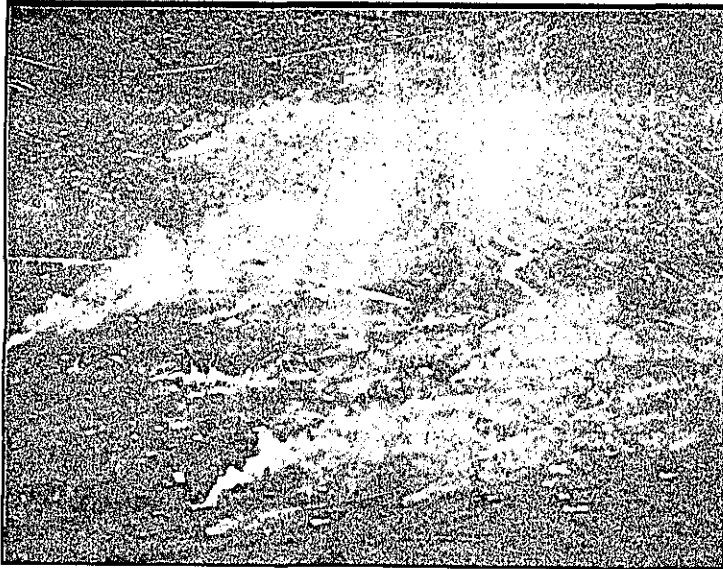


BLACK POLITICS

1990

APRIL

# CARNAGE IN THE VALLEY OF DEATH



Clouds of smoke rise from Edendale's Valley of Death near Maritzburg, as houses blaze in the intensified fighting.

## ANC sends peace party to quell Natal violence

By SBU MNGADI

AS the carnage continued in strife-torn Natal an advance party of ANC peace-makers, led by internal chairman Walter Sisulu, arrived in Maritzburg yesterday. The main peace-seeking delegation, is expected to follow tomorrow, including deputy president Nelson Mandela who will spend three days in the area.

Meanwhile it has emerged that the planned peace rally - at which Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Mandela were to have shared a platform - was cancelled because of a feared blood-bath.

Maritzburg-based ANC leader Harry Gwala on Friday led a 70-strong delegation from the Valley of Death which had lobbied against Mandela holding a joint rally with Buthelezi.

Gwala told *City Press* the intensity of the war was such that an ANC/Inkatha rally could reduce Taylor's Halt, the proposed venue, to a battleground.

But Buthelezi yesterday criticised the move, saying the real issue was that Archie Gumede, Dr Diliza Mji and Harry Gwala did not want the meeting to take place.

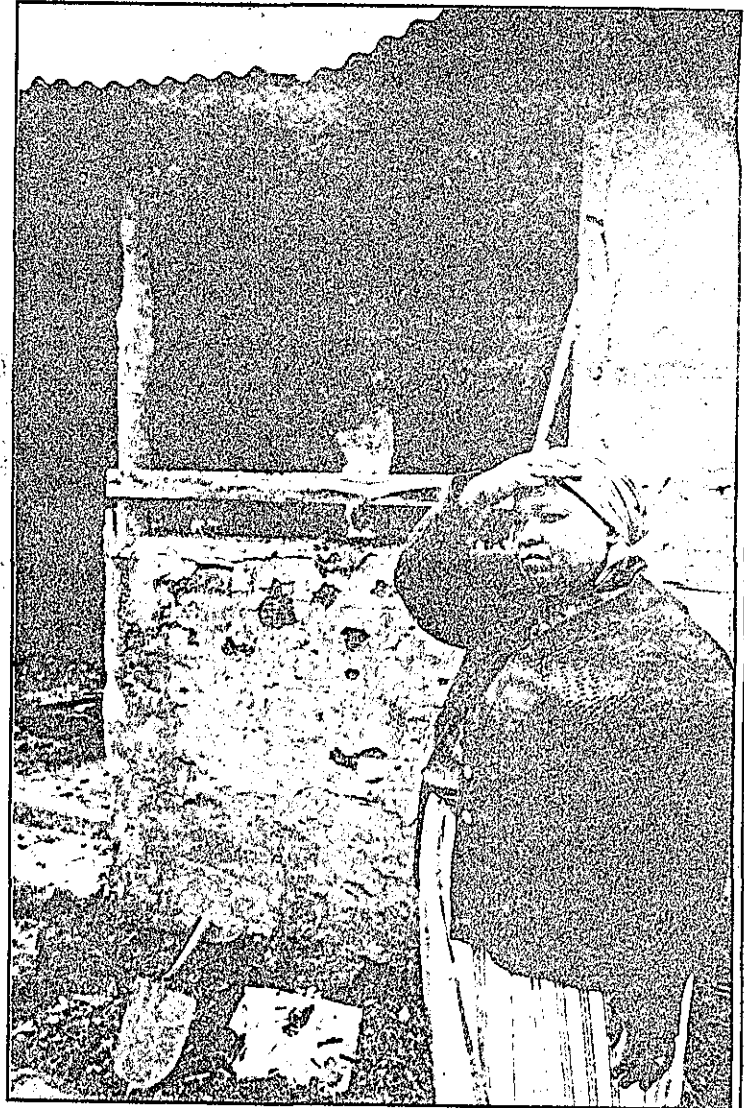
By Monday they would owe more bereaved people explanations why they were delaying Mandela and himself moving in to stop the killing.

High on Mandela's agenda will be to consider mounting calls for the deployment of a peace-keeping force in Natal.

Meanwhile, houses burnt and bodies lay strewn around as Maritzburg saw the worst fighting yet as the UDF-Inkatha conflict took its bloodiest turn this week.

Bodies lay in the scorching afternoon sun on Friday - 28 hours after being slain. Violence erupted in Imbali and Mpophomeni, both of which had been calm throughout the week.

Police have reported 37 people killed since Sunday, when people returning from an Inkatha rally at King's Park Stadium fired on people along the main Edendale arterial road - a UDF/Co-



A distraught woman stands outside the burnt-out remains of her home at Hentey Dam in upper Edendale.

satu stronghold.

During my 48-hour stay in the war zone, I saw and received eyewitness reports of 82 killed in the Edendale valley, upper Edendale and Imbali since Sunday.

Radley Keys, director of the Democratic Party in the Natal Midlands, said about 350 people had been killed in Natal so far this month - the highest monthly death toll since the violence between the UDF/Inkatha conflict erupted in 1985.

Large co-ordinated battles in the region this week left at least 500 houses burnt and more than 20 000 homeless. Refugees streaming from the war-torn villages have been housed in community halls, schools, churches and open fields. Residents of unaffected areas in the region have opened their houses and hearts in sharing shelter and food with the destitute.

Other people are sleeping on the pavements of Maritzburg City Centre.

See Page 4

# ANC in bid to scuttle settlers drive

By NICCI YOUNG

5/ Times 1/5/90

THE ANC is trying to scuttle a Government and big business initiative to recruit skilled workers from Hong Kong.

An ANC delegation in the colony has been actively discouraging emigration to South Africa, the Sunday Times learned this week.

Hong Kong is an obvious target for Government and private head hunters as hundreds of thousands of well-off, highly qualified people are expected to flee the British colony before 1997, when it will be handed over to China.

Hong Kong Chinese with a bank balance of more than R125 000 or whose qualifications match SA's vacant job list are eligible for a visa in one month rather than the usual six months.

The Home Affairs Department has approved in principle the resettlement of 300 Hong Kong families, each of whom will bring R1-million in liquid assets to the Republic.

## Bitter

Backing the Government's efforts, the 1820 Settlers Association launched a recruiting campaign in Hong Kong from March 6 to 13.

But the ANC is determined to stop the recruiting drive.

On March 1, the ANC's chief representative in East Asia, Mr Jerry Matsila, and an executive member of the National Education Co-ordinating Committee, Mr Eric Molobi, were guests of the Hong Kong anti-apartheid group.

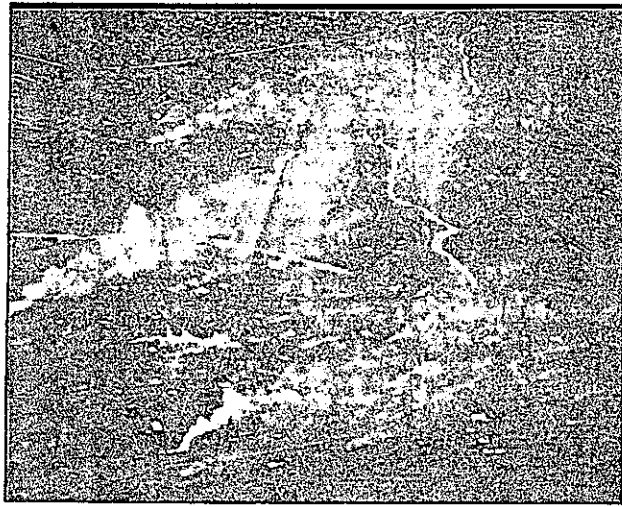
Mr Matsila warned that "those people who begin emigrating to and investing in South Africa now run the risk of facing bitterness and resentment from blacks in the future.

"New migrants might be seen as helping to suppress the black people and prevent the Government from training them to take up skilled jobs," said Mr Matsila."

(NIA) ~~2/1/90~~ c/press 1/4/90

# ANC CALLS OFF TALKS WITH FW

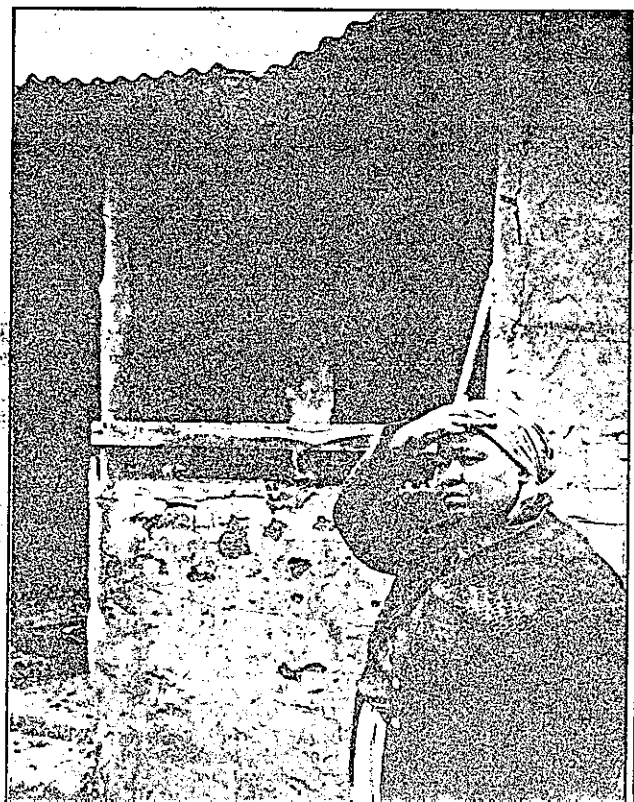
## CARNAGE IN THE VALLEY OF DEATH



Clouds of smoke rise from Edendale's Valley of Death near Maritzburg, as houses blaze in the intensified fighting.

## ANC sends peace party to quell Natal violence

By SBU MNGADI But Buthelezi yesterday criticised the move, saying the real issue was that



## Crucial meeting shelved to protest against cop killings

CP Correspondents and Sapa

THE ANC has suspended talks with the South African government scheduled for April 11 in protest against police shootings in Sebokeng on Monday.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela said yesterday in Bisho in the Ciskei a climate conducive to negotiations was made impossible by continuing State violence, vigilantes and hit squads, the state of emergency and the imprisonment of political prisoners.

Taking a hard line, he said the government would have to meet the demands of the Harare Declaration and end State violence against peaceful protests before talks could take place.

"State President FW de Klerk said he was an advocate of peace in Namibia, but was the State President an advocate of peace in South Africa?" Mandela asked.

He called for an intensification of international pressure on South Africa and a continuation of the armed struggle.

The decision to suspend talks had been taken by the Lusaka-based National Executive Committee (NEC) in consultation with the internal interim leadership.

The announcement follows strong condemnation on Friday by the NEC of "unprovoked killing and maiming of peaceful demonstrators" by police in Sebokeng this week.

State President FW de Klerk said at a Press conference in Cape Town yesterday he had been advised by Mandela himself that the talks were shelved. He had not yet seen the full ANC statement and would reply ful-

## WE FIND SEBE'S SA HIDEOUT

See Page 2



## TACTICROLLER 'LEADER' SLAIN

See Page 14



# ANC suspends talks with FW after Sebokeng deaths

■ From Page 1

"While the shooting at Sebokeng was a deplorable episode, it can be no excuse for breaking off talks, as could any other of the acts of violence that have been perpetrated all over the country," De Beer said.

In a statement yesterday the British Foreign Office in London expressed disappointment at the suspension of the talks.

In its statement on Friday the ANC said: "On March 26, less than seven days after the 30th anniversary of the notorious Sharpeville massacre of 1960, unarmed demonstrators in Sebokeng, engaged in a peaceful demonstration against the injustices of apartheid, were once again shot, resulting in the loss of the more than 13 lives and injuries to an estimated 400 people.

"Coming in the wake of the shooting in Gazankulu, Thabong, Bophuthatswana and other parts of our country, these most recent killings establish a pattern of police brutality and increased bloodletting and death."

*11A*  
*11/4/90*  
*press*  
The ANC condemned these "massacres" in the strongest terms and demanded an "immediate end to this crime".

The statement said the system of apartheid lay at the root of all political violence in South Africa.

"The terrorism of the police and army is encouraged and protected by the state of emergency and existing repressive legislation."

It called on all supporters to continue the mass struggle for:

- A democratic South Africa;
- The creation of an atmosphere of free political activity;
- An end to the bantustan system, township councils and other unrepresentative institutions;
- A living wage;
- Reasonable rents, decent housing and improved living conditions; and
- Against all other manifestations of apartheid.

This week the government announced the names of a nine-man team that would have negotiat-

ed with the ANC on April 11 under FW de Klerk.

The others are ministers Pik Botha, Gerrit Viljoen, Dawie de Villiers, Kobie Coetsee, Barend du Plessis, Adriaan Vlok, Stoffel van der Merwe and Deputy Minister Roelf Meyer.

Making the announcement, Viljoen said he expected the ANC would soon announce its own list of negotiators.

■ De Klerk is to address Parliament on the issue of violence in the country tomorrow.

He made this announcement during a speech to the Cape Town Press Club this week where he said the government would be obliged to use the full weight of its power to restore law and order if certain elements on the left and right continued their present course of violence and lawlessness.

He said there was no room for violence from any quarter in determining the future of South Africa.

# FW wants commitment to peace

**N**EXT week's discussions with leaders of the self-governing territories and majority parties in Parliament should play an important exploratory role in establishing a basis for constitutional negotiations, said President FW de Klerk this week.

Addressing the Cape Town Press Club, he said the talks to be held with the ANC on April 11 (now postponed) were also important, but would focus on different issues.

"We will be looking for a clear and unambiguous commitment to peaceful solutions, while constructively addressing practical issues such as the return of exiles and questions regarding so-called political prisoners."

He said in the process of reform perceptions were created that the existing order should vanish overnight and be replaced by one or other utopia.

"This is not how things work and I have a duty to spell it out loudly and clearly," he said.

The uncertainty which went hand-in-hand with rapid change often led to incorrect conclusions and

emotional interpretations.

Some media reports after Nelson Mandela's release had given the impression it was a clear-cut matter that the ANC was on the point of taking over the government and that it would automatically enforce its socialist policy on the country.

Businessmen at home and overseas suddenly became concerned over their investments and State officials over their pensions and prospects.

Parents became unnecessarily worried about the future education of their children.

Thugs gained the incorrect impression that their misdeeds would remain unpunished as long as they were committed in



**De Klerk ... addressing practical issues.**

the name of the so-called "struggle".

"There is not the least talk of an ANC takeover or a takeover by anyone else," said De Klerk. "All that has happened is that a fair process which must lead to negotiation, has been put into operation."

"Parallel to this, the legal government of South Africa remains firmly in control and will govern the country in accordance with the laws which are still valid."

Only with the concurrence of voters would a new dispensation be introduced.

"The initiative is in our hands and we have the ability to ensure that the process of negotiation and change will take place peacefully and in an orderly manner. Meanwhile, normal good government will continue."

All South Africans knew deep in their hearts that the present state of affairs could not continue indefinitely. A new dispensation had to come.

The National Party was prepared to share political, cultural and economic freedoms in a just manner, but was not pre-

pared to destroy existing rights or to allow them to be destroyed.

"Anyone who believes that we will accept a dispensation in which the quality of existing freedoms and rights is negatively affected, is making a mistake."

Those who presently enjoyed full political rights had no intention of disappearing from the stage of history. On the contrary, they had a key role in any new dispensation.

"We will not throw overboard the freedom and values that have been built up over three-and-a-half centuries."

"At the same time it is our serious intention to ensure full democratic rights for all. Fair participation in government at all levels, by all South Africans, is the goal."

All South Africans had to be involved in determining the future of the country.

The idea that the negotiating process would involve only two parties was a complete misconception. All leaders with proven and substantial support would be welcome at the negotiating table. — Sapa.

There were few reported incidents of violence, apart from the shooting of Patrick Kombayi, National Organising Secretary of the opposition Zimbabwe Unity Movement (Zum), and a candidate in Gweru.

The official version is that he was shot during "inter-party clashes" after he shot at and set fire to vice-president Simon Muzenda's vehicle.

Zum says Kombayi was unarmed when he was gunned down in the street near a Gweru hotel and was shot several times in the stomach, once in the groin and once in the leg.

In a hospital interview, Kombayi said he was shot by government intelligent agents.

He was said to be under police guard at Bulawayo Central Hospital, awaiting orthopaedic surgery. A police spokesman refused to say if Kombayi was under arrest.

A spate of Zum defections to Zanu (PF) just before voting started has left the movement contesting 101 seats.

Zum is muttering about it all being an orchestrated campaign, but there is no way the party would have gained a majority of seats even if all their MPs did stand. However, the defections will certainly reduce Zum's chances of being a sizeable minority.

Despite corruption scandals, unemployment reckoned by some economists at 35 percent in the urban areas and erosion of the Zimbabwe dollar, Mugabe has effective control of the media, and is too well entrenched to be dislodged.

Sapa reports that opposition Zum leader Edgar Tekere said about 38 Zum members had been arrested and jailed in the midlands town of Gweru, where nine other Zum members have disappeared.

Tekere has been quoted as describing the elections as a meaningless event. He said if the Zanu (PF) government was returned to power, it would not last 12 months.

He did not elaborate, but vehemently denied that he was plotting a coup.

Former Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith said on Wednesday Zimbabwe's general election was neither free nor fair because of intimidation by Mugabe's governing party.

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# Sacos calls on ANC to help solve bitter policy battle with the NSC

By VIVIAN REDDIAR

**T**HE South African Council on Sport (Sacos) has called on the ANC to intervene in its conflict with the National Sports Congress (NSC).

This is the effect of a resolution adopted at the Sacos meeting in Durban last Sunday, when officials voted to reaffirm a November decision declaring the ANC-allied NSC a rival body.

The meeting failed to bring a solution to the six-month-old dispute any nearer.

Unless the dispute is resolved soon, it can only be settled by a more protracted, bitter and divisive dog-fight.

Whether the ANC will become involved remains to be seen. In the last few months it appears to have virtually ignored Sacos, which it has recognised and supported in principle over the years.

Sacos officials claim numerous attempts to meet ANC officials have failed in the last few months, suggesting deliberate moves to prevent such a meeting taking place.

■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■

In addition, they complain, Sacos has incorrectly been portrayed as anti-ANC.

Now officials hope recent behind-the-scenes lobbying will result in a change of mind.

Last week Sacos decided to meet all "progressive" political organisations and explain its policy.

Officials believe the ANC can influence the NSC and help break the deadlock.

Sacos wants to explain its policy of political non-alignment, its relationship to anti-apartheid political and community groups and its attitude to the NSC.

It also wants to stop certain NSC activities. The NSC stands accused of wanting to destroy Sacos, while preserving a public mask of innocence.

Sunday's meeting also decided to seek a meeting with the NSC.

The NSC, formed on a mandate from the Mass Democratic Movement, believes Sacos is out of touch with political developments in the country, and is becoming irrelevant.

It hotly disputes Sacos' non-aligned position.

There is a deep-rooted conviction in the NSC that, despite denials, certain Sacos officials actively promote the policies of the New Unity Movement in sport.

The question of political alignment has important policy implications.

The NSC has decided the time has come for negotiations to establish unity with the white sports establishment.

It has initiated unity talks with a number of sports organisations with the aim of eventually forming a mass-based non-racial sports movement.

Sacos, on the other hand, remains distrustful of white sports bodies, believing they are not ready to talk "principled" unity.

Some Sacos officials are also suspicious of the motives of certain black sport officials who were previously hostile to the non-racial sports movement and are now considered to have jumped on the political bandwagon.

The two bodies also differ on the future application of the sports boycott. Sacos favours a continuing blanket boycott, while the NSC is in favour of a radical review in the near future.

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The big problem facing the rival bodies is that some of the NSC's most committed supporters are in Sacos, and cannot leave without causing a massive disruption in sport as a whole.

Breakaways from Sacos affiliates in some areas have already taken place, and school sport appears to be moving towards affiliation with the NSC.

The NSC policy of alignment has not met with universal approval outside Sacos, and as it is a totally new approach in local sport, only the future will tell if it is successful.

But there is no doubt the NSC has attracted a fair amount of support all round - in Sacos, in the white sports establishment and among previously "independent" black sports bodies.

There is reason to believe the NSC will spring more than a few surprises when it is officially launched soon.

11A

# buy Shareworld

## Businessmen discuss project with Sisulu

CP Reporter

A PROPOSAL has been put to the ANC to purchase the R35 million Shareworld entertainment complex outside Soweto to establish the movement's national office.

Four prominent black businessmen are behind the proposal, which was discussed with ANC former secretary-general Walter Sisulu at his home in Orlando West, Soweto, two weeks ago.

According to *City Press* sources, certain members of the ANC's National Executive Committee (NEC) have been informed of the proposal.

However, on Friday the Standard Bank - which backed Shareworld to the tune of R35 million two years ago before it went into liquidation last year with a loan debt believed to be R50-million - said it was not aware of any potential buyers for the complex.

Nor were the liquidators, Met-Trust, who told *City Press*: "We have not been approached by anybody, even the ANC. Obviously anybody who comes with an offer will be considered."

The idea behind the proposal, *City Press* learnt, was to create a Red Cross-type reception centre for returning ANC cadres. Other activities envisaged for the complex would include community recreation facilities, social

workers' consultation offices, educational and gymnastic facilities.

It was also learnt a task force under the leadership of an attorney would be set up to provide a detailed outline of various activities to be undertaken. This would be followed by an "action plan".

The third stage would involve the laying out of the fund-raising strategies and the accountability thereof.

The task force would start by evaluating the impact of this overall exercise and will have to follow it through its logical conclusion.

*City Press* was further informed that other leading black businessmen and community leaders were being canvassed and sounded out on the project.

Our source said: "The idea is not to set up ANC headquarters at Shareworld. The whole thing, it would seem, hinges around the idea of accommodating structures lesser than the NEC at Shareworld."

It is understood interest has been shown in the Shareworld cinemas and other outlets at the complex that would be let to black businessmen to generate funds for the ANC.

Sisulu, thought to be in possession of the proposal document, could not be reached for comment. However, several internal ANC leaders told *City Press* this week they had heard about the whole Shareworld plan and supported the idea.



# Reason talks (11A) are off S/Times 11/4/90

THIS is the ANC statement calling off the April 11 meeting with the Government:

"For the third time in as many weeks, the South African police and army have indulged in the unprovoked killing and maiming of defenceless demonstrators.

"On 26th March, less than seven days after the 30th anniversary of the notorious Sharpeville massacre in 1960, unarmed demonstrators in Sebokeng, engaged in a peaceful demonstration against the injustices of apartheid, were once again shot, resulting in the loss of more than 16 lives and injuries to an estimated 400 people.

"While the ANC and other formations of the democratic movement have made an explicit commitment to seeking a peaceful resolution of the South African conflict, no such undertaking has yet been made by the Pretoria regime.

"Under the present circumstances, the National Executive Committee of the ANC, in consultation with the Interim Leadership Core in South Africa, considers it ill-advised to proceed with arrangements to meet De Klerk and his colleagues on April 11.

"Effective from this moment, all arrangements for this meeting stand suspended. The NEC shall convene a special sitting to review the situation within five days. The South African Government was informed of the decision on Friday, March 30.

"The ANC once again reiterates that the people of South Africa have the right to assemble and demonstrate in support of their just demands. We claim this as an inalienable right, not as a favour conceded by the regime at its discretion."

THE worst nightmare of most ordinary South Africans has come true. Clouds of smoke billowing from burnt-out cars hang over townships. Bodies are lying in the streets — killed by anarchistic rioters or shot by nervous policemen who feared for their lives amid mob violence.

Right-wing whites organise themselves into vigilante gangs and roam the streets in search of black passers-by on whom they can vent their anger and frustration.

Blacks retaliate by stoning the first car they see. Organised marches intended to express legitimate grievances degenerate into orgies of wanton violence and looting.

Terse official statements document the incidents almost matter of factly: 20 dead in one night in the Katlehong taxi war; nine killed and 180 injured on March 12 near Witbank; seven more near Potchefstroom three days later; at least 23 in violent clashes this week. Burnings, shootings, panga attacks, petrol bombs, shotguns, rubber bullets, tear gas...

It reminds one of 1985 when the townships were ruled — in the infamous words of Mrs Winnie Mandela — by the power of matchboxes and tyres. Eventually the Government was forced to send the troops in to enforce a state of emergency with strong-arm tactics.

ANC leaders deliver ringing speeches calling for peace and calm. They are politely listened to, then flatly ignored. Politicians and senior policemen criss-cross the country administering sticking plaster at the scenes of violence.

## Questions

In the minds of ordinary whites the questions pile up:

- Who controls the masses — indeed can they be controlled?
- Why the violence now, at a time when the first real prospect of blacks attaining full political rights is nearing reality?
- Is this what the New South Africa is all about?
- Shouldn't whites take their own measures to protect families and property?
- Are we plummeting into another Beirut where warlords establish their own fiefdoms and dispense with anyone who dares to threaten their turf?

What should be noted is that both the Government and its main protagonist — the ANC — have vested interests in ending the spiral of violence. In fact, it is highly likely that the first meeting between the two parties on April 11 will reflect mutual concern about deteriorating security.

I have little doubt that the ANC leadership in Lusaka has genuinely opted for a negotiated solution to South Africa's political problems. In a recent interview, Umkhonto we Sizwe chief-of-staff Chris Hani — supposedly the most militant hardliner in the ANC — told me frankly:

"We have always said the armed struggle is but a strategy to force

# Violence can only lead to anarchy



**Dries van Heerden**

*asks if the ANC has control of the mobs*

the Government to the negotiating table. Now that this is about to happen we will pursue that road to the very end."

Which raises the next question — the question that everybody is almost afraid to whisper. Can it be that the ANC does not have control over the masses in the townships?

Mr Mandela calls for knives and pangas to be thrown into the sea. His followers proceed to plunge them into the backs of their opponents. Mr Sisulu asks children to return to schools. They proceed to rampage through the streets.

Does the ANC have control? Perhaps the answer is both yes and no.

No, because the ANC itself has never claimed to represent the whole of the black community.

## Symbolic

In fact when the debate on the armed struggle raged inside the movement one of the strongest arguments in favour of a cessation of hostilities was the main problem — that there were "too many bombs exploding which are not ours". From rival political organisations, from the warlords of the black gangs and from agents provocateurs.

But in spite of the present fluidity in black politics the ANC still remains the most potent organisational and symbolic force.

Its official views on the teeming violence has been exemplary. Senior leaders took great personal and political risks by coming out strongly against the mindless violence practised in certain areas. Only last month UDF leader, "Terror" Lekota went public in supporting action by the authorities to ensure marches took place in an orderly and peaceful manner.

My impression is that there is even a serious rethink going on at present in ANC circles about the wisdom of the state of emergency.

Mr De Klerk's political moves have also shown his integrity in this regard. For the Government the emergency is no longer an instrument to ensure political domination. More and more people are coming to realise it may still be in place purely for law and order purposes.

President De Klerk's dilemma is that he is saddled with a legacy from his predecessor in which millions earmarked for security were wasted on sinister projects, spying on political opponents and engaging in the sort of murky activities that are now being revealed before the Harms Commission.

At the same time the ordinary policemen on the beat, who should be investigating ordinary criminal activity, were overlooked as far as salary and perks were concerned — so much so they are now leaving the force at a rate of almost 20 a week.

Small wonder there is a lack of respect for law and order in most black communities. Crimes like burglaries, rape and assault are reported but seldom investigated because of a lack of manpower.

## Solution

And even when a dossier is opened and a policeman is assigned to the case, it rarely reaches the courts because the offices of the attorney-generals are similarly grossly understaffed.

After suffering one or two of these experiences one can hardly blame a citizen for seeking redress in less conventional ways when next he is aggrieved.

What will hopefully emerge from the Government's meeting with the ANC is an agreement on ground rules to combat lawlessness and violence.

The police should be given the necessary power in terms of authority, manpower and equipment to enforce law and order. And if present legislation is not enough, perhaps the state of emergency should be extended.

If present manpower is not adequate, alternative measures should be investigated — if need be returning members of Umkhonto from exile could be deployed in the townships to combat crime.

Criminals, looters and perpetrators of violence should be arrested, charged and brought before open courts. Allegations of police excesses should be investigated thoroughly and, where it can be proved that individuals have overstepped their authority, they should be punished.

But, in the final instance, a new political order that enjoys legitimacy among the vast majority of the population should be negotiated without delay. Security force action can at most be a temporary measure to solve ad hoc problems.

The root causes remain political and can only be removed when all South Africans enjoy equal political rights.

'No bowing to ANC hardliners'

11A

# FW to launch crackdown on violence

2/27  
B/Dam 2/4/90

CAPE TOWN — President FW de Klerk will announce a countrywide crackdown on violence when he addresses Parliament today.

Despite the ANC having given the Sebokeng shootings as the reason for cancelling the historic April 11 "talks about talks", De Klerk and his Cabinet believe violence, especially in Natal, the Vaal triangle and Welkom, must now be stopped.

Although government spokesmen have been loath to comment on the actions contemplated, De Klerk can be expected to announce that troops will be sent in to restore order. With organisations like the Black Sash having recently called on government to send in the troops to combat violence, De Klerk and his Cabinet are confident this step will not attract the same international outcry as in the past.

Government spokesmen were yesterday bitterly disappointed that the ANC had called off the planned April 11 meeting, but said they believed this reflected tensions within the organisation.

A senior official said there was a large body of opinion within the ANC that was opposed to negotiations at this stage. These people, he believed, were using the Sebokeng shootings as an excuse to override those in the ANC who favoured talks. The official said Nelson Mandela's hardline speech at Bisho at the weekend, in which he said it was premature to suspend the armed struggle, was a further indication

MIKE ROBERTSON

that hardliners in the ANC were becoming dominant.

Commenting, in a speech at an NP youth rally in Naboomspruit at the weekend, on the cancellation of the talks, De Klerk said that even if there was room for criticism of police action at Sebokeng, this was not a sufficient reason for cancelling the talks. The whole point of the April 11 talks was to put an end to violence and incidents such as the Sebokeng one.

In his speech to Parliament, De Klerk is expected to give details of contacts between government and the ANC in the run-up to the planned talks. He is also expected to give a further indication of government's preparedness to be flexible on issues such as the freeing of political prisoners and the return of exiles.

Despite the suspension — and indefinite postponement — of the April 11 talks, government spokesmen said they believed there was no alternative but to maintain contact with the ANC in the hope of securing another meeting date. In this they were looking to the international community to pressurise the ANC into reversing its decision on the postponement.

Arrangements for the April 11 talks had reached such a stage that the ANC had already indicated to government who its delegates would be.

□ To Page 2

2

BUSINESS DAY, Monday, April 2 1990

## Crackdown

□ From Page 1

The first hint of the impending crackdown by government came on Friday when De Klerk told the Cape Town Press Club he would be announcing in Parliament today, steps to combat violence.

At a weekend meeting with KwaZulu's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok promised more policemen would be sent into Natal.

De Klerk is expected to announce that in addition to extra policing, large troop deployments will be moved into trouble spots there and elsewhere in the country. In Natal, government is expected to set aside protected areas for the temporary housing of refugees.

Government believes the fabric of the present violence throughout the country is different from that in 1985 and 1986. Where then it believed violence was directed at overthrowing the state, it believes now that the violence results from rivalry between black political groupings. It also believes that playing a major part in fomenting violence is an anarchic youth element that cannot be controlled by any of the major black political groupings.

De Klerk said on Friday government was determined to ensure that the process of negotiation and change took place in an

orderly and peaceful manner. "The future of this country will not be decided through the barrel of a gun, the waving of arms or stamping of feet. It will be decided around a conference table."

Unbridled protest politics, De Klerk said, could spell serious dangers for the process of reform. "Large masses of people proclaiming extreme positions in our streets promote polarisation and violence. What we need is reconciliation and goodwill."

Government, De Klerk said, was not approaching negotiations from a position of weakness. It had not waited until the balance of power had turned against it before deciding on a course of peaceful negotiations. "The initiative is in our hands and we have the capability to ensure that the process of negotiation and change is peaceful and orderly," he said.

There was no room for violence from any quarter in determining the future of SA. "If certain elements on the left and on the right continue their present course of violence and lawlessness, the government will be obliged to use the full weight of its power to restore law and order in an unprejudiced manner."

● See Page 10

B/Dam 2/4/90

# Three views — in one dimension <sup>11A</sup> on Mandela

B10 am 21/4/90

**MANDELA: ECHOES OF AN ERA** by Alf Kumalo and Es'kia Mphahlele (Penguin, R49,99)

**MANDELA — HIGHER THAN HOPE** by Fatima Meer (Madiba, R34,95)

**NO EASY WALK TO FREEDOM** by Nelson Mandela (Heinemann, R14,95)

THE release of the world's most famous political prisoner on February 11 has spurred publishers into producing or revising books on the man who now has a key role in negotiating a new and hopefully democratic SA.

A country which did not know what Mandela looked like until a month ago, and was officially denied his writings and opinions other than his speech from the dock at the Rivonia trial which Helen Suzman read into the parliamentary record, now has a surfeit of both words and pictures.

These books (one new, two revised

reprints) all cover, in greater or lesser detail, the same ground: Mandela's early life, his rise within the ANC and his trials and imprisonment.

The latest of these is Mphahlele's text which accompanies photographs by Alf Kumalo going back to the '50s. The photographs really are the "echoes of an era" in the title, filling in the gaps between Mandela at the 1961 treason trial with Joe Slovo and his wife Ruth First, later murdered by a parcel bomb in Mozambique, and Mandela after his release from prison.

The era is fleshed out with pictures of Mandela's first wife Eveline in her Transkei store and his current wife Winnie in banishment and at meetings; Steve Biko and Albertina Sisulu, township violence and deprivation, troops and confrontation.

Mphahlele's text details Mandela's political rise, the Kliptown convention which led to the adoption of the Freedom Charter, the treason trial,

the Rivonia trial, the Soweto riots and the formation of the Black Consciousness movement, the UDF and the MDM while he was imprisoned.

It reflects Mandela's anger at conditions which led to the ANC's espousal of violence and Mphahlele's anger at the continuing "political tyranny" for which he holds President F W de Klerk specifically and white South Africans generally responsible.

His history, informative and at times moving, is weakened by a text which often flows awkwardly around the photographs and by unnecessary errors. Sharpeville was not on March 20, Verwoerd was not killed by an "immigrant cleaner" or during a Cabinet meeting and P W Botha would be surprised to learn Vorster gave him the task of designing the tricameral constitution.

It concludes with the full text of Mandela's Cape Town speech after his release.

Echoes of an Era is due for international release, where the publishers hope for the same acclaim accorded to Meer's Higher than Hope, currently the hardback non-fiction bestseller in the UK.

Meer's biography, originally published in 1988 to celebrate Mandela's 70th birthday, has been revised after discussions with him in Victor Verster Prison. It includes a detailed history of the times, the state and defence cases in the Rivonia trial, and Mandela's letters from prison to family and friends.

No Easy Walk to Freedom — the new edition, like the Kumalo-Mphahlele volume, contains a foreword by Walter Sisulu — was first published in 1965.

It is a compilation of Mandela's writings and speeches, on the black struggle and the resort to violence, and shows why Mandela believed the objectives of the Freedom Charter

would not be realised until the financial and gold-mining monopolies "are smashed and the national wealth of the country turned over to the people".

In addition to Mandela's speech from the dock at the Rivonia trial, it contains verbatim extracts from the earlier trial for incitement and illegal exit from the country at which Mandela conducted his own defence. At that trial he subjected Verwoerd's private secretary to rigorous cross-examination.

None of the assessments so far is critical; they have been compiled by friends, admirers and confidantes. But until there is a biography by someone who differs from Mandela or is at least prepared to assess him objectively, these works at least give South Africans a basis to judge a man whose background and views are important to supporters and detractors alike.

MICHAEL ACOTT

BUSINESS DAY, Monday, April 2 1990  
UNIVERSITY FROM 11-21 APRIL FROM 8.30 TO 11.30

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**P**RESIDENT de Klerk and the homeland leaders — Chief Buthelezi among them — were to embark this week on talks about next week's talks with the ANC which were to deal with the obstacles to talks about talks. Silly as it sounds, that's precisely where matters stood when the ANC baulked.

The ANC's suspension of preliminary talks on April 11 was done on the flimsiest pretext: the Sebokeng shootings that claimed 14 lives (among the hundreds killed since February 2) on Monday. On Friday, the ANC was still willing to name its delegates; on Saturday it was back to armed struggle.

Time will disclose what happened between Friday and Saturday, but it smells of power struggle, as does the earlier cancellation of a meeting between Nelson Mandela and Chief Buthelezi at a rally to try to stop the slaughter in the war between the UDF and Inkatha in Natal.

**W**hether the ANC is uncertain of its strategy, or of its leadership, or of its own power base, it is plainly not yet ready for constructive negotiations, and it seems to be retreating again into the destructive clichés of "armed struggle" and mass mobilisation. It is letting slip the dogs of war.

Nelson Mandela himself is shrinking in stature by the day. His appeals for peace have been vain, his freedom of action has been circumscribed by the younger generation of leaders around him, and his own political stance has been vacillating and tentative. One day he wants to talk, the next day he wants to fight; one day he calls for peace, the next day for "armed struggle".

One line of reasonable speculation is that the Black Consciousness organisations (including the PAC), the militant unionists, and the township youngsters have found his commitment to peace far too tame; the ANC may fear being outflanked on its left, and made irrelevant, as it was in the Soweto rising of 1976. Therefore it is

# Mandela shrinks, and the bliss of a new dawn begins to fade

*11A* *B/Dam 2/4/90*  
**KEN OWEN**

making a show of ferocity.

Or it may simply be that Mandela is finding it more difficult than he expected to regain leadership, and is now trying to bolster his status within the organisation with cheap appeals to violent emotions. It may simply be that the ANC is no longer, in any meaningful sense, an organisation.

Whatever the reason, it has left President de Klerk holding the moral and political high ground, the first Nationalist leader to do so since 1948. Indeed, the State President has done more in two months to secure our future as South Africans than his party did in the preceding decades.

Obviously, there's a long way to go. The government, perhaps with an eye towards the elections due by 1994, has wanted to move fast, and wrap up an agreement with the black leaders within two or three years. Now it appears that the ANC is ready neither for negotiations nor for power. The complexities of dealing with confused and uncertain black leaders are daunting.

Besides, the communal violence, though not unexpected in communities whose political aspirations have been suppressed for decades, has been deeply distressing, and on a

scale to test everybody's courage. Many whites, including former liberals and Progs, and even some of the more intense "liberation groups", have taken fright; Black Sash members turn to the army for help.

When events move with such speed, and create such turbulence, it is easy to overlook the gains that have been made. In fact, the progress of the past two months has exceeded every liberal's wildest dreams. The country has been turned from a course of certain disaster — President de Klerk's "80 Years' War" — and set on a new course that offers hope.

**A**partheid, utterly failed, is being discarded; ahead lies the task, immense and exciting, of creating a new society. Shirley Williams, the motherly British politician who visited South Africa in January, seemed to smell change in the air even before President de Klerk's epochal speech on February 2, and she captured the excitement of creating a new, free, democratic society by quoting William Wordsworth's famous lines about the French Revolution:

"Bliss it was in that dawn to be alive,

"But to be young was very heaven."

While the slaughter continues in the townships, and while rival *impis* turn Natal into a killing field, and while Nelson Mandela risks destruction for the sake of his own power, bliss is perhaps not an easy word to use. But at least the long, dreary nightmare of apartheid has come to an end: the evasion of reality, the lies, the parrot-incantation of untruths, the petty viciousness, the indifference to suffering, the cruelty, the selfishness — the insanity.

It has been a psychotic time in our national life, so grotesque that small episodes linger in the mind more tenaciously than the memory of Sharpeville, or the shock of the Sophiatown removals, or the assassination of the principal author of all that evil, Hendrik Verwoerd.

In about 1957 or 1958 I asked the chairman of a group areas board how the Indian traders of Pretoria were expected to make a living if they were moved out of town to Laudium. He replied: "The time is past when Indians could dominate the retail trade." And in that reply I caught a glimpse of the truth: that apartheid

was a cynical camouflage for greed and envy.

A few months ago I trekked to Pretoria to plead for a visa for the son of a friend to visit his mother. The answer, concealed behind some evasive verbiage, was "No". The reason was an anonymous report, presumably compiled by the sort of malevolent degenerate who created the CCB, that had lain in the files for nearly a decade.

Two small acts of oppression, 33 years apart, and the same foul taste. Bliss it is indeed to imagine that the ANC will come soon to the negotiating table, and that those malevolent spies, those indifferent bureaucrats, that whole machinery of victimisation and malice, will be swept aside.

I am not among those who regret the passing of apartheid for fear of what might follow. The end of apartheid is an unqualified blessing, a dawn of bliss, even if the present is bloody and the future daunting. We expected apartheid to end in fire and blood, a battle over a wasteland; President de Klerk, in a remarkable display of statesmanship, has transformed that outlook.

By deciding to negotiate while he is still in a position of great strength, he has given white South Africans an opportunity to help shape an African future for ourselves and our children.

**A**pity that Nelson Mandela, a lesser man than he seemed in prison, has chosen instead to test white South Africa's strength by "armed struggle". Given the disparity of forces, it is a battle he cannot win in his lifetime, and he is likely to find instead that violence forecloses all options. As Natal demonstrates, it is easier to start a war than to stop.

Wordsworth, seduced by the bliss of revolutionary dawn just 200 years ago, was soon afterwards disillusioned by the reign of terror. Nelson Mandela, if he listens carefully to the pleas for soldiers — white soldiers — to return to the townships to protect the people, may hear in that plea the ominous footbeats of history. Madame Defarge still knits patiently at the foot of the guillotine.

# Six shot after weekend funeral

Sowetan 2/4/90

11A



By MOKGADI PELA

SIX members of the Azanian Students Movement were injured when they were allegedly shot by municipal policemen in Bekkersdal at the weekend.

The six students were returning from the cemetery, where a crowd of almost 5 000 had buried Sello Mogosi (22), an Azasm member killed by political rivals.

The mourners, holding Azapo and Azasm banners, were singing freedom songs when municipal policemen opened fire.

Those shot were: Thabo Mokhobana (19), Trevor Mazibuko (19), Khumaneho Seoka (37), David Motingoe (22), Monwabisi (22) and Popo Mboneli (18).

Police said a report on the incident would only be available today from the Krugersdorp security branch office.

Azasm publicity secretary, Sipho Maseko, condemned the incident.

Meanwhile another activist, Mbuyiselo Montshiwa, could not be buried on Saturday. About 1 000 mourners were told by the Montshiwa family that the funeral had been postponed as police had allegedly refused to release the corpse.

A family spokesman said the funeral would now be held today at 1pm.

Mbuyiselo and Sello died during the feud between Azasm and the Bekkersdal Youth Congress in the West Rand township.

CAT TINTS 2/4/90  
114

# Rival youth warned to end fighting

EAST LONDON. — Executive members of the African National Congress or of the South African Youth Congress would be prepared to come to Ciskei to address the two youth organisations of the African National Congress that were fighting each other in the region.

The deputy president of the African National Congress, Mr Nelson Mandela, said this on Saturday, referring to the fighting between two rival youth organisations in the Mdantsane-East London region.

Fights have erupted between members of the East London Youth Congress and the Mdantsane Youth Congress, which is an affiliate of Sayco.

Mr Mandela said the fighting was a disgrace and appealed to both groups to talk and settle their differences as comrades.

He said the ANC and Sayco were prepared to support them if they chose to talk, but if they chose to fight and settle their differences by killing each other, the situation would not be tolerated.

Mr Mandela condemned the violence that took place in some Ciskei townships on the occasion of Brigadier Joshua Gqozo coming to power after ousting Mr Lennox Sebe, whom he described as "the most despotic ruler in the region".

Bringing greetings of the ANC and SACP (South African Communist Party) to traditional chiefs and people in the region, Mr Mandela paid tribute to the many heroes and heroines who had sacrificed and laid down their lives for freedom.

# Tutu, ANC to meet

Soavelem 2/4/90

11A

*[Handwritten signature]*

ANGLICAN Archbishop Desmond Tutu and several other church leaders are to meet ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in a new attempt to end the escalating violence in Natal.

Tutu said this after conducting church services in the Vaal Triangle

By MATSHUBE MFOLOE

yesterday. The talks will follow the cancellation of a peace rally which was to be addressed by Buthelezi and Mandela today.

In a brief interview outside the Anglican church in Evaton Tutu announced the new initiative.

By late last night it was not clear if Mandela

would meet Buthelezi today.

However, an Inkatha spokeswoman, Ms Suzan de Vos, confirmed that a delegation of the South African Council of Churches (SACC) led by the Rev Frank Chikane would meet Buthelezi in Ulundi. She denied knowledge of any meeting planned between the Inkatha leader and Tutu or Mandela.

● To page 2

## Clashes

11B  
*[Handwritten signature]*

● From page 1

According to the latest police unrest report, at other eight people were killed and at least 20 wounded in the region.

Five people were killed and one injured at Tafelberg near Dornplaas in clashes between rival groups. Police used R-1 rifle fire and birdshot to disperse a crowd that shot at them, wounding one man. *Soavelem 2/4/90*

Two died and 24 were injured after the roof of a police "strong point" was damaged by bullets. It was unclear from the police report if the dead were policemen or civilians.

A police vehicle was also damaged by gunfire.

A man was shot and killed by a large crowd at Mpophomeni near Howick. Another man was injured by the crowd.

Police used R-1 rifle fire, birdshot and tear smoke to disperse fighting groups that shot at the police in two other incidents in the area.

Extensive damage was caused to several houses at Hlangweni, where a large crowd threw petrol bombs at the houses.

A restaurant was also set alight and extensively damaged.





Welcoming freed PAC member Mark Shinnars (left) on Friday were Joe Khoza and PAC president, Zeph Mothopeng. Shinnars was released from Diepkloof prison after serving 11 years of his 12-year sentence.

Bid to put talks back on track

Sowetan 2/4/90

# Plea on peace moves

11A

**THE Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town Desmond Tutu is to seek a meeting with both the African National Congress and the Government in a bid to bring the aborted talks between the two parties back on track.**

In Alexandra township, ANC stalwart Mr Elias Motsoaledi said the organisation's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, was ready and prepared to resume its armed struggle if a political settlement was not reached with the Government.

**Sowetan Reporters and SAPA**

Commenting on the ANC's withdrawal from the April 11 talks with the Government, Tutu said he "would love to see the talks back on track".

He was speaking to reporters soon after addressing a prayer service at St Lawrence's Church, in Small Farms, near Johannesburg, yesterday.

In a short statement issued on Saturday, Tutu said he planned to join other church leaders in seeking urgent consultations with the Government and ANC.

"I do not believe it would be helpful to comment at this stage", he said.

The ANC announced at the weekend it was

withdrawing from the talks in protest against the shooting of 17 people during a demonstration in Sebokeng last Monday.

The organisation said, however, its national executive committee would convene a special sitting to review the situation within five days.

**Criticism**

State President FW de Klerk said criticism of police action such as that at Sebokeng on Monday should not have led to the withdrawal of the ANC from the talks.

Speaking at the Transvaal youth congress of the National Party near Naboomspruit, De Klerk said he had been informed late on Friday afternoon by ANC deputy president

Mr Nelson Mandela that the ANC was withdrawing from the talks.

The shooting at Sebokeng had been cited as the main reason.

De Klerk said the reasons given amounted to criticism of police action. He did not wish to comment on the merits of the incident until he had studied the complete report.

He added that if, for argument's sake, the criticism had been justified, this still should not have stood in the path of the meeting.

He pointed out that such meetings could help prevent similar incidents occurring in the future.

The Democratic Party said the shootings in

Sowetan 2/4/90

# Appeal

● From page 1

Sebokeng did not warrant suspension of the meeting.

DP co-leader Mr. Wynand Malan said it was a very early setback for the process of negotiations.

"Although setbacks were to be expected and were still expected, the reason advanced as the shooting at Sebokeng does not warrant the cancellation of the April 11 meeting.

"This can be dealt with by the appointment of a judicial commission to which both the Government and the ANC could appoint a member.

"The DP appeals to both the Government and the ANC to do everything within their power to get the process started," Malan concluded.

# More police for Natal

CAPT Trusts 2/4/90 11A

MARITZBURG. — Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok on Saturday guaranteed that more men would be introduced into the troubled townships surrounding this city.

Mr Vlok had just made an aerial survey with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of the area where 42 people have died violently since Tuesday.

He told journalists that members of the SADF accused of taking sides in the conflict would be withdrawn.

"They are in fact already being withdrawn," Mr Vlok said.

The minister repeated his earlier call that what was needed both in Natal and the rest of SA was a change of heart.

"Let us stop this violence. We have had enough — let us rather sit around the table and talk," he said.

Both Chief Buthelezi and Mr Vlok said they regarded the situation as being "high priority".

They agreed it was essential for security to be improved through more manpower on the ground.

Responding to a question whether Inkatha was the aggressor against the UDF-Cosatu factions, Chief Buthelezi said Inkatha attacks in the past few days had been a "reaction".

Chief Buthelezi said Inkatha had encouraged its



TOUR . . . Chief Buthelezi and Mr Adriaan Vlok on their tour of Natal townships at the weekend.

Picture: REUTERS

people to attend the Mandela peace rally in Durban late last month — and as Inkatha's leader he had been prepared to meet Mr Mandela at a peace rally at Taylor's Halt outside Maritzburg on Monday.

"They (the ANC) wrecked it. I did not," Chief Buthelezi said.

Mr Vlok evaded questions over the ANC decision to cancel its scheduled meeting with the government on April 11, saying he did not know much about it yet.

Both Mr Vlok and Chief Buthelezi agreed that the issue of violence — apart from the required increase in ground forces — was three-pronged.

They believed firstly that it had political and constitutional elements, socio-economic elements second, and the question of security third.

All these had to be addressed before there could be any solution.

Chief Buthelezi expressed dismay after the press conference at the many burnt homes he observed during his helicopter flight with the minister.

"Here we have the poor people killing other poor people, burning down shops, unable to get to work to get money to feed their children," he said.

Chief Buthelezi said that apart from Inkatha and UDF groupings, "The criminal element is now riding on the bandwagon".

"There are groups in the violent situation who don't want anyone to be in control."

He did not want to see a situation like Beirut or Northern Ireland, he said. — Sapa

# ANC welcomes direct contact with industry

11A  
C.M. 10/17 2/4/90  
Own Correspondent

**BISHO.** — Direct contact between organised commerce and industry and African National Congress-aligned organisations on local problems would be welcomed, Mr Nelson Mandela told businessmen here on Saturday.

At a specially organised meeting between Mr Mandela and the businessmen at the Independence Stadium here, attended by more than 100 000 people, Mr Mandela said the ANC would not object to local discussions on regional problems.

Referring to the controversial question of the ANC aim of nationalising the mines and other monopolies, Mr Mandela said nationalisation did not mean that the ANC would simply take over the enterprises concerned. He said nationalisation could mean also a partnership or shareholding by the state in the mining sector and other monopolies.

Mr Mandela said he wanted to make it clear that it was not the policy of the ANC to take over businesses generally. It favoured a free-market system.

He said the ANC's aim was to bring economic benefits to all the people of the country, and the ANC regarded nationalisation as a strategy to achieve this.

On ANC support for sanctions, he said: "If you can tell me a better peaceful way to force the government to allow me to vote, I would be happy to embrace it."

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(11A) (BB)

# Mandela hoping to meet Thatcher

**Own Correspondent**

LONDON. — Mr Nelson Mandela wants to meet Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher during his visit to Britain later this month, and is trying to overcome objections raised by the ANC's national executive.

This emerged in a major exclusive interview with Conservative Party Euro-MP Lord Nicholas Bethell, published yesterday in the Sunday Telegraph.

In it, Mr Mandela also offered to address the Conservative Party conference in Bournemouth later this year, if invited.

## Interference

He said he realised he might be accused of interfering in British politics because he had already met Labour Party leader Mr Neil Kinnock and accepted his invitation to address the Labour conference.

"If the Conservative Party invite me to their conference, I will go," he told Lord Bethell, adding: "I do not support the Conservative Party or the Labour Party."

Senior Tory Central Office sources said Mr Mandela would be "very welcome" and indicated

## Uncertainty over Mandela's Merc

**Own Correspondent**

EAST LONDON. — It is uncertain whether ANC vice-president Mr Nelson Mandela will be allowed to accept a luxury car from Mercedes-Benz of South Africa as the ANC does not have any policy regarding the acceptance of gifts.

The ANC's spokesman in Lusaka, Mr Tom Sebina, said the organisation had still to formulate a policy regarding gifts.

Hourly-paid workers at MBSA's East London plant agreed to work four hours for no pay in order to cover the cost of a Mercedes-Benz 500 SE. — Sapa

that his suggestion would be put to the National Union — the body in charge of conference arrangements.

Mr Mandela will be in Britain at Easter to address an internationally televised rally and pop concert at Wembley Stadium on Easter Monday. He will also meet various politicians, church leaders and anti-apartheid activists.

His declared wish to meet Mrs Thatcher indicates a disagreement within ANC ranks as the movement's official position remains that his visit would not be the occasion to take up her public invitation to him to call on Downing Street.

Mr Mandela does, however, emphasise that any meeting with Mrs Thatcher would require prior approval from the full ANC national executive — many of whom were embittered by her decision to lift some voluntary sanctions against South Africa.

## 'Be our friend'

But Mr Mandela expressed unexpected admiration for Mrs Thatcher in the interview.

"I deeply appreciate the role she has played in the relaxation of international tension. I have always said that this is the woman I would like to persuade to come over and be our friend.

"Apart from the fundamental differences we have, she is a person I regard as dependable.

"I am trying to sort the problem out with the national executive. If I do not see her on April 16, I would certainly plan to see her when I am in Britain in October."

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## Mandela set to meet FW

DURBAN. — ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela and three advisers will meet President F W de Klerk on Thursday.

Mr Mandela made a phone call to Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen from Louis Botha Airport here today soon after arriving for a tour of Maritzburg's troubled townships.

Mr Mandela told Dr Viljoen that he would be bringing three advisers with him to Thursday's meeting.

### VENUE NOT KNOWN

The venue for the meeting is not known.

Mr Mandela made the telephone call from the airport's information counter as a crowd of journalists and supporters hung over his shoulder.

Those there to meet him included

Mr Walter Sisulu, ANC internal leader, UDF co-president Mr Archie Gumede and the ANC's Natal representative Mr Harry Gwala.

Mr Mandela looked well and he and his colleagues embraced happily.

Shortly before Mr Mandela arrived, Mr Sisulu told Sapa that Mr Mandela would not be meeting Kwazulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

He said Mr Mandela was due to spend two days in the province.

"He is here just to see this troubled spot," Mr Sisulu said.

Mr Sisulu, who headed the entourage which met Mr Mandela at the airport, has been in Natal since Saturday.

They left the airport for Imballi township, near Maritzburg. — Sapa.

Huge Tokyo

# Detective agency 'hunted ANC sympathisers'

By Kaizer Nyatumba  
and Dawn Barkhuizen

Allegations of abduction, torture and possibly murder by a shadowy Johannesburg "private investigator" operating in Soweto under cover of darkness have been lodged with Lawyers for Human Rights.

In a statement, self-confessed "hit squad" member, Mr Lawrence Naidoo, described his five weeks of horror with South African Private Detectives CC (SPDC) — culminating in a gruesome shooting in Bellevue, Johannesburg, last year.

Mr Naidoo (21) subsequently left the organisation and has been in hiding, fearing the wrath of his former colleagues.

## Special bonuses

He was particularly afraid in view of recent "hit squad" revelations, he said.

During his period of employment he alleges the armed SPDC squad supervised by boss-man Mr Ferdinand du Plessis:

- Searched Soweto at night looking for ANC sympathisers.
- Abducted and tortured people — shooting at least one.
- Paid special bonuses to its members when "ANC sympathisers" were caught.
- Obtained information on Soweto activists from a trade union spy.

Mr Naidoo joined the SPDC because he wanted to be a "Magnum-style PI", but fled after about five weeks, he said.

He showed The Star an open lot in Belle-

vue, Johannesburg, where he said a Soweto man, believed to be related to an ANC sympathiser, was beaten and shot on the eve of the 1989 Easter weekend.

Mr du Plessis, his right-hand man "Joseph" and Mr Naidoo had abducted the victim from his Soweto house earlier that night, he alleged.

Afterwards, he said, he helped carry the man's limp body to the car and dumped him in the boot. Then, he alleged, Mr du Plessis gave him R150 and promised more "commission" because "we get commissions for these ANC things".

He told The Star: "We took him to the empty lot in Bellevue. Du Plessis told me to hit him and make him talk. He was handcuffed . . . I punched him several times until he fell, bleeding a lot. The man said he was going to report us. Du Plessis then told me to go and wait in the car. As I walked off I heard 'bang!' 'bang!'"

"Joseph called me back. The man was covered in blood and, I think, dead. We carried him to the car and dumped him in the boot.

"Du Plessis walked to nearby flats and came back a few minutes later wearing a different jacket."

Mr Naidoo was then dropped off at his home and Mr du Plessis and Joseph drove off with the man's body in the boot.

Tracked down to a Johannesburg snackbar by The Star, a nattily-dressed Mr du Plessis, who was with a black man called

Joseph, demanded that The Star reveal its sources and initially denied all knowledge of the SPDC.

Asked why the SPDC abandoned its Kine Centre offices without paying rent he said "that's my private business".

When pressed, he admitted working in Soweto "and abroad" with "a number of blacks and coloureds" but said allegations of assassinations were "all lies".

When asked who his clients were he refused to answer, but left the restaurant without finishing his meal or paying the bill.

## Confirmed

● Mr du Plessis's girlfriend, Ms Brenda Findley, has confirmed that she and Mr du Plessis shared flat No 4 Highlands Court, Bezuidenhout Street, Bellevue, until April 30 1989. The flat bordered on the open lot where the alleged Easter shooting took place.

● A Sanlam Properties spokesman confirmed that Mr Ferdinand du Plessis ran a company called South African Private Detectives CC from the Kine Centre from November 1 1988 to June 30 1989, when he "disappeared" without paying the rent.

● The identity of the man who was shot has not been established.

● A Lawyers for Human Rights spokesman last night confirmed being in possession of a statement from Mr Naidoo.

**ANC**

**rally**

**crowd,**

**13 die**

Cap  
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114

# Mandela: Will meet FW

Cap Timp  
2/4/90

114

Own Correspondent

**PORT ELIZABETH.** — Thirteen people were killed early yesterday morning when a car ploughed into a crowd on their way to listen to Mr Nelson Mandela.

The people were toy-toy-ing on the road from Grahamstown when the car hit them.

The driver of the car was allegedly attacked by the crowd and is being treated in hospital where his condition is said to be serious.

The accident happened about 12.50am yesterday, an ambulance spokesman said. He said 12 people died at the scene and another died in hospital.

In a similar incident in Motherwell an hour later, two people were injured when a car ran into a crowd of people.

In this case the driver of the car fled the scene.

Five of the injured in the earlier accident were responding to treatment but were still in a critical condition yesterday, the spokesman for the hospital said. The other seven injured were discharged yesterday.

The youngest victim was a boy aged nine. Only one female, aged 17, was killed. Other victims included boys aged 10, 11 and 12, while the oldest victim was 40 years old, the ambulance spokesman said.

Police said identities could not be released as the bodies were still being identified and the next of kin informed.

Police said private cars helped ambulances transport the dead and injured to hospital.

Police are investigating both cases.

### On other pages

- Mandela to visit Natal 'war zone' — Page 2
- Tutu wants Sebokeng inquiry — Page 3
- ANC 'set to renew armed struggle' — Page 3
- Mandela hoping to meet Thatcher — Page 7

**PORT ELIZABETH.** — Mr Nelson Mandela will meet President FW de Klerk alone this week to discuss the violence sweeping the country.

This dramatic development follows a setback in talks scheduled for next week between the ANC and the government. The ANC suspended the talks at the weekend in protest at police shootings in Sebokeng last week which left at least 11 people dead.

Speaking at a media conference after a massive rally near Port Elizabeth — attended by a crowd estimated to number more than 300 000 — Mr Mandela said he would meet Mr De Klerk after his scheduled visit to war-torn Natal today.

### Clampdown

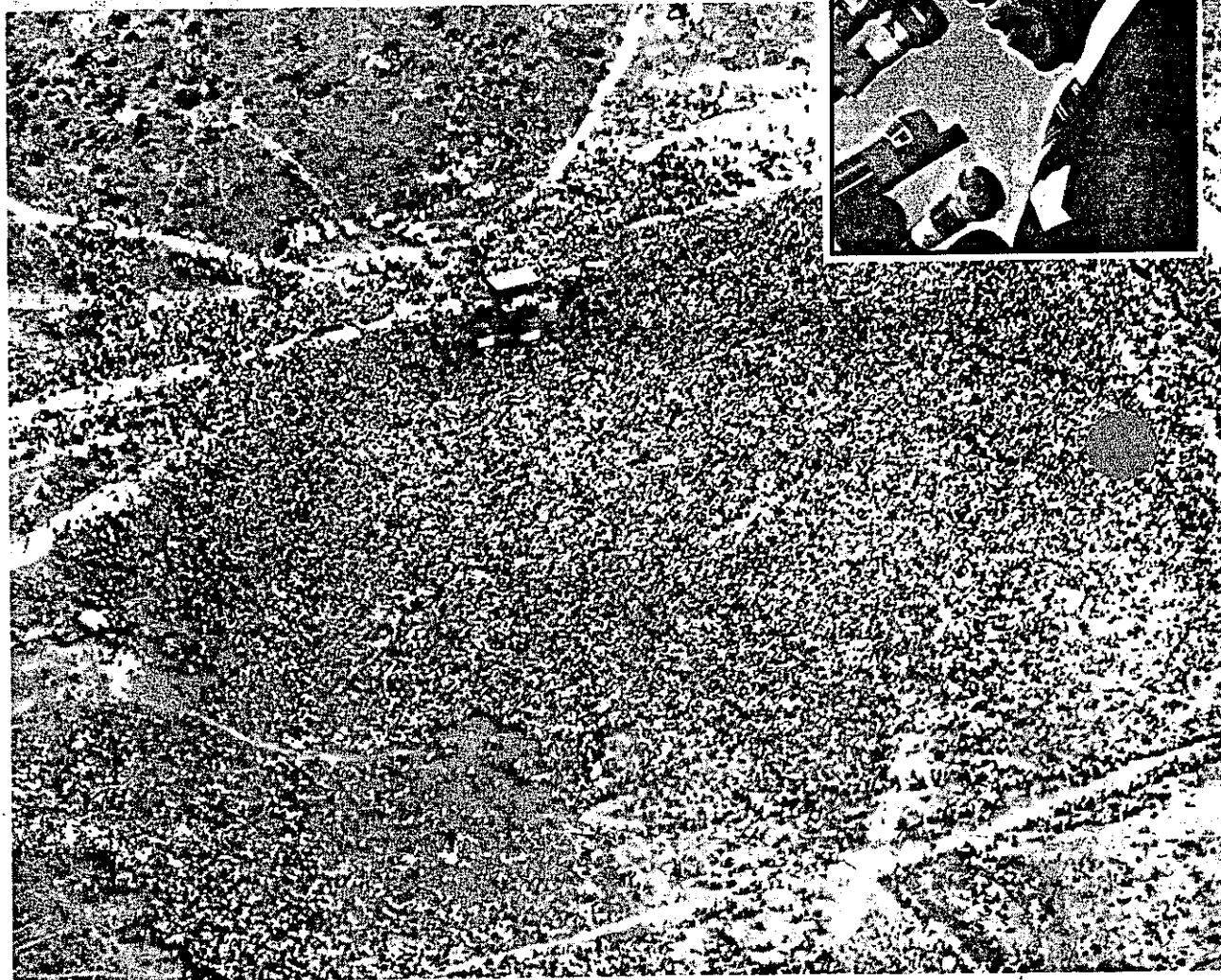
His announcement follows not only the ANC's suspension of talks, but also Mr De Klerk's warning on Friday that his government would not hesitate to clamp down on the countrywide violence.

Mr De Klerk will again address the issue in Parliament today when he spells out government plans to deal with the wave of violence.

There was no immediate confirmation from the State President's office late last night of a meeting this week between Mr Mandela and Mr De Klerk.

However, a Tuynhuys spokesman said such a meeting in the near future was "logical" given Mr De Klerk's remarks at a youth rally in Naboomspruit at the weekend.

Mr De Klerk said he had told Mr Mandela during a telephone conversation on Friday that "my door remains



**MANDELA CROWD . . .** Part of the huge crowd at rally in Port Elizabeth yesterday. Inset: Mr Mandela addresses the crowd.

A.T.O

To page 2



CAP 7/11/90  
2/4/90

From page 1

open and he would be welcome to meet with me".

Mr De Klerk added that the government, despite the postponement of the April 11 talks, remained "committed to talk to those working for peaceful solutions".

The spokesman said it was possible Mr De Klerk might announce the one-on-one meeting with Mr Mandela when he addressed Parliament this afternoon.

Mr De Klerk said the primary objective of such talks was to prevent a repeat of incidents like the Sebokeng shooting.

He said that even if criticism of the police was justified, the talks should continue.

He was notified by Mr Mandela on Friday that the talks had been suspended.

The ANC decision — taken in consultation with the organisation's internal leadership — is to be reviewed at a special sitting of the national executive committee in the next five days.

Democratic Party co-leader Mr Wynand Malan said the police shootings did not warrant suspension of the talks.

Hope that the talks would go ahead was expressed by DP co-leader Dr Zach de Beer, the chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates, Dr JN Reddy, and Mr Peter Hendrickse of the Labour Party.

At the rally yesterday in Motherwell township — believed to be the biggest political meeting seen in South Africa — Mr Mandela said Mr De Klerk was adopting a welcome approach and was the first white South African leader to come to terms with reality.

Mr Mandela was visibly stunned by the crowd size — estimated at between 300 000 and 400 000 by reporters — when he mounted the podium with several ANC regional leaders to address the rally at an open sports-field.

He said South Africa was destined to become a non-racial and democratic country, but actions of the police against peaceful protests were in direct conflict with public positions taken by the government.

The leadership of the liberation movement could not ignore this violence, he said.

Reforms meant nothing if ordinary men and women did not benefit from them in their daily lives.

"Our people in the townships and in the countryside are experiencing a reality no different from that experienced under (former prime-ministers) Botha and Vorster."

Mr Mandela said the ANC would continue its work towards a peaceful solution and would arrange another date for talks with the government if police brutality was stopped.

He said he had met the families of those killed, had spoken to the injured in their hospital beds and that the ANC understood the bitterness of communities whose peaceful protests were met with live bullets.

Increased repression could only increase the crisis facing the apartheid government, he said.

After the rally, tens of thousands of toyi-toyi-ing supporters formed a 5km-long human chain as they streamed back to neighbouring townships.

No incidents were reported as the crowd dispersed to their homes.

Police maintained a discreet presence throughout the rally with a SAP helicopter periodically hovering overhead. — Sapa, Own and Political Correspondents

11A Sowetan 2/4/90

**Strong organisations needed - Mandela**

# ANC, MDM back plan on homelands

**THE ANC and the Mass Democratic Movement supported the holding of referendums on the dismantling of homelands.**

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela said this at a mass rally at Bisho in the Ciskei at the weekend.

He told tens of thousands of people it was the rejection of the homeland system and desire to be re-incorporated into SA that had removed the "corrupt and repressive organs of apartheid in the Transkei and Ciskei."

This popular support had to be translated into strong organisation at all levels.

"Without strong organisation ... disciplined struggle is impossible," he said.

It was more urgent than ever to build strong civic, youth, women and teacher organisations.

Those people who were part of homeland structures but were attempting to break away must be encouraged and welcomed into the ranks of the ANC, he said.

## Struggle

On negotiations, Mandela said conditions that made necessary the ANC's armed struggle were still in place.

He said as far as negotiations were concerned the ANC had noted President de Klerk's sincerity.

"We say this must not lead us to ignore the harsh realities of apartheid. We are duty bound to the struggle and to the people to identify the obstacles to peace."

He said state violence continued in many parts of the country, "...in

Sebokeng, Venda, Ikageng where seven activists have been brutally murdered by apartheid forces."

These conditions did not create a climate conducive to negotiations, Mandela said.

"There is no free political activity in the face of violence against the people and their democratic formations. We cannot ask our people to stop their self-defence against apartheid violence."

It was premature to end or suspend the armed struggle, Mandela said.

The only way to advocate peace in SA was to create a suitable climate for negotiations, meet the demands of the Harare declaration and end state violence against peaceful protest.

The ANC was committed to peace, he stressed.

He called on the government to demonstrate its commitment to peace by meeting the ANC's "reasonable demands".

"We must put an end to apartheid - it is fast plunging our country into chaos and waste." - Sapa

Not enough resources to take over mines

# Nationalisation debate: common ground emerges

11A

Sowetan 2/4/90

## FOCUS

**SOUTH Africans have plunged into a fierce debate about whether a post-apartheid government should nationalise the white-owned economy to raise the living standards of impoverished blacks.**

The debate promises to be every bit as tough as impending negotiations on political reform. The economic issue is seen as crucial by blacks and by the many whites who are more fearful of losing a privileged lifestyle than of ending formal racial segregation.

The argument may also determine whether Africa's most powerful economy, with its giant gold mining and industrial corporations, will fulfil a long-heralded destiny as the engine of economic growth for the sub-Saharan region.

### Debate

Amid the fury of the debate, some common ground is emerging. On one side are government and business leaders opposed to the policy of nationalising major industries advocated by the ANC.

Finance Minister Barend du Plessis called nationalisation "theft". Attie du Plessis of the powerful Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut business lobby dubbed it "highly irresponsible".

Business leaders say plans to sink up to 19 new gold mines, many of them deep and therefore expensive, and six new platinum mines and expand chrome, granite and diamond mining over the next 20 years would be harmed if mining was nationalised.

"Of one thing you may be certain. There will be no deep-level gold mines in a nationalised industry," said Brian Gilbertson, head of the mining division of Gencor Ltd.

Michael Spicer, an executive

of the country's largest company, Anglo American Corporation, said social welfare for all South Africans was a legitimate long term aim.

"But as a practical system to be introduced short term it is pie in the sky. Housing education, jobs - there just aren't the resources," he said in an interview.

Blacks see increased government welfare as the only way out of grinding poverty affecting many of them. At least 35 percent of blacks are unemployed and up to a third live in informal settlements of tents and corrugated iron shacks with restricted access to running water and electricity.

Health care and education for blacks are confined largely to underfunded and overcrowded hospitals and schools.

On another side of the debate stand radical black youth, Africanist and Trotskyite groups demanding state ownership of the economy and redistribution to blacks of the 87 percent of South African land reserved for whites under apartheid.

Many blacks equate capitalism with apartheid, which they say provides business with cheap black labour and encourages harsh work practices outlawed in many Western countries.

Peter Mokaba, influential president of the anti-apartheid South African Youth Congress, believes the economy belongs to its overwhelmingly black workforce. He says it is strange to think of nationalisation as theft.

"Who are we stealing our own wealth from?" he asked.

On yet another side of the debate stand the ANC, its ally the Communist Party and a large number of trade unions. They demand greater state control of the economy but admit widespread government ownership of private companies would be unworkable.

Business leaders say a future government could not afford to pay adequate compensation for nationalising their companies, while a refusal to pay compensation would kill foreign investment

and discourage domestic investment.

Some unions and black leaders seem to have taken the point.

"Our solutions lie neither in free market capitalism nor in centrally planned command economy socialism," wrote Alec Erwin, education officer of the National Union of Mineworkers.

Communist Party general secretary Joe Slovo told the *London Financial Times*: "Foreign capital will remain crucial to development and guarantees of stability and security will be offered to ensure investors do not avoid South Africa."

Nelson Mandela, the deputy president of the ANC, says the economy will continue to be based on private enterprise and any changes would be discussed thoroughly with business leaders.

A future government would find it hard to pay compensation if it decided to nationalise Anglo American, which controls up to a third of world gold production and has a market capitalisation of R29 billion.

A 51 percent stake would cost R14.9 billion, which is one and a half times total spending on defence and far exceeds the education budget.

Julian Ogilvie Thompson, Anglo's chairman designate, says

he is confident blacks can be persuaded against nationalisation.

An alternative foreseen by some economists is acquisition without compensation of up to 20 percent of some giant companies, giving government a strategic hold on the economy.

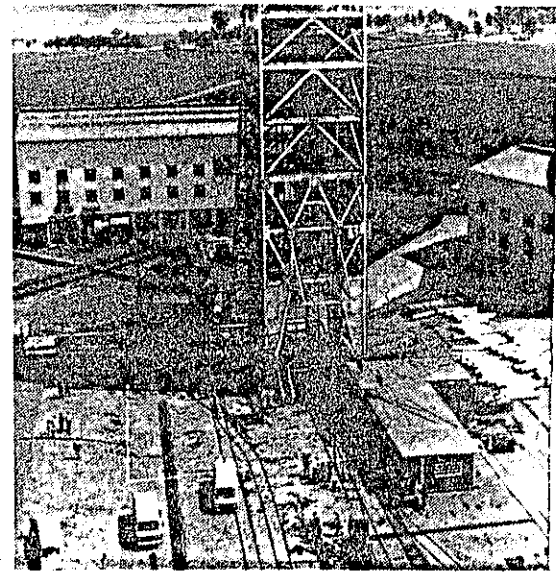
Development studies professor Pieter le Roux said another alternative would be indirect state control through fiscal, monetary and wage policies and trade union and government representation on company boards.

"Ownership of enterprises is...not as crucial as the need to ensure workers have a say in determining policies," said Jay Naidoo, general secretary of the country's largest labour organisation, the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

### Structures

Spicer said he suspected black leaders envisaged structures that would coerce business involvement in state projects rather than consultative forums that would merely make suggestions.

"But if it is the 'suggest' model, backed up by a belief in the profit motive with social responsibility, then we are starting to talk the same language," he said. - Sapa-Reuter



Plans to open 19 new mines hang in the balance.

FW expected to move strongly against violence

# Mandela faces tough test on Natal visit

Star 2/4/90

11A

Mr Nelson Mandela, facing one of his toughest tasks since being released from jail, visits Natal today to try to end a vicious war between rival black groups.

Mr Mandela also has to get his African Nationalist Congress back on the path towards negotiations with Pretoria after it cancelled next week's preliminary talks, ostensibly because police opened fire on black demonstrators at Sebokeng last Monday.

In Cape Town, President de Klerk prepared to deliver a major speech to Parliament, spelling out the Government's strategy and giving the official view on the ANC's decision to call off the April 11 meeting.

Another related development is that the SA Council of Churches is to seek urgent meetings with the ANC and the Government in a bid to save the talks.

An SACC delegation, including Archbishop Desmond Tutu, was meeting Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi today in Ulundi to discuss the violence in Natal.

It is widely believed that in his speech today, Mr de Klerk will announce that large troop reinforcements are to be sent to quell the heavy faction war in Natal.

However, Defence Ministry sources could not confirm this.

Government sources also believe that Mr de Klerk will unveil a two-pronged strategy to contain the violence, balancing security measures with positive steps to upgrade physical conditions in the worst-hit areas, especially in Natal.

The ANC decision on Friday to call off the historic exploratory talks with the Government has been greeted with shock and dismay in political circles.

NP and Government sources said the talks might have had a calming effect on the violence.

However, they were optimistic that the talks would take place soon — especially after Mr Nelson Mandela's announcement yesterday that he would see Mr de Klerk alone to discuss the countrywide violence.

## Huge crowd

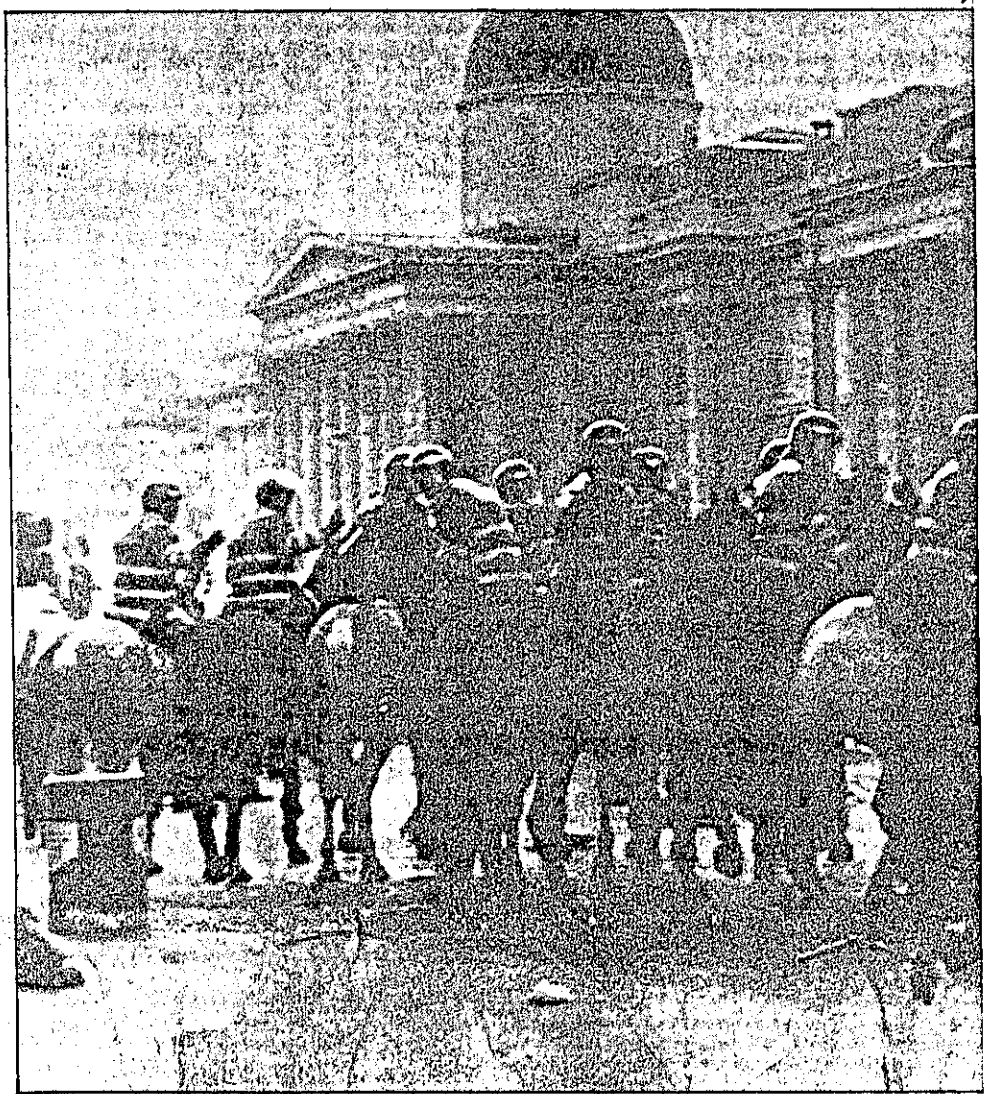
Mr Mandela, speaking at Motherwell near Port Elizabeth to a huge crowd, estimated by ANC sources as 500 000, indicated that he was having differences with other ANC leaders but said he would not discuss that publicly.

He praised Mr de Klerk as the first white South African leader to come to terms with reality and said the President was adopting "a most welcome" approach.

Mr Mandela visits the Natal trouble spots today and is expected to meet Chief Buthelezi.

Most political observers in Cape Town believe the real reason for the ANC calling off the talks is disunity, confusion and lack of preparation in the ANC ranks about negotiations.

The ANC's explanation for the deci-



An anti-poll tax demonstrator hurls a chair at mounted police during violence in Trafalgar Square yesterday. Dozens of police, protesters and horses were injured in the fighting.

# Thatcher blames extremists for London's weekend riots

Star 2/4/90

11A

LONDON — Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher said yesterday that weekend riots in the heart of London were the work of extremists.

She ordered an official inquiry after more than 400 people were injured on Saturday in the most violent protest yet against the new tax which has sent her popularity plummeting.

The Prime Minister said she was horrified by the violence.

"This (the protest) was taken over by some extreme groups who used violence with no consideration for others or their property," Mrs Thatcher told reporters.

She showed no sign of backing down on the tax, which replaces

## Embassy damage

A spokesman for the South African Embassy in London, Mr Justus de Goede, said the damage done to South Africa House during the Trafalgar Square demonstration was the result of general violence and not of action aimed specifically at the embassy.

Four display windows at ground level were broken and a small fire was started. The cost of the damage has not been assessed yet, however Mr de Goede confirmed that the British government would pay for the damage.

The offices of South African

The organisers of the demonstration, the All Britain Anti-Poll Tax Federation, blamed small groups of troublemakers but also accused police of losing control.

At least two British newspapers called today for a reappraisal of the tax, which has sparked protest marches across the country.

Scuffles erupted yesterday when Mr Waddington inspected the damage which police blamed on hard-core extremists who broke away from the main demonstration.

"Sometimes one talks about mindless violence. This wasn't even mindless violence, it was wicked violence, sheer wickedness," Mr Waddington told jour-



...are, London, fo



his African Nationalist Congress back on the path towards negotiations with Pretoria after it cancelled next week's preliminary talks, ostensibly because police opened fire on black demonstrators at Sebokeng last Monday.

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Most political observers in Cape Town believe the real reason for the ANC calling off the talks is disunity, confusion and lack of preparation in the ANC ranks about negotiations.

The ANC's explanation for the decision to postpone the meeting — the police action at Sebokeng — has been dismissed by most political and diplomatic observers as a transparent excuse.

Security sources believe the reason is that the ANC is rapidly losing the support of township youths to the PAC and fears that it will lose even more if it begins talking to the Government.

The postponement appears to have damaged the ANC's international credibility and its commitment to negotiations has now been questioned.

By contrast South Africa is likely to score heavily, boosting its image as the player more dedicated to negotiations.

The ANC executive committee will meet this week to discuss the matter.

— Political Correspondent, Sapa—  
Reuter-AP.

# 'Carrot and stick' crackdown



President F W de Klerk

11A  
CMT  
3/4/90

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk yesterday declared a "carrot and stick" crackdown on the violence sweeping the country.

While making it clear that the full weight of the security forces is to be deployed, he also provided fresh incentives to opposition groups for participation in negotiations.

Mr De Klerk announced:

● An urgent four-point action plan to deploy both police and troops to clamp down on unrest and lawlessness in Natal and the rest of the country.

● A conciliatory package aimed at boosting negotiations by granting temporary indemnity to all exiles involved in talks with the government, as well as legislation allowing for permanent indemnity for certain categories of exiles and convicted security prisoners.

Addressing a joint session of Parliament, Mr De Klerk criticised the ANC's "hesitancy to fully align themselves with the negotiation process" but emphasised that "my door remains open".

Government officials had been instructed to keep in contact with ANC members and report to the

## Politics mauls the share market

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Stock Exchange was yesterday mauled by a combination of bearish factors, with sentiment being hardest hit by the ANC's cancellation of talks with Inkatha and President F W de Klerk.

News that the talks had been called off resulted in a wave of selling of SA shares from London. Then the second largest one-day fall of 6.6% on the Tokyo stock market caused a ripple of nervousness on the JSE.

The third negative factor in a depressing session of trading was the failure of the gold price to penetrate the \$370 level. The metal closed unchanged in London from Friday's \$369 after trading in a narrow band in featureless conditions.

the Krugerrand's premium of almost 21% on the rand gold price.

The Krugerrand closed R3 lower at R1 187. Analysts said the differential with the rand gold price of R983 was high in historical terms and indicated uncertainty and unease at the current situation in SA.

The 5.2% (103-point) plunge in the JSE all gold index to 1857 was seen as a belated reaction to last week's slump in the price of the metal to five-month lows.

Dealers said gold shares were now at more realistic levels after showing remarkable resilience last week when share prices recovered almost all of their initial losses by the weekend in the hope that the metal would at least recoup part of its \$25 loss.

## Filly fetches R425 000

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Mrs Bridget Oppenheimer paid the second-highest price for a yearling sold at auction in SA at last night's Top Sport National Yearling sales near Germiston.

Mrs Oppenheimer paid R425 000 for the Eliodor filly Fairy Garden, consigned by Oaklands stud.

The highest price for a yearling is R510 000 paid for Mr Hawaii in 1987.

## Chimneys fall in UK quake

LONDON. — The biggest earthquake in Britain in

CMT  
3/4/90

SSP

CMF Trans 3/4/90

# crack

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
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Addressing a joint session of Parliament, Mr De Klerk criticised the ANC's "hesitancy to fully align themselves with the negotiation process" but emphasised that "my door remains open".

Government officials had been instructed to keep in contact with ANC members and report to the president on developments on the negotiation front, and he hoped the ANC "will find it possible to join those already talking".

Mr De Klerk also confirmed that arrangements had been made for a meeting later this week with Mr Nelson Mandela.

## 'Deadly serious'

The ANC deputy president said yesterday that the meeting would take place on Thursday — the same day Mr De Klerk will be meeting for talks about a new constitution with the leaders of the non-independent homelands and senior tricameral politicians.

Announcing the security crackdown, Mr De Klerk said South Africans who still believed in armed struggle and continued domination "must realise that we are deadly serious about building a new South Africa without brutality and without unrest".

The government had decided on "urgent steps" on four levels:

● Nationally, the police and the defence force had received instructions to without delay act firmly against incidents of unrest and violence.

This would include a greater visual presence of security forces, road-blocks, the patrolling of roads and areas with vehicles and aircraft and the stricter application of the law against "criminals, intimidation and unrest".

"Everyone must understand that these decisions can lead to an increase in the number of people detained," he warned.

In Natal, where Mr De Klerk described the destruction of life and property as "really shocking", conditions necessitated the use of the Defence Force "over a broad front and in great numbers".

The "co-ordinated security plan" for the province — implemented as of yesterday — included stepped-up police and troop action and the setting up of extra courts.

● Mr De Klerk, however, cautioned that the causes of the unrest were multi-faceted and that solutions would not be found overnight. There would thus be a special attempt to channel funds to alleviate immediately some of the socio-economic factors contributing to the conflict in the area.

● In the non-independent homelands, where "unacceptable unrest and violence is widespread", urgent investigations had been launched into security needs and steps had been implemented to stabilise the situation.

● In the case of the "independent" homelands, the SA government was in touch with the governments of the TBVC territories on ways to curb the unrest and violence in these areas.

Mr De Klerk said the steps were designed to

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OFF TITLES (11A) (11A)  
day, April 3, 1990 3

## Warrant for Winnie is issued

JOHANNESBURG. — A warrant of arrest was issued yesterday for Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, for failing to appear in the Magistrate's Court here on allegations of failure to pay unemployment fees for her workers.

A warrant for Mrs Mandela's arrest was authorised on March 16, but was held back till March 30 to enable her to make a later appearance in court.

The warrant was formally issued yesterday because Mrs Mandela made no subsequent appearance.

According to documents before the court, Mrs Mandela has allegedly failed to pay and render statements for employees at a business owned by her, Richmond Fish and Chips.

The charges relate to the period January 1 to December 7 last year. — Sapa



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## Nine escapees 'helped by ANC'

LUSAKA. — Nine members of the ANC who escaped from prison last month while awaiting trial emerged here yesterday, saying their dash to freedom had been organised by the ANC's military wing.

Rodney Toka, 27, who acted as leader of the Delmas trialists, said yesterday that the prisoners made their escape on February 18 using a pistol smuggled into Modderbee Prison.

CAP. Tings 3/4/90 (119) ~~119~~ ~~119~~ ~~119~~

# Buthelezi: Church has vendetta against us

ULUNDI. — Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has told top church leaders, including Archbishops Desmond Tutu and Denis Hurley, that they should be talking to the UDF, Cosatu and the ANC if they really wanted to stop the widespread slaughter in Natal.

In a strongly worded memorandum to an SA Council of Churches delegation here yesterday, Chief Buthelezi accused the churches of joining a party-political vendetta against Inkatha while people

were dying.

He also accused the ANC of cowardice in calling off the peace rally and in cancelling its April 11 meeting with President F W de Klerk.

They were afraid because peace negotiations could expose them as not having the following they claimed, he said.

Meanwhile people were being "chopped up and burnt alive ... and a whole new generation is being warped by violence".

The SACC had channelled millions of rands of overseas money to causes funded by the

pro-ANC, UDF and Cosatu organisations, and nothing to the Inkatha projects, he said.

The ANC's Radio Freedom in Lusaka had repeatedly called on youths to band together and kill black town councillors, policemen and others denigrated as "collaborators" because they did not accept the ANC's violent strategies.

"I and my followers are (in those terms) already sentenced to death. It is as simple as this."

Addressing the Rev Frank Chikane of the SACC, he said he would continue his peace efforts and that he still be-

lieved black leaders should go and stop the killing.

"I still say it is hideously wrong and cowardly of the ANC to stop Dr Mandela from sharing a platform with me so that we could stop the killing."

An SACC statement said the church leaders asked for the reactivation of a peace plan involving a conference between Inkatha, the ANC and other political and trade union organisations.

They also suggested a major peace conference in Natal, jointly organised mass peace rallies and joint peace committees at grassroots level. — Sapa

CAPT TINTS 3/4/90 (11A) (15)

# ANC bungling peace process, says UK press

**LONDON.** — The ANC is bungling the peace process, while President FW de Klerk's stature as a "man of peace" grows.

This was the perception yesterday of several major British newspapers, including the left-of-centre Guardian, following the ANC's decision to call off its April 11 meeting with the government.

The Guardian said it was "widely believed that the ANC's decision to call off the talks with Pretoria was motivated by tactical considerations, and that Sebokeng was an excuse. The shooting took place last

Monday, but by late in the week there was no indication that the ANC was considering such action".

The Guardian continued: "It is assumed that factors behind the decision include fears within the ANC that it is in danger of losing its radical black supporters by being seen as too conciliatory towards the De Klerk administration.

"There may also be a sense that the ANC has been stamped down the road to negotiations by Pretoria.

"Although both arguments may have

merit, the way the ANC is handling the peace process is potentially damaging to its cause."

This decision, and the one to call off the joint rally with Inkatha, it said, contributed to "the impression of an indecisive, and possibly divided, ANC. Mr De Klerk's image as a 'man of peace', meanwhile, continues to grow".

"Cracks are appearing in the vast constituency which the ANC has traditionally claimed, and the mood is ugly and rebellious," The Times wrote.

Sowetan 3/4/90

## PAC (11A) stalwart fights on

AFTER spending 26 years of his life either in custody or under restriction orders, Mr. Mark Mabitsi Shinnars is still determined to continue with the liberation struggle.

Shinnars (47), an Ateridgeville Pan Africanist Congress member, was released last Friday after serving 11 years of his sentence.

He was detained in January 1977 and found guilty in June 1979 in the Bethal trial. His co-accused included PAC leader Zeph Mothopeng and *Sowetan* staffer Mof-fat Zungu.

Before this he spent 10 years on Robben Island for conspiracy and terrorism. He was sentenced in 1963 with Japhta Masemola, Dikgang Moseneke, John Nkosi, the late Simon Banda, Klass Mashishi and Peter Rikhotso.

Sowetan 2/4/90

# I didn't say it - Motlana

SOWETO community leader Dr Nthato Motlana has vehemently denied telling an American audience last week that blacks would not touch the Government's new R3-billion fund for socio-economic upliftment.

Motlana was quoted in a Johannesburg afternoon newspaper as saying: "We are going to say (to President de Klerk) 'Go to hell, man'.

"This is a question of principle, we are not going to touch that money."

His statement has caused an outcry among blacks and has even drawn criticism from organisations such as the United Democratic Front and the Azanian People's Organisation.

## Recordings

The Sowetan's correspondent in Washington, David Braun, has insisted that he had accurately reported Motlana's speech to the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Washington.

Two tape recordings were made of the meeting.

Motlana, a former chairman of the Soweto Civic Association, said yesterday he had said that anti-apartheid groups in South Africa were reluctant to touch money made available by governments who were friendly to South Africa.

"I never said 'Go to hell' to the State President. I would never use such language.

"But I certainly said the money was too little," he said.

He had commended Mr Jan Steyn, who will head the special trust fund, for his willingness to consult with grass-roots and community organisations on the allocation of the money.

However, the money should have been "written into the main Budget" and should not have been placed in a special fund, Motlana said.

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# Azapo hails ANC retreat from talks

11A

THE Azanian People's Organisation has welcomed the controversial decision by the ANC to suspend talks with the Government because of the Sebokeng shootings.

In a resolution passed at its regional congress in Mahwelereng near Potgietersrus on Sunday, Azapo called on the ANC to totally withdraw from negotiations with the De Klerk administration.

Azapo said the ANC decision was a vindication of its own long-held position that the white Government had not changed sufficiently for



DE KLERK

blacks to hope to get freedom through such exercises as negotiations.

"We call on the ANC to seek unity with organisations of the oppressed, instead of unity with enemies of black people," the resolution stated.

It further said the "ANC/UDF/Cosatu al-

liance" should "stop pretending that the alliance is the only spokesperson of the majority of Azanians and call on its so-called young lions to stop attacking members of other black organisations".

Azapo general secretary, Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe, said that Azapo, while committed to peaceful co-existence with other organisations, reserved the right to retaliate when attacked.

He said the central committee would discuss with the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania in Zimbabwe next week. - Sapa.

# R7 000 gift for Masemola

By MONK NKOMO

PAN Africanist Congress stalwart Mr Japhta Masemola received a surprise gift when the committee that prepared his welcome home rally presented him with a cheque for R7 000 in Ateridgeville at the weekend.

The presentation was made by Mr Forte Mthimkulu, manager of a liquor company, at a special ceremony attended by friends and members of the Masemola Reception Committee.

Also present were committee members Advocate Dikgang Moseneke, who served 10 years on Robben Island for PAC activities, Dr Lerole Mabe, attorney Mr Willie Seriti, former president of Azapo Mr Nkosi Molala, and Mrs Joyce Matube, a social worker.

Mabe told Masemola: "This is part of the money that was donated by the people during your welcome home rally on December 16 last year," said Mabe.

Masemola, moved by the surprise gift, said: "I

have spent .6 years in prison, was released and have been with you for about five months.

"I thought people had already forgotten me. I am deeply moved by this

generous gesture and I thank the community and this committee for the donation."

Masemola served 26 years of a life sentence and was released last year.

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# FW unveils plan to stamp out violence

A/D am 3/4/90

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CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk yesterday deployed large numbers of troops and police countrywide and instructed them to use their full might to stamp out violence.

Addressing a specially convened joint sitting of Parliament, De Klerk unveiled a four-pronged plan to restore law and order in SA's townships and homlands, and special measures to bring an end to violence in conflict-ridden Natal.

De Klerk said SADF troops would be deployed over a wide area to support police in putting an end to unrest.

The intended security force action would result in a large increase in detentions. But, he stressed, this was not intended to be a goal in itself. The main priority was still to negotiate a new dispensation.

De Klerk said the countrywide security clampdown would include:

- A greater presence of security forces, more roadblocks and the patrolling of roads and areas with vehicles and aircraft. A police reserve air arm had been set up to compliment forces on the ground;
- A crackdown against crime and intimidation and an increase in detentions.

The President said the killings and destruction of property in Natal had reached a shocking point. Investigations had revealed diverse reasons for this conflict.

Finding a solution would be lengthy and costly. As such government planned to implement a more embracing plan of action than elsewhere in the country. This included:

- Immediate implementation of a secur-

MIKE ROBERTSON

ity plan devised by all the concerned parties and the immediate deployment of sufficient SADF troops;

- Increased policing;
- Arrangements for extra courts;
- A special plan, to be co-ordinated by Provincial Affairs Minister Hernus Kriel, to provide socio-economic support for people affected by the violence.

De Klerk said the independent homelands had been singled out by radicals and government had instituted an urgent inquiry into their security needs. It had already taken steps to stabilise the security situation in these areas.

Sapa reports from Maritzburg that shots were heard yesterday as ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and his visiting ANC delegation moved along Mpelele Road, which divides Imbali's Inkatha and UDF sections.

Across the road, in Imbali Stage 2, a group of men stood watching as chanting youths followed the ANC procession.

"See. They are Inkatha," a bystander said, pointing them out.

Moments later three shots were heard. It was not clear who fired them. Nobody appeared to be injured.

Police said in Pretoria no shots had been fired at Mandela. Police units had stayed with the Mandela entourage throughout its journey across Edendale valley.

Mandela later told about 2 500 people crushed into the Edendale Lay Centre the

To Page 2

## FW unveils plan

ANC was fighting apartheid, not Inkatha. "Inkatha must know we are keen to make peace. One day I hope to have the opportunity to speak directly to them to assure them that we are freedom fighters."

Earlier in Durban, ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu said the level of violence would have to subside before Mandela and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi could meet on the same platform.

WILSON ZWANE reports Buthelezi told top churchmen yesterday they were wasting their time talking peace in Natal with him.

In a strongly worded memorandum to a high-powered church delegation, Buthelezi said they should be talking to the ANC — which wished to intensify the armed struggle — if they really wanted to stop the bloodbath in the region.

The delegation included Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Archbishop Denis Hurley, Archbishop Themba Ntongana, Bishop Michael Nuttall, Bishop Manas Buthelezi and SA Council of Churches (SACC) secretary-general Frank Chikane.

"On no occasion have I ever exhorted Inkatha to violence. Why this hideous mis-

From Page 1

representation of Inkatha as the perpetrator of violence?" Buthelezi said.

He also accused the ANC of cowardice in calling off the Mandela-Buthelezi peace rally scheduled for today and in cancelling its April 11 meeting with De Klerk.

Buthelezi accused the SACC of joining a party-political vendetta against Inkatha while people were dying.

Sapa reports that in a joint statement issued afterwards, the church leaders said they had requested the meeting as the first in a series with leaders on violence in the Maritzburg area. Meetings had also been requested with De Klerk and Mandela.

Sapa reports that another 11 weekend deaths in Maritzburg's neighbouring townships brought the official toll to 53 since Tuesday last week.

Sapa also reports the British government has announced an immediate grant of R100 000 to provide assistance to victims of war-torn Natal.

British Ambassador Sir Robin Renwick said in Cape Town this was an immediate response and further British assistance would follow.

## Mandela to meet FW

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela and three advisers will meet President FW de Klerk on Thursday at 4pm. (11A)

Mandela said this in a phone call to Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen from Durban's Louis Botha Airport yesterday morning shortly after arriving in Natal to tour Maritzburg's trouble spots. *Southern*  
314190

The venue for the meeting is not yet known.



# Chief slams ANC, SACC

KWAZULU Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday accused the ANC of cowardice in calling off the Mandela-Buthelezi Natal peace rally and in cancelling its April 11 meeting with President FW de Klerk.

They were afraid because peace negotiations could expose them as not having the following they

● To page 2

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Sowetan

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## Buthelezi slams ANC

<sup>Sowetan 3/11/90</sup>  
● From page 1  
claimed, Buthelezi said.  
- He also told top church leaders - including Archbishops Desmond Tutu and Denis Hurley - they should be talking to the UDF, Cosatu and the ANC if they really wanted to stop the widespread slaughter of innocents in strife-torn Natal.

In a strongly worded

memorandum to a delegation of the South African Council of Churches peace initiative, he accused the SACC of joining a party-political vendetta against Inkatha while people were dying.

"Meanwhile," Buthelezi said, "people were being chopped up and burnt alive ... and a whole new generation is being warped by violence."

The KwaZulu leader said that the SACC had channelled millions of overseas money to causes funded by the pro-ANC, UDF and Cosatu organisations and nothing to the humanitarian and developmental projects of Inkatha.

Meanwhile the ANC Radio Freedom in Lusaka had repeatedly called on youth to band together and kill black town councillors, policemen and others denigrated as "collaborators".



**KHOTSO SEATHLOLO**

# Soweto SRC leader released

**KHOTSO** Seathlolo, one of the acclaimed student leaders who led the 1976 Soweto uprisings, was yesterday released from Robben Island, two years before the expiry of a 15-year jail sentence.

He was among several Black Consciousness Movement members released from Robben Island since the weekend.

The others are Khumbulani Mnikina, Daniel Matsobane and Mogale Pilusa.

Seathlolo was imprisoned for recruitment and incitement to revolt in the Vanderbijlpark Circuit Court in December 1981.

His co-accused, Masabata

By **THEMBA MOLEFE**  
and Sowetan Correspondent

Loate, was jailed for five years and died brutally when she was necklaced shortly after her release in 1987.

Seathlolo shot to prominence in August 1976 when he took over the leadership of the Soweto Students Representative Council from Tsietsi Mashinini who fled the country during the Soweto 1976 uprisings.

In January 1977 Seathlolo fled the country and was instrumental in the formation of the South Afri-

can Revolutionary Youth Council in exile.

He was arrested on June 1976 after he re-entered the country.

Seathlolo was regarded as a history-maker by both seasoned political leaders and his followers for being part of the young leadership which change the course of events in South African politics.

The Azanian People's Organisation yesterday quoted him as saying on the Government's negotiations initiative: "When (State President) de Klerk says he has an open door policy to

● To page 2

11A (11A) (11A)

The statement was released by Mr Eric Pelser, who was released yesterday after serving four years of a seven-year term for terrorism.

For as long as he insists on guaranteeing minority rights it will simply mean that he does not want to destroy racism but simply present it to us in a different guise."

\* Meanwhile, a group of political prisoners at Pretoria Central prison - including Damien de Lange and Soviet spy Dieter Gerhardt - have released a statement calling on the Government to stop using the prisoners as "pawns" in the negotiation process.

negotiations he does not say to us that it is a trap-door.

● From page 1

● From page 1

released

Sowetan 5/12/90  
Khotso Seathlolo (11A)

AS the negotiating process takes shape, the African National Congress is likely to experience increasing pressure from the Frontline States to make compromises in the search for a negotiated settlement.

The Frontline States — Zambia, Zimbabwe, Angola, Tanzania, Botswana and Mozambique — will continue to be staunch public allies of the ANC and will not be party to any sell-out.

But the framework in which gradual and subtle pressure will be exercised is now firmly established.

The process will gain momentum once President FW de Klerk demonstrates that the era of destabilisation of neighbouring states has come to an end.

#### Nudging

The Frontline States have already played a central role in nudging the ANC towards negotiations.

Since Mozambique's Frelimo government signed the Nkomati Non-Aggression pact with Pretoria in 1984, the ANC's infiltration routes from the north have been systematically closed off.

The turning-point in the waning fortunes of the ANC's armed struggle came in August 1988 when — in terms of the Geneva Protocol — Angola tacitly agreed to close the ANC's military camps in Angola in return for Pretoria cutting aid to Unita.

While the ANC publicly agreed to this request — in the name of assisting the process leading to Namibian independence — leaders of Umkhonto we Sizwe openly admit that it was a major setback to the armed struggle.

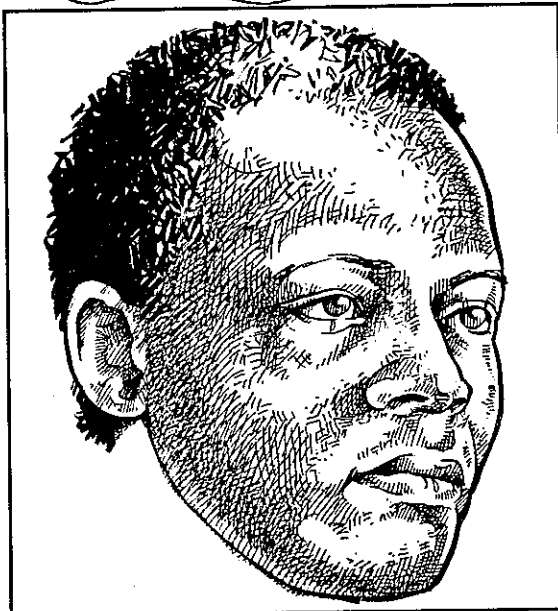
The relocation of the ANC's military camps from Angola to Uganda and Tanzania involved a massive logistical operation which made enormous demands on the ANC's resources, effectively suspended military planning and infiltration, and did nothing for the morale of MK cadres.

#### Pressure

Further pressure has been exerted on the ANC to opt for talks by Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda who has played political host to the ANC headquarters in Lusaka for the past decade.

Shortly after ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela visited Lusaka last month, Kaunda broke ranks with other Frontline leaders by calling on the ANC to suspend its armed struggle.

He has not pursued the issue since then but is



Angola's Dos Santos



Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe



Zambia's Kenneth Kaunda

# Pressure on ANC

clearly impatient that the negotiating process should make rapid progress and deliver early results.

After his first meeting with De Klerk in Livingstone in August last year, President Kaunda pledged to arrange a summit of Southern African leaders once Namibia won its independence.

#### Isolation

Despite ANC efforts to dissuade Frontline leaders from meeting De Klerk, he has succeeded in breaking through the cordon of isolation that once kept South Africa apart from its neighbouring states.

But the ANC has succeeded — so far — in preventing a full Southern African summit that would include De Klerk.

At the Namibian independence celebrations on March 21, De Klerk scored a significant diplomatic breakthrough. Before sharing a platform with Namibian President Sam Nujoma, he held his first face-to-face meeting with Angola's President Jose Eduardo dos Santos.

Conspicuous by his absence at the celebrations was Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe who cited election campaign commitments as the reason for his surprise non-attendance.

But the general feeling in Windhoek was that Mugabe wished to avoid a face-to-face meeting with the South African leader. Mr Mugabe has taken a notably harder line towards De Klerk, and he and his colleagues have warned the ANC not to abandon the armed struggle immediately.

Significantly, this is the line advocated by the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC), which Mugabe has willingly hosted in Harare on several occasions.

Another forum where the ANC could soon begin to feel pressure is from the

**The realities of the Southern African sub-region have resulted in growing pressure on the African National Congress from its staunchest allies in the Frontline States. Developments in the region over the past year have changed perceptions of the South African government from Maputo to Luanda. JOHN BATTERSBY reports:**

nine-nation Southern African Development Coordinating Conference (SADCC).

At a conference in Lusaka in February, the SADCC — formed 10 years ago to reduce economic dependence on South Africa — made provisions for South Africa to eventually join the grouping.

Future Frontline State pressure on the ANC will be exerted within the framework of the United Nations General Assembly's Declaration on Apartheid adopted on December 14 last year.

The UN resolution, adopted unanimously, represented a major triumph for the ANC.

But it also involved significant concessions by the ANC on its original policy document on negotiations — the Harare Declaration — adopted by the ad hoc committee of the Organisation of African Unity on Southern Africa in Harare on August 21 last year.

#### UN Declaration

In terms of the UN resolution, there will be no compromise on the complete eradication of apartheid and the creation of a system of universal franchise, based on one person one vote, in a unitary South Africa.

But, to achieve international consensus, the ANC agreed to soften provisions on sanctions and the armed struggle and dropped references to a sovereign "interim government" — which would have included the ANC.

In terms of the UN resolution, the Pretoria government will retain effective control of the country throughout the negotiating

process — until elections are held under a new constitution.

The ANC's more recent insistence on a democratically-elected constituent assembly to draw up

the constitution is intended to compensate for the loss of the guarantees implicit in the "interim government".

But it is not either part of the Harare Declaration

Declaration or the UN resolution and its attainment will require additional ANC leverage.

Once De Klerk has succeeded in locking the ANC into the negotiating

process — and emasculating both the armed struggle and sanctions — the ANC will have few levers.

#### Options

It is at this point that the Frontline States could join with the international community in closing off the ANC's exit options.

(John Battersby is the Southern Africa correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor)

## COSAW

Congress of South African Writers

**The Congress of South African Writers, recognising negotiations as a site of struggle, supports the initiative of the ANC to engage the regime.**

**We hope that the demands of the Harare Declaration will be met to bring about a conducive environment for talks.**

**We extend our revolutionary greetings and support to the delegation in the ensuing talks to bring about peace in this strife-ridden land.**

ARGUS 3/4/90

## Councillors quit: Crisis for black local authorities

The Argus Correspondent (11/4) (23)

JOHANNESBURG. — Black local authorities have been plunged into an unprecedented crisis with the resignation of almost 10 percent of the Transvaal's 962 councillors last month.

And the outspoken president of the United Municipalities of South Africa, Mr Tom Boya, has revealed that plans are in the pipeline to discuss with the ANC the continued existence of black local authorities.

He has also called a special meeting of Transvaal councillors to decide whether "we should continue in the present political climate".

The unbanning of the ANC on February 2 has given new impetus to the extra-parliamentary organisations' protracted campaign against unrepresentative apartheid structures, particularly local authorities and homeland governments.

Mr Olaus van Zyl, Transvaal MEC for local government, confirmed that 61 black councillors resigned in March after severe intimidation and violence.

He denied, however, that the system of black local authorities was crumbling, saying a relatively small number of councillors had resigned.

Mr Murphy Morobe, assistant publicity secretary of the UDF, said the system was "heading for the conclusion of its crumbling" and had been destined to fall since its inception.

Reacting to Mr Van Zyl's call for the use of political avenues — and not intimidation — to voice opposition, Mr Morobe said: "That is nonsense. Mr Van Zyl knows only too well how deep the resentment goes. The people have all along voiced their opposition through political channels, as was demonstrated by the low percentage polls during elections."

# Mandela losing moral authority, says UK press

The Argus Foreign Service *Argus 3/4/90*  
LONDON. — Amid the strife in black townships and tribal homelands, Mr Nelson Mandela's moral authority has begun to falter, says The Times.

Correspondent Gavin Bell says the problem is not Mr Mandela, "an intelligent and reasonable man committed to a peaceful settlement of his country's racial dilemma".

The problem, he says, "is that he may have far less influence over the voteless black millions than anyone expected".

Bell writes that cracks are appearing in the vast constituency which the ANC has traditionally claimed "and the mood is ugly and rebellious".

"The fissures are spreading to the African National Congress leadership, in danger of being outflanked by militant tendencies in the townships and undermined by similar factions within its own ranks.

"The violence is attributed to a lost generation of youths, whose crude political views were forged by similar strife in the mid-1980s. Their allegiance to the mainstream of the ANC is doubtful, and the slogan 'Liberation before education' is gaining popularity.

"Certainly, both Mr Mandela and Chief (Mangosuthu) Buthelezi seem to have failed the test of leadership presented by the conflict in Natal, where their peace overtures have generated more heat than light."

## RITUAL REJECTION

Peter Taylor of the Daily Telegraph writes that the ANC's credibility and authority is "fading fast" following its weekend decision to postpone talks with the South African government.

Christopher Munnion of the Evening Standard wrote recently that the mythology and aura which had built up around the world's most famous prisoner "have swiftly fallen away to reveal just another African politician. We are now seeing Mandela the man, not the myth".

Blacks in Natal had not heeded Mr Mandela's call to "throw your weapons into the sea", because to the young combatants in the townships there, Mr Mandela was no longer a hero. "They have cut, torn and sliced the portrait of Mandela from their T-shirts in a spontaneous, ritual rejection of his appeal for peace with the arch-foe, Chief Buthelezi and Inkatha.

"As far as they are concerned, Mandela's conciliatory remarks have merely identified him as another 'sell-out'."

# Freed prisoners back ANC decision to pull out of talks

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN  
Staff Reporter

SEVEN African National Congress members freed from Robben Island yesterday have come out in support of their organisation pulling out of the April 11 talks with the government.

In a statement soon after their release, they said they were still committed to the ideals and principles of the ANC.

"We endorse the stand of our organisation to suspend talks with De Klerk until the regime creates conditions conducive to peaceful negotiations," the statement said.

The seven said their observation was that the government had yet to fulfil the requirements of the Harare Declaration, which included the immediate and unconditional release

3/4/70 of all political prisoners.

"By political prisoners we mean all people whom the National Party regime views as having committed politically motivated crimes including public violence and arson - these are our comrades."

They said the ANC, together with all the people of South Africa, was prepared to work for peace.

"But this may not be achieved if the government fails to control the police as was the case in Sebokeng and Natal where innocent lives were lost."

The seven freed from prison are Mr Cleopas Ndlovu, Mr Naledi Tsiki, Mr Trueman Magobane, Mr Wiseman Mdlalana, Mr Aitken Ramudzuli, Mr Si-

pho Binda and Mr Collins Chabane.

Mr Ndlovu and Mr Magobane were charged with terrorism in 1977 and sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment. Mr Tsiki was jailed for 14 years in 1978. Mr Mdlalana of Guguletu was sent to jail for five years in 1986. Mr Binda was imprisoned for six years in 1986, and Mr Chabane was jailed for seven years in 1985.

An eighth Robben Island prisoner, Black Consciousness Movement member and former Soweto student leader Mr Khotso Seathlolo, who was jailed for 10 years in 1981, was also released yesterday.

He and Tsietsi Mashinini headed the Soweto Students Representative Council, which spearheaded the protests that erupted in violence on June 16 1976.

# ANC get ready <sup>(1/A)</sup> with millions of membership cards

From DAVID BRAUN  
The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — The African National Congress is printing between one and two million membership cards in advance of a campaign to recruit South Africans of all race groups, according to leading anti-apartheid activist Dr Nthato Motlana.

Dr Motlana, president of the Soweto Civic Association and personal physician to ANC vice president Mr Nelson Mandela, told a meeting of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace the ANC had already received enquiries from white South Africans who wanted to become members.

The ANC would demand that its members be active card-carrying members, he said, which was why the organisation was now in the process of printing between one and two million membership cards.

Dr Motlana said once the ANC was ready to sign on members, a number of youth and civic organisations would be disbanded.

Unlike the 1948 structure of the ANC, which was organised into the four provinces, each with its own president, branches, women's and youth structures, the 1990 ANC would be organised along the lines of 14 regional organisations.

# ANC names regional officials

*CAPL  
11/4  
3/4/90*

JOHANNESBURG. —  
The ANC interim leadership core yesterday announced the appointment of several conveners to head regional offices in each major district in the country.

Transkei is the only homeland on the list.

Those appointed so far and their areas are: Kgalema Motlanthe (PWV), Thabo Makunyane (Northern Transvaal), Terror Lekota (Southern Natal), Harry Gwala (Natal Midlands), Trevor Manuel (appointed co-convenor for the Western Cape), Benson Fihla (Eastern Cape), Arnold Stofile (Border), A Xobololo (Transkei) and Jomo Khasu (Northern Cape).

● The ANC also said Mr Nelson Mandela would address a rally at Umtata this month and visit his birthplace, Qunu. — Sapa

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# Govt seeks new date for ANC talks

Political Staff

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk said yesterday that he had instructed government officials to keep in contact with the ANC in the hope of securing a new date for a meeting with the organisation to clear up obstacles to negotiations.

Mr De Klerk also confirmed that he would meet Mr Nelson Mandela on Thursday.

He said he did not regard the reasons given by the ANC — the Sebokeng shootings — as sufficient for cancelling the original meeting.

He disclosed that after agreement had been reached to schedule the meeting between the government and the ANC for April 11, a steering committee consisting of state officials and internal and external ANC representatives had been set up.

The steering committee, he said, had finalised most of the details for the arrival of the ANC delegation and for the meeting itself.

He believed the ANC's problems about the Sebokeng shootings could have been addressed through the steering committee.

Mr De Klerk said adherence to violence and the joining of peaceful negotiations were mutually exclusive. He believed this lay at the root of the ANC's problems with fully committing itself to negotiations.

"You cannot send and threaten to send armed men into the country, send mobs rampaging into the streets, pursue intimidation and at the same time negotiate peacefully. This dichotomy lies at the root of the ANC's hesitancy to fully align themselves with the negotiating process."

Sapa reports meanwhile that the ANC's decision to suspend the talks has been welcomed by the Azanian People's Organisation.

In a resolution passed at its regional congress in Mahwelereng, near Potgietersrus, on Sunday, Azapo, however, said that suspension was not sufficient and called on the ANC to withdraw totally from negotiations with the government.

Azapo said in the resolution that the ANC decision was a vindication of its own long-held position that the white government had not changed sufficiently for blacks to hope to get freedom through such exercises as negotiations.

"We call on the ANC to seek unity with organisations of the oppressed instead of unity with enemies of black people," the resolution stated.

It further said the "ANC/UDF/Cosatu alliance" should "stop pretending that the alliance is the only spokesperson of the majority of Azanians and call on its so-called young lions to stop attacking members of other black organisations".

The congress, attended by more than 2 000 people from the area, was characterised by singing of freedom songs. It was also characterised by tension generated by the ripping apart of two T-shirts belonging to members of the Azanian Students' Movement by alleged ANC supporters.

Azapo general secretary Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe told the meeting the Azapo leadership had met Mr Mandela last week to discuss the ongoing inter-organisational violence.

**MARITZBURG.** — Thursday's meeting between President F W de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela was arranged over a phone call from the inquiries desk at Louis Botha Airport.

Within minutes of arriving in Durban yesterday Mr Mandela fumbled for change as he phoned the Minister of Constitutional Planning, Dr Gerrit Viljoen.

With journalists hanging over his shoulder, Mr Mandela arranged to meet President De Klerk on Thursday at 4pm.

In a short but amiable conversation, both Dr Viljoen and Mr Mandela agreed to three advisers each.

In another bridge towards peace, Mr Mandela told about 2 500 people crushed into the Edendale Lay Centre, outside Maritzburg, that Inkatha was not to be regarded as an enemy. — Sapa

# Motlana denies spurning R3-bn upliftment fund

The Argus Correspondent *Argus 3/4/90*

JOHANNESBURG. — Soweto community leader Dr Nthato Motlana has vehemently denied telling an American audience last week that blacks would not touch the government's R3-billion fund for socio-economic upliftment.

Dr Motlana was quoted as saying: "We are going to say (to President De Klerk) 'Go to hell, man'. This is a question of principle. We are not going to touch that money."

This caused an outcry among blacks and even drew criticism from the United Democratic Front and the Azanian People's Organisation.

The Argus correspondent in Washington, David Braun, insisted that he had accurately reported Dr Motlana's speech to the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Washington. Two tape-recordings had been made of the meeting.

Dr Motlana, a former chairman of the Soweto Civic Association, said yesterday he had said that anti-apartheid groups were reluctant to touch money from governments friendly to South Africa.

"I never said 'go to hell' to the State President. I would never use such language. But I certainly said the money was too little," he said.



# US will tie ANC aid to non-violence

From DAVID BRAUN *ARGUS 3/4/90*  
The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — The United States would certainly want any financial aid it gave to South African political organisations used to promote non-violent democratic procedures as well as the concept of free-market systems, according to a senior American official.

The US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Mr Hank Cohen, said this at a briefing for foreign correspondents here yesterday.

He said Secretary of State Jim Baker had already announced the US government was considering supporting opposition political movements to prepare themselves for negotiations with the South African government.

However, it was too early to say what criteria would be used to select who should receive such aid, so the US government was not ready to talk about organisations that would qualify.

Mr Cohen was asked whether the

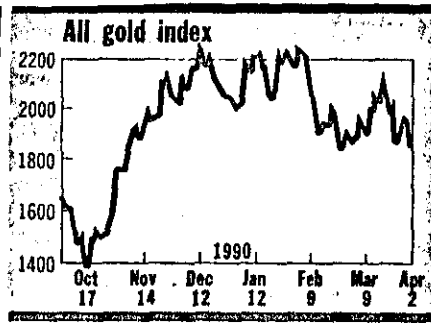
administration supported an initiative in the US Congress to appropriate R26 million for aid to South African opposition organisations, provided they committed themselves to suspending violence within the context of negotiations with the government.

If Congress had its way, the African National Congress would not be an organisation that could qualify for US aid until it committed itself to suspend its armed struggle.

The ANC's policy of nationalisation may also be an impediment to receiving US aid if the Bush Administration decides to make any assistance conditional on promoting the concept of free market systems.

Meanwhile, Mr Cohen told the media that the US administration was hoping to increase its aid this year to Namibia from \$500 000 (about R1,3 million) to \$10 million (about R26 million), with a matching amount in 1991.

He said that when money was returned from the appropriation allocated to Panama and Nicaragua, it was hoped to give Namibia \$10 million.



Graphic: FIONA KRISCH Source: JSE

DIAGONAL Street was mauled yesterday by a combination of bearish factors, with sentiment being hardest hit by the ANC's cancellation of talks with Inkatha and President F W de Klerk.

News that the talks had been called off resulted in a wave of selling of SA shares from London. Then the second largest one-day fall of 6,6% on the Tokyo stock market caused a ripple of nervousness on the JSE.

The third negative factor in a depressing session of trading was the failure of the gold price to penetrate the \$370 level. The metal closed unchanged in London from Friday's \$369 after trading in a narrow band in featureless conditions.

The JSE overall index plummeted almost 4%, or 129 points, to 3 128 as a sharp 4,2% weakening in the finrand investment unit failed to stem the downward tide with share prices substantially lower in dollar terms.

"Markets are driven by sentiment and yesterday we had not just one but a combination of three negative factors," a dealer said.

Analysts said the nosedive in political sentiment on the external front was reflected in the sharp downtrend of the finrand while, internally, sentiment could be mea-

# Move on talks hits trading

MERVYN HARRIS

sured by the Krugerrand's premium of almost 21% on the rand gold price.

The Krugerrand closed R3 lower at R1 187. Analysts said the differential with the rand gold price of R983 was high in historical terms and indicated uncertainty and unease at the current situation in SA.

The 5,2% (103 point) plunge in the JSE all gold index to 1 857 was seen as a belated reaction to last week's slump in the price of the metal to five-month lows.

Dealers said gold shares were now at more realistic levels, after showing remarkable resilience last week when share prices recovered almost all of their initial losses by the weekend in the hope that the metal would at least recoup part of its \$25 loss.

More depressing was the way leading industrial shares wilted under the weight of the negative factors with the index shedding 3,2%, or 96 points, to 2 880.

Dealers said the only positive factor to emerge was the lack of heavy selling after London instigated the initial downturn. There was only selective offloading of shares by local institutions which also nibbled at some stocks on their way down.

# Govt moves to allow 'wanted' ANC men into SA for talks

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk yesterday announced new incentives for organisations such as the ANC to enter negotiations.

