticism by SAIRR executive director Mr John Kane-Berman.

"In a violent, polarised society such as South Africa no-one is without bias, and we all have to make room for different approaches, to make way for understanding broader society," said Van der Merwe.

"We must encourage differences and contrasting interpretations, and be sympathetic to conflicting ideas, instead of attacking each other.

"We are, after all, in both the SAIRR and HRC, part of the intelligentsia — we are academics, religious and community leaders —

and we tend to favour the underdog. We stood together during the apartheid era and tended not to criticise anti-apartheid groups.

"But it is natural, now that there has been a shift in power, for some to think that this is irreversible and they can now give the government some credit. Others, however, think that the government is still so completely in control that we have to close ranks and, if we allow too much dissension within the ranks, the process of change will be slowed down."

Van der Merwe believes there is merit in the arguments of both. The present government is run by people who will soon be in a minority in government, and will, if world history is anything to go by, be subject to some measure of oppression. It is "irresponsible", he says, to think those in the majority will, automatically, because they are somehow inherently more democratic than the present government, ensure we have a democratic government.

THEY, including the ANC, should therefore not be spared scrutiny and criticism where necessary.

At the same time, however, there is still a long way to go before there is a decisive shift in power, and those now still in power should continue to be kept accountable.

"I believe that we have to get rid of the present illegal and immoral government, but I am concerned that those who have formed the bulwark of criticism against this government do not seem to want to do the same for the new government, or those who will be in the new government."

On violence, he said it was unlikely this could be controlled until an interim government was in place.

"The present government is not able to control its opposition, with which it has no legitimacy, or its own forces, which it does not seem to have the will to control. Even if it had the will to control its own forces, it has no power to do so.

"But even with a negotiated settlement, there will be no overnight peace. There will still be right and left wing elements which cannot be disciplined or controlled by anyone. These will develop into a culture of their own and I foresee decades of violence ahead, both criminal and political."

Van der Merwe agrees the ANC must take some responsibility for this. By calling on its supporters to "make the country ungovernable", it has created cadres not subject to any discipline or control and who, in the present deteriorating economy, will go to any lengths to survive and make their views accepted.

"It is important for people to accept and understand that in a democracy you will have political opponents, whom you can hate if need be. But they are not your enemies and you do not have to kill them," said Van der Merwe.

Fresh torture probe may reach top ranks

By CHARLENE SMITH

DOZENS of ANC members, some in senior positions, face investigation later this year over allegations of torture.

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said the independent inquiry promised by ANC president Nelson Mandela would begin work after the ANC's national executive committee meets in November.

However, there is pressure from other top-ranking ANC officials for the inquiry to be appointed sooner.

The findings of an inquiry into ANC camps released this week reveal chilling human rights abuses in ANC detention camps. A list of those believed to be implicated in abuses has been given to Mr Mandela by the commission.

The commission's report has caused a furor among ANC members. Some are angry that the commission did not give those it accuses of torture the chance to defend themselves.

The commission itself has not been criticised although there was an error in the commission's list which names Andrew Mlangeni, an ANC NEC member and Rivonia trialist who was in jail from 1962 to 1969 in South Africa as one of the alleged torturers.

Thenjiwe Mthintso, the ANC's chief representative in Uganda for some years, and who the commission says was singled out by several witnesses as having listened to complaints and tried to improve conditions, said that the report was "being taken out of context."

She said: "In the process of doing our work, many had failures and many had successes."

A former prisoner — who was held for six years without trial and who was frequently beaten, but remains a

loyal ANC member — said there was a "frenzy of fear about infiltration and enemy agents".

The Sunday Times has gathered a list of names of those allegedly involved in abuses. It is not the list given to Mandela by the commission, but the names have been checked with senior ANC sources who say that those on the Sunday Times list correspond with those on the commission's list.

Victims say torture was the preserve of security officers, while daily beatings were at the hands of prison guards, some as young as 14 years old.

Most security officers were trained by the Stasi, the East German secret police.

Some names below are the Umkhonto we Sizwe code names used by all ANC members as a security precaution. However, code names were

not necessarily unique to a single individual and there are some who shared a code name with a torturer who were not involved in abuses of this nature.

Among those identified by victims are:

● Mawandile Piliu, code names "Mzwai" or "Tata" (father), a former ANC NEC member who now heads the manpower department. He was head of ANC security until 1986.

● Andrew Masondo, "Dilonga", ANC chief representative in Uganda. Former member of the ANC NEC and the SACP central committee.

● Ospa Shadrack Khumalo ("Africa Nkwe"), former commander and commissar at Quatro.

● Some of Mr Mandela's body-

guards were allegedly involved in abuses, including "Kingsley", "Mountain" and MB "Jomo" Mavuso.

● Peter Raboroko, former security chief in Zambia.

● Dan Mashego, chief of staff at Quatro.

● Lawrence Pietersen, a security officer at ANC headquarters, who has experienced attempts on his life since his return to South Africa.

● "Wille Williams", real surname Motsweni, a senior officer in ANC security headquarters.

● "Professor" also known as Pro, a Tswana former camp commander of Quatro.

● "Soweto" (married to the sister of Nobleman Nxumalo, "Mzala", who wrote *Chief with a Double Agenda* about Chief Mangosuthu Buthe).

● "Johnson" who rose from being a guard to camp commander at Quatro.

● "Sizwe Mkhonto" now with ANC PWV directorate of security and intelligence.

● John Redi security director until 1968.

● Dieter Mbons, former head of security for Angola.

● "Nkosi", who occupies a senior position in ANC security headquarters. He was not much older than 18 when he became the first commander of Quatro after training in East Germany and the Soviet Union.

All the former security chiefs of Quatro were involved in torture, former detainees claim, their code names are "Pale", "Captain" and "Vuki" who both died under mysterious circumstances, and "Splinks", who also now works at ANC headquarters. The Sunday Times was not able to establish further details about these individuals.

October 25 1992

NEWS ROUND-UP

ANC 'not capable of governing'

S/Times 25/10/92 (11A)

THE ANC "does not have the capacity to govern", a member of the ANC's National Executive Committee has conceded.

"There are no cadres ready to govern... we need to train them," said Thozamile Botha, who is head of the ANC's department of local and regional government and planning. His blunt words were delivered on Friday to delegates at a conference entitled "Towards a democratic sub-national government".

Mr Botha said it was not enough to be able to run institutions; the ANC also had to "run them efficiently. We have to empower ourselves to be able to enter the system".

"We need town clerks, heads of departments, engineers and councillors who know how to take decisions and for all these things people need training."

S/Times 25/10/92 University of Natal

Pressure on govt as ANC admits brutality

By **MONWABISI** *clip news*
NOMADOLO 25/10/92

THE ANC's recently released commission report on "staggering brutalities" in its detention camps has drawn widespread reaction.

The report is likely to feature prominently in any future elections and has put pressure on the government to "hang its dirty linen in public".

ANC president Nelson Mandela said this week the organisation accepted "collective responsibility" for the abuses.

Peter Vale, director of the Centre for Southern African Studies at the University of the

Western Cape, said while it was good for the ANC to have instituted investigations, it now put pressure on the government to follow suit.

Vale added that the ANC's initiative set an "important precedent".

"In a way the ANC is saying to the government 'If we can do it, why can't you?'" Vale said.

The conservative US-based International Freedom Foundation said in a statement: "When elections are held in the not-too-distant future, the names of individuals directly involved in severe human rights transgressions may well appear on ANC elec-

tion lists." (11A)

Wits University political studies lecturer, Dr Philip Frankel, agreed that the report placed pressure on the government to rid itself of allegations of atrocities.

It was good for the leadership to accept "collective responsibility", said Jill Wentzel of the South African Institute of Race Relations.

Former Quatro inmate and leader of the Returned Exiled Co-Ordinating Committee, Mwezi Twala, said he was relieved that the organisation had finally accepted that widespread tortures had taken place.

However, he said it was "unfair" that innocent men like Walter Sisulu and Nelson Mandela - whom he described as men of integrity - had to assume responsibility for acts they never committed.

Twala vowed that he would not rest until those involved in atrocities were "purged" from the organisation.

In a statement, Azapo said though it was aware that there were infiltrations into liberation movements by the "white settler colonialist regime", the organisation did not believe the ANC should use that as "... an excuse for brutal actions against innocent people".

Digging into the entrails

By **QUINTON RHODES**

THE ANC's report of the commission of inquiry into abuses of power reads in a depressingly familiar way.

Brutality and the stupidity of unbridled power mixed in more or less equal measure; deprivation of food and sleep; long periods in the hell of solitary confinement; detention for periods of up to four years without ever resulting in a trial; extended tortures; confessions extracted by torture including suffocation of the victims, burying them alive, hanging them upside down and beating the soles of their feet and burning them with candles.

But mainly the report lists a bread-and-butter brutality of often unprovoked beatings which just go on and on.

It reads pretty much like the news on any given day in past decades. Only this time the shoe is on the other foot; this is a report commissioned by the ANC into allegations of torture within ANC prison camps. The torturers are not the security police but ANC cadres and the victims not those suspected of furthering the aims of the ANC, but those within the ranks suspected of furthering the aims of the apartheid State.

The irony is inescapable. But there is a difference: The report of the "Commission of Enquiry into Complaints by Former African National Congress Prisoners and Detainees" was commissioned by the organisation itself.

And, though responding to public concern - it is in part an exercise in damage control - it does not read as a cover-up of the order we have come to expect from government-appointed commissions; it finds the organisation guilty as charged.

At least within its own

terms of reference, the report - prepared by advocates Louis Skweyiya and Gilbert Marcus and ANC functionary Bridget Mambanda with evidence presented by an independent lawyer - pulls few punches.

Prompted by allegations made by a group of 32 former ANC detainees, who later constituted themselves as the fiercely anti-ANC Returned Exiles Committee under the patronage of Inkatha and the leadership of suspected police agent Patrick Hlongwane, the commission invited both loyal ANC members and dissidents to present evidence of abuses in detention.

While the REC refused officially to participate in what it labelled a "tame commission", the evidence of 11 of its members, as well as that of five serving ANC members and various members of the ANC's leadership corps, was heard.

Largely because of the consistency of evidence presented before it, the commission was left in no doubt at all that the substance of the allegations were true. It found unambiguously that serious violations routinely took place in the prison camps despite the ANC's commitment to the Geneva Convention and its own code of conduct - which specifies that detention should aim at re-education rather than punishment.

The code also states that torture should never be practised, that life and limb should at all times be respected, and that the principles of justice should at all times guide ANC members' conduct.

Yet the picture which emerges of the ANC's specially constituted Quatro camp - set up to house those suspected of being agents of the SA regime - is of a place of unrelenting and unredeemed horror.

Food was inadequate,



Names of those implicated

THE Weekly Mail this week published a list of names of people it said were involved in abuses in the ANC's camps.

- **Mzwandile "Mzwai" Pillso**, NEC member until last year, head of the security department until 1985, and now head of manpower;
- **Andrew Masondo**, NEC member and SACP central committee member until 1985, now chief representative in Uganda;
- **Thami Zulu (Muzi Ngwenya)**, former commander of Camalundi camp and MK head in Swaziland. He was detained from 1988-9 and died of suspected poisoning soon after his release;
- **Morris Seabelo**, the one-time Quatro camp commander and chief of security in Angola who died mysteriously in Lesotho in 1985;

mask" in which a hollowed out pawpaw shell was pushed over the face of the detainee until

breathing was impossible. Another practice - psychologically as much as physically cruel - was

- **"Africa Nkwe" (Oups Shadrack Khumalo)**, former Quatro commissar and now a security official in the ANC's PWV headquarters.
- **"Cyril Burton"**, former Quatro official;
- **"Sizwe Mkhonto"**, former Quatro commander and now in the ANC's directorate of intelligence and security (PWV region);
- **Griffiths Seboni**, former senior Quatro camp official;
- **"Itumeleng"**, senior security department official who once worked in Quatro;
- **"MK Doctor"**, MK security official in Tanzania;
- **MB Mavuso ("Jomo")**, currently Nelson Mandela's bodyguard and based at the ANC's Shell House headquarters;

known as "slaughter" in which a detainee was thrown into a pit. As he scabbled to get out, the

guards would throw heaps of soil over him.

Evidence was also presented of detainees being

Such abuses were justified by the need to extract information and confessions from the detainees. And as the report notes, such confessions flowed free and fast, so unrelenting were the means used to arrive at them.

And, as the report again notes, the confessions were as often as not useless: instances are recorded of detainees confessing to "killing" people they had never met or who were still very much alive. In one memorable instance, a detainee was shown to have confessed (under his nom de guerre) to having murdered himself.

Considering the evidence the commissioners conclude with a comprehensive set of recommendations.

These include:

- That an independent structure be set up to investigate and act upon abuses not dealt with by the commission and the whole matter be laid open, as State President De Klerk would say, to the bone;
- That alleged murders and disappearances within the prison camps be further investigated;
- That the names of those detainees who were never brought to trial be immediately and unequivocally cleared;
- That financial compensation be provided to victims of prison camp abuses, and medical and psychiatric care be made available;
- That those guards and ANC members guilty of violations of human rights be identified and made accountable for their actions. Especially at issue here are serving members of the ANC's security department frequently named by witnesses before the commission (see box story); and
- That the ANC be seen to be making public the shame in its history and thereby showing its accountability to the public.

The report is in many ways a fine and honest document, but we should not therefore suspend criticism. The only offender named is Mzwai Pillso, head of security until 1986. Present incumbents in senior positions are given a more or less clean bill of health, and, though the report does note failure to root out abuses and the condoning of abuses by the leadership, one is still left with a sense that a certain amount of scapegoating is being performed.

At the same time the fact that the ANC has refused to release the names of offenders, while understandable in the short term - as the report notes, they have not been given an opportunity to defend themselves - will need to be reversed if the organisation is really to come out smelling of roses.

It should not be forgotten that whether or not it was designed to do this, the report has served the ANC very effectively.

Firstly, the release has largely pre-empted and neutralised the effect of an avowedly hostile commission of inquiry being sponsored by the right wing International Freedom Foundation.

But more immediately, in the timing of its release, it has thrown into a sharp and unflattering relief attempts by De Klerk to push a general no-questions-asked amnesty through an uncharacteristically resistant tricameral parliament.

While De Klerk is seen to be trying to cover up the dark past of his security forces and government, the ANC is demonstrating its own willingness to seriously examine and redeem itself.

Meanwhile, De Klerk's undignified parliamentary *schlepp* has caused a drain of support from foreign governments who initially supported his reformist moves.

forced to crawl through colonies of red ants, sometimes with pork fat smeared on their bodies to make the ants even more savage.

Then there were the beatings, often on the soles of the victims' feet, where all the nerves in the body terminate, or burning a victims' soles with candles, and the near drownings ...