He said government had decided to table legislation providing temporary indemnity from prosecution and civil action to people involved in negotiations. Such indemnity would apply only to brief visits.

At a later stage, further legislation would empower him to provide permanent indemnity to people or groups who could be found guilty of common law or statutory offences.

MIKE ROBERTSON

De Klerk said as soon as it had been decided to grant permanent indemnity to unsentenced individuals a basis would be found for freeing those already sentenced for security-related crimes.

"It is our desire finally to close the old books and start on a clean page. Those who on the one hand still persist with such worn-out rhetoric as... 'the armed struggle continues' and other cliches, and on the other hand those who insist on continued domination, must realise we are deadly se-

rious about building the new SA without brutality and without unrest."

He had instructed government officials to keep in contact with the ANC in the hope of securing a new date for a meeting between the organisation and government, following the cancellation of the planned April 11 talks by the ANC.

De Klerk said after agreement had been reached for the ANC-government meeting a steering committee of state officials and internal and external ANC representatives had been set up.

This committee had finalised details for

the arrival of the ANC delegation and for the meeting itself. The ANC's problems relating to the Sebokeng shootings could have been addressed through the committee, he said. *010am 3/4/90*

□ Sapa reports Mandela arrived in Durban yesterday to tour unrest areas and, within minutes of arriving, telephoned Constitutional Planning Minister Gerrit Viljoen from the airport inquiries desk. During a short but amiable exchange, they arranged a meeting between De Klerk and Mandela on Thursday at 4pm.

● Comment Page 14

SHARE prices tumbled on a combination of negative factors yesterday to send the JSE overall index down almost 4%, or 129 points, to 3 128.

Dealers said selling was initially instigated from London on adverse political sentiment on news that the ANC had cancelled proposed talks with Inkatha and government.

Confidence was also hit by the second biggest one-day fall of 6,6% on the Tokyo market and the failure of gold to penetrate the \$370 an ounce level. A sharp 4,2% slide in the firrand failed to stem the downward

## DIAGONAL STREET

# ANC pull-out sends shares falling on JSE

ANC's largest volume trade.

More than 2,2-million Consmgng shares worth almost R1m changed hands in 32 deals with market speculation that a broker was buying more than 1-million shares on behalf of an institutional client taking a position on the company.

Platinum shares were sharply lower as the free market price of the metal fell to a two-year low of \$470,50 in London. Leader RUSPLAT shed 550c to R73 while BARMINE, widely tipped to be one of the best performers on the market this year, touched its February low of 470c before closing 25c off at 475c.

ISCOR led the downtrend of leading industrials as the price fell to a low of 195c before recovering to close 20c off at 200c, its lowest level since its listing and at its issue price.

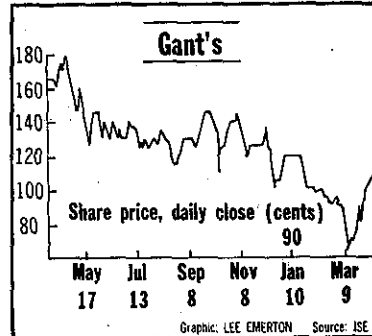
Shares in the Duros fold were among the few to go against the weaker market trend. GANTS topped the list of largest price gainers on a 15c rise to 115c after touching 130c on speculation that the food company was to be sold. The shares were at a 12-month low of 65c three weeks ago.

TGH (Tollgate) rose 10c to 290c, while ARWA held at its recent high of 330c on speculation that it too could be up for sale in a reconstruction of the Duros group by new CE Julian Askin. Analysts said Arwa would fit in well with W & A's Burhose, while Gants could either be bought by Brian Joffe's Bidcorp or slotted into the Tiger Oats group.

PUBHOLD, pyramid company of Publico, made its debut in the printing and publishing sector at 110c, 10c higher than the last traded price of Publico. Operating subsidiary PUBLICO traded at 80c.

In the bank sector, UBS slumped 25c to 595c with BOLAND the sector's best performer on a 10c rise to 450c.

MERVYN HARRIS



tide of share prices, which were substantially lower in dollar terms.

The all gold index shed 103 points, or 5,2%, to 1 857 while the industrial index gave up 96 points, or 3,2%, to 2 880. Heavily weighted diamond leader DE BEERS fell 350c, or 4%, to R83,50 and mining house leader ANGLOS lost 850c or 6,4% to R125.

Dealers reported only selective local selling but the downtrend of share prices was accentuated by lack of buyers, with investors tending to sit on the sidelines.

Gold shares were finally reacting to the slump in the price of the metal after holding firm last week.

KLOOF was in the forefront of the falls of quality golds on a decline of 7,7% (325c) to R39, while leader VAAL REEFS fell 4,5% (R18) to R380. Falls among lightweights ranged up to 12,5% as in the case of LORAINÉ, which gave up 150c to R10,50, but was off a low of R10,15.

GENCOR was hardest hit among mining financials on a 9,5%, or 115c, plunge to R11, but CONSMNG (Consolidated Mining Corp) went against the softer trend on the mining holding sector by rising 4c to 44c in the ses-

# ANC appoints regional organisers

A NUMBER of prominent UDF leaders, including publicity secretary Terror Lekota, have been appointed to head some of the ANC's regional offices in SA.

The organisation's Johannesburg information department yesterday announced the names of nine people appointed to the posts, whose function is to co-ordinate the establishment of countrywide ANC structures. *3/10/90 3/14/90*

Lekota is to head the ANC's Southern Natal region. UDF Western Cape secretary Trevor Manuel is to run the ANC's office in the region.

Recently-released prisoner Arnold Stoffel is to do for the ANC the job he previously did for the UDF in the Border

ALAN FINE

region. *(1/1)*

ANC veteran Harry Gwala has been appointed to run the organisation's Natal Midlands region, which would presumably include the violence-hit areas of the province.

Other regional convenors include former NUM organiser Kgalema Motlanthe (PWV), Thabo Makunyane (Northern Transvaal), Benson Fihla (Eastern Cape), A Xobololo (Transkei), and Jomo Khasu (Northern Cape).

Appointments for Northern Natal and Southern and Northern Free State are still to be confirmed, the statement said.

# Aeroflot's 'SA links' examined

*3/10/90 3/14/90*  
HARARE — The question of flights by Soviet airline Aeroflot to SA was the subject of an unofficial investigation, Soviet officials said yesterday. This was reported by Ziana after a Press conference officially to launch Aeroflot's flights to Harare, which began last Tuesday.

*(11A)*  
Aeroflot officials yesterday did not initially deny that future flights by the airline to SA were being considered, although Soviet Cultural Centre director Alexander Kirpsha later ruled out the possibility.

Soviet Civil Aviation Department chief navigator Vitaly Kiselev said although an investigation was under way, there were no official negotiations on the matter.

Then Kirpsha interjected, saying: "The initiative is coming from the South Africans. This has been rejected." — Sapa.

# Soweto '76 student leader freed

*3/10/90 3/14/90*  
ONE of the most famous black student leaders, Khotso Seathlolo, who cut his political teeth in the June 1976 Soweto uprisings, was unconditionally released from Robben Island prison yesterday.

He was one of a group of eight prisoners released from the island yesterday, at least a year early. *(11A)*

Civil rights lawyer Willie Hofmeyr said yesterday's releases brought to 40 the number freed from Robben Island since February 2.

Seathlolo, reacting to President F W de Klerk's negotiation offer, said in Cape Town that the NP leader's open door policy was in fact a "trap door".

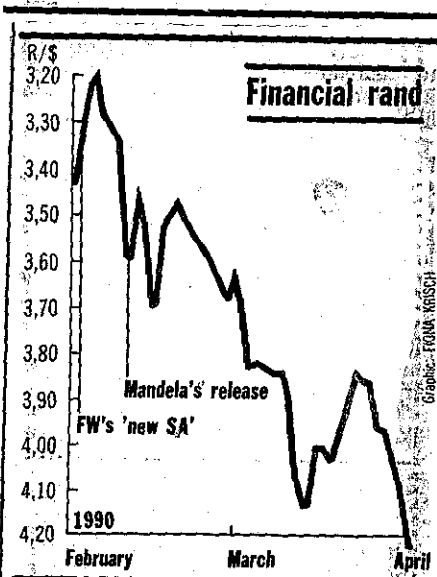
According to comments attributed to

him and distributed by Azapo in Johannesburg, he said: "For as long as he insists on guaranteeing minority rights, it will simply mean that he does not want to destroy racism, but simply present it to us in a different guise." *(11A)*

Seathlolo and Tsiesti Mashinini headed the Soweto Students Representative Council which spearheaded the protests that erupted in violence in 1976.

He fled the country after police launched a nationwide manhunt for him.

Seathlolo was arrested on June 17 1981, while on a mission in SA, and jailed for 15 years for recruiting, incitement and conspiracy for armed revolt. — Sapa.



## Finrand slumps as foreigners lose faith

11A  
GRETA STEYN

FOREIGN investor confidence in SA has collapsed since ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela's release from prison — signalled by the financial rand's slump of 26% from its peak just before Mandela's release.

The investment unit topped at \$0,32 amid euphoria after President F.W. de Klerk's watershed opening of Parliament speech, but a sharp about-turn began after Mandela's release nine days later. The ANC's nationalisation policies and continued commitment to the armed struggle triggered the financial rand's tumble.

Political violence and the ANC's decision to pull out of talks with government battered the financial rand yesterday, pushing the currency 3,4% lower from Friday to end the day at R4,23 to the dollar.

A foreign investor now pays about \$0,2364 to buy one financial rand — a discount of about 37% to the commercial rand. The discount, a measure of foreign investor confidence in SA, has widened by leaps and bounds from about 20% before Mandela's release.

The investment currency opened at about \$0,2435 (R4,10 to the dollar) yesterday and was "an immediate sell". Small volumes are being sold, but buying demand from Europe has dried up in the wake of political uncertainty and the thin market is

☐ To Page 2

Finrand 314/90

causing exaggerated price movements. However, one dealer said the investment unit was "a buy" at a discount of 38% and predicted that its downside from here was limited — provided there was no major foreign sell-off of SA gilts. The gilts market reacted moderately to negative political sentiment and a low gold price yesterday, with yields on the bellwether Eskom

11A

☐ From Page 1

Loan E168 closing eight points higher at 15,69%.

Gold's weakness combined with a strong dollar to depress the commercial rand. The Reserve Bank has been offering dollars to the market to moderate the rand's descent. The currency closed at a mid-rate of R2,6548 yesterday from Friday's R2,6513.



# Motlana denies remarks

Star 3/4/90

11A

Political Reporter

Soweto community leader Dr Nthato Motlana has vehemently denied telling an American audience last week that blacks would not touch the Government's new R3 billion fund for socio-economic upliftment.

Dr Motlana was quoted in *The Star* as saying: "We are going to say (to President de Klerk) 'Go to hell, man.' This is a question of principle, we are not going to touch that money."

His statement has caused an outcry among blacks and has even drawn criticism from organisations such as the United Democratic Front and the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo).

The *Star's* correspondent in Washington, David Braun, insisted that he had accurately reported Dr Motlana's speech. Two tape recordings had been made of the meeting.

Dr Motlana, a former chairman of the Soweto Civic Association, said yesterday he had said that anti-apartheid groups in South Africa were reluctant to touch money made available by governments who were friendly to South Africa.

"I never said 'Go to hell' to the State President. I would never use such language. But I certainly said the money was too little," he said.

# ANC slated for cancelling meeting date

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN President de Klerk has slammed the ANC for cancelling the scheduled April 11 talks and has disclosed that it turned down earlier dates for a meeting.

Mr de Klerk told Parliament that the ANC's continued commitment to the armed struggle lay at the root of its hesitancy about entering negotiations. However, he confirmed that he would be meeting ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela this week.

According to Mr Mandela, the meeting will take place on Thursday.

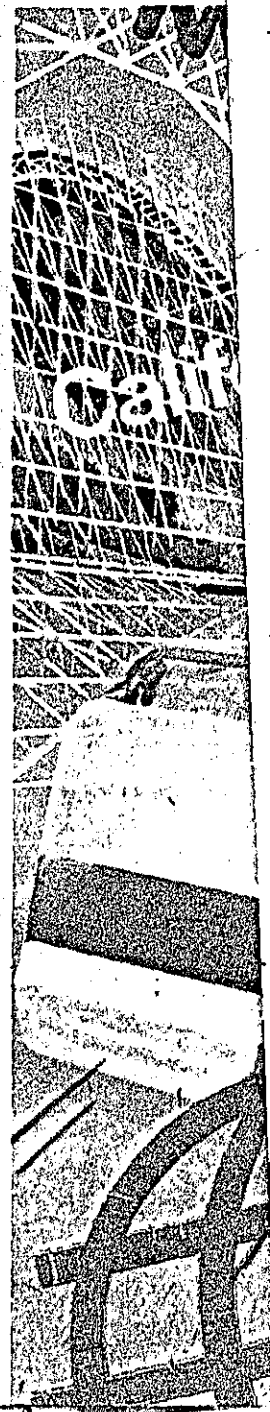
Mr de Klerk said he had instructed top officials to keep in contact with the ANC.

He reiterated that his door remained open. He hoped the ANC would find it possible to join those already talking.

Addressing a joint sitting of Parliament yesterday, Mr de Klerk said it was "difficult to understand why an organisation saying it is interested in peace refuses to come and talk about that very issue".

"We say that their adherence to violence through the so-called armed struggle is a stumbling block preventing them from joining peaceful negotiations.

"We wanted to discuss that."



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# Shots ring out as Mandela visits troubled townships

3/4/90  
MARITZBURG — Shots sounded briefly as Mr Nelson Mandela and his visiting ANC delegation yesterday moved along Mpelele Road, which divides Imbali's Inkatha and United Democratic Front sections.

Across the road, in Imbali Stage 2, a group of men stood watching as thousands of chanting youths followed the ANC procession.

"See. They are Inkatha," a bystander said, pointing them out.

Moments later three shots sounded. It was not clear who had fired them. No one appeared to be injured.

This was the only confrontation as Mr Mandela and his entourage criss-

crossed the ravaged Edendale valley, inspecting conditions and talking to the people.

Mr Mandela's entourage included the ANC's Natal representative, Mr Harry Gwala, UDF leaders Mr Archie Gumede and Mr Patrick Lekota, and ex-Robben Islanders Mr Wilson Nkwayi and Mr Walter Sisulu.

At Slingspruit, Mr Mandela called for peace. Enough people had died, he said, but those who had died in the fight against apartheid were to be praised.

At Imbali, he visited two gutted homes. In one, Mr Jabu Ndlovu, his wife and two children had died. Neighbours said the Ndlovus had left behind

two more children, who were now homeless.

From Imbali, the huge procession crossed the valley to Ashdown, a UDF township rimmed by Inkatha shacks on the hills.

As the colourful throng of chanting ANC supporters and journalists wended its way behind Mr Mandela, the shackdwellers stood in tight groups silhouetted against the skyline.

At the Edendale Lay Centre, the crowd was initially restless, but when Mr Mandela addressed them, they became silent.

He said: "I know how you feel. I suffer the pain with you. I come here to

share in your suffering, your difficulties and your problems."

There were no weapons in evidence as the ANC deputy president addressed the crowds in fluent Zulu.

"We are not the enemy and the Inkatha people should understand this. Apartheid is the enemy and we are fighting apartheid," said Mr Mandela.

ANC internal leader Mr Sisulu said Mr Mandela would not meet Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi during the next two days.

Mr Sisulu said the present level of violence was one of the reasons the joint Inkatha-ANC rally, originally scheduled for yesterday, had been cancelled. — Sapa.

# MDM, UDF to bolster group

Sowetan 11/4/90

(11A)

## ● From page 1

Mbeki and Ruth Mompati, a member of the national executive.

The eighth ANC delegate is Mr Ahmed Kathrada, one of the Rivonia trialists released in October with Sisulu.

Missing at the talks will be ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo, still recuperating in a Swedish clinic after suffering a brain spasm last August.

The inclusion of Modise suggests the organisation has been unsuccessful in proposing that its military wing should hold simultaneous but separate talks with representatives of the South African Defence Force.

The idea was first mooted in February by Mr Chris Hani, chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe. Significantly, Hani will not be part of the ANC team, which could imply that President FW

de Klerk would like to play down the military factor in discussions.

Asked whether the team had obtained clearance to attend the talks in Cape Town, ANC spokesman Mr Tom Sebina said last night the organisation had been given tacit assurance that there would be no problems with individual delegates - despite their past records or legal standing in South Africa.

Sebina said he wanted to refute reports in certain South African newspapers that there was disunity within the ranks of the ANC over the decision to accept the new arrangements for discussions with De Klerk, or over tactics which the ANC should adopt at the talks.

"That is nonsense," he said. "There is a spirit of complete unanimity within the ANC at the moment."

## ANC names some regional conveners

The African National Congress' Interim Leadership Core yesterday announced the appointment of several conveners to head regional offices of the ANC in each major district.

Some of the newly appointed ANC officials are former United Democratic Front leaders.

The appointments are: Mr Kgalema Motlanthe to the PWV area, Mr Thabo Makunyane to the Northern Transvaal, Mr Terror Lekota to Southern Natal, Mr Harry Gwala to the Natal Midlands, Mr Trevor Manuel as co-convenor for the Western Cape, Mr Benson Fihla to the Eastern Cape, Mr Arnold Stofile to the Border, Mr A Xobololo for Transkei and Mr Jomo Khasu to the Northern Cape.

Transkei is the only homeland included in the list. Conveners for Northern Natal, Southern Free State and Northern Free State regions still have to be confirmed.

The ANC's department of information and publicity said the task of these conveners is to recruit new membership and set up ANC regional offices. — Sapa.

# ANC mum over pamphlet

Political Reporter

11A

The ANC has refused to comment on a pamphlet, issued in the organisation's name, which calls on blacks to kill people of other races and to embark on a national strike on April 10.

A spokesman said yesterday the pamphlet had been brought to the ANC's attention, but he refused further comment.

The pamphlet speaks about Azania, although the ANC does not use that name for South Africa. Distributed on the Reef, it states: "Support your comrades in the ANC. Kill an Indian, a Coloured or a white today!"

ANC vice-president Mr Nelson Mandela's name is used frequently. For example: "Comrade Nelson wants us to strike and riot. We must obey him!"

It says: "We will kill all the

white racists and we will be free in Azania, free from oppression and discrimination. We must get pangas, kerries, guns, bricks and stones, anything that we can use to fight with and to destroy the white racists."

It says: "If we all strike on April 10, we will win our war against the whites. Go and choose your house in a white area today, when we win that house will be yours."

It says Aids is a "racist plot" developed in Israel and given to South Africa to "use" against blacks.

A police spokesman said yesterday the pamphlet made the task of the police immeasurably more difficult. Describing its authors as highly irresponsible, the spokesman said it would only serve to heat up emotions.

# ANC slated for cancelling meeting date

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — President de Klerk has slammed the ANC for cancelling the scheduled April 11 talks and has disclosed that it turned down earlier dates for a meeting.

Mr de Klerk told Parliament that the ANC's continued commitment to the armed struggle lay at the root of its hesitancy about entering negotiations. However, he confirmed that he would be meeting ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela this week.

According to Mr Mandela, the meeting will take place on Thursday.

Mr de Klerk said he had instructed top officials to keep in contact with the ANC.

He reiterated that his door remained open. He hoped the ANC would find it possible to join those already talking.

Addressing a joint sitting of Parliament yesterday, Mr de Klerk said it was "difficult to understand why an organisation saying it is interested in peace refuses to come and talk about that very issue".

"We say that their adherence to violence through the so-called armed struggle is a stumbling block preventing them from joining peaceful negotiations.

"We wanted to discuss that."

Edleston believed SA would experience a deep recession if 5% of its population surrounding the disease should not be pol-  
ticised, he said.

## Administrators stopgap for council resignations

GERALD REILL

PRETORIA — Administrators have been appointed in three black towns where councillor resignations — mostly because of intimidation — have deprived the councils of quorums. MEC in charge of local government Olaus van Zyl said here yesterday. Last week he said 43 councillors were forced to resign. *110am 4/4/90*

The executive committee decided to appoint administrators immediately instead of holding by-elections.

The three towns are Kwaguga near Witbank, Tokoza near Alberton and Motleng near Delmas.

Van Zyl emphasised the committee viewed democratically chosen councillors as of utmost importance and by-elections would be held as soon as possible.

The administrators' appointments are valid until March 31 next year or until by-elections are held. They will have all the powers and duties of a local authority.

Administrators at three other towns — Bela Bela near Warmbaths, Leboheng near Leandra and Tsikane near Brakpan — will be appointed soon.

*110am 4/4/90*  
**Nine prison  
escapees flee  
to Zambia**

NINE members of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, who escaped from an SA prison earlier this year, have arrived in the Zambian capital of Lusaka. *117*

The nine men, who were arrested for terrorism and treason in 1988, said their escape from Modderbee Prison and secret trip to Lusaka had been organized by their underground colleagues in SA.

They said a pistol was smuggled into the prison and they had escaped after overpowering their guards and stealing one of their cars. — Sapa.



## NO solutions until SAP chief goes, says Mandela

MARITZBURG — Nelson Mandela yesterday called for the removal of the head of the SAP saying he was "unco-operative" and had "no sympathy for black aspirations". *Monday 4/4/90*

He mentioned no names, but reporters at the Press conference assumed he was referring to Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok.

"We can see no solution until the man has been removed from that position," he said.

Reuter reports that Mandela refused to be drawn on whether he would demand Vlok's dismissal when he met President F W de Klerk in Cape Town tomorrow.

Mandela welcomed De Klerk's decision

to send troops to pacify townships, but at the same time said the move could be useless.

He criticised De Klerk for not consulting black leaders before taking such action. He said government had to stop taking unilateral decisions for blacks.

"A unilateral action on the part of the government without consultation with black leaders is bound to be ineffective, no matter the merits," Mandela said.

He said he would raise the issue of police partiality with De Klerk.

MANDY JEAN WOODS reports that former Natal Security Police chief Brig Jaap Burger was sent to Natal yesterday to head the joint SAP/SADF peacekeeping

duties.

Apparently police now see the task in curbing the violence as mainly a political one which cannot be curbed by force.

In townships to the west of Maritzburg, more than 1 400 people have been reported killed since September 1987.

Police spokesman Lt Peet Bothma said yesterday Burger's appointment was effective from last Saturday when he visited the area with Vlok.

De Klerk announced on Monday that SADF and SAP troop reinforcements would be sent into various areas which, in recent months, had seen escalating violence.

□ To Page 2

## SAP chief

Bothma said some SADF troops arrived in Natal on Monday and more SAP and SADF troops would be deployed by the end of the week. *Monday 4/4/90*

But, he said, the root problems could not be solved by security actions.

"The police could be there for 500 years and nothing could be solved. It is a political problem.

"But now the police have another tool to use after the unbanning of the ANC — negotiation.

"They don't have to curb violence by force, now they can try to negotiate an end to the violence," Bothma said.

The movement of extra personnel into the areas designated by De Klerk would take a few days because of the logistics of such a move, he said.

These included arranging accommodation for the personnel and the deploying of equipment, he said.

The total number of reinforcements would only be known by the end of the week, he said.

Part of the SAP's strategy to make personnel available in Natal would be to get

women to do ordinary administrative jobs in police stations surrounding the stricken areas to free the male staff for work in the field.

Meanwhile, in a statement yesterday, Cosatu said the police "had played a highly dubious role in the war".

"The clearest possible statement of police partiality has been Vlok's consultation with (Inkatha head Mangosuthu) Buthelezi at the weekend about the situation in Maritzburg.

"Why did Vlok not speak to any other concerned parties? The community sees the meeting as a council of war," Cosatu said.

It listed cases of alleged police partiality and claimed the SAP had not seriously tried to stop the fighting.

The SAP, it said, had sided with Inkatha in the conflict and had often not disarmed or dispersed Inkatha impis gathered to attack, but had speedily broken up a peaceful women's march in Edendale last week.

"There are persistent reports of kitskonstabels and other policemen being seen in the attacking impis," it alleged.

□ From Page 1

ANC criticises Vlok, seeks impartiality

# Police the 'major obstacle to talks'

sta 4/4/90

CAF

By Peter Fabricius,  
Political Correspondent  
Cape Town

The role of the police is emerging as a major obstacle to talks between the Government and the African National Congress.

ANC sources said that when Mr Nelson Mandela, meets President de Klerk tomorrow, he will seek assurances that police will act impartially in the unrest.

The sources expressed confidence that the two leaders could resolve the problem which led to the ANC calling off the April 11 exploratory talks with the Government.

Yesterday Mr Mandela attacked Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok for failing to consult fully with blacks over the handling of the violence, especially in Natal.

Calling for the removal of the "head of the SAP", he said Mr Vlok was uncooperative and had "no sympathy whatsoever for black aspirations".

He also accused Mr Vlok of openly associating himself with one of the parties in the Natal conflict — Inkatha.

A spokesman for Mr Vlok said today that Mr Mandela's remarks were "unfortunate at this time". Mr Vlok had recently tried to consult a wide spectrum of people over the violence.

He had the whole spectrum of political organisations, from the ANC to the AWB, in Welkom to discuss the Free State violence and in Port Elizabeth spoke to the MDM and the PAC.

Referring to his meeting on Saturday with kwaZulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the spokesman said Mr Vlok



A soldier kitted out for unrest duties in Umlazi with R-4 rifle, riot helmet and gasmask.

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# SACP, Cosatu to work together

South 4/4 - 10/4/90

THE South African Communist Party (SACP) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) have agreed on a broad framework for economic reconstruction in South Africa.

A 28-person SACP delegation, led by SACP general secretary Mr Joe Slovo, met a 31-person Cosatu delegation led by Cosatu vice-president Mr Chris Dlamini in Harare at the end of last week.

The meeting was the first of its kind between the two organisations.

A statement issued by Cosatu after the meeting said both organisations had agreed decisive action was needed to build political organisation and that most people viewed the ANC as a de facto government.

The meeting agreed Cosatu should retain its independence as "a matter of principle and practice" and that the federation would work in alliance with the ANC-SACP on a programme of action against apartheid.

The meeting analysed events in Eastern Europe.

The statement said that, while events in Eastern Europe provided important lessons, both organisa-

tions remained convinced that socialism was a more acceptable solution than capitalism.

This was linked to an examination of the South African economy and discussion about its reconstruction.

Both organisations agreed that nationalisation, the market and the private sector were "essential components" of a programme of economic reconstruction.

Work on this programme in consultation with the ANC is to be a priority for both organisations.

## Victory in metal strike

South 4/4 - 10/4/90

MORE than 130 Paarden Eiland metalworkers who have been on strike for more than three weeks return to work this Wednesday, having won a demand for plant level negotiations.

Cosatu to  
work in <sup>APL</sup>  
alliance <sup>Tinits</sup>  
<sup>11A</sup> <sup>4/4/90</sup>  
with SACP

JOHANNESBURG. — A meeting between Cosatu and the SA Communist Party (SACP) decided at the weekend in Harare to maintain their independence, but to work together on agreed programmes to dismantle apartheid.

A statement issued by the labour federation said the meeting — at which a 31-member Cosatu delegation led by vice-president Mr Chris Dlamini met a 28-member SACP delegation led by Mr Joe Slovo — agreed on the need for decisive action against apartheid.

“Both organisations agreed that Cosatu as a trade union must retain its independence in order to carry out its task of representing organised workers.”

They also agreed that a combination of nationalisation, the market and private sectors would be essential components of a new economy in post-apartheid South Africa. — Sapa

# FW, Mandela will try to revive talks

TOS WENTZEL on  
the Presidency

ATTEMPTS to revive the talks between the government and the African National Congress will be made at a meeting between President De Klerk and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela in Cape Town tomorrow.

Both sides have indicated they are keen for the talks to take place at some stage.

ANC sources said today that they saw what had happened as a delay rather than a serious setback.

Mr De Klerk has stated that he does not agree with the ANC that police action at Sebokeng should stand in the way of the talks. He said such matters could be dealt with at negotiations. He told parliament his door remained open.

The immediate reason for the talks is the ANC's decision to cancel the proposed April 11 talks because of what the ANC has described as the unprovoked killing and maiming of defenceless black demonstrators, especially at Sebokeng. Mr Mandela has declined to speculate on tomorrow's meeting.

"We hope to have a Press conference afterwards," he said.

## Free man

He will be accompanied by United Democratic Front office-bearer Mr Popo Molefe, ANC intelligence chief Mr Jacob Zuma, the highest ranking exiled member of the movement in the country, and senior ANC member Mr Ahmed Kathrada.

The meeting, with Mr Mandela visiting Tynhuys for the first time as a free man, is, however, bound to develop into an evaluation of how the first exploratory talks to prepare for real negotiations can take place.

While welcoming some of the steps the government has taken to deal with the unrest, Mr Mandela has criticised the fact that black organisations have not been consulted.

He has been particularly critical of the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, saying he was unco-operative and had no sympathy for black aspirations.

Mr Vlok was not available for comment as he was attending a two-day "retreat" of the Cabinet somewhere in the Bopetland.

A police spokesman said, however, that Mr Mandela had made some unfortunate remarks as Mr Vlok had visited unrest areas in Natal, the Transvaal and the Free State and had in some areas consulted representatives of black organisations.

AKGAS  
4/4/90

HA  
~~HA~~

# Mandela hits out at Vlok

Carly Trips 4/4/90

11A

Own Correspondents

**MARITZBURG.** — Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday attacked Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok, saying he was "unco-operative" and had "no sympathy for black aspirations".

Although Mr Mandela did not mention Mr Vlok directly, he called for the removal of "the head of the SAP" at an international press conference after visiting the strife-torn areas in Natal.

"We can see no solution (to the violence) until the man has been removed from that position," he said.

Warring factions of the UDF and Inkatha have largely been blamed for the deaths.

Mr Mandela said that police were headed by a minister who was "perhaps the most unco-operative in the country's history; a minister who has no sympathy whatsoever for black aspirations".

He also accused Mr Vlok of "openly associating himself" with one of the parties involved in the conflict.

He said in meeting Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi on Saturday, Mr Vlok had condemned the UDF/ANC alliance "without giving it the opportunity to be heard".

After the meeting President FW de Klerk had given the go-ahead for troops to enter the townships.

- Consult, Mandela tells govt — Page 2
- Troops to protect commuters — Page 2

nesday, April 4, 1990



**TROOPS PATROL ...** Army troops in full riot gear outside an Umlazi police station near Maritzburg yesterday to prevent clashes between local residents and policemen from the KwaZulu police in the township. More than 100 000 people demonstrated against KwaZulu police force in the area.

CMB TIPS 4/4/90

Picture: REUTERS

# Consult leaders, Mandela tells govt

**MARITZBURG.** — Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday criticised the government for not consulting ANC and UDF leaders in its efforts to end the violence in Natal.

Speaking at a press conference after a day and a night of visiting some of the worst-hit areas, he welcomed government concern, but warned: "Unilateral action by the government without consulting acknowledged leaders is bound to be ineffective regardless of merit."

Both UDF leader Mr Archie Gumede and the ANC's representative for the Natal Midlands, Mr Harry Gwala, should have been consulted, he said.

In meeting Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi on Saturday, Law and Order Minis-

ter Mr Adriaan Vlok had condemned the UDF/ANC alliance without giving it the opportunity to be heard.

The other problem with President F W de Klerk's peace plan for Natal was in fact embodied in Mr Vlok, who was "perhaps the most uncooperative minister of police to date".

"He has no sympathy with black aspirations," Mr Mandela claimed.

Mr Mandela will be making the views of the ANC heard tomorrow when he meets Mr De Klerk, he confirmed.

He would be recommending certain steps to the State President to end the violence, he said, but could not divulge these beforehand.

With Mr Mandela having voiced

doubts about new government measures, and with a meeting between the ANC and Inkatha still unconfirmed, the prospect of peace remains uncertain.

And several observers felt the visit could spark new conflict.

Mr Mandela's message was one of peace, however. "People have been running around with weapons. Now they must return to their homes," he told about 7 000 people at a rally at Edendale's Wadley Stadium yesterday.

The crowd, many of them children, roared when he greeted them as "warriors". They roared louder when he said: "The people are hungry." But the biggest cheer came when Mr Gwala called for police to be withdrawn from the townships. — Sapa-Reuter

# A mindless cycle of revenge that goes beyond ideology

Sowetan 4/4/90

11A

**Sowetan staffer MICHAEL TISSONG visited Natal and pieced together a story of horror out of control in the killing fields of the province. He contends that political affiliations are no longer a factor in the fighting.**

WHAT started as a fight for political hegemony between Inkatha and the United Democratic Front in Natal has snowballed into a war that today goes beyond ideology and political affiliation.

Four years ago the area around Maritzburg was known as one of the quietest, politically, in the country.

Community leaders called the shots and people listened, but did not necessarily accept whatever was said.

The political jostling between Inkatha and the UDF increased and became deadly serious when lives were lost in clashes over commemoration dates, stayaways and songs denigrating Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The deaths were avenged by relatives and friends and the spiral started. As more people joined in, political associations became secondary to avenging a friend or relative killed by the rival group.

## Differences

Loose groupings under the names UDF and Inkatha were formed in many areas where there was fighting but few, if any, people directly involved in the clashes could say what the political differences between the two groups were or what their political group stood for.

There is also no evidence that these groupings were directly started by either the UDF or Inkatha.

Eyewitnesses to one of the clashes say it was like watching a scene from the TV series *Shaka Zulu*:

"After shootings at night, large groups gathered on two hillocks in the morning and faced one another across a valley.



Armed men walk through the streets of Edenvale Valley near Pietermaritzburg. More than 55 people have died in the Natal violence since Friday.

There were no flags or placards or the shouting of slogans to indicate which group was Inkatha or which was UDF.

Neither group carried AK47s, which might have indicated ANC support of the UDF group. The weaponry was R1 rifles, handguns, homemade firearms, assegais, sticks, pangas and knives.

The groups charged at one another and met in the valley where there was fierce close-range fighting before the groups scattered and left their dead behind for the police to pick up.

That night again shooting was heard across the hills.

Men, women and children streamed out of the area carrying some of their belongings. Behind them the carnage continued and houses burned.

People who sought refuge in the white areas of Maritzburg

were hunted down and increased the possibility of SADF involvement in the fray. (The Government has now sent in more troops into the area.)

In recent weeks, ANC leaders Walter Sisulu and Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leaders Buthelezi and Oscar Dhlomo have appealed for the fighting to stop.

## Leadership

Despite these appeals by the top leadership on both sides, the fighting has gone on and become worse. In less than a week, the body count has come close to 60.

This has emphasised the point that there is no line of command between either the Inkatha or UDF leadership and the people directly involved in the fighting.

If there was this line of com-

mand, the UDF would have pulled in the reins on its members and Inkatha would have done the same because the bottom line is that the horror does not serve the interests of either party nor those of the liberation struggle to which both organisations say they are committed.

A contributing factor is that urbanisation in the growth points of Maritzburg, Pinetown and Durban has increased at an alarming rate. Durban, which is growing at a rate of between 50 and 100 metres a day, is currently the second fastest growing city in the world behind Mexico City.

People living in these areas have also cited tensions between the lifestyles of the people who have lived near the cities for a long time and those who have recently come from the rural areas where customs hold strong.



# Africa can't be stopped - PAC chief

Soweto  
4/4/90

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN

(11A)

AFRICANISM is on the rise and more than ever before it cannot be stopped, Pan Africanist Congress chairman Mr Johnson Mlambo said this week.

Speaking from Dar-es-Salaam on Monday, Mlambo said Pan Africanism had always been viciously attacked as an impossible dream by Africa's detractors and former colonisers.

"Africanism has been the grand vision of a giant, united, free and independent Africa. This has led to the birth of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU)," he said.

He said the people who were against a united Africa were the same people who are "the protagonists in the unification of Europe scheduled for 1992, as well as the establishment of a united economic front between America and Canada".

# Talks are not dead - ANC

11A

Sowetan  
4/4/90

LUSAKA - The African National Congress has rejected accusations that by negotiating with the South African Government it would be forging links with the Pretoria authorities.

At the same time it said it was still willing to start the cancelled April 11 talks.

Asked to comment on a statement by the Azanian People's Organisation that the ANC ought to forge links with the oppressed rather than with the enemy through negotiations, ANC spokesman Mr Tom Sebina said:

"The ANC has been forging links with other organisations over the years. It has held discussions not only with the oppressed but also with

## Sowetan Africa News Service

white people.

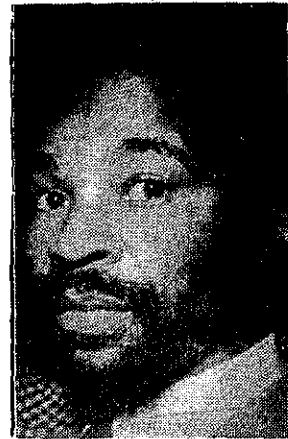
"The ANC's aim is to unite all South Africans for a new South Africa."

Sebina said the cancellation of the talks with the government did not mean there would be no negotiations.

"A new date will be found. Negotiations are still on."

He rejected speculation that the talks had been called off because of divisions within the ANC leadership.

"Nothing like that has happened. All along there has been unanimity on issues within the ANC's ranks, including the decision to cancel the April 11 talks," he said.



THABO MBEKI ... was due to be in ANC delegation to meet the Government.

11A

# Cosatu, SACP in Zimbabwe talks

THE ANC was justified in postponing its April 11 talks with the government, Cosatu said yesterday, claiming the onus for creating a climate for negotiations remained with the government.

"In the current situation of violence precipitated by the actions of the security forces, the ANC was justified in postponing the April 11 meeting with (State Presi-

**By LEN MASEKO**

dent FW) De Klerk," Cosatu said in statement yesterday.

Cosatu's statement follows the trade union federation's three-day meeting with the SA Communist Party in Zimbabwe last weekend.

The meeting - which brought together delegations of the two organisations for the first time - also agreed that Cosatu

would work in alliance with the ANC/SACP on a programme of action to dismantle apartheid "as soon as possible".

The Cosatu delegation was led by vice-president, Chris Dlamini, and the SACP by its general secretary, Mr Joe Slovo.

## Solutions

The SACP and Cosatu also agreed on various issues, including:

\* The continued independence of the federation so that it could carry

out the task of representing workers;

\* Both parties remained convinced that socialism provided more acceptable solutions than capitalism; and

\* That nationalisation was an essential component in the reconstruction of the SA economy.

Cosatu said the SACP would be building "a large, above-board party" representing immediate and long-term interests of the working class in a new South Africa.

# Khotso arrives today



*Seatholo*  
4/4/90

11A

A FORMER president of the Soweto Students Representative Council, Khotso Seatholo who was freed from Robben Island on Monday, will be arriving at Jan Smuts Airport at 2pm today.

Seatholo, who helped form the South African Youth Revolutionary Council in exile, was arrested in June 1981 when he re-entered South Africa after receiving military training in North Africa.

Azapo president Itumeleng Mosala said the Black Consciousness Movement did not regard the release of political prisoners as an indication that the Government was changing.

lec.

# SACP, Cosatu to work together

South 4/4 - 10/4/90

THE South African Communist Party (SACP) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) have agreed on a broad framework for economic reconstruction in South Africa.

A 28-person SACP delegation, led by SACP general secretary Mr Joe Slovo, met a 31-person Cosatu delegation led by Cosatu vice-president Mr Chris Dlamini in Harare at the end of last week.

The meeting was the first of its kind between the two organisations.

A statement issued by Cosatu after the meeting said both organisations had agreed decisive action was needed to build political organisation and that most people viewed the ANC as a de facto government.

The meeting agreed Cosatu should retain its independence as "a matter of principle and practice" and that the federation would work in alliance with the ANC-SACP on a programme of action against apartheid.

The meeting analysed events in Eastern Europe.

The statement said that, while events in Eastern Europe provided important lessons, both organisa-

tions remained convinced that socialism was a more acceptable solution than capitalism.

This was linked to an examination of the South African economy and discussion about its reconstruction.

Both organisations agreed that nationalisation, the market and the private sector were "essential components" of a programme of economic reconstruction.

Work on this programme in consultation with the ANC is to be a priority for both organisations.

## Victory in metal strike

South 4/4 - 10/4/90

MORE than 130 Paarden Eiland metalworkers who have been on strike for more than three weeks return to work this Wednesday, having won a demand for plant level negotiations.

# Drive to recruit millions

THE ANC's plans to build a massive "home-based" organisation have been given impetus by the election of powerful regional executive committees throughout the country.

The ANC's regional teams include key United Democratic Front leadership figures, trade unionists and activists.

On the same weekend that the ANC called off the April 11 talks with the government, it began to mobilise publicly for the first time in 30 years with the aim of recruiting millions of members.

## Western Cape

In the Western Cape, UDF regional secretary, Trevor Manuel, has been appointed co-convenor of the region.

He is expected to be joined soon by ANC National Executive Committee member, Reggie September.

The ANC's first regional committee was appointed at a welcome back rally for Nelson Mandela in the Border region last weekend.

The 14-member committee, appointed by the ANC leadership in Lusaka, is to be presided over by the former UDF Border president, the Reverend Arnold Stofile.

The following day, Mandela announced a 14-strong regional executive committee for the Eastern Cape at a massive rally in Port Elizabeth.

Stofile said the membership of the regional committee was decided on March 19 by the ANC's internal leadership core which includes Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Raymond Mhlaba.

The members were informed of their appointment a few days later,



**MANDELA ! PRESUME?:** Ciskei military strongman Brigadier Oupa Gqozo meets the 'father of the nation', Mandela at the Bisho rally *South 44-10/4/90*

said Stofile. *(11A)*

The regional structures are interim until the congress of the ANC scheduled for December in Bloemfontein.

Stofile said the selected individuals had been chosen on the basis of their prior relationship with the ANC.

He said most of them had a close working relationship with the ANC and were the people that were "recognised as having the correct political line for the ANC".

Stofile said the immediate task would be to recruit members.

He said: "Branches will be established wherever a hundred or more members are recruited. The committee will also co-ordinate the work of branches and act between them and

the national executive committee.

"Our task will also be to give political education to the branches."

Stofile said people who became members would be subject to the strict discipline and code of conduct of the organisation.

## Border

The Border committee includes UDF's regional co-presidents, Mluleki George, Alfred Motele, and regional secretary of the South African Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers Union (SACCAWU), Bonas Skulu.

The others are Glen Thomas and Ngaze Zweni of the Queenstown Residents Association, Sam Kwelita of the Dimbaza Youth Congress and

On the same weekend that the ANC called off its April 11 talks with the South African government, the organisation was starting from scratch elsewhere — building structures which have been dormant or underground for three decades.

**MONO BADELA, THUMIDA MAISTRY and PATRICK GOODENOUGH report:** *South 44-10/4/90*

Mayoyo Mlanda, Malgid Ntlebi and Niombazana Botha of the Mdantsane Residents Association (MDARA).

Also on the committee are Mzwandile Msala of the Alice Residents Association and Latsila Fani of the Fort Beaufort Resident's Association. Lucille Meyer of the Buffalo Flats Organisation of Women and Yizamedwene Goduka, a school principal of Herschel.

In Johannesburg, the first batch of millions of membership cards have been delivered to the movement's headquarters and will soon be made available to the various regions and branches.

The Johannesburg information department of the ANC told SOUTH this week that the organisation expected to approve millions of applications for membership.

## Natal

Former Robben Island prisoner, Harry Gwala of Pietermaritzburg has been appointed to head the Natal Midlands region which includes several strife-torn areas.

The UDF's publicity secretary and former treason trialist, Patrick "Terror" Lekota, is to head the ANC's Southern Natal region.

## PWV

In the PWV area Kgalema Mot-

lanthe, who until recently was national organiser for the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), has been appointed as head of the regional committee.

Motlanthe served time on Robben Island for furthering the aims of the movement.

## Northern Cape

Jomo Khasu has been appointed convenor of the Northern Cape.

## Northern Transvaal

A veteran anti-homeland campaigner, Mr A Xobololo, has been appointed in the Transkei and Thabo Makunyana in the Northern Transvaal.

Convenors for the Northern Natal, Southern Free State and Northern Free State regions are still to be confirmed.

The task of the convenors is to recruit new membership and set up ANC regional offices.

The officers for the PWV area have not yet been finalised.

According to sources, Barbara Hogan, the first woman to be found guilty of high treason and sentenced to 10 years, and Cassiem Saloojee, president of the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) and former treason trialist will form part of the region's structure.



Arnold Stofile



Edgar Ngoyi



Mluleki George



Harry Gwala



Trevor Manuel



'Terror' Lekota

mother city.

(CPC) — always knew he

Despite being in exile for would return home. He is

## E Cape ANC regional exec named

PORT ELIZABETH — The 14-member ANC regional executive committee will be headed by the president of the newly-formed Association of Former Political Prisoners, Mr Benson Fihla, who spent many years on Robben Island for ANC activities. South 44-10/4/90

The REC includes prominent trade unionists and activists from civic, youth and political structures (11A)

Other ANC regional members include Cosatu's second vice-president, Mr John Gomomo, UDF regional president, Mr Edgar Ngoyi, UDF regional general-secretary, Mr Gugile Nkwinti, Port Elizabeth Youth Congress (Peyco) executive member, Mr Mike Xego, former UDF Natal president, Reverend Mncebisi Xundu, Rhodes University staff member, Ms Marian Lacey, Pebco member, Mr Ernest Malgas, Mr Neela Hoosein, Mr Silus Mthongana, Uitenhage Women's Organisation member, Ms Nozizwe Mabizela, Mr Ronald Niegaardt, and Mr Mbulelo Goniwe, the brother of slain activist, Mr Matthew Goniwe. — PEN

# Mandela's bid for peace



**AGONY OF NATAL:** stunned residents watch their homes go up in flames

BY CHRISTINA SCOTT  
**PIETERMARITZBURG**  
 — Talks on a Natal  
 ceasefire between ANC  
 and Inkatha have been  
 put on ice after Kwazulu  
 leader Mangosuthu

Buthelezi tried to hijack  
 a joint rally proposed by  
 Nelson Mandela.

"Our people are not  
 fighting Inkatha," stressed  
 Mandela, who later added  
 "we are vigorously search-  
 ing for peace".

"But not fighting does  
 not mean we will not  
 defend when attacked."

An "astounded" Mandela  
 told a press conference  
 here that Buthelezi had  
 flouted an agreement to  
 leave the venue and date of  
 a joint rally to the decision  
 of local leaders.

Mandela vetoed  
 Buthelezi's suggestion to  
 host the rally in an Inkatha  
 territory because it did not  
 involve grassroots deci-  
 sion-making, then heard  
 on radio that that the two  
 would address a rally in  
 Taylor's Halt on April 2.

"This angered our mem-  
 bership. Our people felt  
 very much distressed and  
 the feeling became so in-  
 tense that I had no choice  
 but to cancel," said Man-  
 dela. *South 4/4-194/90*

Mandela, visited the  
 "Valley of Death" and of-  
 fered words of hope but no  
 snap solution.

Roads barricaded with  
 burnt-out cars — the smell  
 of burning rubber still in  
 the air — Mandela viewed  
 petrol-bombed homes and  
 entered a church to meet  
 some of the 10 000 people  
 displaced by the fighting in  
 Edendale Valley.

The Natal war started  
 here three years ago and  
 the 80 deaths in a week of  
 recent fighting is threat-  
 ening to sidetrack the path  
 to reform.

"We are not fighting  
 against Inkatha at this

moment," he told a surging  
 crowd of hundreds of  
 youths at the Edendale Lay  
 centre.

"We are fighting against  
 Apartheid and the policy of  
 racial oppression."

"The violence must end,"  
 he said — then added that  
 ANC leaders would not "do  
 anything you, the people  
 do not want us to do —  
 even if we think our way is  
 correct."

Although Mandela was  
 unable to offer any solu-  
 tions to the fighting, he  
 left the way open for a  
 meeting with his regional  
 rival, KwaZulu homeland  
 leader Mangosuthu  
 Buthelezi.

Religious leaders includ-  
 ing Nobel peace prize  
 winner Archbishop  
 Desmond Tutu, consulted  
 Buthelezi in Ulundi and  
 briefed Mandela in  
 Pietermaritzburg at the end  
 of his township tour.

The Natal war will also  
 be on the agenda when  
 Mandela meets informally  
 with State president FW  
 De Klerk on Thursday.

In the meantime, an inde-  
 pendent commission of in-  
 quiry has asked the United  
 Nations to step in and ap-  
 point impartial overseers  
 for a peacekeeping force to  
 replace police and soldiers  
 now patrolling the town-  
 ships.

## PROGRAMME YOUR LIFE

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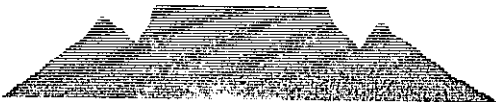
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119



**YOUTH RALLY:** Youth celebrate Sayco's third anniversary at a rally in Springs

## First 'legal' congress of 'Young Lions'

From MONO BADELA  
JOHANNESBURG.— The South African Youth Congress (Sayco) will be able to meet and deliberate as an above-board mass movement for the first time in its brief history.

Its third national congress, due to be held in the eastern Transvaal over the Easter weekend, will be attended by more than 1 500 of its militant "Young Lions".

Since its launch, Sayco functioned virtually underground, surviving the toughest repression in the country's history.

Its national congress will be more than a gathering of fresh-faced youth. Discussions will be dominated by the question of Sayco's relationship to the ANC Youth League, which has produced South African leaders such as ANC president, Mr Oliver Tambo, and ANC deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela.

## Negotiation

In an interview, Sayco's publicity secretary, Mr Simon Ntombela, told SOUTH the congress would be officially opened by Mandela.

It would be his last official duty before leaving for Britain to attend the much-publicised welcome concert at Wembley Stadium.

The congress, which starts on Good Friday, will be held at the Elijah Mango College of Education in Nelspruit. It will last four days, culminating in a Sayco festival on Easter Monday.

Ntombela said the ANC's international affairs director, Mr Thabo Mbeki, would read a paper on negotiation. The SACP's general secretary, Mr Joe Slovo, would give an analysis of the recent events in Eastern Europe.

Former NUM organiser, Mr Kgalema Motlanthe, would present a paper on the Anti-Apartheid Coalition.

Sayco's general secretary, Mr Rapu Molekane, said the congress would map out practical steps towards transformation of the 2,5 million-strong organisation into the ANC Youth League structure.

## ANC names Cape leaders

THE ANC has unveiled its national structure and named convenors in most of the organisation's 14 regions within South Africa.

Officials named for the Western Cape are Reggie September, Trevor Manuel, Christmas Tinto, Mzonke Jacobs and Johnny Issel. <sup>11A</sup> <sub>South Africa - 10/4/90</sub>

Manuel will deputise as convenor for the region until September returns from exile.

The names of other officials on the Western Cape committee will be announced later.

● See page 7



**SEA OF FACES:** ANC vice-president, Nelson Mandela (above), Winnie Mandela and Govan Mbeki (below), address an estimated crowd of between 400 000 and 500 000 people in Port Elizabeth last weekend



## Support for ANC's stand on talks

From MONO BADELA

JOHANNESBURG — Anti-apartheid forces inside the country have come out strongly in support of the decision by the African National Congress to suspend the April 11 "talks about talks" with the government because of the Sebokeng shootings.

The ANC deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela, condemned last week's shootings, saying the ANC would not allow the government to talk the language of negotiation and peace on the one hand while conducting war on the other.

● Turn to page 3

# Support for ANC stand on talks

● From page 1 (11A)

He said that after the shooting at Sebokeng, the ANC had no option but to postpone the talks with the government. *South 4/4-10/4/90*

Former president of the Soweto Civic Association, Dr Nthato Motlana, said he supported the ANC's decision "whole-heartedly".

"I am firmly behind the decision taken by the ANC. Unwarranted shooting by the police on innocent people cannot be tolerated," said

Motlana.

The president of the South African Youth Congress, Mr Peter Mokaba, told SOUTH Sayco supported the ANC decision which had been taken "in the best interests of the struggling masses".

"The ANC action is directed towards saving the lives of our people who continue to die because of irresponsible army, police and vigilante action in our townships," said Mokaba.

He said the Sebokeng massacre em-

phasised the call by the oppressed to embrace demands made in the Harare Declaration — that troops must move out of black townships to help create a climate conducive for negotiations.

"Our people cannot negotiate with the enemy's guns against our necks," he said.

Sayco called on state president FW de Klerk to take decisive steps so that the talks could continue.

The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) also support the controver-

sial and shock decision by the ANC to suspend the April 11 talks.

In a resolution passed at its regional congress in Mahwelereng near Potgietersrus at the weekend, Azapo called on the ANC to withdraw totally from negotiations with De Klerk's administration.

There has been no further official comment from Lusaka, the headquarters of the ANC, but sources close to the ANC said another special NEC meeting was scheduled to take place later this week.

# 'Uncertain times' — UDF postpones talks

AR64 4/4/90 11A  
By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN  
Staff Reporter

THE United Democratic Front has postponed its national general council meeting indefinitely "because of the uncertainty of the time ahead", said one of the organisation's senior office-bearers, Mr Trevor Manuel.

Key issues and decisions would have been taken at the meeting, which was due to have been held in Cape Town from April 6 to 8.

However, the UDF will hold a workshop — to be attended by 300 delegates — in Cape Town over the same period "to try to address some of the questions related to future structures and relationships".

Senior internal and external members of the ANC and Cosatu will be involved in the workshop, which will be held behind closed doors.

Mr Manuel said the UDF would not be seeking exploratory talks with the government.

"The ANC would have talked

about obstacles to negotiations with the government on April 11. They have led the struggle. It is appropriate at this stage that the ANC continues to lead."

The UDF was assured that the "ANC would consult us before the April 11 talks. We understand that those talks would have been about removing the obstacles to negotiation as outlined in the Harare Declaration".

## RETURN OF EXILES

Some of the obstacles were the release of political prisoners, scrapping of the Internal Security Act, lifting of the state of emergency and the unconditional return of all exiles.

He said the UDF had co-authored the Harare Declaration and the Mass Democratic Movement observers were present when the Organisation of African Unity had adopted the declaration.

"For our part we will try to win over the constituency we represent. Transition is always difficult."



**FORMER EXILE TALKS** ... Professor Jack Simons addressing students at UCT yesterday.

Picture: ANNE LAING

11A CAPT TIPS 4/4/90

## ANC wants 'non-violent revolution'

**Staff Reporter**

The ANC wants the revolution to unfold without violence "to the benefit of all sections of the population," ANC member Professor Jack Simons said yesterday.

Professor Simons, who returned to the city a month ago after 25 years in exile, was speaking at a lunchtime meeting at UCT yesterday.

"We want a revolution that will encompass the whole country and bring us increased prosperity, peace and, in the end, a constructive parliamentary institution in which all national groups can participate equally.

"This parliamentary institution should be one in which the political process could be fought

out through an interplay of forces, not black against white or white against black, but a common society in which all could share," he said.

"We shall talk about talks. In the beginning this will lead to a negotiated settlement and in the end the establishment of a constituent assembly where all parties will be represented."



# Skilled and qualified workforce 'vital need for SA'

Amkus

4/4/80

11A



BLOEMFONTEIN. — One of the most important needs of South African society today and tomorrow is a skilled and qualified workforce.

This strategic economic need would prevail no matter who the government of the day was, Miss Isabel W Direko, president of the National Council of African Women (Ncaw) said here.

She was delivering the 19th Bertha Solomon memorial lecture at the 54th conference of the National Council of Women of South Africa.

Miss Direko said no matter the political dispensation, it followed that the development of the managerial core to lead and motivate the ever-increasing numbers in the workforce deserved priority attention.

## Pace slow

Until now the pace of black manager training and development had been slow. Black managers reconciled with difficulty to the society in which they live and work.

In their personal lives, they were expected to show solidarity with the common communal cause for freedom. In the workplace, they were pressured to fit in with the predominantly white managerial corps. This stressful situation led to a loss of security and low self-esteem, said Miss Direko.

This kind of friction would be compounded by the fact that "We live increasingly in a society of fission".

"The bogeys of yesterday vanish leaving a bemused and unsure populace, suddenly exposed to different values, different preachers. The question of loyalties becomes more urgent and problematical under these circumstances."

Miss Direko said a new perception was needed more than ever, a new way to look at problems, relationships and people, a new force of negotiation that took heed of the one side of the coin while working earnestly to forge the whole piece.

"The ANC, as an element in the negotiating process, has to be sensitive to the struggle in which it shares the same goals for which many have died. At the same time, its leaders must work unstintingly at reworking the rhetoric of the past to address the new issues of reform and white fears," she charged.

President De Klerk had to reassure his constituency that the reform measures were the best strategy to implement a more dynamic policy of power-sharing. At the same time, he had to display continually the results from the sincerity for which he had been widely praised, said Miss Direko. — Sapa.

REC 43 4/4/90  
11A

# Van Eck warns on township 'warlords'

By MICHAEL MORRIS  
Political Correspondent

THE Democratic Party MP for Claremont, Mr Jan van Eck, warned in a hard-hitting speech in parliament today that the seeds of another Natal conflict were being sown in townships in Cape Town and elsewhere by the authorities tolerating the activities of "warlord" mayors.

Speaking on the first day of debate on the Cape budget, Mr Van Eck said it was not the ANC which had made townships ungovernable, but these "uncontrolled, unaccountable black local authorities".

He warned: "By allowing the warlord mayors to continue, the seed of another Natal conflict is being planted in every black township, a seed that will grow into a monster that will attack the very fabric of our society, as in Natal."

## FRAUD ALLEGATION

He also announced that he was sending to the Attorney-General of the Cape details, including two account numbers, of an alleged fraud in Crossroads.

Black local government had failed dismally and in an era of negotiation the government could not do better than to "bury them as soon as possible".

"If the government is unwilling to do this I can assure you that the communities will do it themselves," Mr Van Eck said.

He said the councillors were never given a mandate, there was widespread corruption and bribery, intimidation and attacks on opponents.

By way of illustration, he claimed that in Crossroads only supporters of the mayor, Mr Johnson Nxgonongwana, were allowed to buy new houses.

In another case, he said, "monies deposited into one bank account were secretly transferred into another account and then spent totally differently from the way it was intended".

"The money that was fraudulently spent in this way was collected by the people of this township and was controlled by the mayor of Crossroads, who must explain what happened to this money. I am forwarding the account numbers to the Attorney-General," Mr Van Eck said.

117  
**Ex-SADF officers go to Lusaka for ANC talks**

Argus Africa News Service

Argus 4/4/90  
LUSAKA. — Several former South African Defence Force officers will arrive in Lusaka this week for talks with the African National Congress's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The former officers will be accompanied by members of the End Conscription Campaign.

ANC spokesman Mr Tom Sebina said the Institute for a Democratic Alternative (Idasa) was organising the talks.



# Cosatu and SACP agree to work together

COSATU and the SACP have agreed that the two organisations should, together with the ANC, work in alliance on "an agreed programme of action to dismantle apartheid as soon as possible", Cosatu disclosed yesterday.

However, the two also reached consensus that Cosatu, as a trade union organisation, must, as a matter of both principle and practice, "retain its independence in order to carry out its task of representing organised workers".

These decisions on the future relationship between SA's largest trade

ALAN FINE

15/06/90  
union grouping and the most prominent political party seeking to represent working class interests were reached at a meeting in Harare at the weekend.

Cosatu's 31-man delegation was led by vice-president Chris Dlamini, while general secretary Joe Slovo headed the 28-strong SACP team.

The SACP told Cosatu that in the new situation the SACP would be building "a large, above-board party".

(11A) (199)

# ANC talks to shape policy on economy

B10am 4/4/90

SIXTY economists representing or associated with the ANC and Cosatu will meet in Harare for four days from April 28 at a workshop whose deliberations are likely to form the basis of detailed economic policy for the ANC and its allies.

ANC economics department head Max Sisulu said yesterday the last two years had seen a growing emphasis on economics and the new political situation had focused attention closely on the organisation's economic policy.

He said the workshop aimed to increase the ability of ANC/MDM leadership to formulate economic policy.

A memorandum on the workshop states that the ANC "feels very strongly the need to urgently fill the policy vacuum in relation to their position on the economy".

In addition to Sisulu, ANC participants are likely to include Tito Mboweni, Vella Pillay and Rob Davies. Executive members Thabo Mbeki and Pallo Jordan will also be there as will the SACP's Joe Slovo.

Among the Cosatu delegates will be Numsa education officer Alec Erwin and NUM education officer Kgalema Motlanthe.

A number of prominent university-based economists who have served on Cosatu's Economic Trends project are also scheduled to attend. They include Fuad Cassim, Doug Hindson, Stephen Gelb and Mike Morris.

## ALAN FINE

SA specialists at UK universities including Ben Fine, Raphie Kaplinsky and Laurence Harris have also been invited.

It is envisaged working groups at the seminar would examine in detail such areas as international trade and finance, monetary and fiscal policy including investment policy, control over monopolies and employment creation, industrial restructuring, mining, agriculture, food production and the land question, industrial relations, and education and training.

Sisulu has stressed the ANC wanted the gathering to be policy-oriented, and academic treatises would be inappropriate.

The memorandum says written proposals — policy guidelines — emerging from the workshop should form a basis for debate within participating organisations.

The emphasis would be "very heavily on substantive discussion of the economic issues facing SA, and even more so on the elaboration of policies to address these problems".

The content "would have to be broad enough to encompass the concerns and interests of the various groupings and social forces which the ANC alliance aims to embrace".

Sisulu said the workshop was in line with the ANC's view that policy should be formulated only after broad consultation.

At a meeting in Harare last weekend,  To Page 2

## ANC policy

B10am 4/4/90

(11) (199)

From Page 1

Cosatu and the SA Communist Party made a thorough assessment of the implications for socialism of recent events in eastern Europe, Cosatu said yesterday.

Both organisations agreed that events provided important lessons, "but remain convinced that socialism still offered vastly more acceptable solutions to the social and economic problems of SA than those offered by capitalism."

They examined the present SA economy and a programme for its democratic reconstruction.

"A broad consensus on the framework for how such a reconstruction could be undertaken was reached. In such a reconstruction nationalisation, the market and the private sector would all be essential components," Cosatu said.

● See Page 3



# Leaders demand probe of Sebokeng killings

By Montshiwa Moroke

About 100 000 mourners in Sebokeng, Vereeniging, yesterday heard leaders call for the appointment of a judicial commission of inquiry into last month's police shootings in which 17 people were killed.

The general secretary of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), Mr Jay Naidoo, went so far as to call on President de Klerk, to sack the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok.

The speakers were among leading labour, political, business and religious leaders who addressed the large crowd at a more than three-hour mass funeral service at the Zone 7 stadium, Sebokeng.

Speakers said "the people" wanted Mr Vlok to explain what happened on the day of the Sebokeng killings and to say who gave the police orders to shoot.

Among the dignitaries were representatives from the Canadian Embassy and the Swedish Legation. A representative of the Christian Council of Churches in New Zealand, also attended.

Those buried were Mr Phillip Motaung, Mr Oupatjie Dhlamini, Mr Dumisane Nakani and Mr Joseph Nhlapo.

Silence fell as the thousands of mourners

bowed their heads in tribute to the "fallen heroes".

The coffins were draped in colours of the African National Congress while khaki-clad youths with wooden guns formed a guard of honour.

A police helicopter hovered above, monitoring the entire funeral proceedings.

The general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, the Rev Frank Chikane, said during his visit to Sebokeng Hospital he had found some of the injured with bullet wounds in their heads and others with pellets all over their bodies.

"In a just and normal country the President would have given orders that a judicial commission of inquiry be appointed that same night for the murders. It took the Government days to say they considered appointing one.

"Our black people are also human beings like other people. The value of our lives are the same as those of the oppressors," he said.

Mr Naidoo said the violence was meted out against black people everywhere because the ruling class wanted to maintain cheap labour.

"We call on De Klerk to charge the murderers and send them to jail, where they belong. We also call upon him to fire Vlok as the person in charge of the police," Mr Naidoo said.



This young "soldier", armed with a wooden gun and in full uniform, formed part of the guard of honour for four of the victims of the March 26 Sebokeng police shootings. Among the dignitaries present at the event were representatives of the Canadian Embassy, the Swedish Legation and the Christian Council of Churches in New Zealand.

● Picture by Herbert Mabuza.

# Black Wednesday echoes down the years

Many people will never forget "black Wednesday" — the momentous day of October 19 1977 when the then Minister of Justice, Mr Jimmy Kruger, moved to crush all extra-parliamentary opposition to apartheid.

On that day, police raided scores of offices, detained hundreds of people, seized documents and assets and issued five-year banning orders on many people.

It was a dark day for South African journalism, too. The Government summarily closed down the Argus-owned newspapers The World and Weekend World and police detained its editor, Mr Percy Qoboza. Also closed was the Christian Institute's monthly journal, Pro Veritate.

The major targets of the crack-down were the widely supported black consciousness organisations of the day, such as the Black People's Convention and the South African Students' Organisation.

The black consciousness philosophy, which had gradually emerged after the political vacuum caused by the banning of the ANC and PAC in the 1960s, was regarded by the Government as a grave danger to apartheid ideology.

The crushing of the black consciousness organisations had come in the wake of the Soweto uprising of June 1976, the death in detention of Steve Biko and ongoing student unrest in 1977.

Most South Africans were not sur-

When the ANC, PAC and the SA Communist Party were unbanned by President de Klerk in February, restrictions were also lifted on 17 black consciousness organisations and the multi-racial Christian Institute, which were all closed down at the height of the post-Soweto turmoil in October 1977.

**COLLEEN RYAN** recalls the closure of these organisations.

prised that the Vorster government also crushed the multi-racial Christian Institute, led by a former moderator of the NG Kerk in the southern Transvaal, Dr Beyers Naude, who was served with a banning order which was lifted only in 1984.

The Christian Institute, formed in 1963 with the aim of dissuading-Afrikaners from supporting apartheid theology, had become radicalised by the upheaval in the 1970s until it stood firmly for the peaceful realisation of black aspirations.

The public had been conditioned to expect action to be taken against the CI and Dr Naude. In 1975 the notorious Schibusch Commission of Inquiry into Certain Organisations had declared the CI to be a danger to the State.

## Personal undertones

Yet the attack on the CI had personal undertones. Prime Minister Mr John Vorster and his brother, Dr Koot Vorster, a leading minister of the NG Kerk, had both publicly attacked Dr Naude on numerous occasions.

The action taken against him and the CI in 1977 was the culmination of years of threats voiced by these two "brothers in arms".

The closure of the newspapers

and organisations was greeted with outrage by opposition politicians and newspapers in South Africa and by leaders abroad.

Yet their unbanning by President de Klerk in February went unnoticed by the media, which heaped at tention on the older liberation movements, the ANC and PAC.

The lack of interest in the unbanning of the black consciousness organisations and the Christian Institute is probably because, unlike the ANC and PAC, they did not continue underground after their bannings. Instead, in the 1980s, they were replaced by new organisations.

Some of these, such as the Azanian People's Organisation, continued to promote the black consciousness ideology, but others such as groups affiliated to the United Democratic Front followed the non-racial Char-terist path.

The Christian Institute, too, had its successors which carried forward some of its non-racial, Christian principles.

Yet the younger organisations also broke new ground. While the Christian Institute was primarily a white-led organisations, the Belydende Kring (a movement representing anti-apartheid theologians

from the NG Kerk family of churches) and the Institute of Contextual Theology both emerged with a strong black leadership and constituency.

The dark days of 1977 may be a blur in the fast-changing political climate of 1990, but many people still bear the scars.

Hundreds of people left the country to join the exiled liberation movements or to seek new lives abroad, many at great sacrifice to themselves and their families.

Others, such as the leaders of the Christian Institute, endured years of house arrest in the form of stringent banning orders.

At least three leading members of the Christian Institute — Theo Kotze, Brian Brown and Bennie Khoapa — were subsequently "listed" by the Government.

Although none of the men were ever charged or informed what "crimes" they had committed, they were regarded as enemies and silenced for more than a decade.

One question which remains to be answered is whether the unbanned organisations can expect the return of their documents and assets seized by the State.

At the time the organisations were closed down, a State-appointed

liquidator reported that at least R300 000 had been confiscated from their bank accounts. In addition, two buildings belonging to the Christian Institute, in Maritzburg and Cape Town, were forfeited to the State.

Mr Gilbert Marcus, senior research officer at the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, said the Internal Security Act merely stipulated that the property of unlawful organisations should be confiscated.

## Return of property

"There's nothing in the Act which allows for restoration but as a matter of principle these organisations could request property and money to be returned with interest," he said.

In the unlikely event that the State does return this property, compensation can never make up for the losses.

When the police raided the Christian Institute, for example, they confiscated all its documents, including its valuable archival library material.

Dr Naude told The Star that a few years ago the Minister of Law and Order had been approached about whether this material could be returned and deposited in the University of Cape Town's library.

"The response received was that all the Institute's documents had been destroyed in a flood at John Vorster Square," he said.

5/4/90

NEWS

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# Inquiries on moving to Canada doubled this year

By Carina le Grange

The number of South Africans who have approached the Canadian Embassy with emigration inquiries have more than doubled in February and March this year compared to the same period last year, according to a spokesman at the embassy.

Spokesmen for other embassies said, however, they have not recorded a significant increase in inquiries or applications for passports in February and March.

The Star approached the embassies after a report in a British newspaper stated that South African whites were flooding embassies with inquiries or passport applications following the drastic changes and renewed waves of violence in the country over the last two months.

## Too early

A spokesman for the Canadian embassy said February and March figures for initial inquiries are up "slightly more than double" for the same period last year.

"It is too early to say whether these inquiries would manifest in actual emigration. But there is a definite increase in interest," the spokesman said.

An embassy spokesman for the United States said emphatically: "There has been no marked increase since the February 2 speech (by President de Klerk in which organisations such as the ANC were unbanned)."

A spokesman for the British embassy said that his embassy received several thousand more inquiries about qualifications for British passports in February this year compared to last year could not be confirmed.

# Ignore 'kill pamphlet', say police

Staff Reporters

Police are investigating the origin of pamphlets which call for the killing of whites, coloureds and Indians on April 10, but have appealed to the public not to panic as it was "doubtful" that the call would have any success.

The security forces were ready for any eventuality and lawlessness would not be allowed, said police public relations chief Major-General Herman Stadler.

"These pamphlets are an amateurish effort which appear to be aimed at creating uncertainty and panic, especially among the white community.

"Although it is a good thing to be prepared for any eventuality, it is doubtful whether this type of appeal has any chance of success.

The SAP appeals to those groups mentioned not to become panicky, as this is exactly what the distributors of pamphlets have in mind.

"An appeal is made to the public to report anything untoward to their nearest police station," he said.

The ANC has dissociated itself entirely from the contents of the pamphlet, which states that ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela has called for these acts of violence.

Yesterday, Mr Mandela described the pamphlet as a "smear" and said it was contrary to the ANC's policy of non-racialism.

"There is no way the pamphlet was issued by anybody who is a member of the ANC or the MDM," he said, adding that he did not believe it was issued by the Pan Africanist Congress either.

# Partition may be negotiable — Slabbert

By Shirley Woodgate

Professor Carel Boshoff's partition plan vided it was "sacrificial partition, not greedy partition".

The director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative (Idasa), Dr Van Zyl Slabbert said this in an address to the Wits Business School Association yesterday.

Stressing that increased volatility from the Right was inevitable under the present circumstances, he said it was crucially important to differentiate between the "weirdos, the bushveld ramblers and the genuine white homelander".

Outlining recent developments, Dr Slabbert said white minority domination had never before been negotiated away by those in power, and never before had democracy been negotiated by the people involved.

This process had not occurred in Namibia or Zimbabwe where the major parties had never negotiated with each other, the actual process being largely left to outsiders: "Lord Soames in Zimbabwe and (to laughter) Lord Pienaar in Namibia."

It was therefore inevitable under present circumstances a sense of confusion was to be accepted while all parties from the PAC to the CP experienced a period of readjustment.

Lauding President de Klerk, whom he described as "infinitely more intelligent" than his predecessor, Dr Slabbert said he had given his MPs a sense of personal liberation and had made it easier to be an Afrikaner walking through customs and immigration check points in other countries.

He said Mr de Klerk's concept of normalisation of political structures and the creation of circumstances for all legitimate people to play their part together had caught everyone by surprise.

"Not least the ANC which did not expect him to seize the Harare Declaration and act on it," he said.

To expect a 71-year-old (Mr Mandela) to come back and give answers, or the ANC to react instantly, was unrealistic, he said.

# Forget the ANC what about us <sup>1/4/90</sup>

By David Braub,  
The Star Bureau (11)

WASHINGTON — Canada's 1 million aboriginal Indians want their government to fight for them as hard as it did for South Africa's African National Congress.

Mr Chris McCormick, chief executive for the Native Council of Canada, told the Canadian media this week he wondered how the Canadian



Mr Joe Clark ... asked  
for R25 million to fund  
ANC offices.

government could make such a strong plea for Canadians to donate money to the ANC while cutting nearly R25 million in native Indian funding in its most recent budget.

Canada's External Affairs Minister, Mr Joe Clark, recently asked Canadians to raise funds for the ANC to help it establish and run offices in South Africa.

Mr McCormick has written to Mr Clark, saying the recent cuts in the budget for Canadian Indians had virtually eliminated funding for the community's newspapers and sown a crop of acrimony.

"It astounds and shocks me that this should happen at the same time that Canadians are being asked, quite rightly, to support the movement towards reconciliation and democracy abroad," Mr McCormick said in his letter.



## UDF postpones council meeting

CAPE TOWN — The UDF has postponed its national general council meeting indefinitely "because of the uncertainty of the time ahead", said Mr Trevor Manuel, a senior office-bearer.

Decisions on key issues were to have been taken at the meeting in Cape Town from tomorrow until Sunday. The UDF will instead hold a workshop for 300 delegates "to try to address some of the questions related to future structures and relationships". Senior members of the ANC and Cosatu will attend.

The UDF hoped the workshop would lay a better basis for "facilitating discussion in the eight regions of the UDF, and prepare people better for a situation that is changing rapidly".

# ANC blamed for talks withdrawals

ANC's 5/4/96  
11A



Nelson Mandela



## TOS WENTZEL on the Presidency

PRESSURE from the African National Congress appears to have led to the withdrawal from talks with President De Klerk today of at least four of the six leaders of self-governing homelands.

ANC deputy-leader Mr Nelson Mandela has also tried to get the Labour Party not to attend, but labour leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse said he would attend but would ask for a postponement.

Late this afternoon Mr De Klerk will meet Mr Mandela and three other ANC members.

Mr De Klerk is to go ahead with the meeting with homeland and parliamentary leaders although it appeared that only the Chief Minister of Kwa-zulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and possibly the Qwa-Qwa leader, Mr Kenneth Mopeli, would attend.

## Surprised government

The chief ministers of Kangwane, Gazankulu, Kwandebele and Lebowa surprised the government yesterday by announcing that they would not attend. Government sources said the meeting was planned at the request of the black leaders.

The government's chief negotiator, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said it appeared that considerable pressure and intimidation had been applied to some of the chief ministers.

Another senior minister said it was quite clear the ANC had intimidated the leaders not to attend today's talks where negotiations for a new constitution would be discussed. As far as the government was concerned there was no link between today's two meetings.

Apart from the black leaders the chairmen of the three ministers' councils in parliament, Mr Hendrickse (Representatives), Mr Kobie Coetsee (Assembly) and Dr J N Reddy (Delegates) will attend the first meeting today.

Mr Hendrickse disclosed that Mr Mandela telephoned him last night with a request that the Labour Party not attend the meeting as a gesture of solidarity with those who had decided not to at-



Allan Hendrickse



Kenneth Mopeli



Enos Mabuza



Hudson Ntsanwisi

## R5-million boost for wildlife conservation

The Argus Correspondent  
JOHANNESBURG. — Wildlife conservation has had a R5-million boost — R1-million a year for the next five years.

Speaking at the launch of the Mazda Wildlife Fund, the chairman of the National Parks Board, Professor Fritz Eloff said he was "stunned" by the gift from the MMI division of the South African Motor Corporation (Samcor).

"In a competitive world South African

# Rawals

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Mr Hendrickse disclosed that Mr Mandela telephoned him last night with a request that the Labour Party not attend the meeting as a gesture of solidarity with those who had decided not to attend.

He said the Labour Party would attend, but would request Mr De Klerk to adjourn the meeting until the obstacles preventing the others from being there had been addressed.

So far the homeland leaders have not given reasons for pulling out of the meeting.

Mr Hendrickse said his party appreciated Mr De Klerk's sense of urgency and his concern for visible signs of progress in the negotiation process.

But he maintained that this could not be achieved without the presence of those originally invited.

The Labour Party would be making contact with leaders to try to get the talks back on track. Government sources said that contact with the individual leaders, including those who were not attending, could continue.



Allan Hendrickse



Enos Mabuza

### R5-million wildlife

The Argus JOHANNESBURG has had a R5-million year for the Wildlife Fund, Parks Board was "stunned" by the donation of the (Samcor).

"In a country which must support the wildlife which is in peril, it is a miracle," said Enos Mabuza.

"Africa's wildlife is being spelled doom," said Enos Mabuza.

Handwritten notes: Mrs MCLUS 5/4/90 276 refugees

Other relief pours in Natal...

# Workshop on ANC economic policy

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Sixty economists representing or associated with the ANC and Cosatu are to meet in Harare for four days from April 28 at a workshop whose deliberations are likely to form the basis of detailed economic policy for the ANC and its allies.

ANC economics department head Mr Max Sisulu said yesterday that with growing emphasis on economics, the new political situation had focused closely on the ANC's economic policy.

A memorandum on the workshop states that the ANC "feels very strongly the need to urgently fill the policy vacuum in relation to their position on the

economy".

In addition to Mr Sisulu, ANC participants are likely to include Mr Tito Mboweni, Mr Vella Pillay and Mr Rob Davies, and Executive members Mr Thabo Mbeki, Mr Joe Slovo and Mr Pallo Jordan.

Among the Cosatu delegates will be Numsa education officer Mr Alec Erwin and NUM education officer Mr Kgalema Motlanthe.

A number of prominent university-based economists, who have served on Cosatu's Economic Trends project, are also scheduled to attend. They include Mr Fuad Cassim, Mr Doug Hindson, Mr Stephen Gelb and Mr Mike Morris.

SA specialists at various UK universities — including Mr Ben Fine, Mr Raphie Kaplinsky and Mr Laurence Harris — have also been invited.

It is envisaged that working groups at the seminar will examine in detail such areas as international trade and finance; monetary and fiscal policy, including investment policy, control over monopolies and employment creation; industrial restructuring; mining; agriculture, food production and the land question; and industrial relations, and education and training.

Mr Sisulu has stressed that the ANC wants the gathering to be policy-oriented, and that "academic treatises" will

be inappropriate.

He said the workshop was in line with the ANC's view that policy should be formulated only after broad consultation.

● Cosatu and the SA Communist Party, at a meeting in Harare last weekend, made "a thorough assessment of the implications for socialism of recent events in Eastern Europe", Cosatu said yesterday.

Both organisations agreed that events provided important lessons, "but remain convinced that socialism still offered vastly more acceptable solutions to the social and economic problems of SA than those offered by cap-

italism".

They examined the present SA economy and a programme for its democratic reconstruction.

"In such a reconstruction nationalisation, the market and the private sector would all be essential components," Cosatu said.

● The ANC said yesterday that a meeting was being arranged between its guerilla leaders and former South African Defence Force officers, reports Sapa-Reuter.

The talks would consider the role of former SADF officers in moves towards ending apartheid, ANC spokesman Mr Tom Sebina said.

CAF TINTS 5/4/90 (11A) (S) (S)

# Homeland snub to FWO on talks

CAPL Timp  
5/4/90



By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

**IN a shock move the majority of leaders of the non-independent homelands last night pulled out of the crucial Tuynhuys talks scheduled for today.**

The homeland leaders were due to meet President F W de Klerk before talks between the government and a top ANC team led by Mr Nelson Mandela.

Last night the government's chief negotiator, Dr Gerit Viljoen, said "it appears considerable pressure — and even intimidation — have been applied to some of them".

A second senior government minister said: "It's nothing but intimidation."

It now appears that only Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of KwaZulu, and possibly Chief Kenneth Mopeli of Qwa

Qwa might attend today's meeting.

Government sources said that it appeared the leaders of KaNgwane, Gazankulu, KwaNdebele and Lebowa could be "no shows".

The failure of homeland leaders to attend today's talks constitute a significant blow to the government's plans to ensure that a large number of moderate "system" leaders play an active role in talks about a new constitution.

However, Dr Viljoen said last night that in view of the importance "to get negotiations off the ground" the government had decided nonetheless to "proceed with the discussion" with those leaders who do attend.

He noted that Chief Buthelezi had confirmed his intention to turn up.

Another government source also blamed pressure from the ANC for the boycott but said that talks scheduled later today with Mr Mandela and his three-man team would proceed.

At the talks Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela will both

lead top teams.

Mr Mandela will be assisted at the meeting by recently released ANC veteran Mr Ahmed Kathrada, UDF general-secretary Mr Popo Molefe and ANC intelligence chief Mr Jacob Zuma, who last month came to South Africa to help set up talks between the ANC and the government.

The government's four-man team is expected to be Mr De Klerk, Dr Viljoen, Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee and Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha.

Despite the ANC's decision to scupper the official round of talks scheduled for April 11, the fact that four senior members from both sides will be meeting in Tuynhuys was seen as significant.

Mr De Klerk last week insisted that preliminary talks with the ANC would not only deal with impediments to negotiation but would involve a search for "a clear and unambiguous commitment to peaceful solutions".

But yesterday Mr Mandela indicated he did not intend talking about peace proposals.

"If the State President says this meeting is intended to discuss peace, he is mistaken. We are going there to secure the removal of all obstacles to negotiations," he said.

These include the return of all exiles under a general amnesty, the release of all remaining political prisoners, an end to all political prosecutions and the lifting of the state of emergency.

Turning to the scratching the scheduled official meeting, Mr Mandela said suspension of talks was the unanimous decision of the national executive committee (in Lusaka) supported by the leadership inside the country after people had died in police action.

Mr Mandela said he had been involved in attempts at bringing about talks between the government and the ANC for three years and would not now turn around and give "flimsy reasons" for not meeting with the government.

The suspension of the talks prompted speculation of an open split in the ANC over talks with the government.

# Peace on edge as FW meets Mandela

W Mail 514-174190

SAPSA

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● From PAGE 1

He said the prospect for resuming the talks-about-talks with the government, postponed by the ANC last Sunday, would depend on the outcome of today's discussions.

The fact that he had accepted De Klerk's invitation for talks today refuted the perception that the movement was backing out of the negotiations process, Mandela said.

"It shows we are keen to find a solution, but we are not going to allow

the government to preach peace on the one hand and conduct a war against us on the other."

He stressed that the ANC was still strongly in favour of speaking to the government.

"We would not work so hard over three years to secure a meeting between the ANC and the government if we were going to turn round (for) flimsy reasons and refuse to see the government. We would like the government to create the conditions which would allow us to start discussions."

Mandela said the "mowing down of between six and 14 unarmed and defenceless blacks involved in a legal form of protest" in Sebokeng was a situation which the ANC could not accept and was a valid reason for suspending the April 11 talks.

"People who feel that this was not sufficient reason for suspending discussions have not yet grasped the intensity of feeling among blacks."

Mandela again issued a scathing attack on Adriaan Vlok, calling for his removal from office.

Referring to the Natal war he said he believed no progress could be made "while you have a minister who is totally uncooperative and who is hostile to black aspirations in the country".

He said the ANC welcomed the measures announced by the State President to deal with the conflict in Natal, but did not believe they would succeed unless "acknowledged black leaders" were involved, at least in the areas affected.

Mandela added that the ANC did not consider the police "a proper agency for bringing about peace".

He said Pietermaritzburg residents preferred the army to be used to quell the violence.

The ANC deputy president refuted charges that his movement was in disarray, pointing to the success of mass rallies around the country.

"How can an organisation that is in disarray have such a massive following," he asked.

# Violence: issues not clear cut

In citing the Sebokeng shootings as the prime reason for suspending its scheduled meeting with President de Klerk and his senior Ministers, the African National Congress focused on only one aspect of the violence which has swept across the country since February 2.

Its sense of outrage is understandable, whether or not one agrees with its narrow focus or its decision to suspend the talks.

The shooting of demonstrators by police in any society is, of course, a highly emotional issue; in South Africa, with its long history of police action against black crowds, it is particularly so.

Writing 16 years ago, Mr Albie Sachs, an ANC man who was later the victim of a bomb explosion in Maputo, identified "direct violence" by police against blacks as a crude but effective technique of maintaining white control.

"Police have opened fire on protesting crowds on roughly 30 occasions in the (last) 60 years and killed approximately 500 Africans," he said of the period from the Act of Union in 1910 to the early 1970s.

In the nearly 20 years since the publication of Mr Sachs's article, perhaps twice as many black civilians have been killed by police bullets in confrontations countrywide.

During the 1976-77 township rebellion, 575 people were killed, the Cillie Commission of Inquiry found. The vast majority, 451, were killed by police action.

Later, with the start of the 1984-86 revolt, there was another round of clashes. Langa, where 20 people were killed when police opened fire on a black crowd on the 25th anniversary of the Sharpeville shootings of 1960, is the best known example.

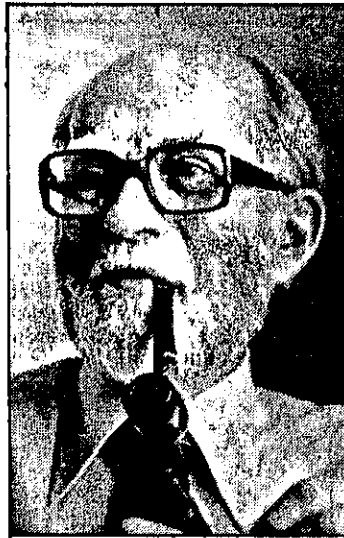
Now, of course, South Africa is in the midst of yet another upsurge of violence. It, too, has seen confrontations between crowds and police, with the killing of 11 — or 16 by the ANC's count — protesters at Sebokeng only a few days after many of the same protesters had commemorated the 30th anniversary of the 1960 Sharpeville shootings.

Police action, however, appears to account for a relatively small number of those who have died in political violence since February 2.

One well-informed diplomat puts the death toll at 400, a figure which

The roots of the violence sweeping the country are only partly political. It is fed in large measure by underlying demographic and socio-economic forces. **PATRICK LAURENCE** reports.

Educationist Dr Ken Hartshorne makes the point that school drop outs become the "leaders of the street children", who thrive on anarchy and may have only superficial ideological attachments.



the heavy toll in the fighting in Natal makes plausible.

The recent violence can be classified into three broad categories: police action against protesting crowds; fighting between rival ideological factions in the black community; clashes between competing interest groups in townships.

Fighting between rival political groups can be further sub-divided into three categories.

In all three categories forces from the ANC-UDF axis have been involved.

## Locked

In Bekkersdal on the West Rand, they have fought battles against black consciousness loyalists; in Natal their adversaries have been Inkatha-linked fighters; and in Uitenhage in the Eastern Cape they have been locked in battle with Africanists (who appear to have an alliance with Ama-Afrika).

Clashes between rival groups takes different forms: in Kattlehong's bloody "taxi war", fighting was sparked between opposing taxi associations; in Vosloorus on the East Rand, KwaGuqa on the outskirts of Witbank, and Ikageng near Potchefstroom, family-based men fought pitched battles against migrant workers living in hostels.

Running through these apparently

apolitical but bloody struggles is what may be labelled the "Zulu factor", a belief on one side that its foe was composed of, or reinforced by, Zulus.

The "Zulu" dimension gives these conflicts a political content: "Zulus" are associated with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha movement and, in the minds of some people, with vigilantes.

In Kattlehong some residents spoke of assault by "Zulu-speaking" men. In predominantly Sotho-speaking Sebokeng the first episode of violence — the one that led to the killing of a white motorist, Mr Elney Corfe — was sparked by fears that "Zulus" were massing to attack; all vehicles entering, or even approaching, Sebokeng were suspected of ferrying Zulus.

But underlying all manifestations of township violence is an explosive mix of demographic and socio-economic elements.

The black population is growing rapidly at close to 3 percent per annum; the white population growth rate is closer to 1 percent and that for coloured and Indian people somewhere in between.

Thus, the black proportion of the population is expected to be 77,5 percent by the turn of the century, an increase of more than 5 percent on the 1980 figure; the white

share will be barely over 12 percent by the year 2000, a drop of nearly 4 percent since 1980.

As important, however, the black population increase will be highest in the under 20 age group; an estimated 60 percent of blacks are under 20 today — against 54 percent in 1980 — and the proportion is still rising. It is precisely here that the crisis is worst.

Writing in 1986, the educationist Dr Ken Hartshorne calculated that only five out of every 100 black pupils who entered grade one matriculated. The rest dropped out along the way.

## Outstripped

With the economic growth rate outstripped by population increase, many of the drop-outs became in Dr Hartshorne's words "leaders of the street children".

The drop-out rate may have improved in the late 1980s. But two developments are calculated to cancel any improvement that may have been made: last year's disastrous matriculation results, which saw the pass rate fall from 54 to 42 percent, and the present educational crisis, marked in Soweto by empty schools and a paralysing strike by teachers.

The street children appear to be on the march. Unemployed, they soon become unemployable. They thrive on anarchy. It offers them excitement and an opportunity to pillage.

They often plunder and even kill in the name of ideology. Their ideological attachments are superficial, however.

In Natal research has found that many of the youths at the cutting edge of the violence cannot name the leaders of the organisation to which they proclaim loyalty.

Perpetrators of the dreaded "necklace executions" are often drawn from the ranks of the "street children", according to Mr Lloyd Vogelmann, director of Project for the Study of Violence at the University of the Witwatersrand.

Any attempt to discipline them is likely to send them into a different ideological camp or on to the sidelines as alienated outcasts, where, filled with resentment, they wait to attack the society which rejected them.

# Mandela arrives and Sebe fades into history

11A

Mail 5/4 - 11/4/90

THE Ciskei's new military rulers basked in reflected glory last weekend when they shared the platform with African National Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela.

Roars of approval greeted the head of the military council, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, when he welcomed Mandela to the Ciskei. Some 100 000 people were crammed into the Bisho stadium, where some nine years before the flagpole had broken just as the Ciskei flag was being hoisted at the moment of independence.

The council had been nothing if not generous. It was announced before the rally that there would be no charge for services provided by the Ciskei government. The gesture was expected to reduce the R300 000 bill for the rally by about 60 percent.

Mandela was brought in by Ciskei helicopter and escorted into the stadium in an entourage of over 20 luxury cars, most of which were provided by the military council.

When Gqozo stepped forward in the stadium described earlier by a Mass Democratic Movement speaker as the "white elephant of the bantustan", there were shouts of "*Phantsi ngoSebe*", or "Down with Sebe".

Gqozo raised both hands and called for the ANC leaders to be blessed with long life. His small frame almost completely hidden in the shadow of the stadium roof, Gqozo said: "We will allow democratic ideas to abound within this state."

Although there were warm shouts of "Viva Gqozo", there were also sounds of muffled embarrassment

Called 'the hero of the moment' by Nelson Mandela, Ciskei's new military ruler is enjoying reflected ANC glory.

THUMIDA MAISTRY reports

when the bantustan ruler spoke of Ciskei as a state.

But there was an unequivocal roar of support when he said on the question of reincorporation: "My people will lead me where to go."

On the ANC's side, there was warm approval for Gqozo. Mandela called him the "hero of the moment" and praised him for ousting Lennox Sebe's "corrupt and repressive regime".

Gqozo has earned himself the support of the MDM by consulting extensively with its structures, but his new policies have brought him into conflict with the police force.

In a speech to the police force recently, he told members that they would have to prepare for a new role in which they would protect all people and organisations in their duties as neutral peace officers.

"They should help the aspirations of the people by ensuring that the leaders of various political groups can operate without fear or favour," he said.

He asked police to change their attitude to their duties and said that the days of loitering on the job, misuse of radio communication and the "excuse of bureaucracy for laziness" were over. — Elnews





PAC supporters give the Africanist salute at the Sharpeville commemoration at which Azapo supporters were told to remove their flags

Picture: AFRAPIX

## Hidden tensions burst into rage

By CASSANDRA MOODLEY

*W/Mail 514 - 11/4/90*  
 THE violent confrontation between Pan Africanist Congress and Black Consciousness Movement supporters at last month's Sharpeville Day commemoration in the Vaal Triangle is a reflection of glaring ideological tensions between the two movements, despite superficial similarities.

At the PAC-hosted March 21 commemoration in Sharpeville, PAC supporters ordered the Azanian People's Organisation to take down its banners and then physically attacked Azapo supporters, according to eyewitnesses.

PAC internal secretary-general Benny Alexander dismissed the incident as an "unfortunate one, where PAC marshalls perceived chanting by Azapo members as provocative".

Alexander added that he did not hear of the incident until after the commemoration service and was "amazed that the Azapo leadership did not come to resolve the matter with the PAC leadership instead of taking the matter to the press". "The incident is in no way indicative of the PAC attitude to Azapo," he said.

Azapo Vaal branch representative Machone Marumo condemned the incident, calling it "an attempt by the PAC to coerce us into their ranks".

Azapo publicity secretary Strini Moodley said that the incident was "indicative of PAC membership failing to recognise the right of other organisations to exist."

The PAC-Azapo fracas was regarded with surprise, because the media often conflates the two organisations.

But, says Moodley, "We don't see ourselves as a specific ally of any specific organisation. We are part and parcel of all organisations in the liberation movement.

"We seek unity with the African National Congress, the PAC, the Unity Movement," adds Moodley.

But there has also been talks of BCM/PAC splits in the trade union federation Nactu. Reports have pointed to the resignation of several non-Africanist supporters because of a claimed neglect of worker interests in favour of political interests. There have been allegations of persecution of BCM supporters.

Alexander says that the PAC is opposed to trade unions adopting a political manifesto or document of any outside organisation.

It is Moodley's opinion that there is sufficient evidence to indicate an Africanist move to take over the federation. "The ANC and the PAC have had a history of trying to prove *bona fides* to the world, claiming this is theirs and that is theirs — this has resulted in them trying to take control of every organisation internally.

"Nactu is a victim of this counter-revolutionary attempt."

Azapo does, however, intend holding talks with the PAC as it has done with other movements, says Moodley.

Alexander, for his part, talks of meeting with organisations the PAC regards its "natural allies", like Azapo, the Cape Action League and the New Unity Movement, "organisations which genuinely seek liberation and socialism".

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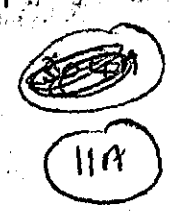
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# Peace on the edge as FW meets Mandela

w/m and 5/4 - 11/4/90



By GAVIN EVANS

A TOP-LEVEL four-man African National Congress delegation meets with State President FW de Klerk today.

Nelson Mandela will be joined by the movement's intelligence chief Jacob Zuma, internal publicity head Ahmed Kathrada and internal leadership corps member Popo Molefe in the discussion which will help determine the fate of the initial negotiation process in South Africa.

At a Johannesburg press conference yesterday in which he strongly attacked Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, Mandela said that the ice-breaking talks were initiated by De Klerk, but declined to reveal their purpose.

According to United Democratic Front sources the issue of the police role in the Sebokeng massacre and in other township protests will be the main item on the agenda, and the ANC will seek assurances from De Klerk that the police be restrained in suppressing legitimate protest.

Mandela said that De Klerk was mistaken if he was saying that the purpose of the meeting was to discuss peace.

"We are not going there to negotiate. We are going there to secure the removal of all obstacles to negotiations."

●To PAGE 6

## Buthelazi also in Cape Town today

w/m and 5/4 - 11/4/90  
INKATHA President Mangosuthu Buthelezi will be in Cape Town today, as will African National Congress Deputy President Nelson Mandela, who will be meeting State President FW de Klerk — but there are no known plans for them to meet in the city, reports CARMEL RICKARD.

Both Buthelezi and Mandela said this week they were committed to the private discussions so badly needed to help bring peace in Natal, but there is still no indication when these talks will be held.

A source close to the ANC leadership said yesterday "it was possible"

●To PAGE 2

THE African National Congress' withdrawal from the April 11 talks with State President FW de Klerk has dented the movement's image, both internationally and among whites at home.

The announcement came the day after another controversial ANC withdrawal, this time from the joint peace rally with Chief Mangosuthu Buthezi of Inkatha.

In the five days since the ANC's announcements were made, the movement has faced a barrage of criticism from foreign governments and the local press — and a sustained attack from the government on SABC television.

At the same time Buthezi has sought to make political capital out of the issue and used the withdrawals to lambast the ANC.

The dip in the movement's image appears to have been partially mended by the announcement of tomorrow's meeting with De Klerk and by Mandela's visit to the Natal trouble spots earlier this week.

The unrest — and the resultant breakdown in the negotiating process — has created problems for both parties. It has given fuel to those who criticise the ANC for entering too hastily into negotiations; it has also helped those who criticise De Klerk's reforms for leading to a breakdown in law and order.

The reason given by the ANC for cancelling the April 11 meeting was last week's police violence in Sebokeng and other townships.

The *Weekly Mail* can reveal that the decision to call off the talks was made shortly after Mandela and his colleague Walter Sisulu visited Sebokeng and spoke to victims of the violence. They were reported to be truly horrified by what they saw and heard.

They told ANC representative Jacob Zuma that they believed the talks should be called off, and this was conveyed by him to the ANC National Executive Committee. This

# The streets are in flames ... and the ANC gets blamed

W/M 5/4 - 11/4/90

*The ANC faced a barrage of criticism this week ... but can it be fairly expected to 'control' the township violence?*

By GAVIN EVANS, PHILLIPPA GARSON and IVOR POWELL

decision was confirmed on Friday and announced on Saturday evening.

Justifying the move at a press conference yesterday, Nelson Mandela said that if it had been whites who had been shot in Sebokeng, "there would be a national uprising of whites which would lead to the fall of the government." Because it was blacks who had been killed, there had been little outcry.

ANC and Mass Democratic Movement leaders are adamant that the police "violence" was sufficient grounds for withdrawing from the talks, stressing that it was a protest which reflected the mood in the black townships.

"We thought the government would restrain its security forces as we move towards initial contacts, but now we find that people staging peaceful demonstrations are being shot down in cold blood," said ANC representative Tom Sebina.

The ANC has been sharply criticised for an inability to control its forces and moving slowly since its unbanning two months ago.

However, they counter this by

pointing out that they have been banned, harassed and persecuted for decades, and particularly during the State of Emergency. It would be unrealistic to expect them to have the structures to control things.

At the same time, ANC representatives have acknowledged that they have had problems controlling youth elements, usually not active in organisations, who have been incensed by police violence.

Natal ANC convenor Patrick "Terror" Lekota says the government clampdown over the last few years has led to the creation of a *tsotsi* element with its own agenda.

"These people use the colours of our organisations yet carry out actions alien to the movement."

Lekota says its is a "mean trick" to expect the organisation to have control over these people who are not its true members. "The government is responsible for the rot we have to contend with today."

Natal University political scientist Dr Ian Phillips said he believed the ANC was a "politically mature" movement whose leadership was

now united in favour of negotiations.

"But at the same time the situation in the country is extremely fragile. People have been too altruistic in believing that peace was about to break out the minute the ANC was unbanned

"You must remember that the perspective of people in the townships is very different from that in the boardroom."

UDF assistant publicity secretary Murphy Morobe says the situation is "pregnant with expectations" and disappointment will inevitably result in violence.

"Negotiations cannot take place in a vacuum and the ANC's postponement of talks with the government implies the organisation is sensitive to the real issues on the ground."

Professor Alf Stadler of the University of the Witwatersrand's politics department said the ANC wanted to avoid a situation "where talks were an exercise in crisis management.

"What the state negotiators would have been doing was to place the violence high on the agenda and try to make the ANC take responsibility for ending the unrest.

"This would have placed them at a severe disadvantage in presenting any demands — like those around the return of exiles or political rights for blacks."

He said the ANC was facing an "impossible situation" where "any kid who can stitch three colours together to make a flag is labelled as an ANC member".

In reality, Stadler argues, the ANC support base is that of a broad resistance movement and has yet to be forged into a coherent front demanded by a political party.

"De Klerk has emerged as a very skilful politician and has been largely successful in keeping the ANC off-balance. He has allowed concessions but then not allowed space for these to be turned into grassroots reality."

# ANC appoints key leaders to regional offices

THE long-awaited formation of African National Congress structures within South Africa began in earnest this week with the appointment of nine regional convenors and the opening of the first regional offices.

Addressing what is believed to be the largest political rally held in South Africa's history, ANC National Executive Committee member Govan Mbeki announced the appointment of a 14-person ANC Eastern Cape regional committee on Sunday.

Joining Nelson Mandela on a make-shift platform, Mbeki told a well-disciplined crowd, estimated at between 200 000 and half a million, who assembled in open plot of land in Motherwell, that the ANC offices would open the next day.

The offices, housed in a building in Main Street in the Port Elizabeth city centre, opened as planned on Monday and have attracted a steady stream of prospective members. The ANC is planning a vigorous membership drive over the next month.

In another Mandela rally in Bisho on Sunday, the new ANC Border convenor, the Reverend Arnold Stoffie, announced to a 100 000-strong crowd the names of the 13 ANC interim regional executive committee members.

Among the new ANC regional convenors, who will take their places on the ANC National Interim Leadership Committee, are UDF national publicity secretary Patrick "Terror" Lekota, UDF Western Cape general secretary Trevor Manuel and former UDF Border general secretary Stoffie.

Lekota, 41, recently released from nearly five years in detention and on Robben Island, after winning an Appellate Division appeal against a conviction for treason, will now head the ANC's southern Natal region.

Manuel, 34, who has spent most of the last four years in detention, has served on the UDF's national execu-

tive since 1983, and will now be convening the Western Cape region.

In the PWV area National Union of Mineworkers official and former Robben Island prisoner Kgalema Motlanthe, 38, has been appointed convenor.

The new Eastern Cape convenor is veteran Robben Islander Benson Fihla, who is also president of the newly-formed Association for Former Political Prisoners. Regional publicity secretary will be another former Robben Island prisoner, Mike Xhego, 34, a stalwart of the powerful Port Elizabeth Youth Congress.

Other new ANC regional convenors include 70-year-old Robben Island veteran Harry Gwala (Natal Midlands), Thabo Makunyane (Northern Transvaal), Jomo Khasu (Northern Cape) and A Xobololo (Transkei).

## The ANC's departure from underground politics took a decisive step forward this week, report GAVIN EVANS and THUMIDA MAISTRY

Convenors for Northern Natal, Southern Free State and Northern Free State are expected to be announced within the next week.

Other members of this structure are believed to include: National interim convenor Walter Sisulu, 77, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, 71, publicity and information head Ahmed Kathrada, 60, political education department head Raymond Suttner, 45, ANC National Executive Committee member Govan Mbeki, 79, former Umkhonto weSizwe chief Raymond Mhlaba, 69, interim national political organiser Wilton Mkwayi, 67, UDF national general secretary Popo Molefe, 38, and former Robben Island life prisoners Andrew Mlangeni,

64, and Elias Motsoaledi, 66.

They will be joined by exiled ANC leaders as they return to the country.

In the PWV area ANC regional committee members whose names have been announced as part of an initial core group are: UDF national executive committee member Titus Mafoto, 34, recently released ANC Pretoria Central prisoner Barbara Hogan, 38, and Transvaal Indian Congress leader Cass Saloojee, 55.

New Western Cape ANC convenor Trevor Manuel said yesterday that other members of his team included: community activist Johnny Isssel, 42, former UDF regional vice president Christmas Tinto, 64, and Cape Youth Congress President Mzwonke "Whitey" Jacobs, 28. They will be joined by ANC NEC member Reg September, 69, as soon as he returns to the country.

Other members of the Eastern Cape committee who were announced at the weekend: Cosatu deputy vice-president

John Gomomo, UDF Eastern Cape president Edgar Ngoyi, UDF officials Gugile Nkwinti, Mbulelo Goniwe and Rev Mncebisi Xundu, Ernest Malgas of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation, Nozizwe Mabizela of the Uitenhage Womens' Organisation, Rhodes politics lecturer Dr Marion Lacey, and UDF activists Neela Hoosein, Silus Mthongana, Ronald Niegaard and Vuyisile Thole.

The Border committee includes: UDF regional co-presidents Mluleki George and Alfred Metele, SA Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers Union regional secretary Bones Skulu, Queenstown-based field-worker Glen Thomas, Ngaze Zweni of the Queenstown Residents Association, Sam Kwelita of the Dimbaza Youth Congress, Mzwandile Msala of the Alice Residents Association, Latsila Fani of the Fort Beaufort Resident's Association, Lucille Meyer of the Buffalo Flats Organisation of Women, Herschel school principal Yizanedwene Goduka, and Mdantsane Residents Association members Mayoyo Mlanda, Malign Ntlebi and Ntombazana Botha.

CAP TINKS

11A

Thursday, April 5, 1990

# Natal crackdown 'cannot' succeed'

JOHANNESBURG. — President F W de Klerk's measures to deal with the situation in Natal were welcomed by the ANC but were unlikely to succeed, ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

"Decisions which are taken unilaterally by government without consulting acknowledged black leaders cannot succeed," Mr Mandela said on his return from a two-day visit to Natal's trouble-spots.

In his second attack on Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok, Mr Mandela said Mr Vlok was "totally unco-operative and hostile to black aspirations".

"He lives in the past and thinks the only way to solve black grievances is by brutal force. As long as there is such a minister, any measure will fail."

He added that police were not the proper agency for peace in the province.

Mr Mandela said he was aware of the reasons for the start of the violence in Natal, but said other factors had since come into play.

One of those factors involved the attitude of the police force, which had conducted a vendetta against progressive organisations which had policies that threatened the white minority in South Africa, he said.

The army could play a better role than the police in the Natal townships, he said. "I feel the troops will behave far better than the police."

Mr Mandela dismissed as totally untrue suggestions that his bombshell announcement that the ANC was suspending talks with the government was the result of perceptions among youths in the township that he had become "too old and too soft".

Mr Mandela pointed out that the SA Youth Congress president Mr Peter Mokaba was sitting on the platform next to him during the news conference.

"Relations between the youth and

## Mandela, Buthelezi 'committed to peace'

MARITZBURG. — The obvious commitment to peace by Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi had to be balanced against the demands of their organisations, Archbishop Desmond Tutu said yesterday.

The Anglican archbishop was due to leave for the strife-torn "valley of death" near Maritzburg with the Bishop of Natal, the Right Rev Michael Nuttall.

Archbishop Tutu has met both Chief Buthelezi and Mr Mandela in the past few days to discuss the violence.

"I have no doubt at all about their commitment (to peace)," he said. "But both of them are members of particular organisations, and it is the organisations which are involved to some extent in the strife we are experiencing in these parts. And it will not do for the leaders to be too out of step with their followers."

Asked about the climate needed for the much-delayed talks between the two leaders, Archbishop Tutu said a meeting in itself was advocated by the church to create such a climate.

It was the church's role to bring about "a meeting of minds". — Sapa

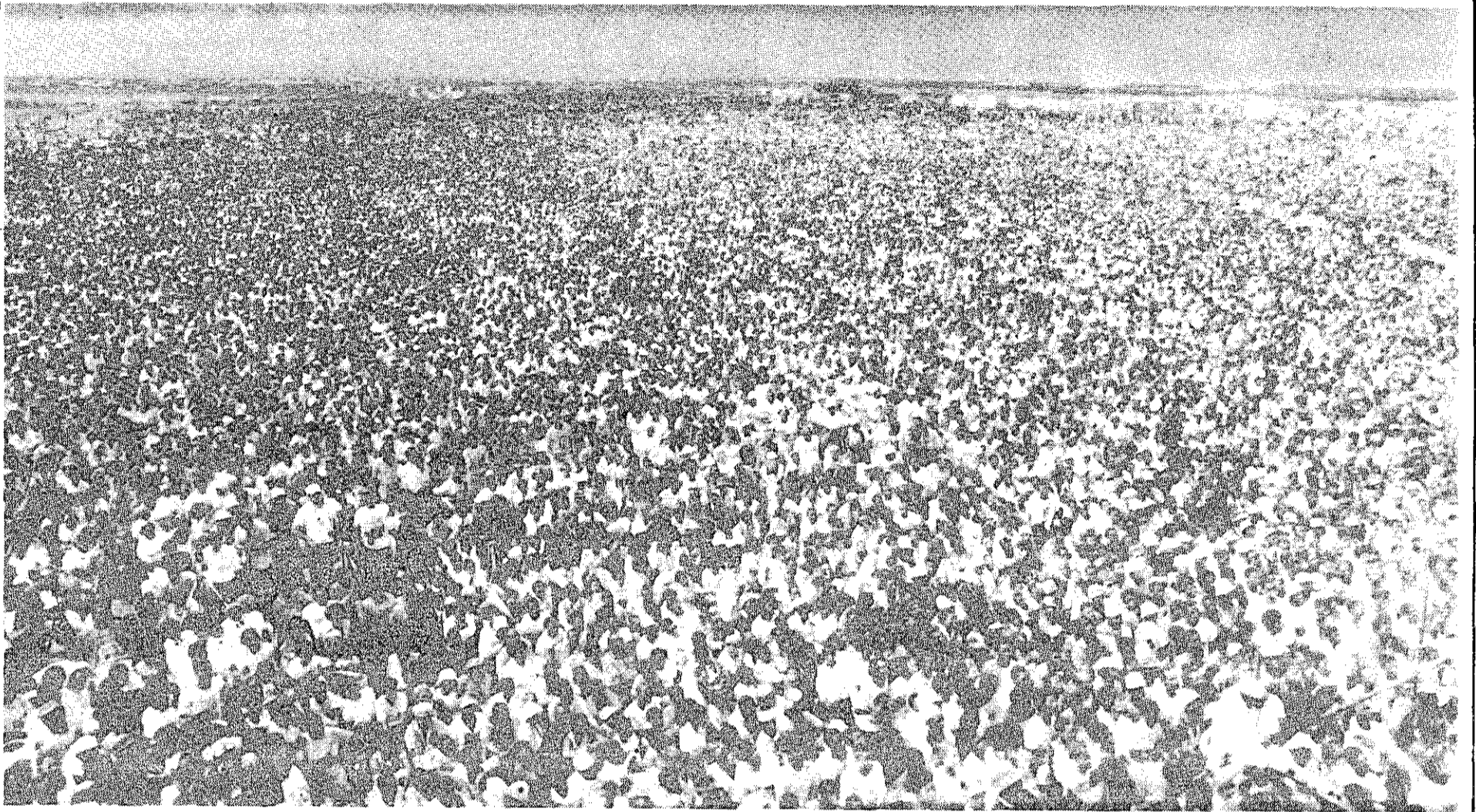
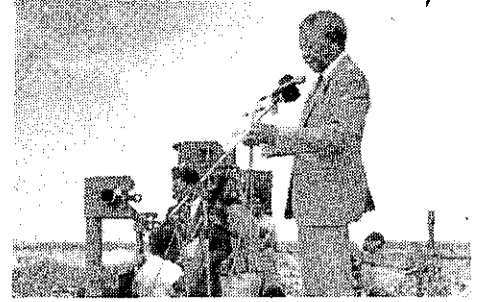
the ANC are sound."

Meanwhile, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said he sympathised with Mr Mandela, who he said was "caught between warring factions of his own organisation".

It was tragic that the delegation which accompanied Mr Mandela on his tour of Maritzburg's townships — Dr Diliza Mji, UDF co-president Mr Archie Gumede and the ANC's Natal Midlands representative Mr Harry Gwala — had advised Mr Mandela not to hold a joint meeting with him, Chief Buthelezi said. — Sapa

11A

In every direction, as far as the eye can see, thousands upon thousands wait patiently for their hero, Mandela



The historians can't remember a bigger gathering in South African political history. When Nelson Mandela spoke at an open-air gathering in the town of Motherwell, not far from Port Elizabeth, the crowds stretched to the horizon. Estimating the huge mass of humanity was impossible, but crowd-counters offered guesses ranging from a quarter to a half million people.

Pictures: PETER AUF DER HEYDE, Afrapix

11A

## Mandela arrives and Sebe fades into history

11/4/90

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Gqozo raised both hands and called for the ANC leaders to be blessed with long life. His small frame almost completely hidden in the shadow of the stadium roof, Gqozo said: "We will allow democratic ideas to abound within this state."

Although there were warm shouts of "Viva Gqozo", there were also sounds of muffled embarrassment

Called 'the hero of the moment' by Nelson Mandela, Ciskei's new military ruler is enjoying reflected ANC glory. THUMIDA MAISTRY reports

when the bantustan ruler spoke of Ciskei as a state.

But there was an unequivocal roar of support when he said on the question of reincorporation: "My people will lead me where to go."

On the ANC's side, there was warm approval for Gqozo. Mandela called him the "hero of the moment" and praised him for ousting Lennox Sebe's "corrupt and repressive regime".

Gqozo has earned himself the support of the MDM by consulting extensively with its structures, but his new policies have brought him into conflict with the police force.

In a speech to the police force recently, he told members that they would have to prepare for a new role in which they would protect all people and organisations in their duties as neutral peace officers.

"They should help the aspirations of the people by ensuring that the leaders of various political groups can operate without fear or favour," he said.

He asked police to change their attitude to their duties and said that the days of loitering on the job, misuse of radio communication and the "excuse of bureaucracy for laziness" were over. — Elnews

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11A

# Can 'no-talks' PAC put the squeeze on ANC?

IS the ANC is feeling pressure from radical black organisations which are opposed to negotiations?

The unbanning of political organisations in February has introduced a competitive phase in resistance politics, with extra-parliamentary organisations having more space to organise mass support.

Public attention is now on the ANC, says South African Institute of International Affairs researcher Gary van Staden, and it has to keep whites and businessmen, amongst others, happy. "It is difficult to do this without shedding some of your more radical support."

Van Staden adds that ANC supporters are confused by the organisation's talk of negotiations on the one hand and armed struggle on the other.

This confusion is compounded by

**While the ANC is obliged to talk peace to whites, its rivals can continue to mouth the militant slogans which many blacks want to hear. Will the PAC profit from negotiations at the ANC's expense? CASSANDRA MOODLEY reports**

the fact that the ANC has not set up internal structures to consult with its supporters and potential supporters.

"An unwavering, unambiguous, uncompromising voice will thus strongly appeal to radical blacks," says Van Staden, adding that many people want to see the intensification of the armed struggle — a factor which gives the rival Pan Africanist Congress the space to broaden its constituency.

## Azapo to meet with ANC soon

THE first official meeting between the African National Congress and the Azanian People's Organisation to discuss internecine violence and negotiations is scheduled to take place soon. *W/Man 5/4-11/4/90*

Azapo publicity secretary Strini Moodley says the ANC requested the meeting and will send a seven-man delegation. The status and basis of the meeting, however, are still being arranged.

The planned ANC-Azapo meeting follows three meetings between the black consciousness organisation and Nelson Mandela since his release in

February.

During the discussions the BC delegation proposed the formation of a consultative network of liberation organisations and stressed that the priority of resistance organisations should be to consult one another before talking to the government.

Last week Mandela told Azapo the ANC executive had responded favourably to the proposal and encouraged him to proceed in setting up the network.

Azapo is opposed to negotiations at present because "the oppressed are still in a position of weakness".

Right now it is only the ANC which is forced to talk specifics; the radical forces only have to mouth the

clear unambiguous message that some want to hear, he says.

Van Staden believes the ANC's ri-

vals have the potential to swing the mood of the people along an anti-negotiations path.

This process will be stepped up once negotiations begin and people realise the compromises and sacrifices involved.

The PAC, like Azapo, is clear in its stand of no negotiations unless there is one person one vote in a unitary state and a redistribution of resources. The organisation is clear on the need to intensify the armed struggle.

In a major move, the PAC has restructured itself: forming an internal wing, which will operate as a parallel organisation to the external PAC. The internal wing will deal with political policy while the external body's main function will be directing military and foreign affairs.

But while the potential has been created for the ANC to mobilise support, do they have the capacity to exploit the current climate?

Van Staden says it is impossible to measure PAC support on the ground or the level of insurgency.

He adds however that there seems to be a lot more support now than a few years ago, and an "improvement" in the external leadership and the guerrilla offensive inside the country.

PAC internal secretary-general Benny Alexander says: "When you engage in a political struggle you never politicise and conscientise every person. You conscientise a significant cadreship and then you lead the masses with this cadreship."

The organisation claims support bases in 16 regions with over 60 established branches and over 100 interim structures countrywide. Most of their support is apparently in rural areas.

But the Africanist policies of the PAC are also spread by its student and youth formations, the Pan Africanist Student's Organisation and the Azanian Youth Unity.

Alexander says the PAC internal wing sees its most important work as being among workers and through its African Labour Co-ordinating Committee it has much influence over workers in both Nactu and the ANC-aligned (at a leadership level) Congress of South African Trade Union affiliates.

PAC military bases are mainly in Tanzania and to a lesser extent in Iran, Libya and certain frontline states, says Van Staden.

But Van Staden cautions that while the PAC revival is significant, "the scale and intensity of the revival remain relatively low". In 1987, there were 85 Azanian People's Liberation Army insurgents and sympathisers killed or captured, and 446 insurgents of the ANC's military wing Umkhonto weSizwe that met the same fate in that year.

However, he does not believe that a numerical show of strength or the appearance of a strong military wing is needed to win over radical support, right now.

"The ANC occupies the centre on the extra-parliamentary stage presently and it has to grapple with real issues, whereas the opposition merely has to articulate its position and highlight the ANC's shortfalls."

Van Staden believes however that the ANC has made considerable gains and the more radical forces won't catch up with the support the ANC boasts — too much time has been lost.

But in the final analysis it is not the support that will determine the victors, it boils down to power — leadership and resources, the organisation that can harness such power will be the victor, he says.



PAC supporters give the Africanist salute at the Sharpeville commemoration at which Azapo supporters were told to remove their flags  
Picture: AFRAPIX

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## Hidden tensions burst into rage

By CASSANDRA MOODLEY

THE violent confrontation between Pan Africanist Congress and Black Consciousness Movement supporters at last month's Sharpeville Day commemoration in the Vaal Triangle is a reflection of glaring ideological tensions between the two movements, despite superficial similarities. *W/Man 5/4-11/4/90*

At the PAC-hosted March 21 commemoration in Sharpeville, PAC supporters ordered the Azanian People's Organisation to take down its banners and then physically attacked Azapo supporters, according to eyewitnesses. PAC internal secretary-general Benny Alexander dismissed the incident as an "unfortunate one, where PAC marshalls perceived chanting by Azapo members as provocative".

Alexander added that he did not hear of the incident until after the commemoration service and was "amazed that the Azapo leadership did not come to resolve the matter with the PAC leadership instead of taking the matter to the press". "The incident is in no way indicative of the PAC attitude to Azapo," he said.

Azapo Vaal branch representative Machone Marumo condemned the incident, calling it "an attempt by the PAC to coerce us into their ranks".

Azapo publicity secretary Strini Moodley said that the incident was "indicative of PAC membership failing to recognise the right of other organisations to exist."

The PAC-Azapo fracas was regarded with surprise, because the media often conflates the two organisations.

But, says Moodley, "We don't see ourselves as a specific ally of any specific organisation. We are part and parcel of all organisations in the liberation movement."

"We seek unity with the African National Congress, the PAC, the Unity Movement," adds Moodley.

But there has also been talks of BCM/PAC splits in the trade union federation Nactu. Reports have pointed to the resignation of several non-Africanist supporters because of a claimed neglect of worker interests in favour of political interests. There have been allegations of persecution of BCM supporters.

Alexander says that the PAC is opposed to trade unions adopting a political manifesto or document of any outside organisation.

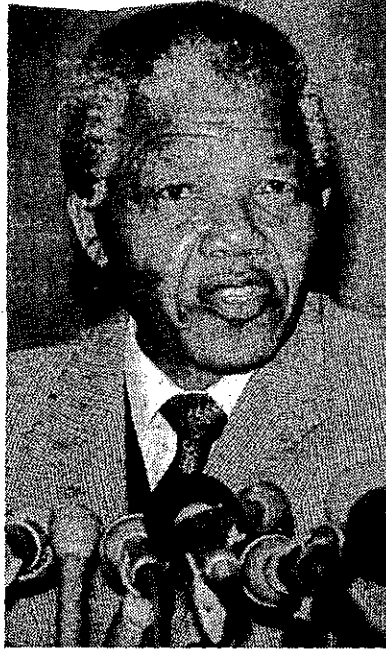
It is Moodley's opinion that there is sufficient evidence to indicate an Africanist move to take over the federation. "The ANC and the PAC have had a history of trying to prove *bona fides* to the world, claiming this is theirs and that is theirs — this has resulted in them trying to take control of every organisation internally."

"Nactu is a victim of this counter-revolutionary attempt."

Azapo does, however, intend holding talks with the PAC as it has done with other movements, says Moodley.

Alexander, for his part, talks of meeting with organisations the PAC regards its "natural allies", like Azapo, the Cape Action League and the New Unity Movement, "organisations which genuinely seek liberation and socialism".

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**ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela addresses a media conference in Johannesburg after his return from Natal.**

B12am 5/4/90 (11A) Picture: ROBERT BOTHA



**H**AVING learnt hard and valuable lessons in the Namibia negotiations, government is not panicking at the deteriorating security situation or at the ANC's decision to call off the talks which were to have been held next week.

It is, after all, only 55 days since President F W de Klerk and Nelson Mandela, who meet today, saw each other last. Given this short period of time, the pessimism that now abounds at the lack of visible progress in negotiations, especially since the ANC's decision to postpone the April 11 talks, is premature.

What has been overlooked in all the expressions of dismay following the cancelling of the talks is that government and the ANC, who until this year had had little or no contact, have in a matter of months established a structure through which they are in regular contact.

**D**e Klerk told Parliament on Monday that a steering committee consisting of senior government officials, external and internal ANC members had not only been set up, but that he had instructed government officials on the committee to keep in touch with the ANC.

The importance of such a committee should not be underestimated; its establishment signifies the start of a process similar to that followed by the Angolans, Cubans and South Africans in hammering out the Namibian settlement.

As Foreign Affairs director-general Neil van Heerden points out, more was achieved in that process by small delegations meeting behind closed doors and identifying at first points of agreement, then differences and finally negotiating compromises, than in any highly publicised meeting. This process is now underway in the quest for a new SA.

What has been remarkable in listening and talking to De Klerk and his senior Ministers in recent months has been the total lack of panic in the higher echelons of government as the security situation deteriorated and Mandela and the ANC drifted

# Negotiations: the position that government is in...

MIKE ROBERTSON in Cape Town

between remarkable reasonableness and a mulish adherence to positions adopted in a previous era.

Even when he decided that the security situation necessitated further intervention, De Klerk coupled his announcement of the deployment of troops with a conciliatory gesture — outlining plans to grant immediate temporary amnesty for negotiators to be followed by permanent measures at a future date.

His message is clear — government is prepared to be more than reasonable in removing obstacles to negotiations. But, at the same time, he will not allow good government — which includes the maintenance of law and order — to be jeopardised.