The guards at Quatro may not have had the specially constructed professional torture equipment their counterparts in Pretoria possessed, but they improvised with gusto and they proved themselves to be most enthusiastic amateurs.

Squatter areas to dominate ANC poll?

Sunday Times (Cape metro)

25/10/92

11A 
Sunday Times Reporter

SQUATTER areas seem set to dominate the regional conference of the ANC, scheduled to take place in Cape Town next weekend.

Representation at the conference is weighted in favour of paid-up membership. Township branches, particularly in squatter areas, have tens of thousands of paid-up members and ANC branches in Crossroads, Browns Farm and Khayelitsha have recently held a huge recruitment and debt-collecting drive. The Crossroads branch alone has more than 13 000 members.

Delegates from these branches will be able to decide the leadership and direction of the ANC in the Western Cape.

Leaders who were effectively ousted from power in elections last year could re-emerge. According to sources, squatter leaders have patched up their differences with "old guard" civic leaders like the region's former chairman Mr Christmas Tinto and former secretary Mr Amos Lengesi. Former treasurer Mr Bulelani Ngcuka also appears poised to make a comeback.

All three are in the running for the position of vice-chair — vacated by Mr Archie Sibeko due to ill health earlier this year.

Power

Current chairman Dr Allan Boesak and secretary Mr Tony Yengeni are likely to be re-elected as is assistant-secretary Mr Willie Hofmeyr. Also in the running for these top positions are Ms Hilda Ndude, former vice-chair of the region, and Nyanga youth leader Mr Dinga Skwebu.

Mr Franklin Sonn, rector of the Peninsula Technicon and Mr Jan van Eck, ANC member and MP for Claremont, are also likely to be elected.

Squatter leaders who could feature on the new REC include Mr Alfred Siphika of Nyanga Extension/Browns Farm, Mr Jeffrey Nongwe, who ousted Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana from power in Crossroads, Browns Farm leader Mr Christopher Tolse, and Western Cape United Squatters Association leader Mr Enoch Madywabe.

A labour grouping within the ANC is understood to favour the election of Cosatu's chairman in the Western Cape, Mr Johnny Malebo, and South African Municipal Workers' Union leader Mr Salie Manie as well as Mr Enrico Fourie, a former education officer for Cosatu, now employed at the University of the Western Cape.

Mr Vincent Diba, who has played a prominent role in conflict mediation in the region, is likely to be re-elected as are Mr Basil Davidson, Mr Cameron Dugmore, Mr Leruma Kalako, Ms Nomaindia Mfeketo, Mr Ebrahim Rassool and Mr Johnny de Lange.

PAC will not disband army

THE South African government failed yesterday to force the Pan Africanist Congress to disband its military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army.

Stimes 25/10/92

Political voices of absolute optimism

THE PAC's Benny Alexander predicts his movement will win SA's first ever one-person, one-vote election hands down.

He told *Barometer* the ANC would take second place and the NP third. (11A) (C) C/Pren 25/10/92

The SACP's Essop Pahad said an ANC-led electoral front would win with a 70 percent minimum.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha said: "We only lack a million to get 50 percent of the vote."

The New Right's Koos van der Merwe believes that when moderates unite in an anti-ANC coalition they could defeat the ANC.

These are the political voices to be heard in the November issue of *Barometer*, which spotlights how South African political parties think they will fare in the event of an election.

Another voice is that of the DP's Tony Leon who points out that his party stands at the centre of South African politics and that places it on the right of the ANC and left of the NP.

"The advantage the DP holds over all parties is that they are completely unsullied by violence," said Leon.

Inkatha secretary general Ben Ngubane regards the NP and the ANC as its major competitors, but points out that the Inkatha advantage over the NP is that the IFP is well-rooted in black constituencies "and is also attracting increasing and significant white support".

The NP's biggest competition, according to Constitutional Development Deputy Minister Tertius Delport, is the ANC.

Mandela at LP summit

STimes (Cape news) 25/10/97
THE Labour Party will host a Patriotic Front summit of Codesa participants in Port Elizabeth next week when the alliance meets to discuss its future in negotiations.

Labour's national PRO, Mr Peter Hendrickse, confirmed yesterday that the meeting will be addressed by ANC president Nelson Mandela and by the Labour Party leader, Rev Allan Hendrickse.

(11A)
The last "summit" was held on August 18 in KwaNdebele.

Kaunda's daunting new task

25/10/92
Oppress

By THEMBA KHUMALO

KENNETH Kaunda's mission to this country is a tough one.

He arrived last Saturday to try and reconcile the ANC and Inkatha.

His task ran into snags on the very first day of his arrival when Johannesburg reverberated from the impi warcy of "Usuthu..."

Semi-naked Inkatha supporters in traditional garb brazenly carried sharpened weapons in open defiance of the government's ban on traditional weapons in public.

The former Zambian president is here at the invitation of the National Peace Committee

to broker a long-standing stalemate between the two warring parties.

He has come at a time when relations between Mandela and Buthelezi are at their lowest ebb to date.

Thousands of their supporters, among them women and children, continue to die in Natal and the Transvaal as the two leaders publicly tear at each other's throats.

The last time they spoke face-to-face was in April 1991 in an urgent meeting to save deteriorating relations among their supporters.

Attempts to arrange another meeting between Mandela and

Buthelezi fell through after they attacked each other at the UN Security Council.

The last straw came after the signing of the Record of Understanding between Mandela and State President FW de Klerk in Kempton Park late last month.

The document stated that the two had agreed that in order to quell the raging township violence all dangerous weapons, including cultural weapons, must be banned and hostels fenced with barbed wire, restricting the free movement of the inmates.

This angered Buthelezi and barely 24 hours later he rejected the pact and withdrew Inkatha from any multilateral talks for

democracy. He also vowed to urge his supporters to defy the ban en masse.

Kaunda has been called in to end the stalemate. His international image and reputation as a peacemaker in Africa, added to the fact that he readily accepted his defeat without qualms during the democracy elections in his country last year, are factors that have elevated him to the status of a "suitable man for the job".

While he allowed various liberation movements from SA, Zimbabwe and Mozambique to launch military operations from his country, Kaunda is known to have encouraged their leaders to talk to their enemies.



PEACEMAKER... Former Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda (centre), flanked by Mandela and Sisulu at a party hosted by Oliver Tambo recently. Pic: TLADI KHUMALE

Suicide is not ruled out, says Azanla

STRANGE circumstances surround the death of two Azanian National Liberation Army guerrillas in a grenade blast in Naledi early this week.

Mongameli Gxowa, 26, and Shaun Tshume, 23, died when a grenade exploded on Monday night.

Police have confirmed the incident and said one man died on the scene and the second died in hospital. (11A) (b)

While details of the explosion remain unclear, a source said a "suicide attack on the enemy forces could not be ruled out".

He added it was not unusual for Azanla combatants to kill themselves to avoid being captured by the enemy which might lead to the arrest of other guerrillas and the destruction of underground units. CIP/125/110/92

In March 1991, Azanla guerrilla Thabang "Cobra" Mothlodise died with a Lebowa policeman after he detonated a grenade. At his funeral speakers told of how Mothlodise had vowed that he would rather kill himself than be at the mercy of his capturers.

ANC to challenge KwaZulu in court

By S'BU MNGADI

CP/News 25/10/92
access to public facilities.

WHILE Inkatha defiantly marched through Johannesburg last Saturday – courtesy of the new SA – the old SA remained firmly entrenched back in KwaZulu.

Authorities in the homeland have only granted the ANC permission to hold two public meetings in KwaZulu north of Thukela River since the ANC was unbanned on February 2 1990.

Northern Natal ANC secretary Senzo Mchunu told a press conference in Durban on Friday that KwaZulu authorities' political intolerance continued to deprive non-Inkatha residents of free political activity in the homeland.

The ANC-Cosatu-SACP alliance began preparing on Friday to lodge an urgent Supreme Court application to prevent KwaZulu from blocking non-Inkatha members'

Meanwhile, a special meeting of the Natal/KwaZulu Regional Dispute Resolution Committee resolved to refer the issue to the National Peace Secretariat (NPS) to be heard at a national meeting of the National Peace Accord (NPA) signatories soon.

According to Peace Secretariat chairman MC Pretorius, the dispute resolution meeting was also attended by Peace Secretariat chairman Antonie Giildenhuys, KwaZulu interior minister Stephen Sithebe, northern Natal ANC chairman Dr Aaron Ndlovu and US observers Angela King and Ismat Steiner.

Pretorius said the national signatories' meeting would negotiate the terms and conditions for making use of venues and find a solution to the recognition of tribal and local government structures.

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'I'll sue Hani'

ANC dissident Mwezi Twala announced that he intends instituting a civil claim for defamation against SACP secretary-general Chris Hani.

Twala, leader of the Returned Exiles Co-ordinating Committee, said his claims of massive torture in ANC detention camps had been vindicated. *ci p a e n 25/10/92*

He said Hani had accused him of "stealing blankets in Mozambique" and had implicated him in the killing of ANC mutineers in 1984.

'Stick your hand up if you're a good cop'

C/P News 25/10/92

By THEMBA KHUMALO

11A

THE agreement between the Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union (Popcru) and Apla that the guerrilla movement should not attack union members during their military operations in the townships is clouded with controversy.

Popcru general secretary Peter Nkuna this week tried to explain to City Press how PAC soldiers would identify Popcru members during their operations, but the process seemed complicated and confusing.

He said Apla would work closely with PAC local structures such as student bodies and civic associations to identify "good" policemen or Popcru members who lived in each township.

Those policemen would be introduced to local communities and would in turn be "known" to the guerrillas so that they were exempted from possible attacks.

When the "good" police were sent out on patrols, they should inform PAC structures in those areas so they did not fall victim to Apla attacks.

But the agreement seemed not to have taken into account the fact that in terms of the the police rules to ensure security and secrecy, espe-

cially among black members of the force, policemen are usually not told in advance about where they would patrol, raid or man roadblocks.

In some cases they are simply issued with the necessary equipment, including guns, and ordered into vans without being told where they are going to until they are at or near the scene where the operation will commence.

But Nkuna, an imposing young prison warder at Johannesburg Prison, conceded that very few of Popcru's 5 000 paid-up members were policemen.

"Because of intimidation by white officers and certain regulations regarding the police force, most policemen are either reluctant or scared to join Popcru," said Nkuna.

Popcru drew most of its membership from black prison warders who were frustrated by the racial discrimination and repression that took place in prisons, he said.

The Apla/Popcru agreement came in the wake of increased attacks on black policemen.

A man calling himself Karl Zimbiri and claiming to be the Apla commander in the country, has claimed responsibility for many of the attacks.

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

SOUTH AFRICA HAS MOVED TWO steps closer to a political solution: the Government admits it is only a player and Africa is to ensure genuine unity of liberation movements.

This view emerged at the end of a two-day summit between the Government and the Pan Africanist Congress in Gaborone, Botswana, at the weekend.

This is the picture which the meeting painted:

Firstly, the Convention for a Democratic South Africa is finally dead and will not be resurrected.

Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha, who led the Government's delegation, pronounced Codesa's death. It was not truly representative and therefore could only lead to more conflict, he said.

Secondly, the African National Congress, a major player in the outcome of the country's future, has no alternative but to forge a truly patriotic front with the PAC and other liberation movements.

Thirdly, and most importantly, the rest of Africa, and indeed Southern Africa - the frontline states - are fast getting impatient with the disunity of the *black* liberation organisations, especially the discord between the PAC and ANC.

These two enjoy official recognition by the Organisation of African Unity which is currently exerting pressure for the reconstruction of the Patriotic/United Front of the liberation movements.

In fact, the OAU's ad-hoc committee on Southern Africa has set aside November 4 for a summit between PAC president Clarence Makwetu and ANC president Nelson Mandela. Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe will host the meeting in Bulawayo.

Mandela's attendance has been confirmed and this is in spite of the ANC's reluctance.

Therefore, the agreement reached by the PAC and the Government at the Gaborone summit has not only broadened the negotiations forum, but has thrown the ball into the ANC's court: to either grasp at the African initiative to help restart the patriotic front or to again reluctantly forge unity with the PAC and Azanian People's Organisation, for starters.

"Substantial progress was made in identifying common ground in respect of important elements of the negotiating process," said the joint statement of the PAC

Two steps closer to genuine unity

■ EXERTING PRESSURE Rest of Africa is getting impa-

tient with disunity among black liberation movements:

and Government.

The meeting also buried any inkling of future bilateral agreements, either between the Government and the PAC or ANC or even Inkatha.

All that remains is the setting up of an alternative to Codesa. The mechanics will be worked out by the major players themselves, either alone or with the help or pressure from the African states.

Opening the summit, which she also chaired, Botswana's Foreign Minister Dr Gaositwe Chiepe said: "We believe a democratic South Africa free from the grizzly hold of apartheid and built on mutual trust and mutual respect has a bright future for all its people and for this region generally..."

"We welcome the decision of the South African Government and PAC to hold direct talks in our country. As for the form, detail and outcome of such negotiations we defer to the wisdom of all the South Africans themselves to determine."

These are diplomatic words. On the ground, though, "ordinary" Botswana are angry and fed up.

A journalist said: "Stop the violence and talk, then we will begin to respect you again. Going on like this we might even begin to absolve the South African regime of blame."

And for the Government and PAC gains were registered, albeit at different levels.

The Government is confident the PAC is now irrevocably in the negotiations process.

It acknowledged that the PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, had struck serious blows to the security forces.

To prove this, Botha's delegation also consisted of SA Police expert General J le Roux who, as the Government's adviser, told the PAC leaders in detail of Apla's alleged offen-

sive.

Secondly, the PAC has entrenched its existence as a major political factor; it told the Government the question of armed struggle was not negoti-

able and Botha admitted they could not sway the PAC from its stance of not doing away with the bullet before the ballot.

Thirdly, the PAC has won a guarantee from the Government that it was committed to an elected constituent assembly to draw up a nonracial democratic constitution.

On this point the Government has also persuaded the PAC to consider its position on federalism and regionalism.

PAC deputy president and delegation leader Mr Dikgang Mosenke said later that they could not swing the other party away from that position and the issue would be a question for multilateral negotiations.

It is, therefore, beyond doubt that the outcome of the planned Mandela/Makwetu's Bulawayo summit will have quite an impact on the negotiations process as Africa seems to be "forcing" the liberation movements to close ranks or face isolation and even scorn.

Sowetan 26/10/92

11/8

ANC needs huge drive for funds

1117
Aug 26/10/92
The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — The African National Congress has to launch a huge fundraising drive to raise at least R300 million for the forthcoming election campaign.

Dr Diliza Mji, ANC Southern Natal regional treasurer said this at the Win-Win ANC raffle prize presentation at Durban's Ecumenical Centre at the weekend.

He said that, since its unbanning, the ANC was faced with a situation in which funds from its traditional funders were diminishing.

This was because of the changed political scenario in the country which recently had led the world to see the ANC as part of the forthcoming interim government.

Dr Mji said that, in an interim government situation, the ANC would be regarded as a political party and countries such as Denmark, Finland and Sweden, who were the organisation's traditional funders, would be curbed by their own laws which barred them from funding political parties.

The Win-Win competition was launched nationally in June this year as part of the fundraising campaign.

ANC official shot five times

■ Youths demanded to see Bongosa Maisela before they killed him:

By Isaac Moledi *Isaac Moledi*

26/10/92.

AN OFFICIAL of the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vaal region of the African National Congress was shot dead by two men at his Soweto home on Saturday night.

Mr Bongosa Maisela of 2130 Dlamini, who served in the ANC PWV media division, was shot five times in the neck, temple and mouth on Saturday at 10pm.

ANC PWV media spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa said Maisela was killed at his house by two youths who demanded to see him urgently.

No arrests made

Soweto police spokesman Lieutenant Eugene Henning confirmed the killing, saying the motive was unknown. Police were investigating the incident.

The attackers used a 7,65mm pistol.

Lt Henning said no arrests had been made.

11A

the nation in brief

Hogan not re-elected

THE secretary of the ANC PWV region, Ms Barbara Hogan, was the only member of the former executive committee who was not re-elected at yesterday's elections.

Her position went to Mr Paul Mashatile. Mr Tokyo Sexwale and Mr Mathole Motshekga, who were the chairman and deputy chairman respectively, retained their positions of the ANC's most powerful region.

Mr Cassim Saloojee retained his post as treasurer-general. He was also unopposed.

Sowetan 26/10/92

(11A)

Plea to ANC, IFP leaders

■ 26 die in Folweni in attack
and counter-attack

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

POLITICAL leaders yesterday implored ANC leader Mr Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to meet after a weekend of slaughter in Natal.

At least 20 people were killed during a traditional celebration on Saturday night.

Police confirmed that 15 gunmen with AK-47 rifles stormed into a kraal in the Mpesheni reserve near Folweni and opened fired.

The attack was allegedly a retaliation for an attack on Friday night in which six teenagers were killed.

President FW de Klerk yesterday pledged the support of the South African Police to the KwaZulu police in their investigations.

He also said the Goldstone Commission would be requested to broaden and intensify its investigations of violence in Natal.

"I furthermore believe that Mandela and Buthelezi owe it to the country, and more specifically, to the people of Natal, to meet as soon as possible," De Klerk said.

The PAC said a meeting between Mandela and Buthelezi was now a "a necessity rather than an option".

Cast calls for immigrants probe

■ Appeal to organisations for support:

By Isaac Moledi

THE Civic Associations of the Southern Transvaal yesterday called for the setting up of a commission of inquiry to investigate the activities of the Department of Home Affairs. *Sowetan 27/10/92*

Cast also appealed to black political organisations to join it in the campaign.

It said it had become suspicious of the department because of the growing number of immigrants, especially when South Africa was approaching democratic elections for the first time.

"While prevailing conditions in the country today dictate that the Government must call for democratic elections, this importation is seen as a dirty attempt to buy elections.

"We send a special call to all liberation movements to vigilantly address the issue and see how best it can be resolved," Cast said.

It condemned the setting aside of large tracts of land for "exploitation" while "our country faces serious challenges to house the homeless and create jobs for the unemployed".

ANC names its executive ^{11A}

THE PWV region of the ANC yesterday issued a full list of names of new members of its executive committee elected at its congress in Johannesburg which ended on Sunday. *Sowetan 27/10/92*

They are Tokyo Sexwale (chairman), Advocate Mathole Motshekga (deputy chairman), Paul Mashatile (secretary general), Obed Bapela (deputy secretary-general), Cassim Saloojee (treasurer). The 20 additional members are Amos Masondo, Carl Niehaus, Jessie Duarte, Aubrey Mokoena, Tiego Moseneke, Bavumile Vilakazi, Barbara Hogan, Janet Love, Professor Ismael Mohammed, Ronnie Mamoepa, Mondli Gungubele, Dr Abe Nkomo, Ben Turok, Dr Frene Ginwala, Dave Dalling, Hazy Sibanyoni, Steward Ngwenya, Mary Metcalfe, Giles Mulholland and Joan Fubbs.

FW's testimony dilemma ~~3A~~

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk is to launch a bid to set aside a subpoena calling him to testify as defence witness in the public violence trial of AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche and 14 other right-wingers. *Sowetan 27/10/92*

Terre'Blanche and his co-accused appeared in the Potchefstroom Regional Court earlier this month on charges of public violence following a clash between police and right-wingers in Ventersdorp on August 27 last year.

The "Battle of Ventersdorp" broke out at a meeting addressed by De Klerk and some of the accused have since issued a subpoena calling De Klerk to testify in their defence when their trial resumes on November 2.

Vaal Civic has had enough

THE Vaal Civic Association has dissolved its central executive committee because of constant pressure on office bearers caused by the violence in the Vaal Triangle during the past two months.

The VCA said yesterday an interim executive committee had been appointed to arrange for the election of a new executive committee. The interim committee's brief includes co-ordinating the VCA's normalisation task team whose duties were to normalise services in the Vaal and repair infrastructure destroyed in the upsurge of violence in the area. *(S)*

Sowetan 27/10/92

CT 2710192
Dalling gets

ANC post

Political Staff

FORMER Democratic Party MP Mr David Dalling has been elected to the ANC's regional executive in the PWV region — but Mrs Winnie Mandela has not.

They were among the 197 candidates who stood for positions on the executive at the weekend.

The results of the secret ballot, supervised by the Independent Mediation Services of South Africa, were released yesterday.

The top positions were unchanged, except for general-secretary. Mr Paul Mashatile replaced Ms Barbara Hogan.

Mr Tokyo Sexwale (chairman), Mr Mathole Motshekga (deputy-chairman) and Mr Obed Bapela (deputy secretary-general) retained their positions.

'Act like statesmen'

■ Tutu tells politicians to end violence and stop grandstanding and one-upmanship:

Sowetan Africa
News Service

Sowetan
28/10/92

HARARE - Archbishop Desmond Tutu has warned the South African Government, the ANC, PAC and Inkatha: "End violence now or have next to nothing to pick up when a post-apartheid society has been created."

Speaking at a news conference in Harare on Monday on the first day of the general assembly of the All Africa Conference of Churches of which he is president, Tutu said: "We should be saying to the political leadership of South Africa that we are going to end up with no one

enjoying the freedom for which so many sacrificed.

"Please stop your grandstanding, your brinkmanship, your one-upmanship and become statespersons, statesmen." Tutu said he would like to address South Africa's three main black political parties.

"So far, we have made calls to the South African Government to deal more effectively with the violence but we also have to address the ANC, the PAC and Inkatha and say to them: "For goodness sake, discipline your followers. Let them learn to tolerate differences." he said.

11A



PAC leader Mr Dikgang Moseneke addresses the Press with South African Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha in Gaborone last week.

Plummeting on Africa's chart

■ South Africans are reviled by their African 'brothers' for being unable to end the violence:

Sowetan 26/10/92

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

THE young man behind the counter flashes a broad smile that says: "Welcome to Botswana, sir." But the expression on his face changes as soon as we answer his next question: "We are from South Africa."

Naturally, one would expect outsiders to sympathise with our pathetic lot because of the gnashing of teeth and the weeping.

But no, this smile and many others, I would realise later, vanished because of contempt.

Africans, to put it mildly, are getting fed-up with South Africans, especially with the black liberation movements.

A journalist covering last week's Gaborone summit between the Pan Africanist Congress and the South African Government told me:

"You guys must just shut up. You can't even agree on a basic thing like finding a common solution to end the violence."

'I thought he was crazy'

I thought he was crazy and also discourteous.

As if this was not enough. I was lamenting the fact that the rand had very little value even in Botswana, which is about the size of Transvaal, when a man I did not know said to my face: "Stop the violence and we will start respecting you again."

How the hell can he speak like that? The man is obviously ignorant of the disparate nature of South African politics.

I concluded that he was probably born many years after his country got independence from the British. Does he know what apartheid has done to our minds, our very being? Man!

"No, no," said another journalist, "the problem can be solved by talking. I mean, what's stopping the African National Congress from discussing their differences with the Inkatha Freedom Party if they are genuine about stopping the blood from flowing?"

Forces of destabilisation

"Forget the 'third force'. It exists throughout southern Africa. In fact, the forces of destabilisation exist across the continent."

In essence he said that while Botswana citizens understood our dilemma, they felt liberation movements here emphasised the differences rather than accord.

A couple of years ago a colleague returned from a conference of photographic journalists in Harare and told this story:

"At the end of the three-day seminar I was asked to thank the organisers on behalf of my South African colleagues present. I had not even finished my open-

ing remarks when I was shouted down: "Tell us about apartheid, you black boer!"

My colleague said he felt his African counterparts were despising him because they thought he was not concerned about fighting to end the system.

How else could he justify affording luxuries such as attending conferences while his country was burning?

You can feel this growing disdain everywhere you go in Africa.

In 1990 this conversation took place between a soldier at Yamoussoukrou Airport in the Ivory Coast and me:

"Are you black or white?"

Obviously, I thought the man was mad. "Of course I am black."

Same plane with FW

"Then how can you afford to fly in the same plane with the apartheid President?" He was referring to FW de Klerk during his visit to that country.

"I don't understand. How does my colour come into this?"

"You see, we are told that in South Africa whites are wealthy and live in proper houses, while blacks are poor and have insufficient shelter. Therefore you are white, a beneficiary of apartheid."

"I still don't see how you arrived at this analogy."

"You see, we are Africans and do not talk about black and white. So if you say you are also Africans why don't you speak with one voice against apartheid, especially if you are agreeable that it is a political evil?"

I thought this was rather far-fetched and reminded this soldier that he was living under a dictator who suppressed freedom of association, dissent, etc.

Pro-democracy movement

He said: "Well, dictators don't last. Haven't you heard of the growing multiparty democracy movement in Africa?"

The man was right on that one.

On a more political note, the Organisation of African Unity wants to see black unity, at least a principled united front of liberation movements, to tackle the Government in union.

The constituent assembly is one of the unifying issues between the ANC, PAC and Azapo.

And, for goodness sakes, they all agree that the violence is bleeding the black nation to death!

And finally, if the ANC and PAC do not exploit their points of commonality, we may as well forget about being free. And so it goes for the rest of the continent.



PAC leader Mr Dikgang Moseneke addresses the Press with South African Foreign Minister Mr Pk Botha in Gaborone last week.

Plummeting on Africa's chart

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Sowetan 28/10/92

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26/10/82
CWAIS

PAC to meet govt in SA

THE PAC would meet government again within weeks — this time on SA soil — and registration of voters for a constituent assembly could begin by December, PAC secretary for external affairs Gora Ebrahim, said in Harare yesterday. (11A) ~~(11A)~~
He declared Codesa dead, and said a new negotiating forum should be in place by February, the Ziana news agency reported.

Jordan to open ANC congress

THE ANC's regional conference in Cape Town this weekend will be opened by the organization's head of information, Dr Pallo Jordan.

The ANC's Western Cape chairman, Dr Allan Boesak, who is expected to be re-elected, will also speak at the opening of the conference in the Cape Town Civic Centre on Saturday morning.

Although Dr Boesak, regional secretary Mr Tony Yengeni, and assistant secretary Mr Willie Hofmeyr are all expected to retain their positions, a new vice-chairman will be elected to replace Mr Archie Sibeko, who is to retire for health reasons. (17)

Patriotic Front meets today

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela will deliver a "state of the nation" address when members of the Patriotic Front meet here today.

The 11 delegations attending the Patriotic Front meeting will try to provide Mr Mandela and the ANC with a mandate for the "bosheraad" with the government later this month. (11A) CT 28/10/92

'Ambush killers, victim met at talks'

MARITZBURG. — African National Congress regional executive member Mr John Jeffreys has "no doubt" that the killers of ANC official Mr Reggie Hadebe were at the meeting they attended in Ixopo only hours earlier.

Lawyer Mr Jeffreys said the concentration of bullet holes on Mr Hadebe's side of the car indicated that the attackers "knew who they were going for".

Mr Hadebe was deputy chairman of

the Natal Midlands region.

Southern Natal chairman Mr Jeff Radebe said ANC intelligence sources had discovered a hit-list, compiled in Ulundi, of ANC leaders in Natal who were to be assassinated.

Mr Hadebe's name was on the list.

Inkatha Central Committee member Mr Walter Felgate dismissed the allegation, saying: "That's absurd.

"If the ANC has discovered a hit-list, it is astonishing it hasn't handed

it to the National Peace Committee."

ANC northern Natal spokesman Mr Bongani Msomi claimed Mr Hadebe and ANC intelligence officials had been investigating alleged Renamo and KwaZulu Police involvement in the training of Inkatha members at Mandleni camp.

Deputy Minister of Law and Order Mr Gert Myburgh has announced that

a special team has been assigned to investigate the Hadebe murder. Also, a R25 000 reward has been offered for information leading to the killers.

Members of the Maritzburg Murder and Robbery Unit and a forensics team from Pretoria combed the scene of the ambush for clues yesterday.

Police also compiled a list of all who had attended the peace meeting at Ixopo. — Own Correspondent and Sapa

CT 29/10/92

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Interim govt soon, predicts Manuel

DURBAN — The ANC was optimistic that political negotiations could be on track by next January and an election by next September, ANC economic spokesman Trevor Manuel said at the SA Chamber of Business convention yesterday.

He said unless the political process was speeded up it would not be possible to inspire economic confidence and warned that once that confidence slipped away it would be very difficult to restore.

The adoption of business's desire for a federal system of government would "delay and confuse" progress towards a political settlement.

Namibia was the electoral example the ANC wanted to follow. National elections had been followed by regional elections only two years later.

Own Correspondent

Manuel said foreigners were not interested in SA business because South Africans were not interested in local business. He went on to cite a company which had, he said, disturbed the financial and market so that it could buy a foreign company rather than investing in SA.

This, he said, indicated to foreigners how local business felt about the economic future of SA.

In response, the Durban chamber's Mike Norris said he hoped Manuel's adverse comments on spreading risk by investing abroad did not foreshadow the attitude of a future centralised government.

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2/1/82
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2/1/82

11A

Olive branch offered to IFP

Sowetan 29/10/92. ~~IFP~~ ~~ANC~~ ~~ANC~~ ~~ANC~~ 11A
PEACE PIPE National Peace Committee

wants ANC, IFP to meet to discuss violence:

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

THE National Peace Committee is planning a meeting - possibly within days - between ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to discuss the crisis in Natal.

NPC chairman Mr John Hall will meet Buthelezi today to invite him to such a meeting. Mandela has already accepted an invitation for talks involving signatories of the National Peace Accord.