What is also apparent is that government has learned important lessons in negotiations over Angola/Namibia and is applying this experience in negotiating an internal settlement.

The first of these, and here the ANC has much to learn, is that when problems occur the talking has to continue — boycotts, withdrawals and suspensions do not provide answers. De Klerk stressed this when he said on Monday: "All leaders simply have to find a way to start talking and keep on talking in an effort to find one another in a

common purpose for the peaceful creation of a new SA."

Unlike his predecessor who got bogged down in security actions when the going got tough, De Klerk insists that only reform can bring success.

Mandela said in Natal this week that the decision to send troops into townships could backfire because black leaders, presumably including himself, had not been consulted.

If he raises this point today, De Klerk's response, as it was to the ANC's raising of the the Sebokeng shootings as a reason for cancelling the April 11 meeting, will be that "a forum exists in the steering committee: use it and in so doing, you allow us an opportunity to consult you".

**T**here is certainly a degree of frustration on the part of government at the failure to achieve visible progress in negotiations. But Ministers and officials also point out that when someone like Mandela welcomes a decision to send troops into townships, remarkable progress is being made.

Both Constitutional Development

ing able to lead it.

This, it contends, is the real reason why the ANC leadership is dragging its heels on entering negotiations.

De Klerk put it bluntly in his speech on Monday when he said: "Adherence to violence and the joining of peaceful negotiations are mutually exclusive... this dichotomy lies at the root of the ANC's hesitancy to fully align themselves with the negotiating process."

Government negotiators do not, however, expect the ANC to take such a final step as calling for a suspension or end of the armed struggle until the organisation has had more time to establish itself on a grassroots level.

But they hope that in the workings of the steering committee, meetings such as the one today between De Klerk and Mandela and in talks-about-talks, which they still expect to happen soon, a degree of understanding of the other's position can be built up to a point where it will be possible for this to happen.

In the meantime, both by meetings such as that today with homeland leaders before the Mandela talks, and through a crackdown on violence, government will make it clear to the ANC that it will not allow it to destroy or force out other contending black political organisations.

**D**e Klerk told his Cabinet at its final meeting before February 2 that they were in for a rough ride and that above all cool heads were called for. In recent weeks he has stressed the same in meetings with businessmen and in public speeches.

He believes he holds the moral high ground and, judging from the international reaction to his crackdown and the disappointment expressed from diverse quarters at the ANC's decision to cancel the talks, his belief is justified.

De Klerk is a skilful politician and has shown by his actions that he is serious about negotiations. He intends to maintain the high ground, and the longer he is successful in doing so, the greater the pressure on the ANC will become to take the final plunge into negotiations.

Minister Gerrit Viljoen and his deputy Roelf Meyer say that what has surprised them most since February 2 is the degree of fluidity in black politics. They, and other Ministers, say there is noticeable swing towards the PAC, especially in the eastern Cape outside Port Elizabeth. And, they express surprise that leadership elements in the UDF have chosen for the time being to remain independent of the ANC.

But government's negotiators are quick to point out that the ANC has been banned for only two months and accept that an organisation whose leadership had been in jail or in exile for almost 30 years needs time to establish itself.

Officials say that, in the bid to end the teachers' strike and school boycotts, senior ANC leaders like Walter Sisulu have in private initially attempted to persuade organisations like that of the striking teachers to adopt a reasonable approach. However, when unsuccessful they have then issued public statements supportive of the positions adopted by the striking teachers.

In this particular instance and on a broader level, government believes the ANC at the moment is able only to reflect the views of its perceived constituency rather than actually be-

the security situation deteriorated and Mandela and the ANC drifted

start talking and keep on talking in an effort to find one another in a

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constituency rather than actually be- final plunge into negotiations.

# . . .and what position the ANC will adopt

B/D am. 5/4/90

## ALAN FINE

makes it recognise the need to deal with undisciplined elements in the police which are trying to pull the entire country, F W de Klerk included, to the right," he says.

This explanation, with strenuous denials from a number of Lusaka-based ANC leaders of any split over negotiations, seems to add up.

As for the fact that the decision appears to contradict the statement by Walter Sisulu earlier last week that the township violence should not affect the talks, one can only assume that — having spent black SA's "boycott" period in prison — he was slow to recognise the consequences of the shootings.

bokeing shootings, and other recent incidents of police intervention in perceived legitimate protest.

The failure of President F W de Klerk to respond to the shootings by promising action against what are seen as "rogue" policemen only served to exacerbate these feelings.

So the ANC hopes the move will serve two purposes.

Firstly, explains Molefe, "we and the ANC are primarily accountable to our own constituency. When the ANC meets government, it has to ensure it has its constituency fully behind it. If it went ahead with the April 11 meeting it would have appeared to be ignoring its own people's wishes."

Secondly, the move was also designed as a form of pressure against government.

"We hope this protest measure brings government to its senses, and

It has become clearer that police behaviour is genuinely becoming a danger to the negotiation process.

ANC national executive committee member James Stuart possibly gave a hint of the sort of issues Nelson Mandela will be discussing with De Klerk today, when he expanded on the ANC's problems with the police.

"We would like De Klerk to curb the use of weapons by police. The march in London at the weekend was far more rowdy and violent than most local marches, and no one was killed by police there," he said.

This is not an unreasonable point. But the very fact of Mandela's meeting with De Klerk shows that disengagement is no longer (if it ever was) the appropriate response to a crisis. It also calls into question the viability of the ANC's stated desire, in terms of the Harare Declaration, to

negotiate a "ceasefire" with Pretoria.

After all, it hardly makes sense to threaten to refuse to discuss a ceasefire until, effectively, a ceasefire is already in place. This is no different to the NP's pre-De Klerk era when it refused to talk to the ANC until the ANC had renounced violence.

There is no reason to disbelieve the ANC's explanation that the depth of township feelings about police shootings made postponement of the talks necessary.

But it does mean that the boycott tradition has left the ANC with a "constituency problem".

If the organisation's leadership has recognised that the 1990s have introduced a new era in SA politics, it is time for it to start educating its rank and file that the automatic reaction to a crisis should not necessarily be disengagement.

## LETTERS

voting. This system ensures the seats

# Azapo wants its cut of 'Freedom'

W/Mail 5/4-11/490  
The Black Consciousness movement believes it has a right to the proceeds of Cry Freedom's screenings in South Africa despite its objections to the film, reports CASSANDRA MOODLEY

THE Azanian People's Organisation is attempting to obtain rights to all premiere screenings of *Cry Freedom*, Richard Attenborough's film on the life of Black Consciousness leader Steve Biko.

However, Azapo, which espouses the philosophy founded by Biko, still distances itself on principle from the controversial film — due for nationwide release on April 27 — because the organisation was not consulted in the making of it.

When the film was released in November 1988, Azapo criticised Attenborough for basing the script on the writings of Donald Woods, former editor of the East London *Daily Dispatch*, rather than consulting Biko's fellow activists and friends in the movement.

Azapo publicity secretary Strini Moodley confirmed this week that the organisation is trying to secure the national proceeds from the opening nights of *Cry Freedom*, saying the money raised will go to the Steve Biko Family Trust and the organisation.

Moodley added that despite his organisation's objections to the film, the film did deal with Biko's life and thus "every effort is being made to secure some of the proceeds for the welfare of Biko's family".

"Obviously there are many factual flaws in *Cry Freedom* but we cannot ignore *Cry Freedom* as a work of art which focusses on the father of black consciousness.

"The first half of the film is a fair reflection of Biko's life," said Moodley. The first half presents a moving account of the last few months of Biko's life, ending with his torture and death in detention in 1977.

The second half concentrates on Woods' banning and his flight from South Africa.

*Cry Freedom* is back on circuit after 17 months. All copies were confiscated from cinemas under the State of Emergency on the day it was released in November 1988.

The film had been passed with cuts by the Publications Appeal Board, much to the surprise of even the director.

Copies of *Cry Freedom* were returned to the distributors *NuMetro* in February this year after State President F.W. de Klerk's reform initiatives announced in parliament.

*Cry Freedom* is just one of many political films which have acquired the Appeal Board's seal of approval. Others include *A Private Life*, a true story of interracial relationships, starring Bill Flynn and Jana Cilliers, and *The Native Who Caused All the Trouble*, based on the play by Danny Keogh, Vanessa Cooke and Nicholas Haysom.

Last week, the Appeal Board unbanned *A Dry White Season*, which focuses on the story of a white South African who becomes politicised after the Soweto 1976 uprising and the death in detention of a black associate. It is based on the novel by André Brink.

But a severe 2-21 age restriction has been imposed, and screenings have been restricted to cinemas seating fewer than 250 people.

The screening restriction effectively limits showing to art cinemas which are based in upper class suburbs, making it difficult for township dwellers to see the film.

Perhaps the best of the current political films on South Africa is *A World Apart*, written by Shawn Slovo, daughter of African National Congress/South African Communist Party member Joe Slovo and journalist and academic Ruth First, the first woman to be held under the 90-day detention law.



Getting a look in ... Denzel Washington as Steve Biko: Azapo says the Biko family has every right to the proceeds of the film's screening in South Africa

The Film and Allied Workers' Organisation, which holds the distribution rights to the film, told the *Weekly Mail* it would be submitting the film to the censors this week.

*A World Apart* and *A Dry White Season* have both been screened at the Weekly Mail Film Festival under special festival exemptions.

Fawo legal representative Lauren Jacobson said in the light of the Appeal Board's decision on *A Dry White Season* she saw no reason why *A World Apart* would not be passed for screening.

Jacobson said the censors were "obliged to consider the current political climate into which

films were being fed".

She said one could also be optimistic about the fate of *A World Apart* in that it depicted events in the 1960s and the Appeal Board did consider historical significance as a criterion in its judgement of films. A criterion on which *Cry Freedom* was sanctioned was that it was set in the 1970s — thus making it an historical account, she said.

*A World Apart*, which examines a young girl's relationship with her politically involved parents, was given a 15-minute standing ovation at its premiere at the Cannes film festival two years ago and it has earned critical praise where it has been shown.

# Sayco will merge with ANC for new Youth League

PHIL MOLEFE reports on the first above-ground Sayco congress

THE defunct Youth League of the African National Congress, founded in 1944, is to be reconstituted. The South African Youth Congress, at its first open national congress, voted to begin the process of amalgamation with the African National Congress youth section, presently based in Lusaka.

The congress was held at Kanyamazane, near Nelspruit, last weekend. It was resolved to merge Sayco with the ANC youth section to re-establish the movement's Youth League by April 1991.

Peter Mokaba, who was re-elected president at the three-day congress, said the Central Executive Committee has been mandated by congress to consult with the ANC youth section with a view to "re-launch the defunct Youth League" inside the country on April 6 next year. "The unbanning of the ANC has made it important that we consider merging with the movement's youth section in order to have one strong Youth League," said Mokaba.

He said there would be feasibility studies, workshops and discussions in various regions and this information would be conveyed to the youth section.

One major issue which is likely to come up between Sayco and the ANC Youth Section is the age limit for membership. While the ANC has ruled that membership for the Youth League should be from 12 to 30 years of age, Sayco has recommended that it should be from 14 to 35.

Most of the Sayco leadership is above the ANC's age limit and it is expected that a compromise would have to be reached to accommodate older activists.

Mokaba said practical conditions on the ground had shown that some people just above 30 years were still suitably placed in youth congresses.

The congress, which was attended by 1 762 delegates representing youth congresses from 11 regions, also adopted the ANC Harare Declaration as "the guiding principle towards the creation of a non-racial and democratic South Africa".

The congress called upon the government to clear away obstacles to negotiations. The delegates said Sayco was concerned about the continuing police violence against peaceful demonstrators, as in Sebokeng three weeks ago.

ANC Deputy President Nelson Mandela, who addressed the Sayco congress, told delegates that the ANC will "not allow a situation where the



Nelson Mandela greets a well-wisher on his arrival, with his wife Winnie, at the South African Youth Congress conference held near Nelspruit last weekend

Picture: STEVE HILTON-BARBER, Afrapix

government talks about negotiations and peace and at the same time conduct war against our people".

"If President FW De Klerk continues with arming the police, when the police are shooting the people, when rightwingers defiantly march around armed and shooting the people, then negotiations in this country have no future whatsoever," he said.

Mandela said negotiations are a "continuation of the struggle". Mokaba said the congress had no reservation about negotiations and saw them as one process that could lead to freedom.

"The implementation of one method should not exclude other methods. When the ANC adopted armed struggle we did not say it should abandon mass struggle. Our position is clear that we will always opt for the shortest route possible to freedom."

On the Natal violence, the congress resolved to endorse Mandela's call for a peace conference of all organisations opposed to "apartheid violence".

Mokaba said it was urgent to address the violence in Natal and other parts of the country. Such a conference, he said, would "focus on violence in Natal and inter-organisational violence in order to promote political tolerance."

He launched a bitter attack on kwaZulu chief minister and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, saying Buthelezi would not be invited to participate at the conference. He said the conference, to be called "Peace among the People" will "firstly define Buthelezi as the problem" in the trouble-torn

area. He said isolating Buthelezi does not mean "we have declared Inkatha or its members as the enemy".

"We recognise the fact that Inkatha members are part of the oppressed and we need to separate them from Gatsha and the warlords."

The congress called on the youth to play a central role in the building of

ANC structures inside the country.

Sayco reaffirmed its support for the back-to-school campaign and called upon the government to address the demands of the people on education.

A call was also made for the international community to intensify sanctions against the government.



Home is where the wife is ... Nelson and Winnie back together again in Orlando West

# No easy walk to publication 11A

**NO EASY WALK TO FREEDOM** by

**Nelson Mandela (Heinemann, R14,95)**

NELSON MANDELA'S *No Easy Walk to Freedom* has become one of the icons of South African political writing.

First published as a 12-page political tract 37 years ago, it was republished as one of a compilation of speeches and essays under the same title in 1965, covering an 11-year period from the end of the Defiance Campaign to the Rivonia trial. *W.M. 574-1114/90*

This latest paperback edition by Heinemann is the 16th to be published but the first to be distributed legally within South Africa. It comes with a 1990 forward by Walter Sisulu as well as Ruth First's foreword to the 1973 edition and Oliver Tambo's introduction to the 1965 edition.

First's 1973 foreword indicates the enormity of the shifts both here and abroad, over the past 17 years.

"Mandela has been in prison for 10 years," she writes. "George Jackson, Soledad brother, is dead. But Angela Davis is free; and now and then the doors of a South African prison open for a political prisoner to emerge though only too often to be banished to a wilderness by a government mad with racism but fearful of its victims."

Writing in the black, green and gold paperback, with the a picture of a triumphant Mandela on the cover, Sisulu tells a different story.

"The masses of our country and the international community scored a resounding victory when Mandela was ultimately released after 27 years in prison," he writes.

The 15 essays, speeches and trial extracts cover five general topics: *Streams of African nationalism, Living under apartheid, The fight against apartheid: Our tactics and theirs, Resistance from underground and On trial.*

Many of the postulations and concerns of the title essay, written in 1953, can still be said to apply today. "The campaign to defy unjust laws enabled Congress to develop considerably wider contacts between itself and the masses and the urge to join Congress grew day by day," he writes the year after he led the Defiance Campaign.

But he ends on a more positive note: "You can see that there is no easy walk to freedom anywhere and many of us will have to pass through the valley of the shadow of death again and again before we reach the mountain tops of our desires. Dangers and difficulties have not deterred us in the past; they will not frighten us now. But we must be prepared for them like men who mean business and who do not waste energy in vain talk and idle action. The way of preparation for action lies in our rooting out of all impurity and indiscipline from our organisation and making it the bright and shining instrument that will cleave its way to Africa's freedom."

The book concludes with Mandela's famous speech from the dock at the Rivonia trial, which sent him to prison.

"During my lifetime I have dedicated myself to this struggle of the African people. I have fought against white domination, and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if it needs to be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die."

Addressing rallies of up to half a million 27 years later the world, the country and the movement he leads have undergone enormous changes. But Mandela's central message remained essentially the same, and the ideal he has strived for has yet to be met.

# Sayco, ANC may link



**RAPU MALEKANE**

THE <sup>Southern 5/4/90</sup> South African Youth Congress yesterday announced its first national congress and hinted at a possible merger with the ANC's youth section.

The congress, scheduled for April 13 to 15, will be held in the Elijah Mangu College of Education at Kabokweni, Nel-

spruit and would be vital for serious reflection on the movement's past, present and future, Sayco's general secretary, Mr Rapu Malekane, said yesterday. (HA)

He said this was the first time the organisation had had the opportunity to hold an open congress as it was started during the State of Emergency.

Malekane said many members had since Sayco's inception been detained under emergency regulations making it difficult to function.

**BUY AT CASINO AND GET FREE**

IIA

[scribble]

FOCUS ON THE NATAL CRISIS IN THE WEEK MANDELA VISITED ... AND CHANGED HIS TONE

# Into the valley of death with a

**N**ELSON MANDELA walked through the valley of death this week to witness the carnage of a civil war.

Imbali township outside Pietermaritzburg was still smouldering after a midnight raid as Mandela, Walter Sisulu and other ranking African National Congress/United Democratic Front officials toured the area.

Fourteen houses had been razed, two people killed, a toddler shot, scores left

homeless.

The people were jubilant that Mandela had come to see their suffering. They cheered him as they salvaged the remnants of their gutted belongings before seeking refuge at centres in the area. And they related over and over the events of the night of gunfire, petrol bombs and death they had just survived.

Among the corpses was that of Phangilifa Madiba, who has the same clan-name as Mandela. His body was draped

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**THANDEKA QUBULE reports on Nelson Mandela's visit to Natal's unrest areas this week**

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in a pink bedspread, and lay in the lounge awaiting removal to the overflowing mortuary.

Madiba, 35, had visited the house to tell the occupants about another death in the township. But the residents were not there — they had gone to attend to yet another corpse. The occupants were

neighbours whose home had been razed a few days earlier. Soon after midnight the assassins visited.

Madiba was not their only victim — a young retarded man was engulfed in the flames that followed and his charred body lay amongst the rubble.

Residents said Mandela walked among the gutted houses shaking his head in disbelief, consoling those affected by the raid.

He later told a press conference he had

# shaken, disbelieving Mandela

been horrified by what he had seen. Perhaps the experience was responsible for Mandela's change in tone. When he last visited Natal, he called on the people to throw their guns and pangas into the sea. This time he said the people would defend themselves "vigorously". While Mandela was speaking to the press, a fresh battle broke out in nearby Caluza. Residents had managed to repulse the first attack, but the battle continued through the night.





# FW meetings

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela is due to meet State President Mr FW de Klerk this afternoon for informal talks about the wave of violence in the country. *Sowetan 5/4/90*

Yesterday Mandela dismissed reports that the ANC was losing interest in holding talks with the Government. (11A)

"The fact that I have accepted the State President's invitation tomorrow refutes that perception, and shows we are keen to find a solution," he said.

De Klerk will first meet tricameral Parliament and homeland leaders and then hold talks with Mandela and his team.

**ALL HAVE A CHOICE**

At least 15 people died on March 26, when police opened fire on 50 000 people marching from Sebokeng to the National Party offices in Vereeniging to deliver a

Kerk in Afrika, Bophelong; Methodist Church, Sharpeville; Faith Mission Church, Refengkgotso, Deneysville and Methodist Church, Zamdela near Sasolburg.



# Home, sweet home

Student leader Khotso Seatlholo is carried shoulder-high by Black Consciousness movement supporters who welcomed him at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday. He was released from Robben Island on Monday after serving eight years of a 10-year sentence. At a Press conference in Johannesburg, Azanian Peoples Organisation officials claimed five people were arrested for carrying Azapo banners at the airport.

(1A) Soweto 27/4/90

Pic: LEN KUMALO

# No tit-for-tat clashes to blame, says UDF/Cosatu committee

Police are not trying to stop the bloodshed, says a UDF/Cosatu joint committee. They also allege Inkatha supporters are responsible for an increase in attacks. By CARMEL RICKARD

THE sudden upsurge of attacks and killings in the Natal midlands area has been blamed on Inkatha supporters, with the police accused of "not seriously trying to stop the fighting".

The allegations have been made by the Joint Working Committee of the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the United Democratic Front, the group representing both organisations which is responsible for dealing with the violence.

The JWC criticised media suggestions that blame for the attacks lies with "a 50-50 tit-for-tat series of UDF-Inkatha clashes".

Challenging this perception, the JWC asks how this view could be reconciled with the fact that there were few, if any, Inkatha refugees; that virtually all of the estimated 14 000 refugees have sought shelter in UDF areas; that the areas which have been devastated have all been UDF areas; and that most of the dead have come from these UDF areas.

The JWC version of events is that on Tuesday morning, over 2 000 Inkatha supporting warriors launched a massive attack from Mpumaza into Caluza and Ashdown.

The next day an impi of Inkatha supporters moved out from the El-andoskop area and devastated four UDF areas. Thousands fled and the attackers looted their livestock and other possessions.

On Thursday there were further attacks on UDF areas, with a continuation of the looting and a major attack on Mpophomeni. That evening non-Inkatha houses in Imbali and El-andoskop came under concerted attack.

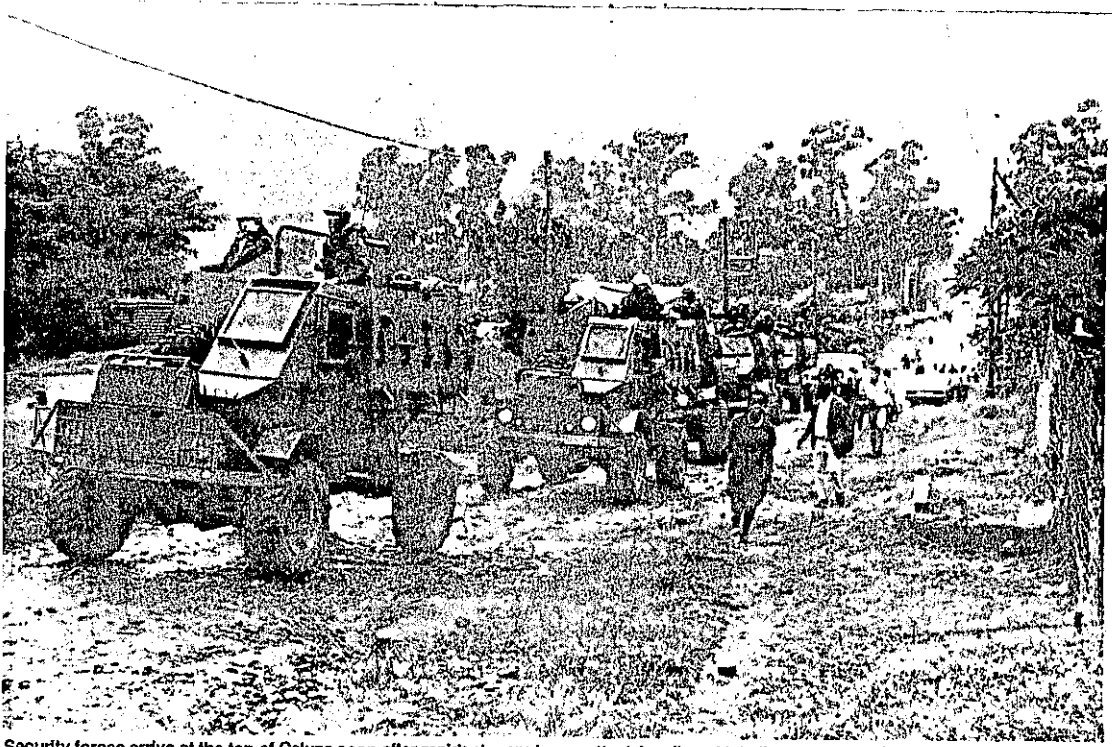
"This picture (of armed Inkatha supporters attacking UDF areas of homes) continued up to Tuesday."

As a result of the attacks, "all the non-Inkatha areas in the Vulindlela district have been devastated".

The JWC said the scale and effect of the violence over the last fortnight has been horrendous and unprecedented in the three-year war.

On the causes of the latest upsurge, the JWC dismissed as inadequate the theory that it was in retaliation for stoning of buses going to and from the Inkatha rally a fortnight ago.

"It is the most systematic, coordinated and concerted onslaught undertaken in the past three years. The brutality of the attack bears no



Security forces arrive at the top of Caluza soon after residents repulse an attack by alleged Inkatha supporters from Mpumaza

Picture: ARON MAZEL

## Natal's 'hope' gets brutally invaded

A NEW form of colonisation is taking place in Natal. A community gets invaded and the conquerors move in and settle there.

The community of Table Mountain was recently overrun by a neighbouring community. Table Mountain had previously been the "hope of Natal" — the only area in the troubled province in which United Democratic Front and Inkatha supporters lived side by side in peace.

But over the weekend Table Mountain was overrun by Inkatha supporters from kwaMyavu. They ransacked the area, allegedly leaving more than a dozen dead and many homesteads destroyed.

The police unrest report, however, listed only five people killed in a

relation to the alleged provocation.

"The areas which suffered the brunt were far away from the alleged stoning."

"Secondly many of the victims of the attack could not have been connected to the 'stonings'."

The JWC suggests three factors. After every major Inkatha rally there have been complaints of attacks on "UDF areas". The attacks took place as "conservative forces throughout the country are losing political ground to the ANC".

The third reason lies in the historical position of Edendale, "which has

By THANDEKA GOUBULE Pietermaritzburg

clash on Saturday, and noted the discovery of two more bodies on Sunday.

The police, who refuse to enter Table Mountain, have cordoned off the area.

"Yes, we are the Manyavus," armed youths who spoke to reporters at Table Mountain. "We will kill anything that is a comrade. We will kill the chief if he is a comrade."

They told the *Weekly Mail* that they are poised to take over the chieftainship of the area. The residence of Chief Mhlabuzima Maphumulo, who last visited the area

always been a progressive area" in which Inkatha has failed to establish a presence.

Another significant factor, according to the JWC, is the role of the police who have allegedly often not disarmed or dispersed the impis of Inkatha supporters when they have gathered to attack. The police were also accused of preventing the army from being deployed in trouble spots, of not adequately protecting people against violence and looting, of not sending forces to trouble spots even when informed of impending attacks

with a police escort, had been razed by attackers.

Maphumulo, president of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa, is now in Europe with advocate RS Douglas. They went to consult with the United Nations judicial department about an interim report of an independent commission of inquiry into the Natal war.

Maphumulo's subjects are in a refugee camp at Mason's Hill near Edendale valley. Their livestock and possessions have been acquired by the invaders.

A patrolling policeman said: "Most houses have been burned. It is even too dangerous for police — the Inkatha invaders said they would kill us too."

or fighting in progress, of siding with Inkatha and of inadequate investigations when the suspects were Inkatha members.

"The clearest possible statement of police partiality has been Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok's consultation with Inkatha President Mangosuthu Buthezi about the situation in Pietermaritzburg. Why did Vlok not speak to any other concerned parties? The community sees the meeting as a council of war. The fact that this has not received much negative comment in the South African press is revealing in itself."

## Inkatha rejects report on Natal violence

THE UDF-Cosatu Joint Working Committee (JWC) report on the violence in Natal has been slammed by Inkatha Secretary-General Dr Oscar Dhlomo.

"Cosatu's statements are just another wild outburst of unsubstantiated claims and a distortion of Dr Buthezi's concern for the welfare of all victims of violence and their safety and his search for peace," Dhlomo said.

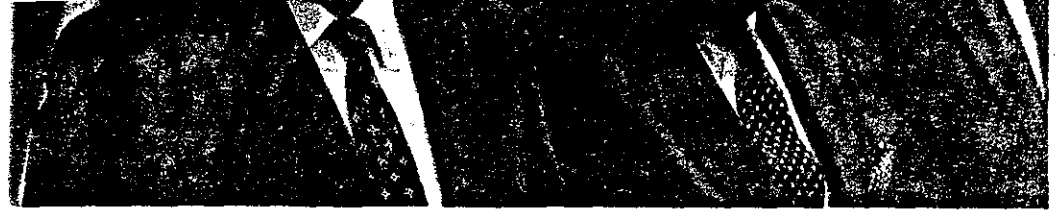
He said the centre had refused to note complaints of casualties by Inkatha and that "many of their statistics have in the past proved baseless."

Dhlomo also took issue with the JWC's mention of "Zulu impis", which he described as misleading because the conflict was an ideological and not an ethnic one. "Zulus are fighting Zulus so talking of impis is just historical licence," he said. He blamed UDF and Cosatu for derailing the Buthezi-Mandela peace talks and instead making provocative statements.

...incorporated into a new South Africa.  
The ousted president of Venda, Chief Frank Ravele, is understood to have written a letter which announced that he and his entire government were resigning.  
Colonel Ramushwana's announcement came at 3.10pm. He said he had assumed power and that the army chief, Brigadier H

He also announced a commission of inquiry into the ritual murders which have racked the homeland for several months.  
He said the ANC, UDF, PAC, SACP and other political parties were welcome to talk to him but warned they would not be allowed to demonstrate or forcibly propagate their goals in the homeland. No intimidation would be allowed, he said.

...dor's office in Venda.  
"The South African government had called upon Colonel Ramushwana to avoid all forms of violence," Mr Botha said.  
President FW de Klerk said yesterday that the government planned to give "whatever assistance it could" to Venda "to ensure we don't have a repetition of what happened in the Ciskei".  
Political Correspondent and Sapa



AFTER THE TALKS . . . President FW de Klerk and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi meet the press after their talks in Tuynhuys yesterday.

# Peace talks back on track

*CMC - Tly JS  
6/4/90* *114* *[Signature]*

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

**FULL-SCALE talks between the government and the ANC are back on track and a date and venue for the next round of talks will be announced soon, President FW de Klerk said last night.**

Announcing the breakthrough after a "very frank" meeting at Tuynhuys with ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, Mr De Klerk said agreement had been reached on details for a meeting on obstacles to negotiations.

The crunch discussions, which lasted for more than three hours, produced agreement that a meeting "with exactly the same aims" as the cancelled April 11 talks that were called off, should go ahead soon.

Mr De Klerk said the details of the fresh round of talks between the government would be revealed simultaneously in South Africa and Lusaka soon.

Addressing a press conference at the Tuynhuys ballroom, Mr De Klerk also said:

• The government was considering appointing a judicial commission of inquiry into last week's Sebokeng shootings, which prompted the ANC to call off the planned April 11 talks. This would be discussed by cabinet at its next meeting. In addition, legislation had been introduced enabling inquests in such cases to be

carried out under judges.

• "Very fruitful" channels of communication had been opened and established by last night's meeting which would hopefully avoid misunderstanding on both sides in future.

• He had expressed his "disappointment" that Mr Mandela had intervened in government's plans to hold meetings yesterday with the leaders on non-independent homelands and senior tricameral politicians.

• He believed agreement had been reached that violence in South Africa had to come to an end in order to create an atmosphere conducive to negotiations.

Mr De Klerk noted that the ANC's commitment to armed struggle had also been examined and that "this matter will be discussed at the meeting that has now been planned".

Another major focus of last night's talks had been "the fairly widespread violence throughout South Africa" and the behaviour of the police in dealing with this.

Mr De Klerk said he "very frankly" expressed his view that it was "absolutely necessary" that an atmosphere be established in the country that was conducive towards negotiation and stability.

He said he had told Mr Mandela that the security forces would not act to the advantage of a particular party and that "if there is an exception to this then it is a wrong exception".

Asked if Mr Mandela agreed with this standpoint, Mr De Klerk responded: "I do not want to speak on his behalf but my impression is that the frank exchange of

views contributed towards understanding in this regard."

Mr De Klerk was assisted at the talks by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, and the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok.

The ANC/UDF team attending the talks were Mr Mandela, ANC veteran Mr Ahmed Kathrada, UDF general secretary Mr Popo Molefe and the newly appointed ANC head in the Western Cape, Mr Trevor Manuel.

Mr Jacob Zuma, the ANC's intelligence chief, did not attend the talks as expected.

Mr Mandela addressed a separate press conference in Cape Town late last night after the meeting.

At an earlier press conference Mr De Klerk yesterday effectively accused the ANC of trying to sabotage yesterday's Tuynhuys talks with homeland leaders which were eventually attended by only two of the six non-independent homeland leaders.

When the talks eventually did get under way, discussion was largely restricted to the topic of "violence and intimidation" rather than the originally planned agenda of establishing a basis for future constitutional negotiations.

Those attending the talks with the government were Kwa-ulu's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Qwa-Qwa leader Mr Kenneth Mopeli and the chairmen of the ministers' councils in the tricameral Parliament.

A stern-faced Mr De Klerk told reporters yesterday that he would "most definitely" raise the issue of ANC interference in future talks with the organisation "because I have not tried to interfere in any of his (Mr Nelson Mandela's) discussions in any way whatsoever".  
He added that he did not believe that the ANC's involvement was "conducive to negotiations".

Mr De Klerk said there was definitely a strategy by radicals to polarise South African politics and not to allow proved leaders "to sit down and present their views".

Many leaders throughout the country were faced with the problems of intimidation, disruption and violent attacks in a bid to undermine their stability, authority and credibility.

Chief Buthelezi also issued a statement saying he had not come to negotiate as a homeland leader, but as the leader of Inkatha, which he said was the largest membership-based black organisation in South Africa.

All the pre-conditions which had kept him from negotiating with successive National Party governments, such as the release of Mr Mandela, had been met and he was now ready to negotiate, he said.

Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse said Mr Mandela had asked him to stay away from the meeting in sympathy with those who had decided not to attend.

Mr Hendrickse said the Labour Party would attend the meeting but would ask the President to adjourn it until such time as the obstacles preventing those absent from attending, had been addressed.

CAM TMS  
6/4/90 11A

# Leaders say they were not cowed

## Political Staff

THREE of the four homeland leaders who boycotted yesterday's talks with President F W de Klerk yesterday denied that they had been intimidated into not attending the discussions.

They were reacting to government claims that they had been "intimidated".

The Chief Minister of KaNgwane, Mr Enos Mabuza, said emphatically that "at no stage was I ever subject to pressure or intimidation from any quarter, nor did I recuse myself from the meeting at the eleventh hour, as alleged".

The governor of Lebowa, Mr Noko Ramodike, and the chief minister of Gazankulu, Professor Hudson Ntswanisi, said they had not been intimidated in any way.

Mr Mabuza said in an interview: "My decision was taken independently of the other chief ministers and the ANC."

He had called the Commissioner-General of KaNgwane, Mr Hendrik Tempel, immediately after he had heard that the ANC/government talks, which were scheduled for April 11, had been postponed and proposed that the talks with the homeland leaders also be postponed.

## Credibility fear

He had followed this up with a letter faxed to the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, on Monday April 2, and had discussed this with Dr Viljoen that afternoon.

He had told Dr Viljoen that if the decision was taken to proceed with the talks he would regrettably not be able to attend as he believed the meeting would adversely affect the credibility of the chief ministers.

His government was prepared to make an input after a firm commitment by the government and the ANC to hold talks.

Sapa reports that DP co-leader Mr Wynand Malan said yesterday that Dr Viljoen's claim that homeland leaders had withdrawn from talks with the State President because of intimidation was incorrect and in bad taste.

Mr Malan said the government and the ANC leadership would first have to break the political ice before meaningful pre-negotiations could succeed.

ANC Talks 6/12/90  
**ANC, Azapo  
to hold talks**

**JOHANNESBURG.**  
Azapo is to hold its first full executive meeting with the ANC tomorrow in Soweto.

Mr Nelson Mandela is to head the ANC delegation at the talks.

Azapo publicity secretary Mr Strini Moodley said yesterday that the formal meeting was spurred by the violence between members of his organisation and supporters of the ANC.

"In the last few weeks, about six Azapo members have died in the ideological fratricide," said Mr Moodley. — Sapa

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FM 6/4/90

11A

# Time of reckoning

President FW de Klerk has once again, in the face of tremendous provocation, held out the hand of peace and appealed to black leaders — in particular the ANC's Nelson Mandela — to join him at the negotiating table.

While all present in parliament on Monday expected De Klerk to wield the big stick, he surprised even his supporters when he announced steps to indemnify former en-



Mandela

De Klerk

emies of the State.

At the same time, De Klerk announced the implementation with immediate effect of a co-ordinated security plan, devised by all the parties concerned in strife-torn Natal. The announcement could be seen as a first major step to combined action between the SA security community, Inkatha — and even the ANC — against future unrest and halting the bloodbath.

## A clean page

De Klerk's speech concentrated on two target areas. To those (supporters and opponents alike) who still doubted his reform initiatives, he stated clearly: it is our desire to close the old books and to start on a clean page. However, to those who persisted with acts of violence or who still persist with worn-out rhetoric, as for example, phrases like "the armed struggle continues," and, on the other hand, those who persist on continued domination must realise that he is deadly serious about building a new SA, De Klerk said.

Let there be no doubt that government is intent not to accept violence and chaos, De Klerk went on. The lives and property of all South Africans must be safeguarded and negotiations can only succeed in a climate of law and order.

There can be no gainsaying that the recent appeal by the Black Sash to government to send troops into the unrest areas in Natal could not have come at a better time for De Klerk.

De Klerk stressed that his government had embarked on a deliberate programme of re-

moving impediments perceived to have stood in the way of full participation in the political process by all those seeking peaceful solutions.

After the ANC National Executive Committee's announcement that they intended to meet with him, a number of meetings between government officials and representatives of the National Committee took place to finalise arrangements for the now cancelled April 11 meeting.

It was difficult to understand why an organisation, saying it was interested in peace, refused to come and talk about those very issues, De Klerk said. Relevant problems which stood in the way could have been addressed by the steering committee; but this was not done.

## Open door

His government was willing to discuss the adherence of the ANC to the armed struggle, which is seen by government as a stumbling block. De Klerk's government was also willing to discuss the issues of political prisoners and the return of exiles — which,

in turn, are perceived by the ANC to be stumbling blocks.

De Klerk, however, has not given up on the ANC. He announced that he would meet Mandela this week: "My door remains open. I hope the ANC will find it possible soon to join those already talking."

Indemnity for ANC exiles has always been a major stumbling block in negotiations. To remove it, De Klerk announced that temporary indemnity against prosecution or civil proceedings will be granted for those who might be outside the country and who may be delegated to take part in discussions with government. Such indemnity will only apply to brief visits and discussions, De Klerk added.

However, envisaged legislation will empower De Klerk to grant indemnity on a permanent basis to persons who could have been guilty of some or other common law or statutory offence.

With this announcement, and the prospect that temporary indemnity will soon come into effect, De Klerk has again placed the ball in Mandela's court. A negative reply or reaction from the ANC leader will strengthen the belief that major dissent within the ranks of the organisation led to the proposed talks with De Klerk being cancelled, rather than principled differences with government, as suggested. In short, the time had come for Mandela to deliver.

The indemnity announcement has also opened the door for De Klerk to waive any convictions which may be forthcoming as a result of the Harms Commission which is now hearing evidence about hit squads.

Politically, De Klerk made a good speech. Unlike his predecessor, he showed himself as a conciliator, always with an open door. To black and white fears of continuing carnage in unrest areas, he promised the full action of the State to restore peace but without the usual *kragdadigheid* which marked P W Botha's speeches.

To those who, in places like Welkom, have shown a readiness to take the law into their own hands, he issued a warning to lay off.

It was a remarkably even-handed speech, by any standards.

Eddie Botha

## TALKING STILL

FM 6/4/90

ANC deputy-president Nelson Mandela is expected to announce a new date for the postponed April 11 talks-about-talks between government and the ANC at a press conference this week.

A well-placed ANC source added the talks had not been cancelled. "It has taken a long process to get rank-and-file supporters to identify with our negotiating position, as set out in the Harare Declaration."

He added: "However, we must be sensitive to those who ask how we go to the negotiating table when our people are being shot. We have moved on from the politics of ungovernability."

The postponement was essentially, the source said, a signal to government about police violence being unacceptable.

Mandela was to meet President FW de Klerk on Wednesday, as the FM went to press, and it was thought likely he would make a statement then.

Scuppering Mandela's joint rally with Inkatha chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi was different. The reason, it now seems, is that Buthelezi "unilaterally" announced the date and venue. That was unacceptable. A private meeting between the two is being looked at.

NATAL VIOLENCE FM 6/4/90

## Looking for leaders

The past week's fighting in Maritzburg, the worst this battle-scarred region has yet seen, clearly shows one thing: national leaders have little control over their organisations.

As bloody, well-organised battles between

11A

NATAL VIOLENCE F/M 6/4/90

# Looking for leaders

The past week's fighting in Maritzburg, the worst this battle-scarred region has yet seen, clearly shows one thing: national leaders have little control over their organisations.

As bloody, well-organised battles between

11A

members of Inkatha and ANC-UDF groups reached civil war proportions, both Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi showed their vulnerability as leaders.

For Mandela, the crisis was perhaps the worst. First he had to watch the violence in Natal and KwaZulu escalate to its worst level only days after he made an impassioned call for peace at the ANC's Durban rally on February 25. Then this week, there was the farcical uncertainty surrounding the cancelled peace rally at Taylor's Halt, where he was meant to share a platform with Buthelezi in an attempt to end the violence.

From the conflicting reasons given by ANC members for the cancellation — Ahmed Kathrada said the "atmosphere" was not right; Archie Gumede said the venue, apparently an Inkatha-controlled area, was unsafe for Mandela — it seems clear there is some sort of conflict within the ANC leadership. This seems to be manifesting itself as a split between the recently released older leaders and UDF members who have been calling the shots in Natal while Mandela and Walter Sisulu were still in prison.

Natal is proving to be an unhappy place for Mandela. Despite being the home of Inkatha, arguably the ANC's biggest rival, every time the ANC deputy president has visited the region it has placed a further strain on his political credibility afterwards. Events following Mandela's rally in Durban show he has alienated a sector of his following and put his reputation on the line with what some now regard as having been a naive appeal for peace.

This week's cancelled rally seems bound to lose him more support, this time from the ANC's more moderate followers. Early this week, he was visiting Maritzburg township with an ANC delegation and a meeting had been planned with Buthelezi for later in the week — and this could be his last chance to make up lost ground in Natal. But arrangements around Mandela showed their customary confusion.

For Buthelezi, the wholesale slaughter in Maritzburg has also strained his credibility as a leader. This time he was the one calling for peace; but the violence has clearly shown that at some level down the Inkatha hierarchy, Buthelezi is being ignored.

There are always claims and counter-claims every time violence flares up in Maritzburg, but this time it is clear that Inkatha cadres have openly been playing a major role in leading attacks on known UDF areas. The scale of organisation and logistical back-up behind the well-armed impis — coupled with wide-ranging reports that many of the attackers were bused in last month from northern Natal — led to suspicions that co-ordination of the violence could be taking place at a fairly high level.

There have been claims that UDF-ANC members provoked the fighting by stoning and shooting at buses returning from an Inkatha peace rally. But that seems a flimsy reason for provoking violence of the proportions now seen.

In the attacks which have been taking place in the past week, the pattern seems to have been one of well-armed Inkatha bands systematically moving through Maritzburg townships, flushing out "enemy areas" and hunting down ANC-UDF members. A disturbing new trend is that women and children have become indiscriminate victims of the violence, which in the past was generally limited to fighting between the men and youths on either side.

Even the police acknowledge that they have had to persuade armed groups of Inkatha members to turn back. All of which seriously undermines Buthelezi's call for peace and raises questions about the amount of control he has over his organisation.

The death toll reached horrific proportions. At least 50 people were killed in the week to Monday April 2, with unofficial reports quoting the figure as high as 100 dead.

Last month alone, around 300 people were killed in violence in Natal.

Hundreds of houses have been razed and an estimated 11 000 refugees have flooded into the city of Maritzburg, with authorities and support groups trying to house them in churches and community halls. Officials are now asking for the Edendale valley, centre of the violence, to be declared a disaster area, while Maritzburg mayor Mark Cornell wants martial law to be declared in the area.

Commerce and industry have been particularly hard hit by the violence, with absenteeism reaching record levels. SA Chamber of Business president Brian Kurz has been meeting members to decide how best to respond to the violence and the plight of employees. The chamber is also contacting Law & Order Minister Adriaan Vlok in an attempt to resolve the violence.

Vlok, who met Buthelezi on Saturday, has promised that reinforcements from around the country will be sent to Maritzburg. The SADF, which in these situations falls under the command of the riot police, have also been doing patrols, which are now likely to be stepped up. Vlok also acceded to a request from Buthelezi to remove black SADF members from the townships; the KwaZulu leader said they were in some cases supporting the ANC and UDF. In turn, accusations are again being made that the SAP are favouring Inkatha in the conflict. Reports from the Democratic Party unrest monitoring group earlier this week said it appeared as if the police were beginning to disarm people selectively, effectively taking weapons away from "comrades" only.

They also said the conflict had reached the worst proportions yet seen in the bitter history of the area, marked by an almost military onslaught from Inkatha.

As the FM went to press, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, back after a brief respite from active politics, was meeting Buthelezi at Ulundi, apparently in an effort to get peace talks back on track.

With the violence at its present level it is debatable how much good a meeting be-

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tween Mandela and Buthelezi is going to do. But it is a necessary step if anything is going to be done to end the carnage.



THE ANC

F/M 6/4/90

11A

# The mandate that never was

Unbanned for two months, and the ANC stands revealed as a threadbare outfit, intellectually 30 years out of date and incapable of exercising discipline over "the masses" in whose name it rhetorically acts. Its latest absurdity — suspending talks with government on the ending of violence *because* of the continuation of violence — reflects not decisiveness, but impotence.

It is difficult not to believe that President F W de Klerk's reforms have outpaced the ANC — that it is plagued by disunity and rivalries, and its actual support on the ground is limited. It is certainly far less monolithic in appearance than in the days of its banning, as Nelson Mandela was a far more substantial figure in Victor Verster Prison.

Part of the ANC's problem lies in a misreading of contemporary history: in the Sixties it was possible for a liberation movement, led by one or another charismatic leader, to assume confidently that it would be swept into office by the tide of decolonisation. There was no need for such paraphernalia as a detailed economic programme, nor for any particular social planning beyond the moment of triumph. The enemy was clearly and boldly defined and was there to be overthrown.

The enemy of the ANC was apartheid. So it still is — but

De Klerk has made it clear that it is his enemy too, and the real debate, therefore, revolves on what comes afterwards and how to get there. Unquestionably, there are elements in the police who shoot first and ask questions later; but no one seriously believes that the Nationalists are indistinguishable from the police.

The process of negotiating entailed a *quid pro quo*: government accepted that while there would be no overt relinquishing of the "armed struggle," at least not yet, the ANC would not (even if it could) prosecute an armed uprising. In turn, the ANC until this week appeared to accept that elements of the security forces were beyond the control of Pretoria but that a number of things were being done to curb that power. A low-level "ceasefire" still prevails.

The steps which were initiated this week to end the nationwide violence, particularly in Natal, were necessary and at one stage it looked as if the ANC was prepared to cooperate in at least unofficial structures to halt mindless destruction of property, murder and factionalism. Perhaps, once it has sorted out its priorities as a legitimate political party which will one day have to face the judgment of an electorate, it will still do so. There is a reservoir of peaceful-minded people who would welcome this. ■

by the black education crisis. Black children continue sporadically to boycott classes in protest at poor education standards, inferior teaching facilities, poor and poorly paid teachers, massive black unemployment which perpetuates the cycle of deprivation of inadequately trained black school-leavers and, above all, frustration that political and economic empowerment have not followed directly on the heels of Mandela's release.

In his first mass rally in Soweto, Mandela stressed the need for discipline and called on pupils to return to their classes. He was ignored and, even if the children had gone to school next day, they would have been faced with a strike by teachers protesting at low pay.

The children are now used to the violence of street politics and, as Fanie Cloete, of Wits University's Centre for Policy Studies sees it, their response underscores the difficulties faced by Mandela and the ANC in changing policy lines. The armed struggle has been fundamental to the ANC's strategy for years and the organisation's supporters will find difficulty in shifting quickly towards the new strategy of negotiation. The same goes for the NP whose supporters have been told for years the ANC was Evil incarnate and who are now trailing way behind President FW de Klerk in the move to political reform.

The difficulties are worsened by Mandela's ambivalent calls at mass rallies. Recently in Natal he urged ANC and Inkatha supporters battling for dominance of black townships to throw their pangas into the sea. In almost the next breath he called on them to intensify the armed struggle against apartheid.

Cloete believes the ANC is facing a crisis of existence and that it deepens the longer the organisation delays establishment of offices and organisational structures inside SA. This, in turn, is affected by the intensification of the leadership struggle within the ANC as the organisation scents the closeness of real political power.

The crisis is also worsened by the challenges to the ANC apparently being mounted by groups such as the UDF and Cosatu, headed by strong and politically ambitious

leaders and which have well-structured organisations throughout the country and can mobilise their followers effectively.

Ironically, the ANC needs the NP if it is to survive and become the unquestioned dominant force in black politics. The ANC needs to demonstrate rapid progress towards black empowerment if it is not to lose support to more militant organisations such as the Pan-Africanist Congress. Many blacks expect empowerment to arrive more quickly than seems politically possible at present and could well heed the calls of radicalism as frustration sets in.

The converse of this is that De Klerk needs the ANC to ensure that progress towards accommodation and negotiations is smooth enough to satisfy white supporters. If violence persists and black demands seem too radical, apprehensive whites could swing increasingly behind the CP or the AWB, scuppering chances of a negotiated settlement.

Opponents of the political drama's two principal actors are winning support as violence in the black townships escalates almost daily. De Klerk has never said so, but it seems plain he was expecting some violence once he lifted the lid on the political pot. But whether he expected the present level — more than 400 people have died since the start of the year and 1990 threatens to become the bloodiest and most deadly ever — is another matter.

For the present the police and security forces are struggling to contain the killings, but with little apparent success. Increasing levels of violence are understandable, says Cloete. The exuberance blacks felt at Mandela's release has boiled over into an already existing violent state of affairs with the release of pent-up frustrations over education, unemployment and so on.

Cloete warns of the danger that the situation could spiral Lebanese-style. He does not believe a Lebanese situation will necessarily develop but warns of the risk unless it is contained. Boraine adds that De Klerk's room to manoeuvre is restricted. He has played the ANC card and now has little left in his hand if violence rises more and black anger continues to boil. One real option, Boraine fears, is repression, which would

undo all the good of De Klerk's recent moves.

Fundamentally, the NP and ANC have to move fast to ensure negotiation and SA's own version of perestroika work. Both have been pushed willy-nilly into moderate, centrist positions in an SA polarising between the Left and Right. The country's outlook is more uncertain than when Mandela took those first steps to freedom. ■

THE ANC FIM 6/4/90

**Crisis of existence**

When Nelson Mandela walked away from 27 years of imprisonment on February 12 he carried the hopes of most South Africans on his shoulders. (11A) ~~3000~~

Now, less than two months later, those hopes are evaporating as Mandela's abilities fail to match up to over-optimistic expectations. That failure puts a whole new complexion on SA's political future.

SA Institute of Race Relations executive director John Kane-Berman says: "The advantage of 27 years in jail is that he did not put a political foot wrong. In jail his reputation as a martyr and international celebrity was built by a sympathetic media. But now he is free there is less certainty about his political influence — his ability to mobilise people and persuade them to do what he wants them to do. He has now to operate in a tough political environment."

Idasa executive director Alex Boraine adds: "Moral authority is no substitute for political muscle." Boraine, too, does not believe Mandela is slipping, rather that people's expectations of him were pitched unrealistically high. He has no illusions that progress towards black-white power sharing will be anything but difficult.

The prospective difficulties are epitomised



Mandela ... political influence questioned

# Unrest in Gazankulu

Capl. Trip 6/4/90 (11A) (11B) (11C)

## 'not caused by ANC'

JOHANNESBURG. — Unrest in Gazankulu had not been sparked off by the African National Congress, Gazankulu Chief Minister Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi said yesterday.

In a statement, Professor Ntsanwisi said he had met ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela concerning the unrest, and they had concluded that the situation was undesirable and should be discontinued.

"During the meeting it was . . . resolved that continuous boycotts and marches are counter-productive and not in the interest of the nation," Professor Ntsanwisi said.

According to the statement, no major incidents of unrest had been reported during the past 24 hours.

However, a seventh petrol-bomb attack had occurred and 13 people had been arrested, bringing the total number of arrests to 2 294. — Sapa

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# Mandela's 'Struggle' is now legal in SA

CAPE TOWN — The Directorate of Publications has announced that "Nelson Mandela: The Struggle is my Life", by Mr Nelson Mandela and published by the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, London, may be imported and distributed in South Africa.

The publication was found to be not undesirable and the restriction on the publisher, all of whose publications are not desirable, was lifted for this publication only.

The same conditions applied to "Unity in Action — a Photographic History of the African National Congress South Africa 1912-1982", published by the African National Congress, London.

Mary Benson's "The Sun Will Rise", and "Leon Trotsky on Black Nationalism and Self-Determination" (Pathfinder Press) have been unbanned on review and may be imported and distributed. It is no longer an offence to possess these two publications.

"The Story of a Dispossessed People (Ethel Kho-pung), and "Asking for Trouble" (Donald Woods), were found to be not undesirable on review, while the Christmas 1989 edition of Bunny Girl (Sonskyn Uitgewers, Jeppestown), was declared not undesirable on appeal.

## Films rejected

During the past week 24 films were submitted for examination, of which 11 were unconditionally and 11 conditionally approved. Two films, "Domino" and "Bloody Birthday", were rejected.

From today it was a breach of the law to import and or distribute the following publication/object (name of author/producer in brackets).

- "Longarm and the Lone Star Legend" (Tabor Evans).
- "The Secrets of Emmanuelle — Her Intimate Views on Life and Loving" (Emmanuelle Arsan).
- "From All the Girls At the Office" — greeting card (Whiteway Publications Ltd London).
- Condom enclosed in a glass frame with the words: In case of emergency smash glass — object (not stated).
- 4509 Photo Ekkeheart Gurlitt — take two — postcard (Printed in the Netherlands).
- "The Rope" (Revolt Press AB Sweden).
- "The Loggers" (Tom).

From Friday it was a breach of the law to possess the following publications and it is in the interests of persons who possess copies of these publications to destroy them immediately unless they have a permit (name of author/producer in brackets).

- "Sindisa Ubomi — Pretoria: Hanging Capital of the World" (not stated).
- Playboy Vol 35 No 2 February 1988 (Hugh M Hefner).
- "High Society" (Spesiale uitgawe van beroemde vroue) (not stated).
- Workers' Revolution No 1 August 1989 (Workers Revolution).
- The Penthouse Letters (Edward Springer). — Sapa.

FRIDAY  
April 6 1990  
Johannesburg

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By Michael Chester

The SA Chamber of Business (Sacob) has urged the African National Congress to make a clear-cut declaration of its economic policies in order to end business jitters about a future political scenario.

Sacob economic consultant Mr Roelof Botha yesterday said it was also vital for the Government to take urgent moves to scrap the Group Areas Act. This would further its reform programme and remove a justified cause of black bitterness.

He urged political and business leaders to shift the debate from its high emotional overtones. What was needed was realism about the inevi-

## Help to end jitters, ANC is urged

tability of change and a pragmatic attitude towards coping with it.

Uncertainty about prospects was also hitting the level of new job opportunities, with the number of vacancies advertised in the newspapers, measured by the column, now running at the lowest in three years.

Mr Botha said the dramatic impact of political statements on the business mood had been fully demonstrated in the past few days:

● On April 2, the Johannesburg Stock Exchange overall share index

was mauled badly when the ANC announced the cancellation of April 11 talks with the Government.

● Within 24 hours, the JSE index shot back higher when President de Klerk outlined moves to stamp out the violence that was sweeping across the country.

Much of the nervousness was based on ANC talk about nationalisation — yet the fact that the ANC had announced talks on its stance suggested that the issue was still not settled as a policy objective.

Sacob economist Mr Keith Lock-

wood said the lack of precision about ANC policies was feeding a sense of uncertainty in the business world.

"It is important that the ANC gets the message that now they are operating freely, they must take responsibility for the actions and statements of their leaders," he said.

"The ANC must co-ordinate and set out a precise set of policies to end the political tension. It's vital for economic stability."

Mr Botha said uncertainty was

also delaying a potential reversal of capital outflows to a surge of new capital inflows.

Overseas investors were delaying decisions until there was more clarification about the political outlook.

The sharp drop in the value of the financial rand on currency markets since the release of Mr Nelson Mandela had been attributed to overseas nervousness about the ANC's nationalisation statements and its continued commitment to armed struggle.

Since the beginning of February, the financial rand had depreciated

by than 26 percent in dollar terms.

"Political uncertainty has, predictably, replaced the euphoria after President de Klerk's watershed speech at the opening of Parliament," Mr Botha said.

He said business confidence levels were likely to remain vulnerable until a number of critical factors had been addressed:

● Progress had to be made in meaningful negotiations between the Government and key leaders in the black, coloured and Indian communities and the envisaged constitutional model needed to be developed.

● A lasting end to anarchy in certain

● To Page 3.

ANC urged  
to spell out  
its policy  
on economy

From Page 1.

black townships via the stamping out of criminal syndicates and a truce between rival ethnic/political factors.

● Clarity on the true nature of the ANC's envisaged economic policy.

"Although socio-economic upliftment will remain high on the country's agenda for some time to come, the problems surrounding the *modus operandi* to be followed may be semantic rather than substantial."

### Grievances

"While the Government has rightly been lauded for its recent reform measures, the continued existence of the Group Areas Act and other statutory measures which discriminate on the basis of colour remain a just cause for black grievances.

"The next step on the road to reconciliation and negotiation should be regarded as a priority by all participants in the debate surrounding a new South Africa, and these steps should be taken in haste," Mr Botha said.

More attention should be fixed on the positive outcome of the inevitable ultimate end of apartheid — the release of an enormous pent-up demand for housing, education and health services that would generate a dramatic expansion of economic activity.

ST-614/90

# Rescind land transfer, urges UDF

By Claire Robertson,  
Pretoria Bureau

The United Democratic Front yesterday called on President de Klerk to rescind a recent transfer of land to Bophuthatswana.

UDF general secretary Mr Popo Molefe said this week's transfer of land in the Rustenburg, Marico and Vryburg areas was disturbing as it included the transfer of control of the Derdepoort border post between South Africa and Botswana to Bophuthatswana.

He described this as an attempt to force Botswana to recognise Bophuthatswana as a sovereign state.

According to the Department of Home Affairs in Pretoria, South African citizens may still travel through the post, but aliens will have to report to the SA Embassy in Mmabatho or the SA border post, Willow Park, at Zeerust to gain entry.

Mr Molefe said the land move — and the apparent “urgency” requiring its proclamation in an extraordinary Government Gazette last Sunday — could have been “in order to dangle a carrot” to those bantustan leaders eager to be incorporated into South Africa to “maintain the system”.

The move “raises doubts that the National Party is not yet prepared to dismantle the pillars of apartheid and create a unified South Africa,” he said.

# Obstacles on road to peace

For quite some time I have debated with an astute Israeli analyst of divided societies the political prospects of our respective countries.

Invariably, he would end the discussion with the words: "Whatever you may say, the fact is that Israel's prospects for peace are much better than those of South Africa."

I eagerly awaited his response to the dramatic developments in recent months. In Israel the peace process, aimed at establishing an autonomous Palestinian entity on the West Bank and in Gaza, has ground to a halt after the collapse of the Shamir government.

In South Africa, by contrast, State President F W de Klerk has stunned the world by freeing up the political process, and declaring himself and his party willing to enter into serious negotiations with all organisations committed to a peaceful solution. Would my friend in the light of these developments be prepared to change his assessment?

Early this week I received a letter from him.

"The South African moves are certainly courageous, promising and overdue," he conceded, but then continued: "There is some justification for the envy some Israelis may feel. The indecisiveness and the eventual fall of the Israeli government have driven many compromising Israelis to despair and anger. Yet since the agenda in South Africa is how to make an undesirable and difficult marriage work while in Israel it is how to conduct a happy divorce through ceding the West Bank, Israel's future seems to me much brighter despite the temporary setbacks."

So who has the best chance — South Africa or Israel?

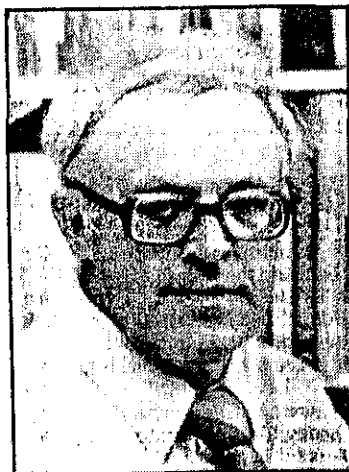
Three factors can be isolated as decisive in determining the chances of a settlement in a communal conflict. They are the role of external powers, the ability of the sides to come to an ideological re-definition of the conflict and the capacity of the antagonists to absorb unwelcome compromises.

As far as the external factor is concerned, it looks at a first glance as if the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is much more amenable to resolution than the South African one.

After all, Israel is for 15 percent of its GNP dependent on American and other foreign aid, and the Palestinian Liberation Organisation relies strongly on the goodwill and

**HERMANN GILLOMEE**, head of the Department of Political Studies at the University of Cape Town, analyses the factors that are seen as decisive in determining the chances of a settlement in communal conflicts such as exist in South Africa and Israel.

6/4/90  
**Professor Hermann Gilloomee** ... foreign intervention or meddling can lead to unhealthy externalisation of a political conflict.



good offices of various Arab states.

Why can't the US, along with Egypt, Jordan and Syria, not simply force the Israelis and Palestinians respectively to reach a settlement?

The point is that the internationalisation of a conflict, as has happened in the Middle East, can be very detrimental to its resolution.

Egypt, Syria and the US all want a different kind of settlement and have the ability to wreck the peace process. In the case of the US there is a further complicating factor in the enormously powerful Jewish lobby which severely constrains the Bush administration in putting pressure on Israel.

It is now clear that foreign intervention or meddling leads to a most unhealthy externalisation of the conflict. Instead of negotiating with each other on the basis of the internal power balance, the Palestinians and Israelis plead their respective cases to foreign powers and beg them to intervene on their behalf.

## Hope

In a profound study of Northern Ireland, Mr Frank Wright aptly commented that successful settlements only occur where the prospects for external intervention are so remote "that no one except a few maniacs hope for such external support to cancel the power of their internal opponents".

In South Africa the Government is prepared to talk to the ANC exactly because it concluded that it will get no further significant sup-

port from a foreign power, not even the Soviet Union.

It is the ANC which is now painfully learning that foreign pressure has been aimed at getting the parties to the negotiating table, not to force the Government to capitulate.

US Assistant Secretary of State Mr Hank Cohen has remarked: "We will criticise the first party to move away from negotiations." The ANC is now on its own and has to secure whatever its own internal strength can achieve.

For a communal settlement it is also necessary for the main antagonists to come to ideological terms with each other. In Israel there is no willingness at all among both Israelis and Palestinians to grow together into one people.

The only solution is partition, but at least half the Israeli electorate rejects giving up the West Bank because it considers Judea and Samaria as sacred land.

Not only the conservative Likud bloc but also many moderates refuse to forego the exclusivity of the Jewish moral and historical claim to Eretz Israel.

And then there is, of course, the two decades of remorseless PLO terrorism which makes it excruciatingly difficult for Israel to accept the bone fides of Arafat and the PLO in controlling an independent state right next to Israel.

In South Africa by contrast, major strides have been made in ideological re-definition. Both NP and ANC are now committed to an inclusive South African nation. Both

realise that blacks and whites cannot live without each other. The only disagreement — and it is a major one — is whether political power is to be shared or to be monopolised by the majority.

Despite this obstacle, South Africa's chances for peace seem to be marginally better than Israel's on this score.

Finally, there is the question of whether the major contenders have political organisations which could enable leaders to make compromises and sell them to their followers.

In Israel, leaders are hamstrung by a political system in which the major two party blocs paralyse each other and the minor parties have disproportionate influence. All this works against leaders taking major risks.

In South Africa, by contrast, the NP leadership has considerable leeway, as is evident from the fact that President de Klerk could decide on unbanning the ANC without first consulting the caucus.

## Transform

The major question in both the South African and Israeli cases is whether the main liberation organisation can transform itself into a negotiating partner which is prepared to compromise on its ultimate objectives in order to make short-term gains. Put differently, it is whether it is prepared to forego seizure of power and settle for incremental gains.

Neither the PLO nor the ANC appears ready for this. Neither seems to have erected any significant political and instrumental structures that could deal with constitutional as distinct from liberation politics.

What black South Africa does have, and what the Palestinians do not, is a vibrant civil society composed of the press, the arts, the churches and, above all, trade unions.

The internal black leaders may initially be more recalcitrant than those in exile, but ultimately a pact concluded with them has a better chance to stick (and be of at least a semi-democratic nature) than one concluded with an authoritarian liberation organisation such as the PLO or the ANC by itself.

These will be my arguments when I reply to my Israeli friend, but I doubt he will be persuaded.

# ANC dissidents detail accusations of torture

SA 6/490 (10A)

NAIROBI — Former Umkhonto we Sizwe fighters stranded in Kenya and desperate to return home have made claims of torture and shootings at the hands of the ANC in Angola after mutinies against the movement's leadership.

They said tortures inflicted on suspected spies and mutineers included beatings, the dropping of burning plastic on to the prisoners' skin and their forced enclosure in containers — a punishment known as "Kulukudo".

They also claimed that the crackdown on dissidents within the organisation was carried out by the movement's own security branch known as "Mbokodo" (crushing stone).

The group said their pleas for help had been ignored by the United Nations High Commission for Refugees. They had recently put their case to Archbishop Desmond Tutu during his visit to Nairobi, where the dissidents are living on the streets.

Amos Mazongo, Valdez Sibongile, Jacky Molefe, Ronnie Masango and Simler Molete said they had decided to tell their story after escaping from Tanzania to Kenya, where the UN High Commissioner for Refugees had refused to help them. They now want to be repatriated to South Africa.

Valdez Sibongile (28) said he fled from South Africa after being injured with birdshot during student unrest in the Port Elizabeth area 10 years ago.

## Torture

He now also bears scars of what he said was ANC torture when burning plastic was dripped on to his skin at an ANC camp for his being involved in the 1984 Umkhonto we Sizwe rebellion in Angola.

For his part in the mutiny he was sent to the notorious Quatro prison camp in Angola where he stayed until 1988, he said. From there he was taken to Dakawa camp in central Tanzania, from where he fled in January with the others.

Amos Maxongo said he also spent time at the Quatro camp.

"When you enter there you must just forget you are a human being," he said.

At Quatro, men lived in communal cells holding up to 15 people and chopped firewood

For many years there have been unconfirmed allegations of abuses at certain ANC camps in African countries. Now a group of former ANC fighters has claimed that guerillas were tortured and killed after a revolt against the movement's leadership. A special correspondent of The Star's Africa News Service reports.



Trained for war and nowhere to go ... Amos Maxongo (left) and Valdez Dibongile are two former ANC men who want to come home. They were trained in East Germany and the USSR.

or tree trunks that they fashioned in to dugout canoes for local sale. Twice each day they pushed a 1 200 litre water tank 3 km from a borehole to the prison, he said.

"That was the most feared job in the camp."

While speaking, Maxongo broke into a chant, which he said the prisoners were forced to use as they were lashed by the warders' sjamboks: "Stoot hom gelyk."

Maxongo said: "I wanted to go to school. The ANC has wasted almost 12 years of my time. The only training I got was military or this Marxism."

The defectors said troubles within the ANC started in 1981 when a South African spy ring within the movement was discovered. At the same time, they said, there was mounting unrest in MK camps in Angola because of poor conditions and the inability to carry out any meaningful fighting in South Africa.

A brutal crackdown was then launched by Mbokodo, led by the head of national security, Mswai Piliso, and the national commissar, Andrew Musondo, who had since been removed from his position.

Strict discipline had been enforced and cadres had been questioned for drinking illicit spirits or smoking daga. In interrogations, however, their own loyalty to the cause was questioned, they said.

Amos Mxongo said he had been arrested in March 1981, tortured and sentenced to three months' hard labour for malicious propaganda against the ANC leadership. Anybody suspected of being a South African spy was sent to Quatro camp, he said.

With discontent rising, Umkhonto had mobilised a brigade of up to 4 000 men to fight Unita on the eastern front in the Angolan province of Malange.

While the brigade had achieved early successes and had become feared among the Angolan rebels, who had referred to them as "bald-heads", morale had plummeted when the June 16 Unit, newly returned from training in East Germany, was massacred in a Unita ambush.

Towards late 1983, in Kalandula camp, the ANC fighters had refused to go back to the front.

In December 1983 a revolt had broken out in the Viana

camp, with the ANC troops demanding the resignation of the entire ANC leadership except for Oliver Tambo, Chris Hani, Joe Slovo and Moses Mabhidia.

The mutineers had been disarmed after Angolan troops had surrounded the camp. The rebellious ANC soldiers were sent to Quibaxe and Pango camps in northern Angola.

The defectors said at Pango some members had been tortured and had been kept in containers.

In May 1984, they said, a revolt had broken out in Pango itself. Two commissars, Willy Sithole and Zezile Bulgulwa, and a commander known as Maseko had been killed in the rebellion.

Valdez Sibongile said he had been arrested a few days after this rebellion, and said at least one man had died after the prisoners had been subjected to beatings and torture.

At least eight people had been summarily executed and buried in Pango, he said.

In 1988, 25 mutineers had been transported by aircraft to Lusaka and from there bussed across Zambia into Dakawa in central Tanzania near Morogoro, west of Dar Es Salaam.

At Dakwa, nine of the ex-mutineers had been elected on to a political committee, a decision that was overturned by the ANC leadership in Lusaka, they said.

## Arrested

They had then been told to move to Tanzanian refugee camps. After trying to cross into Malawi to reach South Africa, they had been arrested and told they would be taken to a refugee camp in Kigwa, where South Africans who had left the ANC and the PAC lived.

Ronnie Masango, a sophisticated young man who said he had been involved in student protests in 1980, said Kigwa would be no better than prison.

"You are given a plot from here to infinity and told you could plough and see how you make it. Instead of taking us there, let them take us to the prisons of South Africa."

The men fled to Kenya.

They said when the recently released ANC leader, Mr Walter Sisulu, had visited Tanzania in January, ANC dissidents had been imprisoned to prevent them from being seen.



6/4/90  
11A  
Date and venue agreed on — announcement is expected soon

# ANC, Govt talks 'back on track'

By Peter Fabricius  
Political Correspondent  
Cape Town

Talks between the ANC and the Government to clear the way for negotiations are "back on course" after a successful three-hour meeting between ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela and President de Klerk last night.

Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela announced at separate press conferences that the date and venue for the meeting had been agreed on and would be announced "fairly soon", simultaneously by the Government in Cape Town and by the ANC national executive committee in Lusaka.

It is understood the meeting will not take place before the end of next week. A steering committee will finalise practical details in the meantime.

Mr de Klerk also said the Government was considering appointing a judicial commission of inquiry into the police shooting of protesters at Sebokeng. The Cabinet would make a final decision at its next meeting.

Mr Mandela — who seemed to regard the inquiry as a *fait accompli* — welcomed the decision but said it was a pity the inquiry would be conducted by a white judge.

Mr Mandela said the meeting had been "pleasant, cordial and constructive" and that concessions had been made on both sides.

The date and venue for the meeting would be announced after the ANC national executive committee had been briefed.

Mr de Klerk said he had assured Mr Mandela that he had already given instructions for an in-depth investigation of the Sebokeng shooting.

## Go ahead

The judicial inquiry appears to be the ANC's final step for clearing the way for negotiations.



## Venda coup: FW gives assurance

Staff Reporters

The lawlessness of the recent coup in Ciskei would not be repeated in Venda, President de Klerk said last night.

He told a press conference only hours after yesterday's bloodless coup in Venda that the South African Government would give the small homeland in the northern Transvaal whatever assistance was needed to protect lives and property and maintain law and order.

The resignation of Venda President Mr Frank Ravele and his Cabinet was announced on Radio Thohoyandou shortly after 3 pm by Deputy Venda Defence Force chief Colonel Gabriel Ramushwana (48), who said he would be taking over leadership of the country.

No reasons were given for the president's resignation, and his fate is not known.

Colonel Ramushwana said the former Cabinet's "maladministration and incompetence of statesmanship had forced him to take over".

He declared a state of emergency and said there would be no work until Monday.

Shortly after his radio address, thousands of chanting people filled Thohoyandou's streets, dancing and singing their way to the government buildings where Colonel Ramushwana later spoke to a crowd of about 20 000.

Standing on top of a military vehicle, he said: "Today, you, the people of Venda, have witnessed the rebirth of Venda ..."

"Ravele's regime has ended, and I have dismissed the chief of the VDF, Brigadier P G Steenkamp.

"On Monday we will form a council for national unity, with me as chairman."

Colonel Ramushwana cautioned the crowd against being emotional and damaging property.

He said a press conference would be held at the government buildings at noon today.

First indications of dramatic new developments in the territory came on Tuesday when Lieutenant-General T R Mulaudzi, the Venda Commissioner of Police, who was known to be fiercely loyal to President Ravele, announced his resignation.

President Ravele's government had been under constant pressure since January amid widespread boycotts, work stayaways and unrest.

There had been allegations of cor-

● To Page 3.

COME AND SEE SOUTH AFRICA'S  
TOP SELLING AUTOMATIC  
POOL CLEANER IN ACTION

vincial commission on inquiry into the police shooting of protesters at Sebokeng. The Cabinet would make a final decision at its next meeting.

Mr Mandela — who seemed to regard the inquiry as a fait accompli — welcomed the decision but said it was a pity the inquiry would be conducted by a white judge.

Mr Mandela said the meeting had been "pleasant, cordial and constructive" and that concessions had been made on both sides.

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Mr de Klerk said he had assured Mr Mandela that he had already given instructions for an in-depth investigation of the Sebokeng shooting.

## Go ahead

The judicial inquiry appears to be the ANC's quid pro quo for agreeing to go ahead with the meeting, as the Sebokeng shooting was the reason the ANC gave for calling off the original meeting scheduled for April 11.

Mr de Klerk said that yesterday's talks — which began at 5:45 pm and ended at 8:45 pm — had focused on arrangements for the meeting, which would aim to remove perceived obstacles to negotiations. They had also discussed the occurrence of widespread violence.

He had clearly put the Government's view that negotiations could take place only in stable surroundings.

He said he had got the impression that there was a general agreement that the violence should end.

Mr Mandela said that a wide variety of strategies to deal with violence had been discussed.

Mr de Klerk said Mr Mandela had been critical of the police and he, Mr de Klerk, had been critical of what "some of his (Mr Mandela's) followers were doing".

Mr Mandela stuck to his opinion that Law and order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok was not sympathetic to black problems.

Mr de Klerk said that he expressed his disappointment about Mr Mandela's interference in Mr de Klerk's earlier meeting yesterday with homeland leaders and chairmen of Ministers' Councils.

This referred to the fact that Mr Mandela had asked Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse not to attend the meeting.

Only kwaZulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, QwaQwa leader Mr T K Mopeli, Mr Hendrickse and Solidarity leader Dr J N Reddy were present at the meeting.

Mr Mandela denied Government suggestions that he had intimidated any of the leaders.

He confirmed he had asked Mr Hendrickse not to attend and he said he had held meetings with kaNgwane leader Mr Enos Mabuza, Lebowa leader Mr Nelson Ramodike, Gazankulu leader Dr Hudson Nisanwisi, kwaNdebele leader Mr M J Mabena and a representative of QwaQwa.

He said the meetings had been re-

● See Page 3

## ANC, Government talks 'back on track'

● From Page 3  
Involvement in future meetings of the homeland leaders who failed to attend yesterday's meeting.

Mr de Klerk said some of the homeland leaders had not stayed away through choice. Some were under tremendous pressure and had been the prey of violent attacks.

"It is clear that there was ANC involvement and pressure was brought to bear in some way or another."

Judging by the joint statement the meeting never really got down to discussing negotiations — supposed to be the main

item on the agenda. Instead it discussed "the grave situation which had arisen as a result of the escalating cycle of violence and intimidation".

Mr Hendrickse said he had attended the meeting only to ask for it to be adjourned until the obstacle presenting the four homeland leaders from attending had been addressed.

This was the police shooting at Sebokeng — the same obstacle which the ANC had put forward for cancelling the planned April 11 meeting with the Government.

# Venda: Youths abuse new ruler

**THOHOYANDOU.** — Thousands of Venda youths packed the National Stadium here yesterday and shouted abuse at the new military ruler of the homeland.

The youths, numbering over 10 000, were part of a crowd estimated at 15 000 which gathered at the stadium to hear Colonel Gabriel Ramushwana at his first public engagement.

The youths, who were wearing ANC T-shirts, chanted "Voetsek, voetsek", "Away with Ramushwana" and "Viva ANC" as the colonel continued to read the speech that he had read the previous day announcing reasons for the coup.

The South African Defence Force has been present in the homeland for the past two weeks since Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha announced that the South African government would not stand by idly while the Venda government was being subjected to intimidation.

Troops of both the Venda Defence Force and the SADF are currently patrolling the homeland's urban streets.

At a press conference held before he was sworn in by the homeland's chief justice yesterday, Col Ramushwana said political organisations such as the ANC, PAC and Azapo were welcome to operate in Venda if they did not intimidate people to join their activities.

**THOHOYANDOU.** — Venda's new leader, Colonel Gabriel Muthelwana Ramushwana, is a former South African security policeman who at one time allegedly infiltrated the ANC in Lusaka.

Colonel Gabriel Ramushwana was born at Messina on July 1, 1941. He worked as a clerk at the Messina mines from 1962 to 1965.

He joined the South African Police in 1968 and transferred to the security branch the following year.

He joined the Venda National Force, which was a combined force of police, army, prisons and traffic departments, in 1978, a year before independence.

He became deputy chief of security police until he was transferred to the Venda Defence Force in 1985. He was promoted to colonel the same year and became Chief of Staff in 1985.

Marrried with four children, Colonel Ramushwana speaks 19 black languages as well as English and Afrikaans. During his service as a security policeman, he infiltrated the ANC in Lusaka until he was withdrawn by the police. — Sapa

He said Thursday's military takeover was not prompted by similar actions in other independent homelands.

Col Ramushwana said he was called back by "authorities" from

a military course in Pretoria to take over government. He said his former chief, Brigadier P G Steenkamp, was forced to resign and leave Venda because he was found to be working against the "ideals of the Venda people".

He said a new cabinet comprising people from a cross-section of people would be announced in two weeks' time. Until then, he was sole member of the council.

He said elections might be held in future if so demanded by the people of Venda. However, the council's immediate task was to restore stability and law and order.

The press conference, held at the offices of the deposed president, was attended by a representative of the South African embassy, Mr T L Steyn, in what was seen by many journalists as a show of acceptance by the South African government.

Meanwhile, the chairman of Ciskei's new Military Council of State, Brigadier "Oupa" John Gqozo, yesterday said in a statement that the circumstances surrounding the military takeover of Venda were only superficially similar to what happened in Ciskei recently.

Brig Gqozo wished the colonel "God's blessing, good fortune and the support of all in Venda".

Brig Gqozo took power in Ciskei in a coup in March this year, ousting President Lennox Sebe from power. — Sapa

# SA Jews 'against US anti-Mandela plans'

11R  
CAM TMS 7/4/90  
Staff Reporter

THE South African Jewish community disapproved of plans by a New York-based Jewish organisation to stage demonstrations against Mr Nelson Mandela if he visited the United States, Democratic Party MP Mr Harry Schwarz, who is also on the Jewish Board of Deputies, said yesterday.

Mr Schwarz was reacting to reports that Mr Mordechai Levi, of the Jewish Defence League in New York, said the league would protest against Mr Mandela to draw attention to anti-Semitism in South Africa.

Mr Schwarz said he was once confronted in Chicago by a "very belligerent" Mr Levi and armed guards, who wrongly accused him of being responsible for their having been barred from South Africa.

Mr Schwarz said the Jewish Defence League was a "fringe organisation" and not part of established Jewish organisations.

Mr Mandela was criticised by South African Jewish leaders after he was recently photographed embracing Palestine Liberation Organisation leader Mr Yasser Arafat at a meeting in Zambia.

# Mineworkers' leader speaks out ...

# Year of peace, justice for Num

Sumner  
2/4/90  
11A

## FOCUS

WE start the last decade of the 20th century with South Africa deeply immersed in a political and economic crisis unknown since the white supremacists came to power in 1948.

The current crisis is a culmination of economic mismanagement by the apartheid rulers for more than 40 years.

Soon after coming to power, the Nats used the apartheid state to regulate the economy in such a way that the nascent Afrikaner capitalists could grow and develop.

The apartheid state became an indispensable tool of repression to keep the black labour force in captivity while nationalisation of strategic industries facilitated economic growth and capital accumulation.

### Affluence

While white South Africa was basking in the sun of affluence, the black majority were impoverished.

The wealth of the country was squandered in pursuance of the unworkable policy of apartheid that resulted with the balkanisation of SA into nine barren pieces of land called bantustans.

It was not long before the Indians and coloureds were given another costly puppet political structure called the tricameral parliament.

As a rule, this apartheid policy had to be implemented and maintained through the use of brute force against its victims - the black people.

It was not long before the myth of white supremacy was exposed as the restive masses of the oppressed intensified an all-round offensive against the regime.

The regime suffered serious setbacks as its tentacles of

In this article, National Union of Mineworkers general secretary **CYRIL RAMAPHOSA** speaks on the challenges facing mineworkers this year: repression; nationalisation; apartheid and the Chamber of Mines' attitude towards mineworkers.

destabilisation in Southern Africa were severed through revolutionary violence.

International isolation, sanctions and trade boycotts hastened the process of choking the regime to economic ruin.

As the mass upsurge reached uncontrollable proportions the enemy's repressive machinery ground to a halt.

The national state of emergency has failed to dampen the fighting spirit of the oppressed.

Internationally, the new wave of perestroika (restructuring) and glasnot (openness) opened the way for the establishment of world peace.

The oppressed people scored a resounding victory as the regime was forced to release Nelson Mandela, and other leaders after 27 years of imprisonment.

The ANC, the South African Communist Party and other organisations were unbanned.

These victories are won while the ruling white bloc is experiencing irreparable cracks.

### Strategy

The ruling National Party under De Klerk has no political strategy to resolve the current crisis.

On the other hand, the liberation movement under the leadership of the ANC is gaining moral ascendancy.

It is against this background that the Num has to situate itself in order to map out the way forward.

Since its foundation almost 100 years ago, the mining industry has played a pivotal role in shaping the political and economic structure of South African society.

Under the Chamber of Mines, a few mining houses formed an economic empire to facilitate ex-

traction of the country's mineral wealth for the enrichment of a tiny white minority.

This massive accumulation of wealth has been at the expense of its creators - black mineworkers.

Uprooted from their rural areas they were herded into prison-like structures called compounds and hostels.

Over half a million black mineworkers from all over Southern Africa spend the better part of their working lives in these structures which are unfit for human habitation.

### Harsh

The mine bosses flagrantly violate internationally accepted worker rights as embodied in the International Labour Organisation convention.

The harsh reality of the mining industry is that mineworkers are denied the right to draw up their constitutions and rules, to elect their representatives in full freedom, to organise their administration and activities and to formulate their programme.

We are facing formidable enemies in the Chamber of Mines and the apartheid State.

Real economic power is wielded by a handful of monopolists like Anglo American, Sanlam, SA Mutual and Rembrandt.

These four companies alone control about 80 percent of all shares on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange with Anglo alone controlling 55 percent.

It is our unshakable belief and conviction that transference of the ownership of monopoly industries and mines to the common people as a whole is an indispensable condition for the establishment of genuine democracy.

If the conditions of life of mineworkers were to be significantly improved it can only be

on the basis of having a people's democratic state serving as custodian of the people's wealth.

The diggers of gold, coal and diamonds and other minerals must have a say as to how the products of their labour are to be distributed.

### Appeals

If ever there is any cardinal clause in the Freedom Charter that appeals to us most, it is: *The people shall share in the country's wealth.*

With the adoption of the Freedom Charter by our congress in 1987, we consciously took a political step towards our freedom from national oppression and exploitation.

The ANC, in alliance with the SACP, as the leader of the liberation struggle enjoys our unqualified support.

We were inspired by the noble ideas of freedom as embodied in this alliance when we honoured Comrade Nelson Mandela, deputy president of the ANC, as our life president.

As the new non-racial democratic South Africa unfolds, we call on all white miners to sever their relationship with the apartheid regime and its policies and join Num.

Our immediate objective remains that of ending repression on the mines.

This objective has to be realised in line with resolutions adopted in the congresses of Cosatu and Num including those adopted at the Conference for a Democratic Future.

The defeat of apartheid colonialism by the entire oppressed under the leadership of the working class remains our strategic objective.

The transference of political power from the white minority to the people remains the only option that can pave the way for an end to national oppression and exploitation.

\* To Page 7

11A

## Special focus

Weekend Argus Africa News Service

JOHANNESBURG. — Thirty years ago tomorrow the African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress were banned by a Nationalist government in the wake of the Sharpeville shooting and subsequent imposition of a state of emergency.

In the years following the banning, thousands of members of both organisations fled the country to set up "liberation" organisations in exile. And 30 years later those same men and women are preparing to return home.

● On Monday a three-part series will start in The Argus on "The Exiles".

During the 30 years in exile the ANC has grown from a few hunted men dependent on the charity of others for their food and shelter to the 20 000 men, women and children with an annual budget of hundreds of millions of rands.

The series in The Argus will record the creation and growth of the ANC in exile as seen through the eyes of the people who made the history.

CMR Tint's  
7/14/90

# PAC attacks ANC on talks

NEGOTIATIONS now implied a sell-out, Mr Barney Desai, Western Cape co-ordinator of the Pan Africanist Congress, said at Mitchells Plain yesterday.

At a function to open a branch of the PAC in Mitchells Plain, Mr Desai launched a stinging attack on the African National Congress and said the PAC had to warn the oppressed masses that the smell of appeasement and sell-out was thick in the air.

"Negotiations now is selling out. What you have won in battle you will never gain on the negotiating table. At this moment the cards are stacked against us."

The speculation that the ANC was seeking a ruling alliance with the Nationalist Party was perhaps not so far-fetched at all.

### "Positive action"

"Today it may be qualified support for stopping the killings and controlling anarchy, but what of tomorrow when mass action takes place based on genuine discontent at the way we are misgoverned?"

Speaking at the same meeting, PAC internal leader Mr Zeph Mothopeng said the PAC would soon take "positive action" but he was not prepared to reveal details yet.

"We must free ourselves, we must get back our land and we are not going to tell anyone what we are going to do with it. We must have it back first before we decide how to handle the situation."

Internal general secretary Mr Bennie Alexander claimed the ANC was losing members to the PAC rapidly.

**LONDON.** — More than 1 000 journalists wanting to cover the Nelson Mandela pop concert here on Easter Monday have been told by organisers that their press passes will cost them about R430 each.

The £100 fee was to cover "self-financing" press facilities, including the erection of a marquee tent, refreshments and information kits, a spokesman for the public relations company hired by the Nelson Mandela International Reception Committee said yesterday.

Journalists wanting telephones to file reports faced extra costs as private arrangements would have to be made with British Telecommunications.

Queries to the public relations company and organisers were met with a blunt response: "Either pay up or you won't be allowed in."

An alternative for journalists on a tight budget was to try to get hold of one of the 70 000 R80 tickets sold out to ordinary members of the public last month and to mingle with the crowd without access to any press facilities.

The four-hour concert, in which a phalanx of internationally known musicians will pay tribute to the ANC deputy president, and Mr Mandela's speech are to be transmitted live via satellite to an estimated one billion people around the globe.

# Journalists to pay to cover Mandela concert

Transmissions to South Africa have been banned in terms of the cultural boycott against the country, in spite of attempts last week by the SABC to buy rights to the show.

A number of journalists in London, including those representing South African media, expressed outrage at the concept of having to pay organisers to be able to hear Mr Mandela's speech and report on it at first hand.

There was a clear political thrust to the whole concert and this presented problems when it came to the ethics of striving for objective reporting.

Half the profits from the multi-million-rand concert are to go to the British Anti-Apartheid Movement, with the remainder to be divided equally among a number of other associated organisations and charities.

A spokesman for the organisers insisted that the £100 each journalist had to pay was only to cover the high cost of providing press facilities.

The special tent to be provided for the press cost £11 000 (about R47 300) alone, it was understood.

The spokesman said none of the journalists' money would go into the coffers of the AAM or the African National Congress.

"This is not a profit-making thing. It is not a money-spinner and it is in fact highly unlikely we will break even."

The pop stars taking part had agreed to do so without charge, with many of them breaking into busy schedules at short notice, but their expenses had to be met and in many cases these were very high. — Sapa



# ANC TO LAY DOWN

By FRANS ESTERHUYSE  
Weekend Argus Political Correspondent  
THE African National Congress appears to be on the brink of abandoning the "armed struggle" and renouncing violence.

This emerged today as it was announced that a date had been set for the revival of the postponed April 11 talks between the ANC and the government. Three days, May 2 to May 4, had been set aside for the first stage in the historic "talks about talks".

The talks were announced simultaneously by the ANC in Lusaka and Tuynhuys in Cape Town today.

The abandoning of the armed struggle and renouncing of violence would be a major breakthrough in the peace process and could mean a giant forward leap in attempts to get constitutional negotiations off the ground.

An indication of changed thinking on the armed struggle was given by United Democratic Front national publicity secretary Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota in an interview with Weekend Argus today.

Mr Lekota, who has been appointed as the ANC's convener for the key Southern Natal region while still holding his UDF position, is attending the UDF's workshop at the University of the Western Cape.

The workshop, in closed session, was addressed yesterday by ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, who was given a tumultuous welcome.

Mr Lekota said: "As we understand it, the ANC seeks a political solution because the armed struggle is not a principle, but a tactic one that was imposed by historical conditions."

"Now that such conditions appear to be clearing off, it is only proper that political tactics should be brought into play. After all, armed struggle is conducted with precious lives."

Mr Lekota said his reading of the situation was that once the ANC was satisfied that the government was "irreversibly committed" to negotiating a settlement, the ANC would not hesitate to abandon armed tactics.

Mr Mandela, in his address yesterday, had told the workshop the ANC hoped to build into a broad front all anti-apartheid forces prior to the negotiating process.

## Key issues

He had also called on the UDF to do everything in its power to facilitate the formation of such a broad front.

Key issues discussed at the workshop included the future role of the UDF.

The feeling was that the UDF would have to forego the role of national leadership which it had been playing so far.

Mr Lekota said the setting up of the ANC throughout the country was "a matter of great urgency" because there was a need to prepare the people on the ground "to respond meaningfully to matters like negotiations with the government."

Local ANC formations were needed so that the movement could consult local communities.

**'Conditions are <sup>11A</sup> changing ... the armed struggle plays with lives'**

*W/E ARGUS 7/4/90*



"Terror" Lekota



Nelson Mandela



President FW de Klerk

Mr Lekota said the UDF rejected criticism from the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) that the ANC's decision to negotiate with the government amounted to a "sell-out".

"Many of the struggles we know of have culminated in negotiations," Mr Lekota said. As examples he cited Zimbabwe, Ghana, Vietnam and Namibia.

## Clearing obstacles

David Breier of Weekend Argus Political Staff reports that the May talks replace those "suspended" by the ANC in protest against the police shootings in Sebokeng.

The talks were revived after Mr Mandela met Mr De Klerk in Cape Town this week and will deal with clearing obstacles to negotiation.

The government believes the ANC's adherence to the armed struggle is an obstacle. The ANC believes that the state of emergency must be fully lifted and all political prisoners be released, political trials ended and exiles be allowed to return before negotiations can begin.

# ARMS

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# Strong nerves needed to reach peace

Political analysts foresee a bumpy road ahead for the peace process. They have emphasised the urgency of getting constitutional negotiations off the ground — if serious tensions, especially in black communities, are to be defused. Weekend Argus Political Correspondent RANS ESTERHUYSE looks at the difficulties that strew the path ahead ...

**S**TRONG nerves and cool heads are going to be needed on all sides if the peace process is to be kept moving forward.

Both President F W de Klerk and Nelson Mandela showed this week that they had these qualities when they brought full-scale talks between the government and the African National Congress back on track after the first major hitch.

Despite gloom and dismay among many South Africans after this week's hiccups in the peace process, people close to the latest developments remain optimistic about prospects for negotiations, saying they see signs that the real bargaining process has begun.

This reading of events was borne out by the tone and content of the talks which agreement was reached on going

The dates and venue for the talks between

announced simultaneously in Cape Town and Durban after the ANC's national executive committee has discussed final arrangements.

However, political analysts foresee a bumpy road ahead for the peace process and the possibility of more hitches. At the same time they have emphasised the urgency of getting constitutional negotiations off the ground — and producing early results — if serious tensions, especially in black communities, are to be defused. One thing seems clear: black society is in the throes of political realignment which includes bridging the gaps left by years of bannings and other security methods of enforcing apartheid.

It is a daunting scenario, for it clearly extends beyond the real divisions exploited and the artificial divisions created in the name of an ideology, the basic purpose of which always has been to maintain white control over white South Africa.

The bloody battles in Natal, the unrest in the Transvaal, the rivalries between the likes of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the ANC, the mass demonstrations in some areas, trade union action — in some way all these might have their roots in black society's struggle to come to terms with its sudden change of status. It is a battle for ascendancy which seems to reach deeply into the ANC itself, with different factions at loggerheads over tactics. There are those, including Mr Mandela, who are more inclined to talk negotiation; there are others, it seems, who favour conflict as a means of forcing the government's hand.

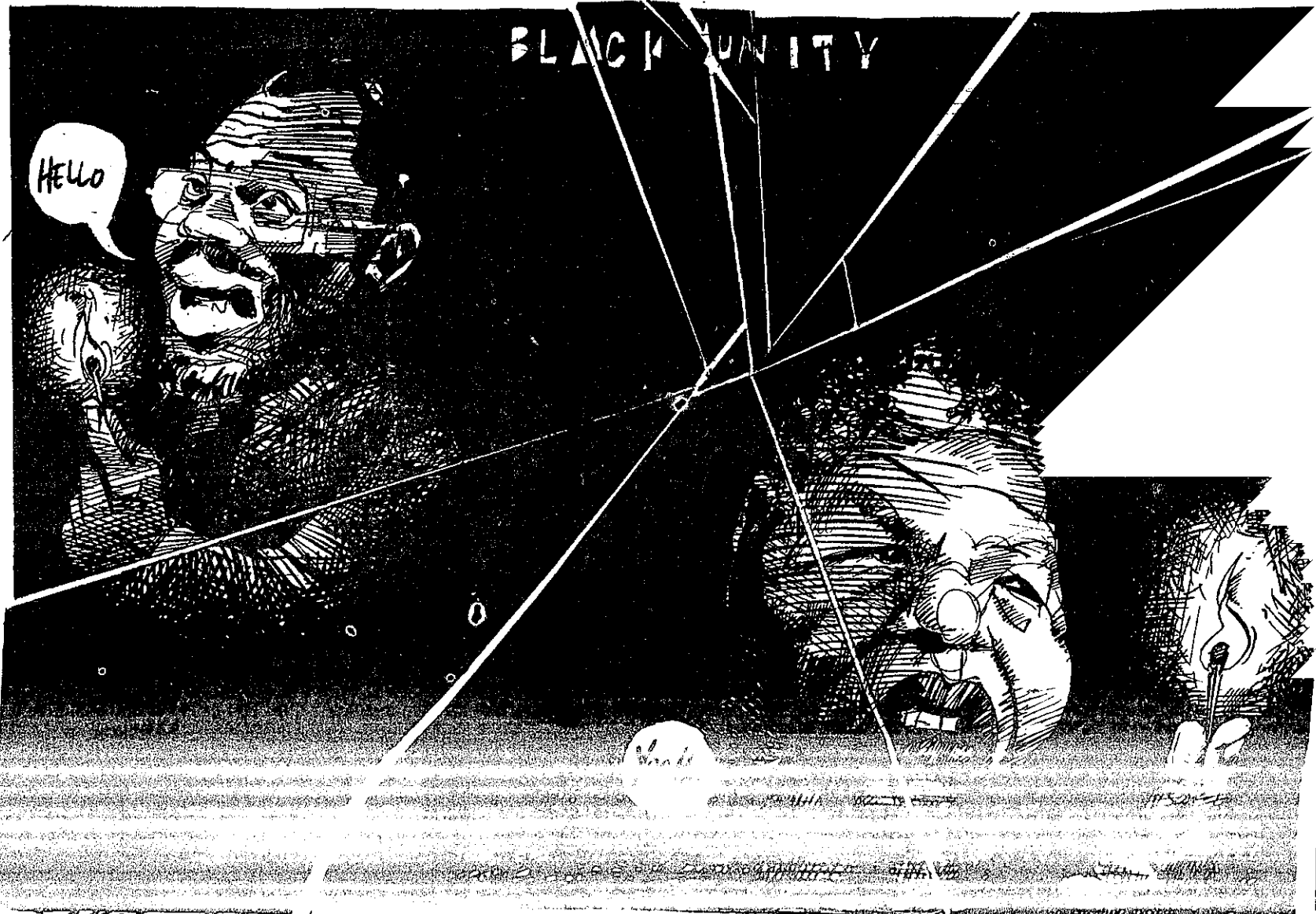
What is happening on the emerging black political front seems far more complex than the popular theory that Mr Mandela's peace efforts are being hampered by divisions and power struggles inside the ANC.

THE withdrawals by black leaders from planned talks with the government may not be as simple as that and could have another — more significant — meaning.

More optimistic observers see the violence helping the country as a sudden release of pent-up emotions which could subside once all sides get their acts together.

More bumps and more hitches are expected in the stop-start process. But a promising sign is that on all sides the desire to talk rather than fight seems to persist among most political leaders.

The ANC and its associates have had little time to prepare themselves for formal negotiations and are still putting their act together. Part of the negotiation stand and the strategy they need to formulate, their preparations



**Dr Ian Phillips, Natal political scientist, has studied developments within the ANC.**

also require the widest possible measure of unity on their side.

As KaNgwane Chief Minister Mr Enos Mabuza told Weekend Argus in an interview this week: "The ANC has been banned for decades, with their leaders in jail. They have been a leaderless people. How can they be expected to have their leadership and political structures in place within two months?"

He emphasised that there was a great urgency in getting talks off the ground.

Mr Mabuza is among the non-independent homeland leaders who have denied emphatically that they were pressured or intimidated into withdrawing from their scheduled talks with the State President this week.

Natal political scientist Dr Ian Phillips, who has made a close study of developments in the ANC, thinks there are important and noteworthy aspects of the ANC's move to pull out initially from the planned April 11 talks.

He believes the move could be seen as a strong signal to Pretoria — a signal sent at a time when everyone is asking whether the ANC is in control of its own people.

By withdrawing in protest against the Sebokeng shootings, the ANC seemed to be asking Mr De Klerk whether his government was in



**Professor H W van der Merwe, director of the Centre for Intergroup Studies at UCT.**

control. Did he have the security forces, particularly the police, under his thumb? Or was the negotiation process being sabotaged by elements in the police?

By implication the ANC was asking: "What is going on in your camp? You talk peace, but we see violence on the ground."

**T**O this an evidently cool-headed Mr De Klerk responded on Thursday by announcing that the government was considering appointing a judicial commission of inquiry into last week's Sebokeng shootings. In addition, legislation had been introduced enabling inquests in such cases to be carried out by judges.

Dr Phillips said the argument put forward earlier by the government and others that the Sebokeng shootings were no valid excuse for suspending the April 11 talks could be appreciated. However, these observers were underestimating the degree of anger such incidents provoked in the black community.

Sebokeng could not be ignored. The "internal combustion" which the shootings had set off in townships inevitably affected the ANC itself; hence the angry reaction from that organisation.

Professor H W van der Merwe, director of

the Centre for Intergroup Studies at the University of Cape Town, does not think too much importance should be attached to the initial withdrawal from talks by the ANC and others. He sees this as being part of bargaining procedures.

The ANC, he said, was caught unawares by Mr De Klerk's February 2 announcements. The organisation had not yet formulated its stand for negotiations and was apparently still in the process of doing so.

As in the case of the National Party, there were differences of opinion within the ANC and it was getting its act together.

After much uncertainty on its part, the government had got its act together by February 2, but the "the ANC has not yet reached its February 2", Professor Van der Merwe said.

What was important was that a strong momentum had built up for negotiations and for the concept of majority government. The momentum was so strong that negotiations would have to begin this year and as early as next year some results would have to be shown.

If no results — like new political structures or even majority rule — emerged at an early stage the country could be in trouble. Enormous pressures and frustrations would build up and this could lead to more violence, Professor Van der Merwe said.

It was important, therefore, that there should be no heel-dragging on any side and that negotiations should produce early results.

**P**ROFESSOR Van der Merwe said he had always been opposed to economic boycotts, but if international sanctions had to be applied this should be done to all parties involved in negotiations. The ultimate goal was peace and none of the parties should drag its feet.

Whatever the further outcome of this week's events, an immediate challenge now facing all political leaders seems to be the task of seeking an end to violence so negotiations can begin in a peaceful climate.

Professor Van der Merwe believes the ANC — like the government — can do much to curb violence, but neither the ANC nor any government can be expected to have complete control over violent elements.

From all this it now seems the immediate prospect is that it could take a while for black society to sort itself out before the even tougher task is tackled of bridging the vast black-white gap which is the most fearsome product of years of racism and apartheid.

## BOOKS

# Mandela's family album fills a gap in history

THE return to visibility of the world's best-known prisoner has launched an industry of T-shirts, paintings, badges and artifacts which carry the face and the words of a man kept from his public for over 27 years.

And an already formidable list of publishers have got their presses rolling to produce Mandela books, so far all of them positive.

From August 1962 until February this year the words and pictures of Nelson Mandela were, with few exceptions, forbidden territory.

Penguin's book of Alf Khumalo photographs and Es'kia Mphahlele's text is the latest offering which goes some way to redressing the historical gap.

The 160-page picture-story might be described as the photographic equivalent to poetic praise-singing — which is not at all a negative comment.

It spans three periods of Mandela's life.

The first 40 pages cover the period from the late 1950s until the Rivonia trial, and are dominated by photographs of Nelson himself.

From then on until the time of the releases of Sisulu and Mandela, the pictures are primarily of Winnie, but also include shots of Steve Biko, Marcellino dos Santos, Robert Sobukwe and others.

The last 40 pages cover the period since October 1989 when the Sisulu Seven were released.

Kumalo and Mphahlele were around throughout, and they have done well in being the first off the mark with this portfolio.

Particularly interesting are the early pictures: a carpeted wall with two large photographs of the one-time paramount chief of the Tembus, Chief Jongintaba, who raised Mandela, below a smaller photograph of a 24-year-old Mandela, taken in 1942; Albertina Sisulu and Winnie Mandela together in tribal dress 31 years ago; Mandela, Ruth First and others celebrating their Treason Trial acquittal; defence advocate Issy Maisels being carried on trialists' shoulders after their victory; black-haired advocate Joe Slovo savouring the legal victory in the company of the then-beefy attorney-cum-Black Pimpernel.

The intervening period, given the absence of the subject, is bleaker photographically, but still historically interesting.

Mandela's second son Makgatho is seen reading a book on black nationalism and bearing a striking resemblance to the 1942 picture of his dad; Winnie is shown being visited at her home by Transkei "homeland" leader Kaiser Matanzima; the family dog Kruschev peers mournfully through a hole in the fence "guarding the family home while Mandela was in prison"; Oliver Tambo walks past the coffins

**MANDELA — Echoes of an Era. Photographs by Alf Kumalo; text by Es'kia Mphahlele (Penguin, R49.99)**

of victims of the 1983 SADF raid on Lesotho; five smiling members of the ANC National Executive Committee celebrate the end of their Kabwe conference five years ago.

The photographs from the recent period are more familiar, but several cast a new light on the ANC leader.

Mandela in a T-shirt playing with his niece; Archbishop Tutu in a T-shirt enjoying a joke

with Mandela; the Mandelas visiting PAC leader Zeph Mothopeng.

While most of the photographs are excellent, their reproduction by Penguin is generally poor, with many being printed too light.

There is only one picture of Mandela's first wife Evalina, and perhaps there are too many of his second, Winnie (35 in all).

Kumalo also might have resisted the temptation of including three pictures of himself.

Mphahlele's text covers the key events of the book's 35-year history, but its quality is mixed — here moving, there awkward.

It does not always flow and contains several factual errors.

Demitri Tsafendas, for example, would be surprised to find himself described as an "immigrant cleaner", as would PW Botha on discovering that it was BJ Vorster who entrusted him the job of formulating the tri-cameral constitution.

The book also includes the full text of Mandela's release speech delivered in Cape Town.

At a reasonable price by today's standard, this is a family album which deserves a place in the bookshelves of South Africans with an interest in posterity, history and the largely hidden past which has moulded the volatile present and the uncertain future.

Gavin Evans

# Mandela guest at UDF meeting

Cape Times 7/4/90  
Staff Reporter

11A

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela was the guest speaker at a major UDF workshop which began yesterday at the University of the Western Cape.

Regional representatives from all over the country were present at the meeting, which was attended by about 300 Mass Democratic Movement activists.

A full UDF national general council meeting had originally been planned for this weekend, but the event had been scaled down "because of the uncertainty of the time ahead", regional UDF and ANC executive member Mr Trevor Manuel said.

It is understood that the relationship between the UDF, its constituent organisations and the ANC is to be discussed at the weekend.

Sources close to the UDF said yesterday that it was likely that the ANC would spend a lot of time consulting with the UDF this weekend in advance of its talks about talks with the government.

The press were not allowed at the event.

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7/4/90

# Spy scandal: Row over Tutu, ANC cash

Weekend Argus Correspondents

JOHANNESBURG. — A claim in a top secret Johannesburg City Hall spy dossier that Archbishop Desmond Tutu illegally channelled money to bank accounts of the African National Congress in Libya and the United States has blown up into a major political rumpus.

Last night a shocked Archbishop Tutu and the ANC expressed outrage that such an allegation was made by the city council's intelligence section — in a document marked "Uiters Geheim" (Top Secret) and passed on to the security police and military intelligence.

Archbishop Tutu said this was how people — including himself — became the target of death squads.

Both the ANC and Archbishop Tutu dismissed the spy report as ridiculous.

The council document said money for the ANC was raised from the proceeds of public performances and sales of records made by church groups singing Gospel music.

"What is frightening about this is that it is on the basis of such errant nonsense that people have been placed on hit squad death lists, people have been detained and people have been banned," Archbishop Tutu said.

"Whilst it is so ridiculous that even a moron should be able to see that there is no credibility in such information, it speaks volumes for the state of our country.

"How many people have suffered as a result of reports of this calibre?"

It has been disclosed that council spy reports were routinely sent to the police and the military.

The Defence Force unit, the Civil Co-operation Bureau, had on its death list several people who

featured in the city council's spy reports.

Bishop Tutu was one of them.

The council document was compiled by Mr P Assenmacher, formerly section head of the intelligence division.

It was based on information given to him by a spy whose name appeared in the document and who was connected with the "Roma Church".

The report said proceeds from Gospel music performances and the sale of records were channelled to the ANC. The funds, according to the document, were sent to Bishop Tutu and then channelled into unspecified ANC bank accounts in the United States and Libya.

The document said the spy could not be sure which singing groups were involved, but the informant, according to Mr Assenmacher, may have known more than he was disclosing.

Mr Assenmacher then recommended that it might be worthwhile to further question the spy on his knowledge of the alleged ANC bank accounts.

Mr Assenmacher's report, dated September 6 1988, and entitled "Channelling of Funds to the ANC via the SA Council of Churches", was sent to his superiors. At the time, they included Mr John Pearce, chief director of public safety, Brigadier Jan Visser, director of security, and Mr FJ "Frik" Barnard, then chief professional officer, administration, in the security department.

The informer's code number was 1/JHB6 and his classification was noted as B2. The report was number JH2/3.

Speaking from Lusaka, ANC information officer Mr Tom Sebina said: "We have never had any relationship with the Gospel singers. Whatever money was generated from their records or musical shows had nothing to do with the ANC."



# Mandela asked FW to

By Frans Esterhuyse

W/E 11/6 11/11/90

## Natal

**Weekend Argus Political Correspondent ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela has invited President F W De Klerk to tour the Natal war region with him.**

Mr De Klerk seemed to be willing, but wanted Buthelezi in such a tour. Mr Mangosuthu the grounds that the atmosphere in the area was not suitable.

### UDF workshop

This emerged today from a major workshop of the United Democratic Front at the University of Western Cape. The discussions are being attended by UDF representatives from all over the country.

UDF national publicity secretary Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota said in an interview that Mr Mandela, who addressed the workshop as guest speaker yesterday, had referred to his invitation to Mr De Klerk at this week's talks with the State President.

Mr Lekota said when Mr Mandela declined the inclusion of Dr Buthelezi in the proposed tour, the ANC deputy president made an alternative suggestion that President De Klerk could have a separate tour with Chief Buthelezi.

The outcome of the matter, according to Mr Lekota, was that Mr De Klerk gave an indication he would consider the invitation.

A spokesman for the State President could not be reached for comment.

### Baby shot dead

● Meanwhile, Sapa reports that 20 people, including a baby and a small child, were reported killed in unrest-related incidents across South Africa today.

Nineteen of the deaths occurred in strife-torn Natal.

In unrest incidents in the Mapumalanga area in the past 24 hours, a further nine people were killed, one a baby.

In a tragic incident at Kokosi, near Fochville, a woman was injured and the child she was carrying killed when police opened fire with shotguns on a group of people allegedly throwing stones and petrol bombs at a police vehicle. A policeman was injured when a stone hit him in the face. The police report described the incident as "regrettable".

# War flares up

CAA Tin F 7/4/90

Own Correspondent

**MARITZBURG.** — Warfare erupted again here yesterday with fighting heaviest at Mpumulanga, where police withdrew all ordinary patrols and used only armoured vehicles to enter the township.

One policeman was killed and three were wounded in attacks on security forces at Mpumulanga, between Maritzburg and Durban, when police came under heavy fire by armed groups, some with automatic weapons, on Thursday night.

Many police vehicles were damaged by attackers and on Wednesday four policemen were injured and an off-duty policeman was killed.

Police spokesman Major Pieter Kitching said the situation had become so dangerous that police had been forced to use armoured vehicles only.

An uneasy calm had prevailed in the townships in the Edendale Valley since last weekend, with only sporadic incidents of violence reported in Imbali. Five more people were killed in Imbali, according to yesterday's police unrest report.

At least eight people have died in Mpumulanga since fighting first broke out there on Wednesday. Six people — two women and four men — were killed on Thursday and at least 70 homes set alight and burned.

This brings the total number of people killed since Wednesday to at least 14.

## Work stayaway

Armed opposition groups were reported to be roaming the township and there were incidents of shooting, stoning, burning and looting as the groups clashed.

Major Kitching defended security forces in Mpumulanga against accusations that they have been taking sides in the conflict.

Cosatu has called a work stayaway in the area on Monday in protest against police action.

Apparently residents of the troubled Maritzburg area who were exhausted by conflict approached Cosatu in an attempt to bring the fighting to an end.

Major Kitching said that when groups "from either side" agreed to withdraw they were escorted out of the area by police.

This at times gave a false impression to "defending" parties that police were aligning themselves with the attackers and resulted in attacks being launched on the police patrols who were then forced to retaliate in self-defence.

# Inkatha under fire

CAA Tin F 7/4/90



CRITICISED ... Chief Buthelezi

LONDON. — It was doubtful that "progressive forces" would ever talk to KwaZulu Chief Minister Chief Mangosutho Buthelezi, Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa) leader Chief Mhlabunzma Maphumulo said here yesterday.

He was speaking at a press conference en route back to South Africa after presenting a Contralesa-appointed commission of inquiry's interim report on the escalating violence in Natal to the International Commission of Jurists in Geneva.

The report, which firmly places responsibility for the continuing violence on Inkatha, was funded by the SA Council of Churches and was independently drawn up by Durban advocate Mr R S Doug-

las on the basis of about 100 witnesses.

Inkatha refused to participate in the commission's work, on the grounds that it was being sponsored by its political opponents.

Chief Maphumulo's visit to Geneva was sponsored by the World Council of Churches, the World Alliance of Reform Churches and the Lutheran World Federation.

He said Chief Buthelezi was only the head of one of many clans which made up the Zulu tribe in Natal and consisted of about 50 000 people.

"He is not the leader of all the Zulus, only of the Buthelezi clan and of the apartheid-created KwaZulu, which does not have the support or the mandate of the majority."

Chief Maphumulo, himself a former member of the KwaZulu legislature, said Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini was under the control of Chief Buthelezi, as the homeland government supported the monarch financially.

Asked about the prospect of the ANC-aligned Contralesa negotiating with Chief Buthelezi to obtain peace in Natal, Chief Maphumulo said: "I think the chances are very slim. If he was an ordinary leader it might be possible, but he has an army, police force and vigilantes to back him."

"I doubt whether the progressive forces will ever talk to him."

He said the only way of resolving the crisis was through the

To page 2

French leader to meet FW on May 4?



PARIS. — President Francois Mitterrand will meet South African President F W de Klerk here next month, the French leader's first meeting with a South African head of state, a state radio network reported yesterday.

Nuptial dummy catches press

STAFF REPORTER  
CONTROVERSIAL Springbok rugby centre Michael du Plessis reportedly married his fashion designer sweetheart, Ms Brenda Geere, yesterday in Paarl — and

ROMETS

SENSATIONAL EASTER OFFER

ONE MONTH FREE

From page 1

abolition of the KwaZulu government, which he described as an "apartheid structure".

Turning to the origins of the conflict, he said it could be traced back to a "programme of action embarked on by the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, Inkatha and some big businessmen in Natal for the creation of a semi-autonomous government to administer the province of Natal known as the Natal/KwaZulu Indaba".

He said in response to a government suggestion of a referendum in Natal: "Chief Buthelezi embarked on a recruitment drive, initially in the Maritzburg region.

"During the recruitment drive, unconventional tactics, like intimidation and duress, were employed."

The conflict soon escalated into violent clashes, which in the past five years had reached "civil war proportions".

Chief Maphumulo said Contralesa welcomed the decision on Thursday by President F W de Klerk to appoint a judicial commission of inquiry into the shootings at Sebokeng last month, but asked why a similar one was not appointed to investigate the situation in Natal, where thousands of people had been killed.

He added that it was intended to present the Douglas commission's final report, due in about June after evidence from Inkatha members including hopefully Chief Buthelezi, to Mr De Klerk as well as governments in Europe and Africa. — Sapa and Own Correspondent

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# Talking on a tightrope

ANC hardliners have a vested interest in delaying talks with Govt

PATRICK LAURENCE

WITH the energy and stamina of a much younger man, Mr Nelson Mandela, has — with the help of the seemingly imperious President de Klerk — put a negotiated settlement firmly back on the agenda.

Close examination of events, however, provides strong circumstantial evidence that the septuagenarian ANC leader had to deal with, at the least, an attempt by a faction within the ANC to slow down the pace towards negotiations.

The first clear hint of internal dissension came a week ago with Mr Mandela's shock announcement that the ANC had suspended the talks with Mr de Klerk and his senior lieutenants scheduled for April 11.

Mr Mandela told a huge rally in Bisho, Ciskei, that he had been instructed by the ANC's national executive to suspend

the talks. Mr Mandela's reported choice of words suggested that he might not be in total agreement with the decision, and his actions over the next two days hardened deductions that he was not happy about it.

At a press conference last Sunday after addressing another massive rally

at Motherwell near Port Elizabeth, Mr Mandela acknowledged that there had been differences of opinion. He declined to elaborate saying he was not pre-

for a telephone call from the airport inquiries desk.

An appointment was set up for April 5, with Mr Mandela being slotted to see Mr de Klerk on the same day as appointments had been made for the six Chief Ministers of the black tribal states. The appointment, confirmed by Mr de Klerk in a speech to Parliament on the same day as Mr Mandela made his airport phone call, appeared to negate the ANC executive's decision to suspend talks.

The April 5 rendezvous duly took place at Mr de Klerk's sumptuous Tuynhuys office. Within a week of the suspension of the April 11 meeting, Mr Mandela and President de Klerk — supported by their chosen advisers — held "fruitful" and "cordial" talks.

In fairness it should be added that the April 5 meeting — which resulted in an agreement to reschedule the suspended April 11 talks — enabled Mr

Close examination of events provides circumstantial evidence that Mr Nelson Mandela had to deal with a bid by a faction within the ANC to slow down the pace towards negotiations.

Mandela to raise the issue cited by the ANC as the reason for suspending the April 11 talks: the shooting by police of "defenceless demonstrators" at Sebokeng on March 26.

At least 11 people were killed or died later after police fired on the crowd; it had assembled earlier to march into

the neighbouring white town of Vereeniging, which Mr de Klerk had represented in Parliament until last year's general elec-



tion hardliners is difficult. Mr Chris Hani, chief of staff of the ANC's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, used to be one. But, after talking in 1988/89 about the need to make whites bleed, he appears to have had a change of heart.

Some observers suspect that Mr Joe Slovo, general secretary of the South African Communist Party and a member of the ANC national executive committee, may be one. But their surmise is based on suspicion and, perhaps, anti-communist bias.

The decision to suspend the talks was taken in consultation with the "Interim Leadership Core", as the ANC's internal leadership calls itself. The hardliners in Lusaka must therefore have had some support inside South Africa.

Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, the tough-minded and ambitious general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, is thought in some circles to be a likely candidate.

Successful negotiations, the reasoning goes, would consolidate the position of Mr Thabo Mbeki, the ANC's secretary for foreign affairs, as the heir-apparent to Mr Mandela and the ailing Mr Oliver Tambo. Mr Mbeki's gain would be Mr Ramaphosa's loss, hence the deduction that Mr Ramaphosa may have had a hand in suspending the talks.

exiles with some of the incumbents of leadership positions in the ANC.

These men nervously fear that the day is drawing near when they will be unceremoniously voted out of their positions; that day will dawn when the ANC holds its long-awaited national conference on December 16.

Unlike the ANC's two previous national conferences held at Morogoro in Tanzania in 1969 and Kabwe in Zambia in 1985, the December conference — to be held in Bloemfontein — will be attended by a new generation of top leaders who have been blooded in the struggle within South Africa.

One thinks of men like Mr "Terror" Lekota and Mr Popo Molefe, of the United Democratic Front; Mr Ramaphosa and Mr Chris Dlamini, of the Congress of South African Trade Unions; and the recently released prisoner, the Rev Arnold Stofile.

According to the publication, Africa Confidential, there is a great deal of dissatisfaction among rank and file exiles with some incumbents of leadership positions in the ANC.

Voting in December is expected to be by secret ballot and not popular acclamation, as was the case at Morogoro and Kabwe; many of the older leaders are unlikely to survive.

Thus, some members of the ANC's "old guard" — some observers reckon — want to delay progress to the December conference. The assumption is that if negotiations fail or are postponed and

...to slow down the pace towards negotiations.

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the talks. Mr Mandela's reported choice of words suggested that he might not be in total agreement with the decision, and his actions over the next two days hardened deductions that he was not happy about it.

At a press conference last Sunday after addressing another massive rally at Motherwell near Port Elizabeth, Mr Mandela acknowledged that there had been differences of opinion. He declined to elaborate, saying he was not prepared to discuss the matter publicly.

In a dispatch from Port Elizabeth, Associated Press quoted him as saying: "I prefer addressing the question to the particular person involved and not making use of the media for settling disputes."

The next day, April 2, Mr Mandela arrived in Durban for a tour of areas outside Maritzburg which had been — and at that stage still were — ravaged by internecine fighting between pro-ANC forces and loyalists of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha movement.

Within minutes of his arrival at Durban's Louis Botha Airport, Mr Mandela was on the phone to Dr Gerrit Viljoen, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Mr de Klerk's trusted confidant. His purpose was to arrange an "informal meeting" with Mr de Klerk.

According to uncontradicted news reports, Mr Mandela was clearly anxious to contact Dr Viljoen; watched by journalists, he "fumbled for change" to pay

took place at Mr de Klerk's sumptuous Tuynhuys office. Within a week of the suspension of the April 11 meeting, Mr Mandela and President de Klerk — supported by their chosen advisers — held "fruitful" and "cordial" talks.

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Mandela to raise the issue cited by the ANC as the reason for suspending the April 11 talks: the shooting by police of "defenceless demonstrators" at Sebokeng on March 26.

At least 11 people were killed or died later after police fired on the crowd; it had assembled earlier to march into

the neighbouring white town of Vereeniging, which Mr de Klerk had represented in Parliament until last year's general election.

The ANC leadership, like most black people, was outraged. There is no question about that. Mr Mandela, who visited the wounded at Sebokeng Hospital, expressed himself forthrightly on the tragedy.

If white civilians had been gunned down by police at Sebokeng, he said, "white South Africa would be screaming at the top of its voice". But because the victims were black, "whites think it is not important".

But, as several observers remarked, the shooting seemed to underline the urgent need for talks rather than their suspension. The shooting, and the behaviour of police generally, could have been added to the list of obstacles to negotiations which the ANC had in mind when it first requested the April 11 meeting.

On the day after the shooting, Mr Walter Sisulu, the second highest-ranking internally based ANC leader after Mr Mandela, mooted just that option in an interview with the BBC. He rejected the notion that the shoot-



**MAN IN THE MIDDLE:** When Mr Nelson Mandela announced that the ANC had suspended talks with the Government, his choice of words suggested that he might not be in total agreement with the decision, and was not happy about it. ● Photograph by Herbert Mabuza.

ing would sabotage the pending talks.

"I don't see why it should," he said.

As late as Friday March 30 — that is, four days after the Sebokeng shooting — the Government was given the names of the ANC team for the April 11 talks.

Extrapolating from these events, it seems that a faction

within the ANC, disconcerted about the rapid push towards negotiations, seized on the Sebokeng shooting as a reason to halt the process.

Continuing the extrapolation, the faction gained the ascendancy — temporarily, at any rate — after a long debate, and the April 11 talks were suspended.

But Mr Mandela, acting resolutely, put negotiations back on

track within a week.

Saturday Star's confidence in its interpretation is bolstered by one important fact: on Thursday March 29 — two days before the suspension of the April 11 talks — it was tipped off by a person close to the ANC and to Mr Mandela that there were people in the ANC wanting to wreck the negotiations.

Identifying the anti-negotia-

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Successful negotiations, the reasoning goes, would consolidate the position of Mr Thabo Mbeki, the ANC's secretary for foreign affairs, as the heir-apparent to Mr Mandela and the ailing Mr Oliver Tambo. Mr Mbeki's gain would be Mr Ramaphosa's loss, hence the deduction that Mr Ramaphosa may have had a hand in suspending the talks.

Mr Ramaphosa, whose leadership of South Africa's biggest black trade union gives him plenty of clout, is the man who said of Mr Mandela last year: "Mandela is a member of the ANC and his status is no different from any other member of the ANC."

His remarks were made when Mr Mandela, working from his prison bungalow, was acting as a facilitator for negotiations between the ANC and the South African Government.

But a well-informed observer who closely monitors events in the ANC cautioned against premature deductions about Mr Ramaphosa.

The cool-headed trade union leader, he said, is highly thought of in the ANC and SACP, and his future as a top man seems assured whatever happens.