The meeting will discuss the violence that is sweeping Natal, which led on Tuesday to the assassination of ANC Natal Midlands deputy chairman Mr Reggie Hadebe.

Hadebe was killed when the car in which he, ANC legal adviser Mr John Jeffries and executive member Mr Shakes Cele were travelling, was ambushed near Richmond.

The Cabinet met yesterday to discuss the crisis in Natal and the State Security Council will meet today to discuss measures that could be implemented to prevent the violence from escalating into civil war.

It is understood that State President FW de Klerk is considering sending troops into the region and possibly declaring parts of Natal "unrest areas".

De Klerk yesterday said he was shocked by Hadebe's murder.

The IFP said yesterday it was "very disturbed" by the killing.

"Though he was no friend of the IFP, we abhor this senseless killing."

De Klerk and Mandela lose support

BLACK confidence in President F W de Klerk has dropped significantly and ANC leader Nelson Mandela's popular status is diminishing, says a recent survey.

A poll conducted in September by the Omnichack division of Research Surveys found also that already nominal backing for Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi had dwindled and attitudes towards him had hardened.

Omnichack director Binky Kellas said the survey, which asked 500 black men whether they thought the three leaders were doing a good job, showed growing disillusionment with all three.

"The most dramatic slump in confidence is evident in the number of black

men who felt President De Klerk is not doing a good job. President De Klerk has clearly lost significant support among black men and faces a Herculean task to regain it," she said.

While Mandela still enjoyed the most confidence, his "yes" vote had fallen from 75% in January this year to 69%. De Klerk's had fallen from 60% last August to 27%.

This trend was particularly evident in the age group 18 to 24.

"Support for Chief Buthelezi has never been statistically significant, but the proportion of respondents who believe that he is not doing a good job has steadily grown since an August 1991 survey — from 69% to 76% in last month's results," Kellas said.

Omega De Ville
18k gold ladies and gents watch.
Scratch-resistant sapphire crystal.
Water-resistant.
Swiss made since 1848.

LLOYD COUTTS

"There clearly appears to have been a hardening of attitudes towards Chief Buthelezi, with the 'no' votes coming from those reluctant to commit themselves in earlier polls and those going for the 'don't know' option."

Negative opinions of all three were evident among younger respondents app-

roached during the survey.

"The message from this poll for the three key players is loud and clear.

"Black men are evidently growing tired of the politicians' vacillations, and feel the time for meaningful action has come."

The survey was conducted in the PWV area, Durban, Port Elizabeth and East London.

Our political staff re-

ports from Cape Town that Kellas said only 23% of those over 50 years old, 20% of Xhosa-speakers, 14% of those earning under R399 a month and 12% of those in East London thought De Klerk was doing a good job.

But 30% of Zulu-speakers, 32% of those earning more than R2 000 a month and 32% of those living in Durban thought he was doing a good job.



Royal Group Holdings Limited

(Reg No 88/05984/06)
(Incorporated in the Republic of South Africa)
("Royhold")

RESULTS

Shareholders of Royhold are referred to the audited results announcement of Royal Corporation Limited ("Royal").

Royhold has a 51,1% controlling shareholding in Royal, which shareholding is Royhold's sole asset and source of income.

Since Royhold has one share in issue for every share held by it in Royal, Royhold's earnings per share for the 12 months ended 31 August 1992 also amount to 46,0 cents per share.

THE ANC, once more, is being bombarded with advice to change itself into a "normal political party". It is, perhaps, a mark of our provincialism that this notion should be advanced with such enthusiasm.

As it happens, world-wide and across the spectrum, the "normal" party political form is the subject of considerable review or, often, simple disdain. Why?

Let's first dispose with a few local themes. It is simply nonsense to argue that the ANC will have to be a political party to fight elections. There are countless examples of broad political movements participating in electoral politics, from India's Congress to the FSLN in Nicaragua or the Gaullists in France.

Most of those who are arguing that the ANC should move from being a national liberation movement see this as a quick-fix for four specific concerns. If the ANC becomes a political party, they reason, it will:

- Have to disband MK;
- No longer get special international funding as a liberation movement;
- Have to end its distinctive, overlapping alliance with the SACP; and
- Have to end its involvement in mass action.

If you are hostile to the ANC, these are compelling reasons to advocate a radical change.

However, as far as the first two matters go, the organisational character of the ANC is incidental. What is central is speedy progress towards democratic transition. With an interim government of national unity in place, MK will have to be integrated into a new, representative army. With an interim government, special funding for one component of that government must surely fall away.

The alliance with the SACP and the question of mass action, however, belong to a wider discussion.

We stand on the threshold of multiparty democracy. That will be an enormous advance, which we must cherish and safeguard. But we must not delude ourselves that regular, multiparty elections are, on their own, the final word in democracy.

A mass base, not party politics, is ANC's best option

B/D/M 29/10/92.

(11A)

~~11A~~

JEREMY CRONIN

In the last US presidential election George Bush won what was described as a "landslide victory". He certainly demolished his Democratic rival, but only a paltry 27% of potential voters cast their votes for Bush. As Martin Wattenberg writes: "For nearly three decades the American public has been drifting steadily away from the two major parties... the parties are now perceived with almost complete indifference by a large proportion of the population." (*The Decline of American Political Parties 1952-1980*).

The Ross Perot phenomenon, referendums in western Europe, the Greens initiative in Germany, the anti-party politics of the pro-democracy movements in eastern Europe — all of these, and many more contradictory and disparate developments, indicate a growing unease with "normal party politics" in many parts of the world.

There can be no doubt that the bureaucratic communist parties of eastern Europe alienated their constituencies. But, admittedly to a different degree, the parliamentary parties of the West have also increasingly alienated their own broad constituencies.

These parties — moderate, left or conservative — have tended to become oligarchies narrowly focused on the hoopla of winning elections; or

on maintaining themselves in office. More and more, they have become self-serving bureaucracies. Not organisations fine-tuned to respond sensitively and rapidly to the needs of broad constituencies.

One of the first major symptoms of a dissatisfaction with this party-centred politics was the explosions of 1968. "There have only been two world revolutions," write Arrighi *et al* (*Antisystemic Movements*). "One took place in 1848. The second took place in 1968. Both were historic failures. Both transformed the world."

The year 1848 saw a struggle for popular sovereignty — "both within the nation (down with autocracy) and of the nations (self-determination)". 1848 established two lineages. The one was socialist, 1848 was the year *The Communist Manifesto* was written. The eventual social democratic and communist variants of the socialist lineage both trace themselves to this time. The other lineage, descending directly from 1848, runs down to Bandung and the Non-Aligned Movement. It is the lineage of the national liberation movement. Both these lineages gave rise to parties and movements centred on the struggle for state power.

1968 saw the emergence of a wide variety of new, or renovated social movements — students, black power, anti-racist, women, sexual preference, anti-war, environmental groups, and new trade unions. The year began with one of the high points of the older 1848 tradition, the Tet Offensive in Saigon (combining both the communist and the national liberation lineages).

But 1968 was much more about social movements that were less focused on state power. The epicentres of 1968 were not just the campuses, ghettos and red belt industrial suburbs of North America and of western and southern Europe; 1968 was also Mexico City, Tokyo and Prague. The relationship of these new social movements to political organisations and parties was, and has since been, complex and often fraught.

In some cases, like the German Greens, they have themselves launched into electoral politics. In Brazil several social movements and political tendencies united in a front formation called the Workers' Party (and nearly won the last presidential election). But in most cases these social movements exist (where they still persist) in a marginalised way, outside of "normal" politics.

In SA we have a relatively unique situation. To understand this we need

to remind ourselves of things we seldom, given our provincialism, notice.

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Our first elections should be for a constitution-making body. To write a democratic constitution we need to aggregate these forces (nationalist, socialist, mass democratic) without drowning out the fertile and counterbalancing plurality of tendencies they represent.

Beyond first elections our country will confront enormous tasks of reconstruction, nation-building and reconciliation. We will need an effective central government. But wide-scale alienation from the political process will be a disaster. We will also need strong, critically supportive grassroots involvement. Such involvement is also the best antidote to all the predictable tendencies towards bureaucratisation — both in the political organisations and in the state itself.

The collective energies that have emerged in the rolling mass action over the past decade-and-a-half are not a liability for the future, but a real asset. These energies, which have been largely oppositional, need to become increasingly developmental — mass mobilisation for adult literacy or for rural reconstruction, for example.

Once more, the name of the game will be aggregating, not homogenising, a plurality of forces. The ANC, whether for elections or for reconstruction, must remain a mass-based, mobilising, broad national liberation movement.

Cronin is a member of the ANC national executive committee and the SACP central committee.

THE ANC, once more, is being bombarded with advice to change itself into a "normal political party". It is, perhaps, a mark of our provincialism that this notion should be advanced with such enthusiasm.

As it happens, world-wide and across the spectrum, the "normal" party political form is the subject of considerable review or, often, simple disdain. Why?

Let's first dispose with a few local themes. It is simply nonsense to argue that the ANC will have to be a political party to fight elections. There are countless examples of broad political movements participating in electoral politics, from India's Congress to the FSLN in Nicaragua or the Gaullists in France.

Most of those who are arguing that the ANC should move from being a national liberation movement see this as a quick-fix for four specific concerns. If the ANC becomes a political party, they reason, it will:

- Have to disband MK;
- No longer get special international funding as a liberation movement;
- Have to end its distinctive, overlapping alliance with the SACP; and
- Have to end its involvement in mass action.

If you are hostile to the ANC, these are compelling reasons to advocate a radical change.

However, as far as the first two matters go, the organisational character of the ANC is incidental. What is central is speedy progress towards democratic transition. With an interim government of national unity in place, MK will have to be integrated into a new, representative army. With an interim government, special funding for one component of that government must surely fall away.

The alliance with the SACP and the question of mass action, however, belong to a wider discussion.

We stand on the threshold of multiparty democracy. That will be an enormous advance, which we must cherish and safeguard. But we must not delude ourselves that regular, multiparty elections are, on their own, the final word in democracy.

A mass base, not party politics, is ANC's best option

B/DAM 29/10/92.

11A

JEREMY CRONIN

In the last US presidential election George Bush won what was described as a "landslide victory". He certainly demolished his Democratic rival, but only a paltry 27% of potential voters cast their votes for Bush. As Martin Wattenberg writes: "For nearly three decades the American public has been drifting steadily away from the two major parties... the parties are now perceived with almost complete indifference by a large proportion of the population." (*The Decline of American Political Parties 1952-1980*).

The Ross Perot phenomenon, referendums in western Europe, the Greens initiative in Germany, the anti-party politics of the pro-democracy movements in eastern Europe — all of these, and many more contradictory and disparate developments, indicate a growing unease with "normal party politics" in many parts of the world.

There can be no doubt that the bureaucratic communist parties of eastern Europe alienated their constituencies. But, admittedly to a different degree, the parliamentary parties of the West have also increasingly alienated their own broad constituencies.

These parties — moderate, left or conservative — have tended to become oligarchies narrowly focused on the hoopla of winning elections; or

on maintaining themselves in office. More and more, they have become self-serving bureaucracies, not organisations fine-tuned to respond sensitively and rapidly to the needs of broad constituencies.

One of the first major symptoms of a dissatisfaction with this party-centred politics was the explosions of 1968. "There have only been two world revolutions," write Arrighi *et al* (*Antisystemic Movements*). "One took place in 1848. The second took place in 1968. Both were historic failures. Both transformed the world."

The year 1848 saw a struggle for popular sovereignty — "both within the nation (down with autocracy) and of the nations (self-determination)". 1848 established two lineages. The one was socialist, 1848 was the year *The Communist Manifesto* was written. The eventual social democratic and communist variants of the socialist lineage both trace themselves to this time. The other lineage, descending directly from 1848, runs down to Bandung and the Non-Aligned Movement. It is the lineage of the national liberation movement. Both these lineages gave rise to parties and movements centred on the struggle for state power.

1968 saw the emergence of a wide variety of new, or renovated social movements — students, black power, anti-racist, women, sexual preference, anti-war, environmental groups, and new trade unions. The year began with one of the high points of the older 1848 tradition, the Tet Offensive in Saigon (combining both the communist and the national liberation lineages).

But 1968 was much more about social movements that were less focused on state power. The epicentres of 1968 were not just the campuses, ghettos and red belt industrial suburbs of North America and of western and southern Europe; 1968 was also Mexico City, Tokyo and Prague. The relationship of these new social movements to political organisations and parties was, and has since been, complex and often fraught.

In some cases, like the German Greens, they have themselves launched into electoral politics. In Brazil several social movements and political tendencies united in a front formation called the Workers' Party (and nearly won the last presidential election). But in most cases these social movements exist (where they still persist) in a marginalised way, outside of "normal" politics.

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to remind ourselves of things we seldom, given our provincialism, notice.

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Speak out, women told

■ Seminar told of domestic violence which most women are afraid to talk about:

By Ruth Bhengu

VIOLENCE stunts black women's growth and contributes to their feelings of helplessness and inferiority.

This came out in speeches given during the seminar on Women and Violence, Health and Education at the YWCA hall in Soweto on Sunday.

The seminar was at-

tended by women from different organisations including the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), South African Council of Churches (SACC), Girl Guides, National Council of African Women and the Township Aids Project. It was called by the Young Women's Christian Association.

The aim of the meeting was to find ways in which

young women could achieve health and education and help to stop the violence that has become part of their lives.

Clinical psychologist Thandeka Mgoduso outlined the different types of violence that women were subjected to.

There was domestic violence which most women are ashamed to talk about. Mgoduso stressed the need

for women to talk about the physical and psychological violence they experienced in their homes. She encouraged women to form support groups and organisations.

"They should know that they have a right to be safe in their homes and that the more secretive they are about the violence that is taking place in their homes, the more it will increase."

Movements keep UN places

■ Motion to remove SA liberation organisations' status at the UN is defeated:

SOUTH Africa's liberation movements will continue to enjoy observer status at the United Nations after successful argument led in New York by the PAC's representative at the UN,

Mr SEM Pheko.

The resolution on the Observer Status of National Liberation Movements was opposed mostly by European and former communist countries and particu-

larly by the United States and Israel while the Palestinian Liberation Movement, the Arab states and African nations supported the resolution.

Pheko successfully ar-

gued that apartheid had not yet been dismantled in South Africa and that to revoke the status at the United Nations of the liberation movements would, therefore, be premature.

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INDEMNITY FM 30/10/92

Charge and release

The Further Indemnity Bill, due to be rubber-stamped by the Nat-dominated President's Council next week, after failing to win sufficient support in parliament, will be one of the most politically pointless laws ever enacted.

Not even government favours the measure in its present form and has indicated that it will be amended as soon as parliament reconvenes in January. The Bill doesn't add to the President's already extensive powers of release and indemnity, and its rejection by all parties except the NP almost guarantees that no undetected politically motivated felon will come forward — even in secret — to ask for a pardon.

Its only new power is a provision effectively to stop a trial and allow the accused (or an awaiting-trial prisoner) to apply for indemnity.

There are believed to be about 100 such cases.

Government says there's nothing sinister about the measure. It merely extends the Indemnity Act to "promote reconciliation and peaceful solutions." It provides for a National Council on Indemnity chaired by a judge to hear applications in secret and make recommendations to the President. Records of hearings will not be admissible in other court cases or hearings. Crimes qualifying for consideration must have been committed before October 8 1990.

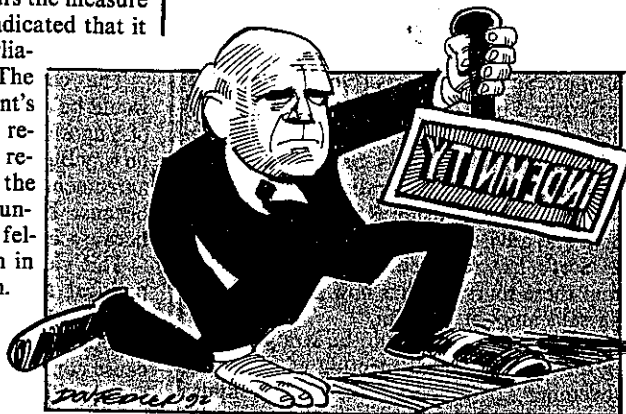
DP justice spokesman Tony Leon says the Bill doesn't simply extend the Act: "It massively widens the net of assassins, bombers, terrorists, necklace murderers, State killers and others in the rogues' gallery of SA's terror who will now qualify to walk away from the deeds — unnamed, undisclosed and unpunished."

Opposition to the measure is overwhelming. Even senior State officials admit privately that it is a huge political blunder. So why go ahead? It could have been allowed to die in the multiparty parliamentary justice standing committee which refused to accept even the principle of the measure. But Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee — reputed to be one of the most stubborn men in the Cabinet — insisted that it should be taken to parliament for open debate.

It was defeated in the House of Delegates and at that stage could again have been allowed to die. But President F W De Klerk opted to use the President's Council, arguably the single most undemocratic mechanism in the tricameral system, to give a veneer of constitutional legitimacy to a defeated measure.

Why has De Klerk risked his image as a

fledgling democrat and consensus-seeker for no gain whatsoever? He says the Bill is vital to give effect to important provisions in the September 26 Record of Understanding with the ANC, including the release of more



"political" prisoners. ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus disagrees and says there's no relation between the two. He also denies suggestions that the Bill is the result of a secret deal

between government and the ANC.

What concerns the organisation is that the measure will make it possible to restrict further the flow of information about alleged political crimes for which indemnity may be granted. Niehaus says it seems government may want to use the legislation to stop public inquiries — such as those into the Webster and Goniwe murders.

"We get the impression that there is a growing sense of concern in government about the publication of information relating to certain acts by State officials. We believe this measure increases government's powers to enforce a cover-up, which raises questions about the seriousness of the crimes they wish to cover up."

However, he admits that the ANC cannot pinpoint the actual reason for government's haste in wanting the measure approved. "It's not logical and doesn't make political sense. De Klerk is doing something that was the trademark of the P W Botha era and it's damaging his image."

DP justice standing committee member Douglas Gibson is equally unsure of govern-

continue →

NEW HOPE FOR ECONOMIC FORUM

FM 30/10/92

The national economic forum, including representatives of business, labour and government, could be launched this week. The Cabinet was due to discuss the matter on Wednesday.

Feeling in business circles is that government is now close to approving the forum, which, though only an advisory body, could take on effective powers of veto against unilateral policy decisions.

Recession strengthens the view that the Cabinet will give the go-ahead. Since it is all too evident that no economic stakeholder can, on its own, address economic malaise, the forum could play an important role. It will boost confidence among potential foreign investors, local businessmen and workers and be the first tripartite attempt to tackle economic issues.

Moves by business and organised labour — primarily Cosatu — to launch an economic forum resulted in their first formal meeting on January 21. They put together a draft agreement at the end of March.

However, the idea seemed scuppered when, late last month, government rejected the planned launch of the forum by November because of Cosatu's mass action plans — in particular, its planned tax

boycott. It had a point; you can't conduct economic civil war while simultaneously seeking co-operative economic relations.

On October 22, Finance Minister Derek Keys launched into a long harangue against a Cosatu delegation (led by deputy general secretary Sam Shilowa) on this score. It was not clear whether this reflected lack of political skill or a deliberate attempt to sink the forum. Things did, however, calm down by the end of that critical meeting.

The forum will have two working groups. One will tackle immediate, short-term issues, such as poverty alleviation, retrenchments, VAT, tax policy and budget matters. Cosatu seems keen on this group. The other will examine longer-term, macro-economic issues, which business seems keener on.

A process committee will integrate the work of the two groups and decide on plenary meetings. It will also formulate guidelines for other parties to make submissions to the forum.

The Consultative Business Movement will serve as interim secretariat. If the forum gets the nod, it hopes to produce results within months, says a spokesman.

ment's motive. "Something fishy seems to be going on that has yet to be explained. I don't understand why De Klerk has taken so much political flak for a measure that appears to be totally useless." (11A) ~~SECRET~~

It's possible that increasing pressure from the NP caucus to stand firm in the face of ANC demands forced De Klerk's hand, but if so the cost of appeasing the party hardliners has been high. Alternatively, the ANC may be correct in believing that hugely embarrassing information relating to State-sponsored crime is about to emerge in some or other hearing or trial and needs to be suppressed by using the new measure.

In his reply to last week's parliamentary debate on the Bill, Coetsee denied that it provided for a cover-up. The records of prisoners and the charge sheets of people on trial were public documents which would still be available even if they were released or indemnified. He said the secrecy of indemnity council records was necessary in case an applicant was refused indemnity in which case he or she could still be prosecuted.

"If that record were made public, it is possible that a private prosecution could be instituted against the person. That is why it is stipulated that the record cannot be used in any other court action."

The names of people granted indemnity would be published, but not details of their crimes. Coetsee said this was in line with the UN view during the process of indemnifying ANC returnees over the past two years. "The UN . . . were persistent in saying that they were not going to disclose any crimes because any admission to an offence would have invaded the privacy of a person and invited recriminations."

As a concession, government was prepared to amend the Bill to allow application to be made to the Chief Justice to publish records of hearings in certain cases.

Coetsee said the secrecy provisions did not prevent the press from reporting the past actions of people who applied for indemnity. "All that it bars is the use of the records in court proceedings — what is wrong with that?" He also argued that the Bill was necessary to provide a mechanism to identify prisoners qualifying for release. (His critics say thousands of "political" prisoners have already been released without such a mechanism being in place.)

Coetsee accused the ANC of selective morality in opposing the Bill. About 6 000 members of the organisation had been indemnified and allowed back into SA (without public disclosure of their alleged crimes) and 1 000 ANC-supporting prisoners had been released. ■

World in

Sowetan 20/10/92
De Klerk under fire (11A)

IT was clear that President FW de Klerk "and his henchmen" wanted to continue ruling South Africa at all costs, Labour Party leader the Reverend Allan Hendrickse said in Port Elizabeth yesterday.

Speaking at a Patriotic front summit in Gelvandale before the meeting went into closed session, he said the recent sitting of Parliament, which should have been called to introduce legislation to hasten the appointment of an interim government, was a sham. (25/10)

outside SA. Though preceded by bilateral talks in SA, the first PAC-government meeting on foreign soil took place in Nigeria last April (while President F W de Klerk was on a State visit) and was chaired by Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida.

Last weekend saw the second round in the Botswana capital, Gaborone, chaired by Foreign Minister Gaotsiwe Chiepe. While not at presidential level, the SA government delegation was led by Foreign Minister Pik Botha and included Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer. The PAC team was led by its second deputy president, Dikgang Moseneke, and included PAC international affairs chief Gora Ebrahim.

The aim of the Gaborone meeting was "to pave the way for fully representative negotiations and to address, among other things, ways and means to end the violence in SA."

After cordial, substantive discussions marked by "mutual understanding of each other's viewpoints," the two sides said jointly that "common ground exists" on the following points:

- The political conflict in SA should be resolved through peaceful negotiations;
- Maximum efforts should be exerted by all parties to bring an end to violence;
- SA needs a new, nonracial democratic constitution to be drawn up by a body elected on a common voters' roll. The principles guiding such a body should be decided upon by a more representative negotiating forum;
- There was an urgent need to establish a more representative negotiating forum, as inclusive as possible and managed impartially;
- The negotiating forum should decide on transitional arrangements leading to the attainment of a new constitution;
- Constitutionality should be maintained during the transitional period;
- Peaceful negotiations and free and fair elections required a commitment by all participants to adhere to peaceful political activities and to refrain from inflammatory statements; and
- Negotiations would continue in the near future between the two parties, particularly on the subject of a more representative negotiating forum.

Among issues on which the participants are reporting back to their leaders are attacks on security forces, transitional arrangements and future meetings.

It seems, however, that the talking wing of the PAC disingenuously refuses to accept responsibility for the actions of the PAC's armed wing, the exiled Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), which, according to the police, has been waging a campaign to kill policemen. Moseneke says that Apla has "operational independence" and any agreement over it can only be as part of a wider one that includes the SADF.

The call for a "more representative negotiating forum" to decide on the principles that will guide a constituent assembly is interesting. It echoes the objections to the government-ANC Record of Understanding raised

by Inkatha chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. Clearly, the PAC also has anxieties about the negotiating process being "hijacked" by the two major players.

The main thing, however, is that progress is being made on a bilateral level between government and various parties, such as the PAC, as a prelude to full-blown multilateral talks, which are expected to resume towards the end of this year or early in 1993. ■

NEGOTIATIONS FM 30/10/92

PACmen on board (114)

Two sterile and anarchic slogans have stood in the way of the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) joining the mainstream of constitutional negotiation. They are the demand for the return of the land to Africans as a precondition for talks and the infamous "one settler, one bullet" approach to transformation. The PAC now looks set to enter multilateral negotiations when they resume.

It has no credible alternative — despite its demands for a restructured forum totally different from Codesa.

The Africanists' entry will have been eased by Pretoria's decision to accommodate, more or less, at least one PAC precondition: that talks with government take place at a neutral venue under a neutral chairman

Cadres are remembered ~~3/11/92~~

THE armed struggle was the best way of defeating the South African government, a memorial service for two slain Azanla cadres was told in Dobsonville last night. *Sowetan 30/10/92 (11A)*

The service at the Kopanong Community Centre was held in honour of Sean Rapiitse of Dobsonville and Mongameli Gxowa of Port Elizabeth who died in action last week.

Addressing about 400 people, Mrs Joyce Kalaote, head of Azapo's women's wing, said black people had to realise that freedom would not be given on a platter and that they had to fight for it.

Mr Lybon Mabasa, projects co-ordinator of Azapo, said the two cadres had understood the risks involved in military life. Mrs Doris Thinane said Rapiitse's understanding of politics was amazing. She called on black people to fight the system by any means necessary.

'ANC must re-examine its actions'

Work faster for new govt, says Mandela

BIDAY 30/10/92.

(210) (11A)

ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday urged expediency in progress towards a new constitution and called for a critical self-examination by politicians of their roles in violence.

And stepped-up efforts to get full negotiations back on track were announced yesterday. A government spokesman said the ANC and government would meet "more than once" in the next week to plan a "bosberaad" between the two parties.

Addressing the patriotic front conference in Port Elizabeth, Mandela said the goal was to have all necessary agreements signed by the end of the year, to "enable us to move forward speedily to the election of a constituent assembly and interim government of national unity".

Mandela called for the re-examination of aspects of mass action, singling out the public burning of coffins and effigies. He asked whether the burning of effigies was "not too evocative of earlier scenes of people killed by burning".

Leaders would have to consider ways and means to expedite the process leading to the formation and adoption of a new constitution by an elected constituent assembly.

"Among other things, this must mean that we should resist with all the energy we can muster the notion that we should enter into protracted negotiations on a new negotiating forum in order to accommodate certain groupings, which for reasons of myopia decided not to board the train when it left the station many months ago.

"It also means that we should contest vigorously the idea that agreement already reached in the Codesa process

should be discarded and the process of negotiations started from the beginning."

In a statement issued after the one-day meeting, the patriotic front leaders said they agreed that there should be no further delays to the resumption of negotiations. It was crucial that a date be set for the election of a constituent assembly.

They urged the ANC and government to speed up talks on creating a climate of free political activity.

In his speech, Mandela said it had to be admitted that the process of transformation had been "slow, lethargic and insufficiently responsive to the sense of urgency which should be the hallmark of our approach to the process of change".

He called for discussion on ways to stop the "retribution for past wrongs" and said the ANC had to look "at our own conduct" and "play our rightful roles as the leaders of the process as ... the principal guardians of peace and militant combatants for the protection of life itself".

The ANC had accepted the "urgent need for a meeting of signatories of the national peace accord, to find practical ways to end the shame of the debilitating bloodshed that has been imposed on the people".

People were bleeding from the "criminal political violence" and the criminal violence "perpetrated by thugs, rapists, robbers, racists ... and people unbalanced by the intense social pressures — victims of the demented frenzy of other ogres in our communities".

Mandela said a "fetid cloud of despair"

□ To Page 2

Mass action: A crucial question for the ANC

ANC delegates at the movement's Western Cape congress in Cape Town this weekend are to consider whether mass action is hampering recruitment, and, ultimately, hopes of an electoral triumph. Many in the movement believe mass action has become a big turn-off in communities it desperately needs to win over, possibly more so in the Western Cape than elsewhere. Political Correspondent MICHAEL MORRIS reports.

DEVISING strategies to win the first non-racial election — possibly next year — dominates the agenda of the ANC's Western Cape annual congress.

But, in one respect at least, this may not be as easy as it seems.

The Western Cape region is considered possibly the only one in the country where the ANC cannot count on an outright victory, because of the relatively small black population.

And a perception has grown within the ranks that mass action or, at any rate, excessive mass action, is putting many people off.

Sources indicate that one of the most crucial questions the 500-odd delegates meeting at the Civic Centre on the Foreshore will be forced to answer this weekend is whether the ANC can afford to continue mobilising around the noisy populism of struggle politics.

Then again, will calmer electoral strategies appeal?

The movement is having to grapple with these conflicting approaches.

As one source put it: "We are moving away from the days of mass struggle to a period of electioneering and, obviously, before there is finality, there will be a lot of debate."

"The main issue here is whether we are going into straight electoral politics."