The real motivating force for halting or delaying the negotiation process may, however, have come from the external leadership in Lusaka.

According to the authoritative publication, Africa Confidential, there is a great deal of dissatisfaction among rank-and-file

be held in Bloemfontein — will be attended by a new generation of top leaders who have been blooded in the struggle within South Africa.

One thinks of men like Mr "Terror" Lekota and Mr Popo Molefe, of the United Democratic Front, Mr Ramaphosa and Mr Chris Dlamini, of the Congress of South African Trade Unions; and the recently released prisoner, the Rev Arnold Stofile.

Voting in December is expected to be by secret ballot and not popular acclamation, as was the case at Morogoro and Kabwe; many of the older leaders are unlikely to survive.

Thus, some members of the ANC's "old guard" — some observers reckon — want to delay progress to the December

conference. The assumption is that if negotiations fail or are postponed and prolonged, the December conference may have to be deferred as well.

In an illuminating article, Africa Confidential notes that when Mr Sisulu visited Lusaka he called on the ANC to accept criticism and to engage in self-criticism.

His invitation was "received with a wild cheer" from the rank and file and triggered a barrage of criticism against "inertia and abuse of power".

According to Africa Confidential, those singled out for criticism included Mr Alfred Nzo, the general secretary, for "timidity"; Mr Thomas Nkobi, the treasurer-general, for incompetence; Mr Joe Modise, the commander of Umkhonto we Sizwe, for "failure to visit his soldiers"; and Mr Josiah Jele, for turning the ANC's political-military council "into a personal fief".

By extension these ANC leaders emerge as men who might have a vested motive in delaying negotiations and the December conference.

The full saga has yet to be told, however.

Close examination of events provides circumstantial evidence that Mr Nelson Mandela had to deal with a bid by a faction within the ANC to slow down the pace towards negotiations.

According to the publication, Africa Confidential, there is a great deal of dissatisfaction among rank and file exiles with some incumbents of leadership positions in the ANC.

# Another shortfall

GLAD that was a short week; couldn't have coped with a whole five days of it.

The market's gone into soporific-hold mode again; none of the local bods want to take a decision on whether to buy or sell — which means that they just hold and wait for some direction from overseas. *STW 7/4/90*

Not that Mandela's team isn't giving them a lot to think about on the local front but even on that score there's a tendency to wait for a response to filter through from overseas.

The gold board did relatively well but industrials were almost ignored — word from the technical guys is that the signs aren't encouraging. Myles reckons that things have to be touching bottom when the technical guys are trotted out to try and shake some response from investors.

Speculation about what the Duros/TGH team might be selling off provided some light relief and quite a lot of trading activity in the form of just over half a million Gants' shares changing hands. Towards the end of the week some of the attention switched to Arwa — TGH's hosiery and textile subsidiary.

There's talk that the hosiery operations have already been sold off to Burhose (part of the FSI group) but that the parties are waiting for Competition Board approval before making any announcement.

If the board does not give the go-ahead, it's difficult to imagine what other potential acquirers there might be. Then there's all of Arwa's textile interests ... presumably a new home will have to be found for them also.

Given all the talk about it, Myles was quite surprised that Gant's hadn't been bought and sold at least twice during the week. According to rumours at the beginning of the week, the list of suitors for the company included: HLH; Tiger; Premier; SAB; Fedfood; FSI; Brian Joffe's Bidcorp; Royal Corporation; Kanhym; Lever Bros; Anglovaal. And the price being suggested was a massive 190c a share. (Myles reckons that the inclusion of FSI has to be a knee-jerk reaction to any takeover speculation.)

Response from the suitors? The HLH board was tied up at a

Inside  
Out

ANNE  
CROTTY



meeting for most of the week; Tiger gave a firm denial; as did Premier, SAB, Fedfood and Anglovaal. *(S) (M) (M)*

Brian Joffe is currently overseas and Cecil Smith couldn't be contacted; Lever Bros wasn't taking it too seriously. So this seemed to leave just Royal and Kanhym in the running and indications from those two sources are that they're not running too hard.

Some sort of official statement from Gant's and/or TGH seems long overdue.

Talking of Kanhym, it looks as though Miellie-Kip is the smallish, listed acquisition that Kanhym chief executive Dirk Jacobs was referring to when he released the interims during the week.

Competition in the chicken market is fairly tough these days with Rainbow reasonably well ahead of the flock but presumably the Kanhym guys reckon that the Miellie-Kip operation is small enough to provide the raw materials for value-added chicken products so they won't be competing head-on with the big guys.

Myles heard that the Landlock negotiations were close to a conclusion and that a deal had been struck at a fairly good price. Management wouldn't comment except to say that a second cautionary would be published on Monday — repeating what had been stated in the first one a few weeks ago.

Nothing more about the UAL/Projec saga. Does this mean that somebody has been apprehended and UAL's finrand position has been covered? Or does it mean that the scam was so easily perpetrated that all the official bodies involved would prefer to see the story die a quiet death?

Picapli's share price took a bit of a knock this week. This isn't a very good omen ... the results are due out next week and presumably the market reckons that Picapli is going to look just about as sick as it hears Tek is.

# Time for investors to go on the defensive

ON Saturday February 17 I wrote in this column that it was time to take a defensive posture on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange.

I predicted that the uncertainty surrounding the release of Mr Nelson Mandela, the unbanning of the ANC, the SA Communist Party and several other former radical organisations would not create the right environment for equity investments.

This bit of advice did not even take into consideration the possible effects of a sharp drop in the Japanese market, which, at that stage was very vulnerable.

In the approximately two months since the mentioned article, both local and international equity markets have become increasingly volatile, with the turbulence on the Tokyo market continuing to rock markets worldwide on a virtual daily basis.

Added to this, South Africa's lifeline in times of financial uncertainty, gold, once again behaved in a contrary way, dropping sharply to six months' lows. This certainly did not do much to

Money Matters

MAGNUS HEYSTEK



boost confidence in equity investments.

In real terms, equity prices have dropped only slightly, with the overall index declining from 3139 on February 16 to 3129 at close on Thursday. The gold index was down from 1942 to 1857 over the same period, while the industrial market, however, sagged from 3073 to 2893 — a drop of about 6 percent.

But these figures belie the underlying weakness of the market. The performance of the overall index has been artificially boosted by the sharp rise in the price of De Beers, which has a very large weighting in the index. During this period the share price of De Beers soared from R65 to its current price of R83 a share, which boosted the market.

*Nov 7/490*  
The market will remain volatile and uncertain for a great deal of the year. The events surrounding the unfolding of the political drama in South Africa will no doubt have a major impact on the current market.

Business confidence, as measured by the Business Confidence Index of the SA Chamber of Business, shows clearly that businessmen are greatly concerned by the widespread anarchy and lawlessness in black townships. Normally this is not helpful to perceptions on the equity markets.

I use the word "normally", because the JSE has in the past often behaved totally contrary to investment fundamentals. In times of uncertainty the JSE has in the past attracted interest due to the liquid nature of the investment. It might happen again, but I consider that possibility rather remote at this stage.

The largely unforeseen weakness in the gold price is bound to remove much of the euphoria surrounding gold shares and the economy in general. International

stock markets are still very volatile and further shocks can be expected from market-makers like Tokyo and New York.

This brings me to the essence of this article: what should one's investment strategy be in such an environment? Is it time to enter the market in a big way, or should one sit on the sidelines in the hope of entering the market at or close to the bottom?

I was asked this question on Monday on Radio 702 by a listener who suggested that one should take advantage of the high levels of interest rates being paid by banks and building societies. Banks, finding themselves under considerable pressure from the Reserve Bank, are paying up to 19 percent on six months' deposit.

There's no doubt that these rates are indeed attractive and are made even more attractive by the added concessions announced in this year's budget, which increased the tax-free limit on interest on savings from R1 000 to R2 000. But these rates are bound to come down much sooner than

most people think and with inflation as high as it is, will wipe out the real return people are getting now.

Anybody with a large amount of money to invest should try and spread this exercise over six to 12 months. Somewhere in that period one should, hopefully, find the bottom of the market.

This approach is called rand-cost averaging in the case of unit trusts and has proved to be a very successful strategy for long-term investments. I would not enter the market in a big way right now, especially if one's constitution is rather shaky and you are prone to sleepless nights.

Currently the market is as nervous and volatile as I've seen it for many a year. Even steel-nerved traders are showing signs of cracking under the pressure.

For the average equity investor, which includes unit trust investors, it is time to remain defensive, although there are several shares that are looking very attractive at current prices (Iscor, for instance, at 210c a share is

very cheap).

Unit trust investors with regular commitments should continue investing in the market. If one is concerned about a dramatic collapse in equity prices, switch from general equities to a fixed-income fund. This will preserve all capital gains at very minimal costs (roughly about one percent of the market value of the investments) and allows one the opportunity to buy back more units at a later stage, should the market decline.

I have been advocating this approach for most of the year and still think it is sound advice.

Alternatively, one should start building up cash with the purpose of re-entering the market at some later stage, if one is of the opinion that the market is going to decline even further.

But this strategy has definite disadvantages in that the market could suddenly take-off, leaving one stranded.

Also, trying to read the market and finding the bottom of a bear market, is very difficult.

# ANC had 'no role' in Venda takeover

STW 7/4/90

DIRK NEL (11A)

**THOHOYANDOU** — The new Venda head of state, Colonel Gabriel Ramushwana, who was sworn in shortly after noon yesterday by Chief Justice DJH le Roux, says the African National Congress has played no role in the government takeover by his National Council of Unity.

At a press conference in the Venda capital, Colonel Ramushwana said the ANC would operate, along with others, as an ordinary political party. But he warned no party would be allowed to force its views upon the people of Venda by means of intimidation.

Colonel Ramushwana did not announce the names of other members of the Council of National Unity, but indicated that traditional chiefs would play an important role in the future government of Venda. He said the names of his appointed co-rulers would be released shortly.

"The Venda nation has in the last few years suffered grossly as a result of bad government.

● TO PAGE 2.

1890  
One hundred year

## Venda 7/4/90

● FROM PAGE 1.

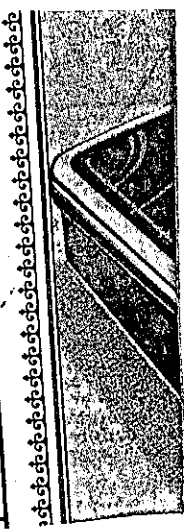
"Teachers, scholars, civil servants, nurses, labourers and other workforces have taken part in boycotts, and law and order has collapsed. Vhavenda killed fellow Vhavenda and lawlessness prevailed — all because of grievances which the previous government could not address or attend to," he explained.

The colonel said it was apparent that President Ravele's government had been unable to control the situation and it was appropriate that the president and

his Cabinet had to resign, and handed the government over to the council without bloodshed.

He said the previous government members had done this by means of a letter of which a copy was handed to newsmen. He added that the Chief of the Venda Defence Force, Brigadier J Steenkamp, was compelled to resign and would be leaving Venda.

Colonel Ramushwana undertook to appoint a commission of inquiry headed by "an independent jurist" to investigate all ritual murders, corruption and nepotism, and to make its findings available to the ruling council.



# Sympathy and a rebuke for ANC

NOT for some time has a single question been asked so intently by so many, and produced so few satisfactory answers.

The challenge to the media this week has been to explain what lies behind the ANC's decision to call off its face-to-face meeting with the Government and to tell the public whether negotiations have suffered a terminal blow. You can be forgiven for not yet being 100 percent clear on these matters.

We know, courtesy of the SABC, what the Government says: the ANC is unready and/or unwilling to enter the process and is merely using the Sebokeng massacre as an excuse.

This seems to be the view of most daily newspapers, too. It is worth looking at the "alternative" weeklies for a different perspective.

New Nation, the Weekly Mail and Vrye Weekblad each address, but do not speak with one voice, on the issue. New Nation is adamant that the ANC correctly assessed the mood of its followers in cancelling the meeting: "When our leaders negotiate, they will need to take the people along with them... In this context, talking to the Government — whose police were killing people — would have been indefensible."

## The Left Stuff

SHAUN JOHNSON



There is no insincerity involved, says the Nation, nor are there splits in the ANC's top echelons — negotiations will proceed if and when the security forces are in check.

The Weekly Mail agrees that the ANC's stated reason for putting a hold on the talks was sincere, revealing that the decision was made shortly after Mandela and Walter Sisulu visited Sebokeng and saw victims of the violence. They were reported to be truly horrified by what they saw and heard.

But, says the Mail, the organisation's image has been dented, both internationally and among whites at home. Columnist Steven Friedman says such setbacks are both predictable and explicable, "but the political realities suggest that the Nats and the ANC are now fated to continue the search for a political settlement".

Vrye Weekblad is the most impassioned of the three. Yes, the shootings were unforgivable, says the Weekblad and no, they must never be repeated. "But we expect more responsibility and statesmanship of the ANC than we do of the Government. We are bitterly disappointed that they will not be in Cape Town next week."

The Weekblad believes the ANC is making heavy weather of the transition from exiled to internal politics and finds itself paralysed: "Mandela's potential as the Moses who could lead us all out of the desert is undermined because he is not being given the space fully to play his leadership role." Negotiations will get a real kick start only when the exiles come home and leadership is sorted out once and for all.

● I mentioned recently that an ANC newspaper was on the cards: confirmation comes from New Nation this week, with the announcement that the organisation's newly established Department of Information and Publicity's "two immediate tasks will be to investigate and establish an ANC-aligned national daily paper and transform 'Mayibuye' into a weekly paper."

Is this the seed of a "fifth force" in South Africa's newspaper publishing industry?

# British tabloid newspapers attack 'no saint' Mandela

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Mr Nelson Mandela's whirlwind visit to Britain has been bathed in an intense media spotlight, with several conservative newspapers launching bitter attacks on the ANC leader and a claim that the Reverend Jesse Jackson had likened Mr Mandela to Jesus Christ.

Yesterday morning three tabloids — the Daily Mail, the Sun and the Daily Star — published highly critical reports.

The Mail devoted two pages to stories under the general headline of "Savagery behind the Saint".

Reporter Paul Johnson wrote that Mr Mandela should "listen to the advice of Mrs Thatcher rather than that of his admirers".

And he concluded that: "The rest of us should remember that he is neither a saint nor a political genius — just a muddled, out-of-date politician with some goodwill but also with a lot of impractical and dangerous ideas."

A report on the alleged torture of ANC guerillas is headlined: "His organisation has the brutal viciousness of the regime it's fighting."

A third report in the same paper by Michael Streeter claimed it is "surely a great irony that ... Mr Mandela,

spiritual head of an avowed Marxist organisation, will preside over a demonstration of the free market economy working overtime".

The Sun whipped up a storm on its front page, claiming that the Rev Jackson "called him the new Jesus Christ".

Mr Jackson had said Mr Mandela won the respect of the world "in the same way Jesus got it, through suffering". He described Mr Mandela's release from jail as a "resurrection".

The Daily Star calculated the cost of the concert at about R720 000.

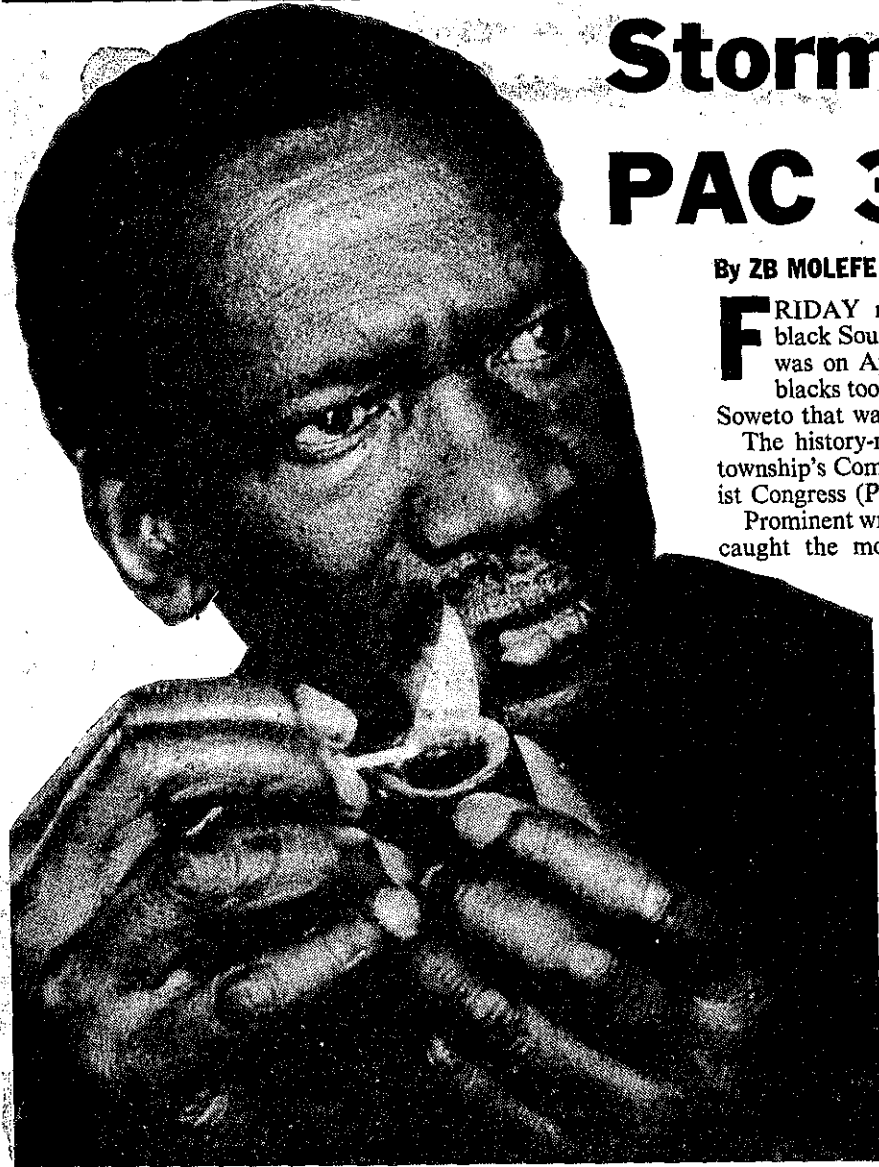
A far more positive slant was put on the coverage by the left-wing Daily Mirror, which has had unhindered access to Mr Mandela by virtue of the Mirror Group's part sponsorship of his visit. It splashed a colour picture of Mr Mandela holding a white baby across page one with a banner headline: "The hug of hope".

The newspaper quoted him as saying in an exclusive interview that he "learnt in prison not to hate the white man".

He also said he hoped to meet Mrs Thatcher in May and described her as a "very powerful lady — one I would rather have as an ally than an enemy".

# Stormy meeting bred PAC 31 years ago

cross 8/4/90 11A



By ZB MOLEFE

**F**RIDAY marked another important day in black South Africa's political calendar. For it was on April 6, 1959 that a group of angry blacks took a step at a three-day conference in Soweto that was to shake black resistance politics. The history-making conference was at Orlando township's Communal Hall where the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) was born.

Prominent writer-academic Es'kia Mphahlele has caught the mood of black politics at the time.

Writing in the recently-published *Mandela: Echoes of an Era* he tells of 1958 when there was strife between the ANC and "an influential, highly vocal group of nationalists".

These nationalists were to form the PAC. Wits University assistant teacher Mangaliso Sobukwe was elected president. Sobukwe was to steer the PAC to great heights, though many "old timers" in the ANC thought his movement would be shortlived.

Sobukwe, according to a historian of black South African protest politics, stood out for "his ability as a speaker, his shining intelligence and his deep-rooted duty-bound commitment to his cause, which had already marked him out as a natural leader".

Others who worked with So-

bukwe during those years included Zeph Mothopeng, Potlako Leballo, Peter Raboroko and Josias Madzunya.

Mphahlele gives the background to events that led to April 6, 1959. At first, he writes, it appeared as if the PAC were merely carping in their hostile rhetoric against the ANC's non-racialism.

"But their criticism took on body and a dimension of earnestness that could ironically only have come of the Africanists' participation in the moulding of the ANC," writes Mphahlele.

Today it is generally agreed that Natal-born Muziwakhe Lembede is the spiritual father of Africanism.

After his untimely death, it was Sobukwe who became PAC leader in 1959.

The birth of Africanism, which was to lead to the formation of the PAC, started in the ANC.

The ANC's ambitious and uncompromising Youth League, peopled by Lembede, Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Ashby Peter Mda and William Nkomo, was the force which moved the ANC from its stance of moderation.

Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe . . . PAC founder.



11A

# 'Talks about talks' set for next month

By CP REPORTER

THE "talks about talks" between the government and the ANC will now be held on May 2, 3 and 4 in Cape Town, President FW de Klerk has announced.

An earlier date, April 11, was put off by the ANC after police recently killed at least 17 protesters in Sebokeng.

The killings featured prominently when De Klerk met ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela in Cape Town this week in a move to save the collapsed April 11 talks.

De Klerk said the government was considering appointing a judicial commission of inquiry into the Sebokeng shootings. The Cabinet would make a final decision at its next meeting.

Also, De Klerk assured Mandela he had given instructions for in-depth investigations into the Sebokeng shootings.

Mandela said Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok was not being sympathetic to black problems, while De Klerk is reported to have been critical of what "some of his (Mandela) followers were doing".

At the three-hour meeting the two leaders focused on new arrangements for the ANC-government talks which would remove perceived obstacles to negotiations. Also discussed at the meeting was the widespread violence sweeping the country.

In separate Press conferences de Klerk and Mandela emphasised the ANC-government "talks about talks" to pave the way for serious negotiations on South Africa's future were "back on track".

De Klerk criticised Mandela's alleged pressure on several homeland leaders and chairmen of ministers' councils earlier not to join talks with the government.

Only KwaZulu's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Qwaqwa's Kenneth Mopeli, Labour Party leader Allan Hendrickse and Solidarity leader JN Reddy were present at the meeting.

But Mandela denied government suggestions that he had intimidated any homeland leaders.

■ Meanwhile, Mandela was due in Lusaka yesterday for consultations with the exiled leadership, an ANC official said.

"We are expecting him today for consultations. He has been in touch with President De Klerk and has been on the scene of the violence in Natal and we would have to consult with him to get a first-hand report," national executive committee member Steve Tshwete said in an interview.

Tshwete said it was not clear how long Mandela would be in Lusaka. - Sapa.



Nelson Mandela and the UDF's Popo Mofokeng at their Press conference.

# 'Sport is part of the political struggle'

cf press 8/4/90 (11A) (2)

I am proud to be associated with the Soccer Association of South Africa (Sasa) and its milestone achievements over the years in the face of tremendous hardships.

It is your courageous stand in demanding the unbanning of the ANC in 1987 that made it possible for me to address you this evening.

In the '50s and during the era of the South African Soccer League (SASL), Moroka Swallows, Orlando Pirates and sports personalities Dan Twala, George Singh, Matthews Mbatane and Scara Sono remain imprinted on my memory.

The toll of apartheid in that era led to the dissolution of the SASL and the creation of independent soccer bodies.

I am heartened, however, by the spirit and desire among soccer bodies to form one non-racial controlling body.



Sasa and its professional wing, the National Soccer League, have an obligation to ensure that the soccer unity talks become a reality so that the new body can get on with the pressing task of developing our people – their prowess in soccer and their administrative skills.

In uniting sports bodies, our primary obligation is to consolidate black sportsmen. However, we should at the same time consider drawing into our fold establishments or white sports organisations which have demonstrated a degree of goodwill and are prepared to conform to our principles of organisation.

In this delicate process, there is no need to display arrogance or remorse. We must exercise the highest form of discipline to ensure the laying of a strong foundation for a mass-based democratic sports movement in preparation for a post-apartheid society.

Through a process of democracy

ANC leader WALTER SISULU delivered the keynote address at this week's Soccer Association of South Africa's annual media awards in Johannesburg. This is an edited version of his speech.

you have to take great pains to ensure that all soccer spectators, players and administrators are kept fully informed of your initiatives so that one day when you enter the world, we can laud you as a mass-based, fully developed and united soccer organisation – we can laud you as ambassadors of our people and be proud of you.

For the past 30 years the international community has steadfastly resolved, and rightly so, that South African sport was not worthy of occupying its place among the community of nations because of the policy of apartheid.

Black sportsmen have aligned themselves with this resolution by the international community and in the process denied themselves the opportunity of furthering their own sporting careers.

To many people, especially white sportsmen, this may sound absurd.

But to black sportsmen, whose every facet of life is dominated by apartheid and the injustices of the South African system, their sacrifices stand as a moral statement.

At the same time, white sports organisations stand indicted – guilty of enjoying the fruits of apartheid.

I take this opportunity to commend Sasa on its acceptance of the sports moratorium and trust that this position will prevail until the world is ready to embrace you.

Your refusal to engage in sports tours is a bold statement of your allegiance to the people's struggle.

The new South Africa must grow out of the youth and talent of today.



Walter Sisulu . . . heartened by spirit among soccer bodies.

The support given to our struggle by our allies in neighbouring States speaks for itself.

As a gesture of goodwill, we need to exercise caution and not disrupt their sporting infrastructure.

Soccer City stands as an immortal representation of success through struggle. Adequate sports facilities for black people are few and far between.

In many of our communities, specially in the rural areas, we are still playing soccer on undulating fields.

In the schools our sports facilities are a sorry sight. In the early 1970s we were deprived of the use of the Natalpruit grounds.



Even today racist city councils are intent on depriving us further.

About R150 million is spent on sport each year. I call on sponsors of sport to respond favourably to the needs of our people and ensure a more equitable distribution of funds across the racial spectrum.

In the oppressive nature of South African society, sport is a part of our political struggle. Sportsmen have a dual role to play.

On the one hand you must excel in your chosen field of sport. On the other, and by virtue of your alignment with the people's struggle, you have a duty to intensify our struggle.

BLACK POLITICS

1990

APRIL

## Amnesty a 'stumbling block'

South 11/4 - 18/4/90

# Final chance for peace

11A

LUSAKA — A full and unconditional amnesty for political prisoners, trialists and exiles is a key demand that may make or break the historic peace talks between the South African government and the ANC starting on May 2.

This emerged on Tuesday after the ANC's vice-president, Mr Nelson Mandela, flew here to brief the movement's National Executive Committee (NEC) on the outcome of talks held with State President FW de Klerk last week.



Nelson Mandela

The ANC leadership has expressed concern at the failure of the government to grant permanent amnesty to exiles.

"We urge the South African regime to act without further delay to remove what has become a new obstacle to the achievement of a political settlement," Mandela said in a statement.

A proposal being touted in government circles is that an international jurist be appointed to determine which cases qualify for a general amnesty, a SOUTH correspondent reports.

- The ANC's A-team — See page 2
- The likely agenda — See page 18

**A** NAME from the past cropped up unexpectedly last week: Arthur Maimane, whom I last saw across the tea trolley at Reuters in Fleet Street when we both worked there in 1961, is coming home at last. We need people like him.

He fled to Accra to escape apartheid, and to London to escape Accra. Thoroughly disillusioned with Africa, black and white, he talked of going to the West Indies but he has, I believe, lived most of the intervening 30 years in the gentle mists of Europe, amid rising prosperity and spreading freedom, while I have been stumbling through the blood and dust of African liberation.

The great African revolution has spanned my working life, and I have followed it southwards from the Sudan, where a white-robed priest took me to see the pitiful remains of a village razed by Arabic-speaking northerners in retaliation for raids from Uganda by Anyanya "freedom fighters".

**T**here I acquired a fresh grasp of the precariousness of life without social order: half-starved men crouched with bows and arrows on the banks of the nearby Nile, shooting at passing fish in the rapids, while a blind old man baited his hooks on the edge of the reeds, oblivious of the crocodiles.

Later, in Angola, I was to see similar villages, where people had been driven by war to wear bark clothing and use wooden implements, put to the torch by Portuguese commandoes. One man, armed only with a bow and arrow, was killed and pronounced "a communist" because his sandals bore Chinese characters on the soles. Later, in Luanda, I found thousands of identical sandals, imported from Portuguese Macao.

The images run together in my mind. I have listened to British, and Portuguese, and Rhodesian and South African intelligence officers, standing before maps and charts, prattle stupidly about "winning

# This country needs more blacks who know what succeeds

*B/Oman 9/14/90*  
*IIA*

**KEN OWEN**

hearts and minds". I was to endure the same prattle from Americans about Vietnam.

The only sense I ever heard on the subject came from Laurens van der Post, who had perceived in the hatred of Indonesians for the Dutch at the end of the Second World War that the rehabilitation of people of colour, after centuries of European domination and scorn, was inescapable and necessary.

In retrospect, we can all see that the great African revolution was inevitable. In fact, Europe's intrusion into this continent did not last long. The French clung to Algeria, key to their empire, for little more than 130 years. From Mungo Park's exploration of West Africa to the birth of Ghana was little more than one-and-a-half centuries. British control of East and Central Africa lasted less than a century.

The seafaring Portuguese, who clung to the coasts and kept their backs turned to Africa, lasted a bit longer. The Afrikaners, their retreat to Holland cut off by British occupation, are still precariously here, 155 years after their Trek into the interior.

Compared with the great wars of Asia and Europe, or the American

Civil War, Africa's liberation struggle has been a skirmish. The memories that remain are not of great battles but of the most terrible atrocities and cruelties, committed on a village scale. I learned to carry a flask of brandy to wash the taste of death from my mouth.

Some memories, politically irrelevant, linger for their poignancy. In Cabinda, a young Portuguese man proudly lights a cigarette with his silver claws, and then falls to raging at himself for the moment of panic in which he tried to smother a grenade blast with his hands.

In Zambia's Luangwa Valley a British soldier, surrounded by corpses and burning huts, is charged by a child with a spear; the soldier smacks the child aside with the back of his hand, and begins to cry.

In Salisbury, the pavements and kerbs have to be adapted for wheelchairs.

**W**e are all left with the feeling that we have seen too many bodies, too many wounds, too much mutilation and cruelty.

Yet, as wars go, it was all on a

modest African scale, and what followed was worse. An American has coined an apt phrase, "the Great Breaking", to describe what came after liberation.

When the much-travelled author, Stuart Cloete, predicted in the sixties that Zaire would "go back to the bush", I dismissed the remark as South African racism; but within a few years the waterways used by the Belgians were clogged, and some regions fell into bottomless isolation.

Since then, the West Indian writer, VS Naipaul, has confirmed in his semi-factual novel, *A Bend in the River*, the accuracy of Cloete's foresight.

Nairobi and Lusaka, once stiff little colonial towns, have become dangerous slums, where even modest homes are protected by walls and lights and straggling barbed wire, and where the streets at night belong to youngsters who never work, and expect never to work.

Luanda and Maputo are crumbling. Kinshasa is surrounded by miles and miles of slums. Railroads have stopped, lake steamers lie rusting, and the ancient lateen-sail dhows have replaced the ships in

Maputo harbour.

Through all these failures, African leaders were encouraged in their folly by whites whose inverse racism expressed itself as fawning. Highly trained educators trekked to Tanzania to study the methods of Julius Nyerere, an over-promoted schoolteacher whose socialist ideas brought great misery on his people; to the admiring "oo's" and "ah's" of guilt-ridden Westerners.

Kenneth Kaunda was treated as a Grand Philosopher when he began to preach a childish nonsense called "humanism". In Kenya, whites used to say all would be well "if the old man (Kenyatta) lasts", just as in South Africa whites are now saying all will be well "if the old man (Mandela) lasts".

In Rhodesia long ago I was accused of being hopelessly "left" because I believed in liberty under law, one-man one-vote, and a society where every individual could go about his business without fear of the *gauleiters*; today, I am accused of being hopelessly "right" because I believe in liberty under law, one-man one-vote, and a society where every individual can go about his business without fear of the commissars.

**N**either accusation has meaning; they are symptoms of a collapse of courage, of the unwillingness of the most highly educated classes to defend those values which, they know, enabled Western Europe to prosper while Eastern Europe fell into decay: democracy and capitalism.

This is where a man like Arthur Maimane may help. He is not white, not too guilt-ridden to argue with black elites, and he has lived all these years amid prosperity and success.

He can, if he will, tell us that the formula for success is not revolution, but peaceful evolution; not assault on capital and seizure of property, but security of title; not centralised power, but the loose cloak of democracy. Not ferocious Eastern Europe, but the gentler West.

## Mandela in Lusaka for Frontline meeting

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela flew to Lusaka yesterday to meet Frontline state leaders and the ANC national executive, an ANC spokesman said in Johannesburg yesterday. *HN*

Mandela would be back tomorrow, in time to meet foreign ministers of Ireland, Italy and West Germany on Wednesday, he said. *Bipany 9/4/90*

Mandela and other ANC leaders met Azapo members in Soweto on Saturday night with a view to forming a united anti-government front, the ANC spokesman said.

Meetings with other black political organisations, including Nactu, were in the

THEO RAWANA

pipeline in the ANC's drive for a broad anti-apartheid front, he added.

Sapa reports that a joint statement issued by the ANC and Azapo deplored the violence in SA, blaming it on "apartheid colonialism".

"Unity in action and peace among our people require urgent resolution," the statement said, adding that Mandela and Azapo president Jerry Mosala, acting as a committee, would contact other organisations to discuss the possibility of a consultative conference. *HN*

● See Page 2

# Mandela: Queen's wish 'upsets' Maggie

CAP- Timp 9/4/90 11A

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The queen wants to give ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela a private audience at Buckingham Palace when he is in London for the Wembley rock concert tribute on Easter Monday.

And Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher is apparently upset about it — because the meeting would emphasise Mr Mandela's reluctance to take up an invitation to meet her.

According to a report in yesterday's Sunday Express, the queen is anxious to see a democratic South Africa back in the Commonwealth. She is also said to be thinking of bestowing a personal honour on Mr Mandela.

Mr Mandela has been highly critical

of Mrs Thatcher's decision to lift some of the sanctions against SA, before "profound and irreversible" change had taken place.

Although Mr Mandela has a standing invitation to visit 10 Downing Street, he has discounted seeing Mrs Thatcher this Easter.

Negotiations are reportedly going on at the highest level to find a compromise before relations are badly damaged.

● Meanwhile, the Mandela concert is not expected to make much of a profit, because of high expenses.

And, according to Mr Sipho Pityana, co-ordinator for the Nelson Mandela International Reception Committee, Mr Mandela will speak for only about 10 minutes.

# 69 hole up in church

CARL-10113 7/4/90 (11A)

## Inkatha threat alleged

**JOHANNESBURG.** — Sixty-nine students and teachers were holed up in an Anglican church in Newcastle after Inkatha members threatened to kill them for taking lessons in ANC and UDF politics, Mr Victor Mpanza, a resource officer at the private school, said from Newcastle.

The threatened students had petitioned the Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, Desmond Tutu, to arrange an urgent meeting between the South African and KwaZulu governments, Mr Mpanza said.

Inkatha national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said from Newcastle on Saturday night that the allegations were provocative and baseless.

“Madadeni (Newcastle township) had, until recently, been one of the quiet areas in Natal,” he said. “The community opened its schools to those who wished to get away from the violence. But now we find many of these students are among those promoting disturbances.” — Sapa



Sowetan 9/4/90-



## Queen and Maggie clash over Mandela

**Sowetan Foreign Staff**  
LONDON - The Queen and Mrs Margaret Thatcher are on a "collision course" over the forthcoming visit to Britain of Mr Nelson Mandela, according to the *Sunday Express*.

In a front-page report by political editor Anthony Smith, the paper claims that Buckingham Palace wants to give the ANC leader a private audience while he is in London for the Wembley Concert.

Hopeful of seeing a democratic South Africa back in the Commonwealth, the Queen would like to bestow a personal honour on Mandela in recognition of his courage, the paper says. But, it adds, No 10 doesn't want to see that happen for fear it emphasises Mandela's failure so far to meet the Prime Minister.

## Concern

There is also Government concern that the ANC has not renounced violence, the paper claims. Negotiations are going on "at the highest level" to find a compromise "before relations are seriously damaged".

Elsewhere, in a leading article, the *Sunday Express* says it is "hard to see what Nelson Mandela hopes to achieve by snubbing Mrs Thatcher when he visits Britain at Easter.

## Refused

"Yet the ANC has ruled that he should refuse her invitation to No 10 Downing Street and the signs are that he will obey those instructions".

The article remarks: "Isn't it strange that Mr Mandela has been perfectly happy to visit President De Klerk whose regime kept him behind bars for a quarter of a century, yet seems reluctant to speak to a government leader who has fought consistently to secure his release?"

# Azapo, ANC discuss possible conference

11A

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and Azapo president Jerry Mosala have formed a two-man committee to discuss with other organisations the possibility of an all-encompassing consultative conference.

This follows talks between leaders of the ANC and Azapo in Soweto on Saturday night.

The discussion centred on moves toward the urgent resolution of the violence plaguing parts of



MANDELA

South Africa and the presentation of a united front against the Government.

A joint statement issued by the two organisations deplored the violence and blamed it on



MOSALA

“apartheid colonialism”.

“Unity in action and peace among our people require urgent resolution,” the statement said, adding that This is seen as the latest move to emanate from a host of

meetings -about-meetings and talks-about-talks.

Another committee was established to deal specifically with ways to seek an end to the violence and to speak to the leadership of various organisations in an effort to address the people in the war-torn areas and so halt the killing.

This committee is to report back within a week on its progress.

The statement said both organisations “stressed the principle of political tolerance and therefore unity in diver-

sity”.

Saturday night's meeting was not regarded as a one-off event and further contact between Azapo and the ANC would continue, the statement said.

An Azapo delegation also held talks in Cape Town yesterday with a delegation of the Pan Africanist Congress, led by its president Zeph Mothopeng.

The meeting was also to address the nationwide internecine violence and to formulate an anti-Government strategy. - Sapa.

strike which was called off after the Minister of Justice had promised to address the issues.

## Mlambo briefs Tanzanian leader

PAN Africanist Congress chairman Mr Johnson Mlambo this weekend met Tanzanian President Mr Ali Hassan Mwinyi at Ikulu in Dar es Salaam, a PAC representative said. *So wetam 9/14/90 (11A)*

Accompanied by a PAC delegation, Mlambo briefed Mwinyi on the current situation in South Africa, the PAC peace proposals, the movement's position on a united front with all liberatory forces and the establishment of a constituent assembly elected on the basis of one-person-one-vote. *(11A)*

"The constituent assembly will discuss the constitution for a democratic non-racial Azania," the spokesman said.

## PAC hails Venda coup

THE collapse of the Venda government significantly strengthened the movement towards genuine democracy in South Africa, the external mission of the Pan Africanist Congress spokesman said at the weekend.

The PAC spokesman said the re-incorporation of the homelands into a united democratic South Africa was a central demand of the movement. *(11A)*

## Festival rocked 'em

A HUGE crowd of music fans packed Nasrec's main arena in Crown Mines during the Easter Rock Festival at the weekend.

The accent was on rock-and-roll rhythms with the exception of Mahlathini and Mahotella Queens, Brenda Fassie, Chicco, Mike Faure and Steam Machine, Marcalex and Walk This Way who, like a fresh breeze, played

mbaqanga, afro and township pop, disco and jazz tunes.

However, the predominantly white teenyboppers gave all the artists a positive response while singing along with most of the songs.

Shouts of "Amandla" by the gutsy Fassie were met by throaty replies of *Awethu*.

The event was incident free.

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# Easter violence fear for Crossroads

12/4/90



7 000 squat  
arrive in  
Cape Town  
every month

Look who's sunning her royal tummy at the seaside ...



DI-KINI: This long-range shot of a relaxed Princess Di was taken on the island of Necker on the British Virgin Isles shortly after she was "buried" in the sand by her two sons, Prince William and Prince Harry. Dozens of goggle-eyed photoaraphers with long-

By ANDREA WEISS  
Staff Reporter

THERE are fears that Crossroads and surrounding squatter camps could erupt into a "mini Natal" over the Easter weekend unless action is taken to defuse the tensions between the Crossroads town committee and a rival group.

In a letter delivered to Democratic Party MP for Claremont Mr Jan van Eck yesterday, Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok said he was greatly concerned about the situation and was giving it urgent attention.

According to Mr Van Eck squatter groupings outside the area are being drawn into the conflict as they ally themselves either with the mayor, Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana, or with breakaway headman Mr Jeffrey Nongwe.

The death of at least four of Mr Nongwe's supporters this week has fanned emotions and created an explosive situation.

### Firemen called

Yesterday Cape Town firemen were called out on three occasions to put out fires in houses in the modern area, Section 4.

A fire brigade spokesman said the homes, all constructed of brick with asbestos roofs, had been "torched". Quick action by firemen had contained the damage to bedrooms and the front and rear of the houses.

By TOM HOOD, Business Editor  
BETWEEN 7 000 and 10 000 squatters arrive monthly in greater Cape Town, the largest new concentrations in the area, Crossroads, KTC, Nyanga, and Hout Bay.

This has been disclosed by Mr I. J. Mellon, Western Cape president of the Institute of Professional Land Surveyors.

He called for areas of land to be set aside for housing plots and set aside for use to cope with the burgeoning population.

"It is of paramount importance to identify and set aside ground on which housing can take place legally in the urban area," he said.

Expropriation should follow to create settlements.

### "SWEEPED UNDER THE CARPET"

The problem was one of growing and could not be "swept under the carpet," said Mr Mellon. "It has to be faced as an institute have identified certain areas."

These include recognising that mothers had basic skills, such as construction. They had a desire to create an environment without harassment and were generally peaceful communities.

A rational development plan should be drawn up by a development team that takes account of the future need for amenities such as schools, shops, creches, clinics, and business areas and playing fields.

The institute was prepared to offer advice to the State and various authorities to help formulate a plan to resolve the problem.

Residential plots should be defined with a minimum cost by beacons. This would give the squatters security.

... are being drawn into the conflict as they ally themselves either with the mayor, Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana, or with breakaway headman Mr Jeffrey Nongwe.

The death of at least four of Mr Nongwe's supporters this week has fanned emotions and created an explosive situation.

### **Firemen called**

Yesterday Cape Town firemen were called out on three occasions to put out fires in houses in the modern area, Section 4.

A fire brigade spokesman said the homes, all constructed of brick with asbestos roofs, had been "torched". Quick action by firemen had contained the damage to bedrooms and the front and rear of the houses.

An appeal is to be made to Major-General Flip Fourie, Western Cape Commissioner of Police, today to make special arrangements over the Easter break.

Mr Van Eck warned that any eruption could make "Crossroads 1986 look like a picnic".

He said that if the causes were not addressed soon, there was a chance that all the squatter settlements in the Western Cape would be drawn "into a kind of Natal conflict situation".

"It is so tense at the moment, and people are so frustrated that nothing is being done to protect them or to remove the causes of the conflict, that both sides are at a point where they will take the law into their own hands."

### **Driven out**

An urgent memorandum was sent to Mr Hernus Kriel, Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs, yesterday at the request of squatters in KTC, Miller's Camp, Brown's Farm, Site B and Green Point. These people were driven out of Crossroads in 1986 by Mr Nxobongwana's supporters.

The memo — drawn up by Mr Van Eck — points out that the present conflict has its origin in allegations that money paid on a monthly basis by residents towards a "Crossroads Housing Fund" has disappeared.

Mr Ngxobongwana was in charge of the fund, collected since 1986.

The fund was to have been made available to residents to buy new houses after the upgrading of Crossroads.

Mr Nongwe and 19 other headmen broke away from Mr Ngxobongwana after the alleged disappearance of the money.

Mr Van Eck said the conflict worsened when newly completed homes were sold to outsiders while those who had paid into the fund sat "helplessly" by.

All prospective buyers were first "screened" by the mayor.

Meanwhile, many said Mr Ngxobongwana had no mandate to govern them because there had never been any election. "Most residents were not even aware of an 'election' taking place," Mr Van Eck said.

Mr Kriel, who has been in Natal on an upliftment programme, returns to Cape Town today.

# Mandela

Sowetan 9/4/90

11A

# now in

# Lusaka

## To hold talks with ANC national executive members on South Africa

LUSAKA - African National Congress deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela arrived at his organisation's headquarters in Lusaka yesterday for consultations with the exiled leadership on recent developments in South Africa.

Mandela, accompanied by his wife Winnie, ANC military intelligence chief Mr Jacob Zuma and United Democratic Front general secretary Mr Popo Molefe, was received by Zambia's Prime Minister Mr Malimba Masheke and Foreign Minister Mr Luke Mwananshiku.

Senior ANC officials who received Mandela included the secretary general Mr Alfred Nzo, treasurer Mr Thomas Nkhobi, military commander Mr Joe Modise and South African Communist Party general secretary Mr Joe Slovo.

### Violence

Mandela, who is expected to return to South Africa tomorrow, will hold talks with members of the national executive committee today.

He was due to meet Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda late yesterday.

Mandela is expected to give a detailed report on the violence in black townships and his meeting last Thursday with South African President FW de Klerk.

Thursday's meeting between Mandela and De Klerk brought back on track exploratory talks that had been postponed by the ANC from April 11 in protest against

the shooting of at least 17 people at Sebokeng in the Vaal triangle.

The Government and the ANC said on Saturday the talks on finding a negotiated solution will now take place in Cape Town from May 2 to 4.

Sources close to the ANC said the Lusaka meeting would look at De Klerk's suggestion that he would raise the issue of the armed struggle with the ANC at the May talks.

The ANC demands the lifting of the State of Emergency, release of remaining political prisoners, scrapping of repressive laws and the removal of troops from black townships.

Mandela, freed in February after 27 years in jail, declined to discuss his trip to Lusaka with reporters at Jan Smuts Airport.

"I am going to see friends," he said.

After meeting De Klerk last week, Mandela disclosed that an audacious plan to unite a wide range of anti-apartheid forces was far advanced.

He announced the pooling of resources with all anti-apartheid forces - including several homeland and municipal leaders whom the Government had assumed would be on its side in future negotiations.

Mandela is also engaged in talks to bring the Black Consciousness Azanian Peoples Organisation and the National Council of Trade Unions into the united anti-apartheid fold.

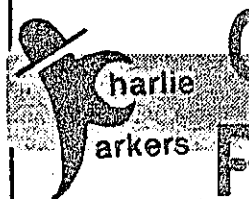
If he succeeds, they will join forces with the ANC and the MDM, which includes the UDF and COSATU, presenting a powerful front to the Government in future negotiations.

Government sources admitted privately that Mandela

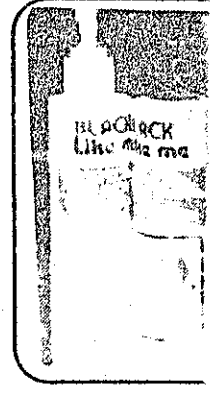
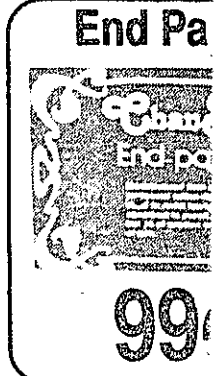
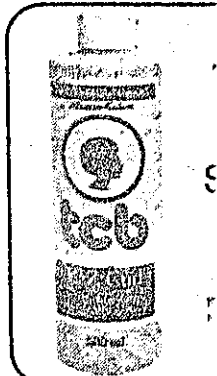
● To page 2

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continued



No. 3 We



Sowetan 21/4/90

# Mandela off to report to ANC

● From page 1

(11A)

had won the first round of the power game with his bold coup.

It has left the Government and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha movement angry and virtually isolated.

Mr Tom Boya, president of the United Municipalities of South Africa, confirmed that Umsa was falling in with Mandela's unity plans. He had already spoken to Mandela and would hold further talks with him this week.

Boya also disclosed he had drawn a number of black local authorities from the more conservative Urban Councillors' Association of South Africa (Ucasa) into the unity drive.



# Mandela <sup>11A</sup> mansion <sup>(10)</sup>

*Sowetan 7/4/90*  
SPECULATION is rife that the deputy president of the ANC, Mr Nelson Mandela, will be moving out of his four-roomed home to the Orlando West mansion when he returns from Lusaka this week.

Weekend reports quoted ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo as saying the decision followed consideration of the organisational obligations and the personal requirements of the deputy president of the ANC.

The 15-roomed mansion built atop a hillside in Orlando West in 1987, has been vacant since because Mandela had preferred to return to his old "matchbox" house.

# ANC, Azapo to talk on issue of violence

CMT Times 9/14/90  
BY PETER DENNEHY (11A) ~~11A~~

LEADERS of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and the ANC agreed in principle at the weekend to hold a "consultative conference" on violence.

Azapo president Dr Itumeleng Jerry Mosala and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela reached this agreement when they met in Johannesburg on Saturday, Dr Mosala said in Cape Town yesterday.

Violence by the state, violence against the state and violence between political organisations would all be discussed at that conference.

No date and venue have yet been set for the conference but it is likely to be later this month.

● PAC leader Mr Zeph Motopeng was at the St James Hotel yesterday with several senior PAC members including Mr Barney Desai and Mr Benny Alexander to pay courtesy calls on like-minded organisations such as Azapo, the New Unity Movement, the Cape Action League and Sacos.

...isations, including Nactu, were in the pipeline in the ANC's drive for a broad anti-apartheid front, he added.

To

# Tutu to assist ANC 'victims'

119 (119) *Cart Ticks 9/14/90*  
Staff Reporter *(2/5)*

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu has requested an African church group to investigate the case of seven former ANC members who said they experienced difficulties in being repatriated to South Africa after allegedly being tortured in ANC camps.

The men told reporter Julian Ozanne of London's Sunday Correspondent that they were stranded in Nairobi after the United Nations High Commission for Refugees refused to help repatriate them.

They asked Archbishop Tutu to assist them when he was in Nairobi last week.

A spokesman confirmed last night that Archbishop Tutu had seen the men and had asked the refugee section of the All-Africa Conference of Churches to look into their cases. Archbishop Tutu is the president of the conference.

The men said they were arrested and tortured at the ANC's Pango and Quatro camps in Angola.

ANC spokesmen could not be reached for comment last night. The Sunday Correspondent was also unable to obtain official reaction.

General Herman Stadler of the SAP said the stranded expatriates would be helped.

● Claims of torture in ANC — Page 2

# UDF, ANC to stay separate

## Political Staff

THE United Democratic Front and the African National Congress are to continue as separate but closely-linked movements.

The decision to form a pact came out of a national UDF workshop held at the University of the Western Cape at the weekend.

ANC deputy-president Mr Nelson Mandela addressed one of the meetings, which took place in closed sessions. He was given an enthusiastic reception.

He called for the establishment of a "patriotic front" of all anti-apartheid forces before a full negotiation process began.

ANC strategy appears to be to unite as many movements as it can — including some of the leaders of the self-governing "homelands" — under its banner before it goes to the negotiation table.

President F W de Klerk is keen to have all leaders and movements with significant support at the negotiations. The government wants to avoid the impression that negotiations will only be between it and the ANC.

At the workshop it was decided that



9/4/90 (11A)

**The ANC  
in exile:  
The full  
story  
— page 15**

**The  
Exiles**

**● Dissidents tell of  
torture in ANC camp  
— page 7**

the UDF would continue to exist but that the ANC would assume leadership at the level of policy making.

One of the arguments in favour of the UDF continuing next to the ANC was that the UDF is made up of a large number of organisations while the ANC consists of individual membership.

Before it was crippled by restrictions, the UDF in many ways functioned as a front for the banned ANC.

Mr Trevor Manuel, UDF Western Cape secretary, who was appointed to run the ANC's office in the Western Cape, today confirmed the decision.

Meanwhile the Pan Africanist Congress has ruled out forming an alliance with the ANC to face the government, says the movement's general-secretary Mr Benny Alexander.

The PAC had "observed" statements made by Mr Mandela that he wants to talk to them, he said.

"Our positions are so diametrically opposed that I don't see us coming together on a programme of liberation to face the government."

● The UDF has challenged Mr De Klerk, to come to Natal and "judge the situation there for himself", following claims that the State is using the black-on-black violence in Natal to further its own ends and that Mr De Klerk is not fully aware of what is happening.

The president of the National Medical and Dental Association, Dr Diliza Mji, yesterday accused the security forces of complicity "to try and break the back" of the MDM.

# Dissidents tell of torture in ANC camp

AKG 45 9/14/90

11A

Argus Africa News Service

NAIROBI. — Former Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) fighters stranded in Kenya and desperate to return home have described torture and shootings at the hands of the ANC in Angola following mutinies against the leadership.

They said that tortures inflicted on suspected spies and mutineers included beatings, dropping burning plastic on the prisoners' skin and forced enclosure in containers — a punishment known as "kulukudo".

They also claimed that the crackdown on dissidents within the organisation is carried out by the movement's own securi-

ty branch known as "Mbokodo" (crushing stone).

The group claim their pleas for help have been ignored by the United Nations High Commission for Refugees which openly admits supporting the ANC. They put their case to Archbishop Desmond Tutu during his visit to Nairobi where the group is living on the streets.

Amos Mazongo, Valdez Sibongile, Jacky Molefe, Ronnie Masango and Simler Molete decided to tell their story after escaping from Tanzania to Kenya, where the United Nations High Commissioner of Refugees has refused to help them. They now want to be repatriated to South Africa.

Sibongile, 28, said he fled

from South Africa after being injured with birdshot during student unrest in Port Elizabeth areas 10 years ago.

He now bears the scars of ANC torture when burning plastic was dripped on his skin for being involved in the 1984 Umkhonto we Sizwe rebellion against ANC leadership in Angolan camps.

For his part in the mutiny he was sent to the notorious Quatro prison camp in Angola, where he stayed until 1988. From there he was taken to Dakawa camp in central Tanzania, from where he fled in January with the others.

Mazongo also spent time at Quatro.

"When you enter there you must just forget you are a human being," he said.

According to the defectors, troubles within the ANC started in 1981 when a South African spy ring was discovered.

A brutal crackdown was then launched by Mbokodo, led by the head of security, Mswai Piliso, and the commissar, Andrew Musondo, who has since been removed from his position.

● Staff Reporter Dennis Cruywagen reports that the African National Congress today had "no comment" on allegations of widespread torture against dissident members of its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe.

ANC general-secretary Mr Alfred Nzo said from Lusaka today that he had not read the allegations in a British Sunday newspaper, the Sunday Correspondent.

● The exiles — the start of the exodus, page 15.

Row brews  
as Mandela  
ducks visit  
to Maggie

AGW 9/4/90

(11A)

(11A)

LONDON. — In a development that could have repercussions at Cabinet and even royal levels, the African National Congress here has confirmed that Mr Nelson Mandela will not see British Prime Minister Mrs Thatcher when he visits next week to attend an Easter Monday pop concert in his honour.

The Queen and Mrs Thatcher are said to be heading for a clash over the Queen's reported intention of honouring Mr Mandela, a move Mrs Thatcher is said to oppose.

The ANC's chief representative in London, Mr Mendi Msimang, said the invitation for talks Mrs Thatcher issued when Mr Mandela was released in February would be taken up later, when Mr Mandela hoped to return for an official visit to Britain.

#### PRIVATE AUDIENCE

The London Sunday Express claims Buckingham Palace wants to give the ANC leader a private audience.

Hopeful of seeing a democratic South Africa back in the Commonwealth, the Queen would like to bestow a personal honour on Mr Mandela in recognition of his courage, the paper says.

But, it adds, No 10 doesn't want to see that happen for fear that it emphasises Mr Mandela's failure so far to meet Mrs Thatcher.

There is also government concern that the ANC has not renounced violence, the paper claims. — The Argus Foreign Service and Sapa-Reuter.

## Mansion for Mandelas

*Call Taps ? 14/90 (110)*  
**JOHANNESBURG.** — The Mandela family will be moving into their mansion in Orlando West in Soweto immediately, according to a press statement from Mr Alfred Nzo, ANC secretary-general.

The statement said this decision had followed consideration of the organisational obligations and the personal requirements of the deputy president of the ANC, Mr Nelson Mandela, and the rest of his family.

“The NEC (National Executive Committee) will continue to review the housing requirements of, especially, the senior leaders of the movement, including those of the president and the deputy president, bearing in mind their public responsibilities, personal needs and family wishes,” Mr Nzo said in the statement. — Sapa

THE struggle for national liberation in South Africa has clearly entered its final, decisive phase.

Two political centres exist in the country — one around the apartheid regime, the other around the African National Congress.

The apartheid power bloc is becoming isolated, being deserted even by its traditional allies in the bantustans.

For the white power bloc as a whole (with the possible exception of the far right), the principal concern — now that it has finally realised and conceded it cannot cling onto its monopoly of political power — is with the kind of political dispensation possible for it to keep its social and economic privileges intact.

On the other hand, the national liberation movement — having learnt from the general African experience that Nkrumah's maxim, "Win ye first the political kingdom", is not enough if it is to govern with the consent of the people — knows the eradication of apartheid and the democratising of society must be accompanied by a substantial improvement in the quality of the lives of the people.

The current phase of struggle extends to both urban and rural areas.

The bantustan leadership is being swept out of power in many homelands.

In the urban areas, the basic conditions of apartheid — high rents, inadequate services, poor transport, rising prices while wages remain inadequate and large numbers of people unemployed — have also sparked off widespread rebellion.

In this situation of "dual power", the apartheid regime's moral and political legitimacy is negligible in the eyes of the people. It is able to maintain power only because of its security forces.

### **'The struggle must be transformed into a capacity to govern'**

The success of the international campaign to isolate apartheid makes it extremely difficult for Western powers to support and defend the South African government while it enjoys a monopoly over political power.

Simultaneously, the ANC enjoys overwhelming support among the

# Time to implement the Freedom Charter

**The MDM's intellectual leadership and committed academics should form a relationship for progressive policy research to be done to put the ideals of the Freedom Charter into practice. This is the message given by Professor JAKES GERWEL, rector of the University of the Western Cape. He was speaking on "Policy Research and the Struggle to Transform South Africa" at the Eduardo Mondlane University in Maputo, Mozambique last Tuesday. The following are excerpts from his address:**

oppressed and, since the release of imprisoned leaders, has been able to show this broad support — however, without being able to challenge the regime's military power.

These factors pointed to the possibility of the dominant contradiction in our situation being resolved through negotiations.

However, for these negotiations to result in a substantial victory for the liberation movement and the people, certain conditions pertain:

- Mass-based, democratic political structures have to be created. A situation of widespread, spontaneous struggles without the building and deepening of organisations is clearly not enough. The strategic challenge now is for the struggle to be transformed into a capacity to govern.

- Around the new strategy which now also encompasses negotiation, it is crucial that the national liberation movement is able to lead a united



Professor Jakes Gerwel

front of all anti-apartheid forces committed to non-racial democracy.

- Feasible policy options for key areas such as rural development, land reforms, housing, education and health have to be developed, as well as a capacity to carry them out.

A serious research project that desires to come to grips with investigating policy options for a new South Africa has to draw in the most creative and progressive intellectuals our country has.

The broad democratic movement, while quite successful in launching a widely-based onslaught against the state, has been far less successful in harnessing in equal measure the intellectual resources our country does possess.

Serious intellectual work that requires research in libraries, books, government records and so on necessarily creates social distance between the intellectual and the people who would benefit from such research.

Too often, this social distance is interpreted by activists to be a sign of lack of commitment or an unwillingness to take risks or to be at barricades!

One consequence of this attitude is that it gives rise to a crude anti-intellectualism.

The correct approach of a progressive movement is to understand the tension that exists between the need for intellectual work of rigour and practical work among the people.

It must become a dialectical one by ensuring we harness the intellectual resources of progressives while

creating conditions for an organic linking between them and our vibrant struggles.

Only then can both flower.

Another age-old problem that becomes particularly acute in regard to academics and academic work is that of the relation between autonomy and accountability.

The unqualified argument for autonomy, which appeals to the logic of science as if the practice of social research is not affected by social conditions and power relations, is patently flawed.

### **'It gives rise to a crude anti-intellectualism'**

However, it is perhaps more necessary to stress that the role of research and writing cannot be restricted entirely to providing the materials for and confirmation of already-defined policies.

This would reduce research to a purely ideological function and deny any autonomy or value to intellectual work, and hence to the critical yet essential function of such work.

The priorities defined at the political level become also the priorities of social research — however, not as conclusions but as the starting points of investigation.

In such a framework, a crude or mechanical understanding of accountability has to be avoided and actively countered.

The most notable and comprehensive attempt at policy research within

our liberation movement has been the initiative now known as the Centre for Development Studies (CDS).

The idea of the CDS, or of the need to create a project that examines or researches policy options for a post-apartheid South Africa, was a response to the changed political climate in the country in the wake of the mass nation-wide uprising after the Vaal upheavals in October 1984.

Conferences on the future of South Africa became a flourishing business in the West!

### **'Do we have the technical knowledge to give effect to worker control?'**

The ANC considered it important to not only contest this terrain but — because its analysis of the political situation indicated that a combination of circumstances did create the possibility of a decisive breakthrough — also to examine the shape and content of a new South Africa.

It was not enough to have a broad vision as contained in the Freedom Charter; it became imperative to initiate serious research into what were concrete possibilities of achieving that vision.

For example, it is one thing to say "The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks and monopoly industry of the people as a whole" and a quantitatively different task to work out concrete policies to achieve this.

Some of the questions that need to be asked and investigated are: What is the strength of working class organisations? Do we possess the technical knowledge to give effect to worker control? What are the implications of nationalising the mines and/or certain sections of monopoly industry? Would it cause a general flight of capital?

### **'Our people have fought a heroic struggle'**

Clearly, to undertake this kind of research, the broad democratic movement would have to enlist the broad support of progressive academics — many of whom would not be organically linked to the ANC and some who would have been fairly critical of the ANC.

A necessary condition for progressive policy research to take place is that some kind of relationship must develop between the intellectual leadership of the MDM and committed, creative academics!

In my view, the principal objective of the CDS ought to be to undertake research into policy options for a new South Africa.

It must generate research that facilitates the broad democratic movement (and the ANC) to formulate sound policies on a range of areas (such as education, housing, health, industrial policy) and their implications.

Our people have long fought a heroic struggle for national liberation in which many sacrifices — including the supreme one — have been made.

It is our task to ensure this was not in vain.

The broad general vision as contained in the Freedom Charter has to be transformed into clearly formulated and feasible options for a non-racial and democratic South Africa.

The huge sacrifices by so many people and comrades deserves nothing less from our intellectuals, researchers and the broad democratic movement.



# UWC trio hold language policy talks with ANC

By JOHN YELD  
Education Reporter

ARGUL  
9/4/90

THREE University of the Western Cape academics were among a delegation which discussed a language policy for South Africa with the African National Congress at a workshop in Harare.

They are senior Afrikaans lecturer Dr Ikey van de Rheede, representing the Union of Democratic University Staff Associations; national co-ordinator of the Centre for Development Studies (CDS) and senior history lecturer Dr Randi Erentzen, and education lecturer and National Education Co-ordinating Committee Western Cape representative Ms Zubeida Desai.

## BILINGUALISM

The workshop's general recommendations for a language policy for all levels of education included:

- Bilingualism in languages of the individual's choice;
- Initial literacy in mother tongue;
- Languages already fully developed as mediums of instruction — such as English and Afrikaans — should be retained;
- Indigenous languages should be developed and actively promoted for instruction;
- Multilingualism should be encouraged at secondary and tertiary level;
- Compulsory trilingualism

at primary school level should be dropped;

- Every South African to learn an indigenous African language by the end of high school;

- Private schools to be subject to government language policy; and

- The language policy to be re-assessed periodically.

"The basic premise of a new language policy is to enable people to participate fully in the political, social and economic life of the country," Ms Desai explained.

"No sudden shift was advocated, unlike Swapo who, from next year, will implement English as a medium of instruction.

## "TRANSITORY PHASE"

"Introducing a new language policy would be a transitory phase. English would retain its position as a medium of instruction and indigenous African languages will be systematically developed."

There would need to be a re-assessment of mediums of instruction at dual-medium schools "as the student population changes", she added.

The CDS will co-ordinate further research on a future language policy on a national basis.

# Claims of torture in ANC

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Allegations of the widespread use of torture and murder by the ANC against "dissidents" within its guerilla ranks were made in a leading newspaper here yesterday.

Up to 60 people were either allegedly killed or went missing during this period, according to seven former ANC guerillas who have sought refuge in Kenya.

There are clear similarities in their allegations to charges made by former guerillas against Swapo last year.

A number of prominent ANC leaders, particularly those heading its military wing, Mkhonto we Sizwe, are implicated in the liberal Sunday Correspondent's report.

The report says Archbishop Desmond Tutu last week met the seven in Nairobi where they asked him to find a way for them to be repatriated to South Africa as soon as possible. This was after the United Nations High Commission for Refugees refused to help them.

The Correspondent said attempts to get official comment from the ANC proved unsuccessful.

Reporter Julian Ozanne said that in making their allegations the men emphasised that their grievances were against the ANC's military wing and not against the political leadership, to whom they remained loyal.

He added that it was "worth pointing out that there have been many claims — and some evidence — that the South African government has deliberately infiltrated the ANC's military wing and sought to bring it into disrepute".

But, the reporter says, the testimony to him by the seven, who crossed illegally into Kenya from Tanzania last month, "paints a disturbing picture of divisions within the ANC".

'At least 60  
killed, missing

*Carl Truf*  
*9/4/90*  
*11A*

"Between them, the group of disillusioned ex-fighters in Nairobi can name at least 60 people who, they say, have been executed or tortured to death, died in detention or disappeared at the hands of the ANC's military wing in Angola and Tanzania."

The men, most of whom are named, are aged between 28 and 33 — and joined the ANC following the 1976 student uprisings.

Mr Amos Maxongo told the Correspondent he left South Africa after the banning of the South African Student Movement in 1977 and was recruited by the ANC in Swaziland. After doing six months' military training in 1979 at Novo Catengue in southern Angola, he was sent to Pango camp, north-west of Luanda.

"Tensions within the ANC came to a head in 1981. First a group of ANC officers, including two of Oliver Tambo's bodyguards, Sidwell Moroka Mhlongo and James Nkabinde, began expressing discontent about the way the leadership were living in exile. At much the same time, the leadership claimed to have discovered a South African government spy ring. An extensive crackdown followed against dissent inside the movement."

Mr Maxongo was reported as saying he was arrested at Pango Camp, tied to a tree and beaten with a shambok by the army commander, Ronnie Khabane. He was then sen-

tenced to three months' hard labour for "malicious propaganda" against the leadership.

The report says: "During this period, he alleges, hundreds of ANC cadres, frustrated by their inactivity in Angola, were rounded up for criticising the leadership. Many died during interrogation."

It says a feeling that the ANC should be devoting more attention to the armed struggle inside South Africa, rather than assisting the MPLA against Unita in Angola, "led to widespread mutiny inside the ANC camps in Angola — a mutiny supported by 90% of the fighters". This occurred in 1984.

In camps on the Angolan-Zambian border, the report says, the "mutineers" refused to go back into battle and called for the resignation of three prominent ANC military leaders. However, the rebellion was eventually crushed and its leaders were jailed in Luanda maximum-security prison.

"Three detainees apparently died later in detention after several months of torture."

Mr Maxongo told the Correspondent that following the mutiny, four companies of "disloyal elements" were taken to Pango Camp for re-education and held at a base called "Siberia". There they were allegedly beaten and kept in "containers dug into the ground" under the "blazing African sun".

They then, says the report, "mutinied again

and killed five ANC loyalists. After five days the camp was recaptured and seven rebels were allegedly executed by firing squads on the orders of a hastily convened military tribunal under Sizakele Sigxashe, head of ANC intelligence, and Timothy Mokoena, who led the ANC 'loyalist' assault on Pango".

Luvo Mbengo, alias Valdez Sibongile, said he was one of 16 who escaped, but were later recaptured. He said they were later tortured by having plastic melted on to their skin.

"They were told they were bandits and South African agents and would be put to death by firing squad. But after the intervention of Gertrude Shope, head of the ANC Women's Section, they were transferred to Luanda Central Prison."

Most were later transferred to an ANC detention camp nicknamed "Quatro", 13km from Quibaxi in northern Angola.

All seven men in Nairobi were held for four years at Quatro in "crowded cells with no ventilation", says the report.

There they were allegedly subjected to a number of humiliations and tortures, including being forced to "lie with their faces flat on a cement floor while officers in heavy Soviet boots allegedly jumped on their skulls to see if they would break".

According to Mr Maxongo, the ANC army commander, Mr Chris Hani, heavily guarded, was involved in a confrontation with the group in the assembly hall at Quatro.

"Hani mentioned the 1984 mutiny, so that was our chance to explain what happened to the people because the mutiny always remained a secret. We told Hani: 'You are a murderer. There are a lot of shallow graves in Angola because you guys have murdered people'," Mr Maxongo is reported as saying.

The report concludes by saying that without an offer of repatriation to South Africa by the UN, the men slipped into Kenya.

# ANC robs NP

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## Govt's allies join anti-apartheid front

oom to  
ad revival

vn Correspondent

DON. — The ex-  
rman of Premier  
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By MIKE ROBERTSON  
THE ANC's success in persuading  
some homeland leaders and ur-  
ban black councillors to pool re-  
sources with it has stepped up  
pressure on the NP to open its  
ranks.

The ANC, in announcing that talks about  
pooling resources with homeland leaders  
and urban black councillors have reached  
an advanced stage, has succeeded in out-  
flanking the government. These were the  
very people the government regarded as its  
potential allies.

And in further moves at forming a united  
anti-government front, Mr Nelson Mandela  
and other ANC leaders met Azapo in  
Soweto at the weekend, an ANC spokesman  
said.

Meetings with other black political or-  
ganisations, including Nactu, were in the  
pipeline in the ANC's drive for a broad anti-  
apartheid front, he added.

The PAC, meanwhile, met yesterday at the  
St James Hotel with Azapo, the New Unity  
Movement, the Cape Action League and Sa-  
cos.

Cabinet ministers have for some time be-  
lieved the NP has appeal far beyond its  
traditional white support base and the pos-  
sibility of opening its ranks was one of the  
subjects discussed at last week's "bush  
council" of ministers and deputies.

But fears that opening ranks will have a  
negative impact on its white support has  
until now directed their thinking along the  
lines of alliances with black leaders.

Early on Thursday morning government  
spokesmen were citing intimidation as the  
reason for the non-arrival of four homeland  
leaders for their scheduled talks with Presi-  
dent F W de Klerk.

Mr De Klerk himself told Mr Mandela  
when they met later in the day that no  
leaders should in any way inhibit talks on  
the widest possible level. He also objected  
to Mr Mandela having telephoned Labour

To page 2

P.T.O

Party leader Mr Allan Hendrickse asking him not to attend the talks. *cap times 9/4/90 (11A)*

Mr Mandela replied that the meeting between the ANC, KaNgwane's Mr Enos Mabuza, Lebowa's Mr Nelson Ramodike and Gazankulu's Mr Hudson Ntsanwisi and representatives of QwaQwa and KwaNdebele was aimed at addressing the question of pooling the resources of all anti-apartheid forces.

In addition to meeting the homeland leaders and Azapo and his planned meeting with Nactu, he also had had talks with Mr Tom Boya, president of the United Municipalities of SA, Mr Mandela said.

● Meanwhile, the government and the ANC on Saturday announced that their first round of "talks about talks", suspended by the ANC in protest at police shootings at Sebokeng, would be held from May 2 to 4 in Cape Town.

The announcements came on the eve of Mr Mandela's departure for Lusaka to brief ANC officials on the outcome of his three-hour Thursday meeting with Mr De Klerk.

Referring to the ANC decision to postpone the talks with Mr De Klerk after Sebokeng, Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda told Mr Mandela in Lusaka last night: "We believe it is a good thing to show them (the government) there is always a limit to what mankind can stomach."

● The steering committee set up by government and the ANC to prepare for the May talks between the two will also act as an informal "security commission".

This became clear when both Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela, after Thursday's meeting, hinted that the steering committee would be the channel used by the government and the ANC to deal with security problems as well as to try to prevent further outbreaks of violence.

Membership of the committee is not known, but the fact that Mr De Klerk said it included external as well as internal ANC members points to the probability that ANC intelligence chief Mr Jacob Zuma, the only external leader of the organisation known to have returned to SA, is one. On the government's side, it is likely that constitutional adviser Mr Fanie van der Merwe and foreign affairs director-general Mr Neil van Heerden are members.

# Queen, PM at odds on visit - paper

Star 9/4/80 The Star Bureau

(S) (CA)

LONDON — The Queen and Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher are on a "collision course" over the forthcoming visit of Mr Nelson Mandela, according to The Sunday Express.

In a front-page report by political editor Anthony Smith, the paper claims that Buckingham Palace wants to give the African National Congress leader a private audience while he is in London for the Wembley concert in his honour.

The Queen, hoping to see a democratic South Africa back in the Commonwealth, would like to bestow a personal honour on Mr Mandela in recognition of his courage, the paper says.

But, it adds, Number 10 does not want to see that happen for fear it emphasises Mr Mandela's failure so far to meet the Prime Minister.

There is also government concern that the ANC has not renounced violence, the paper claims.

Negotiations are going on at the highest level to find a compromise before relations are seriously damaged.

In a leading article, The Sunday Express says it is hard to see what Mr

Nelson Mandela hopes to achieve by snubbing Mrs Thatcher.

"Yet the ANC has ruled that he should refuse her invitation to No 10 Downing Street, and the signs are that he will obey those instructions."

The article remarks: "Isn't it strange that Mr Mandela has been perfectly happy to visit President de Klerk, whose regime kept him behind bars for a quarter of a century, yet seems reluctant to speak to a government leader who has fought consistently to secure his release?"

A spokesman at Buckingham Palace yesterday declined to comment, saying it was not policy to respond to reports of alleged disputes between the Queen and the government.

He added, however, that any meeting between the Queen and Mr Mandela would be undertaken only at the recommendation of the Foreign Office.

A spokesman for Mrs Thatcher responded in similar vein when approached yesterday, saying, "This is a palace matter and not for us to comment on."

● See Page 15.

# Both ANC, Azapo deplore the violence

Moves toward the urgent resolution of the violence plaguing parts of South Africa, and the presentation of a united front against the Government, were discussed at a meeting between leaders of the ANC and the Azanian People's Organisation in Soweto on Saturday night.

A joint statement issued by the two organisations deplored the violence and blamed it on "apartheid colonialism".

"Unity in action and peace among our people require urgent resolution," the statement said, adding that a two-member committee comprising ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela and Azapo president Mr Jerry Mosala had been formed to contact other organisations to discuss the possibility of an all-encompassing consultative conference.

This is seen as the latest move to emanate from a host of meetings-about-meetings about talks-about-talks.

Another committee was established to deal specifically with ways to seek an end to the violence and to speak to the leadership of various organisations in an effort to address the people in the war-torn areas and so halt the killing.

This committee is to report back within a week on its progress.

The statement said both organisations "stressed the principle of political tolerance and therefore unity in diversity".

Saturday's meeting was a one-off event and further contact between Azapo and the ANC would continue, the statement said. — Sapa.

# Scare leaflet dismissed by leaders, police

The Commissioner of Police yesterday said the SAP was convinced no attacks on whites by blacks were planned for today.

An inflammatory pamphlet has been distributed, calling for an uprising and mass killings today. The pamphlet has been widely dismissed and ridiculed.

General Johann van der Merwe said police were prepared for any eventuality. But all rumours and reports of such attacks had been thoroughly investigated and proven false.

"I give the assurance that we have no information on any such attacks. I also appeal to people not to take notice of these rumours and not to spread them," he said.

A spokesman for the Mass Democratic Movement yesterday joined other organisations in dismissing the pamphlet.

Mr Cassim Saloojee, the president of the Transvaal Indian Congress, said the pamphlet was circulated by "people with sick minds" who feared change and wanted to spread fear.

## Tissue of lies

Professor Ruben Sher of the Department of Immunology of the South African Institute for Medical Research has dismissed claims in a widely circulated pamphlet, purportedly from the ANC, "as a tissue of lies from beginning to end and not based on any scientific or medical facts".

Police are investigating the origin of the pamphlets and have appealed to the public not to panic as it was doubtful that the call would have any success.

Professor Sher said he had decided to react to the pamphlet because he had received dozens of telephone calls from distressed people.

The pamphlet quotes the professor as having "proved" that Indian women had the antibody to the Aids virus.

In a statement the professor said: "The fact that a person has antibodies to the virus indicates the person is indeed infected with the virus; is infectious and can pass on the virus to others during sexual contact. To say the only way to protect against becoming infected is to have sexual relations with a person who has antibodies is completely incorrect and dangerous."

Sexual contact with a person with the antibodies would not confer immunity on the non-infected person.

"It is my opinion that the ANC would not stoop so low as to publish such racist filth," Professor Sher added. — Staff Reporters.

# ANC grows from seeds of old 'Ngwenya'

"It is impossible to miss what you have never known."

This is how ANC leader Sam Masemola, his hand tightly balled into a fist, describes how he feels about the meeting he hopes to have soon with his 29-year-old daughter, whom he has never seen. "When I left home I left her in the womb," he says, only his fist betraying the pain the words once again lay bare, "my son was only four. He is 33 now, but I can still only picture him in my mind as a little child".

Ever since he fled his home on April 19 1960 — the date forever burnt into his brain — Sam Masemola has lived "in exile", moving from country to country, from duty to duty — and until last year he had never even spoken to the family he left behind.

Among the old guard of the ANC — the "Ngwenya" as they are called by those who followed in their footsteps — such stories are not uncommon.

Connoisseurs of irony will appreciate that the Afrikaans translation of the Xhosa word "Ngwenya" would be "groot crocodile" — the term that came to be applied to former State President P W Botha.

The world that the early ANC exiles fled to after the organisation was banned, along with the Pan Africanist Congress, on April 8 1960, was a far kinder place for exiled African "freedom fighters" than is the case today.

Much of Africa had still to attain "uhuru", and colonial authorities tended to have little sympathy — and gave no help.

The first member of the ANC to tread what was to become a well-worn path into exile was the organisation's president, Oliver Tambo, who had previously been selected by the ANC to re-create the organisation abroad if it were banned in South Africa.

In the early hours of April 11 he was waved into Botswana by a sleepy border guard on the start of a journey that would lead through the then Southern and Northern Rhodesias to Dar es Salaam in colonial Tanganyika.

Well received by the Tanu party of Julius Nyerere, he established a fledgling presence for those who followed, before heading off to London in an attempt to address the United Nations General Assembly on the South African situation.

Just over a week later Sam Masemola was ordered to follow.

11A  
Star 9/4/90  
This month, the African National Congress will record (celebrate is not the right word) its 30th year of exile. During this time the organisation in exile has grown dramatically from a few hunted men, dependent upon the charity of others, to perhaps 20 000 men, women and children, involved in an organisation with an annual budget of hundreds of millions of rands. **KEN VERNON** of The Star's African News Service records the creation and growth of the ANC in exile as seen through the eyes of the people who made the history.

"No one ever just left, we were ordered out. I was helped by a group of young whites to cross into Swaziland, which in those days meant just driving across the border because there were no border guards."

Oliver Tambo had left behind James Hadibe as the ANC representative, and after contacting him Sam Masemola was shown to his accommodation. He found that all the "liberation organisation" exiles in Dar es Salaam were squashed together into one house.

Mr Masemola was later appointed to act as a guide and courier on the ANC's filtration route through Botswana, Zambia and Tanganyika because, following his border experience, he had quickly learnt to speak Kiswahili.

At this time, and for a long time afterwards, the "ANC in exile" was more a dream than a reality. Many of the early exiles I spoke to said that at the time of leaving they believed they were going abroad to join an existing "liberation army".

Another Ngwenya is National Executive Committee member Sindiso Mfenyana. He left the country in January 1962, a member of the first organised group to leave the country, each expecting to undergo military training.

"But shortly before we left we were taken to a secret meeting with Nelson Mandela at which he told us we had been selected, not for military training, but to study in the Soviet Union.

"We took 13 days to reach Dar es Salaam, a record. Later groups took much longer because word seemed to get back to the SAP that groups were leaving the country and security was tightened.

"Also the next group that left, which included Thabo Mbeki, tried to follow in our footsteps but were arrested in Southern Rhodesia and sent back to Botswana. Later groups bypassed it and travelled through Botswana to Northern Rhodesia via Livingstone".

By this time the "ANC in exile" had greatly expanded — and now consisted of two over-crowded houses and an overcrowded office.

"We shared an office with the PAC that was known as the 'United Front of South Africa'," says Mr Mfenyana, "but that didn't last for long because we felt they were listening in on our phone calls".

After what was usually a few months the young men were sent off for study, usually to the Soviet Union, but also to Algeria or Egypt.

Another NEC Ngwenya is James "Jimmy" Stuart, who left South Africa on June 19, 1964.

Another date burnt indelibly into another mind. By the time he left, the path beaten four years earlier by Tambo had become a worn path, but conditions in exile hadn't changed much.

"We found an Africa on the brink of freedom, full of optimism and expectation — we also found real poverty like we had never seen."

Already banned for some time under the Suppression of Communism Act, he formed part of a group of 45 that travelled to the Botswana border in two Land Rovers and a truck.

They were dropped off near the border where they were met by a man known only as "the pilot" and guided 30 km across the border.

Despite the 4½ years since Tambo had left the country, they were only the second such group to be sent for military training.

When he reached Dar es Salaam two weeks later he found the ANC had gone up in the world and had two "residences" of its own — Luthuli residence and Mandela residence — an office and, luxury of luxuries, two vehicles — a battered Land Rover and a down-at-heel Morris Oxford station wagon.

Food, simple but nourishing, was abundant, and everyone had a camp cot to sleep on. "By then we had about 500-600 people in exile and these were to form the core of the group that really created and organised the ANC in exile as we know it today."



## Mandela in Lusaka to consult executive

LUSAKA — ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela arrived at his organisation's headquarters in Lusaka yesterday for consultations with the exiled leadership on recent developments in South Africa.

Mr Mandela was accompanied by his wife, Winnie, ANC military intelligence chief Mr Jacob Zuma and UDF general secretary Mr Popo Molefe.

Mr Mandela, who is expected to return to South Africa tomorrow, will hold talks with members of the ANC's national executive committee today.

Last Thursday's meeting between Mr Mandela and President de Klerk brought back on track exploratory talks that had been postponed by the ANC from April 11 in protest against the shooting of at least 17 blacks at Sebokeng.

The talks between the South African Government and the ANC will now take place in Cape Town from May 2 to 4.

Sources close to the ANC said the Lusaka meeting would look at Mr de Klerk's suggestion that he would raise the issue of the armed struggle with the ANC at the May talks.

The ANC has said the South African Government should clear obstacles to negotiations before an agreement is possible to end hostilities.

The ANC demands the lifting of the state of emergency, release of remaining political prisoners, scrapping of repressive laws and the removal of troops from black townships. — Sapa-Reuter.

## CP claims to have secret ANC plan

5 10:4 10/4/90  
PRETORIA — The CP claims to have access to a document from the ANC which outlines plans to make the homelands ungovernable.

It claims that in terms of the plan right-wing leaders would be monitored with a view to assassination.

ADELE BALETA reports ANC leader Walter Sisulu yesterday challenged the CP to produce the letter.

He said the CP claims had serious implications and the ANC would like to see the document. "There is no truth in the CP's allegations," he said.

CP leader Andries Treurnicht said in a statement government had been

informed of the letter's contents.

The letter had been seen by Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda and had been sent to ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela. (1/1)

The document, allegedly drawn up by the ANC's national executive committee, outlined strategies to carry out counter-attacks against Inkatha and to place "terrorist cells" in the homelands to render them ungovernable. "Special comrades" would be infiltrated to carry out attacks in reaction to right-wing deeds. (1/1)

President F W de Klerk's spokesman said last night De Klerk could not be reached for comment. — Sapa.

# We won't link up with ANC to face Government - PAC

11A  
Sowetan 10/4/90

THE Pan Africanist Congress has ruled out forming an alliance with the African National Congress to face the Government, says the movement's general-secretary Mr Benny Alexander.

The movement had "observed" statements made by ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela that he wanted to talk to them, he said.

"Our positions are so diametrically opposed that I don't see us coming together on a programme of liberation to face the Government.

"The fact that the PAC has decided to continue the struggle has strengthened us tremendously to be in a position to bargain.

"The ANC said at the weekend that it is prepared to lay down arms and to come naked to the negotiating table. This

## Sowetan Correspondent

shows that they won't be in a position to join the PAC in a joint programme of liberation," Alexander said.

However, there was a possibility of the two organisations meeting and agreeing "to respect each other's autonomy and our respective rights to propagate our ideas without intimidation", he said.

Alexander said the PAC had paid a "courtesy call" at the weekend on organisations not aligned to the United Democratic Front or the ANC.

He named the organisations which had met the PAC as the South African Council on Sport, Azanian People's Organisation, New Unity Movement and the Cape Action League.

# 'OR' will return once his flock is safe

THE man who is accredited with single-handedly building up the external wing of the ANC - the president of the movement, Oliver Reginald Tambo - will be the last of the exiles to return to South Africa.

Tambo, who has spent 30 years in exile, is expected to make his comeback in December and hand over to his deputy president Nelson Mandela at the ANC's first legal conference in South Africa. That will happen only if his "flock" are safely back in the country by then, sources close to him say.

But it's thought unlikely that Tambo (72), who has been a leader of the ANC for so long, will return to full-time political life.

Since he suffered a stroke last August, his health and movements have been among the ANC's most closely guarded secrets. The stroke is blamed on the overload of work on drawing up the Harare Declaration - his brainchild and the ANC's blueprint on negotiations - and an exhaustive trip around Africa to get it accepted by the OAU.

## Cordon

For the four months "OR" has spent recovering from a brain spasm in a clinic south of Stockholm a virtually impenetrable cordon has been thrown around him.

ANC president Oliver Tambo is expected back in South Africa in December and will hand over to his deputy president Nelson Mandela at the organisation's first legal conference in South Africa. SARAH CROWE of the Sowetan Foreign Service reports from Stockholm.

In that time much of what he has dedicated his life abroad to has taken place - his organisation has been legalised, his closest allies, Walter Sisulu and Nelson Mandela, have been released from life imprisonment, the old triumvirate is back on top and negotiations between the ANC and the South African Government no longer seem unrealistic.

In all this not a word has been heard or read from the ANC president. That's the way the movement - and the man - want it.

## Typical

"It's typical of him. He's a man of immeasurable modesty, always putting others above himself. He's always turned down awards in favour of Nelson (Mandela) and he wants him now to take over the leadership," said a friend.

In February Tambo tried to hand over the reins to Mandela and sent London representative Mendi Msimeng to Lusaka to relay his wishes. But the national executive committee voted: "Tambo for president" - again.

The ANC has gone to great pains to make sure that its president is as well as a stroke-victim

is carefully scrutinised by the ANC office before being passed on.

His recovery is said to be impressive. Photographs and recent BBC TV footage (shot by the ANC) of his meeting with Mandela seem to back that up. Members of delegations from South Africa have been well pleased with his state of health and have taken instructions from him as though nothing had happened.

## Progress

Tambo's son, Dali (33), said: "It's been tremendous to see the quiet victories he's achieved - getting back

could be expected to be before he is put under the strain of public scrutiny.

The chief representative to Sweden, Billy Modise, zealously guards Tambo like an angry bear with its cubs. Armed guerrillas from Umkonto we Sizwe - including one who once trained a later-day budding boxer, Nelson Mandela - are at his side around the clock. A full-time Swedish guard is posted in the corridor outside his small private ward and the Swedish police patrol the area around the clinic regularly.

Even the constant stream of flowers and well wishes from foreign embassies and individuals



OLIVER TAMBO

placed by a soft greying beard.

The ANC leader is apparently more involved in day-to-day politics than might be expected. He gets daily briefings and faxes and is in constant contact with Mandela and Sisulu in particular and also the national executive committee in Lusaka.

Away from politics Tambo dabbles in watercolours, goes for walks and listens to classical and South African choral music.

his speech and then his old eloquence, and walking again. He's really come far."

During his time in Sweden, Tambo has overcome the paralysis of his left side with the help of physiotherapy and the country's top neurologist.

A "clean-living" man who used to be known as "The Christian" and has never drunk or smoked, Tambo is kept on a strict, meatless diet. He's a slimmer man now and his sideburns have been re-

# New role for UDF now that ANC is unbanned

*Sowetan 10/14/90 (11A)*

THE United Democratic Front would continue to exist but the "ANC would assume leadership at the level of policy making", the UDF decided at a key national workshop at the University of the Western Cape at the weekend.

UDF national publicity secretary Mr Terror Lekota said on Sunday night the workshop was held to determine the UDF's position in the context of "new conditions" created by the unbanning of the ANC.

The recommendations made at the workshop, attended by more than 250 delegates, would be discussed by UDF regions nationwide and would then be referred to a national general council which would finalise the decisions.

However, there was no doubt that the UDF would continue to exist and that the ANC would assume leadership of the "liberation" movement, he said.

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela addressed the workshop on Saturday after his talks with State President FW de Klerk on Friday and "mentioned the need to establish a patriotic front of all anti-apartheid forces ahead of the full negotiation process".

"Such a patriotic front would have to include even progressive homeland leaders and the national workshop will make it a recommendation to national general council," said Lekota.

Recommendations included that:

- \* The UDF continues to exist, "because it still has a role to play in terms of co-ordinating its affiliate organisations";

- \* It transforms itself by splitting into "national sectoral federations" which would consist of super federations like youth and womens' groups; and

- \* The base of the "liberation" movement should be broadened to include those who had not previously participated in UDF structures. - Sapa.

**PLACE ORDER  
SOCIETIES AND  
SKIRTS AND**

# ANC quiet on torture claims

NAIROBI - The African National Congress has confirmed that a group of South Africans who claimed to have been tortured by the ANC were once members of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the organisation's armed wing.

**SOWETAN  
Africa  
News Service**

Deputy chief representative for the ANC in East Africa, Henry Chiliza, confirmed the men had been involved in a revolt against the leadership and had been sent to Quatro detention camp in

Angola.

He would not comment on the allegations of brutality and torture.

The spokesman said the men had been pardoned by ANC president Oliver Tambo in 1987 and had been expelled in January for "actions incompatible with the ANC".

He said the mutineers had killed several officers when they took over the Pango camp in Angola during the revolt.

Last week Amos Mazongo, Valdez Sibongile, Jacky Molefe, Ronnie Masango and Simler Molete said they

● To page 2

## ANC torture claims

● From page

wanted to be repatriated to South Africa but the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees refused to help them.

They described tortures and shootings at the hands of the ANC in Angola following

mutineers against the movement's leadership.

They said that tortures inflicted on suspected spies and mutineers included beatings, the dropping of burning plastic into the prisoners' skin and their forced enclosure in containers - a punishment known as *Kulukudo*.

They also claimed that the crackdown on dissidents within the organisation is carried out by the movement's own security branch known as *Mbokodo* (crushing stone).

**S FOR LADIES'  
LEAGUE FOR  
BLOUSES**

## 'ANC' carved on man's arm

CAPL-Times 10/4/90 Staff Reporter

A GROUP of men assaulted an Orkney mineworker and carved the initials "ANC" into his arm in Heidelberg, Transvaal, at the weekend.

A Heidelberg resident said the man, Mr Andre Kotze, 18, hammered on his front door and when he opened the door he found Mr Kotze covered in blood.

The resident, Mr Lionel Coetzee, said he was told by Mr Kotze — who is white — that he was assaulted by a group of black men who told him he was being assaulted to see whether "his blood was the same as theirs".

APC Files 10/4/90/119

## Mandela not to meet queen

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Buckingham Palace said yesterday that there was "no truth whatsoever" in a report claiming that Queen Elizabeth wanted a private meeting with Mr Nelson Mandela, against the wishes of Mrs Margaret Thatcher.

Mr Mandela and his wife Winnie will arrive in London at the weekend for the a giant Easter Monday Mandela pop concert at Wembley Stadium.

A palace spokesman said a meeting between the queen and a foreign visitor like Mr Mandela could be arranged only through the Foreign Office and there had been no request even to consider such a meeting.

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# ANC <sup>11A</sup> confirms dissidents were members

Argus Africa <sup>MS</sup>  
News Service 10/4/90

NAIROBI — The African National Congress has confirmed that a group of South Africans who claimed to have been tortured by the ANC were once members of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the organisation's armed wing.

Deputy-chief representative for the ANC in East Africa, Mr Henry Chiliza, confirmed that the men had been involved in a revolt against the leadership and had been sent to Quatro detention camp in Angola.

He would not comment on the allegations of brutality and torture.

Mr Chiliza said the men had been pardoned by the ANC's president in 1987 and had been expelled in January for "actions incompatible with the ANC".

## APPEAL TO TUTU

He said the mutineers had killed several officers when they took over the Pango camp in Angola during the revolt.

Last week Amos Mazongo, Valdez Sibongile, Jacky Molefe, Ronnie Masango and Simler Molete said they wanted to be repatriated to South Africa and appealed to Archbishop Desmond Tutu for help after they said the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees had refused to help them.

They described tortures and shootings at the hands of the ANC in Angola following mutinees against the movement's leadership.

They said that torture of suspected spies and mutineers included beatings, dropping burning plastic on the prisoners' skin and their forced enclosure in containers, a punishment known as "kulukudo".

# 'Assassination' plot absolute rubbish — Sisulu

ARC 45 16/4/90 (11A) ~~11A~~

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The African National Congress has dismissed as "absolute rubbish" allegations by Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht that the ANC planned to assassinate rightwing politicians and members of the security forces.

The ANC's internal leader, Mr Walter Sisulu, said today: "Rubbish. There is no such document."

President De Klerk also denied knowledge of a secret ANC document which Dr Treurnicht claimed had recently been revealed to the government.

A spokesman for the President's office said the government would like the CP to give full details to the police so that appropriate steps could be taken.

The government was determined that law and order should be maintained and that the lives of all citizens, regardless of race, colour or political association, should be protected.



Mr Walter Sisulu

The Democratic Party also dismissed Dr Treurnicht's claims as "nonsense".

The CP leader said "a trustworthy source" had told him that the government had recently been informed about a secret ANC document sent by the organisation's executive to deputy-ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela for approval.

Dr Treurnicht said the document, drawn up by the ANC's Mr

Joe Slovo, provided for alternative structures to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha, the use of violence to make the homelands ungovernable, the infiltration by "special comrades" to commit acts of terror in retaliation to action by rightwing groups and the security forces and monitoring of rightwing protests to assassinate the organisers and the families of security force members.

DP co-leader Mr Wynand Malan said he believed the ANC was committed to peace and negotiation, although it had had problems in creating structures after a 30-year ban.

"It has never even contemplated such action against establishment politicians, let alone rightwingers who don't even have power. Dr Treurnicht's claims smack of trickery and does him no favours. If he didn't make it up, he should at least try to verify his sources."

*Cap. Times 10/4/90 11A*

## Buthelezi 'will not be squeezed out' of talks

ULUNDI. — Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi says he is not going to be "squeezed out" of the negotiation process.

He referred to a report which said ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela had won the first round of a campaign to bring homeland leaders into the ANC fold. "Any attempt to squeeze me out will not succeed," he said.

● The Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa) was dragging Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini into politics, Inkatha's London representative, Mr Ben Skosana, said yesterday.

He was reacting to remarks by Contralesa leader Chief Mhlabanzima Maphulumo, who said King Goodwill was under the control of Chief Buthelezi's "apartheid" KwaZulu government as it supported the monarch financially. — Own Correspondent and Sapa

# 'Torture'<sup>CNT</sup> by ANC:<sup>Tomb</sup> UN probe<sup>11A</sup>

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The United Nations is investigating charges that its officials refused to help five ANC dissidents who fled to Kenya from "torture" camps in Tanzania and Angola controlled by the military wing.

The inquiry by the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) could reveal the tip of an iceberg of ANC brutality similar in scale to Swapo atrocities against its own members, which are still being investigated.

The commissioner has asked for information from Africa following reports alleging large-scale murder, torture and the disappearance of ANC guerillas.

A UNHCR spokesman said there would be a thorough investigation. Demands for information had already been sent to the UNHCR's Nairobi office.

*Art. 10/14/90/11A*

# Mandela talks to exiles

LUSAKA. — Mr Nelson Mandela began talks with exiled leaders of the ANC at a secret venue in Zambia yesterday.

"They are not going to tell anyone where they are meeting. The talks started yesterday and they need peace for their discussions," ANC spokesman Mr Tom Sebina said.

Mr Mandela, the ANC's deputy president, arrived in Lusaka on Sunday for a two-day visit and immediately briefed Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda

## Winnie's R100 fine admits guilt

JOHANNESBURG. — Mrs Winnie Mandela has paid a R100 admission of guilt fine for failing to pay unemployment insurance for workers at her Richmond fish and chip shop, senior Johannesburg public prosecutor Mr Kevin Atwell said yesterday. Mrs Mandela has also paid insurance arrears to the Department of Manpower. A warrant for her arrest has been withdrawn. — Sapa *Art. 10/14/90/11A*

on events in South Africa.

The ANC, which postponed exploratory talks with Mr F W de Klerk recently, will meet Mr De Klerk in Cape Town on May 2.

The ANC is demand-

ing the lifting of the state of emergency, the release of all political prisoners, the scrapping of repressive laws and the removal of troops from black townships before they will agree to end hostilities. — Sapa-Reuter

# Flare-up fear as two die in Crossroads

By EDWARD MOLOINYANE  
and GRAHAM LIZAMORE  
Staff Reporters

AK645

10/4/90

(11A) (222) (EVO)

AT least two people have been shot dead and two wounded in Old Crossroads in what is believed to be an upsurge in violence in the township.

According to police liaison officer Lieutenant Denise Brand, police recovered the bodies of at least two people in Old Crossroads. They had been shot in the head.

A man and a youth who had been wounded were taken to hospital. A 44-year-old man and a 35-year-old woman were shot in the head.

Police also found a man in his 40s who had also been shot in the head. He was taken to Groote Schuur hospital where his condition was said to be serious. Another victim, a boy of 12 who had been shot in the calf, was taken to the Red Cross Children's Hospital.

Lieutenant Brand said a suspect aged about 34 had been arrested.

## HEARD GUNFIRE

A woman said she was reporting for duty when she heard gunfire. She decided it was safer to run back to the township and saw a man running towards her. She heard screams and saw a white combi heading towards her from the township.

She saw a woman's body at the side of the road. She ran to a house and told residents. When she left the house, the man she had seen in front of the combi was also dead.

She said three more bodies were found in the street. They were taken away by police.

# Group plans to bring back 'people's courts'

## Staff Reporters

"People's courts" — which were controversial at the height of the 1984-86 unrest — will be re-introduced in Tembisa soon, the Tembisa Youth Congress (Teyco) revealed yesterday.

At a press conference attended by the entire Teyco executive in Johannesburg, Teyco president Mr Sam Semetse announced that included in the congress's programme of action for the year was the re-introduction of "people's courts", to be manned by "disciplined regiments," in an attempt to combat crime in Tembisa.

He said: "We intend to combat crime (by) forming regiments in our different sections (in Tembisa). Regiments (will) be accountable to the people and be protectors of the people."

Police reacted sharply to the announcement yesterday and said "people's courts" would be smashed.

A Law and Order Ministry spokesman said "people's courts" were illegal and were associated with the barbaric necklacings of 1985/86 and other cruel punishments meted out.

These "kangaroo courts" allowed no appeal for sentences.

"Any alternative structures are illegal and we will act against them wherever they are found. If so-called 'people's courts' are found, they will be smashed."

The Teyco executive said at yesterday's press

conference that "people's courts" would be revived in a sincere effort to combat crime, and that strict discipline and a code of conduct for the people involved in the planned "regiments" would be enforced.

## 'Graffiti squads'

"We will continue with the people's courts in a very disciplined way and strictly within regiments. There will be a code of conduct for people in the regiments," said Teyco treasurer Ms Debora Marakalala.

The organisation's secretary-general, Mr Philémon Nzimande, said Teyco regarded crime as one of the evil results of apartheid. Consequently, apart from the soon-to-be-revived "people's courts", anti-crime rallies would be held to teach people about the iniquities of crime.

Tasks the Teyco executive has set for itself include:

- Putting more pressure on town councillors to resign and be replaced by "organs of people's power".
- The formation of "graffiti

squads which will continue with the work of popularising our organisations and our leaders, so as to declare our township as an ANC (territory)".

- To embark on educational programmes "to prepare and guide the youth in order to grasp the progressive ideas of our revolution".

- To support the "motherbody", the South African Youth Congress, and participate in all its activities.

- To set up an intensive campaign to call for the release of Tembisa-based political prisoners such as Andrew Maphethi, Obed Madonsela, Chris Khumalo, Vusi Mngomezulu and Paul Mathole, including those on death row such as Joseph Chidi and Boxer Molefe.

The Teyco executive told of repressive measures and police harassment they had to endure under the state of emergency since Teyco's formation in 1986, resulting in the organisation's inability to hold an annual congress before the only one held three weeks ago.

# Natal townships 'on verge of eruption'

Star 10/4/90

(Z)

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(T/A)

## Political Reporter

As renewed fighting broke out in strife-torn Natal yesterday, unrest monitoring groups warned that the province's black townships were on the brink of exploding and that the police were losing control.

Democratic Party offices in Durban and Maritzburg, the areas hardest hit by the violence which has left hundreds dead and thousands homeless, reported increased tension yesterday.

The DP MP for Greytown, Mr Pierre Cronje said: "The perceptions are that even the army cannot save the people and if this is so we are faced with full-scale anarchy."

## Upsurge

Monitors said the conflict had moved from Edendale outside Maritzburg, where police backed by troops had managed to contain the conflict, to Mpu-malanga near Hammarsdale, the hillsides around Durban and kwaMakhuta near Amanzimtoti.

A DP spokesman in Maritzburg attributed the upsurge in violence to yesterday's

stayaway, organised by Cosatu and the United Democratic Front, and impatience by thousands of refugees to go back home.

Unrest monitoring groups estimated the total number of refugees currently being housed at churches and community halls in town centres at about 44 000.

"Every available hall is packed to capacity," a DP spokesman in Durban said.

Mr Richard Fowler, convener of the Displacee Relief Committee — a committee of an ad hoc crisis group of about 30 organisations — said about 14 000 refugees were being given shelter at 10 centres in Maritzburg alone.

An estimated 4 000 refugees have moved into Durban's central business district, The Star's Own Correspondent reports.

Durban City Police, Durban Central Residents Association and the Black Sash estimate there are about 800 people, mainly from Umlazi, who have moved on to the beach front; another 800 at Durban station; 400 at the Ecumenical Centre; 350 have joined the growing band of street people; 300 in the Warwick Avenue Triangle; 210 at

the Expo Centre; 200 at the Berea Road station; 200 at the Centenary Road bus terminus and another 800 on vacant lots in the district.

Black Sash chairman Mrs Wendy Annecke said an urgent appeal had been launched for clothing, food, medicines, blankets, foam rubber mattresses, soap, towels and nappies.

On Sunday night 210 women and children who escaped from kwaMakhuta spent the night at Medwood Gardens, opposite the Durban City Hall. The women and children left the township in minibuses after fighting broke out at the weekend.

## Outburst

The Black Sash and the Centre for Adult Education at the University of Natal in Maritzburg said the death toll was much higher on the side of the Cosatu/UDF/ANC and most refugees belonged to that alliance and not Inkatha.

Chief Buthelezi's movement angrily denied the allegation as "just another wild outburst of unsubstantiated claims".



# ANC confirms revolt, silent on torture claims

The Star's  
Africa News Service  
NAIROBI — The ANC has confirmed that a group of five South Africans, who claimed to have been beaten and

tortured by the movement, were once members of its armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The deputy chief ANC representative in east Africa, Mr Henry Chiliza, said the men had been involved in a revolt against the leadership and had been sent to Quatro detention camp in Angola.

He would not comment on the men's allegations of torture.

The spokesman said the men had been pardoned in 1987 and had been expelled in January 1990 for "actions incompatible with the ANC".

The mutineers had killed several officers when they took over the Pango camp in Angola during the revolt.

Last week, the five told reporters they wanted to be repatriated to SA but the UN High Commis-

sioner for Refugees had refused to help them.

● General H Stadler of the SAP public relations division yesterday said stranded expatriates should try to make their way to an SA embassy or consulate, or apply to have their cases taken up through a foreign embassy if there was no SA embassy in the country they found themselves in.

Star 10/4/90 (11A)

## ANC has death plot - CP

The Conservative Party claims to have access to an ANC document which outlines plans to make the homelands ungovernable and to monitor right-wing leaders with an eye to assassinating them. *Star 10/4/90*

A statement by CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht says the Government has been informed of the contents of the letter, which has also been seen by Zambian President Dr Kenneth Kaunda and has been sent to ANC deputy leader Mr Nelson Mandela.

The document, allegedly drawn up by the ANC's national

executive committee, outlines strategies to carry out counter attacks against the Inkatha movement, to place "terrorist cells" in the homelands to wage a campaign to render them ungovernable, and to infiltrate "special comrades" to carry out terror attacks in reaction to deeds carried out by right-wing groups or by the security forces.

A spokesman for the State President would not comment immediately, nor was a spokesman from the ANC offices in Johannesburg available. Calls to ANC headquarters in Lusaka were not answered. — Sapa.

## The myth of an 'army of liberation'

# The hard reality of exile

THE 30th year of exile of the African National Congress falls this month. During that time the organisation has grown dramatically from a few hunted men, dependent upon the charity of others for their food and shelter, to perhaps 20 000 men, women and children involved in an organisation with an annual budget of hundreds of millions of rands.

In this, the second part of a three part series, KEN VERNON of the ARGUS AFRICA NEWS SERVICE reports from Lusaka, Zambia, on the consolidation of the organisation in exile after the initial wave of exiles following the banning of the ANC on April 8 1960.

IN the years following the banning of the ANC in 1960, hundreds of young men fled South Africa to join an "army of liberation" that would surely soon surge back to free their people.



## The Exiles

But such an army was a myth, and the dreams of all who fled in those early days were destined for destruction on the hard rocks of reality in a world in which the ANC was virtually unknown.

By 1965 the initial wave of people fleeing South Africa after the banning of the ANC had slowed to a dribble and the organisation entered a static period that lasted until the massive outflow of new exiles following the 1976 unrest.

National executive committee member James "Jimmy" Stuart estimates that during that first five-year period a maximum of 1 000 members left South Africa.

### Education

Many of these people however, especially those with advanced education and training, such as doctors, were lost to the organisation because they did not fit the mould of young men wanting to enlist for military or other training.

A group of 21 black ANC nurses who fled the country were appointed to hospitals in Tanganyika — an early example of South African "foreign aid" to Africa — but later dispersed around the world

down. They must have some real stories to tell."

But likewise, those that did fit the mould were scattered across all points of the globe in a post-ban diaspora.

Most ended up in the Soviet Union, while others went to Algeria, Egypt, Cuba, China and to Scandinavian countries.

"Headquarters" nominally continued to be the one room office in Dar es Salaam, but in reality it was wherever the leadership could get together.

As Africa cast off the shackles of colonialism during the sixties, so the ANC came to be accepted as part of the army of "freedom fighters" attached to the diplomatic cocktail circuits in the newly independent countries.

from his job as main linkman on the Botswana/Zambia/Tanzania exfiltration route, and early in 1964 left for training in Communist China, followed by a stint in the Soviet Union.

"I have very fond memories of China. Compared to life in Tanganyika, China was very good. There was lots of food, clothing and equipment. We even had entertainment!"

Another early soldier was James Stuart, who was a member of only the second group of ANC members sent to the Soviet Union for training.

### White people

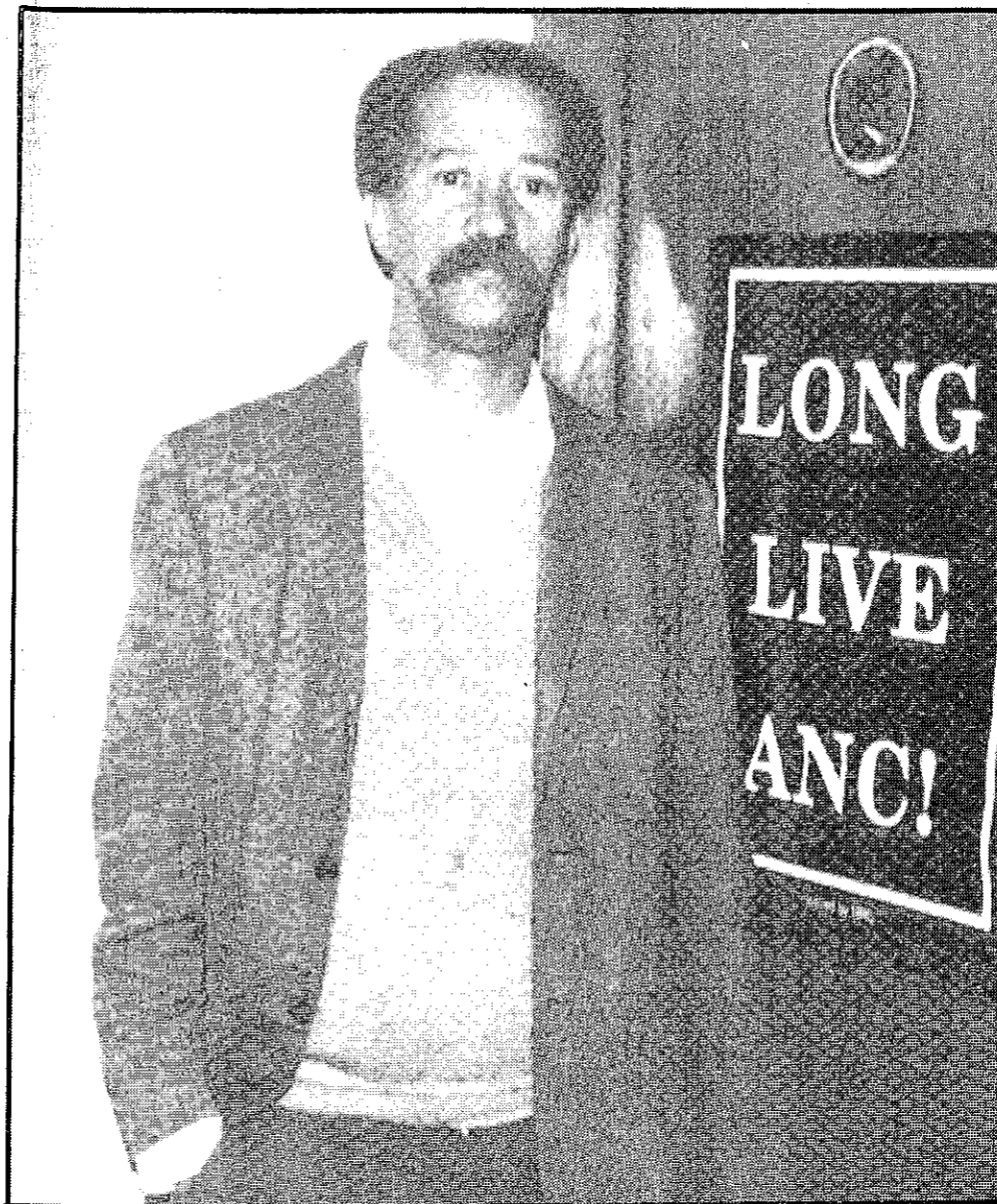
"We were sent to Odessa," he recalled. "That was the first time in my life I had any close contact with white people. In South Africa I had never even been into a hotel.

"There we found we could sit down and talk with our white instructors about everything, about our families, our hopes and fears, and we felt that they understood and sympathised."

Something that everyone I spoke to recalled about those early days of travel into new and different societies was the broadening effect it had upon their outlook compared to the stifling and restricted society they had fled from.

Those who did not go for military training usually ended up studying either economics or engineering.

"From the group of nine that I travelled to the Soviet



Mr James "Jimmy" Stuart, a member of the national executive committee of the ANC, who originally came from Cape Town — an early soldier who was a member of the second group sent to the Soviet Union for training.

Federation of Democratic Youth.

After 15 months military training at Odessa, James Stuart found himself posted as commanding officer to the ANC's first military base at Kongwa, near Dodoma in Tanzania.

In 1966 James Stuart left with the first group selected to infiltrate South Africa to organise "mass insurrection".

Secrecy was the keyword, but things went awry and he and his group ended up spending an entire year inside a house in Lusaka, without

Slowly, and without really planning to, the ANC began to build up the core of experienced leaders that are still in charge of the organisation today.

In 1969 the ANC reached a watershed at the Morogoro consultative conference.

Here the direction in which

up to standard — we had to build our own school to bridge that gap".

Another major decision was taken to divide the organisation into three major sections.

An Office of the President was created to oversee the liberation struggle internally and externally. The Office of the Secretary General was created to control the various non-military departments and an Office of the Treasurer General created to control the finances of the organisation.

### Funds

An immediate effect of the reorganisation was an influx of funds as countries who had previously decided they could not donate to a military orientated organisation now gave funds, food and clothing to the ANC education or other departments.

"For several years after the move to Lusaka the organisation's headquarters operated from the 'Liberation Centre' set up in the city, which we shared with other organisations such as Zapu, Frelimo and Swapo," said Mr Mfenyana.

"In 1974 when I was transferred to headquarters we had, apart from our shared office, one car and two rented houses for about 100 people."

One of the legends of the ANC in exile revolves around that one solitary car that for years comprised the entire ANC transport department.

"It was an old '32 Fiat and I really looked after it like it was my baby," says James Stuart, who for years was in charge of the vehicle.

### Museum

"For years it serviced the entire movement in Lusaka, carrying people all over the place — we are trying to trace it now to try and find a place for it in a museum."

In 1975 the ANC moved out of the Liberation Centre, and into its "own" office — shared with a Zambian businessman — in an attempt to avoid the

were appointed to hospitals in Tanganyika — an early example of South African "foreign aid" to Africa — but later dispersed around the world as no permanent posts could be found for them.

"I heard that some married in Tanganyika, one ended up married to an Irishman and another moved to Australia," says NEC member Sindiso Mfenyana. "It would be interesting to try and track them

came to be accepted as part of the army of "freedom fighters" attached to the diplomatic cocktail circuits in the newly independent countries.

But while diplomatic contacts were painstakingly made, the first priority continued to be the creation of an army of liberation.

One of the first to be sent for military training was Sam Maseomola, who was recalled

Those who did not go for military training usually ended up studying either economics or engineering.

"From the group of nine that I travelled to the Soviet Union with, five studied economics and the rest some form of engineering," said NEC member Sindiso Mfenyana.

### Engineers

In reality the ANC had little immediate need for either economists or engineers, so graduates found themselves pressed into service doing whatever was needed, wherever it needed to be done.

Engineers found themselves assigned as political representatives to newly-independent African countries, soldiers found themselves administering fledgling offices.

The first posting for Mr Mfenyana as a newly-trained economist was as ANC youth representative to the World

training at Odessa, James Stuart found himself posted as commanding officer to the ANC's first military base at Kongwa, near Dodoma in Tanzania.

"We had to build that camp from the ground up ourselves, including our own vegetable gardens, and we were only allowed out on weekends — for the rest it was military and fitness training and political discussions," he says.

Posted to a similar camp, Sam Maseomola found life "very harsh" after the soft-spots of China.

"The Organisation of African Unity was in charge and we shared the camp with Swapo, Zapu from Rhodesia and Mozambique's Frelimo.

"We only got meat once a month and there were no fresh vegetables or fruit. But eventually we started our own vegetable garden and ended up supplying the nearby town."

Secrecy was the keyword, but things went awry and he and his group ended up spending an entire year inside a house in Lusaka, without once being granted permission to leave. One member of the group ended up mentally unbalanced by the ordeal.

### Military camp

"We were all a bit naive about what we thought we could achieve at that time," Stuart admitted.

Later he was put in charge of a military camp on the Rhodesian border from where ANC detachments fought alongside Zapu soldiers against the Rhodesian government, where he says the ANC lost "hundreds" of men.

During this "period of consolidation" virtually every senior member was subjected to a constant round of military postings, interspersed with stints of further study or political appointments.

charge of the organisation today.

In 1969 the ANC reached a watershed at the Morogoro consultative conference.

Here the direction in which the organisation was drifting was subjected to exhaustive analysis. It was decided to move the headquarters from Tanzania to Zambia in order to facilitate infiltration of cadres into South Africa.

Another major decision taken was to expand the organisation from being purely military orientated. Departments of education, health, legal and religious affairs and so on were founded, as well as women's and youth branches.

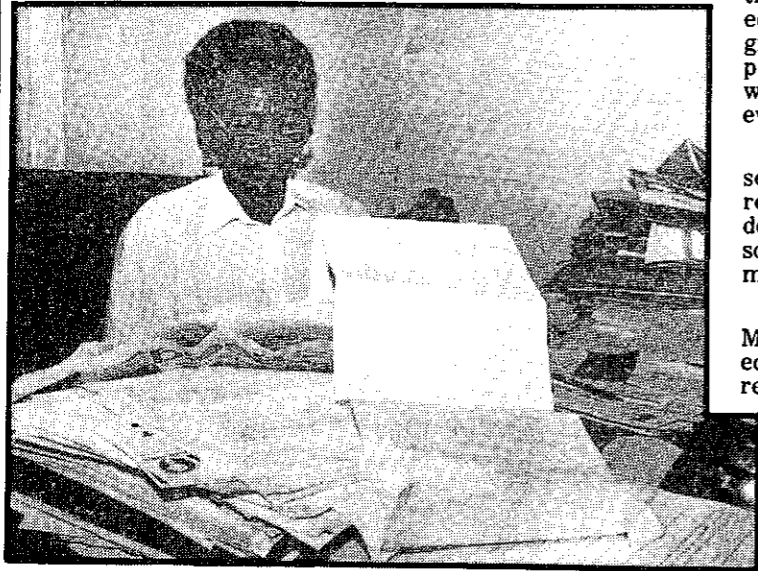
"When we started to send young men to African countries for further studies, it really brought home to us the inadequacies of the Bantu education system," recalls Sindiso Mfenyana. "African countries couldn't accept our students because they weren't

In 1975 the ANC moved out of the Liberation Centre, and into its "own" office — shared with a Zambian businessman — in an attempt to avoid the many attacks being made against Lusaka by Rhodesian security forces.

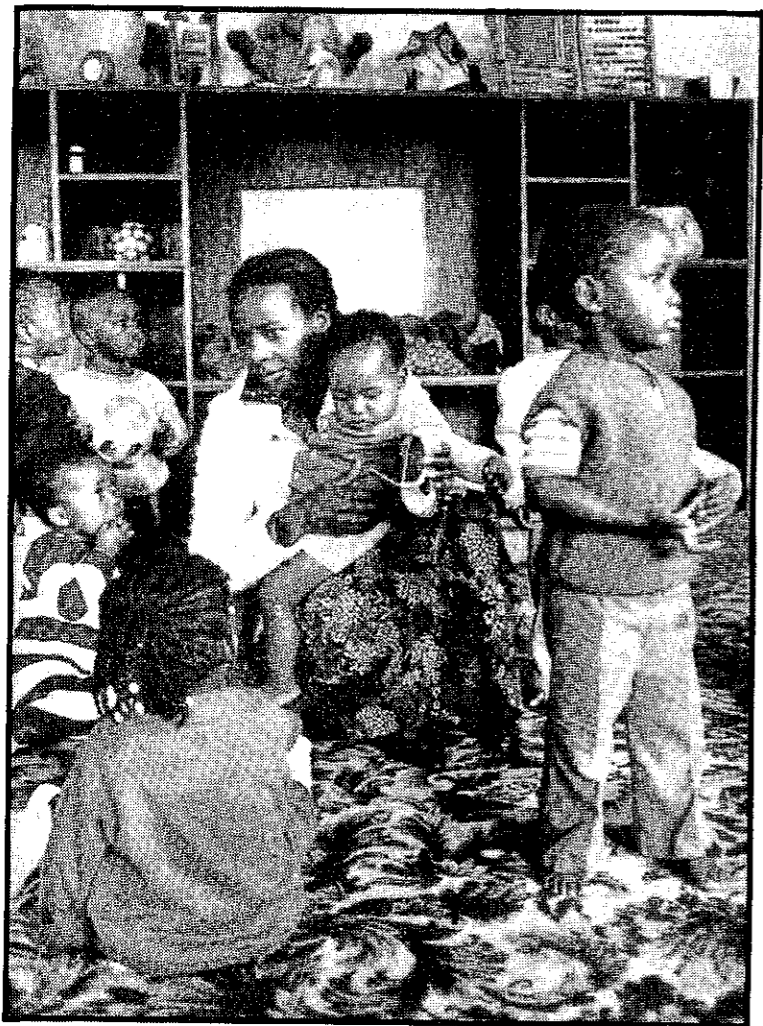
"We had to move to a different location every few days to avoid being targeted, and living out of a small suitcase became a part of life," said James Stuart.

While ample food, clothes and other necessities, supplied mainly by Scandinavian countries and anti-apartheid organisations, were available for the relatively few members operating from Lusaka at this time, they were to prove totally inadequate when in 1976 the ANC was hit by the huge flood of youths fleeing South Africa in the wake of the Soweto uprising.

● Tomorrow, the ANC becomes a major liberation corporation



Mr Tom Sebina, an official spokesman for the ANC and one of the early exiles at ANC headquarters in Lusaka.



An ANC creche in Lusaka — established in later, more affluent years.

**Minister  
loses job**

*Oct 11/80*  
*10/14/80*  
*(11/20)*

THE Deputy Minister of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture in the Ministers' Council of the House of Delegates, Mr S Pachai, has been relieved of his office.

The State President, Mr F W de Klerk, said in a statement yesterday that he had decided to relieve Mr Pachai of his office.

Mr S V Naicker is to be appointed Deputy Minister of Housing.

There will no longer be a deputy minister of Local Government and Agriculture in the Ministers' Council of the House of Delegates. — Sapa

# EC visit may set new policy on SA

5/10/90

111

ALAN FINE

A HIGH-POWERED EC delegation is due to arrive in SA tomorrow morning on a three-day fact-finding visit, the outcome of which could decisively affect the future of European sanctions policies against SA.

The 20-strong delegation, headed by Irish Foreign Minister Gerald Collins, whose country chairs the EC, is to meet a wide variety of SA organisations ranging from the ANC and PAC to CP leader Andries Treurnicht.

Their visit was decided upon at a meeting of the Council of Ministers of the EC in Brussels on February 20.

The EC "troika" — as the composition of the delegation is described — will also include, as the immediate past and future chairs of the EC, representatives of France and Italy. They will be French deputy foreign minister Thierry de Beaucé and his Italian counterpart Susanna Agnelli.

The other senior politician in the delegation is EC Commission vice-president Frans Andriessen. The delegation is scheduled to arrive tomorrow on separate flights from London, Paris and Rome.

Italian Embassy second secretary Alessandro Cortese said yesterday the purpose of the visit was for EC representatives to meet all in SA concerned with constitutional development.

The delegation would report back to Brussels on its findings on events in SA

since President F W de Klerk's February 2 speech at the opening of Parliament.

It was hoped the visit would assist the EC in developing its policy on SA, he said.

He expected that, with 12 countries having to reach agreement on the question, this would be a lengthy process. But, depending on the delegation's impressions, it could be the beginning of a process of changing or refining EC policy.

Tomorrow afternoon has been set aside for meetings in Johannesburg with the ANC, UDF and Cosatu. An ANC spokesman said at the weekend deputy president Nelson Mandela would be arriving back from his Lusaka trip in time to meet the group.