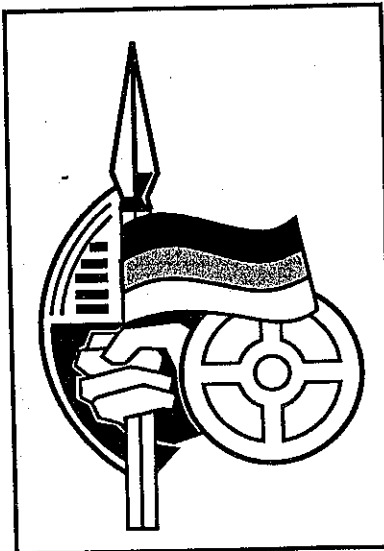
It seems likely a compromise will emerge — more emphasis on straight electioneering, with fewer, more carefully targeted mass events.

Compromise or not, the debate runs the risk of being divisive, not merely because it might heighten differences of opinion between radical and moderate camps, but because of the nature of mass action: marches, demonstrations and strikes are supported most avidly by black members, but with a great deal less enthusiasm by their coloured, Indian and white peers.

And it is in these minority groups that the ANC recognises, with some alarm, the advances being made by its chief contender, the National Party.

For this reason, in part, the discomfitingly insistent *realpolitik* of race is bound to be a feature of the elections for the 36-post regional executive.

Dr Allan Boesak — elected chairman last year after pointed



remarks from ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela on the importance of a regional leadership that reflected the composition of the population — is expected to be re-elected for a second term.

He has valuable appeal and has consolidated his position.

But the vote for the next most senior post — vice-chairman — could be telling.

The present incumbent, Mr Archie Sibeko, is resigning on grounds of ill-health.

And at least one of the major contenders for the job is former Democratic Party member and MP for Claremont, Mr Jan van Eck, whose nomination reflects his popularity across the region.

Another DP defector, Simon's Town MP Mr Jannie Momberg has been nominated for the post of treasurer, a portfolio for which he displayed enviable talent in the DP.

Both men, like all other nominees, had to have the backing of at least two of the region's 150 branches to get on to the list.

ANC information chief Dr Pallo Jordan will open the congress at 9am tomorrow. This will be followed by Dr Boesak's chairman's address, and proceedings will be closed thereafter.

This is when delegates will tackle the nitty-gritty — and formulate resolutions which will be put to the vote on Sunday.

Delegates will form themselves into commissions — probably about four altogether — to consider and debate (confidential) discussion papers on recruitment, political strategy, elections and "gender".

Azapo stays committed to armed struggle

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The armed struggle was the best way of defeating the South African government, a memorial service for two slain Azanla members was told in Dobsonville last night.

The service at the Kopanong Community Centre was held for Sean Rapipe of Dobsonville and Mongameli Gxowa of Port Elizabeth who died last week.

Addressing about 400 mourners, Mrs Joyce Kalaote, head of the Azapo women's wing, said blacks had to realise freedom would not be given on a platter.

"We can only repossess our land through the armed struggle."

Mr Lybon Mabasa, projects co-ordinator of Azapo, said the men had understood the risks.

Talking business

Fm 30/10/92
Economic development holds a higher priority than political progress for most respondents in a survey of political, social and business leaders conducted by Stellenbosch University's Centre for International & Comparative Politics.

A preliminary report shows that economic development is the first choice of 52% of black respondents, 61% of coloureds, 67% of Indians and 68% of whites. Most respondents across the board also favour a federal constitutional system, proportional representation and various checks and balances.

This is the first choice among 75% of whites, 73% of coloureds, 61,5% of Indians and 42% of blacks. A central system of majority rule is backed as first choice by 36% of blacks compared with 12% of whites.

The 999 respondents represent 44% of the sample of 2 282 leaders in 15 institutional sectors who were sent questionnaires this year. The sectors include business, labour, the civil service, parliamentary politics, extra-parliamentary politics, church and academics.

The report points out that the respondents are mainly white, Afrikaans-speaking males. Though care was taken to include a large proportion of "nonwhite" individuals it was impossible to include more because they were not in top decision-making positions.

The only respondents who opt for full State control of the economy are supporters of the PAC. Most ANC supporters prefer a mixed economy while most NP and IFP Party supporters tend to support a free-enterprise system.

Results of the survey relating to party support are skewed because respondents were not selected proportionately to the perceived strength of the different parties.

However, in the extra-parliamentary sector, 78 respondents indicate support for the ANC/SACP, 51 for the IFP and 32 for the PAC. Only 8,5% of blacks support the homeland parties (excluding the IFP). The NP draws 37,5% of coloured support compared to 32% for coloured parties such as the Labour Party. Nearly 10% of coloured respondents and 21% of Indians support the ANC/SACP.

Among whites the NP is supported by 59% of respondents, the DP 20% and the CP 7%.

□ The full report is due to be published next month. ■

More Transkei border patrols

CT 30/10/92

Political Staff

THE government announced last night that it was to step up patrols on the Natal/Transkei border to prevent the infiltration by uMkhonto weSizwe (MK) members — but police could provide no evidence that MK was in fact doing so.

Police spokesmen said its intelligence wing had "very strong" information that MK members were coming into Natal from Transkei.

But, despite repeated questions at a press conference last night to

the head of the Internal Stability Unit, General Johan Swart, and a spokesman for the Ministry of Law and Order, Captain Craig Kotze, no facts were given to justify claims that MK was in fact infiltrating Natal from Transkei.

Captain Kotze also repeated the claims about intelligence information and said MK members had been arrested in Natal "and they must have come from somewhere."

Defence Minister Mr Gene Louw said in a statement yesterday: "There is indisputable in-

formation that organisations such as MK and Apla are conducting operations in South Africa from Transkeian territory with the tacit approval of the Transkei Defence Force."

The ANC said last night that the offensive was "clearly aimed at undermining all efforts to achieve peace".

It added: "We would have thought that Mr Louw would have expressed concern about the publicly known AWB paramilitary patrols, which are clearly taking the law into their own hands, in the area."

Leader of EC team arrives

CT 30/10/92

JOHANNESBURG. — The co-ordinator of the European Community team of observers, Mr Gavin Aarvold, arrived in South Africa yesterday.

"We will be operating in close co-operation with the National Peace Secretariat as well as with the United Nations and observer teams from other international organisations," he said in a statement. — Sapa

Election date crucial — Patriotic Front

11A CT 30/10/92

PORT ELIZABETH. — Patriotic Front leaders meeting here yesterday said it was of crucial importance that a date be set for the election of a constituent assembly.

The summit, attended by delegates from 11 organisations including homeland governments, the ANC, SACP and Cosatu, also emphasised that Codesa remained the best forum for multilateral negotiations.

In a statement issued after the one-day meeting, the PF leaders said they agreed there should be no further delays to the resumption of talks.

Earlier, in an opening address, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said PF leaders should "resist with all the energy we can muster the notion that we should enter into protracted talks on a new negotiating forum in order to accommodate certain groupings which for reasons of myopia decided not to

board the train when it left the station many months ago".

It was agreed the Codesa management committee should pay serious attention to the involvement of other organisations of "civil society" in negotiations.

The leaders affirmed that decisions already taken at Codesa should not be subject to negotiation.

They also said the forum should continue to be chaired by the two judges who had "ably" chaired the last two sessions.

They urged the ANC and the government to speed up their talks on concluding outstanding matters listed in the Record of Understanding, including the critical questions of the creation of a climate of free political activity and the cessation of covert activities by the security forces. — Sapa

NIGHT SHADE
AY (LOOK) **2995**

MOTOR SHOPS

MOTOR ACCESSORIES AND SPARES FROM THE SHOP THAT CARES!

CWA

McBride says he 'feels remorse'

LLOYD COUTTS

ANC cadre and former death row prisoner Robert McBride said yesterday he had planted the bomb in a Durban bar which killed three women during a "dirty war" in SA and nobody could deny his cause had been just. *DIOM 3/10/92*

McBride, 28, who received the death sentence for the 1986 bombing, said in an interview with Radio 702 he did, however, feel remorse for the deaths and injuries caused at Magoo's Bar. *(LCC)*

"The killing of people is always tragic, and it is something I have to live with for the rest of my life... It is a tragedy that people have to die and people have to fight and kill for their freedom," he said.

McBride said he had carried out the bombing at the express orders of ANC commanders, even though he had initially questioned its wisdom. The intended target had been the neighbouring Why Not bar, a hangout for off-duty policemen and soldiers identified by ANC intelligence.

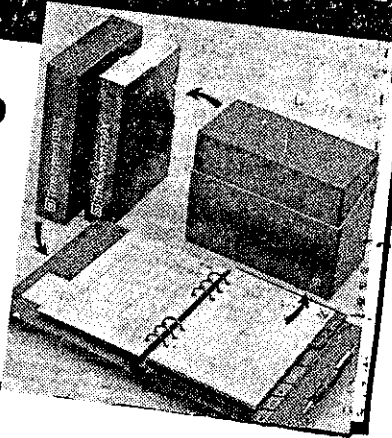
Asked how he felt about the release of Barend Strydom, McBride said Strydom had been a free man from a privileged group and could have turned to Parliament or his political representatives.

McBride said reconciliation was essential to secure the future of generations to come, but would be difficult to achieve in the current climate of violence.

McBride was released from death row in terms of a political settlement between the ANC and government.

International

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Lawyers slam torture secrecy

Own Correspondent

UMTATA. — The Black Lawyers' Association has condemned the ANC's failure to release the names of those accused of torture and abuse in ANC camps.

CT 30110/10
"We cannot forgive unless we know who did what and under what circumstances," said BLA member Mr Charles Mensah. (11A)

AFRICAN National Congress leader Joe Slovo's proposals for sweeping concessions to the government in the form of "sunset clauses" in a new constitution have sparked heated debate within the ANC and its alliance partners.

The proposals, published in the latest edition of *African Communist*, the South African Communist Party mouthpiece, have been criticised by the Congress of South African Trade Unions and rejected by the ANC's western Cape region.

Concern has also been expressed that Slovo, a member of the ANC's national executive committee and of the SACP's central executive committee, has effectively disclosed what concessions the ANC is prepared to make before formal negotiations with the government resume, thereby strengthening the government's hand in winning further concessions from the organisation.

Cosatu spokesman Neil Coleman pointed out, however, "These views belong to an individual, even though he is an important leader. The critical issue is one of democracy, and these issues must be debated in a constituent assembly."

Slovo proposes that in negotiations with the government, the ANC offer "a sunset clause ... which would provide for compulsory power-sharing for a fixed number of years in the period immediately following the adoption of the constitution." To date, the ANC has been averse to the idea of power-sharing, saying it would mere-

Slovo's 'sunset' debate is red hot

W/ Mail 30/10 - 5/11/92

Members of the ANC and its allies are alarmed at sweeping constitutional concessions proposed by ANC/SACP leader Joe Slovo.

PAUL STOBER reports

ly entrench minority rule. The government has the stated aim of achieving power-sharing through negotiation.

Slovo qualifies this suggestion by saying that power in the new cabinet should be shared on the basis of proportional representation, and that the executive would have to adopt procedures which would prevent it deadlocking during disputes among its members.

But these qualifications have not eased the reservations of those who warn that the hands of a future government will be tied by a power-sharing arrangement.

"We discussed the idea at the time of the

ANC's transitional proposals and, while we had no objection in principle, we felt it was a bit premature to guarantee any clauses in advance of the negotiations of a constituent assembly," said Coleman.

Warning of the high expectations many South Africans have of an ANC-led government, ANC western Cape secretary general Tony Yengeni said: "People expect houses, jobs and food. If their conditions remain the same and there is no serious change, the whole idea will be unacceptable."

"We are not in principle against a coalition government of national unity. We need people

who are experienced in government as we have never run a country, but we are completely opposed to enshrining this in a constitution."

Slovo gets around the issue of impinging on the sovereignty of the constituent assembly by asking: "Is it unprincipled to attempt to reach a bilateral understanding between the two main parties to the negotiations on positions ... that both parties commit themselves to support in the constitution-making body?"

He illustrates the point by mooted a bilateral agreement between the government and the ANC on the powers of the proposed new regions of South Africa. His example is significant because it was on this issue that the second session of Codesa deadlocked, after the ANC and the government could not agree on when and how the powers of the regions would be defined.

Coleman also expressed concern about Slovo's suggestion that a new government approach the restructuring of the civil service and the security forces by taking into account existing contracts and providing for the retirement of government officials. "It would be suicidal to remove the ability of a new government to change the civil service," Coleman said.

Slovo says it would be even more dangerous for a new government not to address the fears of state officials. "The day after the new government comes to power, the enemy will still control the civil service at many levels," he warns.

Victims may be compensated

By PAUL STOBER

THE African National Congress may compensate victims of the abuses which took place in the organisation's detention camps. W/Mail 30/10 - 511192.

Last week the ANC's commission of inquiry into complaints by former prisoners released a report of its findings. The report detailed the systematic abuse of hundreds of detained ANC members suspected of working for the South African government. Included in the report are recommendations for compensation to the victims of this abuse.

However, the report notes that most of the witnesses who testified before the commission only wanted their names cleared.

For those who sustained injuries during interrogation, it is recommended that the ANC supply medical attention. The commission also recommended that the organisation provide those victims who want it an opportunity to study

ANC intervention saves rugby tour

Weekly Mail Reporter

W/Mail 30/10 - 511192.
YESTERDAY'S abrupt about-turn by the African National Congress on rugby tours points to a secret deal involving the organisation, the government and the South African Rugby Football Union (Sarfu).

The ANC's decision to ask British anti-apartheid groups not to disrupt matches during the South African tour of England followed urgent and secret negotiations with Sarfu and the government. And rugby supremo Danie Craven admitted he had asked the ANC's sports trouble-shooter, Steve Tshwete, to intervene.

The National and Olympic Sports Congress (Nosc) surprised everyone last weekend by withdrawing all support for rugby tours and deciding to oppose South Africa's hosting of the next World Cup. The South African Defence Force tour and an "unrepresentative" development side sent to the South Sea islands were the stated rea-

son for Nosc's actions.

Nosc also gave tacit support to the British Anti-Apartheid Movement's campaign against the "Springbok" tour.

At first the ANC supported Nosc's action, with Tshwete saying Nosc represented grassroots opinion and it would be disastrous for the ANC to go against the views of grassroots rugby enthusiasts. He indicated that he would condone anti-apartheid demonstrations in England.

Some of the key players in the rugby conflict sat at the main table at a formal dinner on Monday night to welcome the Indian cricketers. Sports minister Piet Marais sat between Nosc president Mluleki George and Tshwete.

By Tuesday it became clear that despite public posturing, the ANC and Marais were trying to bring Nosc and Sarfu, into line.

Relations between Nosc and the ANC have been strained by the week's

events. Nosc only found out about the organisation's about-turn two hours after the press release was issued.

Although the focus was development, the intransigence of rugby bosses was as much the issue here this week. Sarfu did not honour an agreement with the ANC to promote peace and democracy at the matches against New Zealand and Australia — which culminated in a row over the playing of *Die Stem* at Ellis Park.

Although the ANC backed off this week, future tours may still be in jeopardy unless changes are made to the Sarfu executive.

Tshwete has called for younger administrators and if Sarfu wants to achieve real unity and have the full support of the ANC and sports organisations it may have to get rid of certain people.

Late this week moves were afoot to try and remove both Craven and Ebrahim Patel.

THE African National Congress responded strongly to *The Weekly Mail's* revelation last week of individuals implicated in abuses in the organisation's camps in exile.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus issued the following response last Friday: "The ANC, with regards to the publishing of a list of names, submitted by the commission, wants to reiterate a basic principle of justice: that those people who stand accused must have the opportunity to be heard. It is incorrect to simply release a list of names, so inaccurate that it even includes the names of people who in no way could be connected to any of the allegations made.

"The names listed, some of whom are completely unknown to us, are clearly drawn from a magazine article published in *Searchlight South Africa* vol 2 no 1 1990, and is therefore available for all people to read.

"We find it regrettable that a newspaper such as *The Weekly Mail* with its own outstanding record of exposing abuse and corruption should not have seen it fit to pay attention to accuracy and detail.

"Among some of the things it states are that Maurice Seabelo died mysteriously in Lesotho. Now again the *WM* lifts this terminology from the magazine article, whereas even a superficial investigation or an inquiry to the ANC would have readily revealed what is a matter of public record. Morris Seabelo was among those killed in SADF raids on Maseru in December 1985.

"Another statement the *WM* makes is that the NEC of the ANC has decided to withhold the report into the death of Thami Zulu, which is cited by the *WM* as an appendix to the main report. Again, the only appendix to the main

Camps torture debate rages on

The Weekly Mail's front page story giving the names of those involved in torture in the African National Congress' camps sparked outrage from the organisation.

The ANC gives its views and the newspaper replies.

By Weekly Mail Reporters



report is the list of names and the question of publication is among the recommendations by the commission, all of which are being considered by the ANC and upon which there has not yet been a final decision."

The Weekly Mail responds: The *WM* report was based on a variety of sources, and no names were included unless they were corroborated by more than one source. In fact, several names were excluded from the list,

despite being mentioned by more than source, because there was not sufficient detail about their involvement.

The article did not state that all of those named were personally involved in administering torture. In some cases their knowledge that it was being carried out by those directly under their authority amounted to complicity. If the minister of law and order, the commissioner of police or a senior officer under his command, knew that certain detainees were being tortured in secu-

rity police detention and chose not to intervene, do we not accuse them of the same crime?

It is incorrect to imply that the names listed were drawn solely from *Searchlight South Africa*. This article, which was offered to the ANC for comment, simply provided corroboration and additional detail for names already drawn from a variety of other sources. These included:

- Interviews with, and affidavits from, 15 former ANC detainees. Some of those interviewed (like former MK commander Bandile Ketelo) have retained close links with the ANC.

- *WM* also interviewed seven current ANC members and leaders, who are all former exiles with direct experience of some of the individuals accused.

- There were also several other published sources, including the book *Comrades Against Apartheid* by Stephen Ellis and *Secaba*.

Separate investigations conducted by the *Saturday Star* and the *Sunday Times* confirmed many of the names included in the *WM* list.

The only concrete example of "inaccuracy" is that of the circumstances surrounding the death of Morris Seabelo, listed by the *WM* as one of those directly responsible for torture in the camps. We said he "died mysteriously in Lesotho in 1985". Niehaus said he was killed in the SADF raid on Maseru in 1985. According to Ketelo and others, "Seabelo" (Lulamile Dantile) was killed in an underground ANC house in Lesotho, "where none of those he was with was spared to relate the story".

Our point about the report on Thami Zulu's death was that it was considered by the commission and has been withheld by the ANC.

Suzman Claims Blind Eye Turned To ANC Violence

Guardian [w/ in w/ Mail] 30/10 - 5/11/92. 11A
JOHANNESBURG — When it comes to waging lone battles against prevailing doctrine, nobody in South Africa has credentials quite like Helen Suzman.

For 13 years, she was the sole opposition member of Parliament, waging a one-woman assault on the architects of apartheid with speeches that mixed moral indignation with mordant wit. She once dared government officials to visit black townships to see for themselves how bad conditions were there — but cautioned that for their own safety they ought to travel “heavily disguised as human beings.”

Now retired from Parliament — but by no means from public life — Suzman, 74, once again finds herself in the middle of the great argument of the day. This time, however, she is inveighing against doctrine to her left, not her right. The shift illustrates how murky the political currents have become in a society struggling to move beyond apartheid with formulas developed when the pitfalls were easier to identify.

Suzman threw her substantial reputation this past week behind charges that human-rights monitoring organizations here and abroad are providing misleading information on the issue of violence. She says these groups deliberately have turned a blind eye to the responsibility that the African National Congress — the nation's largest anti-apartheid organization — bears for the

country's political carnage, which is three times deadlier now than it was during the height of apartheid repression.

“Pressures for conformity to some sort of ‘politically correct’ line are building up in many spheres,” Suzman wrote in a response to criticism of a recent study detailing this alleged disinformation campaign. “This is an ominous development because South Africa has only recently begun to emerge from the ‘thought control’ that the National Party sought for so long to impose.”

The study, written by the South African Institute of Race Relations, a 63-year-old research group of which Suzman is president, contended that recent surveys of violence in South Africa by Amnesty International, the International Commission of Jurists, and the South African-based Human Rights Commission placed too much blame on the government and the Inkatha Freedom Party and too little on the ANC.

Such “one-sided” reports “can easily fan the flames of violence,” argued the author of the institute study, Anthea Jeffrey. “Those who feel they are constantly and unjustifiably accused of fomenting the violence may feel there is little point in continuing to participate in the peace efforts, or may have difficulty in restraining supporters who feel outraged.” The institute report has drawn

widespread criticism, not just from the human-rights organizations it attacks but from the institute's own research staff — eight of whose 12 members sent a memorandum to institute Executive Director John Kane-Berman calling the report “partisan, weak on methodology, and misleading.”

Others allege that Kane-Berman, the dominant force within the institute since he became executive director in 1983, commissioned the controversial study as part of a campaign to resurrect the reputation of Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, to whom Kane-Berman has been close for years.

Once these charges and countercharges started to fly, Suzman, who had aspired to be a hands-off president — “My only real job is to give the annual presidential address” — decided she had no choice but to jump into the fray. She reviewed all the claims and, in a letter that went out this past week to institute members, came down heavily on the side of the institute report. Its findings “have been vindicated every time,” she wrote.

“Unfortunately, it has become fashionable in liberal circles to make excuses for the ANC, to say, oh well, they were in exile for so long, or they were fighting a wicked regime,” Suzman said in an interview at her home. “As far as I'm concerned, you can't exonerate the state for the violence, you can't exonerate Inkatha, but

you can't exonerate the ANC either; the real problem now is that violence has become so ingrained that even if the leaders wanted to stop it, I'm not sure they could. There are too many avengers, too many criminals, too many local warlords. Maybe you could have stopped it in the mid-1980s, when it first got out of hand, but I'm not sure you can now.”

In the explanation that Suzman and the institute report embrace, a principal trigger of the violence has been the coercion, intimidation, and vigilantism of ANC supporters as they try to make the townships “ungovernable” by closing schools, boycotting stores, waging strikes, withholding rents, and threatening homeland leaders. Blacks who do not want to go along with such tactics are branded collaborators.

In the version subscribed to by most human-rights groups, the principal cause of violence has been the vigilantism of the black puppets of the apartheid regime, who have used strong-arm tactics to repress legitimate political dissent.

In her presidential address this summer, Suzman warned that unless the violence ends soon, allowing a stalled economy to start producing jobs again, “whoever does inherit this country, be it an ANC government or any other, will inherit a wasteland, an ungovernable country inhabited by millions of undisciplined youths to whom a culture of democracy is meaningless.”

By Paul Taylor

Slovo is slammed for his 'heretical' halfway policy

JOHANNESBURG. — The most revolutionary thought to have emerged from the African National Congress in a long time is also the most conciliatory one towards white South Africans, especially those in government.

The man who has had the thought is Mr Joe Slovo, long regarded by the white establishment as one of the most sinister individuals on the planet.

Mr Slovo, 63, is chairman of the South African Communist Party, a leading member of the ANC's national executive committee and former chief of staff of the military wing.

Mr Slovo's thought is that while majority rule is a good thing in principle, it does not offer a short-term practical solution to South Africa's problems. Better to share power for a while, to meet President De Klerk halfway.

As if this heresy were not enough, he believes that civil servants, including police and army officials, should be given guarantees that they will keep their jobs and pensions in a post-apartheid South Africa and, where necessary, be granted amnesties.

"Monstrous", "unbelievable", "terrible", have been some of the responses of ANC militants to Mr Slovo's proposals, published in the latest edition of African Communist magazine.

Mr Slovo explained in an interview with the Independent what had prompted him to put forward what he insisted was a "purely personal" position — but one, none the less, which the ANC leadership is seriously considering adopting as policy.

His starting-point is that since no side won the struggle for power during the long years of open confrontation, neither side can be expected to

■ Mr Joe Slovo, South African Communist Party chairman and a leading member of the African National Congress's national executive committee, explains his 'heretical' thinking on appeasing white fears to JOHN CAREW

surrender at the negotiating table.

Compromise, therefore, is inevitable. And, the broad test for compromise, Mr Slovo believes, is whether it will permanently block the future advance towards the nonracial democracy which has always been the ANC's first political objective.

"There are a number of areas where concessions could be made that do not conflict with our bottom lines, with our principles.

"I ask people to consider the possibility of a period of power-sharing — perhaps three to five years — after a new constitution is adopted; of giving

the incumbents in the civil service, the army and the police a feeling that we are not going to jettison them; of accepting that there is going to be an amnesty; no solution has been found anywhere in the world without addressing this question."

Whatever criticism Mr Slovo may face from within his own ranks over these proposals — proposals that ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela broadly accepts — no one will dare question his political credentials. He remains still convinced, for example, that socialism is not inherently flawed, that it is still, as he put it, "the only sensible way humans can order their existence".

"My motivation is purely selfish," he said. "I'm not pandering to white people. I'm not addressing the question in the moral sense of allaying fears.

"I'm acting in the interest of a lasting democratic transformation because the new fledgeling democracy, if it emerges, will face a period of inordinate social and economic problems which will require the broadest possible national effort to resolve.

"Secondly, and most important, within the ambit of basic democratic principles, we should try to minimise those forces who could provide the potential for rightwing destabilisation, for sabotage, for

what I call the counter-revolution, in a post-transformation period.

"And, the way in which I think about this problem is that even if the ANC gets a 60 percent majority — or even a 66 percent or 70 percent majority — in the first constitutional election, it will achieve political office, but it will not really achieve control over the essentials of the state framework and the state operators.

"The civil service will be exactly the same the day after as the day before, the same with the judiciary, the same with the army, the same with the police force and so on.

"These people are racists because that is the way they were brought up. But, they are not political animals.

"All they are concerned with, most of them, is whether they will be able to survive the transition period, whether they

will lose everything they thought they'd accumulated in terms of pensions and some kind of job security. And, we've got to address this question by providing a clear and decided position."

Mr Slovo believes there will be an election for an interim government, which also will function as a constitution-making body, by the end of next year.

"The executive — the Cabinet — must be made up on the basis of proportional representation. One important condition will be that whatever devices are worked out, we must not have a situation where the minority can paralyse it.

"This will be a majority government accommodating minority parties as part of a national government, in the manner of Churchill's government during the war.

■ The Independent.

Boesak outlines strategy for winning first nonracial elections

'Practise what we preach'

114 ARG 31/10/92

Dr Alan Boesak delivers a strong speech at the opening of the African National Congress's two-day regional congress in the city centre.

MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Staff

WESTERN Cape ANC leader Dr Allan Boesak delivered a strong appeal to supporters today to "practise what we preach" in the pursuit of winning the first non-racial elections.

Speaking at the start of the movement's two-day regional congress in the city centre — organised around the theme "mobilise for democratic elections" — Dr Boesak said it was every member's task to make the movement's policies "become a living reality ... (so that they) become a part of our lives and our consciousness".

"It is not enough to say we are a nonracial, nonsexist and democratic movement.

"We must, each and every one of us, be actively non-racial, nonsexist and democratic. If we are all those things, if we practise what we preach, we cannot fail to win South Africa's first democratic election."

He warned that the ANC would have to work hard to win the election.

This would be "the biggest campaign of our lives ... and we must begin to put all our energies into campaigning for the election victory that, if we work as we must and should, should be ours".

A crucial part of the campaign would be going out into the community to convince the public that "we are genuinely committed to the rights of all South Africans to participate in the democratic process".

Dr Boesak cautioned against ethnic campaigning, but re-

minded delegates that, in the Western Cape, "we have black comrades, we have coloured comrades and we have white comrades".

"What we need to do is to remember always is that we are all citizens of the Western Cape."

He reminded delegates that the Western Cape was a region in which President De Klerk "is concentrating his efforts to win the hearts and minds of the people". The ANC would have to be "vigilant".

"We have a long struggle ahead, but we must be careful how we conduct that struggle."

Dr Boesak noted that the National Party had a "strategy" emphasising group rights and minority protection.

The ANC's answer to that was a commitment to the rights of individuals.

"This does not mean that people should not be allowed to form their own religious and cultural groups. It simply means that those groups should have no power over other groups. They should enjoy no rights that others in society do not enjoy."

Dr Boesak also delivered a stinging attack on the government for "its failure to bring violence to an end". He described the National Party as being "cynical and cold-blooded about violence".

"Through their failure to take proper steps against violence, they provide the spark and the fuel for any tensions or differences that exist."

■ See page 16.



Picture: WILLIE de KLERK, Weekend Argus.

SHARING A JOKE: African National Congress spokesman Mr Willie Hofmeyr, left, Western Cape secretary Mr Tony Yengeni and Western Cape chairman Dr Allan Boesak share a laugh at a cocktail party in Constantia on the eve of the two-day ANC Cape regional conference which began at the Civic Centre early today.

ANC regional congress to look at issues, strategy

Elections a priority

11A Argus 31/10/92

VUYO BAVUMA

Weekend Argus Reporter

THE African National Congress plans to work out a major strategy to woo coloured support in the Western Cape to prepare for the first democratic nonracial elections.

Regional general secretary Mr Tony Yengeni said it was important that the ANC should come up with an election strategy that would ensure victory in the elections.

Mr Yengeni was speaking about the issues to be tackled at ANC's Cape regional congress which begins today, its third since the movement was unbanned in 1990.

About 500 delegates from the 100 Cape branches, which have more than 70 000 signed up members, are expected to attend the two-day congress at Civic Centre.