On Thursday the delegation flies to Cape Town, where it will meet De Klerk and other government representatives.

In the afternoon it is scheduled to see the SA Council of Churches, House of Delegates head J N Reddy, and Treurnicht. It will also meet various members of the business community including, it is understood, a delegation from the SA Chamber of Business.

On Friday the EC group returns to Johannesburg, where it will see Labour Party chief the Rev Allan Hendrickse, the DP

To Page 2

## EC visit

5/10/90  
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From Page 1

and the PAC.

It will also meet representatives of the Kagiso Trust — the body through which much of the funding for anti-apartheid organisations has been channelled.

The delegation plans to meet KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi on Saturday morning before flying home.

In 1986 the EC banned the import of SA iron, steel and Krugerrand gold coins, and barred new investment in SA. British non-

compliance with aspects of EC sanctions has already caused dissent in the EC.

The UK regards the iron, steel and coin embargoes as mandatory, but not the investment ban. Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher has indicated her intention to phase out certain sanctions.

Before 1986 the EC froze scientific and cultural relations with SA. Britain has already announced it is no longer observing the scientific and cultural embargo.

# FW, Mandela face to face

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela are set to meet late today in a bid to reschedule a date for talks to remove obstacles to negotiations.

De Klerk's office would not issue any details yesterday but Mandela said in Johannesburg that it was scheduled for 6pm.

Meanwhile, there was uncertainty as to which of the homeland leaders, scheduled to meet De Klerk earlier in the day to discuss the structuring of negotiations, would actually attend the meeting.

It is expected Mandela will get short shrift from De Klerk if he reiterates his earlier call for the removal of Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok.

Government spokesmen concede that on the ground some policemen's conduct

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**MIKE ROBERTSON**

might be questionable, but reject accusations that the force in general is undermining negotiations. (2/2/88) (11A)

Police spokesman Herman Stadler said yesterday that individual policemen had taken sides in the Natal fighting and they would be dealt with.

But police did not believe this problem was widespread, he said.

□ ALAN FINE reports that Mandela said yesterday the ANC had worked harder than any other organisation for a meeting between itself and government, and it would not allow any flimsy reason to prevent it arriving at that goal.

● See Pages 3 and 8

## UDF concedes 'liberation' leadership to ANC

CAPE TOWN — The UDF would continue to exist but the "ANC would assume leadership at the level of policy making", it was decided at a national UDF workshop at Western Cape University at the weekend.

UDF national publicity secretary Terror Lekota said on Sunday night the workshop was held to determine the UDF's position in the context of "new conditions" created by the unbanning of the ANC.

The recommendations made at the workshop, attended by more than 250 delegates, would be discussed by various UDF regions nationwide and then be referred to a national general council for decision finalisation.

However, there was no doubt that

the UDF would continue to exist and that the ANC would assume leadership of the "liberation" movement.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela addressed the workshop on Saturday after his talks with President F W de Klerk on Friday and "mentioned the need to establish a patriotic front of all anti-apartheid forces ahead of the full negotiation process", Lekota said.

"Such a patriotic front would have to include even progressive homeland leaders and the national workshop will make it a recommendation to the national general council."

Recommendations included that the UDF continued to exist, "because

it still has a role to play in terms of co-ordinating its affiliate organisations".

*It should be transformed by being split into "national sectoral federations" consisting of federations like youth and women's groups.*

The base of the "liberation" movement should be broadened to include those who had not previously participated in UDF structures.

This would include "all homeland leaders and people who have served in government structures but who acknowledge the leadership of the liberation movement, provided that they are genuine and not in conflict with the masses on the ground". — Sapa.



# Mandela, Azapo peace bid

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and Azapo president Jerry Mosala represented their organisations at a meeting at the weekend which could lead to closer cooperation between anti-apartheid groups to end internecine violence.

The two leaders agreed to make contact with other "liberation movement" organisations, including trade unions, with a view to drawing from them an undertaking to work towards a "consultative conference" on black-on-black fighting.

Azapo spokesman Strini Moodley yesterday said his organisation was attempting to bring the PAC into a three-way conference on the matter.

Following Saturday's meeting in Johannesburg, an ANC spokesman said the ultimate aim was to form a united anti-government front. A joint statement deplored the wave of violence in SA and blamed it on "apartheid colonialism".

Moodley said an Azapo delegation had met PAC officials on Sunday at an introductory meeting, and efforts were being made to set up a meeting between the top

ALAN FINE

leadership of the organisations.

Azapo's intention was "to create a united front against the De Klerk regime by the various sections of the liberation movement", Moodley said.

To the extent that unity proved to be impossible because of political differences, Azapo wanted the groups to encourage an atmosphere of tolerance for political diversity among "liberation" organisations.

Moodley said ANC and Azapo officials had already begun working among their supporters in areas where violent conflict between them had erupted.

These areas included Giyani, Mhlabeng near Randfontein, Bekkersdal, Carletonville, Potchefstroom and parts of Natal and the western Cape.

The intention was for the officials to work out, in consultation with local leadership, mechanisms by which conflict could be resolved, Moodley said.

ANC spokesmen could not be reached for comment yesterday.

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# Flickering hopes

NICOLA CUNNINGHAM-BROWN

DURBAN — It was the lighted candles that broke the ice.

The prayer service in Ntuzuma near Durban recently was tense at first when members of Inkatha and the United Democratic Front (UDF) filed into a massive tent and faced each other grimly from opposite sides.

But when it came time to exchange candles, they embraced each other and wept, and promised that never again would they attack and hurt one another.

It was not the first time such promises have been exchanged. There have been several attempts before to secure peace after nearly three years of bloody confrontation, killings, rapes, arson and looting which has left nearly 3 000 people dead and thousands of homes destroyed.

But on each occasion the violence has broken out again. Now Natal residents are sceptical about these grassroots peace initiatives.

In the immediate area surrounding Durban alone, the violence claimed 178 lives in December, 107 in January and 105 in February, according to the co-ordinator of the Democratic Party's unrest monitoring group, Roy Ainslie. So far this month at least 18 people have died.

## Deep-rooted causes

There have been ongoing peace talks between leaders of Inkatha and the Council of SA Trade Unions/UDF alliance, and every so often the violence simmers down, raising hopes among victims that their lives will return to normal once again.

But reality paints a different picture. The violence is far too deep-rooted and complex to simply disappear overnight.

Many political analysts have described the Natal violence as symptomatic of problems apparent in the rest of the country. Appalling socio-economic conditions have created a general feeling of discontent among black people, who are forced to compete for inadequate and limited resources, which in turn has given rise to "tsotsism" and criminal activities.

Rapid urbanisation, lack of infrastructural resources for residential purposes and widespread unemployment are very serious problems in Natal. Durban, said to be the second fastest growing city in the world, is surrounded by massive and constantly mushrooming squatter areas, where between 500 and 1 000 people can depend on the same single tap for water. Families are squashed into tiny tin-and-mud shacks, which wash away every time it rains. There is no electricity, no sewerage system and no roads.

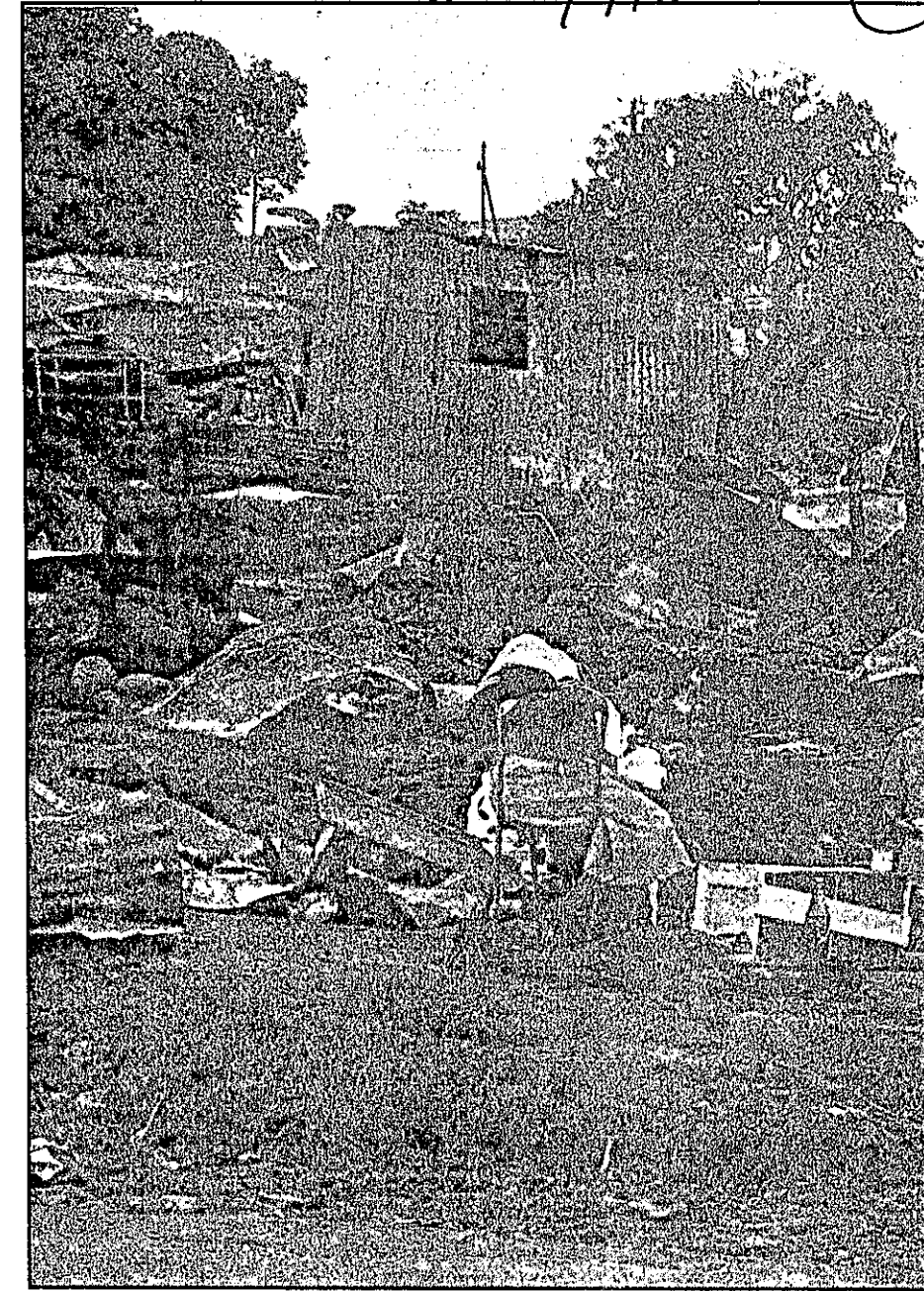
Gangsterism is on the increase. There are at least 10 well-established gangs operating in Durban's townships, who leap on the political bandwagon and constantly perpetrate atrocities in the names of Inkatha and/or the UDF or ANC.

And the problem of violence is compounded by the political struggle between Inkatha and the UDF/Cosatu alliance.

Research into reasons for the violence has been widespread. John Aitchison, director of the Centre for Adult Education at the University of Natal in Maritzburg, suggests that there are two reasons for the violence: That it is simply a later

against government structures that started elsewhere in 1984/85, or that it is by nature a different conflict altogether, between differing political factions.

He said the two are not mutually exclusive, but that the second option is more compelling, and would certainly explain



RUINS OF WAR: To these despairing Natal squatters, caught up in a miasma of misery, th

## UDF-Inkatha clashes take no hee

occasions.

Formal peace talks between Inkatha and the Cosatu/UDF alliance have followed a path fraught with difficulties. They took over a year to get off the ground, and late last year the Inkatha central committee declared a moratorium on the talks.

However, although the Chief Minister of kwaZulu and president of Inkatha, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, believes these peace talks have not achieved much, the leaders who are involved are cautiously optimistic about their success.

KwaZulu Minister of Education and Culture

Dr Oscar Dlamini believed that had had a good start, the violence began in June, the rate of deaths decreased to an average of nine.

The violence has again taken a toll on the urban

# Pressure mounts on NP to open its ranks

CAPE TOWN — The ANC's success in persuading some homeland leaders and urban black councillors to pool resources with it has stepped up pressure on the NP to open its ranks. *11/4/90*

Cabinet Ministers have for some time believed the NP has appeal far beyond its traditional white support base and the possibility of opening its ranks was one of the subjects discussed at last week's *bos-beraad* (bush council) of Ministers and deputies.

But fears that opening ranks will have a negative impact on its white support have until now directed their thinking along the

lines of alliances with black leaders. *11A*

However, the ANC, in announcing that talks about pooling resources with homeland leaders and urban black councillors have reached an advanced stage, has succeeded in outflanking government. These were the very people government regarded as its potential allies.

Early on Thursday morning government spokesmen were citing intimidation as the reason for the non-arrival of four homeland leaders for their scheduled talks with President F W de Klerk.

De Klerk himself told Mandela when they met later in the day that no leaders

should in any way inhibit talks on the widest possible level. He also objected to Mandela having telephoned Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse asking him not to attend the talks.

Mandela replied that the meeting held between the ANC, KaNgwane's Enos Mabuza, Lebowa's Nelson Ramodike and Gzankulu's Hudson Ntsanwisi and representatives of QwaQwa and KwaNdebele was aimed at addressing the question of a pooling of resources of all anti-apartheid forces.

In addition to the homeland leaders,

To Page 2

## NP under pressure *11A*

From Page 1

Mandela also had talks with Tom Boya, president of the United Municipalities of SA and with Azapo and planned to meet Nactu. *11/4/90*

The steering committee set up by government and the ANC to prepare for the May talks between the two will also act as an informal "security commission".

This became clear when both De Klerk and Mandela, after Thursday's meeting, hinted that the steering committee would be the channel used by government and the ANC to deal with security problems as well as to try to prevent further outbreaks of violence.

Membership of the committee is not known but the fact that De Klerk said it

included external as well as internal ANC members points to the probability that ANC intelligence chief Jacob Zuma, the only external leader of the organisation known to have returned for a short while to SA, is one.

On government's side, it is likely that constitutional adviser Fanie van der Merwe and Foreign Affairs director-general Neil van Heerden are members.

Hinting at a security role for the steering committee, De Klerk said that his meeting with the ANC delegation had contributed towards better communication to avoid misunderstandings that could result in an outbreak of violence.

● Comment: Page 4

# Attacks were by the whole community, says Inkatha

W/ Mail 12/4-19/4/90  
Allegations have been made against Inkatha on the recent attacks on UDF communities. Inkatha researchers reply.  
By CARMEL RICKARD

A MASSIVE onslaught against "United Democratic Front communities" in the Natal midlands and Mpumalanga was the result of outrage in the "Inkatha communities" about the behaviour of many of the comrades.

That's the explanation given by researchers at the Inkatha Institute when asked about the recent upsurge in violence.

They were commenting on a serious new trend in the conflict: large groups of people from areas associated with Inkatha attacking areas labelled UDF.

Unlike previous violence, which usually took the form of attacks on selected houses, the new fighting has brought assaults on entire communities.

The Joint Working Committee of the UDF and Cosatu has said the attacks were by large, armed "Inkatha *impis*". At the height of fighting in the midlands late last month, monitors recorded seeing about 12 000 armed men in the field, most of whom were members of these "Inkatha *impis*", according to the JWC.

However, Inkatha Institute researchers said after interviewing large numbers of people involved in the fighting, or closely associated with it, they have come to a different conclusion.

They do not dispute large numbers are involved, but say it is incorrect to say the attacks are orchestrated or planned by Inkatha leadership.

Institute director Gavin Woods said they discovered enormous anger over the "tyranny" exercised by comrades living in "UDF areas".

This growing anger and the potential for an explosion had been detected three or four weeks before the Midlands blew up.

"There was escalating harassment by comrades of commuters going through the valley from outlying areas to town. People reported these incidents to the police. When nothing happened, people complained the police were supporting the comrades."

He said on March 24 a woman and her child were badly stoned on Edendale Road. The next day buses going to an Inkatha rally were stoned. A mini bus was burnt with a number of passengers inside.

The following day barricades were set up on the roads and a vehicle belonging to Chief Shayabantu Zondi — who claims a constituency of 100 000 people in the Mpu-muza area — was stoned. The chief's child was slightly injured.

"This appear to have been the catalyst.

"There was a lot of discussion and a decision manifested itself that these people in the communities being terrorised by the comrades would go and deal with them," Woods said.

"People told us it was the whole community who became involved. Yes, there was an input from Inkatha structures in the area but it was not an Inkatha card-carrying decision. It was more a question of the community being taken beyond its tolerance.

"It's interesting to us that many involved in the attack were people from an age group not usually involved in the fighting. Up to now it's been the youth doing the fighting. But these were adults — many were aged 50 or so.

"It came up quite clearly that it was the anger of the whole community — not just the Inkatha elements in it. It wasn't just Inkatha people who were being harassed and intimidated.

"We can understand the reasoning for attacking whole areas although we cannot condone it."

He said researchers from many areas were hearing complaints about the youth running amok and terrorising communities.

"On the whole the people we spoke to have not talked about Inkatha and UDF. They are simply complaining about the comrades and say they want to live in peace and improve the quality of their lives.

"They feel they have achieved some success through the attacks. The communities have certainly shown the comrades that they mean business," said Woods.



**BLAZE . . .** One of the six homes torched during faction violence in Old Crossroads last night.

Picture: OBED ZILWA

# Woman 'executed' in Xroads killings

*Cape Times 11/4/90 (11A) 250 272*

Staff Reporters

**WITNESSES** yesterday described how three men shot and felled a fleeing Old Crossroads woman before walking up to her and cold-bloodedly executing her at point-blank range.

The 35-year-old woman, identified only as "Miriam", was one of four Old Crossroads residents who fell victim to the three gunmen about 7am yesterday.

Another unidentified person was shot dead as violence continued in the camp last night, bringing the total of recorded deaths there to five.

Emergency personnel said scores of people fled their homes last night as a group of people torched about six homes.

Fire engines were at first not able to enter the area and had to wait for police reinforcements because of the intense violence, a spokesman for the fire brigade said last night.

The others who were shot yesterday morn-

ing were Mr Nodali Sibunzi, 44, who died instantly when the gunmen shot him in the head, and Mr Lungfile Dyan, 40, who was late yesterday in a critical condition in Groote Schuur Hospital with a similar head wound.

All three of those executed yesterday morning were apparently on their way to work. Extensive and independent inquiries by the Cape Times and by police failed to provide an immediate motive by late yesterday. Residents claimed that seven people were killed, police had records of two while a Groote Schuur spokesman said four people were dead on arrival, plus one critical and one serious.

The shootings are almost certainly linked to the ongoing feud between supporters of the Old Crossroads Committee and the breakaway faction of 15 headmen led by Mr Jeffrey Nongwe.

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From page 1

## Crossroads

*Cape Times 11/4/90 (11A) 250 272*

All victims are or were followers of Mr Nodali Sibunzi.

The fourth known victim, 12-year-old Victor Zuzile Stinking, was wounded in the calf by a stray shotgun cartridge apparently aimed at an old man who escaped with his life by knocking the weapon to one side as it was fired.

Eyewitnesses said this round knocked the old man's hat off and a second, fired as he fled, also missed and pierced a shack, hitting 12-year-old Victor who was admitted to Red Cross Children's Hospital.

Eyewitness Mr Javula Tunzane, 41, said he earlier emerged from his shack to see "two or three" men around a woman on her knees "as if praying".

"One guy in a striped shirt grabbed her pulled a gun from his waist belt and shot her in the head. They let her drop and walked on behind a building when I heard a second shot," Mr Tunzane said.

Sources close to the investigation said police had recovered spent 7,65mm semi-automatic pistol rounds at one scene.

Police confirmed that a 35-year-old man, linked to the killing of the woman, was arrested soon afterwards.

The violence is the most brutal yet in a bitter 18-month feud which has claimed dozens of lives and seen scores of homes petrol-bombed. A large armed group of Mr Nongwe's supporters gathered at his headquarters yesterday as police riot vehicles patrolled nearby.

Police investigations involving extensive fraud, murder, arson and attempted-murder allegations against Mr Johnson Nxobongwana and his committee and a few of Mr Nongwe's faction are all at various stages of completion.

Mr Jan Van Kerk, DP spokesman for local black affairs, said he yesterday briefly spoke to Mr Hernus Krige, Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs, to request an urgent meeting over the Old Crossroads civic crisis.

# MDM, UDF to bolster group

Sowetan 11/4/90

(11A)

## ● From page 1

Mbeki and Ruth Mompati, a member of the national executive.

The eighth ANC delegate is Mr Ahmed Kathrada, one of the Rivonia trialists released in October with Sisulu.

Missing at the talks will be ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo, still recuperating in a Swedish clinic after suffering a brain spasm last August.

The inclusion of Modise suggests the organisation has been unsuccessful in proposing that its military wing should hold simultaneous but separate talks with representatives of the South African Defence Force.

The idea was first mooted in February by Mr Chris Hani, chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe. Significantly, Hani will not be part of the ANC team, which could imply that President FW

de Klerk would like to play down the military factor in discussions.

Asked whether the team had obtained clearance to attend the talks in Cape Town, ANC spokesman Mr Tom Sebina said last night the organisation had been given tacit assurance that there would be no problems with individual delegates - despite their past records or legal standing in South Africa.

Sebina said he wanted to refute reports in certain South African newspapers that there was disunity within the ranks of the ANC over the decision to accept the new arrangements for discussions with De Klerk, or over tactics which the ANC should adopt at the talks.

"That is nonsense," he said. "There is a spirit of complete unanimity within the ANC at the moment."

# Constitution making: the ultimate hurdle

(11A)

WHO will be the architects of a new South African constitution?

This will be one of the key questions to be answered once negotiations and the peace process get under way.

The ANC's view is that the constitution must be drawn up by a constituent assembly elected on the basis of one-person one-vote.

The government has flatly rejected this proposal, saying this would predetermine the winner before the race began. Instead, it favours a system premised on minorities and group interests.

The government fears a constituent assembly may mean the "bit players" such as homeland leaders and the Labour Party could be eliminated from the political stage.

At issue is the question of who will determine the way the country is governed.

ANC constitutional expert, Professor Jack Simons, says the basis for the demand for a constitutional assembly is simple: there has to be a legal framework for how the new South Africa is governed.

The parties at the negotiating table will have to decide how this framework is to be drawn up and who will participate in the constitutional debate.

**The drawing up of a new constitution will be the ultimate hurdle to cross in the unfolding peace process in South Africa.**

**Already the key political forces, the National Party and the African National Congress (ANC), have adopted divergent positions on the mechanics of constitution drafting.**

**CHIARA CARTER examines the idea of a constituent assembly that has now entered the debate:**

Simons says the ANC's view is that the constitution must be decided by an assembly representative of the South African people, not the apartheid parliament or any other apartheid institution.

"If we want the future South Africa to be democratically shaped, we must ensure that those who draw up the constitution represent the views of the majority.



"This can be done only through a democratic election on the basis of one-person one-vote," Simons says.

ANC international affairs spokesperson, Thabo Mbeki, says it is not enough to say the political forces must get together to discuss a new constitution.

There has to be a way of determining who these political forces are.

"You can't just say all political forces in the country must get together. You have to answer who those parties are," he says.

"The ANC is obvious, the National Party is obvious. But where does Allan Hendrickse belong? Is the AWB part of this process?"

"The ANC and the democratic movement think that the body that should work out a new constitution is a constituent assembly elected on the basis of one-man, one-vote."

Mbeki agrees that the constituent assembly will be a major bone of contention once negotiations get under way.

"With democratic elections, the question of who is truly representative is not an issue, because the people would decide.

"But before you get to that point, there will have to be agreement on how such an assembly is to be constituted," Mbeki says.

There is a long road to travel before this point is reached.

First, a climate for negotiations has to be created.

This includes a situation where there can be free political activity with organisations able to operate unhindered, the release of all political prisoners and detainees, the total lifting of the state of emergency, the repeal of all repressive legislation, the removal of troops from the townships and a halt to political executions and trials.

After this, the parties will have to reach agreement on a cessation of hostilities.

### OUA Declaration

Then, whatever the basis for formulating a new constitution, certain basic principles will have to be agreed upon by the parties at the negotiating table.

These would probably be on the lines of those included in the OUA Declaration.

These guidelines would provide the broad parameters within which a constitution could be drawn up.

Although it has called upon people to mobilise around the demand for a constituent assembly, the ANC has not released details on how it sees the mechanics of such an assembly working.

Still to be answered is the question of an interim government to govern the country while the constituent assembly is deliberating, and the question of policing during

this transitional period.

Does South Africa need a neutral umpire during this period? Will the ANC and PAC cadres be allowed back? Will SA security forces be confined to barracks?

These questions will have to be decided through negotiations.

### Buthelezi

Unlike Namibia and Zimbabwe, there is no direct link between South Africa and an external party.

ANC thinking earlier this year was that an interim government could include FW De Klerk, Nelson Mandela and Gatsha Buthelezi, but it is unclear how recent events in Natal will affect this idea.

On the security front, the possibility of a combination of the government's security forces and returned cadres during negotiations has been mooted, but this does not seem a likely option.

It is also possible that the international community could play a role in ensuring that justice and impartiality are maintained during this period.

Both the ANC and the South African government would prefer not to involve an "umpire" in the peace process.

If an outside party is to become involved, however, the ANC is known to favour the OAU, while the government tends towards the involvement of the United Nations or a Western power.

### Assembly

The ANC journal "Mayibuye" says there should be "an institution impartial and sovereign" to oversee the transition process.

Also to be decided is whether the election to such an assembly will be on a proportional basis as in Namibia, or a "first past the post" constituency-type format.

The Namibian experience is likely to inform much of the thinking around a constituent assembly.

In essence, the struggle in South Africa is about who will exercise power and in whose interests South Africa will be governed.

From the viewpoint of the liberation movement, the people need to transform the existing state power and its structures to form a people's government.

For this to happen, it is necessary to draw up a constitution which is based on the will of the people.

That is why the ANC has called on people to mobilise around the demand for a constituent assembly.

# ANC surprise in talks team

Cape Times 11/4/90 (11A)

Own Correspondent

**IN a surprise move the ANC yesterday named former NGK minister Dr. Beyers Naude as a member of a high-powered team of 11 to meet the government for pre-negotiation talks next month.**

The ANC team also includes Western Cape UDF executive member Ms Cheryl Carolus.

The 11 were named following a meeting on Monday of the ANC's national executive committee in Lusaka, chaired by ANC vice-president Mr Nelson Mandela.

Last night Dr Naude's wife expressed surprise at his inclusion. She said she doubted whether he was even aware of it.

Her husband was not a member of the ANC, she said. Dr Naude, a patron of the UDF, was overseas and could not be contacted.

The delegation excludes Umkhonto we Sizwe head Mr Chris Hani and commissar Mr Steve Tswete, whose presence in the Republic would probably have stirred controversy, but includes Communist Party head Mr Joe Slovo.

The other members of Mr Mandela's delegation are: Mr Walter Sisulu, secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo, Natal UDF leader Mr Archie Gumede, women's leader

Ms Ruth Mompati, military wing chief Mr Joe Modise, Mr Ahmed Kathrada and foreign-affairs representative Mr Thabo Mbeki.

Five of the ANC delegates are in exile and will be returning home for the first time in more than 20 years, including the Lithuanian-born Mr Slovo and Mr Mandela's former secretary from his Johannesburg law firm in the 1950s, Ms Mompati.

Mr Mandela and President F W de Klerk rescheduled the meeting for May 2, 3 and 4 after the ANC had balked at the original April 11 date.

In a statement from Lusaka, Mr Mandela also scotched speculation that the ANC would renounce violence in the light of their talks with Pretoria.

He said the ANC would not discuss the armed struggle with the government before all obstacles to negotiations on ending apartheid were removed.

"It is premature for anybody to expect that the ANC is going to review its strategy before the government removes all obstacles to negotiations," Mr Mandela said. "That strategy is intended precisely to remove all obstacles to negotiations and to ensure that every South African will be entitled to determine his own future. "As long as that has not been reached, all the strategies of the ANC will be retained."

The ANC also "reaffirmed the importance" of the

To page 3

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**ANC** re-scheduled talks to remove "obstacles that continue to stand in the way of negotiations". The movement also called for a speedy end to hostilities in Natal and urged international pressure on South Africa until irreversible change has taken place.

A hectic two-month schedule of international visits by Mr Mandela, taking in at least eight countries, was also approved.

In its statement, the NEC said it welcomed "assurances" by the government that "violence against peaceful demonstrations" and "renewed detention of members of the ANC and the Mass Democratic Movement" would be attended to.

The meeting expressed "serious concern" that the government had, as yet, "not fulfilled the undertakings it has repeatedly made to the ANC to introduce measures which would enable various members of the ANC, and others in exile, to return to South Africa legally".

Mr Mandela said his meeting last Thursday with Mr De Klerk had raised hopes that future talks would produce good results.

● Mr Mandela will visit Angola, Nigeria, Algeria, Egypt, Belgium, France, East Germany, the USSR, the US and Canada in the next two months, according to a provisional agenda approved by the ANC.



# Tambo will bring his modesty home with him



Mr Oliver Tambo speaking in England five years ago. He has overcome the paralysis of his left side and has regained his eloquence — but he is slimmer now and his sideburns have been replaced by a soft greying beard.

Mr Oliver Tambo, who has spent 30 years in exile, is expected to come back to South Africa in December and hand over to deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela at the ANC's first legal conference in the country. But that will happen only if his "flock" are safely back in the country by then, say sources close to him.

However, it is thought unlikely that Mr Tambo (72), who has been an ANC leader for so long, will return to full-time political life.

Since his stroke in August, his health and movements have been among the ANC's most closely guarded secrets. The stroke is blamed on the overload of work on drawing up the Harare Declaration — his brainchild, and the ANC's blueprint on negotiation — and an exhaustive trip round Africa to get it accepted by the OAU.

For the four months Mr Tambo has spent recovering from a brain spasm, in a clinic south of Stockholm, a virtually impenetrable cordon has been thrown around him. In that short time, much of what his life is dedicated to has taken place: his organisation has been legalised, his closest allies, Mr Walter Sisulu and Mr Nelson Mandela, have been released from life imprisonment; the old triumvirate is back on top; and negotiations between the ANC and the South African Government no longer seem unrealistic.

In all this, not a word has been heard or read from the ANC president. That's how the movement — and the man — want it.

"It's typical of him. He's a man of immeasurable modesty, always putting others above himself. He's always turned down awards in favour of Nelson (Mandela), and he wants him now to take over the leadership," said a friend.

In February, Mr Tambo tried to hand over the reins to Mr Mandela and sent London representative Mr Mendi Msimeng

The man accredited with single-handedly building up the external wing of the African National Congress — its president, Mr Oliver Reginald Tambo — will be the last of the exiles to return to South Africa. SARAH CROWE of The Star's Foreign News Service reports from Stockholm.

to Lusaka to relay his wishes. But the national executive committee voted: "Tambo for president" — again.

The ANC has gone to great pains to make sure that its president is as well as a stroke victim could be expected to be, before he is put under the strain of public scrutiny.

The chief representative to Sweden, Mr Billy Modise, zealously guards Mr Tambo like an angry bear with its cubs. Armed guerrillas from Umkhonto we Sizwe — including one who once trained a latter-day budding boxer, Mr Nelson Mandela — are at his side around the clock. A full-time Swedish guard is posted in the corridor outside his small private ward, and the Swedish police patrol the area around the clinic regularly.

Even the constant stream of flowers and good wishes from foreign embassies and individuals is carefully scrutinised by the ANC office before being passed on.

His recovery is said to be impressive. Photographs and recent BBC television footage (shot by the ANC) of his meeting with Mr Mandela seem to back that up. Members of delegations from South Africa have been well pleased with his state of health and have taken instructions from him as though nothing has happened.

Mr Tambo's son Dali (33) said: "It's been tremendous to see the quiet victories he's achieved — getting back his speech and then his old eloquence, and walking again.

He's really come far."

During his time in Sweden, Mr Tambo has overcome the paralysis of his left side with the help of physiotherapy and the country's top neurologist.

A "clean-living" man who used to be known as "The Christian", and has never drunk or smoked, Mr Tambo is kept on a strict, meatless diet. He's a slimmer man now, and his sideburns have been replaced by a soft greying beard.

His wife Adelaide and his son have been in Sweden for much of his illness. Besides family and ANC activists, Mr Tambo's regular visitors include Mrs Lisabeth Palme, widow of assassinated Swedish Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson, the foreign Minister, and diplomats from all over the world.

Diplomatic sources say he is greatly respected for his "purity of leadership". Those who know Mr Tambo well say he remains as lucid as ever, but needs regular rest and care.

The ANC leader is apparently more involved in day-to-day politics than might be expected. He gets daily briefings from London, Lusaka or Johannesburg, and is in constant contact with Mr Mandela and Mr Sisulu, in particular, and also the national executive committee in Lusaka. He's known to be very concerned about the violence in Natal and is urging a speedy resolution.

Away from politics, Mr Tambo dabbles. In watercolours, goes for walks, and listens to classical and South African choral music.

Although his time in Sweden has been marked by a battle to regain his health, friends and family say the "happiest time of his life" was here — when he was reunited with his old comrades, Mr Mandela and Mr Sisulu, after nearly three decades.

His return to South African soil is likely to better that.

## ANC like privileged elite in Zambia's poverty

In April 1960 a few hunted, penniless men fled South Africa to keep the flame of the African National Congress burning in exile.

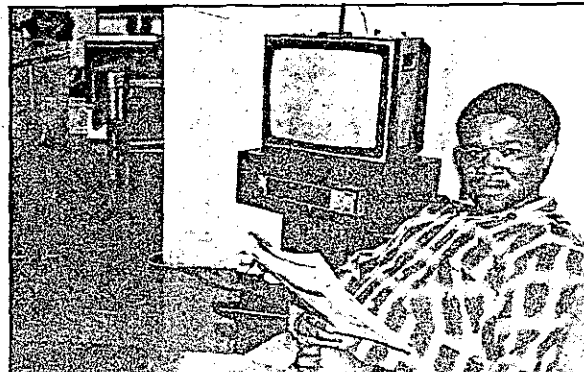
Thirty years later they have succeeded so well that it has representatives in 44 countries and members of its Lusaka headquarters form almost a privileged elite in the Zambian economic wasteland.

At the same time the organisation has changed from being a purely political/military organisation and expanded into many other areas.

It includes departments of Education, Health, Arts and Culture, Legal and Constitutional Affairs, Information and Publicity, Research, Religious Affairs, Finance, Logistics and Economics. Apart from 44 external missions, it also has a Youth Branch and a Womens' Branch.

The ruling body, the National Executive Committee, after the recent addition of freed internal leaders, consists of 38 members who between them work on a number of committees that control the political/military struggle, and oversee the smooth running of what is in effect a major corporation.

This month the African National Congress will record its 30th year of exile. In this, the third and last part of a three-part series, KEN VERNON, of The Star's Africa News Service, looks at how the ANC in exile functions today and how, after the first exiles' struggle to survive, ANC members form almost a privileged elite amid the poverty of Lusaka.



Star  
11/4/90  
11A

"When we left they were just three and five, and now neither can speak Xhosa any longer. They have Zambian friends and say they don't want to go home in case they are shot by the Boere.

"On our second night here we had to flee from the house we were in after a warning it was about to be attacked — and a week later it was."

If there is one thing that everyone agrees on as the major drawback of exile, it is homesickness.

"Some times the nostalgia is sharp, sometimes subdued, but it is always there," says Mr Tshwete.

For many years it was impossible to communicate with families and friends left behind for fear of either implicating them or giving away information about their own whereabouts.

"Phones were tapped and mail constantly interfered with by the South African 'dirty tricksters', so it was just impossible," said Mr Ngubane.

Since last year, however, most exiles in Lusaka seem to have managed at least one telephone call to families,

Supermarkets

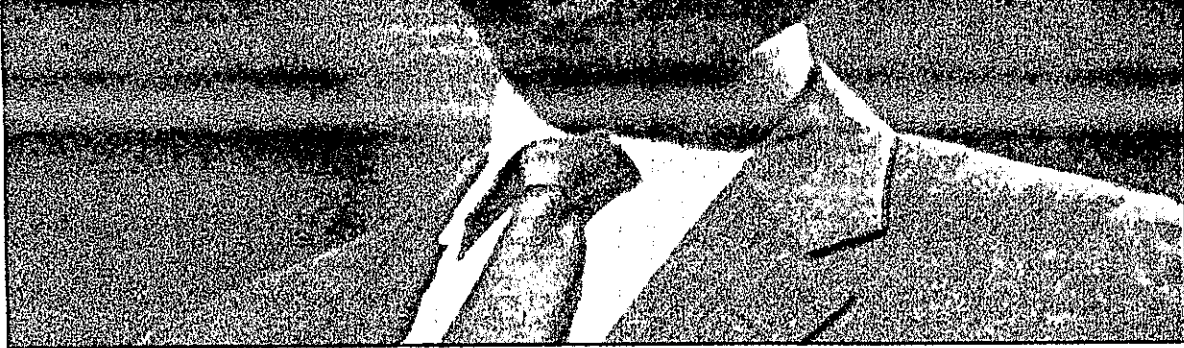
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variety



Mr Oliver Tambo speaking in England five years ago. He has overcome the paralysis of his left side and has regained his eloquence — but he is slimmer now and his sideburns have been replaced by a soft greying beard.

him. In that short time, his life is dedicated to his organisation has been legal allies, Mr Walter Sisulu or Mandela, have been released from prison, the old triumvirate, and negotiations between the South African Government seem unrealistic.

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The ruling body, the National Executive Committee, after the recent addition of freed internal leaders, consists of 38 members who between them work on a number of committees that control the political/military struggle, and oversee the smooth running of what is in effect a major corporation.

As late as the mid 1970s the ANC headquarters in Lusaka consisted of one shared office, a Fiat motor car and two houses.

In Lusaka alone the organisation now boasts at least a dozen different office complexes, approximately 200 owned or rented houses, a farm and a fleet of more than 200 vehicles — sedans, bakkies, minibuses and trucks — serviced by its own workshop and replaced with new vehicles at regular intervals.

Members are supplied with all their basic needs including accommodation, food, clothing, transport and spending money of 2 000 kwacha a month. Most ANC houses are supplied with a television set, and all have electric stoves and fridges.

To put the "pocket money" in perspective, it might cost 2 000 kwacha for a meal for two at one of the international class hotels in Lusaka — but at the same time a Zambian university lecturer can expect to earn about 3 500 kwacha a month.

There is an ANC clinic for the sick and an ANC creche for the young, while education is free at either Zambian schools, the ANC school in Tanzania or at universities throughout the world for the gifted.

If a member is required to travel abroad on a mission, he or she may apply for a grant to buy acceptable clothing and then receives a daily allowance in the currency needed.

The financial control and logistical distribution of this massive largesse requires its own department.

"Compared to the those who came here first, my life is not a bed of thorns," says Andrew Seleke (not his real name).

"I have my own house, which is not usual for a single man but as a journalist I need peace and quiet in order to work."

A product of the Nico Lopez Politi-

This month the African National Congress will record its 30th year of exile. In this, the third and last part of a three-part series, **KEN VERNON**, of The Star's Africa News Service, looks at how the ANC in exile functions today and how, after the first exiles' struggle to survive, ANC members form almost a privileged elite amid the poverty of Lusaka.

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11A



Taking it easy in exile... a member of the ANC Don Ngubane (not his real name) relaxes at home in Lusaka.

cal School in Cuba after leaving South Africa as one exile in the 1976 flood, he is on the editorial board of "Mayibuya", the ANC's newsletter which is circulated inside South Africa.

"In a sense life in the ANC is safe and secure. The organisation looks after all our needs and I have learnt to live a life without any personal possessions.

"With my pocket money I can afford to see an occasional movie, but mostly after buying fresh vegetables and meat — not supplied — my entertainment consists of visiting friends."

Don Ngubane (not his real name) lives with his wife and two children in a small but comfortable suburban bungalow. The house has two television sets, a video, hi-fi, electric stove and fridge. A domestic servant is employed to help his wife and fellow-exile Rebecca with the housework while she studies.

Previously the head of the ANC's Radio Freedom, he is now administrative secretary of the department of Information and Publicity, a position which entitles him to use an ANC vehicle for personal travel if it is not desperately needed elsewhere.

"Our life is okay," he says, "but there is no doubt we could not survive outside the wider community of the ANC. We don't really need money because in the organisation we live largely in a moneyless society.

"I have managed to buy some luxuries, like the video, from money saved on overseas assignments — and for the rest, we manage. Sometimes I do

not know how, but we do."

For 29-year-old Mandisa Mjo (not her real name), who left home in 1985, life in exile "has its problems".

"I wanted to go to school, but was unable to. Here I share a three-bedroom house with two other comrades and it is quite nice. Life in exile is easier than it was back home, but I miss my child that I had to leave behind."

A photographer with the organisation, she refuses to go to movies in Lusaka ("the movie houses are in disgusting condition") and so usually parties with friends or goes for walks to the zoo.

"I have made friends with my Zambian neighbours. They are good people, and besides, it is important for security to be known by your neighbours in case strange people snoop around."

Like everything, this new-found material well-being has had its price — fear.

Don Ngubane sleeps with an AK-47 in the house in case of attack, though so far has only had to use it to scare off thieves trying to steal his bakkie. Like most of the "recent" arrivals he uses a pseudonym for fear his family in South Africa will be victimised if his real name is known.

National Executive Committee member Mr Steve Tshwete, who left South Africa in 1985, says his children, aged 8 and 10, are already fully aware of what to do in case their home is attacked, adding that they are under guard 24 hours a day.

"When we left they were just three and five, and now neither can speak Xhosa any longer. They have Zambian friends and say they don't want to go home in case they are shot by the Boere.

"On our second night here we had to flee from the house we were in after a warning it was about to be attacked — and a week later it was."

If there is one thing that everyone agrees on as the major drawback of exile, it is homesickness.

"Some times the nostalgia is sharp, sometimes subdued, but it is always there," says Mr Tshwete.

For many years it was impossible to communicate with families and friends left behind for fear of either implicating them or giving away information about their own whereabouts.

"Phones were tapped and mail constantly interfered with by the South African 'dirty tricksters', so it was just impossible," said Mr Ngubane.

Since last year, however, most exiles in Lusaka seem to have managed at least one telephone call to families, often the first word parents had received from sons or daughters who had simply disappeared.

But far from lessening the homesickness, such words only make it worse, and "home for Christmas" has now become the greeting call of many "comrades".

One of the questions that arises is: "What then?"

What will more than 20 000 men, women and children ANC members do? Most clearly expect to continue working for "the party" in some form or other, while some expect to become civil servants in the "New South Africa".

"Yes, there is some concern felt by most of us. I will just have to look at the options. Perhaps I can return to university. But whatever happens I am sure the ANC will look to the future of its people.

"At the end of the day the ANC will sink or swim on what it can provide for its people, for those who have supported it in the struggle. SA does owe us something, but that does not say we want to take that away from whites."

Mr Ngubane is 36 and, as he says: "I have nothing because I have given all for the struggle, and there are many more in the same position" — but that applies even more to older members who have literally sacrificed their entire lives to the struggle.

One of the men who has sacrificed more than most, Mr Sam Masemola, says that "retirement is out of the question. Once we get home we will have to start building an organisation again, just as we did here".

For the official ANC spokesman in Lusaka, "home" will mean "someplace on the coast where I can rest, and maybe write. I've never had the time to write in exile — and there is such a lot to write about."



Cheryl Carolus.

Joe Modise.

Ruth Mompoti.

Joe Slovo.

Alfred Nzo.

Archie Gumede.

Ahmed Kathrada.

Beyers Naude.

Thabo Mbeki.

Walter Sisulu.

Nelson Mandela.

Delegates include Beyers Naude and SACP's Joe Slovo

*Star 11/4/90*

# ANC names its talks team

The Star's Africa  
News Service

Lusaka

Prominent anti-apartheid campaigner the Rev Beyers Naude and two officials of the Mass Democratic Movement and United Democratic Front are part of the 11-person African National Congress delegation to meet the Government on May 2 for "talks about talks".

The ANC announced its team for the vital three-day discussions yesterday after a meeting at a secret venue of the national executive committee.

Co-opted to bolster the ANC group are Dr Naude, Mr Archie Gumede of the UDF, one of the main leaders in Natal, and Ms Cheryl Carolus of the MDM.

Dr Naude, the only Afrikaner to be included in the team, is a former prominent member of the Broederbond and the NGK.

The ANC's top echelon will be represented by deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, who will lead the delegation; Mr Walter Sisulu, secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo; and Mr Joe Slovo, general secretary of the South African Communist Party.

Other ANC delegates will be Mr Joe Modise, commander of Umkhonto we Sizwe; director of international affairs Mr Thabo Mbeki; Ms Ruth Mompoti, a member of the national executive; and Mr Ahmed Kathrada, jailed after the



*Star 11/4/90*  
**Anti-tennis  
tour demos**

**dragged off**

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Plainclothes police and security guards forcibly removed a group of people who staged a sit-in during the last match at the Good Hope Centre last night to protest about overseas tennis players taking part in the international tournament.

Protesters from the National Sports Congress (NSC) sat down at the net and linked arms soon after the end of the first set of the match between American Robbie Weiss and South African Royce Deppe in the \$100 000 National Video Camera Classic.

The protesters were removed, some being dragged across the court.

Play resumed after about 15 minutes, but the protest continued outside with about 40 protesters singing and toyi-toying.

Some protesters were allegedly kicked and punched and thrown down the stairs outside the Good Hope Centre.

South African Tennis Union (Satt) president Mr Johan Barnard met the NSC group and was told the protests would continue until the tournament

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Other ANC delegates will be Mr Joe Modise, commander of Umkhonto we Sizwe; director of international affairs Mr Thabo Mbeki; Ms Ruth Mompati, a member of the national executive; and Mr Ahmed Kathrada, jailed after the Rivonia trial and freed in October.

ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo, still in a Swedish clinic after a brain spasm, will not be at the talks.

The inclusion of Mr Modise in the delegation suggests that the organisation has been unsuccessful in proposing that its military wing should hold simultaneous but separate talks with the SADF.

This was mooted in February by Mr Chris Hani, chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe. Significantly, perhaps, Mr Hani will not be part of the ANC team, which could imply that President de Klerk would like to play down the military factor.

Asked if the ANC team had obtained clearance to attend the talks in Cape Town, spokesman Mr Tom Sebina said last night that the organisation had been given tacit assurance that there would be no problems with individual delegates.

### 'Speechless' at news

He denied reports in some newspapers that there was disunity in the ANC over the decision to accept the new arrangements for discussions with Mr de Klerk or ANC tactics.

"That is nonsense. There is a spirit of complete unanimity in the ANC at the moment."

● In Johannesburg today, Dr Naude's wife, Ilse, said her husband, who is in Sweden on a working trip, was "speechless" when he heard he had been included.

She said Dr Naude had never been a member of the ANC, although over the years he had been visited by many members of the organisation for advice.

"Bey only met Mr Nelson Mandela after his release for the first time and they have not yet had time for official consultations due to their busy schedules," Mrs Naude said.

She said her husband would return to South Africa after the Easter weekend.

The internal chairman of the ANC, Mr Walter Sisulu, today praised Dr Naude as a long-standing arch-foe of apartheid.

Asked to comment on Dr Naude's inclusion in the high-powered ANC delegation to meet the Government in May, Mr Sisulu said: "Why not include Dr Naude?" the ANC leader asked rhetorically. "He has been associated with the ANC for a very long time and has contributed tremendously to our struggle.

"Granted, like some others in the delegation, he is not a member of the ANC's national executive committee, but he is a leading personality in anti-apartheid circles."



TROUBLED: Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi after touring the war zone. Picture: JIMMY HUTTON

# Mandela calls it off

From Page 1 11A

of peace" was to fulfil the demands made by the ANC in the Harare Declaration.

Furthermore, peace was impossible while there was "violence against our campaigns of peaceful protest".

Declaring that "we stand at the threshold of liberation", Mr Mandela said he believed President De Klerk was sincere about negotiations, but "this should not lead us to ignore the harsh realities of apartheid".

He said: "I must now tell you that yesterday I spoke to President De Klerk and told him that the national executive of the ANC had instructed me to tell him that the meeting on April 11 has been suspended in protest against the killing of our people in Sebokeng."

"I told him that if the Government talks about negotiation on the one hand, and these massacres occur on the other, that we can never accept."

"There is no free political activity in the face of violence against the people and their democratic formations."

Mr Mandela made no reference to the cancellation of the planned peace rally with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, but said the ANC supported

wholeheartedly a campaign against violence in the strife-torn province.

Yesterday Government sources said the sudden cancellation of the April 11 meeting was "totally unexpected" and "in complete contrast with everything that has been discussed with ANC representatives".

By Friday the arrangements for the meeting had reached such an advanced stage that the ANC had already communicated names of its 11-man negotiating team to Tuynhuys.

## Historic

Sources said the sudden cancellation was an indication of tension within ANC ranks about the composition of the delegation and provided confirmation of suspicions that the movement was not yet ready to commit itself to negotiations.

The Sunday Times has learnt the names of the men who were chosen to face Mr De Klerk and his nine-man team across the table in the historic encounter.

An most important feature of the ANC team was the extent to which it was dominated by internal leaders of the "Rivonia generation" — Mr Mandela, former secretary-

general Mr Walter Sisulu and another septuagenarian, Mr Govan Mbeki. They filled the top three spots in order of precedence.

Mr Alfred Nzo, until a month ago the most senior ANC leader in the absence of the movement's ailing president, Mr Oliver Tambo, occupied the fourth spot.

The team contained only five members of the ANC's external wing — Mr Nzo, the ANC's chief diplomat, Mr Thabo Mbeki, SA Communist Party secretary-general, Mr Joe Slovo, the chief of staff of the military wing, Mr Chris Hani and the chief legal adviser, Mr Pennuel Maduna.

The remaining members were to have been Mrs Albertina Sisulu, the president of the UDF, Mr Curnick Ndlovu, its chairman, and another Rivonia trialist, Mr Ahmed Kathrada.

The delegation would have been supported by a "technical team" consisting of a number of Lusaka-based members of the National Executive.

Sources said that talks with an ANC advance team, led by its chief of security, Mr Jacob Zuma, reached a stage where final arrangements had been fully agreed upon.

The talks would have centered on "obstacles to negoti-

ations" including the state of emergency, the position of ANC members still in jail, conditions for the return of ANC exiles and the movement's continued commitment to the armed struggle.

The ANC is likely to face a flood of international anger for stalling the talks.

A senior Western diplomat said the organisation would face strong international pressure to fall back into line.

He predicted that not even the ANC's backers in Moscow and elsewhere in Eastern Europe would support its move.

Diplomats did not, however, believe the ANC meant the talks to be called off permanently.

Co-leader of the Democratic Party, Dr Zach de Beer, said it was his heartfelt hope that the ANC would think again.

## Setbacks

"While the shooting at Sebokeng was a deplorable episode, it can be no excuse for breaking off talks."

Mr Wynand Malan, another DP leader, said: "Although setbacks were to be expected, the reason advanced by the ANC does not warrant the cancellation."

After a flying visit to battle-weary Maritzburg yesterday, the president of Inkatha, Chief Buthelezi, blamed the ANC for wrecking the joint peace rally that was scheduled for tomorrow.

He and Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok were flown over the stricken areas around the Natal capital in a police helicopter.

Afterwards they met for in-depth discussions about the violence that has turned the Natal Midlands into a killing field.

Chief Buthelezi said he had been prepared to meet Mr Mandela at the joint rally at Taylor's Halt.

"They wrecked it, I did not," he said.

An ANC spokesman said on Friday that the rally was called off "because the atmosphere was not yet ideal".

Mr Vlok said although police were understaffed, they were doing everything possible to control the situation.

More security in the Maritzburg area was now "a very high priority".

He also called on opposing communities in Natal to stop the violence and "have a change of heart".

Stein 26/4/90 (11A)

# Theories of alliances may be a little glib

**GRAHAM LINSOTT** examines current theories on possible alliances the National Party may consider with major black political groups.

An alliance between the Nats and Inkatha? Just a year ago such a thing would have been as unthinkable as the unification of East and West Germany or a McDonald's hamburger joint in Moscow.

But are people not perhaps being just a little glib and superficial about such an alliance? What is meant by it anyway?

A popular bar-room theory holds that the Afrikaners and the Zulus, the largest ethnic groups in white and black South Africa respectively, will reach an historic compromise. They will share power and rule the country between them.

Fine. Except that (assuming every Afrikaner supports the Nats and every Zulu supports Inkatha, which is untrue of either) Afrikaners plus Zulus do not amount to a majority within greater South Africa.

Even if the TBVC states are excluded it is doubtful. Huge and densely populated regions such as the Eastern Cape and the Witwatersrand would not be properly represented in the alliance. Nor would the powerful trade union movement.

Rule by such an alliance would be a recipe for polarisation and a paralysis of industry.

The bar-room theory needs some rethinking. It seems unlikely that Inkatha would want a straight alliance with the Nats anyway. Dr Oscar Dhlomo, secretary-general, has already cried "Whoa" to the speculation.

Surely the last thing Inkatha needs to be branded with is Muzorewa politics?

And surely, if the Nats believe Inkatha has a contribution to make, the last thing they need is a Muzorewa-ist ally who would shed huge support to the ANC?

A broad consensus or grand alliance containing the Democrats and other groupings would be a different matter.

But could it be that our bar-room theorists are actually in the wrong thought mode altogether? That they are thinking Westminster (simple majority, winner takes all) when in fact we have moved on from that?

President de Klerk has been using a lot of Indaba-speak lately: power-sharing, equally weighted votes, the possibility of two chambers — one majoritarian, the other representing groups. This is straight from the proposals of the kwaZulu/Natal Indaba.

And if Indaba thinking is in vogue, that would imply a drawing in of the ANC as well. Power-sharing would be incomplete without it.

Nobody should bluff himself that the ANC would easily accept such a power-sharing model. At the moment it is busy gathering to itself as much support as it can, in the homelands and elsewhere. It seeks power as representative of the overwhelming majority.

But the emergence of a strong moderate alliance — including the Nats, Inkatha, the DP and others — could create uncertainties. In time — and possibly quite a long time — power-sharing just might become more attractive.

Which brings us to bar-room theory No 2, usually expounded over martinis in the more upmarket establishments and in the accents of foreign correspondents.

This holds that far from doing a deal with Inkatha, the Nats will do a deal with the ANC because this would create stability over most of South Africa, leaving Inkatha-dominated kwaZulu just a troublesome region — a containable Savimbi factor.

I hae me doots. And are we not weary of theories?

Perhaps the most instructive thing about these two is that they show how, in spite of our unitary political structure, South Africa still is a country of distinct regions that have been tacked together.

How much more appropriate federation would have been in 1910.

# Mandela invited to view apartheid in Canada

11A

VANCOUVER - Canadian Red Indian organisations have invited Mr Nelson Mandela here to see how apartheid works in Canada.

"As a resident of apartheid, I would like Nelson Mandela to visit us first," said Ron George, the head of the United Native Nations, an organisation which has 60 000 members in British Columbia province alone.

George noted that when Mandela was freed after 27 years in prison, the Canadian government officially invited him to visit Canada.

"Mr Mandela should view the vestiges of apartheid in Canadian (Indian) reserves and cities," he said.

*Sowetan 11/4/90*  
"Not very long ago, our people had to get permits to leave their reserves."

Until 1948, "Red-ticketing" made it illegal for Indians to leave their reserves without passes. Even today, the right of Indians to leave the reserves was curtailed because to do so cut them off from national government assistance programmes.

Native Indian leaders say there is much evidence that South Africa actually modelled the apartheid system on the Canadian Indian reserve system, pointing out that South Africa sent several delegations to tour Canadian Indian reservations, both before apartheid was formalised in 1948 and again as recently as 1962.

## Generous and loyal support by Sweden

SARAH CROWE of the Argus Foreign Service reports from Stockholm

THE struggle to win the hearts and minds — and most significantly, the purse strings — of the Swedish people has been something of a walkover for the ANC. But its beginnings here were humble, marked by bombs, break-ins and Boss infiltrations.

Political upheaval in eastern Europe and the Soviet Union has eroded the ANC's traditional prop and has placed the Nordic countries firmly at the centre of the ANC map.

Recent top-level visits by the South African exile leadership here confirmed Sweden as arguably the organisation's most important support post in the world.

In 15 years the ANC presence in Scandinavia has grown from a corner of an activist's flat on the south island of Stockholm to what it is today — large fully-equipped and staffed offices in all the capitals of the region — Helsinki, Oslo, Copenhagen and Stockholm.

### Large chunk

The ANC's achievement in obtaining such a large chunk of Sweden's foreign aid budget — 500m kronor (R200m) since the early 70s — has been largely undertaken by the Swedes themselves.

The organisation has never had more than a handful of its own people working in Scandinavia and there are probably more South African exiles in the average London suburb than the whole of Sweden.

In 1972 when Vietnam was still the cause that got the banners out, the Swedish government decided to dump its support for either the PAC or the ANC.

The ANC got the trump card because, says secretary of state for southern Africa Ulla Strom: "The PAC had a reputation internationally of having a lot of infighting, not being able to handle money and being far less representative of the South African black majority than the ANC."

Ironically Sweden chose to back the ANC before there was even a single office in the Nordic region. Since the office was opened in 1975 by the first representative, Sobisana Nquiana, the workaholic mentality of the exile, paranoia and unbending discipline have dominated.

### 'Not surprising'

Even today Nquiana will not be quoted on the old days without "consulting with Lusaka".

This is not surprising though a bit of a

# Success and power

THIS month the African National Congress records its 30th year of exile.

During that time the organisation has grown dramatically from a few hunted men, dependent upon the charity of others for their food and shelter, to perhaps 20 000 men, women and children involved in an organisation with an annual budget of hundreds of millions of rands.

In this, the third and last part of a three-part series, KEN VERNON of the ARGUS AFRICA NEWS SERVICE, reporting from Lusaka, Zambia, looks at how the organisation in exile functions today and how, after the first exiles struggle to survive, ANC members form almost a privileged elite amid the poverty of Lusaka.

IN April 1960 a few hunted, penniless men fled South Africa to keep the flame of the African National Congress burning in exile.

Thirty years later they have succeeded so well that the organisation has representatives in 44 countries and members of its Lusaka headquarters form almost a privileged elite amid the Zambian economic wasteland.

At the same time the organisation has changed from being a purely political/military organisation and expanded into many other areas.

It includes departments of Education, Health, Arts and Culture, Legal and Constitutional Affairs, Information and Publicity, Research, Religious Affairs, Finance, Logistics and Economics. Apart from 44 external missions it also has a Youth Branch and a Women's Branch.

### Shared office

The ruling body, the national executive committee, after the recent addition of freed internal leaders, consists of 38 members who between them work on a number of committees that control the political/military "struggle", and oversee the smooth running of what is in effect a major corporation.

As late as the mid-1970s the ANC headquarters in Lusaka consisted of one shared office, a '32 Fiat and two houses.

In Lusaka alone the organisation now boasts at least a dozen different office complexes, approximately 200 owned or rented houses, a farm and a fleet of more than 200 vehicles — sedans, bakkies, combis and trucks — serviced by its own workshop and replaced with new vehicles at regular intervals.

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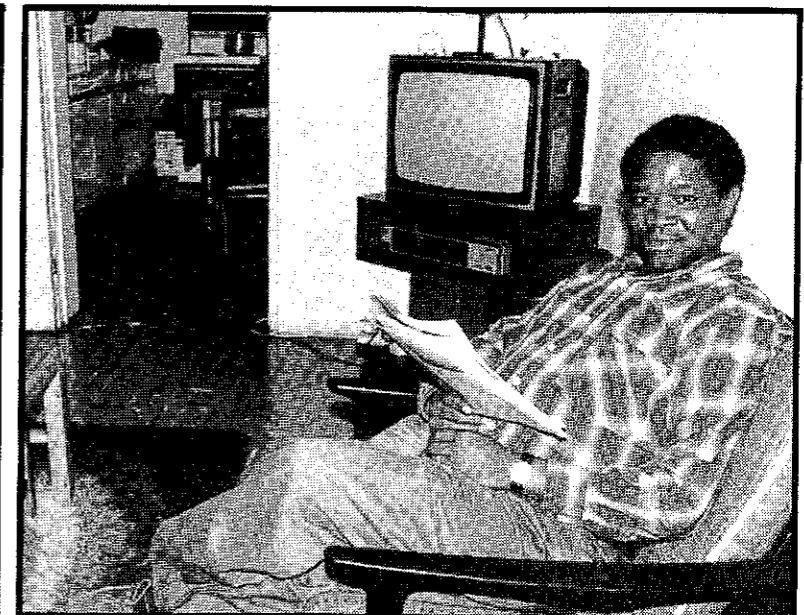
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### Bungalow

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Mr Don Ngubane, administrative secretary of the department of Information and Publicity, outside and inside his Lusaka house which was provided by the ANC.



## The Exiles

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### Homesickness

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But far from lessening the homesickness, such words only make it worse, and "Home for Christmas" has now become the greeting call of many of the "Comrades".

One of the questions that arises is: "What then?"

What will upwards of 20 000 men, women and children ANC members do? Most clearly expect to continue working for "The party" in some form or other, while some expect to become civil servants in the "New South Africa".

### 'Concern'

"Yes, there is some concern felt by most of us," admits Don Ngubane. "I will just have to look at the options. Perhaps I can return to university. But whatever happens I am sure the ANC will look to the future of its people.

"At the end of the day the ANC will sink or swim on what it can provide for its people, for those who have supported it in the struggle. South Africa does owe us something, but that does not say we want to take that away from whites."

Don Ngubane is 36, and as he says: "I have nothing because I have given all for the struggle, and there are many more in the same posi-



on the old days without consulting with Lusaka".

This is not surprising, though, when it is realised that the ANC offices have been directly or indirectly under siege from the late 70s. Perhaps the most notorious security infiltration of the ANC by the former Bureau of State Security took place largely through Stockholm.

South African spy Craig Williamson, who was then masquerading as co-ordinator for the international university exchange fund, visited the country several times ostensibly to meet the head of the IUEF, Swede Lars Gunnar Eriksson (who finally exposed Williamson).

Security — and along with it paranoia — reached a peak after a bomb blasted through the office in September 1986. It was only by "pure chance" that nobody was injured, an inconclusive investigation established.

The main issues for the ANC here, however, have been strategic, focusing on boycotts and pressuring the government to ban trade with South Africa. There has been a ban on investing in South Africa since 1978 and not a single Cape grape is known to have legally reached Swedish shores for the past five years.

### 'A lot easier'

"Our work here is certainly a lot easier than any other western country because of the tremendous generosity and warmth we receive from the people here," says Juleswa Modise, in charge of the ANC's women's desk in Scandinavia.

Juleswa and her husband, the ANC's chief representative Billy Modise, are almost honorary Swedes.

The couple were students here in the early 60s and returned in 1987 to take over the Stockholm office. One of their daughters, Bontle, was born in Sweden and the family speak Swedish and English at home.

Another South African exile, Madi Gray, who has seen the ANC office develop from 1975, says: "It was always more a matter of identifying the means to get rid of apartheid, such as building up an 'Isolate South Africa' committee. One never had to convince people that apartheid is evil. There's such a strong distaste and dislike of apartheid here."

### Blindly loyal

Today Sweden's unquestioning support for the ANC often astonishes foreign observers and at first glance it appears that the Swedes are blindly loyal to the "ANC line".

From the tiny towns of the Arctic circle in the north to the larger cities of the south of the Scandinavian peninsula, ANC support committees flourish.

They learn the toyi-toyi and they learn about the "Pretoria racist regime" and they donate winnings from their racehorses to the ANC.

But the country that was once called the social conscience of the world certainly does attempt to influence ANC policy in its own very Swedish way.

On matters such as renouncing the armed struggle, cutting diplomatic ties and nationalisation, the social democratic government has applied pressure on the movement to review its stand — publicly, but mostly privately by subtle persuasion.

Anything more passionate would be quite uncharacteristic.

And little is likely to budge the Swedes' faith in the ANC.

As prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson told Nelson Mandela during his recent visit here: "You can count on us."

workshop and replaced with new vehicles at regular intervals.

Members are supplied with all their basic needs, including accommodation, food, clothing, transport as well as spending money of 2 000 kwacha a month. Most ANC houses are supplied with a television set and all have electric stoves and refrigerators.

### 'Own house'

To put the "pocket money" in perspective, it might cost 2 000 kwacha for a meal for two at one of the international-class hotels in Lusaka, but at the same time a Zambian university lecturer can expect to earn about 3 500 kwacha a month.

There is an ANC clinic for the sick and an ANC creche for the

low exile, Rebecca, with the house work while she studies.

Previously the head of the ANC's Radio Freedom, he is now the administrative secretary of the department of Information and Publicity, a position which entitles him to use an ANC vehicle for personal travel if it is not desperately needed elsewhere.

"Our life is OK," he says, "but there is no doubt we could not survive outside the wider community of the ANC. We don't really need money because in the organisation we live largely in a moneyless society.

"I have managed to buy some luxuries, like the video, from money saved on overseas assignments — and for the rest, we manage. Sometimes I don't know how, but we do."

room house with two other comrades and it is quite nice. Life in exile is easier than it was back home, but I miss my child that I had to leave behind."

A photographer with the organisation, she refuses to go to movies in Lusaka ("The movie houses are in disgusting condition") and so usually parties with friends or goes for walks to the zoo.

"I have made friends with my Zambian neighbours; they are good people, and besides, it is important for security to be known by your neighbours in case strange people snoop around."

Like everything, this newfound material wellbeing has had its price — fear.

homesickness.

"Some times the nostalgia is sharp, sometimes subdued, but it is always there," says Steve Tshwete.

For many years it was impossible to communicate with families and friends left behind for fear of either implicating them or giving away information about their own whereabouts.

"Phones were tapped and mail constantly interfered with by the South African 'dirty tricksters', so it was just impossible," said Don Ngubane.

Since last year however most exiles in Lusaka seem to have managed at least one phone call to families, often the first word they had ever received from sons or daughters who simply disappeared with-

are many more in the same position", but that applies even more to older members who have literally sacrificed their entire lives to "The Struggle".

One of the men who has sacrificed more than most, Sam Maseomola, says: "Retirement is out of the question. Once we get home we will have to start building an organisation again, just as we did here."

For the official ANC spokesman in Lusaka, "home" will mean "someplace on the coast where I can rest, and maybe write. I've never had the time to write in exile — and there is such a lot to write about."

● End of series

# Beyers Naude in ANC talks team

B/1024  
11/14/90

(11A)

LONDON — The ANC yesterday named former NGK dominee Beyers Naude as a member of its 11-person delegation for the pre-negotiation talks with government next month.

The ANC team was named after a meeting on Monday of the organisation's National Executive Committee (NEC) in Lusaka, chaired by deputy president Nelson Mandela.

Naude's wife said last night her husband was overseas and could not be contacted. She expressed surprise at the announcement of his inclusion in the ANC team, saying she doubted whether he was even aware of it.

Naude was not a member of the ANC, she said.

The NEC endorsed the rescheduling of "talks about talks", thrashed out last week by Mandela and President F W de Klerk.

Another long-time *bete noir* of the government, SA Communist Party leader Joe Slovo, is also in the delegation.

The other members of the delegation are: Walter Sisulu, secretary general Alfred Nzo, Natal UDF leader Archie Gumede, UDF Western Cape leader Cheryl Carolus, ANC women's leader Ruth Mompati, military wing chief Joe Modise, Ahmed Kathrada and foreign affairs representative Thabo Mbeki.

The ANC's first official meeting with government, originally planned for today (April 11), was postponed after the ANC withdrew in protest at the shooting of demonstrators in Sebokeng two weeks ago. The meeting has been rescheduled for May 2, 3 and 4.

A hectic two-month schedule of international visits by Mandela, taking in at least eight countries excluding the UK which he

## Own Correspondent

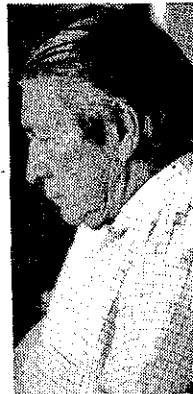
visits this weekend, was also approved. Listed countries are Angola, Nigeria, Algeria, Egypt, the European Economic Community (Belgium), France, East Germany, the USSR, the USA and Canada.

In its statement, the NEC said it welcomed "assurances given by Mr De Klerk and his colleagues" during the April 5 meeting, that they would "address as a matter of urgency the issue of state violence against peaceful demonstrations and renewed detention of members of the ANC

and the Mass Democratic Movement".

It also "reaffirmed the importance" of the May meeting and that it should achieve results to pave the way for negotiations.

The meeting expressed "serious concern" that the government had, as yet, "not fulfilled the undertakings it has repeatedly made to the ANC to introduce measures which would enable various



● NAUDE

members of the ANC, and others in exile, to return to SA legally". It urged the government to "act on this matter without further delay...".

Other preconditions for negotiations which the ANC has set include the release of all political prisoners and the lifting of the state of emergency. However, the government insists this cannot happen while

□ To Page 2

## Beyers Naude

B/1024  
11/14/90

(11A)

□ From Page 1

unrest continues unabated in Natal.

In this regard, the NEC noted ANC attempts to stop the killings.

But in a thinly-veiled reference to Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, it expressed "profound regret that some leaders in this area have embarked on a virulent campaign of propaganda against the ANC, the Mass Democratic Movement, the church and others who are committed to peace, instead of seriously engaging in the common search for peace".

The NEC also called on the government to help stop the killings "by ensuring that the police, who have led, armed and protected the murderous vigilante groups, end their campaign of terror against the democratic movement and the people of Natal".

Reaffirming the "urgent need for the international community to remain firm in its commitment to isolate apartheid SA," the NEC said "so far, neither profound nor irreversible change has taken place in SA."

Camb

# ANC stops Mbeki's <sup>CAT</sup> city talk <sup>Temp</sup> 11/4/90 11A

JOHANNESBURG — A lunch-time address to the Cape Town Press Club by the ANC International Affairs director, Mr Thabo Mbeki, which was to have been given tomorrow, has been cancelled by the ANC.

An official spokesman for the National Reception Committee said the decision had been taken in Lusaka where ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela was conferring with the ANC national executive.

Local ANC spokesmen said that when President F W de Klerk's talks with the ANC on April 11 were cancelled, the relevant group indemnity fell away and Mr Mbeki, who would have travelled to Cape Town as a member of the ANC delegation, could therefore no longer keep his Press Club appointment.

However, the spokesmen indicated that even had clearance been arranged, Mr Mbeki would not have been able to keep the appointment. — Sapa

## Anti-ANC pamphlets 'in police stations'

Staff Reporter

DESPITE the unbanning of the ANC, a pamphlet depicting the ANC as a "terrorist organisation" and warning that being a member of the organisation was a "criminal offence" is still available to the public in at least one police charge office.

Mr Tim Houghton said that on a visit to the Rondebosch charge office on Sunday he had picked up a pamphlet entitled "The Police Care". In the pamphlet, which was handed to the Cape Times, it is said that the "main organisations involved in acts of terrorism" were the ANC, SACP and the PAC.

The pamphlet further claims that "the revolutionary alliance (ANC/SACP)" does not have the means to wage guerilla warfare against South Africa's security forces. "That is why the alliance resorts to terrorism."

Police liaison officer Major Jan Calitz said he had issued orders when the ANC was unbanned that the pamphlet should be withdrawn from charge offices.

PORT ELIZABETH. — Peace-keeping is hard work. It requires dedication, the willingness to jump at the slightest threat to harmony and a commitment to democracy and consultation.

The calm which has descended over Uitenhage's sprawling KwaNobuhle township when a peace accord was signed there in February is holding.

The pact was signed between the Mass Democratic Movement and the Pan-Africanist Movement — now the Pan-Africanist Congress (internal) — after two years of feuding between supporters of the UDF and the Africanists.

Wonga Nkala, who signed the historic peace accord for the MDM, described how the peace keeping bodies have had their work cut out for them.

Five-person committees from the MDM and the PAM, set up in terms of the agreement, meet frequently to discuss how the accord is holding, and to investigate alleged violations.

Whenever specific problems are raised, the two committees consult and, where necessary, call in witnesses. Violators of the pact have the terms of the accord explained to them and are warned, Nkala says.

The strategy seems to have been effective.

"We've never had a repeat case, even where the person involved hasn't been a member of either the MDM or PAC," he said.

#### Full-time

Were perpetrators not to respond to the warnings, they would be taken before a "higher forum", comprising 20 members from each group and local church people. There has, however, been no need to convene this body.

Educating people about the accord and what it means is a full-time job.

"We had to realise it wouldn't be an overnight task to restore a spirit of reconciliation between the two groupings," Nkala explains.

"There was a lot of suspicion and some misconceptions. When we met, we adopted an approach of accepting our ideological differences. We agreed that organisations with different positions should not fight, but co-exist peacefully."

It took some time before the realisation that an agreement had been reached filtered down, but the increasingly influential and well-or-

# Peace on track

*"Last weekend, an amaAfrika group was drinking in our shebeens. There were no problems. The barriers are slowly breaking down," Uitenhage activist Wonga Nkala says. This is all part of the new spirit of reconciliation prevailing in the township of KwaNobuhle as residents give peace a chance. Meanwhile, the Natal "war" continues unabated. PATRICK GOODENOUGH and JUSTICE SIGONYELA report:*

ganised street and area committees have helped this process.

Peace has been preached in shebeens, and at rallies and sports fixtures, while copies of the accord were printed and distributed throughout KwaNobuhle.

The schools are seen as crucial. Peace committee members and clergy toured every school in the area, reading out the document and explaining its implications.

"We have been called in by teachers when conflicts seem to be arising, and our visits have been very successful," Nkala says.

One source of potential strike was affiliation to student and sports bodies. Youth belonging to the Uitenhage Students' Congress supported the National Sport Congress, while the Pan-Africanist Students' Organisation followed the South African Council on Sport (Sacos) line.

#### School

Nkala says an agreement was reached between Usco and Paso, whose members agreed not to interfere in one another's organisations.

At one high school, Student Representative Council elections took place in a peaceful, democratic atmosphere, and representatives of both ideological tendencies were elected onto the SRC.



Nelson Mandela and his wife, Winnie, greeted by Transkei's General Bantu Holomisa. The ANC deputy president addressed more than 50 000 supporters at a rally in Umtata last Sunday.

PIC: CECIL SOLS

There have been visible indications that peace has come to KwaNobuhle. People who have fled to the Africanist stronghold at the height of the conflict have asked to return to their homes.

After consultation with the relevant street and area committees, they have returned, and without incident.

"Last weekend, an amaAfrika group was drinking in our shebeens. There were no problems. The barriers are slowly breaking down," Nkala says.

Timothy Jantjie, who signed the accord for the PAM, also expresses his delight about both groups' adherence to the treaty. He feels cooperation at a leadership level served as an example to the community.

The one element reportedly not particularly supportive of the peace in Uitenhage has been the police.

"From the start, before the pact was signed, they were against peace. We would take them injured people and they'd say they would investigate, but no arrests were made," Nkala says.

PAC members had told him the security police had warned the Africanists that peace

initiatives by the MDM were aimed at tricking them into lowering their guard.

Police had allegedly said that if PAM signed an accord, known culprits of a 1987 attack on UDF property would be arrested and thrown into jail where UDF activists were also being held.

#### Police

Even after the accord was signed, police harassment continued.

"They had a strategy of creating confusion, arresting a lot of MDM guys, but none from the other side," Nkala said.

Several claims and affidavits on alleged partisan behaviour by police were submitted to the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, when he visited Uitenhage recently. Vlok promised to investigate and report back before the end of April.

Jantjie also questioned the role of the police.

Nkala says the Uitenhage peace pact, hammered out in a volatile climate, could be a lesson to other strife-torn areas, although he believes the Natal situation is far more complicated, "with (Inkatha leader Chief Gatsha) Buthelezi fighting for the leadership of the whole area".

Besides the ANC and PAC, the Midland Chamber of Industries (MCI) also played an instrumental role. MCI president, Mr Brian Rayner, is happy at the way things are moving.

He says there has been no need for the chamber — which he says is perceived by both parties as neutral — to mediate.

Rayner says the business community, which was hard hit by stayaways at Uitenhage's major industries during the conflict, is "pleased at the progress". — PEN

# Hard bargaining for acceptable solutions

South 11/4 - 18/4/90

2/11/90 11A

TWO issues will be on the table when the National Party government and the African National Congress meet formally for the first time — the state of emergency and the possible release of political prisoners.

On both these, the government is quietly confident that an acceptable formula will be found.

The occasion will mark the beginning of talks about talks. It is thus of particular importance. Both parties can be expected to do their best to keep the momentum going, thus enhancing the possibility of agreement.

On the state of emergency — which the ANC wants scrapped as a necessary pre-condition to starting real talks — the government will raise its real concerns that the escalating violence in the country precludes a simple scrapping.

Yet it feels also that it will have to do away with the state of emergency at some stage — and that the violence will not end soon, despite its existence.

Natal is an example of this.

Thus it is possible that it will let the state of emergency go, but warn that if violence is not brought under control, it will be re-imposed.

The ANC will also find that the government will put a great deal of the onus on it when it comes to demands that violence be controlled. It will be made co-responsible.

The question is whether the ANC can control the violence. There must

*With talks about talks between the ANC and the government back on track, two issues are expected to dominate discussions.*

*It is expected that some hard bargaining will be done on the lifting of the state of emergency and the release of political prisoners.*

*There are indications in government circles, however, that concessions will be made on both issues, writes HARALD PAKENDORF:*

be considerable doubt about that.

On political prisoners, the question really is one of definition: is somebody guilty of necklacing a political prisoner? Is Barend Strydom one?

A possible solution being discussed in government circles is a general amnesty, but to make it clear that not just anybody who claims to have acted for political reasons will be released.

An idea being floated is that the Namibian example be followed. There, an international jurist was asked to look into each case and make a recommendation. In all cases, both Swapo and the South African government accepted the jurist's definition.

Thus, a possible solution will be a general amnesty, but with a jurist looking at doubtful cases — with prior agreement that his advice be followed by both sides.

That would get the two main issues off the table.

It would be important then to decide on a date for another meeting, one where progress on the first two decisions can be monitored, but also be able to show that talks are moving ahead.

The stumbling block here will be the forum in which real negotiations will happen — and also who will attend.

At the moment, the ANC is looking to a constituent assembly which will somehow reflect the political strengths of the parties involved — and would therefore prefer an election to set up the assembly.

It would also like to reduce the number of parties, broadly speaking, into pro-apartheid and anti-apartheid groupings.

The government is opposed to both. In fact, it sees itself continuing to rule the country while negotiations continue — with as many political groupings as possible.

But these are issues which will come to the fore after the first round of talks about talks — assuming that these will be able to show movement.

At this stage, it looks as if they will. Certainly, neither side can afford to be too unreasonable and to appear to be the party which sinks the country's high hopes.

*(Harald Pakendorf is the former editor of the Transvaler, a daily newspaper which supported the National Party)*

# Plain 'yes' to ANC

11A

WOULD you vote for the African National Congress?

This question was put to about 800 Mitchells Plain residents last Sunday — and most of them said "yes".

The question formed the basis of a survey conducted by United Democratic Front supporters to gauge support for its recently-unbanned ally.

It was the first known survey to test the support of any political organisation in Cape Town's biggest township, home to an estimated 250 000 people.

Logan Wort, one of the survey organisers, said about 100 volunteers had gone into Beacon Valley, a suburb of Mitchells Plain, on Sunday morning.

"Their brief was to gauge people's feelings on the ANC. They were told not to influence people or to campaign for the ANC.

"Of the adults surveyed — and only adults were spoken to — more than 400 said they would give unquestioned support for the ANC. About 400 others were equally divided between those who said 'no' and those who were undecided."

### Pleased

Former Mitchells Plain community leader, Mr Johnny Issel, said he was pleased with the results of the survey as it was done in an area where not much political work had been done in the past.

Issel, recently appointed to the ANC's Western Cape executive structure, said the surveyors "did not come across any sympathy for the PAC".

He said surveys in Athlone and Langa

had shown similar results. A survey would be conducted in Rondebosch next week.

The survey results seem to refute claims by the Pan Africanist Congress that it has significant support in Mitchells Plain after it drew more than 1 000 people to a meeting in the area last Friday.

Peter Roman, elected chairperson of the PAC's Mitchells Plain branch at Friday's meeting, said: "The historic launch in Mitchells Plain has again proven that the PAC is the genuine custodian of the aspirations of the African people.

"The PAC is the African people and the African people are the PAC. PAC is therefore imperishable, and its mission victorious."

Issel said the PAC meeting was "filled with militant rhetoric which they are not able to transform into practical action or support".

"It appears their biggest enemy is the ANC and they are hoping to draw support in this way."

### Presence

Mr Trevor Manuel, the ANC's senior representative in the Western Cape, said it was not clear how many Mitchells Plain residents attended the PAC meeting or were on the branch committee.

He pointed out that the branch chairperson, Mr Peter Roman, did not live in Mitchells Plain.

"We have an established presence in Mitchells Plain, dating back to campaigns we have run since 1980," said Manuel.

"We are not prepared to rest on our laurels but are entering the area with a decided advantage over any other takers."

# Movement's top 10 for government talks

11A

*South 11A - 18/4/90*  
THE African National Congress has named a mixed line-up of stalwarts and young guards to be part of its delegation to the historic May 2 talks with the South African government.

The delegation will be led by deputy president Nelson Mandela and includes two representatives of the United Democratic Front.

A surprise inclusion is former Afrikaner Broederbond member, Dr Beyers Naude, and UDF co-president, Archie Gumede.

Some surprising omissions are the ANC's intelligence chief, Jacob Zuma, the head of Umkhonto we Sizwe, Chris Hani and publicity and information head, Pallo Jordan.



**Nelson Mandela:** Recently-released after spending 27 years in prison, the former Rivonia trialist has in effect assumed the leadership of the ANC due to the illness of president, Oliver Tambo. Mandela was made the ANC's deputy president at a special meeting of the movement's NEC in Lusaka last month. He is expected to contribute his knowledge of government thinking on negotiations gained from his experience in discussions with government officials while imprisoned.



**Walter Sisulu:** The 78-year-old former ANC secretary general heads the newly-formed Internal Leadership Core of the ANC. He also serves on the ANC's NEC based in Lusaka.



**Ruth Mompati:** A senior member of the ANC's NEC, Mompati is a noted strategist on military and political matters.



**Alfred Nzo:** The ANC's secretary general who, with Tambo, is credited with keeping the movement's structures together during the lonely years in exile. He heads the ANC's external mission in the absence of Tambo.



**Joe Modisa:** As commander-in-chief of the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, Modisa is expected to provide the main response to the government's insistence that the ANC suspend its armed struggle.

## Sakhile for UK concert



Khaya Mhlangu of Sakhile

SOUTH African Afro-fusion band Sakhile have been invited to perform at the Mandela Concert to be held at Wembley Stadium on Easter Monday.

Sakhile and mbube singers Ladysmith Black Mambazo will be the only South African bands paying tribute to Mandela at the concert.

Exiled trumpeter, Hugh Masekela, withdrew from the concert because he felt it was "more of a showcase" for top British groups than an expression of solidarity with South Africans.

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**Joe Slovo:** The most-hated ANC figure in government eyes, Slovo will be one of the key members in the delegation because of his wide-ranging experience in the movement's military wing, in political matters and because of his legal training. He is also secretary general of the SA Communist Party.



**Ahmed Kathrada:** The 60-year-old former Rivonia trialist is known to be an ideologue and key figure on the Internal Leadership Core.



**Dr Beyers Naude:** The former general secretary of the South African Council of Churches provides a compelling moral force on the delegation.



**Archie Gumede:** The Natal-based UDF co-president was more than likely selected to the delegation because of his knowledge and understanding of the violence in his province — a topic expected to feature strongly during the initial talks between the government and the ANC.



**Thabo Mbeki:** A rising star and touted as a future leader of the ANC, Mbeki, charged with the movement's international affairs portfolio.

THE Cape Town Press Club has applied to the Director-General of Home Affairs for permission to allow senior African National Congress member Mr Thabo Mbeki into the country.

ANC Director of Information, Mbeki, is due to arrive in Cape Town tomorrow and will speak at a Cape Town Press Club lunch the following day.

He was originally due to have travelled to South Africa with other ANC members based in Lusaka for talks with the Government today.

The ANC suspended the talks in protest against police shootings in Sebokeng.

However, the talks are on again after a meeting between President FW de Klerk and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela last week.

Had the ANC not suspended today's talks, Mbeki and other exiles would have been indemnified from prosecution.

There are fears in ANC circles that Mbeki could be arrested if he arrives in Cape Town today.

# Cape move to protect Mbeki

Cape Town Press Club chairman Mr Alan Duggan said yesterday he had applied to the Director-General of Home Affairs, Mr P M Kotze, for permission to allow Mbeki into South Africa. "I'm optimistic that he's coming," Duggan said.

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# EASTER SPECIAL

WHAT A...



# Simple justice...that's all we are asking for

Sowetan 12/04/90 (11A)

THE New York Times columnist Anthony Lewis has impeccable credentials. He is an outstanding journalist and teacher.

His column *At Home Abroad* is respected throughout the world because of its sensitivity, its understanding of people outside the United States and Lewis's deep sense of justice.

He has written lots of copy on South Africa, always demanding that justice be done.

## Freedom

Perhaps this country has a special place in his heart because he is married to a South African.

In 1988 I joined the class he teaches at the Harvard Law School in Cambridge, Massachusetts. His subject is *The*

## Constitution and the Press.

As he and the students debated on libel, the First and the Fourteenth Amendments and Press freedom in general, I pinched myself a few times to make sure I had not died and woken up in paradise.

They were talking casually about a freedom journalists here only dream about.

I've had lunch with Lewis, shared platforms with him speaking on Press freedom.

And to place him firmly on the side of the angels, the South African Government has until recently been refusing him a visa for some time.

In line with the new climate created by State President Mr FW de Klerk, he was recently allowed back into the country.

## Explaining

This week I read a column he wrote after his brief stay here and his conclusion is: "Most black leaders will also support negotiation, I believe, if it begins to produce tangible results early on. The alternative, holding out for a straight transfer of power, is an understandable vision. But what would be left of this country by the time that magic day arrived?"

When he was here we missed each other

and in the end had to settle for a brief hello on the telephone. Very brief, with very little chance of properly explaining things that we were saying.

In this piece he quotes me: "I don't think anyone who goes into negotiations now will come back with anything that satisfies the people," said Joe Thloloe, deputy editor of the *Sowetan*, giving his own opinion, not his paper's. "The ANC will just discredit itself."

"When would the time be right for negotiations? 'When Mr De Klerk commits himself to one person one vote,' Mr Thloloe said, with no special powers in a second parliamentary

chamber to 'protect white privilege'.

"But wouldn't that amount simply to a transfer of power? I asked. Mr Thloloe answered, 'Yes.'"

In a brief telephone conversation you get straight to the heart of the problem.

Of course it is a transfer of power, from a tiny group of South Africans to all South Africans, including that group.

That is simple justice that we have been denied for centuries and it is not unrealistic to continue demanding it. Any South African black who claims to be demanding less is merely pulling wool over white eyes (Is that the right colour?).

How do we get to that transfer of power from the few to all?

It will not happen if the National Party subscribes to the ideas in a document doing the rounds and purporting to be an Afrikaner Broederbond work document on "Basic Political Values for the Survival of the Afrikaner".

It states: "The survival of the Afrikaner is coupled with the survival of the white man...

## PERSPECTIVE



"The political implications..., against the background of the prerequisite of non-domination by one group, are that in terms of new processes, it must not be possible to change this without the approval of the majority of whites."

Its bottom line is: "This means that there can no longer be a white government. There can however not be a black, e.g. Zulu government either. The majority of the government members will indeed be black, but the system and procedure operated in such a way that all the groups can participate effectively and not be dominated by one group.

"The status quo can therefore not continue to exist, but can also not be simply reversed so that white control is replaced by black control."

Whichever way you look at this, the intention is to protect white privilege. White South Africans still refuse to see themselves as South Africans among fellow South Africans.

If De Klerk was to commit himself to a non-racial one person one vote democracy, where a person's colour meant absolutely nothing, he would have gone a long way towards meeting black demands.

At the moment he and the National Party are still dancing around trying to redefine democracy.

## The goal

Only after that commitment can people hope to sit down to productive discussions on the time-table and mechanism for getting to the goal.

Before that commitment we are still moving in the land of apartheid: people are measured by the colour of their skins, the lighter the better.

If the ANC accepts anything less than the democracy the majority of South Africans want without a clear programme of getting to it, it will run into problems with its supporters.

I'm sure the ANC leadership is fully aware of this.

# Azapo rejects media reports as misleading

Sowetan 12/4/90

11A

By THEMBA MOLEFE

THE Azanian Peoples Organisation has rejected as misleading media reports that it was about to be swallowed by the ANC and was a wing of the PAC.

In a statement released by its publicity secretary, Mr Strini Moodley, Azapo also denied it was being manipulated by the ANC.

"We seek to correct some of the misconceptions that have been created by stories written in several newspapers, including *Sowetan*, *Sunday Times*, and *The Sunday Star*.

"Our meetings with the ANC have centred primarily around the violence being perpetrated by their members against ours. We have called on the ANC in these meetings to bring an end to the violence and to work together with us in ending it," he said.

Azapo said the most crucial of these meetings took place at the house of Mr Kaiser Motaung in Soweto on the night of April 7. Eight members of the ANC, led by deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, and seven Azapo delegates, led by president Mr Jerry Mosala, had attended.



MOODLEY

## Article

The meeting established an interim two-man committee - Mandela and Mosala - to meet other organisations within the liberation movement such as the PAC, New Unity Movement and trade union federations Cosatu and Nactu to discuss internecine political violence.

On its relations with the PAC, Azapo referred

to an article which appeared in the *Sunday Times* on April 8.

It said the article perpetuated a mistaken belief prevalent among political commentators, analysts and journalists, that Azapo was part of the PAC.

The organisation said it had never been an affiliate of the PAC and that its central committee had no links with the PAC.

# PAC refutes pamphlet

THE Pan Africanist Congress has dissociated itself from an anti-ANC/UDF pamphlet distributed in its name on the Reef this week.

PAC information secretary Mr Benny Ntoele yesterday said the distributors of the pamphlet were aiming at fanning the violence between political organisations in the country.

Entitled "The Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania - Let the voice of reason be heard" it says the present wave of violence inside the country was "cleverly initiated by various charterist organisations."

It said the bloodshed was caused to strengthen

By **THEMBA MOLEFE**

their (charterist) hands at the negotiating table.

Ntoele said the PAC did not issue the pamphlet and that it dissociated itself from its contents.

"Two of our members were attacked in the past week alone - one on Friday and another at dawn yesterday. This is an indication that the authors of the pamphlet were bent on seeing the escalation of such attacks on the organisation.

"The pamphlet also advocates its readers to join the 'people's movement' which is not the PAC's slogan," said Ntoele.

12/4/90  
Swee fan

'Black Pimpernel', 'Iron Lady' could meet this weekend

# Mandela likely to reiterate stand on sanctions in UK

Sowetan 12/4/90

11A

BY SUE LEEMAN,  
FOREIGN STAFF



LONDON - The picture is familiar from Nelson Mandela's biographies: it shows the ANC deputy president under the tower of London's Big Ben, a happy shot taken on a summer Sunday in 1962.

The "Black Pimpernel" had been smuggled out of South Africa to spread the ANC's message that it would take up arms to fight apartheid to the death.

On that trip Mandela visited several African countries, along with the United Kingdom, where he took the chance to tour Westminster and the "Mother of Parliaments".

He was surprised at his respectful reception abroad, telling biographer Mary Benson that "wherever I went, I was treated like a human being".

This weekend Mandela visits England again.

## Departure

This time there is no subterfuge about his departure - and the respect has turned into the kind of awe reserved for heroes of the liberation struggle.

He will be welcomed as a political leader of stature.

The main purpose of the visit is a celebratory rally at Wembley stadium, where thousands will gather, as they did at a similar event two years ago, to fete him with music and dance.

When he takes the podium, he will be bringing his message to over a billion viewers worldwide, the kind of audience most leading politicians would sell their mothers to reach, but seldom do.

His message is likely to be unequivocal: sanctions must remain in place until the last vestiges of apartheid have gone for good.

This is diametrically opposed to the British Government's view of things, but British leaders have made it clear they will line up to see him should he indicate this is the right moment.

Downing Street have indicated

that Mrs Thatcher is still keen to usher him through the door of Number 10, despite his continued failure to respond to the invitation she so readily issued after his release - a failure which is beginning to look like a deliberate snub by the ANC.

## Meeting

At best the British leader is now marginalised in the South African debate and a meeting with Mandela could be used to suggest that she is at the centre of things.

Although she has her doubts about the ANC as an organisation, she is known to have a high regard for Mandela the statesman.

A Downing Street spokesman said this week that Mandela was "very welcome" to visit Thatcher should he decide to on this visit.

The spokesman confirmed that Thatcher returns from her Bermuda summit with President Bush on Saturday, so theoretically she could see Mandela on Sunday at her country residence, Chequers, where she often spends weekends.

The Foreign Office, too, is eager to confer with him: Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd was only too happy to see Mandela in Namibia last month but after several attempts at a meeting the ANC leader fought shy.

But Mandela, while speaking of his respect for the combative British leader, has made it clear that such encounters are unlikely now.

Mandela will answer all invitations in his own good time.

There is clearly some hesitation about playing the British card and a provisional itinerary for a Mandela tour of foreign capitals, released this week, significantly omits Britain.

## Stopover

But Whitehall is hopeful that the fact that the list is clearly incomplete leaves room for a London stopover and a meeting

with the woman of whom Mandela has said: "I would rather have her as a friend than an enemy."

Meanwhile Dr Beyers Naude was stunned yesterday to hear he had been included in the ANC delegation to meet State President FW de Klerk next month.

"I had no knowledge of this before... my wife told me on the phone this morning," he said in Stockholm, where he is on a working trip.

"When I last met Mr Mandela he gave me a general indication about a meeting, but I had no awareness that I would be included in a delegation."

Part of the former NGK dominee's surprise stems from the fact that he is not officially a member of the ANC. But he said he was one "in spirit".

"I have always been a keen supporter of the organisation but have not actually officially joined the ANC."

He looked forward to the meeting: "I am very glad that it will be possible. It is a very important and crucial meeting that has to take place."

## Discuss

Naude said he would have to discuss details of the meeting with others in the ANC delegation, but he assumed that a central issue would be the return of exiles and clarification on the control of the police.

He said he thought the situation in Natal had already been covered in private discussions between De Klerk and Mandela.

Speaking in Cape Town yesterday the Natal leader of the UDF Mr Archie Gumede said he would go into discussions with the Government next month aware of a heavy responsibility on him, and seeking a fair settlement.

Gumede was named yesterday as part of the ANC delegation to meet with De Klerk and his Cabinet colleagues in Cape Town on

May 2 to 4 to discuss obstacles in the way of negotiations.

ANC vice president Mandela will lead the delegation. Other members are Mr Joe Slovo, Mr Walter Sisulu, secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo, woman's leader Ms Ruth Mompati, military wing chief Mr Joe Modise, Mr Ahmed Kathrada, foreign representative Mr Thabo Mbeki, Dr Beyers Naude and Ms Cheryl Carolus, an energetic UDF campaigner from the Western Cape.

The Government is expected to grant the five exiled members of the delgation temporary amnesty to take part in these and future talks.

"You are now asked to take on a role of responsibility which is heavier than anything one can think of. We are talking about the lives of people," Gumede said.

It was a matter of must that people pray to God to guide the minds of those meeting next month, Gumede said.

## Future

"I do not think any future can be built on chaos and anarchy. I cannot think that it is possible for this country to be ruled by coercion. I do believe that the consent of the governed is part of the guarantee for a peaceful future."

Finding and keeping the consent of the governed was not an easy task, especially where people had preconceived ideas, Gumede said.

He supported Mandela's request that there should be full consultation leading to a proper, freely given mandate for people negotiation a new constitution as this would help secure a permanent settlement. One could not place reliance on an agreement that was obtained under duress, or where people who had been active in finding a solution were excluded by law from taking part, Gumede said.

are members of the ANC, the new interim

corrupt cliques" that rule the territories, he said.

## Gumede aims for fair settlement

11A

THE Natal leader of the UDF Mr Archie Gumede yesterday said he would go into discussions with the Government next month aware of a heavy responsibility on him, and seeking a fair settlement.

*Sowetan 12/4/90*

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11A

# Ciskei unbans the ANC, PAC and Communist party



By LOUISE FLANAGAN

CISKEI has joined the move to formally unban the liberation movements.

In terms of a Ciskei Government Gazette notice, it is now legal to belong to the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress and the South African Communist Party.

This means that bans on both the South African Allied Workers' Union (Saawu) and Ilizo Lomzi have been lifted.

Saawu was banned in Ciskei after the territory's authorities accused it of orchestrating a two-year-long bus boycott. The union has since disbanded.

Ilizo Lomzi is a small group set up by ex-President Lennox Sebe's brother Charles after he escaped from a Ciskei jail in 1986 and fled to Transkei.

The unbanning announcement was made very quietly. It was gazetted in a notice dated 30 March — the day before Nelson Mandela addressed an ANC rally in the Ciskei capital of Bisho — and by this week Ciskei government representative Headman Somtunzi still did not know about it.

— Elnews

*w/Map 12/4 - 19/4/90*

# CP leaders haven't seen that 'ANC plot' document

By THANDEKA GQUBULE

THE African National Congress has denied knowledge of a much-publicised "secret" document detailing a plot to assassinate rightwing leaders.

The ANC dismissed the allegations made in the document as "rubbish" and their headquarters in Lusaka said the organisation had no intention of assassinating rightwing politicians or any other individuals.

It also emerged yesterday that the Conservative Party, which made public the existence of the document, does not have the original in which the plot is outlined — nor have they seen it.

What the CP has is a report which, according to them, comes from within government circles and makes references to the document.

In a press statement issued by Andries Beyers, the national secretary of the Conservative Party, the party

**ANC replies to  
'torture camp'  
allegations**  
PAGE 2

said: "The wording of the State President's (FW de Klerk) statement indicated that his office is hesitant to deny the existence of the document."

The government has asked the CP to give the police full details so that a probe into the authenticity of the document can be held.

The CP said it was "giving attention to the safety of its leadership".

The CP alleges the document was sent to President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia and Nelson Mandela, before the latter's recent visit to Lusaka.

They say it outlines strategies to assassinate rightwingers, establish alternative structures to Inkatha, use violence to make homelands ungovernable and monitor rightwing protest.

# Torture is against our code of conduct, says ANC

THE African National Congress has responded to allegations that it tortured dissident members by stressing it has a code of conduct which forbids such practices and that it "no longer" has detention centres.

Senior ANC members said yesterday the code strictly prohibits torture "under any circumstances" in response to allegations in a British newspaper that Umkhonto weSizwe members were detained and tortured after taking part in military revolts in the early 1980s.

ANC National Executive Committee member Anthony Mongalo told the *Weekly Mail* the men had been held until two years ago, when a general amnesty was granted.

"I must stress that those who were held had been involved in a mutiny in the camps in Angola in 1984, in which several of our people were killed. They were held and taken for rehabilitation until about two years ago, when an amnesty was granted by our president Oliver Tambo."

Mongalo said that several of those involved in the revolt had since been taken to Sweden to further their education, while others had "gone their own way".

A code of conduct, reported to have been drawn up by a team led by ANC legal specialist Albie Sachs, was adopted at the ANC's Kabwe conference in 1985.

"We have a very strong policy which outlaws all forms of torture and physical coercion under any cir-

**The ANC believe that torture and detention among its members are a thing of a mutinous past, reports GAVIN EVANS**

cumstances. This is being vigorously applied.

"Since our camps were moved from Angola over a year ago we have had no detention camps in Angola or anywhere else," said Mongalo.

The allegations, published last week in the *Sunday Correspondent*, were made by seven former Umkhonto weSizwe members now living in Kenya. They say they were refused help by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and now want to be repatriated to South Africa after having resigned from the ANC.

The men appealed to Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu to help their repatriation.

The seven were reported by the *Correspondent* to have been involved

in a mutiny in the camps in 1984. Among their grievances was a view that "excesses" were being committed by ANC security personnel and that conditions within the camps were not satisfactory, a belief that Umkhonto weSizwe fighters should not be taking part in the war against Unita and a desire for more members to be sent to South Africa on military expeditions.

The *Correspondent* said the men's problems began in 1981 when a SA security police spy network within the movement was uncovered. This was followed by a crackdown and the enforcement of strict disciplinary proceedings for offences such as drinking spirits and smoking dagga.

A brigade of 4 000 Umkhonto weSizwe soldiers, led by Chris Hani, is reported to have fought with considerable success against Unita on the eastern front. But, as their casualties mounted, discontent rose and in late 1983 some ANC soldiers refused to return to the front.

In December 1983 a revolt broke

out at the Viana camp in Angola, after which the rebels were disarmed and sent to the Quibaxe and Pango camps in northern Angola.

According to the *Correspondent*, there was a mutiny at the Pango camp in 1984 in which five "ANC loyalists", including camp commissar Zenzile Phungulwa and staff commissar Willie Sithole, were killed.

Five days later the camp was recaptured and seven rebels were executed by firing squad, while others were captured, detained in Quatro and other camps, and some were tortured and accused of being South African agents. Others were released. According to the allegations, several of the detainees died in the camps as a result of torture and assaults.

They say the survivors were released on humanitarian grounds on November 16, 1988 and were allowed to rejoin the ANC, but discontent continued within the Tanzanian camps.

Earlier this week, Henry Chiliza, ANC deputy chief representative in East Africa was reported by Sapa to have confirmed that the seven men had been "isolated" for four years and then pardoned and freed in 1988.

He said they had committed treason by mutinying and killing Umkhonto officers.

ANC spokesman Tom Sebina told the *Weekly Mail* he could not comment on the specific allegations made in the *Correspondent* until the ANC leadership had had a chance to study the full text of the article.



# Tango? Sorry, from now <sup>NA</sup> only toyi-toyi

*Col Mail 12/4 - 19/4/90*  
By PATRICK GOODENOUGH

Port Elizabeth

A DAZED looking couple found wandering around an office block in North End's Main street were distressed to find a makeshift sign bearing the letters "ANC" at the entrance of what until recently had been their favourite dance studio.

They had apparently come to learn the tango, not the *toyi-toyi*.

The African National Congress has taken over what used to be the Arthur Murray dance studio for its Eastern Cape offices. Although the office has not yet been officially opened, visitors were this week already streaming in to join.

A jovial recruiter at the door of the almost empty office said signing up was going well.

Applicants were of all ages and hues, their only common characteristic an unbridled excitement at the prospect of becoming card-carrying ANC members.

Nearby is a bookshop provisionally involved in the membership drive. A sign on the door urges people to "sign up now — the ANC needs your support".

The simple application form requires a potential member to supply name, address, age, gender and occupation.

A voluntary declaration can be signed committing the member to "abide by the aims and objectives of the constitution and the Freedom Charter" and stating that the member "is joining the organisation voluntarily and without motives of personal gain or personal advantage".

A recruiter said the application forms were being filled in provisionally, and that proper membership forms would be available within several days. Official membership cards should also soon be on hand.

Membership fees stand at R12 a year for employed people, while students, pensioners and the unemployed were asked to pay whatever they could afford.

Most applicants for membership were unemployed, and many had signed up en route to an advice office in the same building.

Nevertheless, nobody seemed to think the fee was too high, and a number of the out-of-work applicants and pensioners insisted on paying the full amount. — Pen



# Legal move over Mandela concert

*Sowetan 12/4/90*



*11A*

LONDON - The BBC was threatened on Tuesday with legal action by the Freedom Association over the broadcasting of Monday's Wembley pop concert celebrating the release of Nelson Mandela, who is to address the audience.

The association, a Right-wing pressure group, said it would "seek legal advice to obtain a judicial remedy" unless it received certain guarantees over the transmission of the Easter

Monday concert at Wembley Stadium.

In a letter to the BBC, Norris McWhirter, the association's chairman, demanded "adequate reassurance" that the event would not be an "unchallenged pro-sanctions, pro-ANC and anti-Inkatha, anti-Thatcher orgy".

A BBC spokesman said this week that the Corporation's chairman, Marmaduke Hussey, was considering a reply. But sources within the organisation said orders had gone out that the con-

cert should be treated as a pop concert and not a news event.

In its warning to the BBC, the association points to the official programme for the event, which says: "It is a con-

cert, but it is also of major political importance."

It also highlights the organisers' "uncritical support" for the ANC and its "unrenounced policy of violence and terror...against South Africa".

# Right trying to sabotage talks - Nelson

MR Nelson Mandela last night dismissed the right wing's anti-ANC campaign as a tactic to sabotage talks between his organisation and the Government.

On his return from Lusaka last night, Mandela said: "He (Treurnicht) is shaken by events he cannot control.

"He is therefore seeking to sabotage a settlement between the ANC and NP and is trying to corrode all potential support (for the negotiation process)."

He denied the ANC or South African Communist Party had anything to do with a pamphlet which Treurnicht accused them of drawing up.

"The ANC policy is publicly documented in the Freedom Charter.

"This charter is the most devastating attack on all forms of racialism.

"On the contrary, every public document of the Conservative Party and its policy exploits the

full repertoire of racialism."

Mandela confirmed he had gone to Lusaka to discuss issues raised in a meeting with the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee.

Mandela said there were still obstacles to negotiations.

"Unfortunately there are so many political prisoners, the State of Emergency is still in operation and the whole indemnity for the delegation has still not been resolved."

He referred to another

pamphlet, purportedly distributed by the ANC.

This pamphlet called for people to record questionable actions of the army and police so that such people could be dealt with after liberation.

"This pamphlet is supposed to have come from SA Congress of Trade Unions and the SACP but neither of these organisations nor any ANC organisation was responsible for this document," Mandela said. - *Sowetan Reporter and Sapa.*



Mr Nelson Mandela and his wife, Winnie, greet people at Jan Smuts airport on their return from Lusaka last night. Pic: MBUZENI ZULU

# Despite Magnus, MK and SADF officers to meet

THE first formal meeting between members of Umkhonto weSizwe and members of the South African Defence Force and "homeland" armies will take place in Lusaka next month.

The conference, entitled "Towards a United Defence Force in South Africa", is organised by the Institute for Democratic Alternatives in South Africa (Idasa).

It was originally scheduled for early April, but was postponed to May 23 because of the involvement of senior African National Congress members in the pre-negotiations process.

Idasa Western Cape director Nic Borain said about 50 ANC delegates and 50 from a mixed internal delegation would take part.

Late last month Defence Minister General Magnus Malan turned down an invitation for the SADF to send delegates to the conference, noting that the "matter of the so-called integration of armies is not on the table".

Borain, who is the conference organiser, said he was disappointed by Malan's response, but noted that several of the delegates who were attending were senior SADF officers and academic advisors.

"The ANC was hoping the SADF would send along a representative delegation as they were very keen to meet with them. What we will now do is give the SADF full access to the conference proceedings, and several of the delegates will be reporting back

**South African and 'homeland' army officers will meet their ANC military counterparts in a remarkable conference next month, reports GAVIN EVANS**

to them."

Internal delegation members include current and retired SADF officers, academics and anti-conscription activists, while the ANC delegation includes both senior Umkhonto weSizwe members and others in the movement's hierarchy.

Among the SADF officers and former officers from home are the head of the new military government in the Ciskei, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, two senior representatives from the Transkei army, former SA Airforce Chief of Staff General Wally Black, Democratic Party defence spokesman and former chief of the airforce General Bob Rogers, Navy Commodores

Vic Holderness and Andrew McMurray, Cape Town Highlanders major Chris Walker, and former SADF women's battalion head, Colonel, Hilda Burnett.

Academics include Professor Mike Hough of Pretoria University's Institute of Strategic Studies, former State Security Council advisor and SADF major Dr Jacques Cilliers, Dr Simon Baynham of Pretoria University's Africa Institute Professor Deon Geldenhuys of Rand Afrikaans University, Professor Willie Breytenbach of Stellenbosch, Dr Annette Seegers of the University of Cape Town and Dr Jackie Cock of Wits University.

Among the other delegates are the head of the military and manpower section of the Afrikaans Handelsinstituut, Hennie Klerk, End Conscription Campaign chairperson Chris de Villiers, conscientious objector Saul Batzofin and Democratic Party Presidents Councillor James Selfe.

The ANC delegation, to be led by Umkhonto weSizwe chief-of-staff Chris Hani, will include at least four other ANC National Executive Committee members — Thabo Mbeki, Aziz Pahad, Joe Slovo and Ronnie Kasrils.

Others will include "MK" members Sizwe Saluba, Keith Mkwapi and Hein Groskopf, political-military department official Klaus Maphepha and ANC military researcher Abdul Mindi.

Both delegations will include soldiers who fought in the Namibia, Angola and elsewhere.

Borain said the agenda will focus on ANC and SADF perceptions of each other, the role of the military forces during the negotiations process, the formation of a post-apartheid defence force, the military-industrial complex and questions and attitudes relating to military conscription.

"This conference is not intended to be a negotiations forum between the SADF and the ANC," said Borain, "but we do believe the ideas that emerge could assist both sides in clarifying their positions and in understanding those of their former protagonists".

It is likely to be one of the last conferences to be held in Lusaka between the ANC and delegations from inside the South Africa.

# Mandela delegation regains initiative

Wolant 12/4 - 19/6/90

By GAVIN EVANS  
and GAYE DAVIS

THE African National Congress moved quickly this week to reclaim the high ground on the negotiations initiative, and set in motion a mass membership drive within the county.

Stressing that there were no divisions within the movement on the negotiations, the ANC National Executive Committee said in a statement that they "welcomed the assurance given by Mr De Klerk and his colleagues to address as a matter of urgency (...) violence against peaceful demonstrators and the renewed detention of members of the ANC and the Mass Democratic Movement".

But the movement noted concern that the government had "not yet fulfilled its undertakings to clear the way for exiles to return to South Africa legally" and urged De Klerk to finalise this without delay.

The NEC also stressed its commitment to "do everything in its power to end the fratricidal strife in Natal", but in guarded tones expressed its "profound regret that some leaders in this area have embarked on a virulent campaign of propaganda against the ANC, the MDM, the church and others who are committed to peace".

On Tuesday night the movement unveiled its high-powered and carefully balanced 11-person team for the May 2 "talks about talks", which will focus on removing obstacles to negotiations.

Led by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, 71, it includes internal

leadership core head Walter Sisulu, 77, SA Communist Party secretary general Joe Slovo, 63, Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Joe Modise, 61, ANC acting secretary general Alfred Nzo, 64, international affairs director Thabo Mbeki, 47, ANC administrative secretary Ruth Mompoti, UDF co-president Archie Gumede, 76, former SA Council of Churches secretary general Dr Beyers Naudé, 75, ANC internal publicity secretary Ahmed Kathrada, 60 and UDF Western Cape executive committee member and Cheryl Carolus, 33.

Meanwhile, the NEC has acknowledged that "faster progress needs to be achieved to meet the demand of the countless numbers of our people who seek to join the ANC", and has called on the international community "to make resources available" for the repatriation and resettlement of ANC members currently in exile.

Over the past 10 days the ANC has set up offices in Port Elizabeth, East London and Umtata, in addition to its Johannesburg-based national office, and expects to set up offices in the other regions over the next fortnight.

Membership cards have now been printed and will be issued at branch level.

Last week eight ANC regional co-ordinators were announced, and the

remaining three will be announced within the next week, an ANC source said.

"We must stress these are interim structures to get things moving and these will be replaced once elections are held before our December 16 conference," he said.

ANC southern Natal co-ordinator and UDF National publicity secretary, Patrick Lekota, said his interim committee would be visiting areas throughout the region in order to set up branch structures over the next two weeks.

"In each area local chairpersons will be elected along with local branch committees."

The United Democratic Front will not be disbanded, but its character will be changed into a forum representing grassroots structures, while the ANC will assume the national political leadership, he said.

Trevor Manuel, secretary of the UDF and coordinator of the ANC in the Western Cape, said the front held a national workshop in Cape Town at the weekend involving 250 delegates from around the country. It recommended that UDF should continue as a movement separate from but closely linked to the ANC.

Views at the workshop ranged from "let's shut up shop" to "the UDF must continue in its present form", Manuel said. But, he added, it was significant there were no "hard and fast" positions.



**LONDON MEETING . . .** ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela and Bishop Trevor Huddleston, president of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, meet at the weekend in London where Mr Mandela attended a huge concert yesterday celebrating his release from prison.

Picture: REUTERS

CMC 7/4/90  
NGK Canger  
over torture

**Staff Reporter**

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela's admission that members of the organisation had tortured dissident ANC members has been slammed by the moderator of the Ned Geref Church in Africa.

The Rev Sam Buti said Mr Mandela's reaction to the torture allegations "was pathetic" and that Mr Mandela should act immediately.

However, he welcomed Mr Mandela's courage in admitting the torture.

The moderator of the Ned Geref Church, Professor Johan Heyns, said the disclosures had come "as a big shock" to him.

"I am thankful that Mr Mandela said torture was not the policy of the ANC," he said.

APP. 11/15 12/4/90 (B) (11A) (S)

# Xroads quiet but residents afraid

## Staff Reporters

THE situation in Crossroads was quiet late last night although residents were living in fear after the violence which brought the official tally of dead to four, including two point-blank executions.

The outburst of violence is the worst in 18 months of feuding between mayor Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana and his committee and a breakaway faction of 15 headmen under Mr Jeoffrey Nongwe.

Residents yesterday said they feared for their lives over the weekend, especially those living in the newly-developed Phase Two housing scheme. The housing scheme has been attacked by both sides attempting to force support for their causes, resulting in at least one death over a fortnight ago.

Claremont MP Mr Jan van Eck claimed yesterday that the govern-

ment had done nothing to address the causes of the violent conflict in Old Crossroads which had resulted in a number of deaths in the past year.

In a memorandum to the government Mr Van Eck said yesterday that while everyone seemed appalled at the carnage in Natal, no one seemed to be aware that, by allowing the crisis in Crossroads to continue, the seeds of another Natal situation were being sown.

Mr Van Eck claimed that a solution to the crisis would only be found if:

- The allegations regarding the use of the "Crossroads Housing Fund" were finalised "so that justice can be seen to be done and the guilty ones being brought to court".

- The present mayor and his committee councillors were removed from office and the residents allowed to decide if they "actually want to elect a mayor and town committee".

# Mandela to push for early follow-up talks

1264 12/4/90 112  
The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — African National Congress deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela believes there should be no delay in follow-up meetings between the government and his organisation after the meeting early next month.

Speaking at a press conference last night on his return from Lusaka, Mr Mandela said a delay would hinge on the continued state of emergency, the continued imprisonment of political prisoners and exiles, who have not yet been given permanent indemnity.

Mr Mandela said he would push for early follow-up talks.

## "INFORMAL MEETINGS"

He met the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, at Jan Smuts Airport before the press conference.

Mr Mandela, who was released from prison two months ago yesterday, said the ANC was determined to get negotiations off the ground as soon as possible.

He would not discuss details about his meeting with Mr Coetsee but added that the ANC and the government were continuously addressing problems "informally in informal meetings".

Mr Mandela last night accused Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht of sabotaging talks between the ANC and the government.

The CP earlier this week released a document, which it claimed detailed an ANC plan to assassinate rightwing politicians.

Mr Mandela said there was no truth in the allegations made by the CP adding that no such document has been issued by the ANC or the SACP.

"It is so transparent that this is a simple trick from a man who will believe anything, however transparent, as long as it is loaded with racist undertones," Mr Mandela said.



By Esmaré van der Merwe,  
Political Reporter

A police investigation has been launched into the authenticity of the document which the Conservative Party claims is a Government document giving details of an African National Congress (ANC) plan to assassinate right-wing politicians and members of the security forces.

A police spokesman said in Cape Town that the investigation would also determine whether there had been a security breach.

He said the document was obviously a "source" report — a report from an informer. The police received many such reports which were then evaluated.

The impression in police circles today was that allegations in the report were far-fetched.

# Police probe CP's 'ANC murder document'

The CP released the document to back up its leader Dr Andries Treurnicht's claims on Monday of an ANC assassination plot.

In a statement yesterday, the CP's chief secretary in the Transvaal, Mr Andries Beyers, said he had been instructed by Dr Treurnicht to release the document in which the ANC plans were mentioned.

A copy of the document was faxed to The Star yesterday. Headed "Secret" and "Urgent", it refers to a secret report sent by the ANC's National Executive Committee to Mr Nelson Mandela and outlines what was contained in the report.

The document is typed on paper without a masthead and is not signed.

Yesterday morning ANC spokesmen in Lusaka and Johannesburg dismissed the CP leader's allegations as "absolute rubbish".

In a statement following Dr Treurnicht's first allegations, President de Klerk denied any knowledge of a secret ANC document outlining a strategy to assassinate rightwingers, establish alternative structures to Inkatha, use violence to make the homelands ungovernable and monitor right-wing protest activities in order to assassinate the organisers and the families of security force members.

A spokesman for the State President's Office said the Government would like the CP to give full details to the police so that appropriate steps could be

taken.

Mr Beyers said the State President's statement indicated that he was hesitant to deny the existence of the document.

According to the source who revealed the document's existence to the CP, the document had been sent to Government circles on March 3 this year.

## Submitted

Said Mr Beyers: "It is of course technically possible, but in practice highly unlikely, that the Government has not been informed of the existence of the document and that the CP received the information before it was put at the disposal of the Government."

Mr Beyers said the document, which he claimed backed Dr

Treurnicht's revelations, had — according to the CP's source — come from within the Government's own intelligence circle.

According to the circular, the ANC's strategy had been drawn up by an ANC internal sub-committee led by Mr Joe Slovo.

It had been submitted to ANC deputy leader Mr Nelson Mandela and Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda.

The circular noted that Mr Mandela's reaction to the document was unknown.

It said President Kaunda had remarked that he hoped white South Africans would not force Mr Mandela to accept the plan.

President Kaunda is touring the rural areas of Zambia and could not be contacted for comment on his alleged remarks.

The ANC's internal leader, Mr Walter Sisulu, said yesterday: "That is absolute rubbish."

ANC spokesman Mr Tom Sebina said in Lusaka: "The ANC has no intention whatever to assassinate rightwingers or any individuals."

He said if the CP had any document "it must be one that has been made up to reflect the ANC in a bad light".

DP co-leader Mr Wynand Malan said he believed the ANC was committed to peace and negotiation although it was experiencing problems in creating structures after a 30-year ban.

"It has never even contemplated such action against establishment politicians, let alone rightwingers who don't even have the power."

"Dr Treurnicht's claims smack of trickery and do him no favours. If he didn't make it up, he should at least try to verify his sources."

Mr Beyers said the CP was giving attention to the safety of its leadership.

"Our message to the ANC is: The CP will not be intimidated by threats of assassinations of its leaders into backing down from the struggle for our nation's freedom."

He said the Government circular had been sent to the Ministry of Law and Order to be passed on to the South African Police.

Security police are investigating the alleged documents produced by the CP.

# UK keeps 'stiff upper lip' over Mandela's absence

AKCus 11/4/90

The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — Whitehall remains unperturbed, on the surface at least, about the omission of Britain from the list of countries ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela hopes to visit by July.

But privately officials in Downing Street and the Foreign Office must be alarmed at Mr Mandela's continued failure to respond to invitations to meetings with Mrs Margaret Thatcher and senior members of the British government.

They will be concerned about what is seen as Britain's

exclusion from the mainstream of the South African debate.

The ANC's National Executive Committee (NEC) issued the following list of places Mr Mandela hopes to visit: Angola, Nigeria, Algeria, Egypt, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, the Soviet Union, the United States and Canada "among others".

The NEC statement also showed the ANC's displeasure at Mrs Thatcher's recent decision to lift some sanctions as a reward for recent reforms — a move widely seen as one of the reasons for her isolation.

Downing Street and White-

hall were keeping a stiff upper lip about Britain's exclusion from Mr Mandela's tour itinerary.

● Canadian Red Indian organisations have invited Mr Mandela to their country to see how apartheid works.

"As a resident of apartheid, I would like Mr Mandela to visit us first," said Mr Ron George, the head of the United Native Nations, an organisation which has 60 000 members in British Columbia alone.

"Not very long ago, our people had to get permits to leave their reserves," said Mr George.

# Beyers Naude 'stunned' to be in ANC team

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Dr Beyers Naude

**From SARAH CROWE  
The Argus Foreign Service  
STOCKHOLM.** — Dr Beyers Naude was stunned today to hear he had been included in the ANC delegation to meet President de Klerk on May 2, 3 and 4.

"I had no knowledge of this before. My wife told me on the phone this morning," he said here, where he is on a working trip.

"When I last met Mr Mandela he gave me a general indication about a meeting but I was not aware I would be included in a delegation."

Part of the former KGK do-

minee's surprise stems from the fact that he is not officially a member of the ANC. But he said he was one "in spirit".

"I have always been a keen supporter of the organisation but have not actually officially joined the ANC."

He looked forward to the meeting: "I am very glad it will be possible. It is a crucial meeting that has to take place."

Dr Naude said he would have to discuss details of the meeting with others in the ANC delegation. But he assumed a central issue would be the return of exiles and clarification on the control of the police.

He thought the situation in Natal had already been covered in private discussions between Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela.

● Mr Walter Sisulu, internal chairman of the ANC, said today Dr Naude had done important work for the organisation, writes Staff Reporter Dennis Cruywagen.

Dr Naude had been associated with the ANC for many years. The fact that he was an Afrikaner had not influenced his inclusion in the delegation.

ANC secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo echoed Mr Sisulu's comments.

"He has worked tirelessly in

the interests of the movement."

Mr Nzo said exiled members of the ANC delegation would arrive in South Africa a few days before the talks.

● The Natal leader of the UDF, Mr Archie Gumede, said today he would go into discussions with the government next month aware of a heavy responsibility and would seek a fair settlement, The Argus Political staff reports.

Mr Gumede was named yesterday as part of the ANC delegation.

ANC vice-president Mr Nelson Mandela will lead the delegation. Apart from Dr Naude,

Mr Sisulu, Mr Gumede and Mr Nzo, other members are Mr Joe Slovo, woman's leader Ms Ruth Mompati, military wing chief Mr Joe Modise, Mr Ahmed Kathrada, foreign representative Mr Thabo Mbeki and Ms Cheryl Carolus, an energetic UDF campaigner from the Western Cape.

The government is expected to grant the five exiled members of the delegation temporary amnesty to take part in these and future talks.

Mr Gumede said: "We are now asked to take on a role of responsibility heavier than anything one can think of."



Mr Gumede



Mr Modise



Mr Mbeki



Mr Slovo



Mr Sisulu



Ms Carolus



Mr Kathrada



Mr Nzo



Ms Mompati



Mr Mandela



# No ANC, but Unibo nominates Mandela

By VUSI GUNENE

THE Senate of the University of Bophuthatswana has recommended an honorary doctorate for deputy president of the African National Congress, Nelson Mandela — amid denials by the “homeland” government to allow the ANC to operate in the territory.