The head of Information and Publicity, Dr Pallo Jordan, is expected to deliver a keynote address. Regional chairman Dr Allan Boesak will also address the meeting.

So far 130 people have been nominated for election to the regional executive, including former Democratic Party members Mr Jan Van Eck

■ The theme of the ANC's two-day regional conference is "Mobilise for democratic elections".

(vice-chairman) and Mr Jannie Momberg (treasurer).

Discussing the ANC's election strategy, Mr Yengeni told Weekend Argus it was essential for the ANC to win many votes, especially in the coloured community.

"We need to strongly work on strategy in the coloured community in the coming year.

"Some surveys show that many coloureds would vote for the National Party. We can't afford that. If we are to win the elections in this region, we will have to attract the major coloured support," Mr Yengeni said.

His call to beef up "coloured" support echoed Mr Mandela's sentiment at last year's regional conference that its executive should reflect the region's coloured majority.

The conference will also discuss the negotiation process in the light of the gains made at the recent summit between Mr Mandela and President De Klerk.

"We shall work on our response to the violence that is engulfing our country and the strategy of the Patriotic Front," Mr Yengeni said.

Commenting on the resignation from ANC regional executive committee member Mr Cecil Esau, a member of Umkhonto we Sizwe who was a Robben Island prisoner, Mr Yengeni said the conference would discuss the matter but it would not dominate.

Mr Esau reportedly resigned from the ANC because of alleged "African bias" in the organisation, but Mr Yengeni vehemently rejected this.

■ The Lavender Hill branch of the ANC, which is gearing up for elections for a new government, will hold an "identity document campaign" every Saturday from next week.

Branch media and education officer Mr Cassiem Majiet said people in Lavender Hill, Steenberg and Retreat who did not have identity documents were being encouraged to get them.

"All they need are two photographs and a birth certificate. Fingerprints will be taken and assistants will be on hand to help people fill in documents."

Mr Cassiem said the Lavender Hill branch, which incorporates Sea Wind and Vrygrond, would also tell them about voting procedures.

Election: 150 vie for 25 W Cape ANC posts

CT 31/10/92 By BARRY STREEK (11A)

NEARLY 150 people have been nominated for the 25 positions for which the ANC's regional executive conference in the Western Cape is to vote this weekend.

It is expected that the ANC's Western Cape chairman, Dr Allan Boesak, regional secretary Mr Tony Yengeni and assistant secretary Mr Willie Hofmeyr will be returned to their positions.

The position of vice-chairman, vacated by Mr Archie Sibeko because of ill-health, is being hotly contested and a number of nominations for the position have been received.

ANC conference to target coloured vote

Sout 31/10 - 4/11/92

How to win the hearts, minds and votes of coloured people in the Western Cape is set to be a key debate at the ANC's third regional conference in Cape Town this weekend.

Rehana Rossouw speaks to outgoing ANC regional secretary **Tony Yengeni**:

THE ANC could lose many coloured voters in a democratic election unless it finds creative ways of mobilising this community to side with its programme, ANC regional secretary Mr Tony Yengeni will tell the ANC conference on Saturday.

According to Yengeni, during the past year the ANC leadership prioritised squatter communities and areas like Khayelitsha for political work.

"This led to complaints from areas like Mitchells Plain and rural towns to the effect that we were not giving them the same attention," says Yengeni.

"We prioritised the squatter areas because people there are living under the worst conditions. They are practically a stronghold for the ANC."

But Yengeni says that to some extent he can accept the criticism that the ANC has not done enough political work in the coloured areas of the Western Cape.

This is expected to be one of the key political issues debated at the conference.

"We are aware that some of our activists in the coloured areas are demoralised. But I want to assure them that there is no political reason for our neglect," says Yengeni.

"We are shouldering a great burden in this region and some of the issues have become bottlenecked."

Yengeni hopes these criticisms will be raised in a "healthy" manner at the regional conference and that discussions will lead to solutions and a programme of action to com-



Tony Yengeni

11A

bat the problem.

"I hope the discussions will not degenerate into a slanging match and the formation of splinter groups.

Yengeni concedes that the ANC will have to place significant emphasis in the coming year on correcting its image in the coloured community.

He says the resolution of this problem is the responsibility not only of coloured members in the Western Cape, but also of African members, the regional executive committee (REC) and the national executive committee.

Yengeni says the Western Cape is unique in that it faces problems which other ANC regional structures do not encounter. The region has the responsibility of recruiting the majority of coloured voters in the country.

"We can't deny there are differences between the coloured and African communities. This would be sticking our heads in the sand. The success of the whole political strategy of the ANC in the Western Cape is going to depend on whether or not we can mobilise the coloured community."

Yengeni says the racial makeup of the newly elected REC could play a role in reassuring coloured voters, but that this is not a fundamental necessity.

He says he does not believe that the people who "win the hearts and minds" of the coloured people have to be coloureds.

"We have to convince people not to see the ANC leadership in ethnic terms but to judge the ANC on the content of its programme."

Yengeni says most of the debates at the conference will be influenced by the possibility of democratic elections next year.

The ANC in the Western Cape has started voter education training but this has been geared mainly towards activists and not the majority of voters.

"We cannot ignore the election campaign. We have to put ourselves into electioneering mode as soon as possible.

"This will be a key debate at the conference. We can come up with an election machinery which will win the majority of the votes in the region.

"Our debates on mass action, negotiation strategy and the work of our entire operation will be informed by the imperative of winning the next election.

"We want to project the image of the ANC in a positive light and we want to persuade those who have not yet made up their minds that their future lies in supporting the ANC."

Yengeni says he believes 1992 has been a productive year for the ANC. The organisation's campaigns in the Western Cape have inspired other regions.

"The year began with the people's parliament campaign. About 200 000 people responded, so contributing to formulating the perception in the ANC that people supported the idea of mass action."

Yengeni says the emphasis by the national leadership on the negotiation process "disempowered" ANC branches last year but that mass action reversed this trend.

The ANC's Western Cape membership has grown in the past year, but not significantly. Although a final count has not yet been made for the regional conference, Yengeni says it is estimated to be 60 000 in 95 branches.

At the regional conference last year, paid-up members were pegged at 50 000.

"The most significant improvement in our membership has been in the squatter areas," says Yengeni.

He says the election of a new REC is not the most important task of the regional conference, but it is a key element.

"The incoming REC will shoulder the challenge of delivering the Western Cape constituency to the ANC.

"The composition of the REC must be defined by this task. We need highly mobile, active people who can work as a team and have strong links with the grassroots."

Identity crisis in new Azania

South 3/10 - 4/11/92 (11A)

GOODBYE Verwoedburg, hello Mandelaville. The ANC is looking to topple symbols of the apartheid past in the same way as the statues tumbled in the former Soviet Union.

Like other modern nation-states, a post-apartheid South Africa will need a national anthem, emblems and flags as symbols of its new identity.

In a draft policy document on national symbols, the ANC says the essential characteristics of the new national identity will be non-racialism, democracy and non-sexism.

The document says the present flag (orange, white and blue taken from the Dutch flag) reflects nothing of the history or heritage of the African people.

On the flag is a small Vierkleur (red, white, blue and green), the flag of the Zuid Afrikaanse Republiek, the flag of the Boer Republiek of the Orange Free State and the Union Jack.

The process of deciding on its design was undemocratic — a white parliamentary committee of eight was appointed to deal with designs submitted, and no blacks were consulted.

“The people of South Africa must decide on the acceptability of existing emblems that were imposed without consultation,” the ANC says.

As in other African states, a new flag should signify liberation and

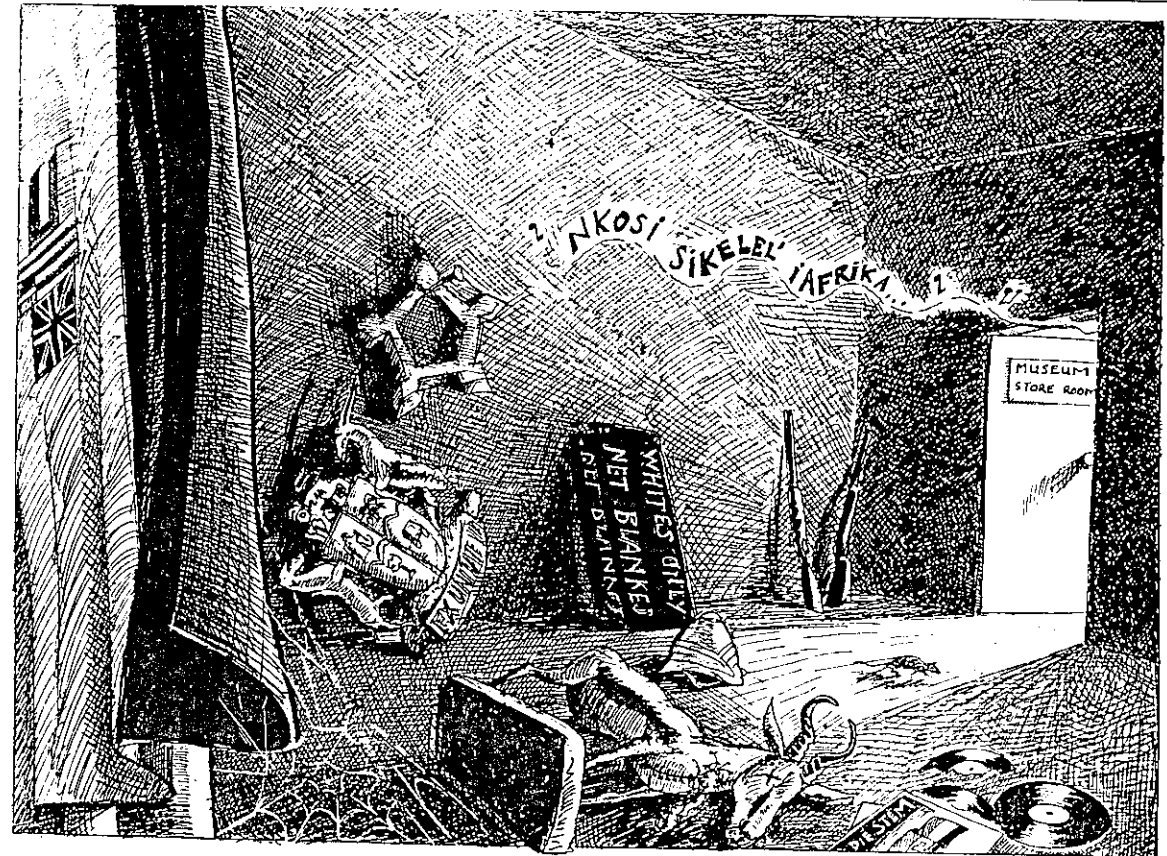
Oxwagons, springboks and proteas are on their way out. But what will replace these national symbols? **REHANA ROSSOUW** peeks at the ANC's draft proposals on this sensitive issue:

engender pride in the liberation from apartheid.

“In order to ensure maximum participation of the disempowered, an educational programme should be initiated, which should precede a flag competition, for example, to prevent the exclusion of certain designs on technical grounds,” the document says.

“A tricolour — using a combination of the dominant African colours of red, yellow and green, and possibly black — is one option.”

The ANC says “Die Stem”, declared the only official anthem in 1957, is sectionalist, overtly political and identified with the interests and values of Afrikaners.



“Nkosi Sikelel’ i Afrika” is proposed as a new anthem because of its wide acceptability in southern and South Africa, its 100-year history and its content. It should, however, be translated into all South African languages.

There are presently 11 public holidays recognised by the Public Holidays Act of 1952, three Christian, three neutral, three linked to Afrikaner history, one white political holiday and Workers’ Day.

The ANC says that additional days which could be considered as national holidays are Sharpeville Day (March 21), Youth Day (June 16), Freedom Day (June 26) and Women’s Day (August 9).

The document says the renaming

of places was one of the major effects of colonialism, as the land was claimed and renamed by the colonial occupying forces.

In keeping with practices elsewhere, the new South African identity could be expressed by changing the names of certain cities, streets, squares and other public places.

The country could have a Mandelaville, Tamboville, Joe Slovo School and erase the names of Krugersdorp, Piet Retief and Verwoedburg.

The name of the country could also be changed. The main objection to “South Africa” is that it signifies only a geographical area.

The term “republic” is associated with the consolidation of the apart-

heid state and signifies the dispossession and exclusion of the majority of South Africans.

The name “Azania” could, however, be too closely associated with sectarian interests such as the Black Consciousness groups.

The ANC suggests dropping “Republic” and maintaining “South Africa”.

A moratorium should be declared on new stamp designs and the production of banknotes and coins. A design which could be featured on the next stamp is Codesa, says the document.

“Existing national symbols should be subjected to informed scrutiny by the people of South Africa,” the ANC says.

Tutu to churches: 'help to stop the killing'



Archbishop Desmond Tutu

South 31/10 - 4/11/92
Archbishop Desmond Tutu, president of the All Africa Conference of Churches (AACC), told the organisation's general assembly on Wednesday that the situation was "desperate" after last weekend's massacre of 20 people in Natal.

He asked the assembly to send a message to all black political leaders, but especially to Mandela and Buthelezi, to say it was "very deeply distressed at the current violence".

"It just seems to me that you have reprisal and counter-reprisal. We call on them, as we assure them of our prayers, to do all they can to restrain their followers from engaging in the present mindless bloodletting."

Proposing the message to De Klerk, Tutu said: "The first part of that statement should be for us to congratulate him on the courage that he showed in February 1990, but then to say that we believe the South African government is not acting effectively to end the violence."

ARCHBISHOP
Desmond Tutu has urged Africa's church leaders to call on Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to restrain their followers from "mindless bloodletting", following the assassination of Natal ANC leader Mr Reggie Hadebe.

He also asked them to send a message to President FW de Klerk, saying the government was not acting effectively to end the violence.

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ence of Churches (AACC), told the organisation's general assembly on Wednesday that the situation was "desperate" after last weekend's massacre of 20 people in Natal.

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PAC, govt to meet in SA

South 31/10-4/11/92
PAN AFRICANIST Congress secretary for external affairs Mr Gora Ebrahim said the PAC would meet the South African government again within weeks — this time on South African soil.

He also said registration of voters for a constituent assembly could begin by December.

He declared Codesa dead, and said a new negotiating forum should be in place by February next year.

Ebrahim said it had been agreed that Codesa had to be replaced by a new multi-party forum.

According to the PAC's programme, the new forum should be in place by February next year and

the registration of voters for the election of a constituent assembly could begin as soon as December.

Ebrahim said there were as many as 21 million potential voters in South Africa, and seats on the assembly should be allocated proportionally.

"Any party getting at least one percent of the vote will be represented on the assembly to make it as wide and as representative as possible," he said.

The PAC has also rejected the idea of an interim government during the transition to multi-racial democracy — a concept favoured by the ANC. — Sapa