The senate, which comprises senior academics at the university, refused to recommend honorary degrees to two nominated supporters of the ruling Bophuthatswana Democratic Party.

They are: AN Lekgetha, deputy minister of health and services and DP Moloto, former deputy minister for economic affairs.

In another dramatic move, 500

members of the university staff recommended the name of recently deported president of the Unibo Staff, Dr Jon Lewis, in a petition to the senate.

However, the executive of the senate removed the name of Lewis from the list of nominations and thus preventing members of the senate to vote on the matter.

Mandela’s award is, however, not assured, since the senate’s recommendation can be vetoed by the university council — a body dominated by political appointee of the “homeland’s” president — Lucas Mangope.

Mangope appoints 15 out of 24 members of the Council, who according to the Unibo Support Committee “defend the interest of the homeland policy”.

The recommendation for Mandela’s doctorate reflects the growing dissatisfaction that has swept through the university in recent months.

The Senate has on a number of occasions differed with the Vice Chancellor of the university, Professor MR Malope, who was directly appointed by Mangope.

The Senate opposed Malope’s attempts to ban meetings of the Staff Association on campus and protested against the deportation of Lewis.

Last month 443 employees were

summarily dismissed following a wage strike by almost all manual, clerical and senior administrative staff at the university.

The demands of the striking workers were supported by students and a large proportion of the academic staff — leading to a two-week strike.

Some members of the Staff Association’s executive were detained and allegedly assaulted by the “homeland” police while in detention.

When the university was re-opened a fortnight ago, all 443 were reinstated with a 20 percent wage increase with a minimum wage at the time of the strike being R240 a month.

Although all workers and students have gone back to the university, there is mounting tension as no meetings are allowed on campus.

# UK losing pivotal SA role

Since February when he left prison, Mr Nelson Mandela has treated everyone as a friend. He has been particularly careful not to upset Mrs Margaret Thatcher. But there is disagreement in the African National Congress about how its leader should respond to Mrs Thatcher's invitation to Downing Street when he visits Britain next weekend.

Some argue that Mr Mandela should visit politicians in other countries who have supported the ANC before he visits Mrs Thatcher. The compromise might be that he will not see Mrs Thatcher but will announce a date for the future.

The ANC, which will one day be at least part of the government of South Africa, is baffled and enraged by Mrs Thatcher's policy.

Whatever feelings of reconciliation are being generated between the ANC and President de Klerk's Government, they do not extend to Britain. As one observer said: "Coming to terms with your enemy is one thing, it is quite another to be reconciled with your enemy's friend, who should have been your friend."

Since Mr de Klerk opened the way to fundamental change, Britain, which played a central part in shaping southern Africa's history, is being virtually ignored on all sides.

Mr de Klerk naturally wants all the credit for his astonishing moves. He may have moved so far so fast that he no longer needs a conservative ally. The last thing he needed after his speech in February which promised fundamental changes was a row over sanctions.

But that was what Mrs Thatcher gave him when she offered to lift some sanctions immediately. Mr de Klerk, and in private the ANC, hoped the sanctions issue would quietly die away.

As white control in South Africa began to disintegrate in the mid-1980s, businessmen, politicians and diplomats began to trek to the ANC's Lusaka door to establish a relationship with the possible future government. But even after members of the Pretoria government had met Mr Mandela, Mrs Thatcher was still restricting British contact with the ANC.

It was not that Mrs Thatcher did not take the subject seriously. She undertook two gruelling trips which took her to Kenya, Nigeria, Zimbabwe, Malawi and Namibia. They were designed to give her the credibility to go to South Africa one day and set a British seal of approval on change there. But a visit to South Africa by Mrs Thatcher now — if it takes place at all — would seem like an irrelevance.

How did she get it so wrong?

According to someone who knows her well, the racial aspect of apartheid never meant much to Mrs Thatcher.



Mr Nelson Mandela will be attending the charity concert in his honour at Wembley next Monday, but it is still unclear whether or not he will see Mrs Thatcher when in London. **RICHARD DOWDEN** of The Independent examines the cool relations between the ANC leader and the British prime minister.

"She is bitterly opposed to it because she sees it as something which interferes with the free market. But then equally she always saw sanctions as interfering with the free market."

That context explains why she felt the need to crusade so strongly against sanctions. She believed that the free market was the best weapon against apartheid and therefore more contact, not isolation, was what South Africa needed.

She was prepared to wreck relations with the rest of the Commonwealth in this cause. She gave the impression at times that she hated the Commonwealth more than she hated apartheid.

## Not well advised

The Foreign Office tried to work out a policy which was against economic sanctions but did not remove the threat of sanctions. The message to Pretoria could have been that Britain could not keep its finger in the dyke holding off sanctions for ever; the South Africans should hurry up and produce some changes. At the same time contact with the ANC would have built up goodwill for the future and sent another powerful message to Pretoria.

Instead, Mrs Thatcher ruled out even the threat of sanctions, vigorously attacking their advocates but using soft words and persuasion on Pretoria. She banned contact with the ANC.

She has not been well advised on South Africa. Her advisers include her husband, Denis, who visited South Africa as a businessman and is vigorously against sanctions.

She also listened to the South African writer, Sir Laurens van der Post, who is inclined to interpret Africa in a purely tribal way and

dismisses the ANC as another communist movement which is going to wreck old Africa.

Her staff consisted of Sir Robin Renwick for whom she had secured the ambassadorship in Pretoria and Charles Powell, her foreign affairs adviser, who is Sir Robin's oldest friend in the foreign service.

Sir Robin is said to report directly to Downing Street rather than through the Foreign Office.

It is understood that Sir Robin had tried to persuade Mrs Thatcher to lift the ban on talking to the ANC but her outburst at Vancouver in 1987 when she called the ANC "a typical terrorist organisation" perhaps expressed her true feelings.

Criticism of Mrs Thatcher by the ANC has been held back. On more than one occasion Mr Mandela has contained, or even suppressed, the anger of the ANC and its allies.

At a press conference for Mr Mandela held in Zambia last month it seemed we were in for a spectacular display of Thatcher bashing. Lined up behind a long trestle table were the leaders of the Frontline states. At one end was Sir Sonny Ramphal, the Commonwealth Secretary General, and at the other was the PLO's Mr Yasser Arafat.

The media squatted in front of them like dogs at a feast. But Mr Mandela was not giving them a bone. When someone offered a question on Mrs Thatcher he snatched it out of the air before President Kenneth Kaunda, the chairman, could open his mouth.

"Perhaps before Comrade President responds," he said, "I would like to say that what we discussed about Mrs Thatcher is not something that can be properly dealt with through the mass media. It is a matter to be dealt with directly with Mrs Thatcher."

Then he added that among the many factors which have influenced Mr de Klerk, "it is quite possible Mrs Thatcher has made her contribution". Dr Kaunda looked as if someone had deprived him of lunch.

At the Namibian independence celebrations last month when Mr Mandela's aides failed to respond to a British request for a meeting with Mr Douglas Hurd, the Foreign Secretary, Mr Mandela sent a message to the British saying no snub was intended. But the discomfiture of British diplomats epitomises the collapse of British influence.

Neglect of the ANC has not been Mrs Thatcher's only mistake, however. The Downing Street view seemed to be that the ANC was a part of the South African solution but not necessarily the main force in black politics.

Mrs Thatcher met, and liked, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the Inkatha leader, whose views on sanctions, the armed struggle and free enterprise appeared to coincide with her own.

But Inkatha has been shown to be a largely regional Zulu movement. Until Chief Buthelezi and Mr Mandela meet and establish their relationship, Chief Buthelezi remains an ambiguous figure and Mrs Thatcher's decision to receive him at Downing Street days after Mr Mandela's release sent all the wrong messages.

Mrs Thatcher's unexplained cancellation of a proposed kerbside statement to the press on the day Mr Mandela was released implied that she had been led to believe he would renounce violence.

If that is what she thought — or had been told — she was badly informed. His speech in Cape Town picked up from where he had left off in his speech from the dock in 1964 and any idea that he could be detached from the ANC and its policies always seemed unlikely.

So it was that when Mr Mandela arrived in Zambia, another former British colony, there was no British representative to greet him and not a single Union Jack among the Commonwealth flags.

Both the Canadian and Australian foreign Ministers flew to welcome him. Two days after Mr Mandela's arrival, British diplomats threw a party. Our man at the High Commission responsible for relations with the ANC was celebrating his 25th birthday. He was on his first posting.

Britain could have protected its long-term interests in South Africa without alienating the main political groups there. There was even a chance that Britain could play a role in bringing all sides together.

But Mrs Thatcher has left Britain excluded from recent developments and British influence diminished. — The Independent News Service.

- (2) whether he or his Department has investigated the (a) economic and (b) juridical implications of these steps; if not, why not; if so, what are these implications, in each case? B718E

**THE MINISTER OF MINERAL AND ENERGY AFFAIRS AND PUBLIC ENTERPRISES:**

- (1) No. A final decision regarding the granting of mining rights will be taken after the completion and evaluation of the environmental impact assessment which is presently being undertaken.

(a) and (b) Fall away.

- (2) Falls away.

\*20. Mr R M BURROWS — Administration and Economic Co-ordination. [Question standing over.]

**GST on prescribed medicines: revenue**

\*21. Mr M J ELLIS asked the Minister of Finance: *Hansard 17/4/90*

What was the total amount of revenue received by the Government from general sales tax on prescribed medicines for the 1988-89 financial year? *B738E*

**THE MINISTER OF FINANCE:**

Inland Revenue does not require registered vendors to furnish the particulars of sales tax collected on each type of commodity as this would place an unreasonable administrative burden on the business sector. For this reason separate statistics of collections on prescribed medicines are not available. The Pharmaceutical Society of South Africa has estimated that the sales of prescribed medicines for the 1989 calendar year amounted to R1 040 million. If one assumes that sales tax was payable on the whole of this amount the revenue collected would amount to R120 million. These figures exclude prescribed medicines supplied by medical practitioners and hospitals.

**GST on prescribed medicines: abolition**

\*22. Mr M J ELLIS asked the Minister of Finance: *Hansard 17/4/90*

Whether consideration is being given to abolishing general sales tax on prescribed medicines; if not, why not?

B739E

**THE MINISTER OF FINANCE:**

*Hansard 17/4/90*  
No. Representations have on numerous occasions been made for prescribed medicines to be exempted from general sales tax and careful consideration has been given to the matter. It is, however, essential, particularly in the case of an indirect tax such as sales tax, for the base to be as wide as possible. If an exemption was granted in respect of prescribed medicines it would not only open the door for exemptions in respect of other equally meritorious cases, but would mean that the loss of tax would have to be recovered by an increase in the rate of tax.

**Colonel Bob Denard: residence permit**

\*23. Mr L FUCHS asked the Minister of Home Affairs: *Hansard 17/4/90*

- Whether a temporary or permanent residence permit has been issued to Colonel Bob Denard; if so, (a) for how long and (b) why;
- what is the total anticipated cost to the State of providing refuge to Colonel Denard;
- whether he will furnish details on the present whereabouts of this person; if not, why not; if so, (a) where is he residing at present and (b) at whose expense is he residing there?

B740E

**THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:**

- A temporary residence permit has been issued to him. An extension will be required from 1 May 1990. Colonel Denard's residence in South Africa must be seen against the background of the disturbances which occurred in the Comores in December 1989. On occasion my colleague, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, has made public statements on the events. It boils down to the fact that both the former government of the Comores and the French Government have requested South Africa to accommodate Colonel Denard. The South African Government was initially not in favour thereof, but after repeated appeals by the two aforementioned governments, the government, for the promotion of peace and quiet in the Comores, agreed to be of assistance. In the meantime discussions

with the French Government regarding Colonel Denard's position and future are being conducted.

- None.
- No. He is being housed privately and it is not deemed expedient to furnish details.

**Mr Lennox Sebe in SA**

\*24. Mr L FUCHS asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

- Whether Mr Lennox Sebe is currently residing in South Africa; if so, (a) under what conditions has he been granted permission to do so and (b) at what total anticipated cost to the State;
- whether he is to be granted political asylum; if not, why not; if so, for what reasons?

B741E

**THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:**

- Yes.
  - Under circumstances where he left his country as Head of State and where a coup d'état was carried out in his country during his absence. He was not unwilling to return to the Ciskei. After consultation with the South African Embassy in the Ciskei and the National Council of the Ciskei, he was advised not to return to the Ciskei for the time being in the interest of the promotion of peace and quiet in the Ciskei, which is at the same time in the interest of South Africa. Further, Mr Sebe is receiving medical treatment in South Africa.
  - He and his spouse are being accommodated in a house which was available. He pays for their upkeep himself.

- No request for political asylum has been received.

**Retirement annuity funds: extension of retirement age**

\*25. Mr H H SCHWARZ asked the Minister of Finance:

Whether any consideration has been given to extending the age of retirement in respect of

retirement annuity funds beyond 70; if so, what conclusion has been arrived at; if not, why not? *Hansard 17/4/90* B743E

**THE MINISTER OF FINANCE:**

Yes. It was concluded that the age limit should not be extended as the purpose of allowing a deduction in respect of contributions to retirement annuity funds is to permit a person to defer tax on a portion of his income during his productive years until after his retirement. Very few people remain productive after attaining the age of 70 years, and it appears that any raising of the age limit would mainly benefit those senior citizens fortunate enough to have more than sufficient income to meet their needs, and who merely wish to further defer the payment of tax.

**Durban prison at Westville: emergency detainees**

\*26. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of Law and Order:

- Whether any persons are being detained in terms of the state of emergency at the Durban Prison in Westville; if so, how many;
- whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B744E

**THE MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:**

- Yes, 18 persons on 17 April 1990.
- The detention of these persons is as a result of the conflict situation in Natal and is in the interests of the maintenance of law and order, the public safety and the termination of the statement of emergency.

**Minister/Mandela: meetings outside prison**

\*27. Adv S C JACOBS asked the Minister of Justice:† *Hansard 17/4/90*

- (a) On how many occasions did he meet Mr Nelson Mandela outside prison premises and (b) (i) where and (ii) when did each such meeting take place;
- whether he was accompanied by any other Cabinet Ministers at these meetings; if so, by what Ministers;
- whether the constitutional future of South Africa was under discussion at any of these meetings; if so, at which meetings?

B752E

# —ANC can take the high moral ground, says Allan Boesak

By TOS WENTZEL,  
Political Staff

**T**HE African National Congress was in the position where it could suspend violence, thus taking the high moral ground and forcing the government to respond in a like manner, according to Dr Allan Boesak, patron of the United Democratic Front and president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches.

He was speaking after the weekend national workshop of the UDF where it was decided that the UDF and the ANC would continue as separate movements but with close links.

Dr Boesak said he thought it was necessary that the people of the country, including the young people and those involved in violence in Natal and elsewhere, should hear that the ANC was committed to peace and that it really meant it.

The ANC and the government should also move together on this issue.

He said he understood the historical background to the ANC's armed struggle — that it was an option forced on it by the intransigence of successive South African governments but that it was not a justification of violence. He had always been committed to the truth that violence never finally solved any problem.

The ANC was now in the position where it could once again take the high moral ground by announcing the suspension of the armed struggle.

Referring to the coming talks between the government and the ANC he said he hoped that they would concentrate on the terrible situation in Natal and the potential it had for spreading throughout the country. This had to be avoided at all costs.

Instead of looking at this situation from a position of adversaries, both the ANC and the government should recognise that they were the senior partners in the whole process and that this was a common problem.

The other big issue was whatever obstacles remained so that there could be a move closer to proper and genuine negotiation.

The two sides should strive to arrive quickly at a definition of what constituted a political prisoner. That would clear the way for the leadership of the ANC to return home.

Asked about his own future role Dr Boesak said he had in the past been asked by people to do certain things such as participate in protest actions

'Talks must concentrate on the terrible situation in Natal'



Dr Allan Boesak ... 'People should hear that the ANC is committed to peace'

and act as a spokesman to articulate the aspirations of people or to give critiques of government policy and actions.

If he was called on to play some role in a transitional period he would be available but the overt role of leadership was that of the people who were being recognised as leaders.

It was clear that the UDF had charted for itself a new role in the sense that it would remain a separate organisation but that it had now clearly tied itself to the ANC.

## Advantages

This in itself was not particularly new in the sense that there were many UDF associates who had seen themselves as supporters of the ANC but this was the first time that this had become the official line of the UDF.

He was happy that the UDF had again committed itself to the policy of non-racialism because this was one of the pillars on which it was built in 1983 and this had remained one of its most important commitments.

The question was whether there was enough time to build a broad front and it would be in the interests of the country as a whole to do this as soon as possible.

"At the same time we must realise that we cannot wait

for everybody ready to join the UDF or the ANC until we can talk about serious negotiations.

"The ANC is now in the process of transforming itself from a liberation movement to a political party and to find a clear and attractive policy that could present itself as an acceptable alternative to government policies."

The ANC had advantages as the oldest liberation movement in Africa which could claim the support of the vast majority of people but the government could be expected to diminish some of these advantages. This was what politics was about.

On the other hand it was no good for the government to say it wanted to dismantle apartheid without doing something about this.

In spite of the adroit way in which Mr F W De Klerk had handled himself, nothing had changed about the reality of apartheid.

There was great danger in this.

There were people who believed that there should be no talk about negotiations and that the government, or white people, could not be trusted.

The longer the practical circumstances of people remained the same, the more credibility this kind of argument gained, Dr Boesak said.

# Talks with ANC 'please' European delegation

ARC 05 12/4/90

(44) [Signature]

## The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Fourteen representatives from European Community countries have held talks here with internal ANC representatives led by Mr Walter Sisulu.

The leader of the delegation, Irish Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Gerard Collins, said after yesterday's meeting that he was pleased with the discussions, which had centred on housing, education, health, sanctions and changes in South Africa.

The EC's position had always been against apartheid.

"We want to encourage dialogue between the government and ANC and we will help the victims of apartheid in a positive way."

The delegation and the ANC had agreed that sanctions would remain until fundamental changes had taken place.

Mr Collins welcomed reforms brought about so far in South Africa. He was confident "definite steps" would be taken by President De Klerk.

"The good atmosphere in the country has to be used by both sides to bring about a democratic situation."

## FRUITFUL

Mr Sisulu said his delegation had had fruitful discussions with the European ministers.

The EC delegation met ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela at Jan Smuts Airport when he arrived from Zambia yesterday and will meet President De Klerk in Cape Town today.

Talks have also been arranged with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the South African Council of Churches, the South African Catholic Bishops Conference, the Pan Africanist Congress, Azapo, the Democratic Party, the Conservative Party, representatives of the Indian and coloured Houses of Parliament and various business leaders.

They will also meet Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha and deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer.



**T**HE historical alliance between the ANC and the SACP gives the strategic logic of SA communists particular importance for the future of democracy in SA. It is only in the apartheid state that the hammer and sickle proudly flies at mass rallies.

As long as the gross inequality and historical exclusion of the majority persist, hopes that Eastern European developments would also prove infectious in SA remain wishful thinking.

Michael O'Dowd (Business Day, February 14) may invoke the mass migration out of existing socialism or "the stifling of initiative and progress implicit in (Joe) Slovo's hatred of profits", but the dream of greater equality and non-exploitation will be furthered rather than stifled by Anglo American monopolies.

This gives SACP pronouncements a special importance, its quaint orthodoxy and discredited Stalinist past notwithstanding. The end of state socialism, many argue, heralds the future of democratic socialism.

**S**lovo's thoughtful paper *Has Socialism Failed?* constitutes the first theoretical attempt by the chairman of the party to shed the ideological ballast of a Stalinist past.

Slovo does not go nearly far enough in coming to terms with a tyrannical system whose terror is akin to fascism as well as apartheid. By blaming human error rather than fundamental Leninist ideals, Slovo fails to recognise the intrinsic causes of Stalinist tyranny.

Lenin introduced the one-party state and abolished independent unions. Celebrating a Leninist vision of the state contradicts the proclamation of democratic pluralism.

Conceiving of itself as a "vanguard party" with "moral superiority" remains incompatible with liberal equality. Even if the vanguard role is to be earned rather than imposed, as Slovo now realises, commitment per se is no criterion of truth or higher morality.

Slovo now claims he had his personal doubts since the middle-1950s. However, he remained silent on the subject and the party continued to

# Slovo's problems: a Stalinist past and a democratic future

HERIBERT ADAM

endorse Stalinist practices. When pressed as to why, the answer amounts to expediency: "It became almost risky and counter-productive to battle this issue out in our party. It would have caused an enormous split, and it had less and less bearing on our own work," he said in 1988.

Such opportunism on a vital issue disproves Slovo's current claim that there has always been internal democracy in the party. If the party cannot take a principled position on Stalinist crimes for fear of a split (or more likely for fear of being denied Soviet assistance) then its internal debate on peripheral issues are meaningless distractions.

Slovo defines Stalinism as "socialism without democracy". He repeatedly refers to "distortions" from the top. It is pilot error, rather than the structure of the plane, that is responsible for its crash.

Slovo, like Marx, conceptualises an abstract working class. But the working class is comprised of blacks and whites, women and men, skilled and unskilled workers who live in urban and rural settings. Above all, there are employed and unemployed.

To expect solidarity because of common exploitation lingers as a long-standing illusion. Yet it is such a self-deception on which the ANC and the SACP bases its strategy.

Despite the long tradition of similar failed strategies, the left apart-

heid opposition hopes that resentment of big business by white workers would translate into common action with black unions.

It is a vain hope to bank on the superior rationality of interests winning out. The appeal to emotional rewards wins over the calculations of material interests.

Rather than joining Cosatu or the ANC, the few remaining white workers flock to the neofascist AWB. Deep resentment over loss of status and security drives its victims into the camp of those who hold out the vain restoration of a lost past. That was one of the lessons from fascism in Nazi Germany.

**B**y building its strategy on white-black working-class alliances, the SACP not only starts from false assumptions but neglects an increasingly significant split in the labour movement: the competition between employed and unemployed.

Neither the ANC nor Cosatu has devised a strategy to cope with the one-third of the national workforce who are unemployed. The unions are increasingly representative of the employed only.

Mere employment in SA almost qualifies for membership in a "labour aristocracy". Merely having a

job is a mark of privilege. The range of life-chances — from access to housing, medical care, education and pensions — depends on employment.

Those millions outside the formal economy — in township backyards, in shacks around the cities and in huts in the countryside — form a permanent underclass. The liberation movements have yet to organise these permanently marginalised outsiders, the unions have yet to address the relation between employed and unemployed workers.

In Slovo's sensible, pragmatic assessment, the SA economy cannot be transformed "by edict without risking economic collapse". Instead of bureaucratic state control along Eastern European lines, Slovo now advocates public control through effective democratic participation by "producers at all levels".

This amounts to a classic social-democratic programme of co-determination where large firms are held publicly accountable and union representatives sit on boards. Since such widely legitimate visions are also considered negotiable, not much of economic orthodoxy is left among former Leninists. The collapse of Eastern European state socialism finally has shown its impact on some of its last fervent adherents.

The SACP, by its own admission, was caught offguard by its unban-

ning on February 2 1990. After preparing 30 years for liberation, the ANC found itself unprepared.

Believing in its own propaganda of a fascist, racist enemy, most exiles never took seriously the warnings about the adapting, deracialising capabilities and modernising potential of the opponent. Without an adequate theory of the antagonist, the opposition wasted precious years with doubtful and ineffective strategies.

Yet the test for the future SA democracy may not lie in the SACP's past alliances but in its internal practice of a democratic culture. The recognition of union independence by the SACP together with the endorsement of a multi-party system and traditional liberal freedoms bodes well for SA democracy, despite the Leninist relics and a repressed Stalinist past.

Because SACP members are the major force that dominates the theoretical debates and strategies within the broad apartheid opposition, its own practice of internal democracy influences the style of the entire movement. Whether the SACP declarations for democracy should be taken at face value or treated with scepticism is best tested by the behaviour of the party itself.

**W**ill the SACP continue placing its members into strategic political and union positions, as the secret Broederbond infiltrates influential Afrikaner and government institutions? Pressure for democracy from below, particularly in the unions, may well finally force the SACP to part with the relics of Stalinism both in theory and in practice.

The self-critical Slovo account of the failure of socialism constitutes the first indication of a democratic renewal that may lay to rest Pierre van den Berghe's sceptical comment in 1989 that "SA, which has already spawned the world's last official racists, may also see its last Stalinists".

□ Prof Adam teaches at Simon Fraser University in Vancouver and is at present visiting Professor at UCT's Graduate School of Business. This is an extract from a seminar presentation at the Centre for African Studies at UCT, from which the full text may be ordered.

Stand 244/90 (10) (11A)

## BBC promises 'discretion'

LONDON — The BBC said yesterday that it would cover the Nelson Mandela concert at Wembley Stadium as a "major public event" and televise the ANC leader's 15-minute speech. It will also exercise "sensible discretion" about other political comments.

Mr Alan Yentob, controller of BBC 2, which will screen the live concert on Easter Monday with Radio 1, rejected a call from the Freedom Association, a right-wing pressure group, for delayed transmission of 30 seconds.

This would have allowed producers to edit speeches or unscripted remarks from performers by substituting pre-recorded interviews and comments.

The Freedom Association argues

that the BBC has a duty to be impartial and fears the programme could be used for political propaganda.

It adds that it has no confidence in the BBC's assurances.

Mr Yentob said: "This is ludicrous. I thought everyone was unanimous in applauding the release of Nelson Mandela. The BBC has a lot of experience covering these sorts of events. No-one can take over the show."

It is said that 1 billion people will be watching, but not South Africans.

Mr Hein Kern, programme director of the SABC, said: "We offered to take the whole show live but the organisers in London refused." — The Independent News Service.

# From respectful reception to hero's welcoming rally

Star 12/4/90  
By SUE LEEMAN  
The Star Bureau (11A) (11B)

LONDON — The picture is familiar from Nelson Mandela's biographies: it shows the ANC deputy president under the tower of London's Big Ben, a happy shot taken on a summer Sunday in 1962.

The "Black Pimpernel" had been smuggled out of South Africa to spread the ANC's message that it would take up arms to fight apartheid to the death.

On that trip, Mr Mandela visited several African countries, as well as the United Kingdom where he took the chance to tour Westminster and the "Mother of Parliaments". He was surprised at the respectful reception he received abroad, telling biographer Mary Benson that "wherever I went, I was treated like a human being".

This weekend Mr Mandela visits England again. There is no subterfuge about his departure this time — and the respect has turned into the kind of awe reserved for heroes of the liberation struggle. He will be welcomed as a political leader of stature.

The main purpose of the visit is a celebratory rally at Wembley stadium, where thousands will gather, as they did at a similar event two years ago, to fete him with music and dance.

When he takes the podium, he will be bringing his message to over a billion viewers worldwide, the kind of audience most leading politicians would sell their mothers to reach, but seldom do.

His message is likely to be unequivocal: sanctions must remain in place until the last vestiges of apartheid have gone.

This is diametrically opposed to the British government's view of things, but British leaders have made it clear they will line up to see him should he indicate this is the right moment.

Downing Street has indicated that Mrs Margaret Thatcher is still keen to usher

him through the door of Number 10, despite his continued failure to respond to the invitation she so readily issued after his release — a failure which is beginning to look like a deliberate snub by the ANC.

At best the British leader is now marginalised in the South African debate and a meeting with Mr Mandela could be used to suggest she is at the centre of things.

Although she has her doubts about the ANC as an organisation, she is known to have a high regard for Mr Mandela the statesman.

A Downing Street spokesman said this week that Mr Mandela was "very welcome" to visit Mrs Thatcher should he decide to on this visit.

The spokesman confirmed that Mrs Thatcher returns from her Bermuda summit with President George Bush on Saturday, so theoretically she could see Mr Mandela on Sunday at her country residence, Chequers, where she often spends weekends.

The Foreign Office, too, is eager to confer with him: Foreign Secretary Mr Douglas Hurd was only too happy to see Mr Mandela in Namibia last month — but after several attempts at a meeting the ANC leader fought shy.

But Mr Mandela, while speaking of his respect for the combative British leader, has made it clear such encounters are unlikely at present.

Mr Mandela will answer all invitations in his own good time. There is clearly some hesitation about playing the British card and a provisional itinerary for a Mandela tour of foreign capitals, released this week, significantly omits Britain.

But Whitehall is hopeful that the clearly incomplete list leaves room for a London stopover and a meeting with the woman of whom Mr Mandela has said: "I would rather have her as a friend than an enemy."

Nov 12/490 (11A)

# ANC's talks team a sum of all its parts

The African National Congress has chosen a team for pre-negotiation talks that reflects a blend of age, race, gender and region, in sharp contrast to their Government counterparts, who but for one member consist of Afrikaner men in their 50s and 60s, writes **PATRICK LAURENCE**.

The African National Congress has chosen a judiciously balanced team for its pre-negotiation talks with the Government on May 2, 3 and 4.

Its 11 negotiators reflect a judicious blend of age, race, gender, and perhaps ideological emphasis; they stand in sharp contrast to their Government counterparts.

The ANC delegation, under the leadership of the indefatigable Mr Nelson Mandela, is characterised by diversity and, one assumes, corresponding versatility.

The Government contingent is, by contrast, remarkably uniform: with one exception it consists of white male Afrikaners in their 50s and 60s. The only exception of the nine-member Government team is Deputy Minister Mr Roelof Meyer. He is a white Afrikaner in his 40s.

The ANC representatives range in age from early 30s (Ms Cheryl Carolus) to late 70s (Mr Walter Sisulu).

Although pre-dominantly black, they include South Africans of all races; leavening the black predominance are two whites (clergyman Dr Beyers Naude and SA Communist Party secretary general Mr Joe Slovo), a coloured (Ms Carolus) and an Indian (Mr Ahmed Kathrada).

The racial composition is, it may be safely assumed — a manifestation of the ANC's commitment to non-racialism, an ideal which runs through its history of nearly eight decades.

It is not an exclusively male team.

Its representatives includes two women (Ms Carolus and Mrs Ruth Mompati), signalling — in the view of Mr Mark Phillips, of the Centre for Policy Studies — sensitivity to charges of "male chauvinism" and awareness of the political importance of women.

## Rivonia trial

There is, furthermore, a balance between internal and external ANC members and, coincidentally, between ex-Rivonia trial prisoners, who were jailed for life in 1964 and released in the past six months, and the ANC leaders who escaped imprisonment in the 1960s and who, for years, directed "the struggle" from abroad.

Internally-based Rivonia trailists include stalwarts Mr Mandela, Mr Sisulu and Mr Kathrada; externally-based operatives include Mr Thabo Mbeki and Mr Alfred Nzo,

the ANC's foreign and general secretaries respectively.

The ideological equilibrium is maintained in the juxtaposition of, say, Mr Mbeki, a strong pro-negotiation man, and Mr Joe Modise, commander of the ANC's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, or, on a different issue, Mr Slovo, a communist of many years standing, and Mr Mandela, a man who gives greater emphasis to black nationalism.

There is, to cap it all, a geographical or regional balance within South Africa.

Thus there are ANC representatives from the Transvaal (Messrs Mandela, Sisulu, and Kathrada) Natal (Mr Archie Gumede, Natal president of the ANC-aligned United Democratic Front) and the Cape (Ms Carolus).

Standing back and taking a broad view there are, as Mr Phillips points out, two interesting exclusions from the ANC team: it does not include a representative from the powerful trade union front or one from the township-based civic associations.

The cool-headed Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, secretary general of the National Union of Mineworkers, is a notable omission.

## 'Subliminal message'

Mr Phillips surmises that there may be a "subliminal message" in his exclusion: Mr Mandela may be declaring between the lines that Mr Ramaphosa's position at the helm of South Africa's biggest trade union is more than enough responsibility.

Assuming that Mr Phillips is right, it does not, of course, follow that Mr Ramaphosa agrees. His position as chairman of the National Reception Committee — which controls access to newly released ANC leaders — seems to indicate that he aspires to being more than a trade union boss battling against "monopoly capital".

The exclusion of leaders of civic associations may be a sign that the ANC believes they should concentrate on the task at hand: organising township residents into political units which will grow into battalions, divisions and, eventually, whole armies.

But one must be guard against reaching conclusions dogmatically. The May 2, 3 and 4 negotiations are merely the first step on a long, hard road.

The ANC may be keeping its rising stars — of whom Mr Ramaphosa is undoubtedly one — in reserve for the struggle ahead.

# 67 youths leave to join ANC

12/11/90 By Craig Kotze (11A)

Scores of youths from schools in Durban's kwaMashu township have crossed the border to Swaziland in an attempt to join the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The 67 youths, all males aged between 14 and 18, are now languishing in a camp between Mbabane and Manzini, South African security sources said.

A spokesman for the SA Department of Foreign Affairs has confirmed that the children are in Swaziland but they had not been accorded refugee status.

"We can confirm that they are there. The matter is being treated as an internal issue by the Swazi government. The youths have not been accorded refugee status."

The spokesman added that an ANC delegation was in Swaziland to deal with the matter.

Security sources said the 67 left South Africa during a recent teachers' boycott in kwaMashu. Teachers had apparently told the youths they should leave the country and join the ANC.

It is believed that the youths have been refused access to Zambia on the grounds that the ANC is legal in South Africa.

The sources also said the logistical resources of the commissioner for refugees were being stretched by the youths' presence, and disciplinary problems were being experienced.

Comment from Swaziland was not available at the time of going to press.

# 'Do not punish, but do not forget'

Sta 12/4/90 (11A)

"If there is a general amnesty and it brings democracy and peace to our country," Albie Sachs said, "I would be thrilled. Even if the amnesty extends to the very people who tried to kill me."

Mr Sachs is a lawyer long associated with the African National Congress. Two years ago in Mozambique a bomb planted in his car, almost certainly by agents of the South African Government, blew off his right arm. He lives in London, and I spoke to him there.

"I certainly don't believe in an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, an arm for an arm," he said. "What is important is to expose the crimes. That is very healing, whereas endless trials might simply keep the wounds open."

His views were personal, Mr Sachs said. But over the last three weeks in South Africa and Namibia I have heard similar themes from many people, white and black, left and right.

Human rights organisations generally oppose amnesty for state officials who murder or torture. Punishment is necessary to prevent future abuses, they argue.

But in South Africa I found a very different view.

"Amnesty is politically essential," a leading Johannesburg lawyer said. "Without it, I fear there can be no solution."

The question is acutely important for South Africa now. Talks between the Government and the ANC have been rescheduled for early May. They will deal with obstacles to negotiation on a constitutional settlement, and one obstacle is the ANC insistence that all political prisoners be freed.

President FW de Klerk has freed Nelson Mandela and other well-known anti-apartheid leaders. But he has not released hundreds of others who committed common crimes, such as murder, for political ends.

It is a highly emotional issue. For decades — until Mr de Klerk changed course two months ago — the National Party government demonised the ANC as "terrorists". Some ANC bombs took the lives of random civilians. A decision to let the bombers go would be hard for many whites to accept.

Amnesty would be at least as painful on the other side. Over the last 30 years Government agents have killed and maimed many anti-apartheid leaders. Steve Biko

Respected columnist of The New York Times **ANTHONY LEWIS**, who has been visiting South Africa, examines the question of revenge or reconciliation in the new political dispensation. He comes to the conclusion that reconciliation, not retribution, is what most South Africans desire.

was murdered while in detention. ANC representatives have been murdered as far away as Paris.

Right now, a judicial commission appointed by Mr de Klerk is hearing evidence, in public, about a death squad operation run by the military. There were schemes to kill many opponents of apartheid, including an unsuccessful plan to poison Mr Mandela's lawyer by switching his heart pills.

Not everyone will be as philosophical as Albie Sachs about letting the conspirators go free.

But even some victims of cruelty whom I met are prepared to put retribution aside. There was a striking example in Namibia, which became independent on March 21.

Bience Gawanas is a young woman, black, who supported Swapo's struggle against South Africa. In 1977, at the age of 21, she left the country for Zambia. She ended up at Warwick University in England, got a degree in law and was called to the bar at Lincoln's Inn, London.

In August 1988, she went back to Zambia for a holiday. There Swapo detained her as a "spy". She was taken to Angola and tortured until she "confessed".

"I'm definitely not for punishment," Ms Gawanas said. "I've experienced it from both sides — my brother was killed by whites in this country. But people were committed to their ideologies. They did what they did."

## No words of regret

As part of the arrangement for independence, Ms Gawanas and other Swapo detainees (though not yet all) were returned to Namibia. Since then, on the streets of Windhoek, she has actually met the men who tortured her.

"They don't expect me to be nice to them," she said. "But I greet them."

Ms Gawanas made the same point as Albie Sachs about people knowing what happened.

"We need to know to prevent it happening again," she said. "People here did not vote to wipe history off (when they approved the



Anthony Lewis ... found the black leadership is not seeking revenge for past injustice.

Constitution). They voted to give peace a chance."

There was another thing Ms Gawanas wanted, but has not had. That is an expression of regret from the Swapo leadership for the detentions and torture of herself and others.

Truth, even without apology, is strong medicine in a society whose power elite has been as given to self-deception as has South Africa's.

"We're going to have to talk about things people usually don't talk about," the Johannesburg lawyer said. "If we avoid them, if we don't come to terms with history, it will be a cancer in the society."

President de Klerk appears to agree with that view. In appointing the commission to investigate State death squads, he broke with an ingrained practice of secrecy.

The idea of formal amnesty for political prisoners has support in both Mr de Klerk's camp and the ANC leadership. The President's closest adviser on constitutional negotiations, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said "a healing device will have to be considered on a very broad basis".

Defining "political prisoners" is tricky. But here President de Klerk has taken a significant step.

He has proposed legislation to indemnify exiles who return to take part in talks — protect them from prosecution for committing

crimes "in the process of conflict and in the pursuit of duty". That phrasing seems to cover ANC guerrillas who planted bombs with political motives. The next step would be to pardon or otherwise release those already convicted.

When I asked Nelson Mandela whether he favoured prosecutions of death squad members or other state assassins, he answered: "No, no, no."

"The whole spirit of negotiations," Mr Mandela said, "would be against taking revenge on any particular individual. You think of a settlement as involving the entire community in support of the settlement. Otherwise it will be an intolerable situation."

Mr Mandela and others who were imprisoned for so long show no signs of bitterness. I told him that to an outsider that seemed almost too good to believe. How, I asked him, was it possible?

"I don't think we are in any way unique," he said. "I think political prisoners throughout the world are very tolerant. They know that the people in government differ as individuals. We draw a distinction between the human beings who make the system work, and the system."

Can that really be a general trait of political prisoners, or is it culturally specific?

There is the example of President Vaclav Havel of Czechoslovakia: there have been no prosecutions of the communists who imprisoned him and so many others. But still, I think there is something special in the African attitude.

That possibility is crucially important to an even deeper question of revenge that underlies this time of change in South Africa.

If there is a democratic solution, if the African majority at last gains political power, will it try to take revenge against whites for the three centuries of dispossession, humiliation, discrimination and violence it has suffered at white hands?

A leading South African political commentator, Allister Sparks, deals with the question in a book due out shortly, "The Mind of South Africa". It is a profound, moving

history and analysis of his tormented country.

There is "no lust for vengeance" Mr Sparks writes, "no apocalyptic retribution, despite the legacy of grievances. The past, as they like to say, is another country ...

"I do not believe ... that the black African masses have an intuitive yearning for vengeance and retribution. A yearning for justice, yes, and for release from poverty and oppression, but no dream of themselves becoming the persecutors."

One reason for that view is the years of teaching of the ANC's Freedom Charter, which begins: "We the People of South Africa declare ... that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white." Another, Mr Sparks says, is "a deep inner knowledge that whatever the present may deliver, the future is theirs".

## Collaborators killed

All that may sound too romantic. But the fact is that the ANC, the victim of many assassinations, has never attempted one against white leaders. When the black majority took over in neighbouring Zimbabwe, after a bitter war, not one white official was prosecuted.

Of course, it is not possible to brutalise people over many decades and expect all of them to be restrained. The black townships have seen terrible violence over the last decade, including the killing of collaborators.

The violence of young people who have seen their parents humiliated and powerless is a major threat to the future of South Africa. Violence between black factions in Natal province is another of the major obstacles to negotiation today.

But more of it, in Allister Sparks's phrase, has turned into "the kind of vengeful crusade Frantz Fanon spoke of, the yearning to ... become hunter and persecutor".

The question is whether a future government can offer the black majority and the white minority enough stake in a united country to prevent the revenge that has destroyed the hopes of so many other revolutions.

But at least now those who are making the plans seem to want to start with a clean slate.

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# Mandela returns home, denies CP claims

By Stan Hlophe

Mr Nelson Mandela has dissociated the African National Congress from what the Conservative Party claims is a Government document giving details of an ANC plan to assassinate right-wing politicians and members of the security forces.

At a press briefing at Jan Smuts Airport after his second visit to Lusaka, the ANC deputy president described the document as a devastating attack on the ANC, which he said was on record as having explicitly repudiated all forms of violence and racialism.

He said there were certain

elements who were intent on sabotaging the three-day meeting between the ANC and the Government in May.

Mr Mandela said he had gone to Lusaka to brief the ANC's national executive committee on his recent meeting with President de Klerk.

His discussions with the NEC were fruitful and as a man who had been "urging" the Government to meet the ANC he was delighted at the progress made so far.

He cited the near collapse of negotiations between the Government and ANC as the main reason for his visit to Lusaka.

He had also briefed Zambia's President Kaunda about the recent developments in South Africa, he said.

Asked if, since his release from prison two months ago, he had made any progress, he said he was satisfied with the progress made so far.

He said he has condemned violence in Natal and other places but refused to condemn the armed struggle, which had been adopted as a strategy to get rid of apartheid.

He added that all strategies adopted by the ANC would be maintained.



Mr Nelson Mandela, next to his wife, Winnie, addresses the press after his return from Lusaka yesterday.

## Taking decisions

Who actually calls the shots in the ANC?

At the apex, in Lusaka, is the national executive committee, technically under ANC president Oliver Tambo, but, since his illness, effectively run by secretary-general Alfred Nzo, international department head and "crown prince" Thabo Mbeki, and SA Communist Party leader Joe Slovo.

All major decisions, such as the recent one postponing talks with President FW de Klerk, are taken by the NEC but very much in consultation with the recently formed internal Interim Leadership Core.

This is chaired by Walter Sisulu and includes Govan Mbeki, Ahmed Kathrada and, since his release, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, who is very much seen as a national leader, with a stature that goes beyond the ANC.

The Interim Leadership Core men have all been co-opted on to the NEC.

If Tambo does not fully recover, Mandela could well be elected president when the ANC holds its first national congress in 30 years inside SA on December 16. According to one insider, elections for the new NEC will return a mixture of older and new generation leaders. *FM 13/4/90*

The latter might well include the likes of National Union of Mineworkers' leader Cyril Ramaphosa, UDF publicity secretary Terror Lekota and UDF Cape leader Trevor Manuel.

It will be interesting to see who makes up the ANC team, led by Mandela, which is due to meet De Klerk and his senior ministers for pre-negotiation talks on May 2. The *FM* learns that the list could include: Thabo Mbeki, Slovo, Jacob Zuma from the ANC intelligence department (who is already in the country), Nzo (uncertain), Pallo Jordan, Walter Sisulu, Popo Molefe, Ramaphosa, Manuel, and perhaps Cosatu's Jay Naidoo.

As part of a membership and unity drive, the Interim Leadership Core recently announced the formation of five departments inside the country which will function until the ANC-in-exile has returned. Not all the names have been divulged.

The departments are: the Office of the National Organiser under Wilton Mkwayi; Department of Information and Publicity,

*FM 13/4/90* (11A) (11A)

under Ahmed Kathrada; National Political Education; Finance Control under TIC president Cassim Saloojee; and an Administrative Secretariat.

More important is the team of regional conveners tasked with recruiting new members and the setting up of ANC regional offices.

The country has for this purpose been divided into 12 regions. The conveners so far named include: PWV — Kgalema Motlanthe, a NUM officer and Robben Island "graduate;" northern Transvaal — Thabo Makunyane; southern Natal — Terror Lekota; Natal midlands — Harry Gwala; western Cape — Trevor Manuel, who is likely to be joined as co-convenor by ANC exile Reg September; eastern Cape — Benson Fihla; Border — Arnold Stofile; and Transkei — A Xobololo.

The ANC's legal department, under Albie Sachs, has also prepared "a new interim constitution" to "guide the workings of the movement now that it has been unbanned."

At a national workshop last weekend, the UDF decided that it would continue to exist but the "ANC would assume leadership at the level of policy making." ■



# Nelson in camera

11A

F/M 13/4/90.



**MANDELA: Echoes Of An Era** by Alf Kumalo; text by Es'kia Mphahlele (Penguin Books, 161 pp, R49,99).

Alf Kumalo is a seasoned and effective photographer — he can get to the right

place at the right time — and this book showcases pictures from the Fifties to the more recent tumult of the Release.

Kumalo is a news photographer: he is sent out on assignments with a brief, but obviously the published work is (a) newsworthy and discarded the next day; and (b) only the tip of an iceberg of material that grows vaster with the years. Like most professional photographers, I suppose, he looks back over his collection from time to time and wonders if it would make a book. A theme is always needed; here the theme is Mandela. The focus is always on or in the vicinity of the ANC leader.

Well . . . up to a point. Two pictures suggest the broadness of the net. On page 69 we have: "Photographer Alf Kumalo and Muhammed Ali. Himself a keen amateur boxer in his youth, Nelson Mandela had a copy of this photograph in his prison cell." And then, on page 61, we have a deranged looking mutt, Mandela's dog Kruschev, who was "known as a formidable watchdog, guarding the family home while Mandela was in prison."

On this basis, almost anything would do — "West Street, Johannesburg, where Mandela sometimes walked in order to get a takeaway curry." I made that up, but there are pictures of overcrowded classrooms and funerals taken while Mandela was in prison and definitely every picture ever taken by Kumalo was snapped while Mandela was doing something. The idea is, perhaps, that Mandela is such an overpowering and symbolic presence that, like the poet W H Auden's Freud, he is no more a man but "a climate of opinion."

It would, therefore, be up to Prof Mphahlele's text to illuminate such disparate, and sometimes distressing, material. To define the theme, in other words. The writer is perhaps the most strongly humanist observer of apartheid to have emerged before the imposition of Bantu Education — a fact which gives lyricism and strength to his style — but here he has distanced himself, letting the history speak almost too plainly and the effect is of a little too much compression. The better-known facts of Mandela's life are reiterated, but that inscrutability — the sense that one never knows quite what Mandela is thinking — is not penetrated.

In this paragraph, for example, there is little that is genuinely illuminating: "The turbulent Fifties raged on. The Bantu Education Act of 1953 confirmed all our fears and the belief that once Afrikaner ideology had pissed on education, the stink would linger with us until we replaced the system. The removal of Alexandra Township edged towards a confrontation. It never happened. Attempts by the ANC to weaken the government's resolve were blatantly impotent."

Some sweeping judgments are made on the ideological programmes of various black liberation movements and bodies, but there simply isn't the space to do much more than sketch out a rarefied dialectic, remote as the War of Jenkins' Ear: "(The Communist Party) was pretty aggressive in pushing the case of the class struggle as against nationalism or Africanism. The Indian leadership represented mostly the interests of the merchant class or intellectuals. The ultimate effect of this co-existence was that the nationalism that had originally fired Mandela and Tambo was no longer a one-way street. It had never, in any event, been as passionate, pristine and calculating as Lembede's or Mda's, which they equated with Africanism . . ."

The first marriage is soon disposed of: "He and his wife Eveline became estranged and, despite Kaiser Matanzima's mediation, the rift came. He made it clear to Eveline that no attempt to save the nine-year-old marriage was worth the trouble . . . Both parents were hurting badly because the only sensible solution was unbearable. In 1955, they separated. In the same year, Nelson met Winnie Madikizela, a social-work student."

Winnie makes frequent appearances. She is there on page 115 with her football team and some cops, looking a proper bossyboots.

Books like this are designed to catch the historical moment, the mood of joy and awakening to possibilities symbolised in a man freed after long and grinding incarceration.

In a way they demand too much of Mandela: he must supply the hidden text, the connecting matter between the family pictures and the desolation of mass funerals, the excited young faces that have become old men, the mystery of what it must be like to be the most famous man in the world.

Inevitably, such books are hastily prepared — captions and text and pictures are laid out in a self-defeating fashion, too jumbled-up to be sorted out adequately, so that emotion leads one on rather than a coherent line, whether personal or public. Perhaps the ideal text would be an interview — a commentary on the photographs as they stir memory. Mphahlele has done his best, but "reflections on an era" cannot in their nature reveal too much about personal hardship.

The reproductions lack crispness, which is not fair on Kumalo. And I would have liked it better if Kumalo himself had contributed some notes on where and how the pictures were taken. In the event, it's a coffee-table book about a man of the people, or, rather, his historical context — and perhaps there's too much of a paradox there to be altogether satisfactory.

Peter Wilhelm

11A

# Willie Nelson in Mandela show

**LONDON.** — Willie Nelson, one of the all-time greats of Country and Western music — and a favourite in South Africa's conservative platteland — is a fan of another Nelson: Mr Nelson Mandela.

Nelson has joined a growing list of stars who will perform at Monday evening's "international tribute" concert at Wembley Stadium for the recently released ANC deputy president, which is to be seen on television by an estimated one billion people in 60 countries, as well as by more than 70 000 at the stadium.

Another surprise participant confirmed yesterday is South Africa's "white Zulu", Johnny Clegg — considering that for years he has been largely ostracised by the international anti-apartheid community in this country.

Other top musicians confirmed yesterday are Ter-

ence Trent D'Arby, Lou "Walk-on-the-Wild-Side" Reed and Jackson Browne.

Nelson and Winnie Mandela will be joined by a high-powered cross-section of South African political leaders at the concert. A number of high-profile international anti-apartheid figures will also attend the event.

Mr Mandela, who arrives here on Sunday, has no official engagements planned; it was confirmed yesterday — despite an open invitation to him from Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher.

However, with delegates from most of the 35 Nelson Mandela national reception committees set up

around the world in London, Mr Mandela will take the opportunity of meeting them and the anti-apartheid movements here on Sunday afternoon.

According to the organisers, a statement is expected to be issued after the meeting, outlining plans for "future solidarity campaigns".

Despite pressure from the right-wing Freedom Association, the BBC confirmed yesterday that coverage would go ahead as planned.

The organisers have excluded South Africa from the broadcast in spite of efforts by the SA Broadcasting Corporation to buy transmission rights for TV4. — Own Correspondent, Sapa

w/6 ARGUS 14/4/90

# 'The respect has turned to awe'



Douglas Hurd — eager to talk

**T**HE picture is familiar from Nelson Mandela's biographies: it shows the ANC deputy president under the tower of London's Big Ben, a happy shot taken on a summer Sunday in 1962.

The "Black Pimpernel" had been smuggled out of South Africa to spread the ANC's message that it would take up arms to fight apartheid to the death.

On that trip, Mr Mandela visited several African countries, along with the United Kingdom, where he took the chance to tour Westminster and the "Mother of Parliaments". He was surprised at his respectful reception abroad, telling biographer Mary Benson that "wherever I went, I was treated like a human being".

This weekend Mr Mandela visits England again.

**T**HIS time there is no subterfuge about his departure — and the respect has turned into the kind of awe reserved for heroes of the liberation struggle. He will be welcomed as a political leader of stature.

The main purpose of the visit is a celebratory rally at Wembley stadium, where thousands will gather, as they did at a similar event two years ago, to fete him with music and dance.

When he takes the podium, he will be bringing his message to over a billion viewers worldwide, the kind of audience most leading politicians would sell their mothers to reach, but seldom do.

**H**IS message is likely to be unequivocal: sanctions must remain in place until the last vestiges of apartheid have gone for good.

This is diametrically opposed to the British government's view of things, but British leaders have made it clear they will line up to see him should he indicate this is the right moment.

Downing Street has indicated that Mrs Thatcher is still keen to usher him through the door of Number 10, despite his continued failure to respond to the invitation she so readily issued after his release — a failure which is beginning to look like a deliberate snub by the ANC.

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Peter Gabriel Tracy Chapman Johnny Clegg Miriam Makeba

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But this event will have more of a political character than the Mandela birthday concert two years ago. Unlike last time, when artists were asked to avoid political comment, this concert will act as a showcase for Mr Mandela, who is expected to deliver a hard-hitting address on the need to continue fighting apartheid.

The programme for the event includes a history of the ANC, a look at apartheid and a feature on the Frontline states, among the information on the artists who will perform.

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Most of the artists appearing have impeccable anti-apartheid credentials, having written protest songs or refused lucrative Sun City offers.

Among them are Peter Gabriel, a leading light on the successful Amnesty tour, whose song *Shakin' The Tree* is a tribute to African women, black American singer and author of many a haunting protest song Tracy Chapman, Dave Stewart of Eurythmics, Soul to Soul, Neil Young, Simple Minds and Little Steven.

There has been some controversy over the South African artists who are to appear: Miriam Makeba is certain but trumpeter Hugh Masekela initially said he would not take part because whites had exploited the last concert for gain. This week he was negotiating with the organisers, indicating he may have changed his mind.

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# turned to awe'



Douglas Hurd — eager to talk

114

**T**HE picture is familiar from Nelson Mandela's biographies: it shows the ANC deputy president under the tower of London's Big Ben, a happy shot taken on a summer Sunday in 1962.

The "Black Pimpernel" had been smuggled out of South Africa to spread the ANC's message that it would take up arms to fight apartheid to the death.

On that trip, Mr Mandela visited several African countries, along with the United Kingdom, where he took the chance to tour Westminster and the "Mother of Parliaments". He was surprised at his respectful reception abroad, telling biographer Mary Benson that "wherever I went, I was treated like a human being".

This weekend Mr Mandela visits England again.

**T**HIS time there is no subterfuge about his departure — and the respect has turned into the kind of awe reserved for heroes of the liberation struggle. He will be welcomed as a political leader of stature.

The main purpose of the visit is a celebratory rally at Wembley stadium, where thousands will gather, as they did at a similar event two years ago, to fete him with music and dance.

When he takes the podium, he will be bringing his message to over a billion viewers worldwide, the kind of audience most leading politicians would sell their mothers to reach, but seldom do.

**H**IS message is likely to be unequivocal: sanctions must remain in place until the last vestiges of apartheid have gone for good.

This is diametrically opposed to the British government's view of things, but British leaders have made it clear they will line up to see him should he indicate this is the right moment.

Downing Street has indicated that Mrs Thatcher is still keen to usher him through the door of Number 10, despite his continued failure to respond to the invitation she so readily issued after his release — a failure which is beginning to look like a deliberate snub by the ANC.

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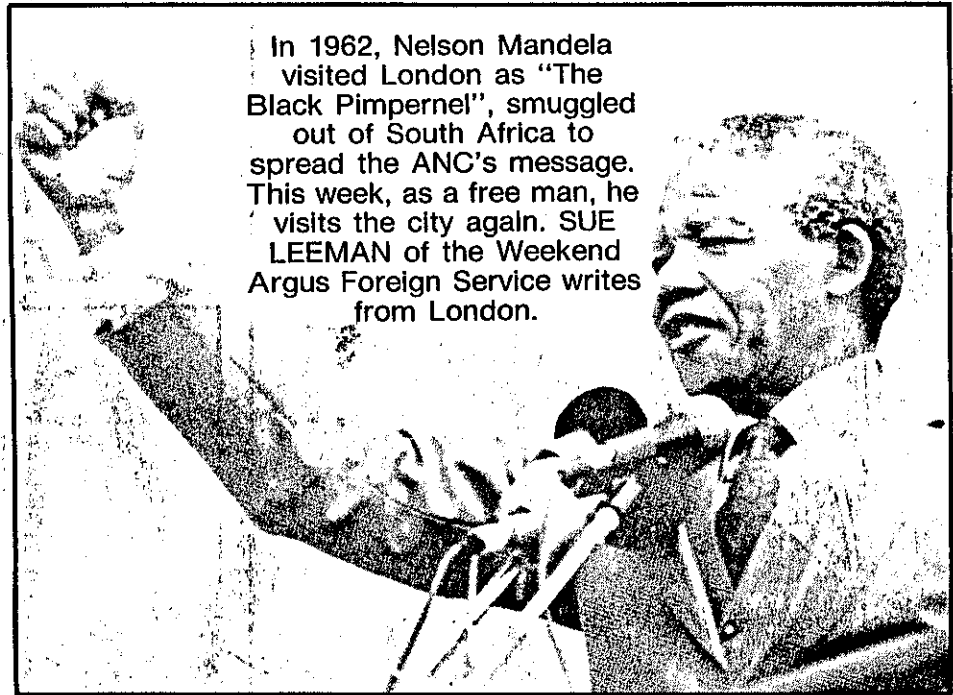
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But Mr Mandela, while speaking of his respect for the combative British leader, has made it clear that such encounters are unlikely now.

Mr Mandela will answer all invitations in his own good time. There is clearly some hesitation about playing the British card and a provisional itinerary for a Mandela tour of foreign capitals, released this week, significantly omits Britain.

But Whitehall is hopeful that the fact that the list is clearly incomplete leaves room for a London stopover and a meeting with the woman of whom Mr Mandela has said: "I would rather have her as a friend than an enemy."



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**I**N a message to the masses, Mr Mandela writes: "My release from prison... was as a result of the immense pressure exerted against the South African Government by the international community. But we must remember that the struggle against apartheid must continue until apartheid is finally dismantled."

Writes ANC President Oliver Tambo: "As we unite together to celebrate the release of Nelson Mandela, we must re-dedicate ourselves to the campaign for the unconditional release of all South African political prisoners, and to the on-going struggle to end apartheid."

Most of the artists appearing have impeccable anti-apartheid credentials, having written protest songs or refused lucrative Sun City offers.

Among them are Peter Gabriel, a leading light on the successful Amnesty tour, whose song *Shakin' The Tree* is a tribute to African women, black American singer and author of many a haunting protest song Tracy Chapman, Dave Stewart of Eurythmics, Soul to Soul, Neil Young, Simple Minds and Little Steven.

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Other South Africans on the programme include singer Letta M'Bulu and her husband, composer and arranger Caiphus Semenya, and Abdullah Ibrahim, better known as Dollar Brand.

Presenters include Cry Freedom star Denzel Washington.

# On the road to black

## De Klerk loses out as local and homeland leaders look t

HATRICK LAURENCE

THE challenge facing South Africa's white Government is to capture the support of a "substantial number" of black people, Edward Feit observes in his analysis of black resistance in South Africa.

Felt's observation, made nearly a quarter of a century ago in his study of the African National Congress, is still pertinent today: President de Klerk needs black allies at the negotiating table, in the political arena, and, if necessary, on the battlefield.

Mr De Klerk's problem is that his black auxiliaries are deserting in droves, either to seek the peaceful anonymity of neutrality or — worse still from Mr De Klerk's perspective — to join the burgeoning political legions of the ANC or the rival Pan-Africanist Congress.

Taking a broad view it is clear that the Government's attempt to win black auxiliaries has taken two broad forms:

- It established tribal governments in the black "homelands", assuming that — in Hendrik Verwoerd's words — "tribal authority is the natural ally of government".
- It created fledgling or, more cynically,

quasi municipal councils in the black townships, in the belief or hope that "responsible" or "moderate" leaders would serve in them.

The past six weeks have seen the spectacular changes in the "homeland" system. Instead of buttressing Mr De Klerk against Mr Nelson Mandela and the ANC, "homeland leaders" appear to be joining the ANC.

Four of the six leaders who were meant to hold pre-negotiations talks with Mr De Klerk last week cancelled their appointments at the eleventh hour. It transpired that all four had met Mr Mandela the day before.

Mr Mandela, who is spearheading a "unity drive" to form a broad anti-apartheid front, denied that he or the ANC had intimidated them. They endorsed his denial.

Mr Mandela may, however, have used his considerable authority to persuade them, in their own interests and those of the black community, to link arms in a concerted drive to a non-racial South Africa.

If the "homeland system" is crashing noisily to the ground —

army coups in the nominally independent "homelands" Ciskei and Venda have ensured that the collapse has not occurred discreetly — a similar, if less tumultuous process, is occurring in black local government.

In the Transvaal there are more than 100 vacant seats in black town councils, caused primarily by the resignation of town councillors or, as in Leandra recently, of the whole town council.

The vacant seats constitute more than a seventh of the total number of black town council seats in the Transvaal or, to quote the exact figure, 103 out of 692.

In no less than 10 township councils there are not enough councillors left to form a quorum and the Transvaal Provincial Administration has either appointed — or is in the process of appointing — administrators to run these townships.

In these townships, all pretence that local government is in the hands of the popularly elected councillors has been abandoned.

Mr Olaus van Zyl, Transvaal's MEC for local government, denies that black local government is in "crisis" or even that it is "crumbling". The Transvaal Provincial Administration or TPA prefers to focus on

the "positive" side: the 72 township councils which are still functioning normally.

A TPA spokesman notes hopefully that only six township councillors have resigned in April so far. Against that, however, 61 councillors resigned in March, suggesting that the discomfort of councillors is increasing in the face of popular demands for them to resign.

The failure of the TPA to organise by-elections — or, where whole town councils have quit, new elections — speaks volumes, it suggests strongly that the TPA fears that the elections will be boycotted.

Mr Mark Swilling, of the Centre for Policy Studies, minces no words: the appointment of administrators confirms the popular perception of township councils as "extensions of the illegitimate white regime".

The disintegration of black local authorities is likely to accelerate in the months ahead, if — as seems likely — the cry for black councillors to resign grows louder.

Black town councils are built on sand rather than rock; they



**SPEARHEADING UNITY DRIVE:** Mr Nelson Mandela met four homeland leaders the day before pre-negotiation talks with Mr De Klerk — all four cancelled their appointments at the eleventh hour. The ANC leader may be using his considerable authority to persuade black leaders, it is in their own interests and those of the black community, to link arms with him.

are not equipped to stand against the storms brewing in the townships. They have never won popular acceptance and, to a large, extent remain institutions imposed on black communities by white overlords. The 1988 local government elections in black townships illustrate the point.

They were held under special provisions designed to fulfil a dual purpose: to make it unlawful to urge voters to boycott the elections and, conversely, to encourage voters to go to the polls.

It was an offence under emergency regulations to organise a boycott. Against that a special law was passed to enable any voter to cast his or her vote before polling day.

The stakes were high. The Government was desperately anxious for a credible turnout. Under its plan for a constitutional "indaba" at the time, township councillors would form an electoral college to elect nine members to the proposed national forum.

In a bid to bolster the percentage poll, the Government spent nearly R5-million on a propaganda campaign exhorting township residents to vote.

The official percentage poll was just over 25 percent. Dr David Welsh, of the University of Cape Town, however, calculated that only 14 percent of registered voters went to the polls and 11 percent of those who were eligible.

In 126 wards elections were not held because no candidates

were nominated. The tested wards may be the discrepancy between the official figure and Dr Welsh's broad pattern, however.

As the South Africa of Race Relations previous township election 1983, about 80 percent cans eligible to vote do so. The 1988 elect show a greater turnout.

In Soweto the official 1988 was just over compared to just over cent in 1983, indicating that township election not achieved greater turnout in the intervening years.

Looking at polling in greater chronology provides further evidence of council's unacceptance shows that it is not a recent development.

Changes of nomenclature function have not helped greater credibility; it has been known as the Urban Bantu Council, the Soweto Community Council and the Soweto Town Council, each change in name marking a growth in the power of the council.

During the 1977-78 township revolt, the Soweto Urban Bantu Council (UBC) collapsed after black students visited the councillors and demanded their resignation. Student contempt for councillors was reflected in the Soweto Useless Boys Club.

In 1978, the authorities aimed to revive the local government with new allies to help in the name of South Africa establish a Soweto Council under the new Unity Councils Act. It was disastrous from the government's point of view.

In the first poll, held in early 1978, there were not enough qualified candidates. 11 of the 30 seats in the poll were returned. Contests were held in 19 wards the poll was a disaster. Nineteen wards were returned.

By-elections were held between April and June 1978 in the 19 vacant wards. The poll was low again, returning 6 percent. Most failed to attract more than a few votes.

One of the successes was Mr David Welsh, a former member of the UBC. He received 6 percent of the vote. He was later elected

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# The road to black unity

## Spurs out as local and homeland leaders look to the ANC

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In 126 wards elections were not held because no candidates

were nominated. These uncontested wards may account for the discrepancy between the official figure and Dr Welsh's. The broad pattern, however, is clear.

As the South African Institute of Race Relations put it: "In previous township elections, in 1983, about 80 percent of Africans eligible to vote declined to do so. The 1988 elections did not show a greater turnout..."

In Soweto the official poll in 1988 was just over 11 percent, compared to just under 11 percent in 1983, indicating indisputably that township councils had not achieved greater acceptability in the intervening five years.

Looking at polling in Soweto in greater chronological depth, provides further evidence of the council's unacceptability and shows that it is not merely a recent development.

Changes of nomenclature and function have not helped it gain greater credibility; during the past 15 years it has been known as the Urban Bantu Council, the Soweto Community Council and the Soweto Town Council, each change in name marking a growth in the power of the council.

During the 1977-78 township revolt, the Soweto Urban Bantu Council (UBC) collapsed after black students visited the councillors and demanded their resignation. Student contempt for the councillors was reflected in their description of the Soweto UBC as the Useless Boys Club.

In 1978, the authorities, determined to revive the system of local government and to win new allies to help in the governance of South Africa, tried to establish a Soweto Community Council under the new Community Councils Act. The results were disastrous from the Government's point of view.

In the first poll, held in February 1978, there were only enough qualified candidates for 11 of the 30 seats. Nine candidates were returned unopposed. Contests were held in the two wards the poll was 5.6 percent. Nineteen wards were vacant.

By-elections were held in between April and June of that year in the 19 vacant seats. The poll was low again, barely topping 6 percent. Most candidates failed to attract more than 100 votes.

One of the successful candidates was Mr David Thebahali, a former member of the discredited UBC. He received 97 votes. He was later elected chairman

of the Soweto Council.

Later, after Mr Thebahali was defeated in the 1983 Soweto Council election, he resurfaced; in January 1988 he was appointed by the TPA as administrator of Diepmeadow in Greater Soweto after the council there was dissolved.

Since 1983, when the Soweto Council was elected under the new Black Local Authorities Act, the council has been faced with recurring crises and has several times teetered on the brink of collapse.

The most severe of these was the rent boycott, organised in protest against the state of emergency and in support of demands for the dissolution of the council. Unable to raise sufficient revenue to meet its needs even under optimum conditions, the rent boycott accelerated the council's descent into debt. Last year independent researchers at Planact put the accumulative debt at more than R700-million.

Attempts to break the rent boycott by evicting tenants only compounded the crisis; it led to bloodshed without breaking the boycott and increased the unpopularity of the councillors. During 1986 most of them had to leave Soweto to live in a compound protected by razor wire and armed guards.

It is under even greater pressure today as the campaign for a non-racial South Africa gathers momentum.

One cornerstone of the envisaged new South Africa is the concept of non-racial municipalities and, as a sine qua non, the scrapping of segregated town councils.

The findings of a commission of inquiry into the Soweto Council, commissioned by the council itself, have not help.

They are encapsulated in a City Press headline: "Cops called in as allegations of bribery and corruption rattle South Africa's biggest township."

Mr Mandela, now referred to reverentially by the Soweto Council, as the "Father of Soweto," has had confidential discussions with the Council.

Judging from his conversations with "homeland" leaders, they presage dramatic developments.

One way or another it does not require great powers of prescience to predict that the collapse of the Soweto Council as a prop of white hegemony is imminent.

**'If the homeland system is crashing noisily to the ground, then a similar thing is happening in local black government, as all pretence that local government is in the hands of popularly elected councillors is abandoned.'**

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# Mandela condemns attacks

C/Prose  
15/4/90 (UA)

By **CONNIE MOLUSI**

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela has appealed for political tolerance to be shown to organisations which do not agree with the ANC.

Addressing the first national congress of the South African Youth Congress (Sayco) on Friday, he condemned internecine violence between black political organisations.

"You are expected to respect other freedom fighters outside our movement. Those who do not agree with us must be allowed the freedom to propagate their ideas.

"We call upon you to refrain from using violence against other political organisations and youth who do not agree with us."

Mandela appealed for discipline among the youth and warned that if they continued to harass and attack other political organisations the ANC would disown them, as these attacks were not in line with ANC policy.

"Your role in the struggle imposes the responsibility on you to act in unity as that is one of the principal motivating forces of our struggle. This requires political maturity and strong democratic organisation."

"In a bid to foster unity among the different components of the liberation movement, Mandela appealed for the building of a broad democratic front along the lines first set by the Conference for a Democratic Future (CDF).

"There is a need to build and strengthen this front as an instrument of mass struggle to destroy apartheid and to defend democracy when victory has been achieved."

In rebuilding the ANC's internal structures, Mandela called on Sayco members to join hands with the ANC youth and rebuild the Youth League, which was disbanded in exile.

The incorporation of Sayco into the Youth League was high on the agenda during the three-day congress.

## ANC will disown those who are not tolerant

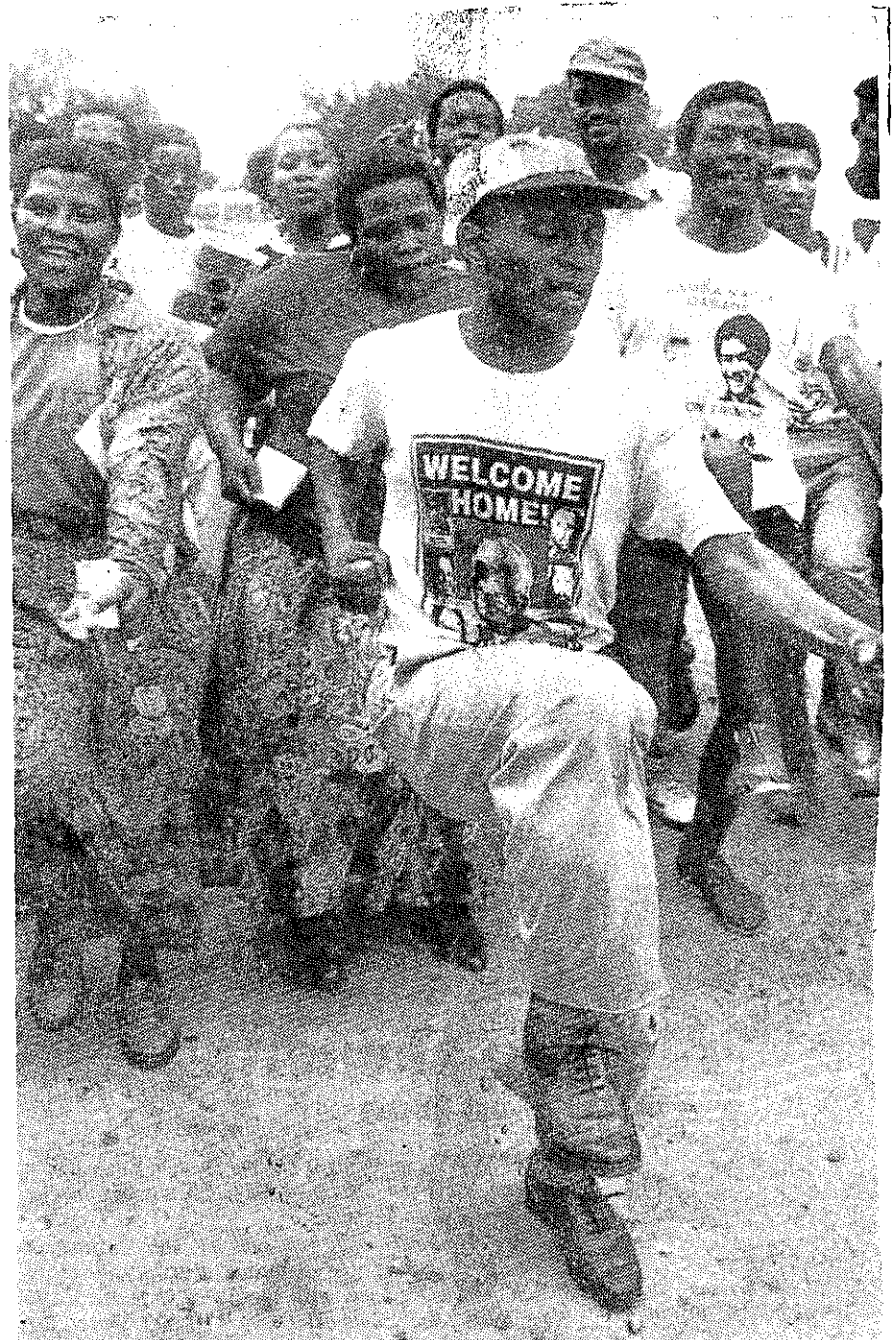
Mandela acknowledged that sections of the youth remain outside the ANC fold, and said Sayco must mobilise other youths who might not want to be ANC members into a broad democratic movement which would contribute to ending apartheid and transforming the country.

On the question of negotiations, about which militant youth have been sceptical, Mandela said: "The government had accepted white minority domination can no longer be maintained, and it is prepared to negotiate with genuine representatives of our people to bring about a new political, economic and social order."

Mandela paid tribute to the sacrifices of the youth and said they have been the backbone of the struggle for a people's education.

He credited Sayco for its role in mobilising rural people, which led to the rejection of Bantustans.

Mandela appealed to the youth not to be too hostile to homeland leaders, as they were "our blood and flesh". But he warned the ANC was not prepared to protect discredited homeland leaders.



Mandela was enthusiastically greeted at the congress. Pic: TLADI KHUELE

# ANC man justifies the torture of mutineers

The Star's Africa News Service

MAPUTO — A top-ranking member of the African National Congress, Mr Steve Tshwete, has justified the torture of former members of the organisation, saying they had been South African agents or mutineers.

He added that it was not the ANC's policy to torture its prisoners and that those responsible for the torture had been "properly dealt with".

Speaking at the closing session of a conference on health in southern Africa, Mr Tshwete said some of the cases of detention arose from a mutiny in 1984 among members of the movement's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

"No army can play with mutineers. We had to surpress the mutiny with all the force at our disposal, just as any army would do when faced with a mutiny," he said.

He accused the South African Government of sending "assasins" into Zambia and Zimbabwe to to kill ANC leaders.

"We cannot be expected to play ball with agents of the enemy whose avowed aim is to kill and eliminate leaders and members of the movement."

There had been "excesses" during some of the interrogations but "those responsible for this have been properly dealt with", Mr Tshwete said.

He added that the ANC had a code of conduct which laid down the rules of how people detained should be treated.

Nearly two weeks ago, a group of former ANC guerillas said they had been beaten and tortured in camps in Angola after a rebellion against the ANC leadership.

The men, who fled to Kenya from Tanzania, have since then said they fear for the fate of 110 to 120 fellow ANC dissidents detained at camps in Uganda.



# Mandela hits out at bid to lift sanctions

Sowetan 17/4/90

LONDON - Only those who supported apartheid argued that the South African Government should be rewarded for what progressive steps it had already taken, ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela said last night.

Seventy thousand people packed into Wembley Stadium to pay tribute to the ageing African National Congress leader heard him call for a continued worldwide campaign to isolate the Pretoria Government.

They should not listen to anyone who said they should give up the struggle against apartheid, he told the crowd.

"Reject any suggestions that the campaign to isolate the apartheid regime should be wound down," he said.

In a clear reference to British Premier Mrs Margaret Thatcher lifting some sanctions measures, he said:

"It is only those who support apartheid who can argue that the Pretoria Government should be rewarded for the small steps it has taken, such as our release and the unbanning of the ANC and the other organisations.

"The reward the people of South Africa, of southern Africa and the rest of the world seek is the end of apartheid and the transformation of our country into a non-racial democracy.

"That prospect will only become reality as a result of struggle, including the struggle represented by the international sanctions campaign.

Mandela said the gathering was to "celebrate the victory represented by the release of some of us".

"We must remember however that only a few have been released.

"A greater number remain in prison. We should therefore treat this day as one of rededication



of the continuation and intensification of the struggle for the emancipation of all the remaining political prisoners.

"We must also view it as a day of renewed commitment to the furtherance of the struggle against the system which keeps those outstanding sons and daughters of our people in jail.

"Together we must pledge to continue our united offensive for the abolition of the apartheid system."

Mandela said the "apartheid crime against humanity remains in place."

"It continues to kill and maim. It continues to oppress and exploit. Its blood-stained offspring continue to rain death and destruction on the peoples of Mozambique and Angola.

"Every day it produces orphans throughout southern Africa." - Sapa.

17/4/90

# The 'magic of Mandela'

By SUE LEEMAN of the Argus Foreign Service in London

Mr Nelson Mandela's performance at his personalised rock concert was splash news on the front page of every national newspaper today.

"Mandela sets the world rocking," headlined the Daily Express, "Mandela magic" roared the Guardian in a review, while The Times said Mandela was the "one real star on a night of dignity".

Most reviewers agreed that "the latest and marginally oldest of the international superstars", to quote the Independent, had "played Wembley perfectly" (the Guardian).

"There was only one roof-raiser at this gig, and he has never sold an album in 71 years on the planet," enthused The Times. "As a result of one night, the dismissive record store categorisation 'World Music' finally means something."

Only the most churlish, said the Independent, "would have voiced the fact that the musical line-up was rather second rate, not in the Live Aid class, nor even the Mandela 70th birthday concert of two years ago".

But some of the rightwing tabloids, incensed at the many political statements from the platform, headlined on the viewer backlash, the



A vast crowd attended the Nelson Mandela tribute concert at Wembley Stadium London.

problems of funding — and the Opposition's involvement.

"Kinnock gives black power salute," was the Sun's headline, followed by a blow-by-blow account of how the Labour leader had raised his fist, and full play for the resulting anger of Tory MPs.

"Where did all the money go?" asked the Express, saying there was behind-the-scenes anger "as the cost of Mandela's 'thank you' to his supporters snowballed to £3-million, making it a financial flop".

In an editorial, the Independent said the kissing must stop and the real work begin. "Now that the ANC is legal and Mr Mandela's position within the organisation has been clarified, he has to con-

struct a disciplined mass party in order to demonstrate that the congress is as representative as is claimed and ensure that self-styled supporters do not undermine its bargaining stance.

"He has to reach an accommodation with Chief Buthelezi instead of attending 'peace rallies' and advising people to throw their weapons into the sea."

In his address Mr Mandela delivered a strong plea for sanctions, attacking Mrs Margaret Thatcher's "rewards-for-reforms" approach as a prop for apartheid.

He said: "It is only those who support apartheid who can argue that the Pretoria government should be rewarded for the small steps it has taken."



Mr Nelson Mandela raises his hands to the cheers of the crowd.

## Exiles told of the 'new' SA

The Argus Foreign Service in London

IN a rousing address to about 400 South African exiles here yesterday, ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela said "the South Africa we have worked so long for and dreamed of is likely to be realised in our lifetime".

Mr Mandela took time to encourage those who over the years had been forced to leave the country because of their political beliefs.

He made it clear that he now wanted the exiles to stage an orderly return and not to put too much pressure on the ANC's new domestic infrastructure.

Mr Mandela told the meeting at Camden Town that the people of South Africa "have reached a new level of militancy which sometimes frightens me."

"I have no doubt that that signal has been clearly given to the government... that a political solution between the ANC and the government is the only way in which South Africa can be saved from a conflagration never seen before."

He criticised those in the movement who remained opposed to negotiation until the government had fallen, saying there was no reasoning to their argument.

On the question of black unity, Mr Mandela said a "great deal" of progress had been made.

But more was needed as the opposition could not af-

ford the luxury of a divided movement.

The response of many homeland leaders, several of whom pulled out of recent talks with the government, was encouraging, he said. But he pointed out that there were black organisations that were still critical of the ANC — a clear reference to Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha.

Mr Mandela was clearly encouraged by the spirit among the exiles he met, a good number of whom were white. "I would have expected exiles who have been away from home for up to 30 years to be overwhelmed by gloom and frustration. However, the high status of morale is absolutely staggering."

Mr Mandela also spoke movingly to the exiles of the great contribution made to the struggle by ANC president Oliver Tambo, undergoing treatment for a stroke in Sweden.

Mr Tambo, he said, was a "great son" of the people. Among those in the audience was Albie Sachs, who lost his arm in an alleged South African hit squad bomb attack in Maputo.

Also at the meeting were members of Mr Mandela's delegation, including his fellow Rivonia triallist Ahmed Kathrada, New Nation editor Zwelakhe Sisulu and recently released political prisoner Barbara Hogan.

# Mandela on world stage



Mr Nelson Mandela embraces a young girl who welcomed him at his London hotel yesterday.

Picture: REUTERS

## But ANC torture claims strike a discordant note

**LONDON.** — Mr Nelson Mandela stepped on to a world stage last night to plead for an end to apartheid in South Africa at a star-studded rock extravaganza to thank the millions who supported him during 27 years in prison.

A sell-out crowd of 76 000 danced, sang and chanted "Mandela is free!" in response to a similar chant by Britain's top reggae group Aswad, which opened the five-hour concert at Wembley Stadium.

At the concert, televised to a potential audience of one billion, Mr Mandela said he "will go back to my country feeling very strong and hopeful, and knowing that freedom of the black people in my country will take place during our lifetimes".

Mr and Mrs Mandela arrived about an hour after the Wembley concert started, beaming and waving their

fists in the air as the crowd cheered. They were joined in the stadium's executive box by Mrs Adelaide Tambo, wife of ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo, who is recovering from a stroke in Sweden.

Among those who paid £20 (about R86) to attend were American politician Mr Jesse Jackson, Mr Neil Kinnock, leader of Britain's opposition Labour Party, and South African writer Breyten Breytenbach.

Speaking before the largest overseas audience he has addressed since his release, Mr Mandela called for a worldwide continuation of the fight against apartheid.

"The apartheid crime against humanity remains in place. It continues to kill and maim. It continues to oppress and exploit. Its blood-stained offsprings continue to rain death and destruction on the peoples of Mozambique and Angola. Every day it produces orphans throughout Southern Africa.

"Therefore, do not listen to anyone who says that you must give up the struggle against apartheid. Reject any suggestion that the campaign to isolate the apartheid system should be wound down."

Mr Mandela said sanctions should be maintained and that Pretoria must not be rewarded for releasing political prisoners or lifting the ban on the ANC.

"Dear friends, it will not be long now before we see the end of the apartheid system. The dreams of millions of people to see our country free and at peace will be realized sooner rather than later. We are determined to ensure that our country is transformed from being the skunk of the world into an exemplary oasis of unrivalled race relations, democracy for all, a just peace and freedom from poverty and human degradation."

Earlier, Mr Mandela thanked the millions of people around the world who had pressed for his release, including the thousands who attended a "free Mandela" concert at Wembley two years ago.

"Even through the thickness of the prison walls we heard your voices demanding our freedom. During all the days we spent buried in the apartheid dungeons, we never lost our confidence in the certainty of our release and our victory over the apartheid system.

"This was because we knew that not even the hard-

hearted men of Pretoria could withstand the enormous strength represented by the concerted efforts of the peoples of South Africa and the rest of the world."

British comedian Lenny Henry and American actor Denzil Washington, as masters of ceremony, introduced Mr Mandela, sitting in a high-up balcony with his wife, to the crowd.

Sitting next to them in his purple robes was Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, president of the Anti-Apartheid Movement.

Denzel Washington, who played the role of Steve Biko in the film "Cry Freedom", recalled the Mandela 70th birthday concert in the stadium in 1988.

"Now he is here, with us, in the stadium. A free man. We hope that in a year, or six months, it does not matter when, that the rest of South Africa will be free too," he said in response to roars of approval.

The concert, entitled "Nelson Mandela — an interna-

To page 3

From page 1

### Mandela

cant Trip 11A  
17/4/90

tional tribute for a free South Africa", featured pop stars Simple Minds, Natalie Cole, Anita Baker, Peter Gabriel, Neneh Cherry, Tracey Chapman, Johnny Clegg and Dave Stewart.

Jackson Browne and Johnny Clegg sang "One Man, One Vote".

Half of all the proceeds will go to the UK anti-apartheid movement and the remainder will be divided between the charities IDAF, CAFOD, Oxfam, Christian Aid and the Bishop Ambrose Reeves Trust.

However, Mr Mandela's admission that the ANC tortured dissident members sounded a discordant note before the concert.

Before his departure on Saturday for London, he said that the ANC's military wing had been responsible for the harassment and torture of seven members who had criticised the military leadership.

The seven last week alleged in the British newspaper the Sunday Correspondent that members of Umkhonto we Sizwe melted plastic on to their arms and legs and kept them locked in metal containers in the sun.

The ANC had remained silent on the allegations until Saturday evening, when Mr Mandela said an investigation had established the allegations to be true.

"The ANC is against torture and any form of coercion to extract information from those who are suspected of having broken the laws and regulations which they are required to obey.

"But unfortunately it is true that some of these people who are complaining were in fact tortured. But once the ANC became aware of these malpractices immediate steps were taken to discipline those who were guilty of torturing other people. And the leaders of the camp were also immediately dismissed."

Speaking from Nairobi, Mr Amos Maxongo, a dissident guerilla, told the Cape Times that claimed Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Mr Joe Modise was one of the people responsible for the "executions in 1984". (The men alleged earlier that seven ANC members were executed in 1984, following a mutiny by ANC cadres in ANC camps in Angola.)

"The torture is still going on today," he added. The seven, aged between 28 and 33, also say they fear for the fate of 100 to 120 fellow ANC dissidents being detained at guerilla training camps in Angola and at Mbarara in south-west Uganda.

Mr Mandela said the immediate action of the ANC to address the malpractices in the camps again underlined the difference between the ANC and the South African government.

He noted that black people were "still being tortured today" by the South African police.

Sapa-Reuter-AP and Own Correspondent

AL decoration

- (2) whether he or his Department has investigated the (a) economic and (b) juridical implications of these steps; if not, why not; if so, what are these implications, in each case? B718E

**THE MINISTER OF MINERAL AND ENERGY AFFAIRS AND PUBLIC ENTERPRISES:**

- (1) No. A final decision regarding the granting of mining rights will be taken after the completion and evaluation of the environmental impact assessment which is presently being undertaken.

(a) and (b) Fall away.

- (2) Falls away.

\*20. Mr R M BURROWS — Administration and Economic Co-ordination. [Question standing over.]

**GST on prescribed medicines: revenue**

\*21. Mr M J ELLIS asked the Minister of Finance: Hansard 17/4/90

What was the total amount of revenue received by the Government from general sales tax on prescribed medicines for the 1988-89 financial year? B738E

**THE MINISTER OF FINANCE:**

Inland Revenue does not require registered vendors to furnish the particulars of sales tax collected on each type of commodity as this would place an unreasonable administrative burden on the business sector. For this reason separate statistics of collections on prescribed medicines are not available. The Pharmaceutical Society of South Africa has estimated that the sales of prescribed medicines for the 1989 calendar year amounted to R1 040 million. If one assumes that sales tax was payable on the whole of this amount the revenue collected would amount to R120 million. These figures exclude prescribed medicines supplied by medical practitioners and hospitals.

**GST on prescribed medicines: abolition**

\*22. Mr M J ELLIS asked the Minister of Finance: Hansard 17/4/90, 229-299

Whether consideration is being given to abolishing general sales tax on prescribed medicines; if not, why not? B739E

**THE MINISTER OF FINANCE:**

No. Representations have on numerous occasions been made for prescribed medicines to be exempted from general sales tax and careful consideration has been given to the matter. It is, however, essential, particularly in the case of an indirect tax such as sales tax, for the base to be as wide as possible. If an exemption was granted in respect of prescribed medicines it would not only open the door for exemptions in respect of other equally meritorious cases, but would mean that the loss of tax would have to be recovered by an increase in the rate of tax.

**Colonel Bob Denard: residence permit**

\*23. Mr L FUCHS asked the Minister of Home Affairs: Hansard 17/4/90

- (1) Whether a temporary or permanent residence permit has been issued to Colonel Bob Denard; if so, (a) for how long and (b) why;
- (2) what is the total anticipated cost to the State of providing refuge to Colonel Denard;
- (3) whether he will furnish details on the present whereabouts of this person; if not, why not; if so, (a) where is he residing at present and (b) at whose expense is he residing there? B740E

**THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:**

- (1) A temporary residence permit has been issued to him. An extension will be required from 1 May 1990. Colonel Denard's residence in South Africa must be seen against the background of the disturbances which occurred in the Comores in December 1989. On occasion my colleague, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, has made public statements on the events. It boils down to the fact that both the former government of the Comores and the French Government have requested South Africa to accommodate Colonel Denard. The South African Government was initially not in favour thereof, but after repeated appeals by the two aforementioned governments, the government, for the promotion of peace and quiet in the Comores, agreed to be of assistance. In the meantime discussions

with the French Government regarding Colonel Denard's position and future are being conducted.

- (2) None.
- (3) No. He is being housed privately and it is not deemed expedient to furnish details.

**Mr Lennox Sebe in SA**

\*24. Mr L FUCHS asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

- (1) Whether Mr Lennox Sebe is currently residing in South Africa; if so, (a) under what conditions has he been granted permission to do so and (b) at what total anticipated cost to the State;
- (2) whether he is to be granted political asylum; if not, why not; if so, for what reasons? B741E

**THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:**

- (1) Yes.
  - (a) Under circumstances where he left his country as Head of State and where a coup d'état was carried out in his country during his absence. He was not unwilling to return to the Ciskei. After consultation with the South African Embassy in the Ciskei and the National Council of the Ciskei, he was advised not to return to the Ciskei for the time being in the interest of the promotion of peace and quiet in the Ciskei, which is at the same time in the interest of South Africa. Further, Mr Sebe is receiving medical treatment in South Africa.
  - (b) He and his spouse are being accommodated in a house which was available. He pays for their upkeep himself.
- (2) No request for political asylum has been received.

**Retirement annuity funds: extension of retirement age**

\*25. Mr H H SCHWARZ asked the Minister of Finance:

Whether any consideration has been given to extending the age of retirement in respect of

retirement annuity funds beyond 70; if so, what conclusion has been arrived at; if not, why not? B743E

**THE MINISTER OF FINANCE:**

Yes. It was concluded that the age limit should not be extended as the purpose of allowing a deduction in respect of contributions to retirement annuity funds is to permit a person to defer tax on a portion of his income during his productive years until after his retirement. Very few people remain productive after attaining the age of 70 years, and it appears that any raising of the age limit would mainly benefit those senior citizens fortunate enough to have more than sufficient income to meet their needs, and who merely wish to further defer the payment of tax.

**Durban prison at Westville: emergency detainees**

\*26. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of Law and Order:

- (1) Whether any persons are being detained in terms of the state of emergency at the Durban Prison in Westville; if so, how many;
- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter? B744E

**THE MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:**

- (1) Yes, 18 persons on 17 April 1990.
- (2) The detention of these persons is as a result of the conflict situation in Natal and is in the interests of the maintenance of law and order, the public safety and the termination of the statement of emergency.

**Minister/Mandela: meetings outside prison**

\*27. Adv S C JACOBS asked the Minister of Justice:†

- (1) (a) On how many occasions did he meet Mr Nelson Mandela outside prison premises and (b) (i) where and (ii) when did each such meeting take place;
- (2) whether he was accompanied by any other Cabinet Ministers at these meetings; if so, by what Ministers;
- (3) whether the constitutional future of South Africa was under discussion at any of these meetings; if so, at which meetings? B752E

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

- (1) (a) Ten (10)  
 (b) (i) and (ii)  
 Volks Hospital : 17 November 1985  
 My residence in Cape Town : 20 and 21 July 1986 and 10 October 1986  
 Tygerberg Hospital : 17 August 1988  
 Constantiaberg Medi-Clinic : 4 September 1988  
 Tuynhuys : 5 July 1989, 13 December 1989 and 9 February 1990  
 My office in Cape Town : 25 January 1990.
- (2) The Minister of Constitutional Development was present at the meetings on 13 December 1989 and 9 February 1990.
- (3) No, in this regard the honourable member is referred to my reply of 20 March 1990 on interpellation number 1.

**Minister/Mandela: meetings in prison**

\*28. Adv S C JACOBS asked the Minister of Justice:†

- (1) Whether he met Mr Nelson Mandela in a prison during the period 1 January 1987 to 31 January 1990; if so, (a) (i) for what purpose, (ii) when and (iii) where did these meetings take place and (b) how many such meetings were there;
- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B753E

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

- (1) Yes.
- (a) (i) The Honourable Member is referred to the interpellations of 20 and 27 March 1990.
- (ii) and (iii) and (b)  
 I met Mr Mandela on three occasions at Pollsmoor Prison and on nine occasions at Victor Verster Prison during the period mentioned.
- (2) No, this issue has been dealt with in detail on various occasions and I consider further statements in this regard unnecessary.

**Margate/Durban and Durban/Empanjeni: traffic counts**

\*29. Mr J A JORDAAN asked the Minister of Transport:†

- (1) Whether traffic counts are held on a continuous basis on the N2 route between (a) Margate and Durban and (b) Durban

and Empanjeni; if not, why not; if so, how do these traffic counts compare;

(2) how many accidents occurred on the N2 route between (a) Durban and Empanjeni and (b) Durban and Margate in 1989?

B767E

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT:

(1) (a) and (b) Yes; the permanent counting station at Turton indicates that an average of 7 737 vehicles use the route between Margate and Durban, and the permanent counting station at Tongaat indicates that an average of 8 889 vehicles use the route between Durban and Empanjeni, daily;

(2) during the period 1 July 1988 to 30 June 1989 (a) 684 road traffic collisions between Durban and Empanjeni and (b) 466 road traffic collisions between Durban and Margate, were recorded.

**Murders/robberies on trains/at stations**

\*30. Mr R V CARLISLE asked the Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs and Public Enterprises:

(1) How many persons were (a) murdered and (b) robbed or otherwise assaulted on trains or at stations during the latest specified period of 12 months for which information is available;

(2) what action has been taken to ensure the protection of the lives and property of members of the public on trains or at stations?

B769E

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

829

TUESDAY, 17 APRIL 1990

830

The MINISTER OF MINERAL AND ENERGY AFFAIRS AND PUBLIC ENTERPRISES:

(1) Particulars are not readily available and it will take much time and expense to gather such information.

(2) Monthly meetings are held with the Regional Commissioners of the S.A. Police in the relevant regions. During such meetings problem areas are identified after which preventative actions are conducted. Trains are also frequently accompanied by the S.A. Police.

Spoornet is presently in the process of establishing its own security unit who will also see to the safety of passengers.

**Political violence: deaths**

\*31. Mr R V CARLISLE asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(a) How many persons have died in or as a result of political violence since 1 January 1990 and (b) how many such persons were members of the South African Police Force?

B770E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(a) 1 January 1990 until 31 March 1990 — 574 persons.

(b) 14.

**Military disability pensions**

\*32. Mr B B GOODALL asked the Minister of National Health and Population Development:

(a) How many persons were in receipt of military disability pensions, and (b) what amount had been paid out in such pensions, as at 31 March 1990?

Hansard 17/4/90

B771E

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH AND POPULATION DEVELOPMENT:

(a) 11 371 widows included,

(b) the amount in respect of military disability pensions, only, is not readily available. A total amount of R46 539 035,49 was paid out in respect of all military pensions for the financial year ending 31 March 1990.

**INTERPELLATION**

The sign \* indicates a translation. The sign †, where it occurs subsequently in the same interpellation, indicates the original language.

**Own Affairs:**

**Redundancies/retractions in White schools**

Mr K M ANDREW asked the Minister of Education and Culture:

Whether, in view of his announcement on 23 March 1990 relating to the opening of schools to all races, he will consider postponing decisions on further redundancies and retractions of teachers in White schools; if not, why not?

Hansard 17/4/90 B772E.INT

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE: Mr Speaker, the Department has always attempted to handle every facet of its rationalisation programme which embraces, *inter alia*, the disposal of redundant buildings and the possible retrenchment of teaching personnel with great care. Decisions on rationalisation are only taken after thorough research; the study of demographic projections, intensive consultation with all the parties concerned, and taking into account all the relevant factors.

Some of the most important factors which influence the decision whether or not to rationalise are the wishes of the community. It has happened that a community itself has requested a school to be closed. Others are the area in which the school is situated, the accessibility of other schools, the possibility of amalgamation rather than closure, the viability of maintaining good educational standards with the present pupil enrolment, the possibility of presenting an adequate curriculum and satisfactory alternative arrangements.

Obviously, my announcement in this House on 23 March of two possible further models for educational provision which have now been referred to the statutorily recognised advisory bodies for comment, will have a bearing on any future rationalisation programme. In our planning, cognisance will be taken of the implications of the acceptance of one or more of the models or of any other model which might be decided upon, and also of the outcome of any decision which is to be taken by parent bodies in this regard.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

there is one thing that is going to make White people apprehensive about the future, it is if they believe that we are simply drifting into the future without any idea of where anyone wants to go and just hoping that somebody else will decide for them where to go. [Interjections.]

I believe in leadership. I believe that people need to be given self-confidence in changed circumstances. They need to believe that they can cope with the new challenges and adapt to the new society and that they do not simply have to sit back and, as the hon member for Pinetown said, leave it to the CP to have a field day by spreading as much fear as they can among parents in their communities. [Time expired.]

\*The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE: Mr Speaker, I want to give the hon members for Cape Town Gardens and Pinetown the assurance that the Government, for its part, will do nothing to force any school community to take a specific decision in a specific direction. [Interjections.]

I content myself by saying that it is the responsibility of the Government to place all the facts at their disposal and then to leave the decision to the school community concerned.

I should like to come back to the arguments of the hon member for Brits. I do not know for how long hon members of the Official Opposition are going to keep on fulminating in the way they are doing and adopting standpoints they know are wrong. The Government has no intention whatsoever of coercing any White person by confronting him with a choice of closing a school or keeping it open. That is a gross untruth, and the hon member for Brits knows it. It is unworthy of him to tell such untruths. [Interjections.]

It is as much of an absurdity to allege that the Government should now do their homework in the homes. Surely there is no such thing. Does the hon member for Brits want to come and tell me that it is the Government's fault that there is such a low population increase? [Interjections.] The hon member should sweep in front of his own door first. Then I must now say that it is also the fault of the Official Opposition. Surely these are absurdities we should not be indulging in the House of Assembly by arguing about them.

The fact of the matter is that there is no point of departure here to ensure that we have integrated education. What is happening here is that a

specific need has emerged in respect of providing an education service in specific communities, and we are trying to establish models in order to make that choice wider. [Time expired.]

Debate concluded.

### QUESTIONS

† Indicates translated version.

For oral reply:

Own Affairs:

Business interrupted in accordance with Rule 180C (3) of the Standing Rules of Parliament.

### Parking on school grounds: payment by teachers

\*1. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of Education and Culture:

- (1) Whether any of the provincial departments of education have promulgated regulations regarding the payment by teachers for parking on school grounds; if so, (a) which departments, (b) what amount is to be charged and (c) on whose instructions were these regulations promulgated; Hansard 17/4/90
- (2) whether his Department has calculated the total sum likely to accrue from such parking fees; if not, why not; if so, what is the sum involved;
- (3) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B601E

### The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE:

- (1) No, but the Transvaal Education Department has sent a circular to educational institutions concerning parking tariffs as laid down by Treasury(S) approval TM 25/80 dated 6 June 1980;
- (2) falls away;
- (3) no.

### Erection/purchasing of school facilities

\*2. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of Education and Culture: Hansard 17/4/90

- (1) (a) What is his Department's policy regarding the erection and/or purchasing of facilities at full cost to the school concerned and (b) to whom do such facilities belong; Hansard 17/4/90
- (2) what was the total cost of facilities so erected and/or purchased by schools during the latest specified financial year for which figures are available?

B603E

### The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE:

- (1) (a) The provision of facilities at full cost is allowed provided that certain requirements are met,
  - (b) under common law fixed assets belong to the State;
- (2) not available.

### ANC/SACP supporters: admission as teachers

\*3. Adv S C JACOBS asked the Minister of Education and Culture:† 11A

Whether his Department admits as teachers persons who support the principles and policy of the ANC and the South African Communist Party; if so, (a) how many such teachers were employed in schools under his control as at the latest specified date for which information is available and (b) what subjects are they allowed to teach?

Hansard 17/4/90

B685E

### The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE:

- (a) and (b) Both the professional code of ethics of teachers and the Education Affairs Act, Act 70 of 1988, give strict guidelines regarding the political involvement of teachers. Within these guidelines a teacher, as a citizen is allowed to be a member of any lawful political party. The Department does not keep record of the political convictions of its personnel.

Certain person in Messina: amount owed to Department 17/4/90

\*4. Adv T LANGLEY asked the Minister of Agricultural Development:

- (1) (a) What total amount did a certain person of the Weipe district in Messina, whose name has been furnished to the

Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply, owe to his Department at the time of his sequestration in respect of financial assistance, (b) what amount was realised by selling the securities of this person and (c) what is the name of the person concerned;

- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B711E

### The MINISTER OF AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT:

- (1) (a) The person of the Weipe district in Messina owed the Department, on the date of sequestration (11 April 1989) a total amount of R354 182,74.
  - (b) The immovable property (farm Scroda) together with the cooling equipment and irrigation equipment which also served as security was sold for an amount of R250 000. The other movable property which also served as additional security for the relevant loans was sold for R5 027,64 after deduction of auctioneer costs of R1 182,36.
- (c) Johan Francois de Villiers.
- (2) No.

### Reduction of teachers' gratuity

\*5. Mr A GERBER asked the Minister of Education and Culture:†

- (1) Whether consideration is being given to reducing the gratuity paid to retiring teachers; if so, what are the relevant details; Hansard 17/4/90
- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B762E

### The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE:

- (1) Teachers are members of the Government Service Pension Fund or the Pension Fund for Temporary Employees. Both are administered by the Department of National Health and Population Development;

- (2) no.

(11A)

# Two women in ANC talks

By SIZAKELE KOOMA

RUTH Mompoti and Cheryl Carolus are two women who will be in the ANC's negotiating team which faces the Government on May 2.

Who are these women? Sowetan spoke to one of them, Mompoti - an ANC National Executive Committee member and head of the organisation's

## A profile of the ANC veteran and UDF activist in the team

internal political committee.

Sixty-three years old and a teacher by profession, Mompoti said she was born in the north western Cape village of Khanyesa.

She came to Johannesburg in 1952 to be with her husband.

In 1953 she joined Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo in their legal practice as a secretary-typist.

She played a key role in the formation of the Federation of South African Women and was one of the organisers of the 1956 protest march.

She left the country in 1962 to join the ANC in

exile.

She was commissioned to be with the organisation's external movement in Tanzania for a year, she said, but because of the arrest of the Rivonia trialists, she was forced to stay.

Her two sons, now both over 30, who had stayed behind, rejoined her 10 years later.

Her early life in exile involved informing the external world about the ANC.

She later took charge of the movement's women's organisation. In 1965 she was elected into the ANC's NEC.

She remained on the committee until 1969 when the NEC was reduced to nine members. In the early '80s she rejoined them.

Mompoti has worked as the ANC chief representative in Great Britain, administrative secretary in the secretary-general's office and in the women's organisation.

Her inclusion in the talks team, she maintains, was within the ANC's policy.

"In the ANC men and women are equal. I was chosen not because of my sex but because of my capabilities," Mompoti said.

"It would be very disappointing to hear that some women thought of my inclusion in the team as curious.

"Then I would assume they believed that women belonged in the back-



RUTH MOMPOTI



CHERYL CAROLUS

ground and had accepted being treated as minorities.

"We have a big task ahead of us. Our role in the future depends on

Mompoti said she would be going into the negotiations as a representative of the ANC and of women.

Carolus (32) is from



**ARIES: March 21 - April 21**

Look earnestly toward the future, strive to place your business plans in operation. New commercial activities should be very remunerative provided you can get them going during this cycle. Aim for greater security.

**TAURUS: April 21 - May 21**

Your financial affairs can be improved if you set about establishing new arrangements immediately. This is also an advantageous ambit for acquiring a profitable sideline, for putting your hobby on a commercial base.

**GEMINI: May 21 - June 22**

If you have been hesitant hitherto about expressing your feelings over work issues, then this could at last be the ideal time for opening up and laying your cards on the table. Make your demands and desires apparent.

**CANCER: June 22 - July 23**

A very pleasant and stimulating period to negotiate. Your ambitions and welfare comes first as your independent side rises to the surface, yet strangely, you will enjoy popularity in your home and society.

**LEO: July 23 - August 24**

A bountiful interval provided you are alert and energetic, ready to seize your chances for commercial gain without hesitation. Procrastination could be your worst drawback, will allow others to leap ahead of you.

**VIRGO: August 24 - September 23**

While this will not be an especially exciting term, it will be a rewarding one. You will have to work hard and may be called upon to sacrifice personal pleasures for a while. It may be a turning point of relevance.

**LIBRA: September 23 - October 23**

Change is indicated in the vocational zone. New work conditions may not suit your temperament but you'll either have to adjust or put out feelers in areas where you are known in the hope of landing a better post.

**SCORPIO: October 23 - November 23**

Financial clouds ought to disappear, your prospects becoming much brighter in the course of this term. Friendship forms an important part of your life just now. You will be uplifted by the encouragement of your allies.

**SAGITTARIUS: November 23 - December 22**

A very eventful phase but you will have to budget carefully in order to avoid financial headaches. You will have some pretty good ideas yet should work on them a bit to iron out the faults before you try them out.

**CAPRICORN: December 22 - January 21**

An important interval and the right time to come to major decisions. You can change course very profitably, enjoy yourself in new ways. This should be an outstanding period for career and social activities.

**AQUARIUS: January 21 - February 20**

You're about to encounter a spot of bother but won't be too upset by whatever transpires; may in fact develop a rather philosophical state of mind to protect yourself from possible disappointment. A new start follows.

**PISCES: February 20 - March 20**

You should do quite well for yourself in the career sphere; circumstances favouring current hopes and long-term aspirations. You can obtain tangible help from good friends. Some will be able to supply introductions.

**If today is your birthday:**

Think about your future, use this expansive term to make long range plans centering on your most cherished ambitions. You can achieve a lot by getting off to a snappy start. Friends can give you very sound advice.

**MOTOR TRADER**

BUY, SELL OR TRADE YOUR WHEELS IN

**DAVID BARRAIN CALE**

# Be peaceful ambassadors, Mandela urges ANC youth

Sowetan 17/4/90

71A

By SY MAKARINGE  
THE Deputy president of the African National Congress, Mr Nelson Mandela, at the weekend made an impassioned plea to members of the South African Youth Congress (Sayco) to stop using coercion, violence and harassment against people who differed with them politically.

Delivering a keynote address at Sayco's first annual congress at Likazi Township, KaNgwane, Mandela said the youths must respect the views of other "freedom fighters" outside the movement.

"You must persuade our people to join our

organisation. Any form of violence, coercion and harassment is against the policy of the ANC. Those who have attacked other people who are hostile to their aspirations are not disciplined members of the ANC. We sincerely hope that this appeal will not fall on deaf ears," Mandela said.

He said, as future leaders, South African youths had a special responsibility as far as discipline was concerned. He said he did not wish to see members of other political organisations assaulted.

The four-day congress - the first since Sayco was established about three

years ago - was attended by more than 1 500 delegates from all parts of the country.

Local guests included the Chief Minister of KaNgwane, Mr Enos Mabuza, members of the Inyandza National Movement, Inyandza Youth League, members of the National Union of South African Students and South African National Students Congress.

Messages of support were received from as far as Denmark, Sweden and the United States of America.

In a hard-hitting speech, Mandela said the leader of the Conservative

Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, was "involved in the process of frightening away whites". He was responding to claims that the CP was in possession of an ANC secret document which allegedly outlined a campaign by the organisation to eliminate right-wingers.

"His (Treurnicht's) only message is that of naked racism. He thinks only of whites in this country. Treurnicht wants to destabilise the forthcoming meeting.



11A

Sowetan 17/4/90

# ANC admits torture allegations

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela admitted at the weekend that his organisation had tortured dissident members to extract information.

Mandela said the organisation had established that dissidents who alleged they were tortured by ANC cadres abroad

had been speaking the truth.

"Unfortunately it is true that some of these people who were complaining were in fact tortured," he told reporters at an impromptu airport news conference before leaving for a rock concert in London in his honour.

"Once the ANC became aware (of) these malpractices, immediate steps were taken to dis-

cipline those who were guilty of torturing other people and the leaders ... were immediately dismissed," Mandela said.

A British newspaper published allegations last week by former ANC members living in Kenya that they had been tortured by ANC leaders to extract information.

Mandela's statement was the first official ANC acknowledgement of the allegations.

The ANC had taken immediate steps to stop further torture by some of its security members and it hoped the South African Government would act as quickly in addressing the allegations of torture directed against its security forces.

He was addressing the media after meeting with the European Community troika delegation in the International VIP conference room at Jan Smuts Airport on Saturday.

# Mandela visit rumpus

THE International Freedom Foundation has questioned the presence of ANC vice-president Nelson Mandela at yesterday's Wembley Stadium pop concert. 11A

In an advertisement in *The Times* of London yesterday, timed to coincide with the concert, the London branch of the Washington-based IFF said the slaughter of women and children in South Africa continued while Mandela and 72 000 pop fans enjoyed themselves.

Sowetan 1714190  
"Why can you, Mr Mandela, spare three days to attend this pop concert but not two hours to attend peace talks in Natal - talks which you recently unilaterally cancelled?" the IFF advert asked. - Sapa

**ANC in drive for members** (11A)

*Sowetan 17/11/90*  
THE ANC is to embark on an extensive membership drive to entrench itself as the foremost political force in South Africa and to exercise control over its followers. leadership corps, Mr Walter Sisulu, yesterday confirmed that a preliminary order for one million membership cards had already been placed with a printing company.

Head of the internal

## Youth group to disband *HIA*

THE Inyandza Youth Movement in Kangwane is to disband in December to allow members to join the ANC Youth League.

The Chief Minister of the Kangwane homeland, Mr Enos Mabuza, said in an interview in Nelspruit yesterday the movement would be in a period of transition until the ANC National Congress in December, which would decide whether or not structures aligned to the former organisation should disband in favour of the ANC. *Sowetan 17/4/92*

A UDF official, Mr Mohamed Valli, told the SA Youth Congress at the weekend that the ANC Congress would determine whether the UDF should continue to exist, disband or play another role "such as organising members with the ANC". Sapa

## Youth group to disband *11A*

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# ANC leader justifies torture of prisoners

Argus 17/4/90

Argus Africa News Service

11A

MAPUTO. — A top-ranking member of the ANC, Mr Steve Tshwete, has justified the torture of former members of the organisation saying they had been South African agents or mutineers.

He added, however, that it was not the ANC's policy to torture its prisoners and that those responsible for the torture had been "properly dealt with".

The torture charges were made in an open letter by former ANC detainees Mr Amos Maxonga and Mr Chege Molefi who appealed to ANC deputy-president Mr Nelson Mandela to help them bring to justice members of the movement who allegedly tortured them.

The former guerrillas said they had been beaten and tortured in camps in Angola after a rebellion against the ANC leadership.

## FEAR FOR DISSIDENTS

The men have said they fear for the fate of 110 to 120 fellow ANC dissidents still detained.

Speaking at the closing session of a conference on health in southern Africa, Mr Tshwete said some of the cases of detention arose from a mutiny in 1984 among members of the movement's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe.

"No army can play with mutineers. We had to suppress the mutiny with all the force at our disposal, just as any army would do when faced with a mutiny," he said.

He accused the South African government of sending "assassins" into Zambia and Zimbabwe to kill ANC leaders.

"We cannot be expected to play ball with agents of the enemy whose avowed aim is to kill and eliminate leaders and members of the movement," he said.

There had been "excesses" during the interrogation of some of those mutineers and agents but "those responsible for this have been properly dealt with", he said.

"The ANC does not in any way approximate in its treatment of detainees to what we see in South Africa today," Mr Tshwete added.

He said the ANC had a code of conduct which laid down the rules of how people detained should be treated.

Today ANC secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo denied that the movement was still torturing dissidents.

From Lusaka, Mr Nzo said: "That's absolute nonsense. Why should the torture still occur if the deputy-president said that they have stopped?"

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Mandela given the full superstar treatment

*ARC 17/4/90 11A*  
**The Argus Foreign Service**  
LONDON. — Nelson Mandela was given the full superstar treatment at Wembley last night by an ecstatic 72,000 crowd — and the stars who had come out to perform for him.

Singers and musicians more used to being the objects of adulation themselves tried to outdo one another in heaping praise on the ANC deputy president.

Patti LaBelle, who met Mr Mandela backstage, was thrilled at just having made eye contact with him.

Peter Gabriel said he felt privileged "to be on the stage where this great South African leader has been".

Through it all the audience shouted, cheered, waved their banners and sang until the stadium reverberated.

When Mr Mandela moved from the royal box to the stage and before he had spoken a word, they treated him to a tumultuous ovation which lasted a full five minutes, understood to be one of the longest in Wembley history.

In perhaps the greatest tribute a British audience can pay a visitor, they later serenaded him with the rousing and near-sacred Liverpool Football Club anthem "You'll never walk alone".

● Nelson Mandela pleads for sanctions, page 15.

<sup>CHE 7nd</sup>  
<sup>17/12/70</sup>  
**Symbolic concert speech**

LONDON. <sup>(111)</sup> The fact that Mr Nelson Mandela would speak at the pop concert here in his honour last night was symbolic of the new South Africa, a senior spokesman for the Republic's embassy in London said.

Interviewed on BBC's Radio four, Mr Justus de Goede, Minister at the South African embassy, said one of the ironies of the concert was that whatever was said, by Mr Mandela for instance, could now also be said in Johannesburg.

He expressed concern that the concert might not be presented in an unbiased way.

The BBC has said it regards the event as a pop concert and not a news event. — Sapa



Open letter asks  
Mandela for justice

NAIROBI. — Five former ANC members who were detained by the African National Congress wrote an open letter yesterday to Mr Nelson Mandela, asking for his help in bringing to justice the ANC officers who allegedly tortured them.

The five last week told The Sunday Correspondent newspaper of London that they had been tortured and accused of being South African agents after a mutiny in an Angolan ANC camp in 1984.

Mr Mandela, in London for a mass pop concert in his honour, admitted on Saturday that the torture had taken place, but said "immediate steps" had been taken to discipline those responsible.

The open letter, drafted by ex-detainees Mr Amos Maxongo and Mr Chege Molefi, rejected the suggestion that justice had been done.

"The torture is still going on today," Mr Molefi said. — UPI

# ANC admits torturing members

Mr Nelson Mandela has admitted that the ANC had tortured dissident members to extract information.

"Unfortunately it is true that some of these people who were complaining were in fact tortured," he told reporters at Jans Smuts Airport on Saturday before leaving for a rock concert in London in his honour.

He said the ANC was against torture and had dismissed leaders responsible for these acts after an investigation.

Newspapers published allegations last week by former ANC members living in Kenya that they had been tortured by ANC leaders to extract information.

Seven former members of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC's military wing, who say they were tortured by ANC commanders, said on Saturday that they were anxious to return home. They said they quit Umkhonto in Tanzania last December and fled to Nairobi.

The seven, aged between 28 and 33, also said they feared for the fate of 100 to 120 fellow ANC dissidents being detained at guerrilla training camps in Angola and Uganda.

They said at least 60 of their comrades were killed or missing.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu has appealed to church leaders through the Nairobi-based All Africa Council of Churches to help the men get home.

## Chris Hani

The seven said they sought sanctuary in Kenya after a December 3 visit to the Dakawa camp, 200 km west of Dar es Salaam, by ANC army commander Mr Chris Hani, who was trying to defuse unrest.

Mr Amos Maxongo, a former student who left for guerilla training in 1977, said the recruits directly accused Mr Hani of murdering dissident fighters in Angola.

They also alleged that Mr Hani and other guerilla chiefs were involved in the smuggling of stolen cars from South Africa and diamonds from Angola.

Most of their criticism was directed at Umkhonto's special security section called Mbokondo ("The rock that crushes"), which allegedly committed most of the torture.

They said they rebelled against their leaders in 1984, were held in detention centres and prisons for four years and were freed in Tanzania on "humanitarian" grounds.

The ANC has said they were "isolated" for four years for staging a rebellion and killing Umkhonto officers, but were pardoned and freed in 1988.

The seven told reporters they were tied to trees and flogged with whips, locked into metal transport containers that were left out in the sun and were beaten and kicked by ANC commanders and their jailers.

Mr Mbengo said that after he tried to escape from his captors in Angola he was punished by having melted plastic sheeting dripped on his body. — Sapa-AP-Reuters.



Call back the past . . . ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela was reunited with an old friend, Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, in Britain yesterday afternoon after more than 27 years. Mr Mandela told journalists: "I cannot describe the joy I feel at this meeting." Archbishop Huddleston, the founder of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement, spent 13 years of his early working life in South Africa. Mr Mandela is in Britain for today's Wembley pop concert in his honour.

Cape Times (11/11)  
17/4/90 (11/11)

## Protest — but peaceful

**CLANWILLIAM.** — ANC banners and slogans were held aloft in a protest march here on Saturday.

Several hundred people marched down the main street from the Cedarville township and handed a petition to Clanwilliam mayor Mr Deon Burger, listing grievances about inadequate housing, high rents, electrification, untarred roads and lack of sports facilities.

Permission had been granted for the march, which was peaceful.

At a meeting after the march, speakers included ANC Western Cape organiser Mr Trevor Manuel and UDF Western Cape media officer Mr Willie Hofmeyer. — Sapa

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# Shots fired in a new attack on PAC treasurer's home



Mike Matsobane with his wife, Rebecca, at their Kagiso home which was attacked this week.

By SELLO SERIPE

UNKNOWN people fired two bullets and hurled a handgrenade at PAC treasurer Mike Matsobane's home in Kagiso 2 on the West Rand this week.

This was the second attack on Matsobane since the start of the year, and the handgrenade blast shattered a window pane.

The first attack on the home of the former Robben Island prisoner was in January when stones were thrown into the backyard, also breaking window panes.

This week's attack took place at about 3am.

Shrapnel was also embedded in the wall as a result of the blast.

Matsobane said people in the neighbourhood told him they saw a white Citi Golf speeding away after they were awakened by the loud explosion.

"I do not know what the motive is behind these attacks on me. I also do not want to speculate on who might be responsible for the dirty work," he said.

Matsobane was sentenced to 15 years for terrorism in the 1976 Bethal trial.

He was released in 1987 after serving 10 years when the government decided to release some political prisoners on humanitarian grounds.

Confirming the incident, West Rand police liaison officer Lt Henriette Bester said an FNI defensive handgrenade was used in the attack.

No arrests had been made at the time of going to press.

# Discord over

DISSENT still clouds the sky over Wembley on the eve of Nelson Mandela's triumphant appearance before an expected crowd of 77 000.

"Africa's most famous son" will be ushered through the VIP lounges of Heathrow Airport today for his 48-hour visit to Britain.

But his pop-meets-politics concert has been marred by rows between artists, TV broadcasters and critics who say lavish spending by the organisers will leave precious little of the R13-million profits for charity.

The ANC deputy president will be making his first visit to Britain since he left South Africa — secretly and illegally — on a world trip in 1962.

And, as on that occasion, he will not even have fleeting contact with any member of the British government.

## Cultural

This time Mr Mandela is being fêted at one of the most spectacular events the famous soccer stadium has witnessed. All concert tickets were sold out within a record 38 hours of the box-office opening.

But simmering discontent was voiced by one star, trumpeter Hugh Masekela, who was still threatening to boycott the event this weekend.

Yesterday, after labelling the concert "just another feel-good" event for whites, he was eventually persuaded to take part.

But before making his decision he said: "We're getting tired of going to euphoric celebrations for South Africa. After the show, the audience goes back to their free coun-

Critics fear lavish spending could eat away the profits pledged to charity

JEREMY BROOKS: London

tries and we're left with the South African baby.

"These media celebrations are getting to be a drag."

Worldwide TV rights worth at least R5.5-million have been sold to Europe, Japan and South America.

But organisers have decreed the concert will not be seen in South Africa because of the cultural boycott — a decision questioned even by Britain's Labour Party.

Broadcasting spokesman Robin Corbett said: "I understand the feelings behind the ban. But at the same time there is an argument to say that the white South Africans should see what a great welcome Mandela gets here."

Ticket sales have raised nearly R6-million with 77 000 people paying R85 each. That excludes newsmen, who this week were told they had to buy "special" tickets at R430 each.

Receipts for T-shirts, programmes and posters are expected to total R1.3-million.

But most of the cash will be eaten up by a huge network of technicians, security

firms, stewards and caterers for VIP guests.

Pop supremo Pete Waterman lashed out: "What is the point of this concert?"

"Despite all the hype that this would raise a fortune for charity, I would be very surprised if it makes a penny for them."

Profits will be shared between the ANC, the Anti-Apartheid Movement and five charities — including Oxfam and Christian Aid. The ANC says it is looking for funds to resettle up to 20 000 exiles in South Africa.

## Honorary

One music critic in Time Out, noting the predictions of little or no profits, urged readers: "The best thing you can do is park yourself in front of the TV and whizz off a hefty donation straight to your charity."

The BBC, threatened by legal action from the right-wing pressure group the Freedom Association, has promised it will keep political comment to a minimum — screening only Mr Mande-

la's closing 15-minute speech live.

Producers have been ordered to treat the concert as a musical and not a political event.

Labour-run Brent council, which controls Wembley, also caused a storm by deciding to make Mr Mandela an honorary freeman of the borough.

But an 11th-hour court injunction brought by Tory councillors yesterday blocked the move. Conservative John Stone said he respected Mr Mandela, but the ANC deputy president had no connection with Brent other than having addressed a communist rally there in 1962.

## Special

"This is a cheap, political gesture — not an honour, but an insult. When the Pope came to Brent there was no suggestion he should be given the freedom of the borough," Mr Stone said.

A plan to fly Mr Mandela and his wife Winnie into Britain in publishing tycoon Robert Maxwell's private jet was dropped yesterday.

The Mandelas will fly in on a scheduled flight, but Mr Maxwell's newspapers, the Mirror and the European, are sponsoring the concert heavily.

The Mandela party will still receive special treatment when they land, being whisked through customs and into VIP lounges normally only used by senior diplomats, government ministers, the royal family and guests of government.

The star line-up for the concert includes Simple Minds, Peter Gabriel, Johnny Clegg, the Jungle Brothers, Dave Stewart, Terence Trent D'Arby, Denzel Washington, Jackson Browne, Patti LaBelle, Neil Young, Natalie Cole, Lenny Henry, Lou Reed, Mirriam Makeba and Bonnie Raitt.

Mandela rock concert

11A

# Strike puts the brake on Nelson's Merc

By **CONNIE MOLUSI**  
and CP Correspondent

DEPUTY ANC president Nelson Mandela will have to wait a little longer for his Mercedes Benz gift from the National Union of Metal Workers of South Africa — because of a two-week strike at the car-maker's East London assembly plant.

The car, which takes only 10 to 15 days to assemble, has already been delayed by the two-week work stoppage.

The car is a R211 530 top-of-the-range red Mercedes Benz 500 SE. A majority of hourly-paid workers will work without pay for one hour daily for four days to pay for the car as a symbolic contribution towards a new democratic South Africa.

Numsa has refused to comment on the stoppage — even to give reasons for it — except to say the matter was being discussed within union structures.

## Stoppage is not connected with car present for the ANC leader

Meanwhile, Mercedes Benz spokeswoman Wendy Hoffman said production at the East London plant was suspended on April 2 and had not been resumed. She said discussions were continuing between management and Numsa in an attempt to resolve the problem.

Hoffman said the stoppage was due to "high absenteeism and unprocedural industrial action".

However, she denied the stoppage had anything to do with the four hours which a majority of workers agreed to

work for no pay to build a car for Mandela.

In an open letter to management this week, Mercedes worker ZR Monqo said the reasons for the strike offered by the company were untrue and misleading.

Monqo disputed the company's version of the strike and said many workers spent money on transport coming to work every day only to be turned back.

He said the company had embarked on dirty tactics to discredit the union.

"The first sign of this unacceptable attitude is when one department embarks on industrial action, the company stops the lines, switches off the lights and posts notices asking all workers to attend a mass meeting to thrash out the problem," said Monqo.

He said if the company was serious about solving the problems, it should consider introducing a company newsletter in which management and workers would be able to voice their views and criticise one another constructively.



A Mercedes-Benz 500 SE like the one being made for Mandela at Port Elizabeth.

# Only equals can negotiate, says Azapo

Cl Press 15/4/90

11A

THE INTERNATIONAL community should not forget the oppressed people in South Africa have the capacity to overturn unacceptable solutions, Azapo publicity secretary Strini Moodley said in Johannesburg on Friday.

He was speaking to the Press after an Azanian People's Organisation delegation met with a three-member European Community (EC) fact-finding mission headed by Irish Foreign Minister Gerard Collins.

"We cannot negotiate now because as long as our oppressors have the right of veto on the discussions then these are not talks between equals but with someone who considers himself superior. Azapo will only ever talk to others as equals," said Moodley.

"Sebokeng has proved (President FW) De Klerk's political structures are still bent on violence and he still holds the keys to the prisons. Azapo is not prepared to negotiate for freedom."

Moodley said Azapo had informed the EC of bias in the composition of the Kagiso Trust's trustees and their distribution of funds.

"The list of trustees are either directly ANC or UDF. Whenever organisations linked to Azapo have requested aid for projects, this is rejected," said former Azapo deputy president Lybon Mabasa.

Kagiso Trust trustees include Dr Alan Boesak, Dr Max Coleman, Prof Jakes Gerwel, Yusuf Mohamed, Eric Molobi, Dr Beyers Naude and Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

Azapo told Collins that EC funds were being used to fuel violence.

"I hope he and his delegation will investigate the matter so their money will be used for its correct purpose and not to further the aims of any particular political organisation," said Moodley.

Azapo made it clear the EC should use sanctions as part of its strategy to

persuade the government to eliminate apartheid.

On Azapo's recent talks with ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, Moodley said the delegation had expressed concern over the differences in Mandela's public and private approach to Azapo.

"He has always agreed with us in private about the major part played by the Black Consciousness Movement, but in public he has never acknowledged the role of the BCM.

"We told Mandela a political solution unacceptable to the people will fail just like those in other countries."

Mabasa said in Africa many liberation movements were very divided before a final solution was reached and therefore the apparent "split between the ANC and Azapo, while unfortunate, is not an unbridgeable barrier". - Sapa.



Lybon  
Mabasa

# R14-m and nothing

for the poor!

By TOBIE BSHOFF

TOMORROW'S concert in honour of ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela will yield nearly R14 million – but the poor will probably not receive a cent.

Five welfare organisations and the Anti-Apartheid Movement, who would have benefited from the concert, are now left in the cold. The organisers say their expenses were too high.

"It is a unique achievement not to show a profit on international broadcast rights," said Pete Jenner, the manager of Pink Floyd, who had been involved in similar concerts.

When a concert was held to honour Mandela on his 70th birthday, a profit of R5 million was shown. Bob Geldof made a profit of more than R200 million with his Live Aid concert.

Altogether 82 000 tickets at 20 pounds (R86) each were sold out within two days.

The organisers sold TV broadcasting rights for one billion people in 63 countries for R5 590 000. They also expected to make a profit of R1 290 000 from sales of T-shirts, programmes and posters.

To add to all of this, the artists are not charging anything for their services.

The first sign of problems became evident when black South African artists withdrew from the show. Hugh Masekela said white artists were misusing the occasion to increase their record sales.

A record company published a full-page advertisement saying "Nelson Mandela will be working in your shop" if records by Neil Young, Tracy Chapman, Daniel Lanois and Anita Baker, all of whom are performing at the concert, were stocked.

Problems were also encountered when black exiles were not asked to perform. Wally Serote of the ANC's London office then arranged they would perform for a few minutes.

Until yesterday no response was received from Miriam Makeba, the most famous of the exiled South African artists. It has been said that Johnny Clegg will "definitely" perform.

On Thursday an additional 1 000 tickets "suddenly" became available.

## Mandela gig's money goes down the drain

Tickets were also made available to journalists at R495 each!

Yesterday *The Mirror*, a large London newspaper, said there would be a profit after all because additional support had been obtained.

But the newspaper *Today* said statements that money would now be available were "hollow promises".

On Thursday a newspaper said the concert was arranged to be a "break-even" occasion.

The organisers now said the concert was arranged to serve as "a platform for Mr Mandela to address the world", but he would be allowed only ten minutes.

It has been said in London that Siphos Pityana, organiser of the ANC's International Reception Committee, has been persuaded to see the Mandela concert as an opportunity to address the world.

Concert organiser Tony Hollingsworth said many people had to be paid because they had so little time. Asked who these people were, he mentioned "the caterers, the sound people, the lighting people and the security people".

The renting of the stadium is expensive – but it amounts to only R500 000 of the R14 million.

This has caused *The Sun* to comment: "About everybody involved makes a lot of money and welfare receives nothing!"

The chairman of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, Father Trevor Huddleston, appointed Hollingsworth of Tribute Productions to organise the concert.

■ Mandela will see two African ambassadors, Huddleston, the ANC's International Reception Committee and Commonwealth secretary-general Sir Sonny Ramphal in London today. Tomorrow he will see the ANC's London leadership. He will fly back to South Africa tomorrow night.



S/Times 15/4/90

By DRIES van HEERDEN

BLACK Consciousness is alive and well — and allegedly enjoying mass popular support throughout the country.

In fact, there is ample proof that the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), the main flag-bearer of the black consciousness philosophy, has emerged as a strong independent force competing for support from broad sections of the population.

And Azapo leaders are not unduly worried that their main rivals on the political front, the ANC and the PAC, are presently hogging the local and international media limelight.

Says a former deputy president of Azapo, Mr Lyoon Mabasa: "We know that we represent the true aspirations of the oppressed black people in this country. The support we experience on a daily basis continues to confirm this."

# Black Consciousness flame still burns

"Black means more than skin colour for Azapo; more than the amount of melanin in your skin," says Mr Mabasa. "It has a broad political and economic interpretation embracing all those who are being oppressed, exploited and discriminated against by capitalists and their political allies."

In this sense Azapo takes a much harder line on certain issues than the ANC, which this week announced the names of its negotiating team to sit down with President F W de Klerk on May 2.

"Negotiations" are absolute anathema to Azapo. There is no way the movement will even con-

sider meeting the Government under present circumstances," said Mr Mabasa.

"Our view is that pressure on the regime should be stepped up on all fronts," says Azapo publicity secretary Strini Moodley. "Only when it has collapsed will we talk about the transfer of power."

Azapo grew out of the structures of black consciousness organisations that swept through the black communities in the 1970s but was banned in 1977 following a swoop on its key members.

Today it claims to be a mass-based organisation which not only addresses political issues through

its programme of "conscientisation" but is also active in community development programmes, literacy schemes, a very successful Community Health Awareness Programme (CHAP), and an active women's movement (Imbeleko).

Azapo is at pains to point out its independence from the other major black groupings. It differs strongly from the ANC's non-racial approach and adherence to the Freedom Charter, while the PAC is regarded as "just another anti-colonialist organisation".

Politics and economics are for Azapo inseparable. The root of the

problem is capitalism and, says Mr Moodley, "a solution can only come from within the ranks of the exploited". That solution is socialism.

Structurally, Azapo, led by Cape Town university theologian Dr Jerry Mosala, also embraces several other black consciousness organisations. It also has an external wing, the BCM of Azania, and an armed wing called the Azanian National Liberation Army (Azanla).

Azapo leaders deny that it is mostly an organisation of intellectuals. They claim that almost half of the 4 600 delegates who recently

attended the Conference for a Democratic Future in Johannesburg were Azapo supporters and at its congress last week close to 8 000 delegates were present.

It openly scoffs at perceptions that the ANC is the dominant black grouping in South Africa. "We can also get those rent-a-crowd people at our rallies," says Azapo vice-president for political education Dr Victor Dhlamini.

Mr Moodley points at the inability of the ANC to end the present internecine violence in black areas despite its constant pleas to factions to stop using force.

"A few years ago they told the people that liberation will come through tyres and matchboxes. We then went public condemning necklacing. Now they tell them to throw their pangas into the sea. They are sending too many mixed signals. The ANC is confusing the people," says Mr Moodley.

# ANC 'mutineers' want to return

AP/WIDE WORLD 15/4/90



SEVEN former South African guerrillas who claim they were tortured by ANC commanders as mutineers said yesterday they were anxious to return home after seeking sanctuary in Kenya earlier this year.

"We're still waiting for word when we can go," said Luvo Mbengo, 28, one of the ANC recruits. "But we still don't know what our future is."

The seven, aged between 28 and 33, also say they fear for the fate of 100 to 120 fellow ANC dissidents being held against their will at guerrilla training camps in Angola and at Mbarara, south-west Uganda.

The seven dissidents seeking passage home were attached to the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto We Sizwe

(MK), in Angola after being trained in East Germany and the Soviet Union in the early 1980s.

They said they mutinied against their leaders in 1984, were held in detention centres and Angolan prisons for years and then moved to a Dakwa camp in Tanzania, Kenya's southern neighbour, after being freed on "humanitarian" grounds.

They said they left MK in Tanzania last December and fled to Nairobi. The ANC says they were "isolated" for four years after a rebellion against guerrilla commanders, but were pardoned and freed in 1988.

The exiles say they were detained and tortured along with other dissidents at two punishment camps in Angola known as Pango and Quatro.

They told reporters they were tied to trees and flogged with whips, locked in metal transport containers that were left out in the searing sun and were beaten and kicked by ANC commanders and their jailers.

Mbengo said that after he tried to escape from his captors in Angola he was punished by having melted plastic sheeting dripped on to his body. He carries these scars along with wounds from birdshot fired by South African police during demonstrations in South Africa in 1987.

Amos Maxongo, a former student who left for guerrilla training in 1977, said the recruits directly accused MK commander Chris Hani of murdering dissident fighters in Angola.

They also alleged that Hani and other guerrilla chiefs were involved in smuggling stolen cars from South Africa and diamonds from Angola.

Most of their criticism was directed at MK's special security section called Mbokondo (the rock that crushes) which allegedly committed most abuses, including torture.

- Sapa. 15/4/90

# Major conglomerates

'may be carved up'

SPY 16/4/90  
The Star Bureau

11A

LONDON — The African National Congress is considering radical proposals for South Africa's major quoted conglomerates when it takes power, according to a report in the Observer yesterday.

The newspaper quoted Mr Vella Pillay, one of the ANC's leading economists, as claiming that the planned moves would lead to an inflow of foreign capital as economic sanctions are lifted.

But he said the ANC may introduce legislation to curb monopoly power and dismember some key conglomerates.

## The big six

Mr Pillay would not mention names, but the Observer pointed out that six concerns — Anglo-American, Rembrandt, SA Mutual, Sanlam, Liberty Life and Anglovaal — account for 80 percent of the market capitalisation of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange.

Mr Pillay said: "In the case of mining, and where it would be uneconomic to apply anti-trust legislation, the state would seek a role in such enterprises with a view to safeguarding the public enterprise."

He added that the ANC would renationalise the iron and steel industries, as well as electricity generation and parts of the transport industry which the government plans to privatise.

But he emphasised that the key to economic recovery was political reform.

## NEWS



I'm not guilty ... Mr Thandabantu David Ntombela, a leading member of the kwaZulu Legislative Assembly, has strongly denied UDF and Cosatu allegations that he ordered Inkatha members to attack UDF supporters in Maritzburg townships. ● Picture by Ken Oosterbroek

## Induna denies ordering attacks on UDF

By Monica Nicolson

MARITZBURG — The man blamed by the United Democratic Front and Cosatu for the devastating April war in the Maritzburg townships has vehemently denied he encouraged or ordered Inkatha members to fight.

Mr Thandabantu David Ntombela, Inkatha induna and powerful member of the kwaZulu Legislative Assembly, has been named by people of the various non-Inkatha groups and the UDF/Cosatu alliance as the mastermind behind a co-ordinated attack against non-Inkatha members.

They said Inkatha felt threatened by the unbanning of the ANC and the decrease in Inkatha support.

Mr Ntombela, a colourful and active member of the kwaMncane community, has often featured in news about violent attacks and massacres in the past decade.

In an exclusive interview with The Star at his home at the foothills of the Drakensberg, Mr Ntombela denied allegations that he had en-

couraged or commanded Inkatha members to do battle this month.

"I tell my people not to attack, but I will never tell them not to defend themselves.

"The ANC (which he believes the UDF effectively is) wants to prove it has the strongest fighters to scare people into joining the organisation.

"For 30 years or more, the ANC has been involved in the armed struggle and preached violence. All of a sudden, it denounces it and pretends its members are pacifists who believe in negotiations.

### 'Committed Christian

"As a deeply committed Christian, I believe in non-violence and the power of negotiations," he said.

His enemies claim he is a criminal who has evaded arrest only because of his Government connections.

Mr Ntombela was charged with murdering five people in 1987 but was never prosecuted.

It is also alleged that in May 1987

he urged people to attack bus drivers of the Sizanani Transport Company because they were UDF supporters. He was granted bail of R100, and in April 1988 the State decided not to prosecute.

Mr Ntombela was charged with killing Ms Maghahla Mkize and Ms Zandile Mkize in October 1988 but the matter was withdrawn. He was charged with murdering Mr Sithembiso Khumalo in October 1987 but charges were dropped.

Responding to the allegations, Mr Ntombela said in his 65 years, he had not even been convicted of common assault, let alone murder.

"My hands are clean. The Bible says it is a sin to kill another man, so how could I have done that?"

Mr Ntombela said he was tired of all the fighting and said the only solution was for Mr Nelson Mandela to meet Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

"When Mr Mandela told his people to throw their weapons into the sea, he only said it because is sounded good and was wonderful propaganda.

"Of course the youths are not going to listen to him. He was in jail for 27 years so how can youngsters know and respect him.

"But if Mr Mandela was a good and wise ruler, which I think he is, he would speak to our chief."

Mr Ntombela said it was untrue to claim that only UDF members had been attacked and forced out of their homes. He gave a tour of an Inkatha refugee camp near his home and claimed that more than 80 families were staying there. However, most people in the camp were men and young boys, with only a few women washing clothes and cooking.

Non-Inkatha people said the camp was filled with potential attackers belonging to Mr Ntombela's army.

When asked whether he was not afraid to live in an area vulnerable to attack from non-Inkatha forces, he said: "I am afraid of nothing and nobody except God — and I certainly don't need personal Inkatha body-guards because Jesus stands with me everywhere I go."

Picture by Ken Oosterbroek  
Star 16/11/90

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# Sisulu hits at choice of peace force

The chairman of the ANC's interim leadership corps, Mr Walter Sisulu, yesterday criticised reports that the SADF's 32 Battalion would be deployed in strife-torn Natal.

He said 32 Battalion was a unit consisting mainly of notorious Angolan civil war soldiers and mercenaries from other European countries.

"It is unbelievable that the Government could have decided to choose such a unit for the purpose of keeping peace in the Natal region.

"We cannot but protest very strongly about such an action. We are sure that their presence will aggravate the situation instead of bringing peace."

"We call on the Minister of Defence to withdraw 32 Battalion as soon as possible," he said.

An SADF spokesman said in reply to Mr Sisulu's claim that the battalion he referred to was not yet in Natal.

"The reason for the choice of people who had fought in Angola is the fact that they are neutral and do not have affiliations which could be seen to side with factions involved in the unrest in Natal.

"Earlier, accusations were made that black policemen were taking sides in the Natal unrest. The unit is completely impartial and are presently undergoing orientation briefings," the spokesman said.

The spokesman added that Mr Nelson Mandela had been in favour of bringing impartial troops to Natal. — Sapa.

# The group which will define our future

CPress 157490 (11A) (162A)

**T**HE inclusion of **CHERYL CAROLUS, 32**, in the ANC team of 11 people which will hold exploratory talks with the government on May 2, 3 and 4 may have surprised people outside Cape Town.

But it didn't shock those who know her down in the Cape where she handles the United Democratic Front's publicity.

Tall, lithe and articulate, she became a hit with the media last year when she co-ordinated the Mass Democratic Movement's defiance campaign.

She said of her inclusion: "I don't think it was because of me personally, but because the ANC is recognising the role women have played in the struggle."

A University of the Western Cape graduate, she was the first woman to be detained in Cape Town in 1976. After leaving university, she became a high school teacher.

She and Trevor Manuel became the first joint secretaries of the Western Cape in 1983. Two years later she was working in the UDF's headquarters.

In 1986 she was a member of the UDF delegation which met the ANC in Sweden. She was detained on her return.

Last year she attended the Organisation of African Unity summit where the Harare Declaration was drawn up. In her absence she was elected publicity secretary of the UDF in the Western Cape.

In March this year she married sweetheart and fellow UDF member Graham Bloch.

Another woman in the team is veteran activist **RUTH MOMPATI, 65**, head of the ANC's religious department and member of the National Executive Committee and military council.

She is one of two women who hold top leadership positions in the ANC. She was born in Vryheid.

After her marriage in 1952, Mompoti and her husband went to live in Soweto where she worked as a secretary with Tambo and Mandela's law firm. In 1954 she served on the NCE of the Federation of South African Women.

In 1962 she left the country to help set up the ANC's foreign and underground structures.

Mompoti is a strategist in the military council, and was also the organisation's chief representative in London in the 1980s.

In a recent interview with an overseas newspaper she said: "We have something to offer all South Africans, irrespective of colour or creed. We offer them a free, democratic South Africa."

The rest of the negotiating team comprises:  
**■ ARCHIE GUMEDE, 77:** He joined the ANC in 1944 as Maritzburg assistant regional secretary. A former student of Fort Hare University, Gumedede came into contact with black leaders ZK Matthews and DDT



**Beyers Naude . . . strong Afrikaner background.**

Jabavu, who were lecturers at the college.

Gumedede, a lawyer, participated in defiance action against the extension of the pass laws to women and the introduction of Bantu Education.

In 1963 he was banned for five years under the Suppression of Communism Act. He became founding chairman of the Release Mandela Committee.

When the UDF was formed in 1983, Gumedede, veteran trade unionist Oscar Mphetha, and human rights activist Albertina Sisulu were elected presidents.

**■ NELSON MANDELA, 71:** The deputy president of the ANC was released in February after serving 27 years of his life sentence.

He was the founder of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto We Sizwe.

He matriculated at the Healdtown Methodist Boarding School before enrolling at Fort Hare where he met ANC president Oliver Tambo. Both were expelled for their involvement in a student strike.

Mandela left his home in the Transkei to avoid an arranged marriage, and met Walter Sisulu who introduced him into the ANC. He completed his BA degree in 1941 by correspondence and studied at Wits University for his Lib degree.

In 1944 he helped found the ANC Youth League with Sisulu and Tambo, became national secretary in 1948 and president in 1950.

Mandela and Tambo formed the first black legal partnership in the country in 1952.

In 1952 he was convicted under the Suppression of Communism Act.

Mandela left the country secretly after the banning of the ANC and PAC in 1961 to train as a guerrilla. He returned and led implementation of the M-plan.

**■ THABO MBEKI, 47:** He is the son of Govan Mbeki. He joined the ANC Youth League at Lovedale High School in 1956.

Lovedale was closed down after a student strike, and Mbeki wrote matric through private study in 1959. He completed A-levels in 1961, then enrolled for an economics degree at London University while working underground for the ANC.

He left South Africa in 1962 on the advice of the ANC, and was arrested in then Southern Rhodesia. He was given political asylum by Julius Nyerere in Tanzania and later flew to the UK where he studied for an MA degree in economics at the University of Sussex in 1966.

He received military training in the Soviet Union and moved to Lusaka in 1970. He negotiated in vain for the opening of an ANC office in Botswana, and later became the organisation's acting president in Swaziland from 1975 to April 1976. From December 1976 to February 1978 he served as ANC representative in Nigeria, and later returned to Lusaka.

Mbeki was appointed to the NEC in 1975, and was tipped to be in line for the presidency before Mandela's release.

**■ JOE MODISE, 60:** He was born in Johannesburg and went to school in Kliptown, completing Form III at the Fred Clark Memorial School in Nancefield. He studied privately for his matric.

He worked as a driver and joined the ANC Youth League in Newclare in 1947. Modise played an active role in resisting the removal of Sophiatown, and was arrested in 1954.

He was one of 156 ANC activists charged with treason in 1956, but charges against him were dropped.

When Umkhonto We Sizwe was formed, Modise served on its high command, travelling extensively with Mandela.

The ANC decided he should take charge of MK abroad. He underwent military training in Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union and at the end of 1964 returned to Tanzania.

From 1970 to 1976 he directed the establishment of an underground network in South Africa.

**■ BEYERS NAUDE, 74:** He comes from a strong Afrikaner background, his father Jozua Francoise being one of the pioneers of the Afrikaans language.

Naudede holds an MA degree in languages and is also a graduate of the Stellenbosch School of Theology. He found a home for his political beliefs in the National

Party, but the 1960 Sharpeville emergency changed his views.

In 1961 he became acting regional moderator of the Dutch Reformed Church synod in the southern Transvaal, and was later appointed moderator.

He was a founder member of the Christian Institute which sought to unite all Christians and later resigned his job as moderator to work full time in the Institute. He lost his status as a minister and came under tremendous pressure from security police and the rightwing.

In the 1977 government clampdown on anti-apartheid organisations and activists, Naudede was banned for five years. In 1980 he broke away from the Dutch Reformed Church and was accepted into the NGK in Afrika, a black sister church.

Naudede served as the SACC's secretary-general after Desmond Tutu left the position.

**■ ALFRED NZO, 64:** He matriculated at Healdtown Institute in Fort Beaufort, and later enrolled for a BSc degree at Fort Hare, but dropped out at the end of his second year in 1946.

He joined the ANC Youth League at the university.

In 1951 he completed a health inspector's course and worked in Alexandra township. He mobilised people for the 1952 defiance campaign.

In 1958 he served in the Transvaal and national executive committees of the ANC.

The ANC advised Nzo to leave the country and join the external wing under Tambo in March 1964. He has served as deputy president in Cairo and as chief representative in new Delhi, India.

He was elected secretary-general of the ANC in 1969 and transferred to the Tanzania headquarters.

**■ WALTER SISULU, 78:** He came to Johannesburg from Engcobo in the Transkei, and worked in a gold mine.

In 1940, while working in a bakery in Johannesburg, he organised a strike for higher wages and was fired.

He joined the ANC that year and became Youth League treasurer, taking an increasingly anti-white stand.

During the Second World War, he led a campaign opposing the conscription of blacks.

Sisulu was released from Robben Island after serving 27 years of a life sentence.

After his release, he was appointed internal leader of the ANC.

**■ JOE SLOVO, 63:** He was born in Lithuania in 1926, and came to South Africa with his parents in 1935, aged nine.



**Archie Gumedede . . . ANC stalwart since 1944.**

He graduated from Wits University with a BA Lib degree. He became an advocate at the Johannesburg Bar, defending political trialists.

Slovo was an ardent member of the South African Communist Party.

In 1950, he and his wife Ruth First were among the first 600 people restricted under the Suppression of Communism Act. First was killed by a parcel bomb believed to have been sent from South Africa. The couple was living in exile in Maputo.

In 1955, he contributed to drawing up the Freedom Charter.

He became one of the first members of Umkhonto We Sizwe, attending meetings regularly at Lilliesleaf farm. A month after his escape from South Africa, Sisulu and Mbeki were captured.

In 1977 he moved to Maputo where he established an ANC-SACP base. He became the first white to serve on the NEC.

**■ AHMED KATHRADA:** He was born in Schweizer-Reneke and moved to Johannesburg to attend school, because there were no Indian schools in his hometown.

He became involved in the anti World War II campaigns of the Communist party, joined the Young Communist League in 1941 and also sold the party's newspaper.

He worked closely with the ANC until captured at Rivonia, and was sentenced to life imprisonment on Robben Island.

# US group gets SA foes round Bermuda table

FORMER United States senator Dick Clark has achieved an amazing coup by bringing together South African politicians and academics from both the left and right of the political spectrum.

The gathering is taking place this weekend under the auspices of the Aspen Institute in Bermuda — just a stone's throw away from where British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and US President George Bush met to discuss international peace last week.

But one of the key speakers — ANC International Department head Thabo Mbeki — did not arrive as scheduled.

Mr Mbeki had been asked to spell out the ANC's prerequisites for negotiations with the South African Government, and who would be acceptable to the organisation as negotiation partners.

## Prestige

No reason for Mr Mbeki's absence could be established yesterday, but earlier in the week he failed to appear at a meeting of the Cape Town Press Club, after confirming that he would be the guest speaker.

The Conservative Party's Mr Koos van der Merwe and Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Gerrit Viljoen are at the conference, however, along with NG Kerk Moderator Dr Johan Heyns and the Democratic Party's Mr Colin Eglin.

Others attending the congress are advocate and former Pan Africanist Congress member Dikgang Moseneke, Mr Murphy Morobe of the United Democratic Front, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa of the National Union of Mineworkers and Inkatha

By MARK STANSFIELD  
and NORMAN WEST

secretary-general Dr Oscar Dhlomo.

The meeting opened at the prestigious Lantana Colony Club on Thursday — the date originally set for the first round of talks about talks between the SA Government and the ANC — and ends tomorrow.

Each speaker has been given 30 minutes to speak on a specific subject.

Mr Van der Merwe has been asked to speak on white attitudes to current changes within South Africa and whether the CP can, in its view, win over a majority of white voters. He will also talk on what the international community can do to encourage change within the country.

S(Times 15/4/90

# Mandela admits torture of ANC recruits

ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela admitted yesterday that the ANC had tortured dissident members to extract information.

He said the organisation had established that dissidents who alleged they were tortured by ANC cadres abroad had been speaking the truth.

"Unfortunately, it is true that some of the people who are complaining were, in fact, tortured," he told reporters at an impromptu Jan Smuts Airport news conference before leaving for a rock concert in London in his honour.

"I must state quite firmly that the ANC is against torture or any form of coercion to extract information from those who are suspected of breaking laws and regulations," Mr Mandela said.

## Mutineers

He refused to answer questions on the subject and boarded his flight for London shortly afterwards.

● John Edlin reports from Nairobi:

Seven former ANC guerrillas who claim they were tortured by ANC commanders as mutineers are anxious to return home after seeking sanctuary in Kenya early this year.

"We're still waiting for word when we can go," said Luvo Mbengo, 28, one of the ANC recruits.

The seven, aged between 28 and 33, also said they feared for 100 to 120 fellow dissidents being held against their will at guerrilla training camps in Angola and at Mbarara, Uganda.

The ex-guerrillas said hundreds like them were rounded up in Angola and tortured during interrogation after criticising the leadership for inactivity, corruption and abuse of power.

## Missing

At least 60 of their comrades were killed or had gone missing, and 100 to 120 were believed to be held in ANC detention centres in Angola and Uganda.

They said they sought sanctuary in Kenya illegally after a December visit to the Dakawa camp, 200km west of Dar es Salaam, by ANC army commander Chris Hani to try to defuse unrest among recruits.

Amos Maxongo, a former student who left SA in 1977, said the recruits accused Mr Hani of murdering dissident fighters.

They also alleged Mr Hani and other guerrilla chiefs were involved in the smuggling of stolen cars from SA and diamonds from Angola. — AP



# Tribute to whites who have joined the struggle

By **CONNIE MOLUSI**

*CP/Press  
15/4/68*

*(11A)*

NELSON Mandela paid tribute to white youths who attended the first national congress of the South African Youth Congress (Sayco) in Kangwane on Friday.

Two Cuban women got thundering applause from the 1 500 delegates as Mandela and his wife Winnie hugged them on stage during his keynote address.

Mandela said he was delighted to see a number of whites had crossed the floor to join their fellow citizens.

He launched a scathing attack on Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht for attempting to raise white fears by spreading false rumours in the white community.

Mandela said Treurnicht wanted to disrupt the forthcoming meeting between the government and the ANC.

Greg McCartans from the Young Socialists' Alliance in the US delighted militant delegates with a hardline message of support spiced with an explanation of the growth of socialism in contemporary America.

McCartans said that after spending several weeks in South Africa witnessing mass demonstrations, protests and rallies, he was convinced the struggle was unstoppable.

A message of support was received from the ANC National Youth Secretariat in Lusaka, who were unable to attend the conference because of lack of clarity on the issue of indemnity for returning exiles.

Other messages of support came from the Danish Socialist People's Party and the National Council of Swedish Youth.

*continued*



25 people dead.

A WAVE of violence has swept across the country leaving a trail of death, destruction and tragedy in two weeks of deepening turmoil.

Now the government is clamping down on trouble-makers, leaving an uneasy calm hanging over most of the affected areas.

According to unconfirmed reports, more than 135 people have died throughout the country since last Friday.

- In Khutsong, 25 people are believed to have been killed since violence broke out last weekend;
- In the Ciskei, 20 people died and more than 300 were injured in the aftermath of the coup;
- In GaRankuwa, at least seven people died and almost 500 were injured;
- In Katlehong, 25 people died and about 200 were injured; and
- In Gazankulu and Venda, at least 60 people died in incidents of witchhunts, labour and political turmoil.

By Friday afternoon the latest unrest report stated that police had detained dozens of blacks in a crack-down on violence sweeping the country.

Those being detained were "trouble-makers, not black political activists" said a spokesman. The arrests were confined to South Africa's four provinces and not the 10 homelands.

Meanwhile, ANC vice-president Nelson Mandela is to cut short his visit to Sweden this week. He is understood to be anxious to return following Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok's statement that he plans to crack down on violence.

Violence first erupted in the Western Transvaal's Khutsong township outside Carletonville, followed by the Ciskei's coup which resulted in a R10,5 million destruction of industrial complexes and other properties.

In Khutsong, angry residents and members of the local civic association claim they are in a "war zone".

Unrest also swept through almost the entire Ciskei last week, following the bloodless coup.

All that remained of scores of supermarkets, bottlestores, factories, hotels and government buildings were burnt-out shells.

Twenty people were reported to have died and more than 300 injured.

This week South African security forces moved into Ciskei to put an end to the looting and burning which followed Sunday's coup.

The violence spread to GaRankuwa, west of Pretoria and Katlehong in the East Rand.

In GaRankuwa seven people died and more than 450 were treated for bullet wounds when thousands of residents marched to the local magistrate's court demanding the immediate resignation of President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana and reincorporation into South Africa.

The simmering tension in Bophuthatswana flared up on Wednesday, when more than 50 000 people gathered at a centre in the nearby Mabopane township before winding their

■ To Page 5

**T**HIS week I watched with amazement a Cliff Saunders TV interview with leaders of the PAC and the ANC who were expected to spell out their political differences.

At any given time, a debate between these two organisations is expected to be a big attraction - particularly given the political, social and economical situation in South Africa today.

But before I become an instant TV critic, let me refresh your memory about what happened in the late Sixties when American TV moguls tried to stage a debate between fiery Muslim leader the late Malcolm X and famous civil rights leader the late Rev Martin Luther King Jr.

White and black Americans were keen to see a TV debate between these two fighters for equality, justice and black pride. They were disappointed when both men refused a debate.

The reason was simple. There was nothing to debate. Although they agreed they differed in strategy, this did not mean they had problems with each other. The problem was white America.

Undaunted by this snub, influential TV owners later tried again, this time to promote another debate between Chicago-based Muslim leader Louis Farakhan and civil rights leader Rev Jesse Jackson.

Farakhan refused to go on the box saying he would not compromise his principles by appearing on a commercial media that used blacks to wash their own dirty linen in public.

To paraphrase Farakhan, he said: "Why do Jews not debate with Jews or whites with whites on matters they differ on? Why must it always be blacks who must fight against each other in public?"

Farakhan has since been labelled a racist and a "Jew-hater", because of his anti-Semitic views.

Jackson also got into hot water and lost many votes in New York in his first presidential attempt because of his alleged

MY WAY

With Khulu Sibiy

# Did debate on TV help the politicians?



The ANC's Patrick Lekota.



The PAC's Benny Alexander.

remarks about New York Jews.

But back to that interview between Benny Alexander of the PAC and Patrick Lekota of the ANC.

Many white South Africans are keen to know what the two organisations think and stand for.

For almost 30 years, when they were silenced by

the government, many whites did not raise a finger of protest.

Most whites probably thought the government was doing its best to protect their interests.

By doing this, a myth has been created around these organisations and their leaders.

Today, as was the case on Network on Thursday night, leaders of both the PAC and the ANC were able to speak freely without fear of intimidation or harassment from the authorities.

With the ANC openly in favour of negotiations and the preliminary talks back on track after being derailed by the killings in Sebokeng, interest among black and white people has been enhanced.

The no-compromise policy of the PAC on negotiations has also raised interest locally and abroad. Also, its popularity and membership has been questioned in the past.

It is common knowledge the PAC and ANC leadership are sensitive to the question of forming an alliance against apartheid rule.

Millions of viewers in this country would pay anything to watch a slanging match between the PAC and the ANC. Some would be interested to know what strategies these organisations have planned.

Others, of course, would be delighted to see wider divisions being created among black people.

Were those black Americans right by sounding a warning about black-on-black TV debates? Who gains afterwards?

Did Lekota and Alexander gain any mileage out of the interview? In my mind they are now more divided than when they went on the box.

Lekota said the PAC has no constituency and no following, so its leadership was able to say anything because they were not accountable to anyone.

Alexander refuted this, saying since the PAC was unbanned it had gained members to such an extent it was unable to keep track.

I was left speechless by the interview.

The time is not yet right for a public debate questioning the credentials of the ANC and PAC.

Masemola;

<sup>CONFIDENTIAL</sup>  
PAC to <sup>19/4/90</sup>  
<sup>11/11</sup> probe death

JOHANNESBURG. —  
The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) is to appoint a firm of attorneys to establish the exact circumstances surrounding the death of its founder member Mr Japhta Masemola.

PAC spokesman Mr Mark Shinnars also said yesterday that Mr Masemola's funeral had been tentatively set for April 29, although arrangements had not yet been finalised.

According to Johannesburg newspaper reports yesterday, Mr Masemola, of Atteridgeville, Pretoria, died on Tuesday when his car and a truck collided at a T-junction on the Brits-Rosslyn road.

Mr Masemola was taken by ambulance to hospital only an hour after the accident.

He died at the hospital after being admitted. —  
Sapa

# 'Homes fund': ANC welcomes probe

The Argus  
Correspondent

17/4/90  
11/11  
11/11  
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11/11

JOHANNESBURG. —  
The African National  
Congress (ANC) has  
denied any knowledge  
of the existence of a  
fund which "guaran-  
teed" domestic work-  
ers their employers'  
homes in the future  
South Africa.

And it has welcomed  
a national investigation  
launched by police into  
allegations of the exis-  
tence of such a fund.

The ANC's reaction  
follows panic among  
some white homeowners  
in Durban and the Reef  
after incidents in which  
they were told by their  
domestic workers that  
the homes belonged not  
to the owners but to the  
domestic workers who  
had been contributing to  
an alleged ANC fund  
which guaranteed them  
their employers' houses  
when the ANC came to  
power.

A spokesman for the  
ANC in Lusaka, Mr Tom  
Sebina, said: "Taking  
over white homes is not  
on the ANC's agenda.  
We would welcome a  
police investigation to  
find the criminal ele-  
ment defaming ANC."

## Workers' union

The internal leader of  
the ANC, Mr Walter Si-  
sulu, said there was no  
way the ANC could be  
involved in something of  
this nature.

The South African Do-  
mestic Workers' Union  
(Sadwa) has urged do-  
mestic workers to sup-  
ply the police or Sadwa  
with information about  
the alleged "ANC men"  
who were taking their  
money.

A police spokesman in  
Pretoria has asked do-  
mestic workers and  
their employers to come  
forward with informa-  
tion which could help  
the investigation.



□ MASEMOLA . . . career of politics

# Masemola: the 'real blood tiger' of the PAC

11A

B70any 19/4/90

PAC founder member and former long-term Robben Island prisoner Japhta Masemola, 58, who died after a car accident on Tuesday, rejected negotiations on the country's political future — as well as suggestions that his organisation was made up of paper tigers.

In an interview after his release from prison last October, he said: "We are not paper tigers. We are the real blood tigers."

Masemola, a former teacher, served 25 years of a life sentence imposed on July 2 1963.

After the PAC and ANC were outlawed in 1960, Masemola was assigned the task of creating Poqo, the PAC's military wing. He was arrested, and sentenced to life imprisonment for blowing up powerlines and sending cadres out of the country for

military training.

In recent interviews, Masemola said the PAC stood firmly against "negotiating for what belongs to the people". Government would never allow blacks to enjoy the same political rights as whites "as it knew it would be voted out of power".

On the morning of his death he said he hoped President F W de Klerk would "not make the mistake of satisfying the wishes of the conservative whites and the expense of justice for the oppressed and peace for all".

That would be a political blunder De Klerk would live to regret.

He said the PAC was committed to achieving a non-racial Azania with land for all who worked it, and that there would be a place in Azania for everyone who regarded himself as an African without regard to colour

and other demeaning criteria introduced by colonialists and propagated by the NP.

Masemola was the second longest serving prisoner after ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, who was released in February.

He has been described by his PAC comrades as a man with a burning desire to help his people to help themselves. Born on the December 12 1931, he qualified as a teacher and joined the ANC Youth League in the early '50s. He established various organisational structures in Atteridgeville near Pretoria.

At the time, the youth league was intent on setting the ANC on a more confrontational road with the authorities.

Masemole rose through the ranks and was soon aligned with the group

led by the late Robert Sobukwe. When the PAC split from the ANC in 1959, Masemola assumed a leadership role in the Transvaal, which ended with his imprisonment.

While in prison he completed a BA degree through Unisa. On his release he returned to live in Atteridgeville.

Prison had not broken his spirit. "The fire burns more fiercely than before," he said.

Politics would remain his occupation until he died or the situation in SA had changed drastically, he said.

The PAC said yesterday Masemola had been invited by the UN special committee against apartheid to address the 14th anniversary of June 16 in New York. He had also received several invitations from "progressive organisations" in Western countries and Africa. — Sapa.

REVIEW

meeting on May 2 when Van Wijk's resignation would be formally noted.

"The council would not have asked him to resign at this stage even if they did want him to go and could technically ask him to," she said.

# Rival groups' shock at PAC leader's death

THE ANC, UDF and Azapo, all rivals of the PAC, yesterday expressed shock and regret at the death on Tuesday after a motor accident near Pretoria of PAC leader Japhta Masemola.

Masemola was released from prison after 26 years last October, together with seven ANC leaders.

One of them, ANC executive member Walter Sisulu, said it was tragic Masemola met his untimely death when prospects for the realisation of the goal to which he had dedicated his entire life appeared brighter.

UDF general secretary Popo Molefe said his death was a loss to "the entire liberation movement".

Azapo publicity secretary Strini Moodley said Masemola had become a "symbol of black resistance and held a special place in the hearts of

ALAN FINE

Black Consciousness Movement cadres on Robben Island even outside the prison walls".

Sapa reports the PAC is to appoint a firm of attorneys to establish the exact circumstances surrounding the death of its founder member.

PAC spokesman Mark Shinnars also said yesterday Masemola's funeral had been tentatively set for April 29. *5/20/90*

Shinnars said the PAC would gather evidence at the scene of the accident, Ga-Rankuwa hospital and De Wildt police station.

Although he would not say whether foul play was suspected in the accident, Shinnars said police would not allow them immediately to tow Ma-

semola's car from the scene of the accident, although permission was given later.

Masemola was allegedly taken by ambulance to hospital only an hour after the accident, reporters were told.

He died at the hospital after being admitted.

Masemola had been instrumental in the consolidation of the PAC structures in Pretoria and other parts of the country, the PAC said in a statement.

"On his release he had moved through the length and breadth of our country, addressing rallies and meetings, calling on our people not to compromise, but to fight on until final victory was achieved."

● See Page 4

There are two sets of clues, but the answers are the same

Moodley said Masemola had become a "symbol of black resistance and held a special place in the hearts of

foul play was sus-  
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## 150 youths flee to Lusaka

ALAN FINE

ABOUT 150 youths have fled from Natal to Lusaka in the past two weeks to seek sanctuary with the ANC from violence in the province, ANC spokesman Tom Sebina said yesterday.

He said most had been flown to Lusaka from Swaziland via Maputo with the assistance of the UN High Commission for Refugees, after being told by the authorities they could not stay in Swaziland.

ANO reports the people range in age up to 24, while one four-year-old child had also arrived. All were well.

□ Sapa reports five people died — three of them women necklaced to death near Port Shepstone — in violence reported by police yesterday.

Another man was stabbed to death and a woman injured at Imball, Pietermaritzburg, after a mob petrol bombed and stormed a house.

□ Sapa reports from Ulundi that a former Inkatha member, Gideon Mdletshe, was shot dead when unknown assailants, armed with AK-47 rifles, attacked his home at Esikhawini, Empangeni.

A KwaZulu traffic policeman was critically wounded in Umlazi when he was shot in the stomach by a mob.

□ KwaZulu police announced they had arrested four people in connection with the killing of Rifleman Stoney van Wyk of the Cape regiment at Mpumalanga at the weekend.

□ At a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday the SA Youth Congress (Sayco) alleged members of Inkatha had been sent to Israel for military training.

Sayco said it had videotaped evidence of Inkatha "defectors" who allegedly revealed Inkatha had sent youths to Israel for military training "against apartheid and against the ANC".

Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi described the Sayco claims as "untrue and patently ridiculous".



WE just couldn't believe it ... to die after getting freed after 27 years in prison. He wanted to do so much," Mrs Dorah Maodi said after the death of her brother, PAC founder member and long-term Robben Island prisoner Japhta Masemola.

Her brother died on Tuesday, having been admitted to Ward 1 of the Garankuwa Hospital after a car smash.

Masemola, a former teacher, was released from Diepkloof Prison on October 15 along with seven African National Congress leaders after serving 25 years of a life sentence imposed on him on July 2 1963 (He was in prison at the time of sentencing).

A staunch critic of the current trend of negotiation politics, Masemola once said politics would remain his occupation until he died or the situation changed drastically. On his release, he was quoted as saying that the PAC stood firmly against "negotiating for what belongs to the people" and, in his own valiant style, that: "We are not paper tigers. We are the real blood tigers."

## Prisoner

Earlier on the morning of his death, the PAC's political tiger said that he hoped President de Klerk would "not make the mistake of satisfying the wishes of the conservative whites at the expense of justice for the oppressed and peace for all" as that would be a political blunder he would live to regret.

He said the PAC was committed to achieving a non-racial Azania with land for all who worked it and that there would be a place in Azania for everyone who regarded himself as an African, without regard to colour and other demeaning criteria introduced by colonialists and propagated by the National Party.

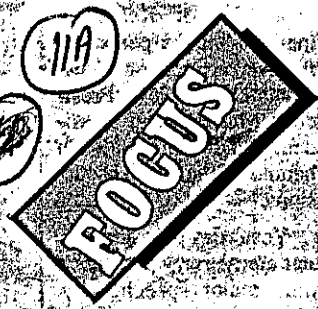
Masemola was the longest-serving prisoner released in early February this year.

Speaking of his time behind bars, he said prison had not broken his spirit. "The fire burns more fiercely than before," he said.

Masemola has been described by his PAC comrades as a man with a burning desire to help his people help themselves. Born on the December 12 1931, he qualified as a teacher and then entered the hurly-burly world of politics when he joined the ANC Youth League in the early '50s.

# Masemola was 'not a paper tiger'

*Sowetan 19/4/90*



He established various structures in Atteridgeville near Pretoria.

At the time, the youth league was intent on setting the ANC on a more confrontational road with the authorities.

## Military wing

Masemola rose through the ranks and was soon aligned with the activists led by the late Robert Sobukwe. When the PAC split from the ANC in 1959, he assumed the leadership role of the new organisation in the Transvaal.

After the Government outlawed the PAC and the ANC in 1960, Masemola was assigned the task of creating Poqo, the PAC's military wing. He was arrested in early 1963 and sentenced to life imprisonment for blowing up powerlines and sending cadres out of the country for military training.

## Inspiring

He completed a BA degree through Unisa while he was in prison and was registered for an Honours course in literature when he died.

A spokesman for the PAC said Masemola had been an inspiration to the politically alienated black youth who had no faith in the present negotiations between the ANC and the Government. "The shock of his sudden death is still hard to accept but his spirit will live on in the PAC," said the spokesman. - Sapa.



The late Japhta Masemola

## The SA Media Council

THE South African Media Council is an independent body established to deal with various matters affecting media reporting and comment.

One of the council's functions is to receive and act upon complaints from mem-

bers of the public who have not been able to get satisfaction by approaching a newspaper or other news media directly.

Complaints must relate to published editorial matter and should be lodged within 10 days of publication. But

late complaints may be accepted if good reasons can be advanced.

The address is: The Councillor/Registrar, SA Media Council, PO Box 5222, Cape Town 8000. Telephone: (021) 461-7317. Inquiries are welcome.

From A SPECIAL WRITER

JOHANNESBURG. — "Have they got diplomatic status?"

This was the nervous question posed by an estate agent to a (white) friend who accompanied my wife and me on a tour of a show house in a suburb near here.

The house was not to our liking and we never saw the agent again — he was the only person, during our entire search for a house in this city, who made us feel like "illegals".

The truth is, our experience is one of over-eager agents ready to do business, be of service and make a "buck".

Moving from a township house in Cape Town, it was of course a new experience to be able to scan thick property supplements in newspapers for houses on the market.

# Ginger cookies and nerves — but no midnight knocks

The easy part was finding a suitable house.

Our own nervousness started after we purchased a house and had to move to a new (white) neighbourhood. It was compounded by the fact that we refused to do so on the much-hated permit system.

## Insecurity

Our worry about a permit has, however, proved unfounded up to today. The only insecurity and hesitancy were in our own hearts and minds.

Some time after the removal firm unloaded our belongings, I

worried about a possible police knock at the door or a "meneer" from a government department who had the responsibility of keeping what is white, pure white.

The fact that our neighbours on both sides arrived at our front door on the day we moved in with a chocolate cake and ginger cookies helped, but did not put us entirely at ease.

So often I have heard that it is not usually the immediate neighbours who feel threatened but some troubled soul somewhere in the neighbourhood who has heard

of an "inkspot" in the area.

Three years after we had moved in, we had made good friends beyond our immediate neighbourhood got elected on the school committee and joined the neighbourhood watch.

We were quite sad when moved to another (white) neighbourhood three months ago.

## Ginger cookies

In our new neighbourhood, we were not that concerned when we were not greeted with ginger cookies because, by then, we were



South African comedian Lenny Henry (left) shouting to the crowd in Washington

# Open city?

South 19/4-25/4/90

## 'Of course we are liberal. We just don't like black neighbours'

APARTHEID must go. Scrap the Group Areas Act.

These cries have become so familiar, especially in Cape Town, that a part of me started to believe most whites in my hometown were bracing themselves for change and that a few were actually looking forward to it.

I started to imagine a town that was stubbornly throwing off the old order and moving towards a future South Africa at a pace that would leave our Northern cousins breathless and intrigued.

Reality, however, differs from newspaper headlines and party political slogans.

I have been house-hunting for the past month. Despite my tentative optimism, I decided to give the Northern Suburbs a miss.

## Ensnoced

Let's go house-hunting in those places where the Democratic Party is comfortably ensnoced, where the teachers and pupils of government schools have begged for the admission of other races and where racist terms have disappeared from the dinner table vocabulary, I thought.

I soon found that it was extremely naive to assume, when a neighbourhood signpost proclaimed: "White English-Speaking Liberal", that people there would be pleased to see the great political change knocking at their front doors.

My second mistake was failing to say very clearly when making the initial telephone inquiries that I was black.

The first woman with whom I spoke said she was very pleased I had responded so promptly because they had terminated their lease unexpectedly.

## Hasty move

We had a pleasant chat and she told me I would be the first person coming to view the house.

However, when she opened the door of the house in the real Rondebosch — not the Eastern bloc — the pleasant tone went right out of her voice.

Her facial muscles worked hard to produce a smile which she did not feel.

There was no more friendly chat



about their hasty move.

"I suppose I had better show you around," she said, making a few uncertain 360 degree turns, with her hand waving towards the interior.

At the end of my tour of the house she told me, for the first time, that some agents were also trying to let it. She and her husband had however, placed the newspaper advert themselves.

The following day she phoned and said in a voice that had by now recovered some of its casual chattiness that the agents had — unbeknown to her and her husband, dear oh dear — narrowed down their search to two very likely people.

Oh well, I thought, we have after all become a nation of fast movers.

These people had turned up, made it to the agents and been virtually approved in less than a day.

Two weeks later the house, near Rondebosch common, was still being advertised and the wording had been changed to make it sound more appealing.

Meanwhile, I called the same agent once more to ask whether she had anything else near the City.

She rattled off a monologue about the shortage of rented accommodation, the problems at this time of year, the scant chances of finding anything close to town — any noise except the obvious and unspoken reason.

Then, later in the week, I answered an ad for a house in Newlands. I spoke to the owner who had, by sheer coincidence, employed the same simpering agent.

When I told her this agent had said she had no suitable houses on her books, the owner said:

"Oh well, it doesn't bother me that you are coloured, but I'm not sure — if I let you sign the lease — whether I would have you by the short and curly if anything went wrong," she said, and for the first time I laughed at a response to my attempts to make a little inroad into the Group Areas Act.

After I had viewed the house, she told me there was one other person interested — but I would have the next option if he did not take it.

Here we go again, I thought, just an excuse to make her appear to be a decent person.

But at the end of the day, her agent — the one with the big company and no houses anywhere — called me to say the owner had instructed her that I could sign the lease if I still wanted the place.

The whole experience left me



# Mandela mania!



GUEST OF HONOUR: A beaming Mandela acknowledges the cheers

POP and politics joined forces again at Wembley Stadium on Monday when more than 80 000 people braved a wet and cold London night for the Mandela Concert to see the ANC legend live.

It was Mandela's first appearance in London since his 1962 visit as a fugitive on the run.

The crowd was entertained by a line-up of some of the world's top artists and musicians — but Mandela was the undoubted star of the show.

"Last time (at Mandela's 70th birthday celebration at Wembley) there were 72 000 people in the audience, but we were one man short," yelled the compere, comedian Lenny Henry.

"Nelson, Nelson," chanted the crowd.

### Bitter cold

They danced, they chanted, they sang, but above all they waited — for four hours in bitter cold and through a hailstorm to welcome the man they revere as a symbol of their own struggle against British racism and oppression.

The usual gauntlet of leftwing peddlers, brandishing their wares and newspapers, lined the road from the railway station.

Members of the "Marxist Workers' Tendency of the ANC", a group long ago expelled from the ANC, rattled their collection buckets.

**The Mandela Concert in the Wembley football stadium this week was a climax of years of anti-apartheid activities in Britain. It sent out a clear message through music and Mandela to hundreds of millions of people throughout the world that the struggle against apartheid had not yet ended. MOIRA LEVY was there:**

White British youths from the Revolutionary Communist Party of Britain handed out leaflets advertising a PAC public meeting.

A ticket tout, resplendent in a "Free Mandela" T-shirt, harangued what he took to be a mixed couple: "You are a liar because you're with a Paki (Pakistani)", he yelled after the woman — somewhat incomprehensively, as the man turned out to be a dark-skinned but nevertheless white South African.

There were the few who came only for the party, but they stayed for the politics. The opening number, Aswad's "Set Them Free", set the pace for the night of tribute.

The crowd was on its feet for "Free Nelson Mandela", introduced by a clearly moved Jerry Dammers: "This song is now history. I never dreamed the day would come when I could sing this before Mandela."

To applause he continued, "But I

don't believe he is truly free because he still does not have the right to vote in his own country.

"Two years ago we put our hearts and minds together to wish and pray for the release of Mandela. Now if we put our heart and minds together, who knows, in a year, maybe six months, all of South Africa's people could be free."

Welcoming Mandela, Neil Young — sporting a black leather jacket emblazoned on the back with the ANC colours and a "sanctions now" declaration — said: "I hope freedom for all your people follows real soon."

### Spine-chilling

Waves of fists were raised in a massive demonstration of British support for the sanctions campaign when Denzel Washington, star of the movie "Biko", led them in chanting, "Don't give up now".

The performers set the theme, the

mood was set by a spine-chilling solo by South African exiled musician, Jones Gwangwa, who played Nkosi Sikilele i'Afrika on his trombone while the crowd raised lighted candles in the dark.

Then Mandela appeared, beaming, fist raised for the crowd, and for a full six minutes Wembley rang with the cheers of a standing ovation.

The crowd stayed on its feet throughout his speech. Meant to last 15 minutes, it ran for more than half an hour as each demand and declaration was met by ringing applause.

"Thank you that you chose to care, because you could have decided otherwise," Mandela began. "Thank you that you chose not to forget, because our fate could have been a passing concern."

In a live broadcast beamed to a billion people across the world, Mandela made a no-holds-barred call to maintain sanctions. In a reference to lead-

ers such as Margaret Thatcher, he said: "Do not listen to anyone who says that you must give up the struggle against apartheid. Reject any suggestion that the campaign to isolate the apartheid system should be wound down."

"It is only those who support apartheid who can argue that the Pretoria government should be rewarded for the small steps it has taken.

"The reward the people of South Africa, of Southern Africa, and the rest of the world seek is the end of apartheid and the transformation of our country into a non-racial democracy."

Mandela departed from his prepared speech to pay tribute to ANC president Oliver Tambo, recuperating from a stroke in a Swedish clinic.

### Tribute to Tambo

Then it was Tracy Chapman's turn — "talking about a revolution, finally the tables are starting to turn".

She was joined by Peter Gabriel for a harmony, "Dont Give Up".

Then came Simple Minds with "Mandela Day" and finally, together on the platform, Chrissie Hynde, Little Stevie and the others for the re-sounding boycott anthem, "We Ain't Gonna Play Sun City".



NELSON IS COMING and American actor D moments before Mand

PICS

BY

REUTERS



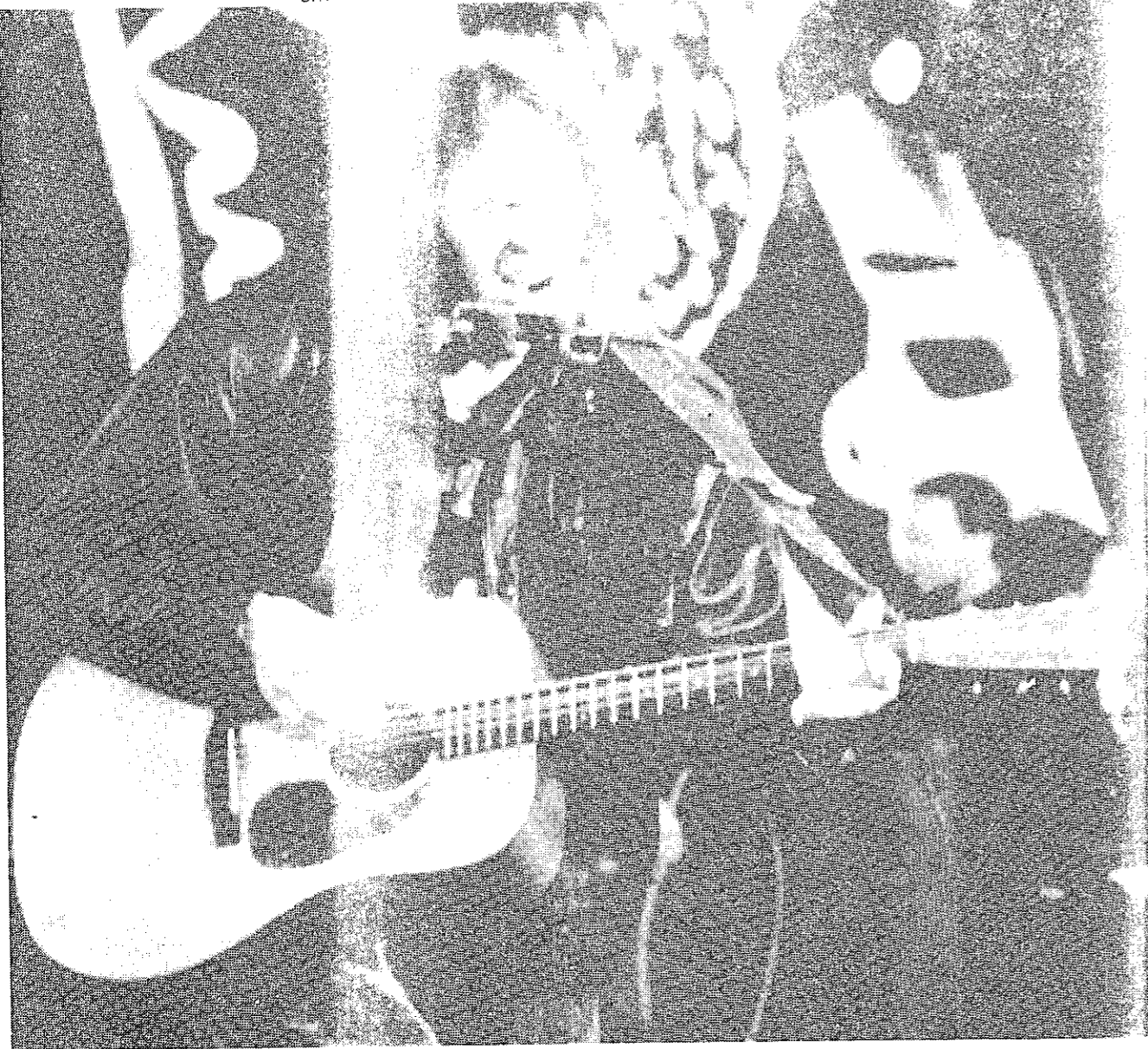
GUEST OF HONOUR: A bear  
che

Mandela acknowledges the

railway station.

Members of the "Marxist Workers' Tendency of the ANC", a group long ago expelled from the ANC, rattled their collection buckets.

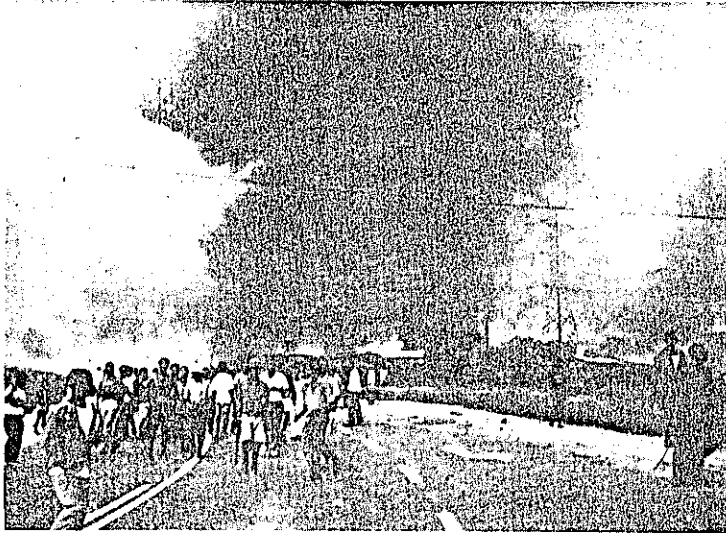
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CANADIAN STAR: Rock star Neil Young performs at the sell-out concert in honour of Mandela



ROCK WITH NELSON: Part of the huge crowd at the Wembley concert. The concert was beamed worldwide to audience estimated at 1 billion



**FLASHBACK:** Smoke billows from destroyed homes in Natal as residents flee from death



**FLASHBACK:** Residents in Natal guard their houses with home-made weapons

WHEN the African National Congress takes over power in South Africa, it will uphold the idea of a multi-party democracy that tolerates the political views of others — even Inkatha.

This assurance is given by Patrick "Terror" Lekota, the ANC's Natal coordinator.

The ANC is "totally opposed" to armed force to solve the differences between it and Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's group, he says.

"The very people who constitute membership of Inkatha are ordinary men and women who are suffering under apartheid. The struggle we are waging is also a struggle for their freedom.

"It is therefore important that members of the UDF, the ANC, Cosatu and all other allied organisations must make it plain that they are committed to freedom not of one section of the population or the other, of the members of one organisation or the other.

**An ANC government will uphold the idea of a multi-party democracy**

"We are interested in the freedom of the entire people.

"Even when the movement takes power in this country, it will uphold the idea of a multi-party democracy — which implies the tolerance of the political views of others, even those who disagree with us sharply," says Lekota.

He suggests to the people of Natal to stop the fighting, that the mentality, "I belong to this party, and you belong to that party", as the reason for the bloody conflict there undermines the commitment to democracy and a multi-party system.

**'People say the police give Inkatha members guns and bullets'**

Lekota says the ANC believes the search for peace in Natal is a worthy effort and that peace will be reached, even though previous peace talks have failed.

A solution could be found if the "poor communications" between the ANC and Inkatha are opened and improved.

He remarks, however, that there appears to be a feeling that Inkatha is not serious about talks.

"As things stand now, it is very difficult that any lines of communication can begin to operate between ourselves and Chief Buthelezi.

# All shall be free — even Inkatha

"De Klerk is clearly committed towards Buthelezi as an ally. He therefore cannot be trusted with a task of this nature."

The UDF recently launched a campaign to have the security forces removed from the townships.

**'We are interested in the freedom of the entire people'**

Lekota says "the people on the ground" corroborate the view that the level of violence in Natal will subside if the police are removed.

"They are saying that Inkatha attacks them because it enjoys the protection of the police, because the police give the Inkatha members guns and bullets."

Popular defence units have been set up after reports were received of imminent attacks by Inkatha on residents of Umlazi and Clermont.

"It is doubtful that we will be able to appeal to the other side to desist because that process has been going on for a long time and we have not been successful in it," Lekota says.

**'De Klerk is committed towards Buthelezi as an ally'**

Talks with Inkatha are taking place, but on an informal basis. Dilitza Mji, a representative of the UDF/Cosatu joint working committee, and Numsa's Alec Erwin, for instance, have been involved in talks with Frank Mdlalose, the KwaZulu minister of health and an Inkatha central committee member, and Oscar Dhlomo, Inkatha's secretary general.

However, Lekota says, some of Inkatha members involved in these talks are "not very popular within their own ranks". They also appear not to have influence and control over their constituency.

He puts the number of refugees from the conflict in Natal at 15 000 and says the government should declare parts of the province a disaster area.

The government should also set up trust funds to re-house these refugees and tend to their material needs.

**The ANC is fighting for freedom also for Inkatha members — so the fighting in Natal should stop. People under an ANC government would still be free to belong to Inkatha. So says Patrick "Terror" Lekota, the ANC's Natal coordinator. He spoke to FAROUK CHOTHIA:**



Patrick "Terror" Lekota

At the same time, political education should be intensified in the townships, so that various affiliate organisations can have an in-depth understanding of the cause and sources of, and participants in, the conflict.

"We believe that — with a deeper understanding of the problem — the communities involved will tend to be in a better position to contribute in the search for peace," Lekota says.

He agrees that, while the ANC is trying to secure support in Natal,

Inkatha appears to be wanting to assert its authority and prevent the movement from doing so.

"Many of our supporters have been driven out of areas in which Inkatha has control.

"We have no intention of stopping any organisation from seeking membership and from winning people towards its own policies.

"However, the fact that the others are doing this kind of thing means they are not committed to democracy in the sense that we understand democracy.

"If the trend persists, any election in the regions would not accurately reflect the views and feelings of people. It is a matter of deep concern to us," says Lekota.

It is in the ANC's interest to have peace so that it can communicate its message more effectively.

**'We have no intention of stopping any organisation from winning people to its own policies'**

"It is in the interest of those who have no message that they should make as much noise as possible, to make it impossible for people to hear what the liberation movement has to say," Lekota says.

"The intensification of the conflict is calculated to create an atmosphere in which the movement — now unbanned, clearly very popular and armed with a viable policy — should not be in a position to communicate with the masses of the people."

**'The resolution of the conflict does not depend on bringing in additional police'**

If the security forces are withdrawn, the government and the leadership of credible organisations should agree on who will maintain law and order in the townships.

"The resolution of the Natal conflict does not depend on bringing additional police and the army into the townships because of the known role they have played there," he maintains.

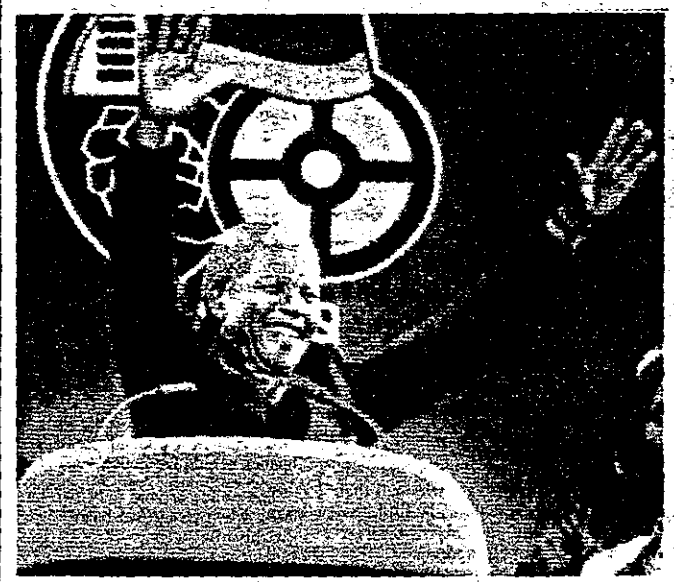
Lekota believes the conflict will make it difficult to debate, but it cannot be allowed to stop the negotiation process.

"The liberation movement will not instruct MK to attack and fight until or unless the talks do not proceed or fail." — NEW AFRICAN

# Councils collapse

11A

South 19/4 - 25/4/90

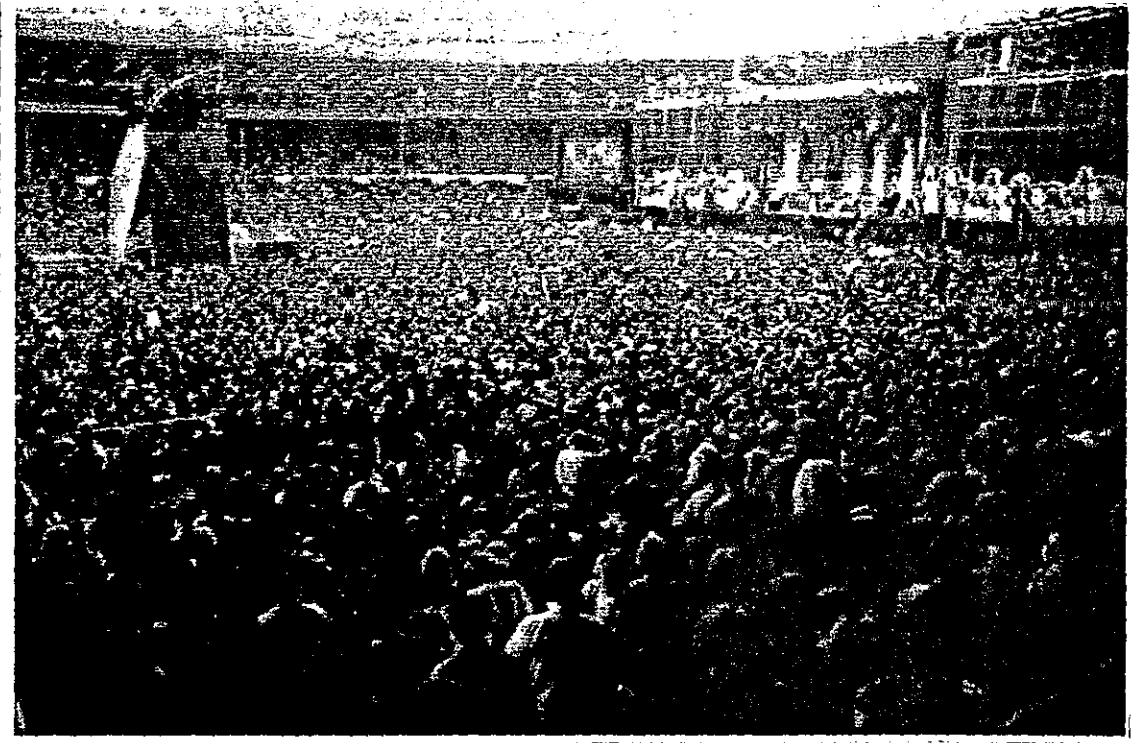


## A man in a billion

*South 19/4 - 25/4/90* (11A)

Nelson Mandela (left) was billed as the star of the show. And there was no doubt in the minds of the more than 80 000 people (below) who crammed into Wembley soccer stadium in London on Monday that the ANC leader supremely fitted the bill. They danced, chanted and sang as they waited for hours in bitter cold for the one man they had come to see. The concert was broadcast to an estimated TV audience of a billion people.

● See Pages 8 and 17



MOUNTING community protests sweeping the country have thrown third-tier government structures into disarray.

The latest body to quit this week is the Robertson Coloured Management Committee.

Its decision comes in the wake of a police shooting last Wednesday in which scores of people attending a civic meeting were injured.

So far at least 100 councillors throughout the country have resigned, with many third-tier structures either facing a shortage of councillors or unable to operate because they lack quorums.

In the Eastern Cape the collapse of the Zankucinga town council in Jansenville after it was revealed that the councillors were "misusing" funds meant for job-creation schemes, has brought to nine the number of councils which have resigned en bloc.

### Flee

The toppling of the government-created structures has been dramatic but bloodless compared to the 1985 and 1986 turbulence when several councillors were killed and most had to flee townships.

The resignation of the entire eight-man Robertson management committee has come about as a result of community pressure and anger over a shooting incident described by several of them as "unnecessary".

Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok has responded to an outcry over the Robertson incident by announcing a top-level probe into the shooting.

However, at a packed meeting in the small Boland town on Wednesday evening, angry residents reiterated their demand for an inquiry.

Mr Fred Booysen, spokesperson for the Rob-



Adriaan Vlok

ertson Interim Committee, said they had lost faith in the police and wanted an impartial inquiry.

Lawyer Mr Essa Moosa, representing the Robertson community, confirmed that a letter demanding an inquiry had been sent to Vlok.

● See pages 3 and 5

### Come to the Big Top!

The people who make a circus work

● Page 12

### Busting 'Drug City'

Angry residents take on peddlers

● Page 2

# ANC at May Day rally

A MASSIVE ANC May Day rally is being planned to take place in Cape Town on May 1.

The rally will precede talks between the government and a top ANC team, scheduled to begin the following day.

It will combine a traditional May Day programme with input from

the ANC.

Events scheduled to take place include marches from different areas, cultural events and a briefing from the ANC.

A May Day picnic is being organised by the South African Clothing and Textile Workers' Union (Sactwu) at Zeeko-evlei on the following Saturday, May 5.

South 19/4 - 25/4/90

11A

FW tells ANC: End violence, stop preaching armed struggle

Star 18/4/90 (11A)

# Govt's bottom line for talks

By Peter Fabricius,  
Political Correspondent

**CAPE TOWN — The Government will insist during talks with the ANC starting on May 2 that the movement must abandon violence and stop preaching the armed struggle.**

President de Klerk laid down the Government's bottom line for negotiations when he addressed Parliament during the debate on his vote yesterday.

He said the ANC's continued commitment to the armed struggle and the violence in the country were obstacles to negotiation.

Mr de Klerk said the Government insisted on an "unequivocal commitment" to peaceful solutions which included the cessation of violence and of preaching the armed struggle.

The ANC's continued commitment to the armed struggle was an obstacle to negotiation, "even if it were merely rhetorical".

The President said that since the elections on September 6 last year, the Government had made good progress in removing obstacles to negotiation.

"The initiative is in our hands and we have at our disposal the means to ensure that the process of negotiation and change proceeds peacefully.

"However, the ball is not only in the Government's court. Every other leader also has a responsibility."

Leaders outside Parliament, especially those of the ANC, had to "moderate their statements in the realisation that negotiation is a process of debate and agreement, of giving and taking".

"If the quest by anyone is for vic-

tory before negotiation, negotiation becomes meaningless. A realistic climate of negotiation and realistic negotiations envisage peaceful solutions from which all of the participants will benefit in the sense that all will emerge as winners.

"If negotiation is abused for the purpose of gaining time for secret disruptive agendas, negotiation becomes futile."

Mr de Klerk's speech dealt mainly in broad generalities with the NP's policy of power-sharing and he did not make major announcements as some had predicted.

However, he said he might deal later in the debate this week with other aspects that the media had predicted he might address.

## Consensus

He said the NP believed in full participation by all as well as protection from domination. The new system would have to be constituted in such a way that it could not be manipulated or tampered with without consensus having been reached.

Any new system agreed to in negotiations would be put to the electorate as either a referendum or an election.

In his response, DP parliamentary leader Dr Zach de Beer seized on Mr de Klerk's statement that full participation "included a vote of equal value for every adult citizen" as an "extremely important concept".

If it meant what he thought it did — a common voters roll — it was an important step forward.

But he said he would like Mr de Klerk to say whether he meant an equal vote on a common voters roll or on a separate voters roll.





# 'Hundreds' of ANC dissidents still held

## The Star's Africa News Service

Dozens if not hundreds of ANC dissidents are probably still being held in camps in several African countries, according to various sources. But the exact number remains a mystery as ANC leaders refuse, or are unable, to give an exact number.

Over the weekend ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela admitted that some detainees had been tortured, but said those responsible had been removed. In a previous interview in Lusaka, National Executive Committee (NEC) member Mr Joe Slovo admitted that there had been torture "in the past".

Last month, in a report on harsh treatment of prisoners in several camps in Tanzania, Uganda and Angola, the Sunday Times of London said an unnamed American diplomat who had investigated the matter believed the number detained could be as high as 1 500.

At the same time, other reports stated that the ANC was holding between 200 and 400 "suspected South African agents".

Also at the weekend, NEC member Mr Steve Tshwete said torture was justified against South African agents, but the ANC secretary-general, Mr Alfred Nzo, denied that the organisation was holding "1 500 or even 200" people.

However, he said: "In a movement like ours there comes a time when we discover that cer-

tain people have been infiltrated into our ranks by the enemy."

The ANC had rounded up some of these people for questioning but he declined to say how many there were or where they were being held.

This weekend, the leader of the ANC's military wing, Mr Chris Hani, said he did not know how many were still being held.

"Not hundreds, we don't have many," he told the London newspaper *The Independent*.

But in Nairobi a group of former ANC members who two weeks ago gave details of torture and executions in ANC camps in Angola said there were 100 to 120 dissidents in detention.

## Reasons unknown

They named Mbarara, in south-west Uganda, as one of the sites where the dissidents were being held.

After the agreement between Angola, South Africa and Cuba, all ANC camps in Angola were closed and most of its members transferred to camps in Uganda and Tanzania.

In addition, it has become clear that many ANC and Pan Africanist Congress members left these organisations for reasons unknown and are living in a refugee camp in Tanzania.

The ANC dissidents now in Nairobi said many former members of the ANC and the PAC were staying at Kigwa, a remote refugee camp 320 km west of Dar es Salaam.

## ANC drive for members

By Thabo Leshilo

The African National Congress (ANC) is to embark on an extensive membership registration drive to entrench itself as the foremost political force in the country and to exercise control over its followers.

Head of the internal leadership corps, Mr Walter Sisulu, yesterday confirmed that a preliminary order for one million membership cards had already been placed with a printer.

Mr Sisulu said the membership fee would be R12 a year, or R1 per month for the convenience of the poorer person. Members would have to be at least 18 years of age.

Provisions were being made for a "pioneer movement" to cater for children aged from seven years to 12 years. Those between the ages of 13 and 18 could join the ANC's youth league.

NEWS/STOEP TALK

# Top PAC leader dies

By Mckeed Kotlolo  
and Thabo Leshilo

A founder member of the Pan Africanist Congress and national leader, Mr Japhta "Jeff" Masemola (58), who was released from Robben Island late last year, died at the Garankuwa Hospital yesterday after a car accident in Pretoria.

A member of the National Executive Committee of the PAC, Mr Mike Matsobane, yesterday confirmed Mr Masemola's death. He said Mr Masemola died at about 1 pm.

Mr Masemola was jailed in 1963 and released in December last year with seven African National Congress leaders. He served 26 years of a life-sentence for PAC activities.

At the time of his arrest he was a teacher at Banareng Primary School in Atteridgeville.

Mr Matsobane said yesterday

the accident happened earlier in the morning but there was a slight delay in transporting Mr Masemola to hospital.

A hospital spokesman said Mr Masemola, who lived in Atteridgeville, was taken to intensive care where doctors and nurses battled in vain to save his life.

Sources said Mr Masemola's Volkswagen collided with a truck along the Rankakata Road near Hoornsnek between Garankuwa and Sandfontein.

He is survived by his son Tebogo.

Funeral arrangements have not yet been made.

The head of the African National Congress's internal leadership corps, Mr Walter Sisulu — who was released from prison with Mr Masemola last year — described the news of Mr Masemola's death as "shocking". He said he had seen Mr Masemola on Saturday at a meeting with Mrs Coretta King, wife of the late Dr Martin Luther King.

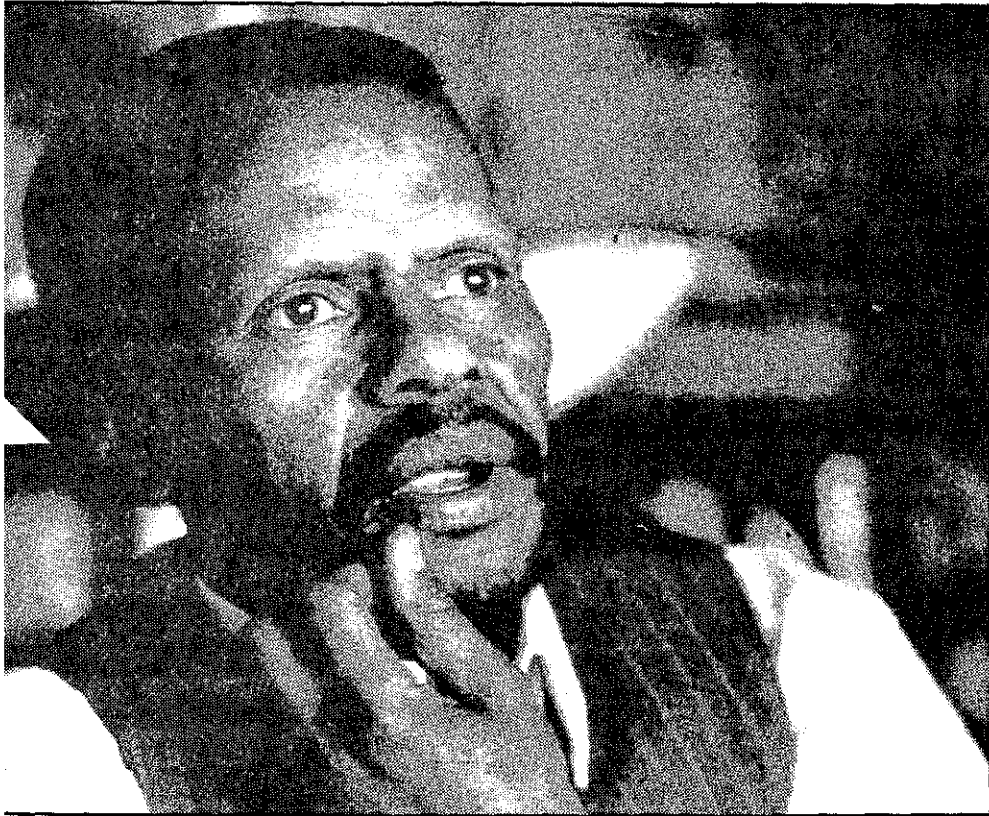
A senior PAC member, Mr Mark Shinner, said Mr Masemola's death was a tragic loss to the nation. "It comes at a time when the services of men of such calibre are most needed. For us in the PAC his memory will live on."

He said Mr Masemola called him yesterday morning to say he was to visit a doctor in Garankuwa for a knee complaint.

The Azanian People's Organisation's secretary general, Mr Pandelani Nefolovodhwe said Mr Masemola's death was a great loss to the "liberation struggle of the people of Azania".

"The struggling people of our country have lost one of their important leaders and we, Azapo, are sending our condolences to his family and organisation.

Mr Nefolovodhwe served time on Robben Island with Mr Masemola.



Founder member of the PAC, Mr Japhta Masemola.

8/4/90

Mandela met  
Coetsee 22 times

CAPE TOWN — The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, met the then-jailed Mr Nelson Mandela three times at his official Ministerial residence in Cape Town in 1986.

Mr Coetsee revealed this in the House of Assembly yesterday in a written reply to Mr S C Jacobs (CP, Losberg).

Mr Coetsee had met Mr Mandela 10 times outside prison.

Other meetings had been at the Volks Hospital on November 17 1985, at Tygerberg Hospital on August 17 1988, at Constan-ti-berg Mediclinic on September 4 1988, at Tuynhuys on July 5 and December 13 1989 and February 9 this year, and at his office on January 25.

He had met Mr Mandela in prison 12 times between January 1 1987 and January 31 this year. — Sapa.

# 4 Tembisa youth leaders detained

18/4/90 By Janet Heard (19)

Four officials of the Tembisa Youth Congress (Teyco) have been held in police custody since Thursday when they were picked up for questioning after announcing a plan to reintroduce "people's courts" in the township.

The four — believed to be held under the emergency regulations — are Teyco president Mr Sam Simetsi, Teyco general secretary Mr Philemon Nzimande, Ms Debora Marakalala and Mr Godfrey Qwabe.

A fifth executive member, Mr Peter Ramarou, was held for a few hours on Thursday before being released.

All five were present at a press conference two days earlier where the Teyco executive announced its intention to reintroduce people's courts in the huge township near Kempton Park.

The combating of crime was the motive given for the planned reintroduction of the courts.

According to a friend of Mr Nzimande, the activists were picked up for questioning during the early hours of Thursday last week.

According to information The Star has received, the activists are being held at Modderbee prison and have threatened to go on hunger strike.

An attorney from the firm Naidoo, Nicholls and Cambanis who is acting for Mr Nzimande said she was certain the activists were being held under the emergency regulations but had not yet received confirmation from the police.

Police comment could not be obtained at the time of going to press.

Tembisa Residents' Association spokesman, Mr Amon Msane, said it was "worrying that police were detaining people on the ground" at a time when everyone was trying to create a climate conducive to negotiations.

# The issues behind Natal bloodletting

More than 200 people have died this month in fighting in townships outside Maritzburg. Nearly 13 000 destitute non-Inkatha people have moved into refugee camps. **MONICA NICOLSON** spoke to people heading organisations battling to cope with the crisis about the reasons for the carnage and possible peace solutions.

The Edendale road through Maritzburg's townships meanders into the foothills of the Berg in what should be an idyllic rural setting:— but behind this tranquil scene lies bloody chaos, destruction and death.

In the past three weeks, the area has witnessed more than 200 people burnt, shot or hacked to death in the war between Inkatha and non-Inkatha groups. Nearly 5 000 people have died in the Natal conflict since September 1984 and many more are expected to die in the place people have named The Valley of Death.

There is no doubt in the minds of The Midlands Crisis Relief Committee (made up of numerous organisations) that Inkatha launched a massive, well co-ordinated attack on non-Inkatha people at the beginning of the month.

Inkatha members say the ANC provoked the attack by stoning buses returning from an Inkatha rally on March 25.

Mr John Aitchison of the Centre for Adult Education at the University of Natal, Maritzburg, said "the Inkatha attack" was far too co-ordinated and sustained to be merely a response to provocation.

"Anyway, the areas which suffered the brunt of the attacks were far away from the alleged stonings. Plus, many of the victims were young children, women and old people."

Mr Aitchison believed the unbanning of the ANC and the Inkatha's "rapid loss of support" threatened Inkatha leaders and that much of the conflict was about Inkatha's struggle to command the allegiance of black people in Natal.

"People have become too politicised and Inkatha's methods are seen as a regression to the worst aspect of tribal life.

"While Mr Mandela has made positive calls for peace, Chief Buthelezi has not matched these. He has obviously not given clear instructions to his chiefs to end the war," he said. Chief Buthelezi strongly denies this.

In a statement at the end of March, Chief Buthelezi said he arranged to share a platform with Mr Mandela at Taylor's Halt just outside Maritzburg, but that Mr Mandela had pulled out at the last moment because of the fighting.

## Inkatha stronghold

Chief Buthelezi rejected excuses that the chosen venue was an Inkatha stronghold and said he would meet Mr Mandela anywhere.

Mr Aitchison accused the police of supporting Inkatha forces, making the situation even more dangerous. Police have denied this.

He said the clearest possible statement of police partiality was Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok's consultation with only Chief Buthelezi about the situation.

On the other side though, Inkatha forces are blaming the black SADF troops for being biased and taking up arms against them. Chief Buthelezi called last week for all black troops to be removed from the townships.

Chief Buthelezi said last week that police had also been involved in attacks against Inkatha

members, and that was why he had contacted Mr Vlok and arranged for the private meeting.

Democratic Party MP for Greytown, Mr Pierre Cronje, has been monitoring Natal's tribal troubles for the past 10 years.

He said that although the war could be partially attributed to a criminal element and socioeconomic factors such as poverty and unemployment, the recent violence went beyond that.

Mr Cronje said that to control the violence, neutral forces must be deployed to arrest any thugs and criminals and show them that they could not go around doing as they wished.

Mr Aitchison said peace initiatives would not be successful because it was not in the interests of one or more parties to have peace.

"The main stumbling block appears to have been the State and Inkatha." He said the township war was in the short-term interests of the Government as it kept pressure off the State when Inkatha saw the ANC as the enemy, rather than the State, and it kept Inkatha occupied so that it did not have time to address the long-term cost-benefits of its relationship with the State.

He suggested going back to the peace plan agreed to by both opposing parties in June last year. Although Inkatha withdrew their support at the last moment because of technical problems, he thought these could easily be sorted out.

## Big conference

"A big conference should be organised with regional committees set up to hammer out points of conflict. Outside bodies and joint monitoring groups should be brought in to ensure fairness," he said.

Maritzburg Associations for Christian Social Action spokesman Mr Peter Kerchoff said peace lay in Inkatha's hands since they had declared a moratorium on the peace negotiations in September last year, and it was up to Inkatha to start negotiations again.

Chief Buthelezi has been outraged at allegations that he was the main obstacle to peace.

At a central committee meeting of Inkatha, he said: "It is the ANC which declared the armed struggle to be the primary means of bringing about change in South Africa and it was the ANC which moved from hard military targets to making soft targets of the public.

"It is now sordid to drag me into the political arena as the man most responsible for violence in Natal when I have done more to stop violence in this region than any other black leader. I have gone to the areas worst hit to hold rallies to gather the people together to tell them to rally together for peace."

According to a statement released by the Joint Working Committee of Cosatu and UDF, all parties need to examine the factual situation before a peace process was possible.

"Cosatu and the UDF remain absolutely committed to achieving peace in this area. However, faced by the reality of violence, people cannot be condemned for defending themselves if other measures failed," the statement read.

# New political movement in SA

CAPE TOWN 19/2/90  
Staff Reporter

11A

A NEW non-aligned national political movement, the Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action (WOSA), announced its existence at a press conference in Woodstock yesterday beneath a huge red banner which read "no compromise".

Its chairman, former Robben Island prisoner Mr Neville Alexander, did not attend the press conference at the Silvertree Educare Centre as he is in Europe.

General secretary Ms Jean Pease (formerly of the Cape Action League), education officer Mr Crain Soudien, treasurer Mr Frank van der Horst (former president of Sacos) and editor and former student leader Mr Victor Steyn handled questions from the press.

Asked whether the new organisation was "to the left of the Communist Party of South Africa", Ms Pease said: "We are not sure what you mean by that. We differ from the CPSA in that it comes from the Stalinist tradition, of which we have always been critical and with which we would not like to be associated."

# The killing must stop

What lies behind the horrific violence in Natal? In the 10 days following March 23 more than 100 people were killed and 13 000 people, mainly women and children, became refugees as the violence between blacks which has plagued the region for some years reached a new pitch of intensity. Here are two expert views.

EDUCATION is now mainly seen as a mere means to getting a good job, and good salary ... We forget altogether the first priority: the enrichment of the human personality.

Rural, pre-industrial societies, everywhere, particularly tribal societies, focused first, in raising and educating the human being, upon enriching the human personality ... The first focus was: UBUNTU (Humaneness). The first content and requirement of Ubuntu was respect for other human beings: INHLONIPHO ...

We are far from that state. Look around you; witness the wanton disrespect for the human being, which is the product of our educational system at the climax of racism, exploitation and domination.

While we rejoice over the success and triumph of our graduating African students, we grieve over the violence and destruction of human life in Natal which is threatening to break out in every corner of the African community in South Africa. We must rise up like mature men and women and take responsibility for the future of this country, and humanity.

## No debating

What is behind this carnage, which hangs as shame and disgrace and crime on the heads of all mature African men and women, who are not stopping this genocidal killing of human beings by any means possible? Shame, disgrace and crime hangs even worse on the heads of leaders of political organisations who are not acting to stop it?

We have leaders of political movements who have lost that fundamental common truth of human life, namely, that human beings never think alike, that human beings are bound to belong to different movements, parties and religions, much as they like different styles of clothes. Ubuntu, and Inhlonipho, consist also in the recognition and acceptance of the common truth.

We have leaders of political movements who then want to triumph alone, who, consequently, do not debate issues, but strive to destroy those movements unlike

Extracts from an address at a recent graduation ceremony by HERBERT W VILAKAZI, Professor of Sociology, University of Zululand.

their own: this leads, ultimately, to seeking to destroy other human beings. It means creating an atmosphere in which people with murderous, sick psychologies can then vent their sickness upon other human beings.

## Totalitarianism

It is a sickness and grotesque abnormality for any political party to aim at capturing or winning the loyalty and following of all groups and members of society. A normal political party, anywhere in the world, aims at winning, ultimately, the majority of voters, come voting day, which normally is more or less a quarter of the population of the society.

Wanting to capture the following of all groups and members of society is chasing after an impossibility, an impossibility which is only achieved through violence and repression of dissent; wanting to capture the allegiance of all groups, associations, and members of society is the very essence of totalitarianism. We caught a terrifying glimpse of that in Nazism and Stalinism.

Political parties or movements should be charged with dynamism, yes, but also with humility. We expect Ubuntu and Inhlonipho, also, in politics. Our leadership must display that elementary, great, and noble trait of truly being human: humility, and respect for other human beings, even if they differ with you. You must accept the possibility of your being wrong; and the need to talk with others not in your movement; and never, never, once more, never, have as an aim of your movement capturing the allegiance of all groups and members of society, and destroying another movement or faction; this inevitably leads to genocide.

We also have the problem of our youth. We have youth nurtured by an education-

al system which was designed by people who were totally lacking in basic respect ... The entire society created by white supremacy, and the entire educational system created by that white supremacy, filled the entire society with disrespect for the human being.

I am not saying that all of us have succumbed to this inhumanity. The overwhelming majority of us are still shocked by this wanton disrespect for human life, by this violence and killing of human beings. The majority of us actually crave a more humane existence, more humane relations with other human beings.

We have become silent, and withdrawn into our private homes and private feelings and thoughts, as self-defence. We have become silent and cowardly out of fear and self-defence. Now and then, in the life of a nation, we must stand up and speak out. We either want the war, the wanton violence and killing of countless human beings in Natal to continue; or we want to stop it.

## The peacemakers

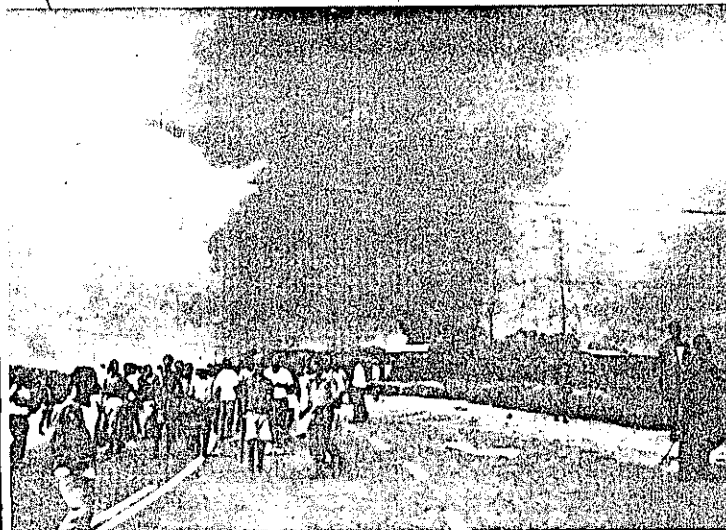
The African community is in flames. Which groups of individuals, upon seeing a wild, consuming fire around them, would not instantly drop what they are doing, look for buckets or any other types of containers, to fill them with water, to hurl at the fire, in an attempt to extinguish the flames? That is precisely what we should be doing.

The ANC/UDF, PAC and Azapo leadership should stop their routine partisan activities, and pay instant attention to putting this fire out. If we want this war stopped, the leadership of these organisations must approach and talk to the other major party to the war, Inkatha, headed by Chief Buthelezi.

Serious mass political parties and movements are as shepherds to their flocks, or as mothers to their families. The African family is being consumed by fire: shepherds and mothers must selflessly fling themselves to the task of putting out the fire, as peacemakers. "Blessed are the peacemakers."

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**FLASHBACK:** Smoke billows from destroyed homes in Natal as residents flee from death



**FLASHBACK:** Residents in Natal guard their houses with home-made weapons

WHEN the African National Congress takes over power in South Africa, it will uphold the idea of a multi-party democracy that tolerates the political views of others — even Inkatha.

This assurance is given by Patrick "Terror" Lekota, the ANC's Natal coordinator.

The ANC is "totally opposed" to armed force to solve the differences between it and Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's group, he says.

"The very people who constitute membership of Inkatha are ordinary men and women who are suffering under apartheid. The struggle we are waging is also a struggle for their freedom.

"It is therefore important that members of the UDF, the ANC, Cosatu and all other allied organisations must make it plain that they are committed to freedom not of one section of the population or the other, of the members of one organisation or the other.

### **An ANC government will uphold the idea of a multi-party democracy**

"We are interested in the freedom of the entire people.

"Even when the movement takes power in this country, it will uphold the idea of a multi-party democracy — which implies the tolerance of the political views of others, even those who disagree with us sharply," says Lekota.

He suggests to the people of Natal to stop the fighting, that the mentality, "I belong to this party, and you belong to that party", as the reason for the bloody conflict there undermines the commitment to democracy and a multi-party system.

### **'People say the police give Inkatha members guns and bullets'**

Lekota says the ANC believes the search for peace in Natal is a worthy effort and that peace will be reached, even though previous peace talks have failed.

A solution could be found if the "poor communications" between the ANC and Inkatha are opened and improved.

He remarks, however, that there appears to be a feeling that Inkatha is not serious about talks.

"As things stand now, it is very difficult that any lines of communication can begin to operate between ourselves and Chief Buthelezi.

# All shall be free — even Inkatha

"De Klerk is clearly committed towards Buthelezi as an ally. He therefore cannot be trusted with a task of this nature."

The UDF recently launched a campaign to have the security forces removed from the townships.

### **'We are interested in the freedom of the entire people'**

Lekota says "the people on the ground" corroborate the view that the level of violence in Natal will subside if the police are removed.

"They are saying that Inkatha attacks them because it enjoys the protection of the police, because the police give the inkatha members guns and bullets."

Popular defence units have been set up after reports were received of imminent attacks by Inkatha on residents of Umlazi and Clermont.

"It is doubtful that we will be able to appeal to the other side to desist because that process has been going on for a long time and we have not been successful in it," Lekota says.

### **'De Klerk is committed towards Buthelezi as an ally'**

Talks with Inkatha are taking place, but on an informal basis. Diliza Mji, a representative of the UDF/Cosatu joint working committee, and Numsa's Alec Erwin, for instance, have been involved in talks with Frank Mdlalose, the KwaZulu minister of health and an Inkatha central committee member, and Oscar Dhlomo, Inkatha's secretary general.

However, Lekota says, some of Inkatha members involved in these talks are "not very popular within their own ranks". They also appear not to have influence and control over their constituency.

He puts the number of refugees from the conflict in Natal at 15 000 and says the government should declare parts of the province a disaster area.

The government should also set up trust funds to re-house these refugees and tend to their material needs.

**The ANC is fighting for freedom also for Inkatha members — so the fighting in Natal should stop. People under an ANC government would still be free to belong to Inkatha. So says Patrick "Terror" Lekota, the ANC's Natal coordinator. He spoke to FAROUK CHOTHIA:**



Patrick "Terror" Lekota

At the same time, political education should be intensified in the townships, so that various affiliate organisations can have an in-depth understanding of the cause and sources of, and participants in, the conflict.

"We believe that — with a deeper understanding of the problem — the communities involved will tend to be in a better position to contribute in the search for peace," Lekota says.

He agrees that, while the ANC is trying to secure support in Natal,

Inkatha appears to be wanting to assert its authority and prevent the movement from doing so.

"Many of our supporters have been driven out of areas in which Inkatha has control.

"We have no intention of stopping any organisation from seeking membership and from winning people towards its own policies.

"However, the fact that the others are doing this kind of thing means they are not committed to democracy in the sense that we understand democracy.

"If the trend persists, any election in the regions would not accurately reflect the views and feelings of people. It is a matter of deep concern to us," says Lekota.

It is in the ANC's interest to have peace so that it can communicate its message more effectively.

### **'We have no intention of stopping any organisation from winning people to its own policies'**

"It is in the interest of those who have no message that they should make as much noise as possible, to make it impossible for people to hear what the liberation movement has to say," Lekota says.

"The intensification of the conflict is calculated to create an atmosphere in which the movement — now unbanned, clearly very popular and armed with a viable policy — should not be in a position to communicate with the masses of the people."

### **'The resolution of the conflict does not depend on bringing in additional police'**

If the security forces are withdrawn, the government and the leadership of credible organisations should agree on who will maintain law and order in the townships.

"The resolution of the Natal conflict does not depend on bringing additional police and the army into the townships because of the known role they have played there," he maintains.

Lekota believes the conflict will make it difficult to debate, but it cannot be allowed to stop the negotiation process.

"The liberation movement will not instruct MK to attack and fight until or unless the talks do not proceed or fail." — NEW AFRICAN

# New socialist group formed

11A

Scout 19/4 - 25/4/90  
SEVERAL extra-parliamentary organisations joined hands to form a new national political organisation in Cape Town last week.

They include the Cape Action League, Students Of Young Azania and Mayibuye.

According to the founding resolution of the Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action (Wosa), the organisation was formed in the belief that the best way to advance working class interests was "the creation of an independent political organisation of the working class".

## Settlement

Wosa's basic principles are black working class leadership; anti-imperialism; anti-capitalism; anti-racism; anti-sexism; one-person, one-vote in a non-racial, undivided, unitary country; and collective leadership, accountability and democracy.

The organisation is opposed to a negotiated settlement which "compromises the interests of the working class".

It intends to organise around housing, land, education, health, wages and women's issues.

The Wosa executive is: Neville Alexander (chairperson), Jean Pease (general secretary), Frank van der Horst (treasurer), Mercia Andrews (national organiser), and Victor Steyn and Brian Ashley (editors).

The regional representatives are : Aaron Ranayeke (N Cape), Eugene Cairncross (Tvl), Adam Makanianise (W Cape) and Rita Edwards (Natal).

South 19/4 - 25/4/90

JOHANNESBURG. — The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) is to appoint a team of lawyers to investigate the death of its founder member, Mr Jeff Masemola, in a car crash on Tuesday.

Masemola died when a car in which he was travelling collided with a truck at a T-junction on the Brits-Rosslyn road near Pretoria.

He was on his way to consult a specialist at the Ga-Rankuwa hospital about a leg ailment and was later to meet members of the newly-formed PAC structures in Hammanskraal.

PAC's spokesman, Mr Mark Shinnars, said Masemola's funeral had been tentatively set for April 29.

Shinnars said the PAC would gather evidence at the scene of the accident, Ga-Rankuwa Hospital and De-Wildt police station.

## PAC team to probe Masemola's death 11A

Although he would not say foul play was suspected, Shinnars alleged Masemola was taken to hospital by ambulance only an hour after the accident.

Masemola died at the hospital after being admitted.

In his tribute to Masemola, ANC internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu described the PAC leader as "a stalwart of the liberation struggle".

Other tributes came from the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and the United Democratic Front (UDF).

A former school teacher, Masemola was released from

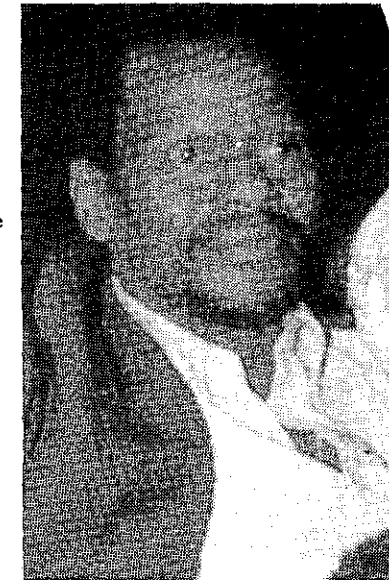
Diepkloof Prison with seven ANC leaders on October 15 last year.

He had served 25 years of a life sentence imposed on him on July 2, 1963.

In 1985, he was one of the several political prisoners who refused to be released on condition they renounced violence.

Masemola had been instrumental in consolidating PAC structures in Pretoria and other parts of the country, the organisation said.

Before his death, Masemola received an invitation from the United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid in New York to speak on the 14th anniversary of the June 16 uprising.



Jeff Masemola

activists available

# Postal South 19/4 - 25/4/90 workers mobilise

A MASS rally for post office workers is scheduled to take place in the Municipal Hall in Salt River at 1pm on Saturday.

A spokesperson for the technical branch of the Post Office Employees' Association of South Africa (Peasa) said the meeting was being called to discuss wages, privatisation and unity between the different unions which organise at the post office.

damages  
assistant general secretary and the regional secretary of the South African Clothing and Textile Workers' Union (Sactwu) in connection

Sactwu further R1 200 and costs.

The Port Elizabeth magistrate's court found the pamphlet defamed the two Sactwu officials, Mr John Copelyn and Mr Jabu

## ANC at May Day rally

A MASSIVE ANC May Day rally is being planned to take place in Cape Town on May 1.

The rally will precede talks between the government and a top ANC team, scheduled to begin the following day.

It will combine a traditional May Day programme with input from

the ANC. (11A)

Events scheduled to take place include marches from different areas, cultural events and a briefing from the ANC.

A May Day picnic is being organised by the South African Clothing and Textile Workers' Union (Sactwu) at Zeeko-evlei on the following Saturday, May 5.

South 19/4 - 25/4/90



DESMOND TUTU

# Talks in SA are vital - Tutu

*Sowetan  
18/4/90*

*(scribble)*

HARARE - Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town Desmond Tutu said yesterday there was a need to press harder for a negotiated settlement in South Africa.

Interviewed on arrival in Harare for Zimbabwe's 10th independence celebrations, he said the achievement of Namibian independence through negotiation was a source of inspiration for South Africans.

"After the situation in Namibia where people sat down and talked I think we have to press as hard as we can for negotiations to take place," he said.

Asked about the prospects for successful negotiations, Tutu said this could be judged from the outcome of a meeting between the South African Government and the ANC next month.

*11A*

"Our people are committed to a negotiated settlement and want peace and prosperity." - Sapa.

# Tutu praises ANC honesty on torture

114  
Staff Reporter

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu has welcomed the ANC's admission that a group of ANC dissidents had been tortured.

On Sunday, the archbishop told foreign TV networks that he was glad that the ANC had acknowledged the torture and had not attempted to cover up the allegations.

"Since Watergate and the Info Scandal, we know just how people try to hide unsavoury facts.

"Mr (Nelson) Mandela shows the calibre of person he is by the admission that they have these camps and that torture has happened," Archbishop Tutu said.

Also at the weekend, the Rev Sam Buti, moderator of the Ned Geref Church in Africa, labelled Mr Mandela's reaction to the allegations "pathetic".

He welcomed Mr Mandela's admission but said the ANC vice-president should act immediately.

*Chl. Tent. 18/4/70*  
**New leftist  
party formed**

**A NEW leftist political formation, the Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action (Wosa), was launched in Cape Town at the weekend.**

**Wosa aligns various organisations to the left of the ANC and aims to further the interests of the working class, in particular the black working class, a spokesman said.**

**A news briefing will be held at 9.45am tomorrow at the Silvertree Educare Centre, 25 Church Street, Woodstock. — Sapa**

# NIS leaked death plan to us — CP

## Political Staff

AN official of the National Intelligence Service (NIS) leaked to the Conservative Party a classified report about an ANC plan to assassinate rightwing leaders, it has been claimed in parliament.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht made this claim yesterday after he had been lashed by President F W de Klerk for disclosing the report, which Mr De Klerk said was "probably fabricated" to create polarisation and upset peace talks.

But Dr Treurnicht said that if an NIS official considered it worthwhile and important enough to leak the document this had "tremendous implications".

"I want to ask the State President whether his officials in the Department of National Intelligence are playing games or whether they are busy with disinformation in planting the document on us."

Mr De Klerk disclosed that the government would investigate its security establishment to find out who leaked the report to the CP.

He said the CP's release of the document was probably illegal and could have endangered lives.

### EXTREMELY UNRELIABLE

During the debate on the State President's vote yesterday, he said the report had not been submitted to the government because it was considered "extremely unreliable".

The CP last week accused the government of failing to act on the report.

Mr De Klerk told parliament yesterday that thousands of reports were in circulation every day within the intelligence community.

These contained rumours, disinformation, allegations and hard information.

Only information which was credible and important was submitted to the government.

Mr De Klerk said that after the CP had made Press statements about the alleged assassination plan, he had requested a report from the intelligence community.

They had informed him that the report was extremely unreliable as the source was doubtful.

Past information supplied by the source could never be confirmed and the source had been unable to provide the report alleged to have been compiled by a sub-committee of the ANC's national executive committee.

There were also distortions and inaccuracies in the source's report which created the "strong impression that it was fabricated information produced by an unknown party to create a certain effect for purposes of his own".

These probably included "the further polarisation of South African society, the destabilisation of the order of authority and the impediment of the current process to establish a peaceful milieu in the RSA".

For these reasons the report was not submitted to the government. However, a further investigation of the report — and also "of possible leaks within the intelligence community" — was under way.

Dr Treurnicht said he believed the report had been leaked to the CP "in all seriousness".

Mr De Klerk said the CP's disclosure of "unevaluated" security intelligence was "outrageously irresponsible".

"Had the report been obtained from a delicately placed source, the CP's treatment of it could have endangered the lives of people."

It had come into the CP's hands by unauthorised and, therefore, illegal means.

It was marked "secret" and this should have been a clear indication — "even to an amateur" — that it could contain extremely sensitive information. "Therefore, its publication was probably in contravention of legal prescriptions concerning security information."

Mr De Klerk said the CP could have established the truth about the report by means of confidential inquiry.

Dr Treurnicht said the important thing was that Mr De Klerk had admitted the document existed.

"He says the document is unreliable and unevaluated. If an official of the NIS deemed it worthwhile to reveal its contents to us, then I consider it important."

11A  
MCGAS 18/4/90





Mr Masemola

# Top PAC man dies after car smash

114  
MGS  
18/4/90

PRETORIA. — A founder member of the Pan Africanist Congress and national leader, Mr Japhta "Jeff" Masemola, who was released from Robben Island late last year has died after a car accident.

Mr Masemola's Volkswagen Beetle was in collision with a lorry between Garankuwa and Sandfontein yesterday. He was taken to Garankuwa hospital and died about 1pm. He was 59.

### "LAND FOR ALL"

Mr Masemola, a former teacher, was released from prison on October 15 with seven African National Congress leaders after serving 25 years of a life sentence imposed on him on July 2, 1963.

He was the second longest serving prisoner after ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela.

In an interview after his release the PAC political lion said: "We are not paper tigers. We are the real blood tigers."

Mr Masemola once said politics would remain his occupation until he died or the situation changed drastically.

### NON-RACIAL

He said the PAC was committed to achieving a non-racial Azania with land for all who worked it.

A spokesman for the PAC said Mr Masemola had been an inspiration to the politically alienated black youth who had no faith in the present negotiations between the ANC and the government.

"The shock of his sudden death is still hard to accept but his spirit will live on in PAC," said the spokesman. — The Argus Correspondent and Sapa.



**OVATION . . .** Mr Mandela raises his arms to a screaming and cheering crowd at Wembley Stadium on Monday. Mr Mandela topped the bill in the rock concert in his honour.

Picture: REUTER

## And now, we <sup>CMT Trinks 12/4/90</sup> pay the tribute <sup>11A</sup>

By KIN BENTLEY  
Own Correspondent

**LONDON.** — Being part of a crowd of 72 000 people paying tribute to Mr Nelson Mandela, who was imprisoned only a few years after I was born, was a strange experience for a white South African.

How, I asked myself, could these British people be so absorbed in a man and an issue, apartheid, in a country thousands of kilometres away and vastly different to their own?

It was understandable that they should congregate to rock and jive to music in the oval womb of Wembley. But it was remarkable that these same people should give an eight-minute standing ovation to grey-haired Mr Mandela.

As a participant in the "March for Hope" by whites into Port Elizabeth's New Brighton township late last year, I could not help feeling detached from this celebration. The white arms and clenched fists thrashing the air to the group Stetsonic's cry of "Free South Africa" somehow seemed a little grotesque.

Because, in the end, there was the realisation that thousands have died in South Africa and hundreds continue to die monthly in Natal. Apartheid remains and, it seems, will be eradicated only with a lot of pain.

Mr Mandela's release is cause for celebration. But there is little else to celebrate.

## Airline flight delayed for Mandela

KIN BENTLEY

LONDON — An international airline agreed to delay its flight by about an hour to enable ANC leader Nelson Mandela to fly out of London late on Monday night, following his speech to the massive concert at Wembley.

ANC deputy London representative Billy Masetlha confirmed yesterday that a prior arrangement was made with Ethiopian Airlines that a waiver would be granted to Mandela, enabling him to book in late for the flight to Harare.

He said the flight, a normal passenger service, was delayed by about an hour.

Mandela arrived in Harare yesterday and said government had to remove all apartheid laws to ensure progress towards peace, Sapa reports. *B1024 18/4/90*

Mandela, here to attend Zimbabwe's 10th anniversary independence celebrations, which entered their second day yesterday, said if President F W de Klerk wanted change, he should "remove all laws which are cause for concern to black people of SA".

Addressing a Press conference, OAU secretary-general Salim Ahmed Salim said developments in SA were encouraging but a lot remained to be done.

## Liquidations set to rise by 20%

*B1024 18/4/90*

SYLVIA DU PLESSIS and ANDREW GILL

THE number of companies liquidated this year will rise by about 20% over 1989, according to Kreditinform MD Ivor Jones and operations director Jack Brownrigg.

This meant more than 3 000 of SA's 600 000 registered companies could go under, compared with an estimated 2 700 in 1989, they said in an interview.

Brownrigg said steep interest rates, affecting highly-g geared companies in particular, were the main reason for the expected sharp increase.

Even if Finance Minister Barend du Plessis's moves to level out interest rates were successful, the effect on liquidations would be felt only in about 18 months, he said. This was because of a time-lag between interest rate hikes and liquidations.

A hidden factor in interest rates was one of prime-plus. Banks were offering prime rates to low-g geared companies, while debt-ridden institutions were paying 1% to 3% above prime, he said.

However, recent political developments could prove to be mitigating factors, boosting business confidence and limiting the number of liquidations.

Information Trust Corporation chairman Paul Edwards said his organisation had recently noted a rise in the number of problem accounts — an early precursor to ultimate business failure.

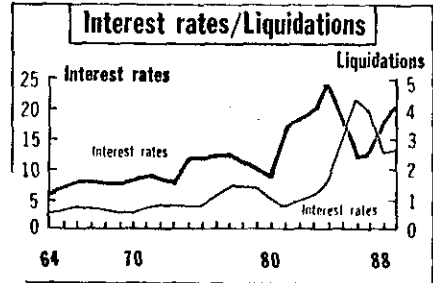
However, many businesses had learnt to adapt to tougher economic conditions.

While the number of liquidations was set to rise significantly this year — service-oriented companies traditionally constituted the largest proportion of failures — it would be off a low base, he said.

"We're only in a mild recessionary phase so I don't expect blood on the walls.

"We urge businesses to take active measures to minimise their potential losses. One such measure would be to get involved in industrial information-sharing schemes to enable them to help each other highlight problem accounts.

"This will allow them to protect themselves from going down with failed companies due to loss through bad debt."



Graphic: LEE EMERTON Source: KREDITINFORM

## Boesak tells ANC: reject violence

LONDON — World Alliance of Reformed Churches president the Rev Allan Boesak has urged the ANC to take a moral lead over government by forswearing all forms of violence.

Speaking from Cape Town over Dutch radio at the weekend, he said such a move by the ANC would oblige government to follow suit. Newspapers in the Netherlands yesterday reported that Boesak said government was responsible for the culture of violence in SA, as it had always chosen to confront problems with violence.

The ANC was, however, equally responsible as it had contributed to the romanticisation of violence.

"The ANC will have to tell the people: 'We

do not believe in violence any more',” Boesak said. In doing so, it would place a moral obligation on President F W de Klerk to follow suit.

"We have noticed moral matters are a priority to him," Boesak said.

He also hoped for other changes in the ANC. It would have to become aware that its liberation politics could not serve unaltered as a basis for a credible policy.

Our Cape Town correspondent reports that Archbishop Desmond Tutu has welcomed the ANC's admission of the torture of a group of ANC dissidents. He said at the weekend he was glad a cover-up had not been attempted, and he hoped the tortures would not recur. — Sapa.

social programmes to fight unrest

# Thatcher disregards Mandela

Star  
8/4/90 The Star Bureau (A)

LONDON — Britain's Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, has insisted she will visit South Africa despite Mr Nelson Mandela's warning to her at the weekend not to do so.

She has signalled she will go when she feels the time is right, shrugging off Mr Mandela's criticism of her rewards-for-reforms approach on sanctions.

Mr Mandela said she must not go until an agreement had been reached to end apartheid. Any visit before that would send the "wrong signal" to the South African Government.

MP Mr David Howell, who chairs the parliamentary select committee on foreign affairs, said that Mr Mandela, although "a wise and able man", was "not the leader of South Africa" and it is not for him to tell Mrs Thatcher where she should and should not go.

The Minister of State for the Environment, Mr William Wadgrave, said he did not see Mr Mandela's Wembley speech, in which the ANC leader accused the British government of supporting apartheid by relaxing sanctions, as an "attack", saying the two parties' differences were tactical rather than ideological.

"The Prime Minister has made it clear that she is looking to ending the state of emergency, the release of remaining political prisoners and real progress on talks about talks. It is that kind of agenda. We want real progress before she visits. Her visit must take the process further."

● See Page 3.

# Root cause of Natal violence

In this second of a three-part series, **MATTHEW KENTRIDGE**, a freelance political researcher, argues that party politics could be the root cause of the prolonged faction fighting in Natal.

There is a process of forgetting in the public consciousness, an attrition of memory which results in the failure to relate current events to their constitutive histories.

Just so with the current political conflict in Natal. The carnage in Maritzburg and the wave of killings in Mpumalanga are not self-explanatory, discrete occurrences, but part of a long internecine struggle which has gripped the Natal Midlands for more than two years.

An understanding of the causes of this interminable conflict is essential in order to assess the motivations behind the most recent incidents.

In this region, the bitter warfare between Inkatha and supporters of the UDF and Cosatu has claimed well over 2 000 lives, wrecked family and community life, turned tens of thousands of people into refugees and caused incalculable mental and physical damage.

Many theories have been put forward to explain the origins of the conflict. Some favour what is known as a "socio-economic" argument which states that the fundamental causes are poverty and joblessness which, coupled with an angry and volatile township youth, find expression in violence.

## Criminal behaviour

In this version, the political nature of the violence is downplayed, and the violence is seen primarily as criminal behaviour on a wide scale.

The theory has certain attractions. Certainly unemployment and a lack of hope contribute substantially to the humid climate of violence that hangs over the region. But as an explanation, it is insufficient.

Poverty and unemployment are neither unique to the Midlands nor higher there than elsewhere.

In addition, the residents of the area perceive the violence as primarily political. Although many are only vaguely aware of the specific ideological messages of Inkatha and the UDF, they firmly identify the protagonists by political organisations.

A second theory sees the violence as a result of a rural-urban, generational cleavage, whereby older, rural-based Zulus, with a strong sense of tribal tradition, react strongly against younger, urban, cosmopolitan Zulus.

This theory, too, has appeal and accords to a fairly typical political profile as well. However, again the theory is too general. Both Inkatha and the UDF have cross-generational support, and the terrain of conflict has not been merely rural-urban, but rural-rural and urban-urban as well.

Ultimately, the causes of the war are more party political than these analyses concede. Both Inkatha and the UDF perceive the political nature of their conflict. According to Chief Mangwenuthu Buthelezi, the fighting in the Midlands is the latest development in an ANC-orchestrated campaign to destroy the organisation.



The UDF, by contrast, sees itself as the victim of a joint strategy devised by Inkatha and the State to crush all "progressive" organisations in Natal.

It is not surprising that two such incompatible political movements should fall into dispute.

## Modern image

Although it adopts an anti-apartheid stance, Inkatha is a strongly conservative organisation, strong in rural areas, which relies on and appeals to Zulu nationalism and pride.

The UDF, on the other hand, presents an aggressively modern image, and its campaigns tend to focus on problems facing the urban black population. The UDF's broad, supra-ethnic appeal directly opposes the narrow nationalist ethic of Inkatha.

This challenge is recognised by

Inkatha and many of the anti-UDF denunciations issued by officials in the organisation are crudely racist stamps: loyal supporters of Inkatha are warned of sinister whites, Indians and Xhosa in the UDF, intent on manipulating and undermining Zulus.

Why this long-standing political enmity should have erupted so dramatically in Maritzburg the other week, and again in Mpumalanga last week, remains a moot point.

One explanation is that the party crowd at the Inkatha rally in Durban on March 25 (8 000 as opposed to the ANC's 150 000 on February 25) may have highlighted, yet again, the threat posed to Inkatha by the UDF.

Inkatha's invasion of non-Inkatha areas in Maritzburg and Mpumalanga can be seen as an initiative which tries on the one hand to drive the UDF out of the

region, and, on the other, to win over the residents in these areas to the cause of Inkatha.

If this is the case, the military exercise was singularly misconceived, as the majority of the victims of the attacks come from this constituency.

## War of attrition

But there is a second, related, explanation of the explosion in the Midlands. For more than two years, the region has been in the grip of a slow, wearing war of attrition; a stalemate in which both sides control specific areas, and skirmishes take place along borders, rather than across them.

It is possible that the latest attacks constitute an attempt by Inkatha to break free of this impasse, to cross borders, annex territory and so change the political geography of the region.

# Bogus ANC fund for domestics to 'buy' employers' homes

ST-1 18/4/90  
Own Correspondent

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DURBAN — Police have launched an investigation into allegations that domestic workers have been paying money into a bogus ANC fund to ensure that their employers' homes will belong to them in a "new" South Africa.

Several domestic workers have informed their employers in Durban and the Transvaal that their homes belong to the domestic workers who have contributed to an ANC fund.

Mr Tom Sebina, spokesman for the ANC in Lusaka, said he would welcome a police investigation to find the "criminal element who is defaming the ANC's name".

It is absolutely untrue that we have been collecting money from domestic workers for this purpose. The take-over of private homes has never been on the ANC's agenda."

Mr Gordon Nixon of the Bluff is one of the surprised Durban residents to be told that his home no longer belongs to him.

"My wife and I went away for the weekend. When we returned yesterday, we found two well-dressed African gentlemen happily surveying my property and taking photographs. When I asked them what they thought they were doing, they told me they had been paid R30 by my maid to take photographs. They

told me one picture goes to her and another to the 'Mandela Fund'.

"When I offered to introduce them to my shotgun or to call the police, they just laughed and said soon all white homes would belong to the people and to the ANC."

Mr Nixon's domestic was dismissed on the spot and was not available for an interview today.

A similar scene took place when Mrs Shirley Aiston of Fynnland tried to sell her home. Her domestic, who had worked for her for 20 years, approached her and said she had been contributing to an ANC fund and the home belonged to her.

The same thing happened to a

Cowies Hill resident and to a Westville couple.

A representative of the South African Domestic Workers' Union (Sadwa), Mrs Nyami Nbhela, today urged domestic workers to supply the police or Sadwa with information about the "alleged ANC men" who were taking their money.

Captain R Bloomberg, media liaison spokesman for police headquarters in Pretoria said today: "We urge all domestic workers and employers to come forward with any information they may have so that we can investigate."

He said this type of incident had also been reported on the Reef.

Q. (7/19/90) (11A)

## 'ANC plot' document pooh-poohed

### Crime Reporter

The "intelligence document" released by the Conservative Party last week was nothing but an unevaluated source report and a storm in a teacup, an intelligence source said today.

It had also been established that the document was definitely not a police document.

According to the intelligence source, the document, which deals with an alleged ANC plot to eliminate right-wing white leaders and politicians, had raised laughter in intelligence circles.

"This was a source report at the bottom of the intelligence pyramid. It was raw information and completely unevaluated and its credibility had not been established.

"All intelligence networks have huge and varied sources of information and no one will run to the Government with such unprocessed information," the source said.

## 'Victory to be in our lifetime'

Star 17/4/90  
The Star Bureau

LONDON — In an address to about 400 South African exiles here yesterday, ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela said that "the (country) we have worked so long for and dreamt of is likely to be realised in our lifetime".

But he added: "The people of South Africa have reached a new level of militancy which sometimes frightens me.

"I have no doubt that the signal has been clearly given to the Government that a political solution between the ANC and the Government is the only way in which South Africa can be saved from a conflagration never seen (there) before."

He criticised those in the movement opposed to negotiations until the Government had fallen, saying there was no reasoning to their argument.

On the question of black unity, Mr Mandela said a great deal of progress had been made, but more was needed as the opposition could not afford the luxury of a divided movement.

He was clearly encouraged by the spirit of the exiles: "I would have expected that exiles who have been away from home for up to 30 years to be overwhelmed by gloom and frustration. However, the high status of morale is absolutely staggering."

## Star treatment at Wembley

Star 17/4/90  
By Sue Leeman,  
The Star Bureau

LONDON — Mr Nelson Mandela was given the full superstar treatment at Wembley Stadium last night by an ecstatic 72 000 crowd.

Musicians more used to being the objects of adulation themselves tried to outdo one another in heaping praise on the ANC deputy president.

Patti LaBelle, who met Mr Mandela backstage, was thrilled at just having made eye contact with him. "It was like the blood of Jesus just washing over me," she enthused.

Little Steven called on the crowd and millions watching in 26 countries to join Mr Mandela in stepping up the fight against apartheid. "Mr Mandela is going back to negotiate. We've got to give him something to negotiate with — that means sanctions."

Such statements from performers were officially frowned on, but after Mr Mandela had delivered his rousing sanctions call, most of the performers ignored the BBC's injunction to keep political comment to a minimum.

When Mr Mandela moved from the royal box to the stage, the crowd treated him to a tumultuous ovation which lasted a full five minutes.

His 20-minute speech was punctuated by more rapturous cheering.



# ANC team 'in SA this month'

*CPA/Timfs 18/4/90 114*

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The five Lusaka-based members of the ANC team for preparatory talks with the South African government will probably arrive in SA around April 28 — four days before the talks are scheduled to begin, ANC spokesman Mr Tom Sebina said yesterday.

He said the team required a few days to prepare for the meeting, including consulting the internal leadership of the ANC and its allies.

The five — Mr Alfred Nzo, Mr Joe Slovo, Mr Joe Modise, Mr Thabo Mbeki and Ms Ruth Mompati — are to be accompanied by a number of aides.

Mr Sebina said it had been decided that another team of ANC leaders and officials, originally scheduled to arrive in SA about three weeks ago, would not leave for the country until a

bill was passed providing for their temporary immunity from prosecution for possible offences committed before 1990.

This second team has been mandated to assist the internal leadership with various operational tasks. The government has said the bill will be presented to Parliament soon.

Mr Sebina added, though, that the talks team was not affected by this decision.

He welcomed State President F W de Klerk's speech in Parliament yesterday in which he disputed the authenticity of the intelligence document made public by the CP last week.

When the document was originally published, Mr Sebina accused right-wing elements in the intelligence services of trying to derail the proposed talks about talks between the ANC and the government — a view similar to that expressed yesterday by Mr De Klerk.

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# Torture is justified, says ANC

11A

MAPUTO - A top-ranking member of the African National Congress, Mr Steve Tshwete, has justified the torture of former members of the organisation saying they had been South African agents or mutineers.

He added, however, that it was not the ANC's policy to torture its prisoners and that those responsible for the torture had been "properly dealt with".

Speaking at the closing session of a conference on health in southern Africa, Tshwete said some of the cases of detention arose from a mutiny in 1984 among members of the movement's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe.

"No army can play with mutineers. We had to surpress the mutiny with all the force at our disposal, just as any army would do when faced with a mutiny," he said.

He accused the South African Government of sending "assassins" into Zambia and Zimbabwe to kill ANC leaders.

"We cannot be expected to play ball with agents of the enemy

## Cadres were agents of SA

SOWETAN Africa News Service

whose avowed aim is to kill and eliminate leaders and members of the movement," he said.

There had been "excesses" during the interrogation of some of those mutineers and agents but "those responsible for this have been properly dealt with", he said.

## Conduct

"The ANC does not in any way approximate in its treatment of detainees to what we see in South Africa today," Tshwete added.

He said the ANC had a code of conduct which laid down the rules of how detained people should be treated.

Two weeks ago a group of former ANC guerillas said they had

been beaten and tortured in camps in Angola after a rebellion against the ANC leadership.

The men, who fled to Kenya from Tanzania, have since been interviewed by several British newspapers and international news agencies and have said they feared for the fate of 110 to 120 fellow ANC dissidents being detained at camps in Uganda.

Sowetan 18/4/90

11A

## African historian to deliver keynote address

Acclaimed African historian, Professor Ali Mazrui is expected to deliver a key-note address at a three-day national conference of South Africa's Muslim community in May.

Mazrui is an expert on Muslim /Minorities and Muslim and non-Muslim relations. The conference takes place in Cape Town from May

By ALI MPHAKI

4.

The Transvaal convenor of the conference, Dr Yusuf Saloojee, said that with rapid and far-reaching changes taking place in the country, "a Muslim response to these developments has become even more urgent and imperative."

"The Muslims with their history of contributions in the struggle for justice will have an important role to play in the future negotiations in the formulation of a new constitution and an alternative (post apartheid) society".

# Rumpus over whirlwind visit to UK

## Right-wing media launch bitter attack on Mandela

LONDON - Nelson Mandela's whirlwind visit to Britain has been bathed in an intense media spotlight, with several right-wing newspapers launching bitter attacks on the ANC leader.

Earlier this week, three tabloids - the *Daily Mail*, the *Sun* and the *Daily Star* - published highly critical reports.

The *Mail* devoted two pages to stories under the general headline of "Savagery behind the Saint". Reporter Paul Johnson wrote that Mandela should "listen to the advice of Mrs Thatcher rather than that of his admirers".

### Goodwill

And he concluded that: "The rest of us should remember that he is neither a saint nor a political genius - just a muddled, out-of-date politician with some goodwill but also with a lot of impractical and dangerous ideas."

A report on the alleged torture of ANC guerrillas is headlined: "His organisation has the brutal viciousness of the regime it's fighting."

A third report in the

## on Mandela

By FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

same paper by Michael Streeter claimed it is "surely a great irony that... Mr Mandela, spiritual head of an avowed Marxist organisation, will preside over a demonstration of the free market economy working overtime".

### Storm

He added that the concert this week was 'as much a demonstration of capitalism as it is of rock music'.

The *Sun* whipped up a storm on its front page, claiming that US Congressman Jesse Jackson "called him the new Jesus Christ".

Jackson had said Mandela wop the respect of the world "in the same way Jesus got it, through suffering".

He described Mandela's release from jail as a "resurrection".

The *Daily Star* calculated that the cost of Mandela's "two-day junket" was R320 000, pointing out that he was staying in a luxury hotel

and being whisked from appointment to appointment in luxury cars.

It commented in an editorial that it was "a very far cry indeed from the squalor experienced by his followers in South African townships like Soweto".

The *Daily Express* took him to task in an editorial for not seeing Thatcher. It asked if Mandela was "altogether wise to allow himself to be enticed to a Wembley pop concert organised by those old-time hacks of the anti-apartheid movement who still refuse to concede that anything has really changed?"

At the weekend the *Sunday Telegraph* took a waspish look at the marketing of the concert, saying that "waiting in the wings to extract their pound of flesh will be the merchants of Mandela".

### Coverage

A far more positive slant was put on the coverage by the Left-wing *Daily Mirror*, which has had unhindered access to Mandela by virtue of the Mirror Group's part

sponsorship of his visit.

It splashed a colour picture of Mandela holding a white baby across page one with a banner headline: "The hug of hope".

The newspaper quoted Mandela as saying in an exclusive interview that he "learned in prison not to hate the white man". He also said he hoped to meet Thatcher in May and described her as a "very powerful lady - one I would rather have as an ally than an enemy".

The conservative *The Times* welcomed Mandela to Britain and said in an editorial that he "truly deserves our sympathy" for the massive task ahead of him in South Africa.

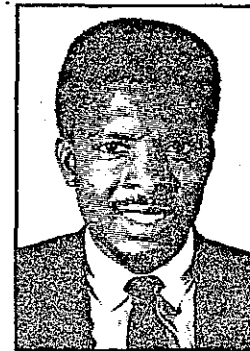
As a service to readers *Sowetan* will be on sale at Orange Farm near Evaton from today.

Don't forget to get your copy of the *Sowetan*.



Nelson Mandela with his wife, Winnie, at his side, raises his fist as he acknowledges the cheers of thousands at a rock concert in honour earlier this week in London's Wembley Stadium.

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# PAC leader

Sowetan 18/4/90

11A



JEFF MASEMOLA

# is killed

'Jeff'  
dies in  
car  
crash

**PAN Africanist Congress stalwart Mr Jafta Kgalabi Masemola is dead.**

He was killed when a car in which he was travelling and a truck collided at a T-junction on the Brits-Rossllyn road in Pretoria at about 9am yesterday.

It is believed "Jeff" Masemola (60) was on his

**By THEMBA MOLEFE**

way to address a meeting at Garankuwa Hospital.

The house with which he shared with his sister, Mrs Dorah Maodi, in Ateridgeville was packed with people last night soon after the news of his death.

A leading member of the PAC, Mr Don Mose-neke, said Masemola's

death was so sudden "it is devastating emotionally".

He said a Press conference would be held at Lekton House, Wanderers Street, Johannesburg, at 10.30am today.

## Prison

A former school-teacher, Masemola was released from Diepkloof Prison, in Johannesburg,

with seven African National Congress leaders on October 15 last year. He had served 25 years of a life sentence imposed on him on July 2, 1963.

In 1985 he was among several political prisoners who refused to be released on condition they renounced violence. The others included ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela and PAC

leader Mr Zeph Motho-peng.

On his release last year Masemola rejected negotiations with the Govern-ment, saying: "Speaking

for myself, I would say the main issue in Azania centres on the repossession of our land because if we follow Mr (FW) de Klerk's stand to its logical

conclusion it means the Government will be taken over by Africans through the ballot. This is one thing the Government will not allow."



# ANC dissidents seek inquiry

BIDCNY 17/4/90

(11)

Own Correspondent



Nelson Mandela, left, with Commonwealth secretary-general Sir Shridath Ramphal during supper at Ramphal's London residence on Sunday.

CAPE TOWN — Dissident ANC guerrillas yesterday urged ANC deputy-president Nelson Mandela to appoint a commission of inquiry into torture allegations, which one said continued in ANC camps.

On Saturday Mandela admitted that some of the men who had made the torture allegations had been tortured by ANC security members, but said that "immediate steps were taken to discipline those guilty".

The leaders of the camp were also immediately dismissed, he added.

Mandela said the ANC hoped SA's government would act as quickly in addressing the allegations of torture directed against its security forces.

Speaking from Nairobi, dissident guerrilla Amos Maxongo said the torture would not stop as long as "the people responsible for all the atrocities were still in power" and that dissidents had written to Mandela urging appointment of a commission of inquiry into continuing torture in the ANC.

He levelled certain allegations against Umkhonto We Sizwe (MK) commander Joe Modise.

Mandela said on Saturday he wished to make it clear that the allegations were not made against himself or the ANC leadership but against the organisation's security department.

Maxongo said it was disturbing that "enemies of democracy" were included in the ANC delegation to hold talks with President F W de Klerk next month. He referred to the inclusion of Modise in the delegation.

Asked whether the group feared for their safety in the wake of their revelations, Maxongo said that Mandela "must commit himself to secure us".

He and the other men were anxious to return to SA. News agencies reported that the letter said dissidents were bitter because they had been tortured and claimed they had been silenced by MK chief of staff Chris Hani and Tanzanian ANC representative Stanley Maibleza.

They said they remained loyal to the spirit of the ANC, and hoped the letter would clear up misunderstandings as to their motives.

Our Cape Town correspondent reports that Mandela's admission that ANC members had tortured dissidents had come as a big shock, said Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk moderator Prof Johan Heyns.

"I am thankful that Mandela said torture was not the policy of the ANC," he said.

● Comment: Page 8

Alameda walk postponed

D... .. trade

B/Dey 17/4/90

## Govt 'was shaken militarily' by ANC

GOVERNMENT wanted to talk to the ANC because it had been "shaken militarily", ANC stalwart Elias Motsoaledi told a rally near Groblersdal in the northern Transvaal at the weekend.

Speaking in Phokoane village, he said it was not appropriate for the ANC to abandon the armed struggle while the SADF was still armed.

He also called for an intensification of the liberation struggle, saying people should fear deceit rather than blood.

Motsoaledi, a militant former Umkhonto we Sizwe commander in Johannesburg, called on youth to gain education to further militant ideals.

"To shoot down the enemy's aircraft you need mathematical knowledge, so get into the classrooms and learn military science," he said.

He appealed to ANC supporters not to be hostile to homeland chiefs.

Chiefs who were not members of the ANC-supporting Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA (Contralesa) should be educated politically until they were won over by the people.

The ANC welcomed homeland leaders who were sympathetic to the people's demands, because they had been brought away from "the enemy", he said.

Homeland leaders who recently refused to meet President F W de Klerk for talks had done so because the ANC had told them not to go, Motsoaledi said.

Speaking at the same rally, UDF publicity secretary and ANC official Patrick "Terror" Lekota condemned organisations who criticised ANC strategy. — Sapa.

CHERYL Carolus, western Cape publicity secretary of the UDF, is one of the youngest and, many would argue, most radical of the ANC team chosen for exploratory talks with government next month.

Carolus, an energetic UDF campaigner, was born in the Cape Flats suburb of Silvertown in 1957. Politically active at the age of 13 and the first woman to be detained in the western Cape, she believes her inclusion in the team has much to do with her leading role in women's politics.

"I think my election is a very concrete manifestation of the ANC giving life to the anniversary statement in which it acknowledged the role and under-representation of women in politics," she says.

Apart from her relative youth, Carolus's political profile is different from that of most of the other members of the 11-member team. She has not been in exile and, as a regional leader of the UDF and the Federation of SA Women, has been involved in much of the groundwork which has maintained the momentum of black defiance and political action within the country.

# A delegate for black youth

B10 am 17/4/90

**LESLEY LAMBERT**  
in Cape Town

While she could never have the charismatic or mythical appeal of many of the exiled or jailed ANC members, she has been closer to the people they represent and probably has a clearer understanding of one group in particular — the black youth of whose support ANC leaders appear most uncertain.

Carolus, a teacher who is currently employed in a non-academic position with the University of the Western Cape's Education, Resource and Information Project, has also established close links with exiled ANC members during her political career.

In 1986, she was a member of the first UDF delegation to meet the ANC. The delegation was limited to those who were allowed passports and Carolus was detained for a second time on her return to SA. She also attended the OAU meeting last year at which the ANC endorsed the Harare Declaration, outlining its preconditions for negotiations. And

it was at the Paris indaba in November last year that she learned that she had been elected to her current position as publicity secretary of the UDF's western Cape branch.

Carolus says members of the ANC team will attend the meetings on May 2, 3 and 4 with a strong national mandate which they hope to achieve by active consultation with exiled and domestic ANC members. The mandate will be built around the conditions of the Harare Declaration, which include indemnity for returning exiles, the release of the 3 000 political prisoners still held throughout the country, an end to the state of emergency and the removal of troops stationed in townships.

She disputes suggestions that the

ANC is not ready to negotiate, saying the process of "talks about talks" would have started earlier if government had not been unwilling to grant indemnity to leading ANC exiles wishing to return. And she is angry that people questioned the justification for calling off the April 11 talks after the Sebokeng shootings, in which it is claimed 19 people were killed and many more injured.

"If Umkhonto we Sizwe had planted a bomb in a supermarket which killed and injured the same number of people, would there have been the same argument against the justification?"

On whether the decision to go ahead with the talks was based largely on concern at the outbreaks of violence, particularly in Natal, and the apparent inability of the ANC and government to solve the underlying causes, Carolus says: "The ANC has consistently tried to find a solution to the problems in this

country, but up to now the National Party has refused to become involved in discussions. The ANC has decided to go ahead with its commitment to a peaceful solution in our country. It is not posturing."

Of the negotiations which will follow if the obstacles are removed and the "right political climate is created", Carolus says a constituent assembly is the ANC's favoured constitutional mechanism.

"There is a lot of confusion about the negotiations. The ANC does not arrogate itself a place in the negotiations. It wants to be democratically elected to the position and is confident of substantial support."

That Carolus is committed to her cause is without question. In an attempt to track her down for an interview, I was informed by a colleague that she was off sick.

"It's either flu or exhaustion," he said nonchalantly.

It is also understood she and her new husband, UWC lecturer Graeme Bloch, decided to postpone their honeymoon because they wanted to attend an ANC motorcade protest after the wedding reception.

**LETTERS**



# Thousands of Wembley concert fans roar welcome for Mandela (1A)

LONDON — Thousands of music fans and anti-apartheid supporters filled the Wembley Stadium in London last night and gave Nelson Mandela a united roar of welcome as the International Tribute in honour of the recently released ANC deputy president got under way.

Sapa reports British comedian Lenny Henry and US actor Denzil Washington, as masters of ceremony, introduced Mandela and his wife, Winnie, to the crowd of about 78,000 people.

Mandela was scheduled to make a short speech towards the end of the concert.

On his arrival in London on Sunday Man-

dela said he was prepared to meet Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher but not on his current trip to Britain.

Mandela, who has been invited by Thatcher for talks, said in an interview published by the Daily Mirror yesterday: "I hope to see her in May."

Of the prime minister he said: "A very powerful lady, one I would rather have as an ally than an enemy."

However, he said just before his arrival that Thatcher's call for sanctions to be dropped was "absolutely disastrous".

Although Mandela says the way to improve relations between the ANC and Brit-

ain is through the prime minister, political sources said his message to the concert would be to maintain pressure on SA until apartheid was dismantled.

However, Thatcher was in no way upset by the ANC executive's instruction to Mandela to snub her invitation to meet on Sunday or yesterday, reports IAN HOBBS.

A spokesman for the prime minister said her invitation remained open and she looked forward to meeting Mandela at a "suitable time".

He had an informal "five-minute chat" with two Foreign Office officials on Sunday night during which he made clear that

there was no personal snub intended.

Very high-level security is surrounding Mandela's visit as police are treating seriously fears that racist fanatics or embittered exiled SA groups could try to assassinate him.

His agenda includes talks with 150 political dignitaries, representatives of foreign governments and anti-apartheid leaders from around the world. Black American leader the Rev Jesse Jackson will accompany Mandela throughout his visit.

On Sunday Mandela met leading anti-apartheid campaigner and friend Archbishop Trevor Huddleston for the first time

since he was freed two months ago.

Mandela is also attending a private dinner hosted by Commonwealth Secretary-General Sir Shridath Ramphal where he will hold informal talks with Labour leader Neil Kinnock.

□ The International Freedom Foundation (IFF) questioned the presence of Mandela at last night's pop concert, reports Sapa.

In an advertisement in The Times of London yesterday the London branch of the Washington-based IFF said the slaughter of women and children in SA continued while Mandela and the pop fans enjoyed themselves.

11/4/90 28 11A

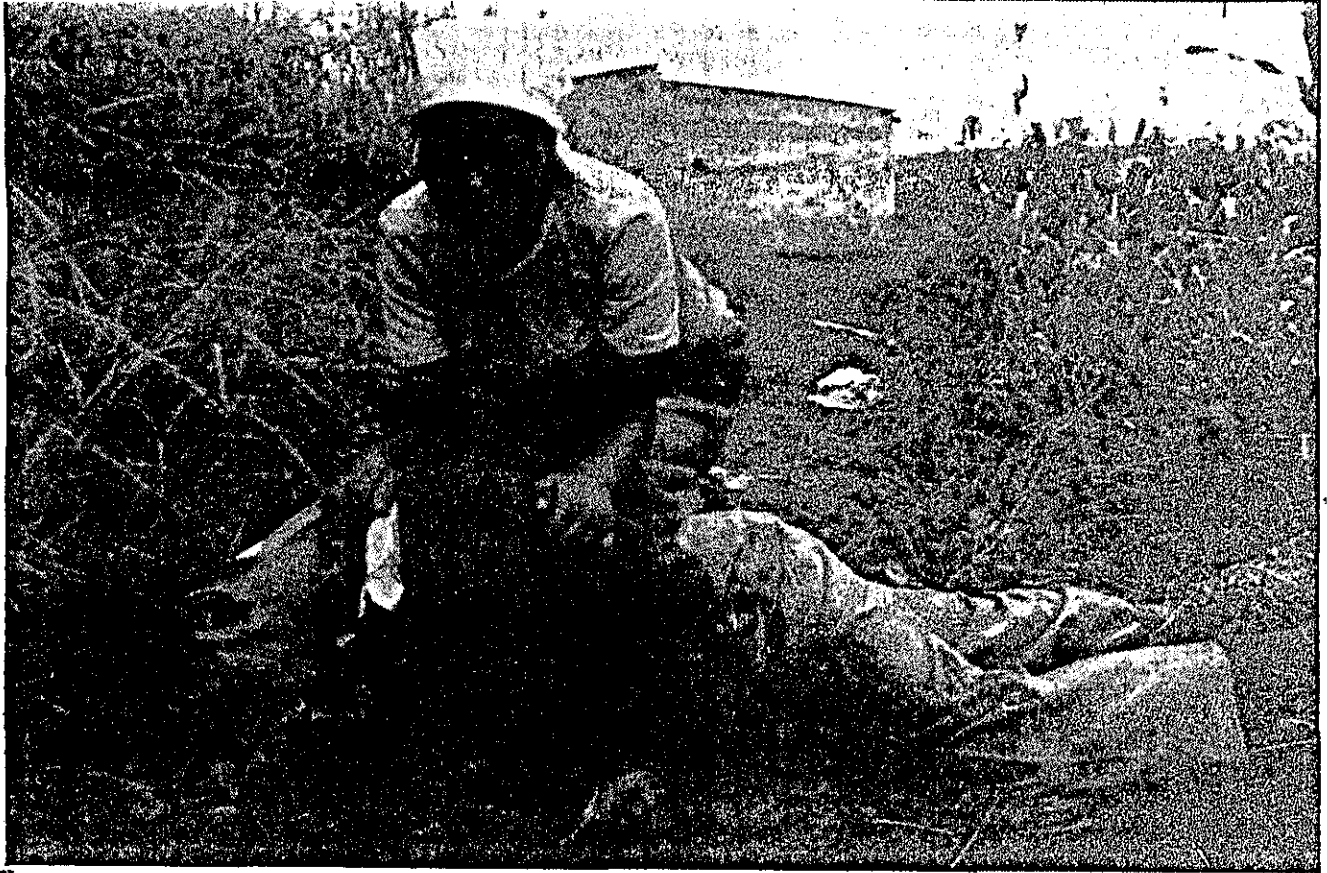
## Research aid for ANC urged

MAPUTO — The South African democratic movement should enlist the support of intellectuals, even those critical of the ANC, to research future policies in the country, the rector of the University of Western Cape, Mr. Jakes Gerwell, has said.

Speaking at a workshop on health in southern Africa, Mr. Gerwell said that while the democratic movement had been successful in launching "a widely based onslaught against the State", it had been less successful in harnessing South Africa's intellectual resources.

Intellectuals had to put flesh on the broad vision of the ANC's Freedom Charter, initiating serious research into the concrete possibilities of achieving that vision, he said.

Thus, to implement ANC policy on nationalisation, questions needed to be investigated — such as the implications of that policy, the capacity of the State to run those enterprises and the possibility of a general flight of capital from the country.



Bloody conflict . . . A woman mourns beside the body of her brother-in-law, killed at Edendale, outside Maritzburg, during a recent clash. Despite calls by Nelson Mandela and Chief Buthelezi for an end to the carnage, the killing continues.

568 17/4/90 (11A)

## Once they were all friends . . . now it's war

African National Congress supporter Christopher Ngubane, of Mpophomeni near Howick, is baffled by the fighting which has blighted his pastoral village since 1985.

"In fact, I don't know why we're fighting. I can't even say what the problem is. Once we were all friends here," he says.

Right up to three years ago, he and the men from his section of the village would drink with the Inkatha men on the opposite side of the valley.

"Then came the strike of 1985 and the fighting started. Now we don't sleep at night. They come through the grass and shoot. Their houses are not far from ours, maybe a few hundred metres away. I really don't know why we have this fighting."

This story is heard repeatedly from good, honest people whose children are being slaughtered and houses are being burnt in the killing fields surrounding Maritzburg. In many ways their dilemma reflects the confusion surrounding a conflict which has become endemic.

As the killing goes on, a maelstrom of accusations and counter-accusations are being tossed between the ANC-UDF alliance and Inkatha. The UDF say they are not the protagonists. The police, they say, are collaborating with Inkatha. They accuse the press of presenting the current wave of unrest as a "50-50 tit-for-tat series of UDF-Inkatha clashes".

But most refugees had fled from truckloads of armed impis, the areas devastated were mostly UDF support-bases, and most of the dead were from UDF areas.

Inkatha has dismissed the claims as "distorted", as "another wild outburst of unsubstantiated claims". It has blamed the UDF and Cosatu for derailing the Mandela-Buthelezi peace talks by making provocative

Good, honest people are seeing their children being slaughtered and their houses bombed in Natal's killing fields, reports **DAWN BARKHUIZEN**

statements.

However, political observers believe that the unparalleled violence, which started before 1985, stems from a jockeying for positions at the negotiating table and an all-out battle for constituencies.

The analysts see ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela's talks with homeland leaders (resulting in four of them boycotting talks with the State President), coupled with his declared intention of forming a broad anti-apartheid front and his announcement that he was not yet ready to speak to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, as a clear attempt to isolate the Inkatha leader.

### Systematic onslaught

Chief Buthelezi on the other hand is having none of it. He says he will not take orders from the ANC. Before his recent meeting with the State President, he said Inkatha was still the black political organisation with the largest membership and that he already had a mandate to start negotiations.

The joint working committee of the UDF and Cosatu in Maritzburg say Inkatha attacks on their homes and families during the recent wave of unrest were the most systematic, co-ordinated and concerted onslaught undertaken in the past three years. They had come at a time when "conservative forces throughout the country are losing ground to the ANC", they said.

Soldiers have been deployed in an attempt to stop the mayhem — but this must

be seen, at best, as a holding operation and a bid to restore law and order rather than resolve the fundamentals of the conflict.

The first hurdle in combating the crisis is to get opposing leaders together, but as Mr Mandela is not prepared to see Chief Buthelezi, the chances of this seem remote. Other steps needed to resolve the conflict include:

- Vast upgrading of living standards and the provision of jobs.
- The restoration of police credibility at a time when accounts of police bias abound. This is a key issue, according to DP MP for Greytown, Mr Pierre Cronje.
- The eradication of a vast backlog of court cases — criminals are known to be at large because the courts cannot cope.

Scores of people have been killed in the latest clashes. Every morning, workers from the Ad Hoc Crisis Committee scour morgues for bodies. Every day, lists are pinned up at the refugee camps in an effort to trace families.

At Imbali, where UDF and Inkatha supporters live in close proximity, fighting takes place daily. Unrest monitors say you can watch a "living fireworks display every night" at Imbali.

When The Star team visited the locked, empty houses, burnt-out cars and homemade roadblocks bore silent testimony to the events of recent weeks.

One man, unable to take it anymore, was loading his furniture onto a van and moving out lock, stock and barrel. The attackers had come from a house less than 200 m away, he said, pointing over his back fence.

Most of the people have fled the area. The only ones you see moving are those walking slowly towards the main road, their possessions perched on their heads.

St. Philo

SA

# ANC must be a normal political party — Boraine

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — One of the ways in which some of the current violence in South Africa could be prevented would be for the ANC to move beyond being a liberation movement to becoming a normal political party, says the executive director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa), Dr Alex Boraine.

"It would be in their own self-interest to establish their headquarters inside South Africa and more especially to open branches in all the major centres of South Africa," Dr Boraine said.

"This would not only give them a visible face and base which is essential for any successful political party, but it would also enable them to use their quite considerable clout to lead people away from violent confrontation towards discussion, debate and argument."

In his editorial in the latest issue of Democracy in Action, Dr Boraine said there could be no doubt that the convulsions experienced in the newly

emerging South Africa had become fertile ground for right-wing forces.

"There has been a backlash and a lot of education is going to be necessary. Whites have to come to terms with the consequences of the long legacy of apartheid.

"An example of this is the popular uprisings in the Ciskei and other so-called homelands which were tragically accompanied by widespread arson and looting.

"It is inevitable that a society which has been repressed for so long will demonstrate in an exuberant manner. This can so often be capitalised on by a minority who desire to seek material and personal gain from the downfall of dictators and the joy and celebration of the oppressed."

Dr Boraine said what white South Africans were inclined to forget was that the homelands were a direct result of the National Party policy of divide and rule, which had meant that blacks were compelled to forsake their South African citizenship.

He said political changes and reform had to be reflected in the improvement of the quality of life of

people if they were going to have any impact on the attitudes and mood of blacks.

"This is particularly true of the legitimate black grievances regarding the present economic system.

"It is unhelpful for the business community to simply denounce nationalisation and redistribution without clearly acknowledging that these genuine grievances exist and that demands made by the black community for a restructuring of the economic system are justified.

"If one can find common agreement that the restructuring of the economic system is necessary, then the debate can start as to whether nationalisation will bring this about or whether there are any other ways and means of restoring a just economic system in South Africa.

"The painful reality is that we have a vast chasm between a minority who are well fed and well clothed ... and the vast majority who are not only very often poorly clad, badly housed and unemployed, but in many of the rural areas actually face starvation."



"What is required is a great deal of understanding, decisive action, strong hearts and cool heads," says Dr Alex Boraine.

Mandela's plea to world: Don't provide prop for apartheid

# No 'rewards for reforms'

The Star Bureau

London

Mr Nelson Mandela delivered a strong plea for sanctions to an international audience last night, attacking Mrs Margaret Thatcher's "rewards-for-reforms" approach as a prop for apartheid.

He told an enraptured Wembley concert audience and TV viewers in 26 other countries that "it is only those who support apartheid who can argue that Pretoria should be rewarded for the small steps it has taken".

Despite his criticism of Mrs Thatcher, the ANC deputy leader had earlier confirmed that he planned to meet the British premier, possibly next month.

Mr Mandela told an estimated 72 000 concert-goers: "There are some in the world who wish to support the South African Government by giving it rewards and carrots.

"But we, representing the overwhelming majority of the people of our country, turn to you for support, which we now need more than ever before."

He exhorted his audience to make a fresh commitment in the fight against apartheid, to "refuse to be demoralised, even if those who seek to demoralise us plead that they are doing so out of a new-found concern for the oppressed, and out of the goodness of their hearts.

"Reject any suggestion that the campaign against the isolation of the apartheid system should be wound down", he said. The reward that the people of South Africa wanted was the end of apartheid and "the transformation of our country into a non-racial democracy.

## 'Wrong signal'

"That prospect will only become reality as a result of the struggle, including the struggle represented by the sanctions campaign."

He was optimistic about reaching his goal: "The dreams of millions of people to see our country free and at peace will be realised sooner rather than later."

At a Wembley media conference earlier, Mr Mandela said Mrs Thatcher was not welcome to visit South Africa as this would send a "wrong signal. We are opposed to her coming unless there is a settlement to end apartheid".

When he took the podium Mr Mandela was given a five-minute standing ovation by the crowd, which had braved a hailstorm to see him.

They were rewarded when he warmly thanked all those who had "chosen to care" about the anti-apartheid struggle.

The British government has welcomed Mr Mandela's decision to meet Mrs Thatcher. The Foreign Office said he had confirmed during a brief meeting with two British diplomats "that he plans to return to London later this year, when he hopes to see Mrs Thatcher".

He told the Daily Mirror that the first stop on his world tour, starting next month, was likely to be London to visit the British leader. A Downing Street spokesman said she remained "ready and willing, diary permitting", to see Mr Mandela.

● See Page 3.



Warm welcome... Mr Nelson Mandela, accompanied by his wife, Winnie, at Wembley Stadium yesterday where the 72 000 capacity crowd gave the couple a standing ovation. Picture by Reuters.

## FW expected to maintain Govt's reform initiative

By Peter Fabricius,  
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — President de Klerk is expected to throw further light on the Government's reform plans in an important speech to Parliament today.

He will be speaking in the debate on the State President's vote, traditionally an occasion for dealing with weighty political matters.

Although political observers believe that Mr de Klerk will clarify several important Government policy issues, they do not believe he will make any momentous announcements. But they do believe he will try to maintain the initiative by keeping the focus on the Government's reform plans.

The timing of today's speech is important, coming as it does before the Government's crucial talks with the ANC starting on May and Mr de Klerk's expected visits to Britain, Europe and America after that.

The speech may give some indication if any important decisions were made when the Cabinet held a special "bush indaba" session two weeks ago to discuss basic policy.

It is understood that the Cabinet agenda included ways of dealing

with remaining apartheid legislation such as the Group Areas Act and the Land Acts. There has been speculation that Mr de Klerk will today announce a timetable for the abolition of these measures.

National Party sources said today this was unlikely and that the Government had already made enough of the running.

"Mr de Klerk cannot keep making concessions while the ANC gives nothing in return," one source said.

Mr de Klerk may also discuss the continuing violence and the ANC's continued refusal to renounce the armed struggle.

Mr de Klerk indicated before the Easter recess that he would deal with the Conservative Party's claims that it has discovered a secret ANC plan to assassinate right-wingers and that the Government was not dealing satisfactorily with the threat.

Intelligence sources said today that the ANC plan was "nothing more than an informer's report" which had not been confirmed.

Mr de Klerk is also likely to address the question of whether or not the NP should admit members of other races or seek alliances with other parties.

## Teachers set to end strike tomorrow

Thousands of teachers and pupils are expected to return to classes tomorrow when schools controlled by the Department of Education and Training reopen for the second term.

The decision on April 4 by 6 000 teachers in the DET's Johannesburg region to suspend conditionally their month-long "chalks down" strike, has come as a relief to parents.

Fears were already being expressed that, should the crisis continue much longer, this year's results were bound to be the gloomiest.

Aware of these sentiments, the teachers have agreed that schools should not close in June for the winter holidays.

The Minister of Education and Development Aid, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, last week announced the Government had waived a rule automatically firing about 11 60 black teachers for their strike action and a clause treating unauthorised absence as leave without pay.



# ANC, UDF backs fired workers

*Sowetan*  
THE ANC and the United Democratic Front stood behind the sacked Dorbyl Shipbuilders and Dorbyl Marine workers in their fight against the importation of foreign labour, ANC's internal wing spokesman, Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota, said yesterday.

Lekota was addressing a group of more than a thousand chanting workers,

*19/4/90*  
members of community organisations and school children who gathered outside St Emmanuel Cathedral in Durban before the start of a march which ended at the Department of Manpower in Masonic Grove where a memorandum was handed to the regional director of the Department of Manpower, Mr Henrie Venter. ~~17/4~~

# Cops probe takeover bid of white houses 'by the ANC'

IA

soweta  
19/4/90

POLICE have launched an urgent national investigation into allegations that domestic workers have been paying money into an ANC fund which ensures that their employers' homes will belong to them in the "new" South Africa.

This follows panic among homeowners after numerous incidents in Durban and in the Transvaal whereby the homeowners were informed by their domestic workers that the homes belonged not to the owner but to the domestic worker who has been contributing to an ANC fund.

Spokesman for the ANC in Lusaka, Tom Sebina, responded indignantly to the allegations and said that the "policy" of taking over white homes was not on the ANC agenda.

He said that he would welcome a police investigation to find the "criminal element who was defaming the ANC."

"It is absolutely untrue that we have been collecting money from domestic workers for this purpose. The take-over of private homes has never been on the ANC's agenda and it is not our policy."

Durban residents, who have all experienced alleged "ANC coups" of their homes, during the last few weeks, are meanwhile outraged at the situation.

Mr Gordon Nixon of Hillhead Road on the Bluff is just one of the surprised Durban residents to be told recently that his home "no longer belongs to him, but to his domestic worker and to the ANC."

"My wife and I went away for the weekend. When we returned we found two well-dressed African gentlemen happily surveying my property and taking photographs. When I asked them what they thought they were doing, they told me they had been paid R30 by my maid, Priscilla, to take photographs.

"They told me that one picture of our home goes to her and another to the Mandela Fund. When I offered to introduce them to my shotgun or to call the police they just laughed and said that soon all white homes would belong to the people and to the ANC," said Mr Nixon.

According to Mr Nixon, the men then nonchalantly sauntered off.

His maid was dismissed on the spot and was not accessible for an interview.

# Viljoen tells Americans of coming peace talks

Sowetan 19/4/90

11A

WASHINGTON - The full implications of the rising level of violence and the effect of rhetoric about armed struggle in this regard would be thrashed out in talks between the Government and the African National Congress on May 2, according to Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen.

The Minister, in the US on a brief visit, briefed the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, in Washington this week, on the thrust of the Government's reform plans and progress towards negotiations.

Dr Viljoen told the Carnegie Endowment the May 2 talks would address specifically the requirement to eliminate remaining legal restrictions on the normal political process (the state of emergency and the release of political prisoners) and the continued use of rhetoric about the armed struggle by certain parties.

He said such rhetoric

was causing problems by enabling young people to justify their use of violence in townships and other areas of South Africa.

The Minister was highly complimentary of Mr Nelson Mandela, deputy president of the ANC, who he said was firmly committed to a peaceful solution for South Africa. However,

he was concerned at Mr Mandela's continued adherence to the basic principle of the armed struggle. This was being interpreted at the lower levels of society as an encouragement to resort to violence, he said.

## Mildness

Dr Viljoen described Mr Mandela as an impressive person. "I ad-

mire him for his reasonableness and mildness he displays after spending more than a quarter of a century in prison," he said.

Mr Mandela, he added, was no doubt under heavy pressure from younger people who did not share his enthusiasm for a peaceful solution and who would prefer to fight it out.

BRONX 2/2/91



# Sayco alleges Inkatha youth Israeli-trained

CAT Tufs 19/4/90

JOHANNESBURG. — The SA Youth Congress (Sayco) yesterday alleged that members of Inkatha had been sent to Israel for military training.

Sayco vice-president Mr Mnyamezeli Booi said Sayco had videotaped evidence of Inkatha "defectors" who allegedly revealed that Inkatha had sent youths to Israel for military training.

"We are in possession of evidence from defected members of Inkatha that Inkatha has been sending its youth to Israel for training."

He said that for the "protection of the individuals" the informants could not be named.

Reacting, Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi described the Sayco claims as "untrue and patently ridiculous".

"As president of Inkatha I state, quite categorically, that I have never sent any members of Inkatha to Israel for military training and I most certainly have not sanctioned, and neither has anybody else in Inkatha, any action whatever designed to enable my supporters to engage in acts of violence against the ANC or any other organisation. These allegations are pure and utter drivel."

● Sayco will be dissolved and the ANC Youth League re-established in co-operation with the Lusaka-based ANC Youth Section, Sayco said yesterday.

Mr Peter Mokaba and Mr Rapu Molekane were re-elected president and general secretary of Sayco at the congress at the weekend.

On the Natal violence, the Sayco congress resolved to endorse ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela's call for a peace conference. But Mr Mokaba stressed that Chief Buthelezi would not be included in the peace process. — Sapa

11A (22/5)  
CMT TR-113 19/4/90

# Natal youths 'flee to ANC'

LUSAKA. — The ANC yesterday claimed that 150 youths, fleeing the violence in Natal, had sought refuge at the organisation's headquarters here.

The ANC said the refugees had arrived during the past week.

ANC spokesman Mr Tom Sebina said most had been flown to Lusaka from Swaziland via Maputo with the assistance of the UN High Commission for Refugees.

Others, he said, had financed their road trips to Lusaka direct from South Africa.

Mr Sebina said the youths, when questioned, had said they were fleeing the violence in Natal and were unhappy because schooling had become impossible.

The refugees, mostly teenagers from the townships around Durban, were being looked after by the ANC, Mr Sebina added. — Sapa-Reuter

● Divided rule factor in Natal violence — Page 5



Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg: "Mr de Klerk cannot even claim to enjoy the support of all whites."

ANC has FW in a  
*FEI (9/6/92) (30/11/92) (11/9)*  
 double-Nelson CP

President de Klerk was recklessly playing with the lives of many people by pursuing negotiations with the ANC; Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg (CP Lichtenberg), said in Parliament yesterday.

Speaking in the State President's Vote, he said Mr de Klerk was intent on holding negotiations with people who perpetrated violence even though he had said in the past that he would not do so until they had renounced violence.

Mr de Klerk was even willing to indemnify from prosecution those who had been responsible for acts of violence to keep the negotiation process going.

However it was the ANC which was dominating the process and setting the pace. Their deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela, had cancelled the proposed talks with the Government because of alleged violence at Sebokeng. Mr de Klerk responded by considering prosecution against the police.

Dr Hartzenberg said the ANC had also torpedoed the talks between homeland leaders and the Government. He said Mr de Klerk could not even claim to enjoy the support of all whites: "The State President is firmly in the grip of a double-Nelson."

Referring to a security document containing threats of attacks on certain people, he said the CP would not cover up the violence being planned by the ANC against the security forces. — Sapa.

# Lawyers to probe PAC leader's death

By Dawn Barkhuizen

The PAC is to appoint lawyers to establish the circumstances surrounding the death of its founder member, Mr Jafta "Jeff" Masemola (58).

Mr Masemola's life might have been saved had ambulancemen responded promptly when he was critically injured in a car accident near Pretoria on Tuesday, PAC spokesman, Mr Mark Shinnars said in Johannesburg yesterday.

Mr Shinnars told a press conference that the badly injured Mr Masemola lay in his smashed vehicle for more than an hour before an ambulance arrived to take him to hospital.

"It is my view that Mr Masemola might not have lost his life had the ambulance been quicker," Mr Shinnars said.

Mr Masemola died within hours of his car colliding with a

truck at a T-junction on the Brits-Rosslyn road at about noon on Tuesday. The car was a write-off. The truck driver was not hurt.

Mr Masemola's sister, Mrs Dora Maodi, said the accident took place at about noon and the ambulance "took more than an hour to get to him".

Akasia Town Council fire chief, Mr Sakkie Venter, said his ambulance team acted promptly and professionally, responding to the distress call within one minute.

He said: "We got the call at 12.38 pm from a Mr Mabena. Our ambulance, which was in Pretoria North, was radioed at 12.39pm and instructed to go straight to the accident — more than 21 kms away. They collected Mr Masemola, transported him to hospital and were back at the depot exactly 68 minutes

later." *St- (9/1/90) (11A)*

Garankuwa Hospital records show that Mr Masemola had been admitted at 13.35pm. He was in a grave condition with multiple injuries and died in the trauma unit, the superintendent, Dr Louis van Heerden, said.

● Mr Shinnars also told the press conference yesterday that the loss of Mr Masemola would motivate PAC activists to press on for their cause with greater determination.

Mr Shinnars said while the PAC deeply mourned their leader and the impact of his loss would be evident, the PAC had lost men of enormous calibre and talent before.

Mr Masemola was jailed in 1963 and released in December last year with seven African National Congress leaders. He served 26 years of a life-sentence for PAC activities.

In 1985 he was one of several political prisoners who refused to be released on condition they renounced violence.

His death has been described as "tragic" and "shocking" by fellow Robben Island prisoner and the head of the ANC's internal leadership corps, Mr Walter Sisulu.

It was tragic Mr Masemola had died just as the goal that he dedicated his entire life to was drawing close, Mr Sisulu said.

Paying tribute United Democratic Front general-secretary, Mr Popo Molefe, said the loss of Mr Masemola was a loss to all the people of South Africa and the entire liberation movement.

Commemoration services in various parts of SA are planned for April 29. A lunch-hour service will take place in Johannesburg tomorrow.

‘No’ to Mandela  
Unibo doctorate

MMABATHO — ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela has been turned down by the University of Bophuthatswana (Unibo) Council for an honorary doctorate, according to a statement by the Unibo Support Committee yesterday.

It said Mr Mandela's name had been put forward by the senate but was rejected in favour of the current chancellor, Sir Albert Robinson, formerly of JCI. — Sapa.

# Move to join Sayco with ANC

11A

THE South African Youth Congress will be dissolved and the ANC Youth League re-established in South Africa, Sayco said in Johannesburg yesterday.

The organisation revealed at a Press conference that it had resolved at its national congress in KaNgwane at the weekend to merge with the Lusaka-based ANC Youth Section with the aim of re-establishing the youth league.

This was part of a move to transform Sayco from a federation of youth congresses to a unitary organisation, the organisation's publicity secretary, Mr Parks Mankahlana, said.

Mr Peter Mokaba and Mr Rapu Molekane were re-elected president and general secretary of Sayco respectively at the congress, attended by 1 762 delegates from 11 regions.

In another resolution the congress had called on the Government to remove obstacles to negotiation.

On the Natal violence, it endorsed ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela's call for a peace conference of all organisations opposed to "apartheid violence".

But Mokaba said KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi would not be included in the peace process.

He accused Buthelezi of being responsible for violence in Natal through "collaboration" with Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister Magnus Malan.

The congress expressed its support for the back to school campaign. - Sapa.



## THE DISCOUNT

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## Soweto mother of four is stabbed 16 times

By ALI MPHAKI

HORRIFIED residents in Tshiawelo Extension watched helplessly as a woman was stabbed 16 times in one of the 18 murders reported in Soweto at the weekend.

The body of Mrs Lydia Sikwane (41) was found on a street pavement near her house.

A witness said Sikwane had arrived from church on Saturday night and a man, who appeared very angry, produced a knife and threatened to stab her. The witness



# ANC leaders set to move to SA soon

Lusaka - The first three of the ANC's leaders in exile will move to South Africa permanently within the next two weeks, sources here say.

The three - Henry Makgoti, Steve Tshwete and Reginald September -

are expected to leave Lusaka ahead of the ANC delegation selected for the three-day talks about talks with President F W de Klerk, starting in Cape Town on May 2.

Their job will be to expand the organisation's internal structure. They are likely to be based in Johannesburg to begin with.

Makgoti, aged 63, is deputy secretary general

of the ANC and head of its National Secretariat.

Tshwete, 49, is coordinator of the Internal Political Committee and a member of the military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

September, 65, is secretary of the ANC's department of political education and a member of the Political-Military Council and the National Working Committee.

Sowetan 11/4/90 (11/11)

# PAC to probe death of leader Jeff Masemola

THE Pan Africanist Congress is to launch a legal investigation into the circumstances surrounding the death of its leader, Mr Japhta Masemola.

Masemola died on Tuesday when the car in which he was travelling and a truck collided at an intersection on the Brits-Rosslyn road outside Pretoria.

He will be buried in Atteridgeville on April 29, PAC spokesman Mr Mark Shiners told a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday.

Shiners said Masemola, who was popularly known as Jeff, was on his way to Garankuwa Hospital to consult a specialist for a leg injury he sustained while serving a life sentence on Robben Island.

He said the PAC would gather evidence at the scene of the accident,

By THEMBA MOLEFE

Garankuwa Hospital and De-Wildt police station.

Masemola, who was travelling alone, was taken by ambulance to hospital an hour after the accident, Shiners said.

His son, Tebogo, found him dead when he arrived at the hospital.

Shiners said: "On his release from prison he had moved around the country, addressing rallies and meetings, calling on our people not to compromise but to fight on until final victory was achieved.

## Invitations

"He died after receiving an invitation from the United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid to address the 14th anniversary of June 16 in New York, and several invitations from organisations in Western countries and Africa."

ANC internal leaders and former Robben Island prisoners Mr Wilton Mkwai and Mr Elias Motsoaledi, and UDF executive member Mr Titus Mafole, yesterday visited Masemola's home.

The Azanian People's Organisation has expressed shock and sadness over the death.

\* See page 6

## Venda bosses

THE chairman and only member of Venda's ruling Council of National Unity, Colonel Gabriel Ramushawana, is to announce his Cabinet tomorrow, it was learned yesterday.

Speaking at his new offices at Thohoyandou, Ramushawana said the Cabinet would include whites.



# Quick fix won't help Natal

## Communication must be established on ground

In concluding his series examining the violence in Natal, **MATTHEW KENTRIDGE**, a freelance political researcher, says the short-sighted "rally mentality" is not helping in the search to find a solution to the conflict.

At the height of the violence in Maritzburg at the end of March, after 30 people had been killed in a single day, it was announced that Chief Buthelezi of Inkatha and Mr Nelson Mandela of the ANC would address a joint rally at Taylor's Halt in the rural area of Vullindlela.

The following day the ANC withdrew and the rally was cancelled. The general response was one of shock and outrage. The ANC was castigated for maliciously aborting the peace process.

The ANC claims that it had never agreed formally to the rally in the first place. The announcement was leaked, leaving the ANC in an embarrassing position.

In fact, a rally at Taylor's Halt — the site of numerous clashes between Inkatha and UDF supporters — would have been a dangerous experiment. It could easily have become a battleground.

More significantly, the bluster surrounding the rally is indicative of a strangely short-sighted approach to the question of peace in Natal.

The approach, which can be summarised as the "rally mentality", places all hopes for peace on a meeting or on a joint rally addressed by both Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi.

A recent newspaper editorial declared: "A joint rally could save Natal", and articles by journalists and other political commentators focus almost exclusively on the political obstacles to such a meeting.

Talks between Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi would certainly serve some purpose. Both are charismatic and respected leaders. Their words have clout; people listen to what they say.

An Inkatha-ANC palaver would send a signal to the effect that both sides were getting serious about peace.

However, such a meeting constitutes only the first, and easiest,

stage-post on the road to peace.

The history of the war in the Natal midlands is littered with broken peace attempts. Every few months a new round of meetings — "talks about talks" and sometimes even "talks" — have been convened between top-level executive officials in Inkatha, the UDF and Cosatu, and each new initiative has been hailed a major breakthrough.

Unfortunately, none have proved either "major" or a "breakthrough".

### Bad faith

Inkatha and the UDF tend to attribute each fresh breakdown to bad faith on the part of the other, and to some extent both have been guilty of this. However, the failure of all peace initiatives to date is the product of a far more fundamental and intractable problem.

It is one which exposes the limits of the rally mentality, and undermines high level, high profile diplomatic activity between officers of the rival organisations.

What each successive failure has illustrated more and more clearly is that the process of translating the decisions of top-ranking officials into action at the grassroots level is fraught with difficulties. There are two compounding aspects to the problem.

The first consists of the lack of

intermediate organisational structures; there is no reliable mechanism to relay signals from the top down or the bottom up.

And even where a chain of command still exists, there is no guarantee that local officials will follow the directives of their national executives. UDF "comrades", for whom the war is a way of life and mistrust of Inkatha the most fundamental component of their world view, were not prepared to heed Mr Mandela and "throw their weapons into the sea".

Likewise, Inkatha warlords, many of whom have reaped large material and political rewards from the war, will not necessarily accede to Chief Buthelezi's calls for peace.

The second aspect of the problem is the fact that the original political dispute has spawned a host of local, personal feuds.

These gloomy prognostications do not mean that there is nothing to be done for Natal. There are three major steps that should be taken immediately and in conjunction with one another to bring about a substantial reduction in the levels of violence:

● First, the police must show themselves to be an honest, impartial professional force. The police have forfeited the trust of the black residents of the midlands and their recent actions show that the old path-

ologies of partisanship, bad faith and obstructiveness are still there.

It is up to the police to flush out the perpetrators of violence comprehensively and in an even-handed manner. When this happens the cycle of violence and revenge will be broken as people no longer take the law into their own hands.

● Second, both Inkatha and the ANC and UDF must strengthen their intermediate and local levels of organisation. Talks between Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi will have neither influence nor purchase without a formal, disciplined chain of communication.

● Third, a socio-economic development plan is needed. Apart from the need to resuscitate devastated areas and repair the ravages of war, the foot soldiers on both sides must have some alternative to fighting. The development proposal for Natal announced by the State President in early April is a first, but insufficient, step.

The Government has to regain the trust of communities which have been ignored and neglected for years. A development plan under the auspices of the Department of Planning and Provincial Affairs will not succeed in this respect.

Rather, the Government should make development funding available, to be administered by a third party who enjoys credibility with all sides. In other words, something is needed similar to the R2 billion general development trust fund to be administered by Mr Jan Steyn.

None of these measures is straightforward, nor will their implementation be easily achieved. But at least they are something positive to work towards.

These difficulties notwithstanding, ultimately none of the parties has any choice: without a solution to Natal, the much vaunted forthcoming negotiations on the future of South Africa will be just so much empty talk.

# ANC at London hitmen hearing

By JEREMY BROOK  
London

ANC members will enter the South African Embassy in London for the first time tomorrow as the Harms Commission hears evidence on alleged hit squads.

Yesterday an ANC spokesman confirmed that discussions were taking place between Mr Justice Louis Harms and the organisation on the question of indemnity for members, who would technically be stepping on to South African soil.

"There is no doubt that we will be there as observers. We have a very great interest in the proceedings. But we would like some assurance of indemnity and safe passage for certain of our members who still face arrest in South Africa."

The spokesman added that the two figures who play a central part in the "death squad" allegations — former police captain Dirk Coetzee and former policeman Spyker Tshikulungu — were being flown from Africa to London.

## Problems

They were both in good health and "in custody" of the ANC, he said.

The prospect of the commission sitting in London is drawing wide interest in the British media.

Coverage of the event is certain to cause problems as it will be conducted almost entirely in Afrikaans.

An embassy spokesman said that a basement theatre — usually used as a cinema by diplomatic staff — had been set aside for the hearings. But it can hold only about 50 people.

Legal teams representing various parties — including members and former members of the SA police and Lawyers for Human Rights — are to cross-examine Mr Coetzee and Mr Tshikulungu.

# Stance on majority rule 'unacceptable'

STG-19/4/90 (117)  
The Star's Africa News Service

HARARE — A top ANC official, Mr Thabo Mbeki, has said President de Klerk's rejection of majority rule in South Africa is "completely unacceptable".

Mr Mbeki said: "There can be no solution to the South African question unless there is majority rule."

He said the talks next month with the South African Government would go ahead as planned. They would be about removing obstacles to negotiations.

"What we will be talking about will be the release of political prisoners, ending the state of emergency and the return of exiles to enable the situation to arise for us to go to the next stage," he said.

Mr Mbeki, who is in charge of foreign affairs in the ANC, is regarded as a moderate.

He told a television interviewer that if Mr de Klerk held out against majority rule "of course there can be no solution". What the South African president was reported to have told Parliament was completely unacceptable.

# Girl, 10, tells of aunt's 'execution'

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20/4/90

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By CHRIS BATEMAN

A 10-YEAR-OLD KTC squatter camp girl yesterday described how she had seen her aunt cold-bloodedly executed by a gunman in Old Crossroads.

Ntombenkosi Tasa, whose account was yesterday handed to police, said she and her aunt, identified only as "Miriam," 35, were standing near Lansdowne Road when she saw a fugitive "running like mad towards us" about 7.30am.

Ntombenkosi said three armed men had followed the fugitive, causing people waiting for lifts to work to scatter and jump over a nearby fence. Her aunt had been unable to scale the fence and had hidden behind a house. She followed her aunt in time to see a man grab her and shoot her "on her nose at point blank range".

Her aunt fell on the ground with "blood oozing from her face". Another woman who knew her and her aunt immediately took her (Ntombenkosi) from the scene back home to KTC.

Ntombenkosi said she was positive she would be able to identify the gunmen.

The murder of her aunt, one of three within minutes by the armed trio, happened nine days ago.

Mr Jan van Eck, DP spokesman for local black affairs, said he had arranged for the statement to be handed to the Minister of Law and Order for detectives to follow up.

Ntombenkosi said her aunt was from KTC but would be buried at Butterworth in the Transkei in nine days' time.

Police arrested one man within hours of the triple killings and it is expected that an identification parade will be arranged within days.

They already have several other eyewitnesses, it was reliably learned.

The other two victims, also shot at point blank range, were identified as Mr Nodali Sibunzi, 44, and Mr Lungifile Dyan, 40, who died of a head wound in Groote Schuur Hospital.

● Crime sweep in squatter camp Page 3



EXECUTION WITNESS... Ntombenkosi Tasa, 10, who watched as a gunman cold-bloodedly shot her aunt.

Picture: OBED ZILWA

**Woman 'executed'  
in Xroads killings**

The Cape Times headline of April 11

# A quick admission defuses ANC torture claims

THE prompt admission by the African National Congress that some of its members had been tortured after a mutiny six years ago has helped defuse a potentially explosive situation for the movement.

Less than a week after seven former members broke their story of detention and torture to the *Sunday Correspondent*, ANC Deputy President Nelson Mandela confirmed the truth of their account at a press conference.

"Unfortunately it is true that some of these people who were complaining were in fact tortured." He added that the ANC was against torture and that the movement had dismissed those responsible for these acts after an investigation.

Since then, international reaction

and local press response has been muted. Some have congratulated the movement for the frankness of its admission.

Referring to attempts by "National Party mouthpieces" to compromise Nelson Mandela with the torture story, *Business Day* hit back strongly in Tuesday's editorial: "The best retort is that Mandela was in prison when the atrocities occurred, and in admitting the truth he has acted more forthrightly and more honestly than the South African government in dealing with the atrocious activities of the murder squads which operated while the National Party leaders were certainly *not* in jail."

The previous day *The Citizen* ran an editorial which began gleefully:

**The claims of torture made by Umkhonto weSizwe mutineers could have been a major embarrassment for the ANC. But it moved quickly to defuse the situation. By GAVIN EVANS**

"What an embarrassment for the African National Congress!"

But the issue has been less devastating for the movement than some might have expected, and its effect does not appear to be comparable to that of the "Swapo atrocities" story which broke last year.

First, unlike Swapo, the ANC moved quickly to admit the allegations.

Second, the events took place sev-

eral years ago and according to all reports on a far smaller scale than the Swapo incidents.

Third, the ANC says that since the incidents the Mbokodo, the Umkhonto weSizwe unit responsible, has been disbanded, the officers responsible have been disciplined and a code of conduct banning torture and physical coercion under all circumstances has been introduced.

Shortly after Mandela's press conference, ANC National Executive Committee member Steve Tshwete said it was not ANC policy to torture its prisoners, that there had been "excesses" during the interrogation of the mutineers, and that those responsible for the torture had been "properly dealt with".

He added that the ANC code of conduct now laid down rules about how people detained should be treated.

Surprisingly, *The Star* ran the story with the headline "ANC man justifies the torture of mutineers" while the Sowetan announced: "Torture is justified says ANC".

But what Tshwete had been justifying was the suppression of the mutiny. "No army can play with mutineers," he said.

According to reports from Nairobi, Kenya, the seven former detainees have sent a letter appealing to Nelson Mandela to assist them in their application to be repatriated to South Africa. The ANC has made no attempt to oppose their plea.

NATAL VIOLENCE

FIM 20/4/90

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# Forcing the peace

For the SADF troops who've done township patrols before, the almost universal welcome for the army as they rolled into Natal's bloody townships last week, was not without irony.

In the "Troops out of the Townships" days their presence was scorned. Now, the polecat image is gone, at least for the time being, among groups as diverse as the Black Sash, DP, organised business and ANC-supporting township residents.

The only question mark is over the deployment of 32 Battalion, the battle-hardened black unit that was so effective in the Angolan war: they were flown into Natal last week. There have been no direct complaints but, certain parties — particularly church leaders who met with FW de Klerk last week — feel the introduction of 32 Battalion to the volatile townships might not be appropriate.

However, SADF Chief Jan-nie Geldenhuys has emphasised to the Portuguese-speaking troops that their role is now that of a peacekeeping force. Geldenhuys also points out that 32 Battalion is above local political affiliations and its discipline and neutrality cannot be questioned. It is also one of the few Permanent Force infantry units available for active service.

But some ANC and UDF leaders are not convinced. They say a unit which has fought against Swapo, the Cubans and the MPLA cannot be without ideological bias. The strongest critic has been the ANC's Walter Sisulu, who says his organisation is sure the battalion's presence will aggravate the violence instead of bringing about peace. Most other groups are prepared to wait and see.

The Democratic Party's Midlands director, Radley Keyes, who also heads the unrest monitoring group responsible for Maritzburg's townships, says the level of violence has "dropped considerably" since the 2 000 extra troops arrived. "From reports we've received so far, only two people died in Maritzburg at the weekend. That's compared with 14 deaths the weekend before and nearly 40 the weekend before that."

He says the DP welcomes the army in the townships, pointing out that the party has been calling for troops to be deployed since 1987 — only to be told by police that they had the townships under control.

"We have received no complaints about the army yet, though their presence is still

relatively new. We believe they should be given the chance to prove their credentials. One difference we have noticed is that when we deal with senior army officers commanding units, we are aware we are dealing with professional soldiers."

The DP group's experience with the SAP has not been as happy, which Keyes puts down to the "framework in which the police have had to operate over the years. Before, when the ANC was banned, the UDF was viewed by police largely as an internal wing of the ANC. They became the enemy — a perception which they worked under for a

long time — and I think the police are now finding it hard to break free from that perception."

Yet, while SADF troops have made a big impact in the townships, they have already paid a price for the short time they have been in Natal. At the weekend, Rifleman Stanley van Wyk, a member of the Cape Corps, was shot and killed in an ambush at Mpu-mulanga, one of the flash-points of the violence.

Though not directly related to the violence, a second soldier — David Savage, a Citizen Force member on a one-

month camp in Maritzburg's townships — was killed on Saturday night in a road accident.

The SADF is finding conditions difficult in Maritzburg's Edendale Valley. It is a notoriously hilly area, with few passable roads, scattered settlements and no electric lighting. A spokesman for the SAAF, which is supporting the army with helicopters and spotter planes, says there are problems when deploying troops to remote areas of the valley.

"The people involved in the fighting between Inkatha and the UDF are usually on foot and they know the local terrain. They hear the army coming well in advance and, by the time they arrive, it's all over and they've gone." For this reason, the SAAF is dropping off troops from helicopters, Vietnam-style, in areas where fighting breaks out. Planes are also being used to guide convoys through rugged areas.

Another problem the army has — though they will not discuss it — is having to work under the SAP's riot unit. Troops on the ground say they do not like having SAP members with them on patrols: they believe it makes them a target and they feel it doesn't do their neutral image any good.

Keyes says he is aware that being seconded to the police causes problems for some SADF members but says the only alternative might be martial law — which nobody wants right now.

With the increased SADF presence, the level of violence is likely to stay low and some semblance of normality might return to Natal's troubled townships. The question is what will happen when the army leaves the area.

Meanwhile, KwaZulu police face a barrage of allegations of murder and reckless behavior, many of which were heard in Durban's Supreme Court on Friday based on affidavits made by SAP members.

Based on "wild and reckless" incidents in the South Coast township of KwaMakhutha, two SAP officers lodged an urgent application in their private capacities against the KwaZulu police, accusing them of shooting randomly at residents.

The SAP allegations were backed by members of Durban's Legal Resources Centre, who spoke to about 250 women refugees staying in a refugee camp in Durban. The refugees fled their homes because of what they alleged was a reign of terror. A return date has been set for March 2. *Shaun Harris*



Geldenhuys

THE PRESIDENCY

(S) (S) FIM

## No time to play

There was an iron fist in President FW de Klerk's velvet glove this week. He warned in parliament that government will not tolerate, from Left or Right, attempts to derail the delicate negotiation initiative.

To the Conservative Party he read the riot act, accusing it of irresponsibly "playing with fire" and suggesting that it reflect "deeply and seriously" on its actions. To the ANC he suggested a moderation of statements by its leaders and an acceptance that negotiation is a process of give-and-take.

He also gave an indication of how the National Party will approach both the "talks about talks" with the ANC on May 2 and the main negotiations — when they get off the ground. On May 2, government will tell the ANC that its continued commitment to the "armed struggle" conflicts with the concept of peaceful negotiation. "(It) therefore constitutes a further obstacle, alongside the reality of violence, that has to be removed."

And in a preview of its main negotiation stance, De Klerk again stressed that government sees no merit in either partition or simple majoritarianism (in either a unitary or geographically federal state) as constitu-

THE ANC FIM 20/4/90

**Skeletons arise** 11A

No doubt aware of the damaging publicity and loss of electoral support suffered by fraternal Swapo after its torture dungeons were uncovered last year, the ANC has wisely admitted torturing "some" alleged dissidents of its own.

The acknowledgement by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela last Saturday, follows reports in the London *Sunday Correspondent*. The paper quoted seven former ANC members, now in Nairobi, who said they'd been tortured by certain ANC military leaders to extract information. They

**Modise**

had met Archbishop Desmond Tutu in Kenya (recently there to attend a meeting of the All Africa Conference of Churches, of which he is president) and asked him to arrange for their repatriation.

According to Mandela, the security department officials responsible were immediately disciplined and those in charge of the camps in question were immediately dismissed. He hoped, Mandela added, that the SA government would act with equal alacrity in addressing similar allegations against its security forces.

But the matter doesn't look like resting there. The Nairobi dissidents have reportedly written Mandela an open letter, calling urgently for a commission of inquiry into "continuing" ANC torture. A leading figure named is the commander of the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe, Joe Modise, described as "an enemy of democracy." Modise is in the ANC team due to meet President F W de Klerk on May 2.

It is alleged that Umkhonto chief of staff

Chris Hani and ANC Tanzania representative Stanley Mabiletsa tried to silence the dissidents, who remain loyal to the ANC.

The background to alleged ANC atrocities, in which it is claimed 60 dissidents either died or disappeared, goes back to what has been described as an open revolt in ANC camps in Angola in 1984. This was apparently centred on unhappiness at having to fight alongside Fapla against Unita, rather than concentrating on the armed struggle in SA.

Last September, the newsletter *Africa Confidential* featured a report under the heading "Crackdown hits Hani's men," in which it was claimed that the ANC leadership was struggling to maintain cohesion in the face of severe setbacks since Umkhonto's withdrawal from Angola and Zambia. The article went on to claim that, while the ANC was attempting to take the diplomatic initiative with its own negotiation proposal, it "is conducting a major security sweep of suspected wrongdoers or agents of Pretoria within its ranks." The brunt of this was felt in Umkhonto, its treasury department and in the SA Communist Party, said the report, adding: "An indirect result has been to cripple the presidential ambitions of Hani."

Hani was thought to be close to Thami Zulu, the powerful military commander of the ANC's Swaziland-Mozambique front, whose detention by the ANC was described as the most sensational development. Zulu's arrest followed the exposure in 1988 of "Comrade Cyril", operations chief of the Umkhonto's Natal front, who had operated under Zulu's command and who committed suicide after being allegedly exposed as a Pretoria spy.

A more worrying report touching on the ANC's "internal democracy" concerns some of its disciplinary practices. In January, the newsletter claimed, for example, that marriage in the ANC was at the party's discretion. And at the completion of their studies in Scandinavia, ANC students cannot claim their diplomas. Institutions of learning, apparently, "had a written undertaking with the ANC to send certificates directly to Lusaka. The aim is said to be to thwart the brain drain." This has uncomfortable parallels with the way Swapo is said to have operated in its worst chapter.

The good news, perhaps, is that with the ANC now out in the open, it can bury such skeletons. ■

THE ANC FIM 20/4/90

11A

## Message men

Handling the ANC's image could be big business — and a daunting challenge. At least one national PR agency is understood to have made a tentative approach. Professional publicity for the ANC is re-

FIM 20/4/90

11A

garded as a sensitive issue by university academics who claim to be close to the organisation. Some have set up workshops to train ANC members in "media skills."

There is antagonism between PR agency experts and academics running the workshops. Agencies say some academics are selling the ANC short by failing to get beyond naive anti-capitalist theory and by ignoring the practical skills needed to deal with the media and public.

The academics, in turn, accuse agencies of crass opportunism, saying they have no place trying to represent an organisation when they do not subscribe to its ideology. The ANC doesn't seem perturbed about its image. It says the issue is not yet on the agenda even though the organisation's PR record is not good.

The director of a marketing agency, who refuses to be named, points out that since Nelson Mandela's release, events have shown that marketing is vital in the ANC's transition from an external liberation movement to an internal political organisation. He mentions the jittery response of investors to repeated statements on nationalisation and the Durban rally, where many feel Mandela lost credibility by naively calling for an end to the Natal violence.

The marketing director feels that many ANC leaders are out of touch and need professional advice on how to speak to different constituencies. A more worrying aspect is the ANC's attitude towards the media.

A socialist who has attended some of the academics' workshops says a monster is being born. "They are not getting beyond basic theory, which argues that the press is biased and capitalist-supporting and that in the right climate they can be used by the ANC as a propaganda machine. They are laying down the ethical arguments now for some sort of future control over the media. It's dangerous because the result could be future restrictions imposed by the ANC, like the ones which have just been lifted."

Eric Louw, acting director of the University of Natal's Contemporary Cultural Studies Unit, says agencies do not understand the traditions of the Congress movement and the ANC's form of grassroots democracy.

"Agencies have a manipulative understanding of communication, the ANC has a democratic understanding. The ANC works from the bottom up, from the decisions of their members. The agencies have a top-down approach." ■



THE PRESIDENCY

(S) (11A)

FIM 2014190

### No time to play

There was an iron fist in President F W de Klerk's velvet glove this week. He warned in parliament that government will not tolerate, from Left or Right, attempts to derail the delicate negotiation initiative.

To the Conservative Party he read the riot act, accusing it of irresponsibly "playing with fire" and suggesting that it reflect "deeply and seriously" on its actions. To the ANC he suggested a moderation of statements by its leaders and an acceptance that negotiation is a process of give-and-take.

He also gave an indication of how the National Party will approach both the "talks about talks" with the ANC on May 2 and the main negotiations — when they get off the ground. On May 2, government will tell the ANC that its continued commitment to the "armed struggle" conflicts with the concept of peaceful negotiation. "(It) therefore constitutes a further obstacle, alongside the reality of violence, that has to be removed."

And in a preview of its main negotiation stance, De Klerk again stressed that government sees no merit in either partition or simple majoritarianism (in either a unitary or geographically federal state) as constitu-

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tional solutions to SA's problems. When it sits down to talk, the NP's plan will be based on a "power sharing" system in which full democratic rights will be accorded to all under the protection of a Bill of Rights which will also safeguard minorities.

He repeated government's sincerity as a reformer acting from a position of strength and called for an equal commitment from other participants. "If negotiation is abused for the purpose of gaining time for secret disruptive agendas, negotiation becomes futile."

#### Secret document

But he merely chastised the ANC. It was for the CP that De Klerk reserved his real wrath, pegging his attack on the now discredited "secret document" released to the media recently by CP leader Andries Treurnicht. An alleged ANC plan to attack rightwing leaders was in the document.

De Klerk said the information was contained in an "unevaluated secret report from the ranks of the intelligence community." The report was subsequently judged to be so unreliable that it did not need to be submitted to government. The CP could have established this by means of confidential inquiry.

"It is truly shocking that the leader of the CP, in his eagerness to get at the government, should have made himself guilty of outrageous irresponsibility . . . I wish to dissociate myself in the strongest terms from the insinuation by the CP that government was knowingly prepared to expose rightwing leaders to danger and assassination by the ANC.

"Any such allegation or insinuation is not only unfounded, but also libellous, base and devoid of all truth."

De Klerk's speech set the tone for a debate on his budget vote that was due to continue after the FM went to press. It showed that while he may be losing patience with ditherers and destroyers to both Left and Right, he remains determined to push ahead with fundamental change.

## ANC uproar over 'IRA link'

*Star 20/11/90 (11A)*  
LONDON — The ANC has reacted angrily to an MP's allegation here that members of the organisation had met a senior IRA official in Northern Ireland.

It challenged Conservative MP Mr Andrew Hunter to repeat his allegations outside the House of Commons "so the ANC may have recourse to law".

Mr Hunter urged an investigation into reports that two ANC members had met the leader of the IRA in South Down. — The Star Bureau.

# CP vows not to divulge its source

By Peter Fabricius,  
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Conservative Party has vowed that it will not tell police the name of the intelligence official who leaked to it the report about an alleged African National Congress plan to assassinate right-wing leaders, security officers and homeland leaders.

Two police officers visited CP chief secretary Mr Andries Beyers in Pretoria yesterday, the Conservative Party deputy leader, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, said in a statement.

"The obvious aim of the visit was that Mr Beyers should divulge who the person was he received the document from," said Dr Hartzenberg.

"The chief secretary of the CP will not divulge his source," he said.

"Any attempt by the State President to try to intimidate the chief secretary of the CP in this way is condemned."

"This investigation against a person who revealed the ANC's evil plans to the CP contrasts sharply with the indemnity from prosecution which the State President recently extended to terrorists," Dr Hartzenberg said.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht told Parliament this week that an official of the National Intelligence Service (NIS) leaked the document.

President de Klerk said this week in Parliament that the CP had acted "extremely irresponsibly" and probably illegally in leaking a classified document.

The document contained unvaluated intelligence which had subsequently proved to be unreliable, said Mr de Klerk.

# 'TALKABOUT' LIKELY TO BE LENGTHY

By ANDREA WEISS  
Weekend Argus Reporter

"TALKS about talks" between the African National Congress and the government from May 2 in Cape Town will be the start of a "protracted" process, according to Mr Trevor Manuel, chief representative of the ANC in the Western Cape.

Speaking to the Association of Democratic Journalists yesterday, Mr Manuel spelt out the likely agenda of the ANC team.

One point on the Harare Declaration — the removal of troops from the townships — would be approached with "sensitivity", he said.

## Natal

People "on the ground" in Natal had indicated that the Defence Force was far less partisan than the Kwazulu and South African police.

A key issue would be the definition of a political prisoner with a view to the release of all people convicted of "crimes against the apartheid regime".

Mr Manuel said the ANC could see little reason why President De Klerk would wish to hang on to the emergency.

"We anticipate that this might be an issue he will relent on."

The lifting of the Internal Security Act and other legislation which restricted political activity would also be discussed. Once the Internal Security Act was scrapped the notion of indemnity for exiles would lose its meaning, Mr Manuel said.

If this happened, there would also be no grounds for obstructing the release of political prisoners.

Discussions would also focus on ending political trials and executions.

Talking about the ANC's reasons for calling off the previous scheduled talks, Mr Manuel said it was a very "white" perception to suggest that the ANC's stated reason — the Sebokeng shootings — was flimsy.

The outcry would have been very different if 11 had been killed in a shopping centre by a bomb placed by Umkhonto we Sizwe, he said.

No process of negotiation was possible for the ANC without taking along the constituency it represented.

## Discipline

Commissions of inquiry could not substitute for the need to establish discipline in the police force, he stressed.

Talking about differences in perception from the government, Mr Manuel said the ANC believed a constitution for a new South Africa could only be resolved by a Constituent Assembly, whereas Mr De Klerk still seemed "wedded to the idea" of a coalition of leaders.

"In essence, we believe negotiation must involve the maximum number of South Africans," Mr Manuel said.

Mr Manuel said certain "contradictions" seemed to exist while talks were imminent because the masses still needed to be mobilised.

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# Exiles

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LUSAKA - The African National Congress said yesterday it would carry out a census of its exiled members and supporters to prepare for their return to South Africa.

some from  
23/4/70



BC leader Steve Biko.

# Drive behind the BCMA

**S**HORTLY before his death in 1977 Steve Biko made it clear in an interview with a foreign journalist that the road to liberation would be made easier if the ANC, PAC and BCM formed a united front to confront oppression and exploitation.

Where, then, does the BCM differ from the ANC and the PAC?

The BCM emerged after the ANC and PAC had been formed and it recognises the contribution of both movements to the liberation struggle.

The BCM believes it cannot favour one over the other. Because it believes in black solidarity the BCM is willing to stand apart from both organisations in order to play a unifying role.

Divisions between the ANC and PAC are detrimental to the struggle and every effort has to be made to bring the two forces closer to each other.

The BCM recognises that any such unity must be governed by the acceptance of certain principles, including the recognition of equal partnership and non-collaboration.

Ideologically, the BCM differs from both movements.

The ANC's membership is "non-racial" in character. The PAC appears also to follow that trend. A statement by one of its spokesmen said: "We are prepared to accept help from those (whites) who subscribe to our principles and policies."

However, the PAC goes on to say "the tiny minority of white activists can never liberate us". Thus, the PAC has not clearly spelt out its policy on membership.

*elrele (11A)*

THURSDAY, April 12, was the 10th anniversary of the founding of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA). To mark this day, which has become known as BCMA Founding Day, long-time black consciousness adherent STRINI MOODLEY writes about the movement and the philosophy that drives it.

Whites are not accepted as members of the BCM. The BCM defines its membership as "all those who are by law and tradition discriminated against and who identify with the struggle for liberation".

The exclusion of whites has earned the BCM the tag of "reverse racists". However, the BCM believes whites can only play a role within their own communities by preparing them for change.

Once white people come into black organisations they tend to shift the focus of the struggle, diluting its militancy.

Psychologically, whites cannot shed their entrenched superiority complex and, consequently, they tend to have a different perspective from blacks.

This is not a racist argument as whites will not be excluded from a socialist Azania - in which there will be no room for "group" thinking.

As for who constitutes the oppressed

and exploited, the BCM includes in its membership Africans, Indians and coloureds - as long as individuals do not identify with the ruling class by participating in separate development institutions.

The BCM is the only organisation that has clearly defined a revolutionary philosophy to meet the needs of the oppressed.

Whereas the ANC roots its activities in the Freedom Charter and the PAC in the doctrine of Pan-Africanism, the BCM has evolved BC to present a credible answer to the problems of oppression and exploitation. More importantly, it has devised a clearly defined programme to prepare an informed and self-reliant membership.

Intrinsic to BC is the question of scientific socialism.

BC is a Marxist interpretation of struggle designed and based upon the material conditions of the workers.

It was the BCM that first articulated the concept of psychological oppression and liberation. This concept fired the imagination of hundreds of thousands of blacks between 1974 and 1976 and created a new mood which is still in evidence today among Charterists and Pan-Africanists.

The emergence of the BCM changed the nature of the struggle.

Today, the BCM continues to stamp its image on the struggle. It sees itself as being in the vanguard that protects the interests of the black working class against those who would negotiate away their right to own the land and its resources.

ROCK MUSIC has almost invariably taken a hostile stance against respectability.

Until nostalgia rock came on to the market for the first generation of fans to hit middle age, it was the classic expression of adolescent rebellion against parental power and values.

"Sex, drugs and rock 'n roll" became a package trip, though one which most suburban rebels experienced only in imagination or in weekend bursts of nervous daring.

Rock concerts carried this excess to excess.

The famous Woodstock festival in the late Sixties was a sort of alternative public holiday in which sex, drugs and rock 'n roll cavorted miserably in a sea of mud created by the traditional downpour.

But whatever may have been said against these early concerts, no one pretended they had a Higher Purpose. They were frankly for enjoyment, a fling before settling down to the serious business of paying the mortgage.

What, then, are we to make of the new style of pop concerts — highly organised commercial occasions inspired by some lofty ideal — which began with Bob Geldof's Live Aid in 1985 and continued on Easter Monday with the Nelson Mandela concert?

For these concerts harness rock to a set of values which are respectable, serious, adult, even pious. Originally (with Geldof), charitable relief, and now (Mandela) political comment.

Some, of course, will deny that anything of the sort is going on.

They believe the fans tuned out Mr Mandela's remarks on sanctions, as if it were an advertising slot between numbers and the audience remained quite innocent of any political response.

But this is naivete posing as cynicism.

Live Aid raised not simply a large sum for famine relief, but also the consciousness of its audience that there was a world beyond Wembley and problems worse than acne. It was a remarkable and praiseworthy achievement.

But as Geldof himself discovered when he went out to see how the aid was being distributed, it was an achievement shot through with ambiguity.

Even altruism as straight-forward as famine relief is compromised in a world in which governments use aid to line their own pockets, reward their supporters and bribe the uncommitted while deliberately denying it to hungry people.

How much more ambiguous, then, must be a rock concert celebrating the cause of the African National Congress. For the ANC is engaged not in charity but in a struggle for power. True, that

# Dance to ANC's 11A political prelude

5 Times 24/4/90

**John  
O'Sullivan**

*asks what the Mandela concert was really all about — and comes up with a paradoxical answer*

struggle is against a repressive government — which seems to place rock on its usual side of opposition to authority.

But it is also against other black Africans, no less victims of apartheid, in organisations like Inkatha. It is a violent and bloody struggle in which many have died.

And what is the struggle for?

The ANC seeks to establish its own government. That places rock on the side of authority — an authority, moreover, which sometimes speaks in a language far removed from the Dionysian spontaneity of the rock musician.

For Mr Mandela is not merely "the most famous political prisoner in the world", he is also "a disciplined member of the ANC".

And the policy of sanctions, which he supports, is based not on any effusion of charitable love but on the long-term calculation that an increase in the suffering of the innocent is the necessary cost of bringing further pressure to bear on the white government.

What this concert celebrates is not an uncomplicated search for justice but the struggle of a faction.

The rock rebel and the political revolutionary, though united at Monday's concert, are really at cross purposes. The revolutionary wants to capture power; the rebel to ignore it.

In choosing between them, one is tempted to conclude that a man is rarely so innocently employed as when he is engaged in "sex, drugs and rock 'n roll". — *Daily Telegraph*

# Join forces to beat the forces of violence

POLITICAL leaders have lost sight of a fundamental truth of life: that human beings never think alike, that they are bound to belong to different movements, parties and religions, much as they like different styles of clothes.

We have leaders of political movements who want to triumph alone, who do not debate issues, but strive to destroy those movements unlike their own. This leads, ultimately, to seeking to destroy other human beings. It means creating an atmosphere in which people with murderous, sick psychologies can vent their sickness upon other human beings.

It is a grotesque abnormality for any political party to aim at capturing or winning the loyalty and following of all groups and members of society. A normal political party, anywhere in the world, aims at winning the majority of voters, which normally is more

## Herbert Vilakazi

professor of sociology at the University of Zululand, makes an impassioned plea to black political leaders to unite to end the conflict

or less a quarter of the population.

Wanting to capture the following of all groups and members of society is chasing after an impossibility, an impossibility which is only achieved through violence and repression of dissent; wanting to capture the allegiance of all groups, associations, and members of society is the very essence of totalitarianism. Human history caught a terrifying glimpse of that in Nazism and Stalinism.

### Disrespect

Political parties or movements should be charged with dynamism, yes, but also with humility.

Our leadership must display that elementary, great, and noble trait: recognising the possibility of being wrong; and the need to talk with others not in your movement; and never have as an aim of your movement the allegiance of all groups and members of society, and destroying another movement or faction: this inevitably leads to genocide.

We also have the problem of our youth. We have youth nurtured by an educational system which was designed by people who were totally lacking in the basic respect for the human being called African. The entire society created by white supremacy, and the educational system created by that white supremacy, filled that society with disrespect for the human being.

I am not saying that all of us have succumbed to this inhumanity. The over-

whelming majority of us are still shocked by this wanton disrespect for human life, by this wanton violence and killing of human beings.

We have become silent, and have withdrawn into our private feelings and thoughts, as self-defence. We have become silent and cowardly out of fear.

Now we must stand up and speak out. We either want the war, the wanton violence and killing of countless human beings in Natal to continue, or we want to stop it.

The African community is in flames. Which groups of individuals, upon seeing a wild, consuming fire around them, would not instantly drop what they were doing and look for buckets of water to hurl at the flames? That is precisely what we should be doing.

### Prejudices

The ANC/UDF, PAC and Azapo leadership should stop immediately their partisan activities and pay attention to putting this fire out. If we want this war stopped, the leadership of these organisations must approach and talk to the other major party in the war, Inkatha, headed by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

When one talks to ordinary, adult people, one encounters dismay at the refusal of the ANC to talk to Chief Buthelezi. However, this is not a matter just for the ANC and Chief Buthelezi alone.

The PAC and Azapo — in

deed, all Africans — must stop their routine activities and fill buckets with water to douse this fire which is consuming the African community.

We must not pander to the prejudices of those who urge us to postpone putting out this fire until their prejudices are satisfied.

Does it make any sense to say that we want the unity of all anti-apartheid groups and movements, and yet refuse to work for amicable, friendly, co-operative relations with the largest movement of rural and semi-rural people we have, Inkatha, and with the leader whom they respect and follow?

### Disunity

It does not make any sense whatsoever to me; and I believe it is time to speak out.

The vitriolic war against Chief Buthelezi and Inkatha is introducing the ethnic factor into political conflict among Africans, and this could spell doom for the liberation struggle of the black masses.

Whether we like him or not, Chief Buthelezi is a major factor in South African political life; he, and Inkatha, intend participating in the electoral politics of the new South Africa.

By painting him as the arch-devil of South African political life, are his enemies not creating a terrible problem for the future? Are we not preparing civil war for this country?

If any movement is determined to destroy Inkatha and Chief Buthelezi the logical end of that determination is an increase in the scale of war among Africans, and the physical killing of Chief Buthelezi.

Should we opt for that, the entire African community shall be so charged with tension that violence may very well spread to all parts of

the country. The enemies of majority rule in South Africa will do everything possible to trigger violence, and encourage disunity throughout the country.

The last line of defence, for racist interests, is nation-wide violence and war among Africans. Agents provocateurs are undoubtedly moving up and down the country, looking for such opportunities.

When Mrs Victoria Mxenge was murdered, word went out that she was killed by Inkatha, and many a "progressive" comrade swore death to Inkatha. Now it is revealed that Mrs Mxenge may have been killed by the death squads.

At Umtata, we are told that individuals wearing ANC T-shirts and walking alone are captured, put into cars, to be beaten up viciously. Word is out that the people perpetrating these acts are PAC. Undoubtedly, PAC has absolutely nothing to do with these acts. It is most likely the agents provocateurs out to trigger war between ANC and PAC.

### Wounds

All organisations should hold hands, issue a common statement denouncing such acts and imploring the African masses not to react irrationally to such provocations. Otherwise this land shall go the sorry path of Uganda.

Should we opt for the continuation of this war between the ANC/UDF and Inkatha and Chief Buthelezi, then we may as well paraphrase King Shaka's last words, as he lay dying from the wounds inflicted upon his body by his own brothers, and say: "Ngeke sili-buse" — We shall never rule this land.

● Extracted from a speech at a graduation ceremony in New Brighton, Port Elizabeth.

## eat of of old

in spite of privatisation and deregulation.

Sooner or later the black majority will have to face up to the harsh realities of economics — to the fact that there are no free lunches in today's world.

One would hope that this lesson will be learnt a little less tragically than it was learnt by the people of Mozambique. — RICHARD N YELLAND, Steenberg.

## Barend's lot

THE Government, says Mr

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# The ghost of the Freedom Charter settles a land row

THE Alexandra Town Council's decision to re-sell the township's expropriated properties to residents has driven a wedge between buyers and tenants still living on those properties.

African National Congress leader Elias Motsoaledi was called in by the Alexandra Civic Organisation earlier this month to intervene in the dispute over whether residents should buy the 6 000 properties earmarked for sale. At a public meeting, he was asked to interpret the land clause of the Freedom Charter to determine whether it was right for residents to buy properties — or whether the land should belong instead to the council.

The residents, estimated to be about 70 000, belong mostly to the generation who either resisted the bulldozers or had nowhere to go when properties were expropriated following the government's decision in 1963 to turn Alexandra into a single sex hostel complex.

With their freehold rights stripped away, residents continued to live in the area — but as tenants of successive local authorities to which they paid monthly rentals of R7 per room and R4 for any additional rooms.

Alexandra was granted a reprieve in 1979, and three years ago the then-administrator, Steve Burger, offered properties for sale, a process continued by the Alexandra Town Council when it came into office the following year.

But most residents, stripped of their freehold rights years ago, have now ironically chosen — much against the blacks' dream of becoming proud landowners — to remain tenants of the council they had been shunning since its inception.

They fear that some of the property owners may choose to live without tenants, resulting in homelessness, while the others may charge exorbitant rents and evict their tenants for failing to pay the high rentals.

The local authorities have been selling the properties with the proviso that no tenant should be evicted before the expiry of five years. Another condition is that should a resident wish to buy a property he or she may

**The residents of Alexandra had a problem: the landlords could quote the Freedom Charter about their rights to buy property. And the tenants could quote the Charter on the rights of the landless.**  
**THAMI MKHWANAZI reports**



Obed Bapela

only do so with the unanimous written consent of all the tenants on the property.

According to a representative of the pro-ANC Alexandra Civic Organisation, Obed Bapela, many property owners had not been complying with these rules. Faced with hostilities between the landlord and the tenants, the ACO, led by its trade unionist president, Moses Mayekiso, took a test case to the supreme court last year.

A tenant, Samuel Mothwa, who had lived in Alexandra all his life, sought a court order nullifying the sale of the Third Avenue property where he lived.

Two years ago he agreed to buy the house. But when he took the first deposit to the council offices, he was told by an official that the property had been sold three days earlier to Patricia Jass, the wife of an offspring of the original owners of the property.

Mothwa ignored the news and continued to pay his rent to the council.

Three months later the Jasses demanded he pay them R150 rent — 700 percent more than he was paying the council.

He went to court. In February the council and Jass agreed to stop the sale and restore the original rentals, payable to the council. The agreement was made an order of the court.

Hailing the case as a "decisive victory", the ACO released a statement demanding that landlords repay all rentals collected from tenants. It also called on the council to refund to the landlords all monies paid to the local authority in respect of "illegal" sales.

But many landlords, some of whom are adherents of the ANC's political programme, argued that the acquisition of private land and property is a right enshrined in the Freedom Charter.

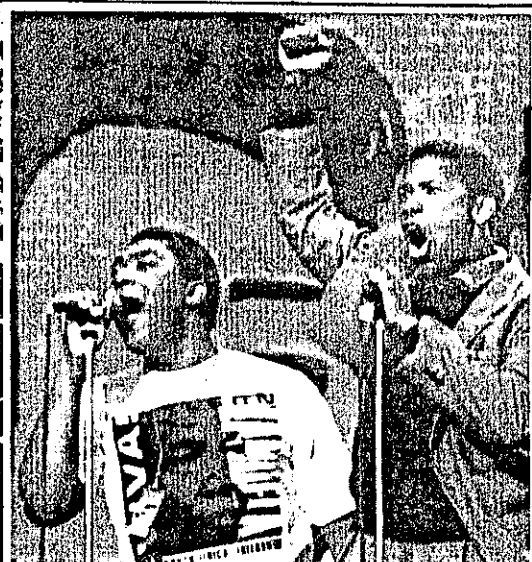
Countered Bapela: "We have the right to own land and property, but not at the expense of the landless."

When tenants and landlords reached a statement in the interpretation of the land clause of the Freedom Charter, the civic organisation called in ANC leader Motsoaledi to address a public meeting on the issue.

Motsoaledi told residents — amid cheers of "Viva ANC, viva SACP" — at Alexandra's KwaNobuhle hall two weeks ago that the Charter clause, at the time of its adoption, had referred to national land and not "individual stands" in an overcrowded township.

"It is precisely the disparity in allocating 87 percent of the land to a tiny white minority and 13 percent to an overwhelming majority that appears to divide you today.

"Indeed the Freedom Charter provides for people to occupy land wherever they choose, but this should not be at the expense of others, be they white or black."



We want more ... Mandela's been released but the crowd at Wembley wants South Africa freed too

Viva ... comedian Lenny Henry (left) and actor Denzil Washington

Pictures: ANDY CLARK, Reuters

W/ Mail 20/4 - 26/4/90

# Politics ... and pop singing in the rain

IF it hadn't been for the rain and freezing cold, this might have felt a bit more like the remarkable event that it was, even before Mandela's own rousing, emotional appearance. Pop music didn't free Mandela, but it certainly played an honourable part in the process. It's impossible to judge the effect of the last mass-scale Mandela show in the same stadium two years ago, just as it's impossible to judge the effect of all those Mandela songs.

But here, at last, was Mandela free and in person, and the fact that he should choose to address a British pop crowd before he addressed British politicians showed that he, at least, thought the musical campaigns had been important. That made up for the bitching, disputes and finally the miserable weather that somewhat marred Monday's historic show until the elderly man in grey slacks managed to outshine all the other superstar performers.

Subjected to both the traditional pains of a British bank holiday and a show that never quite had the musical spark of the 1988 concert, Mandela treated the event as if it were only natural for a man who has spent years in prison to act as headliner in a wildly varied display of pop politics, showbiz and commercial-

**The Mandela concert at London's Wembley stadium, held in the rain and freezing cold, was a mixture of politics, pop music and commercialism. ROBIN DENSLAW looks at the music that helped release Mandela, while, below, DAVID BERESFORD checks out the merchandise industry Mandela helped release**

ism. He came on, after a burst of rap, a traditional big stadium welcome of thousands of matches and cigarette lighters glowing in the darkness, and an introduction by the purple-clad Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, and quietly turned what had been a solid but often unremarkable pop show into a pop-political event where the words were far more powerful than the music. He played Wembley perfectly. His powerfully low-key performance at an event like this may have seemed remarkable by British political standards, but this extraordinary political

rally did have some links with the musical protests in South Africa back in the 1950s, in the days before the African National Congress was banned. Nathan Mledle was part of the Manhattan Brothers, the South African answer to the O'Jays, in the 1940s and 1950s and two of the original lineup were featured in one of the two South African sections of the show that Mandela, if not the Wembley crowd, would have found familiar.

Mledle and Joseph Mogosi stayed on in Britain after arriving here with the South African musical *King Kong* in the late 1950s, and their reunion with other exiles was one unexpected high point. The set ended with a suitably emotional Jerry Dammers leading the exiles through a spirited version of the song he wrote, *Free Nelson Mandela*, which he described as "now a part of history" but still valid "because he is not fully free yet because he can't vote in his own country".

The exiles' section was put together by Cai-phus Semenya, who was also responsible for a second set that brought in trombonist Jonas Gwangwa and was a reminder of the sophisticated jazz scene that existed in South Africa before Mandela was jailed. It was smooth, pleas-

antly low-key stuff, but this section badly needed the fire of Hugh Masekela's trumpet work. Masekela, after all the controversy and rumour, didn't turn up.

There was an unexpected and welcome appearance by Johnny Clegg and several members of Savuka, who appeared with Jackson Browne. Backed by just a couple of acoustic guitars, they switched between traditional Zulu songs, Clegg's political songs, like *One Man One Vote*, and Browne's more laid-back Californian pop in a section that was both low-key and gently powerful.

Clegg and Browne were among those who appeared at the front of the stage while the big bands were still setting up behind, and in many ways these low-key spots were the best parts of the show. Neil Young gave a brief but powerful solo set, prowling the stage as he bashed out *Rockin' in the Free World*, while the ever-cool Lou Reed mysteriously introduced ecology into the proceedings with *The Great American Whale*.

Then there were the setpiece sections where one man provided the backing for a whole series of artists. George Duke provided the setting for Bonnie Raitt, Anita Baker and Natalie Cole, who were solid but predictable, especially when joining on *Blowing in the Wind*.

Rather better, at the very start, was the set from Daniel Lanois band, largely because the laid-back Lanois was joined by those glorious exponents of New Orleans rhythm and blues, the Neville Brothers, whose version of Sam Cooke's *A Change is Gonna Come* summed up the mood of the show. Even Tracy Chapman, the star of the last Mandela concert, sounded dull when she followed them, though she had her moment of real triumph later on, appearing solo, directly after Mandela, to sing *Talkin' 'Bout a Revolution*. But by now, thanks to the man himself, the whole mood of the show had changed for the final selection by those anti-apartheid veterans Simple Minds and Peter Gabriel, who was joined once again by Youssouf N'Dour. Gabriel ended with a chilling version of *Biko*, with the rest of the cast joining in the chanting finale. Powerful stuff, but by now the crowd were drifting away.

The real star had been and gone. — The Guardian, London

## And the crowd snapped up all of Mandela

"BLOW a whistle for freedom," shouted the black cockney, brandishing a handful of silver whistles with lanyards in the green-black-and-gold colours of the African National Congress. "Buy an ANC flag," called out another, waving one on the end of a popsicle stick.

At the bottom of the Wembley stadium causeway, two brothers in dark spectacles — one holding a pair of bongo drums, the other protectively clutching a shopping bag full of T-shirts — were involved in a heated argument with a skinhead in a leather bomber jacket, filling in a "seizure order".

"We're breaking copyright?" one brother demanded.

"Yeah."  
"By using Mandela's name?"  
"Yeah. It's part of British law."  
"You're saying Mandela's name is copyright-ed?"

"Well, yeah. Look, obviously they've come to some sort of agreement. I mean, I'm not a lawyer."

"Listen, man, I'm only doing a job" ... "we work for the official merchandisers" ... "ignorance is no excuse."

The babble of indignant voices in the debate between free enterprise and vested interest was lost in the swirling crowd hurrying to see The Man, to hear the living legend.

Hours later and all the squabbles over merchandising, commercial exploitation, and the politics of rock were lost in the blast of the mega-speakers towering over that hallowed turf.

Mandela spoke with his usual delicacy and power. "Thank you that you chose to care, because you could have decided otherwise. Thank you that you elected not to forget, because our fate could have been a passing con-

cern ... even through the thickness of the prison walls at Robben Island, Pollsmoor, Pretoria, Kroonstad, Diepkloof and elsewhere, we heard your voices demanding our freedom."

In the little more than two months that Mandela has been a free man, the point has been repeatedly demonstrated to Pretoria of the foolishness of South African politicians who forged such a powerful weapon for their perceived enemies to use by the incarceration of Mandela.

With last night's Wembley concert, the lesson was hammered home once again with devastating effect. It was an extraordinary reversal for a man who for more than a quarter of a century could be heard only by his jailers and the occasional VIP of the "right" political hue.

Apart from some 72 000 who braved the rain and cold to see him, his image was beamed to

# Police hit squads are attacking UDF sympathisers – residents

*e/press 22/4/90 11A*

**P**OLICE hit squads have been attacking UDF members in Imbali township, near Maritzburg, it is being alleged there.

Residents say white members of the SA Police and black KwaZulu Police have been on the rampage since before the March 28 outbreak of violence in the area.

At least two people are said to have died since the beginning of this month and several others have been injured and their houses attacked by the hit squads in separate incidents.

Police allegedly attack residents with weapons which include pangas, tomahawks and guns, and charges have been laid at the Plessis Laer police station near Imbali and Edendale.

Plessis Laer police liaison officer Lt D Vhawanibeen confirmed police were investigating several charges against the police.

He told *City Press* police dockets would be sent to the Attorney-General for a final decision on whether to prosecute.

The victims allege the offending policemen are well known in the area and investigating police are dragging their feet.

Vhawanibeen refuted the allegations. He said there was no cover-up and allegations against the police were given "top priority".

"The police are working in different areas to combat unrest and it is difficult to get them together in one place for an identification parade in the present situation," said Vhawanibeen.

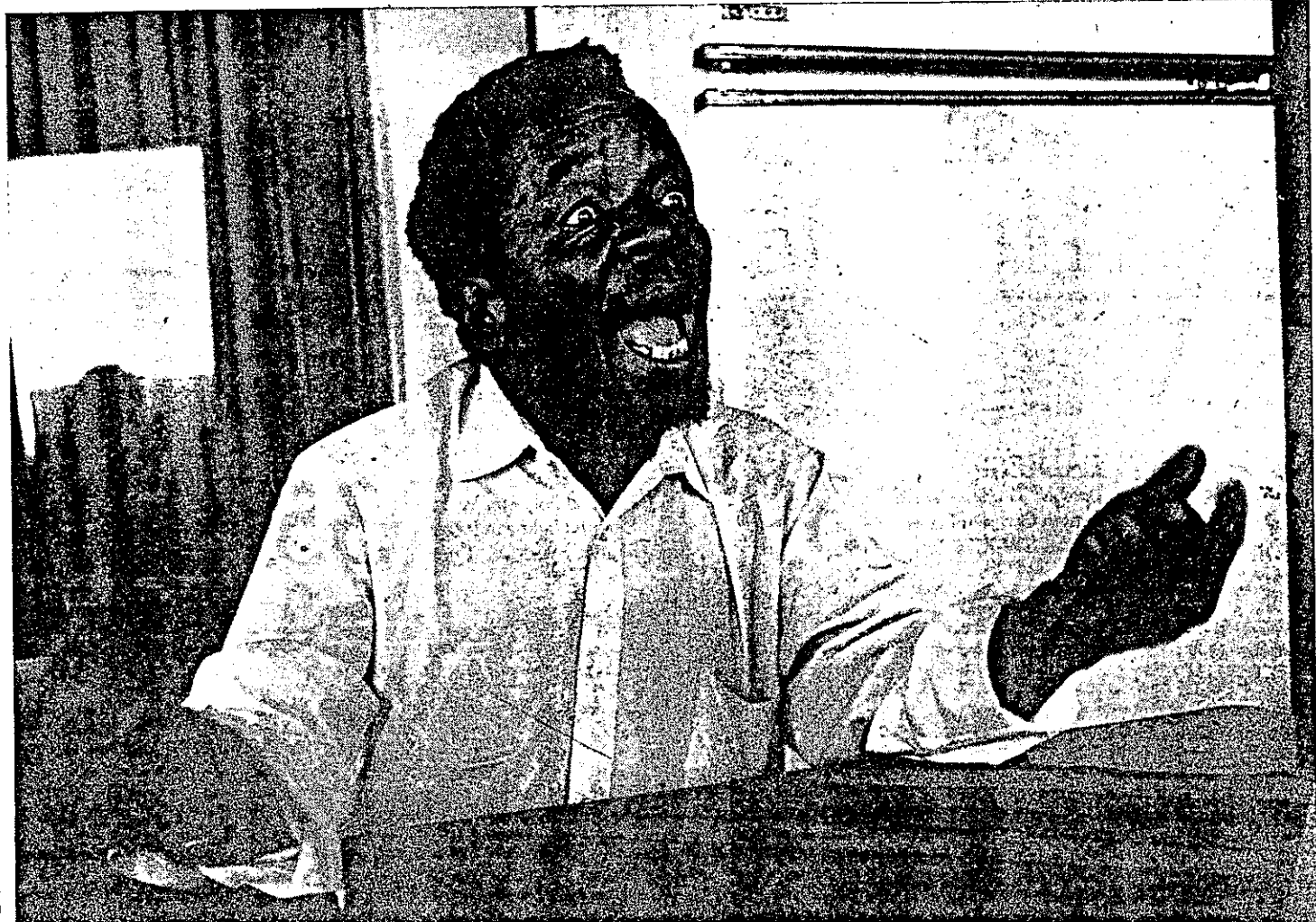
Those who have allegedly been attacked by police hit squads include Imbali Residents' Association leader Elphas Sibiyi, 42; and known UDF activists Larrington Silwane, 45; Vezi Mkhize, 30; David Majodeni, 22; Owen Mtambu, 46; and Obed Ndaba, 42.

They were allegedly attacked at their homes, shot at and hacked with pangas and other weapons before they were left for dead. Several houses are also alleged to have been gutted by police.

Thulani Ncobo, a youth activist, and another youth, known only as Hadebe, were allegedly cornered in a house in Mbabani Street and shot dead on Thursday last week.

Sibiyi, an active UDF member, said police, accompanied by a local councillor, fired at his house last Wednesday.

He said the attack followed several police raids on his house after the councillor threatened him with



David Ntombela denies his people are responsible for violence but he has faced criminal charges.

have been gassed by police. Thulani Ncobo, a youth activist, and another youth, known only as Hadebe, were allegedly cornered in a house in Mbabani Street and shot dead on Thursday last week.

Sibiya, an active UDF member, said police, accompanied by a local councillor, fired at his house last Wednesday.

He said the attack followed several police raids on his house after the councillor threatened him with death. He fled to the DP office in Maritzburg last Thursday for help.

The DP has confirmed the incident. A spokesman said when Sibiya was returned to his home the following day, the DP found three policemen in the house.

"My house was ransacked and I lost all my life's savings after police stole the money I kept in the house," Sibiya said.

Silwane, was allegedly awakened in the middle of the night and thrown into the back of a police van, where he was blindfolded before being driven to an unknown destination.

Silwane said he was tortured and beaten before the police took him to another place in thick bushes where he was "knocked senseless" and left for dead because the police said he was a UDF leader.

His head was forced into a tight-fitting car tube so he could not breathe and he was left for dead.

Passers-by took him to a Midlands hospital. He spent three days there before being transferred to Wentworth Hospital for another three days. He returned to work last week.

Silwane, a furniture store field manager, had severe head injuries and broken ribs. He still finds it hard to walk properly.

"I know the police who attacked me and the matter has been reported to the police through my lawyers but I have heard nothing yet," he said.

Male nurse Mkhize, said he was asleep when police broke into his room after forcing their way into the house and holding his parents and other family members at gunpoint.

"Among the police were four white SA Police who slapped me about before pangas and tomahawks rained on me," he said.

He fainted and when he regained consciousness police were ransacking the house and he made a dash for it.

"The police then went berserk, breaking furniture and doors before they went outside and sprayed the house with bullets," said Mkhize.

Mkhize also knew the police who attacked him and reported the matter.

Ndaba, and his friend and neighbour, Pat Ndhlovu, were standing at Ndaba's front door when a policeman in a group of nine opened fire, hitting them in the legs on March 22.

Ndaba said the police were in the company of the son of a notorious Imbali councillor and a high-ranking member of Inkatha.

Vhawanibeen said people who were not happy with the progress of investigations in police-related crime should contact the investigating police officer's Head of Department or write directly to him.

Letters should be directed to the Station Commander, P/b F903, Maritzburg, and the matter would receive his prompt attention.



**Larrington Silwane . . . claims he was tortured by police.**

David Ntombela denies his people are responsible for violence but he has f

# Cops probe death of PAC leader Jeff

11A

Sowetan  
20/4/90

**DE-WILDT** police have launched an investigation into the death of Pan Africanist Congress founder member Mr Jafta "Jeff" Masemola who died in a car accident on Tuesday.

A police spokesman said they were investigating the accident which

## Sowetan Correspondent

happened at an intersection on the Brits-Rosslyn road on Tuesday at about 1.15pm.

The spokesman said Masemola's car was involved in a collision with a truck at the intersection.

He was rushed to the Garankuwa Hospital with

multiple injuries.

Dr Louis van Heerden, the hospital's acting chief medical superintendent said Masemola was admitted about 1.35pm with multiple injuries.

He was taken to the hospital's trauma unit where he died a few minutes later.

Masemola will be buried in Atteridgeville, Pretoria, on April 29.

# National socialist structure is born

howell 20/4/90 (11A)

By MOKGADI  
PELA

A NEW political organisation committed to socialism was founded in Cape Town over the Easter weekend.

About 200 delegates from all South Africa's major centres attended the founding congress of the Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action (Wosa).

Wosa official Mr Victor Steyn said the organisation was formed because of the historical necessity for a body which would promote the interests of the working class in the struggle.

Steyn said Wosa principles were: the leadership of the black working



NEVILLE  
ALEXANDER

class, anti-imperialism, anti-capitalism, anti-sexism, and one person one vote in a unitary country.

He said Wosa was opposed to a negotiated settlement as it would compromise the interests of the working class.

Dr Neville Alexander is chairperson of the new organisation.

# Socialists unite for a workers' organisation

W/Mail 20/4 = 26/4/70

11A

By CASSANDRA MOODLEY

A NEW organisation, the Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action, headed by long-time activist Dr Neville Alexander, was founded last weekend in Cape Town.

General secretary Jean Pease says: "Raising the banner of working class interests is the paramount short-term goal of Wosa."

She says committed socialists from various parts of the country felt there was a need to form an independent national political organisation to promote working class interests.

Wosa will draw its membership from regionally-based socialist organisations like the Cape Action League, the Johannesburg-based Action Youth, the Mayibuye Youth and Students of Young Azania (based in Uppington), loose formations from the Eastern Transvaal, Northern Cape, Western Cape and Natal, and individuals from various parts of the country and from both major trade union federations.

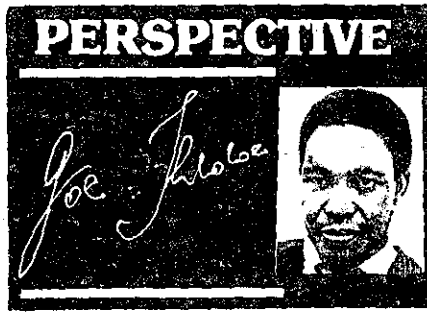
The organisation's basic principles are similar to those contained in the Azanian Manifesto, a document adopted by the National Forum, an umbrella body of working class organisations formed in 1983. These include black working class leadership, anti-imperialism, anti-capitalism, anti-racism and one-person one-vote in a non-racial, unitary country.

Executive member Crain Soudien said Wosa "seeks to build links with other organisations committed to such principles" and would encourage fraternity with other organisations, including the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress.

# FW sheds his gloves as talks get closer

11A

Sowetan 20/4/90



AFTER a season of gentle coaxing, State President F W de Klerk is now removing his gloves in readiness for his talks with the ANC.

He has been moving carefully, following a well thought out programme.

With the mastery of a martial artist, he has swung back to the original National Party position, demanding that the African National Congress renounce violence and armed struggle.

He laid the trap carefully. At a time when everybody thought talks with the ANC were unlikely because the Government was insisting that it renounce violence first, the National Party toned down the demand.

We all knew it was still lurking somewhere at the back of their minds, but they deliberately made it an unimportant issue. They were even praised for their willingness to talk to the ANC even when it was still talking of armed struggle.

This round went to De Klerk.

## Preconditions

The ANC and the Organisation of African Unity's Ad Hoc Committee on Southern Africa laid down preconditions for the negotiations. On paper they appeared tough: the unbanning of all political organisations; the release of political prisoners; the lifting of the State of Emergency; the removal of troops from the black townships; and the halting of all political trials and executions.

Most people thought the National Party was unlikely to meet these. But we did not realise that there was a new National Party. We had assumed that it would react in its normal unimaginative fashion.

De Klerk released a few prisoners who were serving life sentences - just a tantalisingly few prisoners - and the world applauded him.

## Fewer troops

He unbanned the ANC, PAC, SACP and other organisations. More applause.

He reduced troops in the black townships to the point where they were no longer an issue.

Then he balked at lifting the State of Emergency.

Some political prisoners went on a hunger strike and he started releasing a few who had a few more months to serve before completing their sentences.

Every little step he took towards meeting ANC demands earned him more kudos.

He was using the ANC's demands to his advantage.

He invited the ANC to talks to discuss the remaining obstacles to negotiations, and it accepted.

At this point De Klerk is leading on points.

## Ready for the kill

Now that he has everybody moving in the same direction, he is ready for the kill:

Okay, ladies and gentlemen, he says (he still has not graduated to using Comrades, despite what some people in the townships might be calling him). You want me to lift the State of Emergency? How do I do that when in the first three months of this year, 574 people were killed in political violence?

I'd be happy to do it if you could assure me that this violence will come to an end.

(Here the ANC will have to accept that the State of Emergency is necessary or will promise to help police the townships until peace is restored.)

## Armed struggle

You also say I should release all political prisoners? How do I let trained members of Umkhonto we Sizwe loose in the community before you have instructed them to desist from acts of violence?

Every time you issue policy statements, you insist that the armed struggle will continue. This means that your soldiers are still under instruction to continue blowing up buildings, killing and maiming innocent men, women and children.

Be serious. Call off the armed struggle and persuade your comrades in the PAC and other organisations to do so too, then we can talk of releasing all political prisoners.

Please note: This conversation takes place even before the subject of constitutional negotiations has been touched.

The ANC faces tough decisions as it goes to meet De Klerk next month.



# Sabta won't join any political movement

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

ALL members of the Southern Africa Black Taxi Association (Sabta) are free to join political movements of their own choice, but the association will not affiliate to any political organisation, sources said this week.

Sabta's public affairs manager Mr Mike Ntlatleng said the association fully supported community and political organisations and trade unions in their opposition to apartheid.

The organisation was reacting to reports that two of the taxi associations - the Port Elizabeth Black Taxi Association (Pebta) and the United Black Taxi Association (Ubta) - who are their members, have chosen to affiliate to a political movement.

The reports stem from a meeting where the two affiliates formed an interim committee with the aim to form a single taxi association.

After the meeting there were reports that the committee will be called "Amandla" which Sabta regarded as a political slogan.

Vice president of Pebta, Mr S.R. Beja, who is also a member of the committee, said reports that the committee was called "Amandla" - by all judgment a political slogan - were totally untrue and misleading.

## Duty

"The constitution of our motherbody is clear on this issue - we have no political affiliations. However, individual members are not barred from political alliances and affiliation," Beja said.

He said the duty of the committee was to unify the two associations into one unit. The attempts to unite them would obviously help bring about peace in the region.

# Wembley crowd mad for Mandela

W. Mail

204-26/4/00

From PAGE 21

11A (15)

some 30 countries, the concert watched and heard by a worldwide audience said to number more than one billion.

It was, as the organisers have so often emphasised in shrugging off the charge of commercialisation, the greatest political platform a politician could have. And he used it with a familiar diplomatic shrewdness, essentially to thrust at British foreign policy.

There was, of course, no reference to Westminster or Thatcherism, but the target of his message was beyond question. "The apartheid crime against humanity remains in place; it continues to kill and maim; it continues to oppress and exploit," he warned.

"Reject any suggestion that the campaign to isolate the apartheid system should be wound down. It is only those who support apartheid who can argue that the Pretoria government should be rewarded for the small steps it has taken, such as our release and the unbanning of the ANC and the other organisations."

He added: "There are some in the world who wish to support the South African government by giving it rewards and carrots. But we, representing the overwhelming majority of the people of our country, turn to you for support, which we need more than ever before."

The promise of that support was offered in the roar that greeted him across the pitch and up the stands of Wembley.

Above Mandela's head as he spoke, a huge board proclaimed the words always associated with his name: "The struggle is my life."

Another quotation worth recalling had been emblazoned across the T-shirts the pedlars were trying to sell outside. It was a line from a statement of defiance that he put out from his prison cell after refusing an offer from Pretoria of his conditional release: "I am not prepared to sell the birthright of the people to be free. I will return." Last night he did. — The Guardian, London

11A

# ANC to sit on G'town Fest board?



Weekly Mail Reporter

11A

THE new chairman of the Grahamstown Festival committee has issued invitations to African National Congress members in exile to attend the festival in July as a move towards inviting ANC representation on to the committee.

"Many of the cultural leaders in formerly-banned organisations have not been involved in the festival and we feel it essential that they be asked to join us," Alan Crump, fine arts professor at the University of the Witwatersrand and the festival committee's new chairman, said at the weekend.

"We'd like to have a true representation of the country's cultural groups on the committee, including cultural leaders both within and presently outside the country.

"When the leaders of the ANC return to this country we want them to address us on how they see the festival in South Africa and what role they want it to play, on eurocentricity and on the organisation that hosts the festival, the 1820 Foundation."

Everything is open for discussion, Crump said, from the composition of the festival to the name of the foundation, although the festival committee can influence the former much more strongly than the latter.

"We are at a watershed, symptomatic of the country, and the fact that the festival has been brilliantly successful in the last few years is no cause for us to rest on our laurels."

Last year's festival, hit by a last-minute boycott called by the Congress of South African Writers and a statement from the Transvaal Interim Cultural Desk saying the desk could not support the festival, still managed to attract record crowds. But a number of programmes designed to involve the black community were not unqualified successes — partly because local groups had not participated in planning them.

Consultation began early for this year's festival, and in February, at a meeting convened by the Grahamstown Cultural Workers' Committee, representatives of a number of local civic, church, youth, sports and other groups agreed it would be "inappropriate" to call for a boycott of this year's festival, although problems remained.

Local problems they would be working on, according to a CWC statement, were "the festival's eurocentricity, its inaccessibility and its costs, as well as ... free tickets and of not imparting skills to local artists on a year-round basis."

Several thousands of rands worth of free tickets will be distributed to the community this

year, as they were last year, although the method may be different; Crump said they would be guided by the CWC on that. Workshops in movement, fine art, acting and music have been scheduled, as they were last year, to run in township venues during the festival.

More fundamental questions affecting the festival were due to be discussed during a weekend workshop in late February bringing together representatives of the National Cultural Desk, the 1820 Foundation, the festival's sponsors — Standard Bank — and other interested organisations, but it was postponed.

Crump, who has been a member of the committee since 1984, is aware the committee chair is a hot seat. In addition to the critics who believe the festival lacks both relevance and community connections, there is the "blue rinse desk" that finds its fare "too radical" and wants an exclusively eurocentric festival.

"Ten years ago, the festival's themes, printed on posters, were, for example, 'Mostly Mozart' or 'Boldly Beethoven'. It's very, very different now" — although excluding Mozart on the bicentennial of his death, when the rest of the world is honouring him, would be "naive".

On the other hand, "the building of contemporary South African film, the brilliance of contemporary South African music, and the inclusion in the winter school of more than cultural values is essential."

This year there is a new festival officer, new committee, new chairman and new fringe officer — and Crump is optimistic the problems can be solved. "In the making of the festival, we have two out of three aspects which are guaranteed. We have the infrastructure for the organising of something as complex and multi-faceted as a national festival, and we have the financing — the Standard Bank has its own fulltime staff working on the festival throughout the year.

"The third aspect has to do with debate and discussion: how the festival can see its way through the 1990s and be representative of the new country.

"I as chairman will definitely work towards a resumption of talks with the United Democratic Front and the African National Congress and a policy statement on community activities during the festival. We're aware that the nature of an undertaking like the festival is directly related to the political vicissitudes, if you like, the changes in the country."

# Origins of the ANC's national choral hymn

Cape Times 20/4/90 111K

From Dr DEIDRE HANSEN  
(Rondebosch):

IN the Cape Times of April 10 there appeared a letter from C Moll of Newlands, seeking details about the choral hymn *Nkosi sikelel' iAfrika*. The hymn was actually composed in 1897, and sung two years later at the ordination of Rev M Bowenl, a Shangana Methodist Minister. This took place in the township of Nancefield (Klipspruit), located outside Johannesburg. Enoch Sontonga was a prolific composer, and was always composing music for performance at public entertainments. The choral hymn was so successful that it was commonly sung in African schools.

It was further popularised by the well-known Ohlange Zulu Choir of the Secondary School of that name, founded by the Rev J L Dube. This choir frequently gave concerts in townships on the Rand, and even in the city itself. It was only later that the ANC adopted the hymn as a closing anthem for its meetings, and it was not long before the hymn was sung in several other Bantu languages. It has now become a sort of pan-African national anthem throughout southern Africa, and even further afield in the subcontinent. Enoch Sontonga composed only *one* stanza, in the Xhosa language, and it was Samuel Mqayi, the Xhosa National Poet, who wrote seven additional stanzas. The entire choral hymn was then translated into English by Dr D D T Jabavu, who described

his translation as a "free" one. The complete words were published in *Umteteli wa Buntu* (1927, June 11 issue), and in the same year, in the book *Imihobe nemibongo* (Sheldon Press). Two years later, in 1929, the hymn appeared in the Presbyterian Xhosa hymn book, *INCwadi yamacula aseRabe kunye neNgoma* (Lovedale Press).

I have in my possession a four-page leaflet, which I obtained at the Lovedale Book Store, way back in 1963. It contains the complete choral hymn (with all eight stanzas), the tonic solfa "score" by Sontonga, and a transcription of the score in staff notation. A photograph of Sontonga appears on page one of the leaflet, which was printed by the Lovedale Press (Sol-fa Leaflet No. 17).

In this leaflet, the hymn appears in four-part harmony, with a middle section, in which soprano, and other voice parts sing in response style. However, whenever the hymn is sung by large groups of people (and I have heard it sung many a time at various events), the basic melody and harmonic progressions, are greatly enriched by additional voice parts — what is technically known as African polyphonic singing.

How anyone can object to this choral hymn is beyond my comprehension. No doubt if the ANC decided to opt for Beethoven's *Ode to Joy* as their anthem, certain Beethoven devotees would immediately "change their tune" and even boycott Beethoven's music?

## Mandela to visit birthplace after rally

UMTATA — ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela arrives in Umtata tomorrow for a visit during which he will address a rally and return to his birthplace, Qunu.

Local reception committee member Patekile Holomisa said the rally would be held on Sunday at an open air venue in Umtata, near the SA Embassy. (117)

Mandela will also hold talks with several Transkei chiefs. The visit is expected to last a couple of days.

At Qunu — which he has not seen for about 30 years — Mandela will visit the graves of seven relatives, including his mother, who died during his 27 years in prison.

He will also meet his remaining relatives. Sapa.

May 20/4/70



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### Masemola's death probed

PRETORIA — Police have launched an investigation into the death of Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) founder member Jeff Masemola who died after a car accident on Tuesday afternoon. (1/1)

A spokesman for the De Wildt police said yesterday the accident happened at an intersection on the Brits-Rosslyn road about 1.15pm on Tuesday when Masemola's car collided with a truck. He died shortly afterwards in Ga-Rankuwa Hospital.

Masemola will be buried in Atteridgeville on April 29. — Sapa.

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development programmes from Trust  
 eral manager Mr Marius Marais (left).  
 nt to the manager Mr Ephraim Lukoto.  
 orkwise Business Development Group,  
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# Mandela goes back 'home' after 30 years

THE deputy President of the ANC, Nelson Mandela, will arrive in Umtata tomorrow for a visit during which he will address a rally and return to his birthplace, Qunu.

A member of the local reception committee, Patekile Holomisa, said the rally would be held on Sunday at an open air venue in Umtata, on the Engcobo Road beyond the South African Embassy.

Mandela will also have discussions with a number of Transkei chiefs during his stay, which is expected to last a couple of days.

At Qunu - which he has not seen for some 30 years - Mandela will visit the

graves of seven relatives, including his mother, who died during the 27 years he was in prison.

He will also meet his surviving relatives in Qunu.

Mandela said shortly after his release he longed to return to his birthplace and "see the little stones I played with as a child, and the rivers where I swam".

The chairman of Transkei's ruling military council, Major General Bantu Holomisa, said this week the executive of the military government had been formally invited to attend the rally.

Meanwhile, Mandela arrived at Jan Smuts Airport in Johannesburg last night after attending Zimbabwe's 10th anniversary celebrations. - Sapa.

*The exciting new way*

# ANC hails FW <sup>I/A</sup> move for probe <sup>DEWA</sup>

HARARE - ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela has welcomed South African President FW de Klerk's move to set up a judicial inquiry into the killing of black demonstrators in Sebokeng last month.

The Sebokeng shootings on March 26, in which 17 people died, caused a major hitch in preparations for preliminary talks between the ANC and the South African Government.

The talks, originally set for April 11, were postponed to May 2 after a meeting between Mandela and De Klerk. *Sowetan 20/4/90*

De Klerk announced this week that his Cabinet had approved the appointment of the commission, to be headed by Mr Justice Richard Goldstone.

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# Masemola services 11A

THE Pan Africanist Congress and two of its affiliates have arranged memorial services in the Vaal Triangle for PAC leader, Mr Japhta "Jeff" Masemola, who died after a car accident this week.

A service will be held from noon today at Lekton House, Wanderers Street, Johannesburg.

Tomorrow another service will be addressed by the general secretary of the Azanian Students Movement, Carter Seleke. It begins at 10.30 am at the Methodist Church, Zone 7 Sebokeng. Busang Thakaneng, a cultural group, will perform.

On Wednesday Paso general secretary Lawrence Nqandela will lead a service at the Sebokeng Vista University.

*Sowetan 20/4/90*

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## Four killed, 20 injured in demo

SOUTH African police shot dead four black youths and wounded about 20 during a demonstration in a black township yesterday, in an incident that could jeopardise next month's negotiations between Pretoria and the African National Congress.

Black activists in Rammulotsi township, Viljoenskroon, about 200km south of Johannesburg, said four boys aged between 13 and 16 were killed when a peaceful march was stopped by policemen who opened fire on the crowd.

*Sowetan 20/4/90*

Police said the youths refused two requests to disperse and then began throwing stones at the officers.



# Nactu leader slates ANC over talks plan

Sowetan 20/4/90

11A

## SA PRESS ASSOCIATION

AN OFFICIAL of the National Council of Trade Unions, on Saturday attacked the ANC for agreeing to exploratory talks with the South African Government on a negotiated constitution.

Nactu Acting General-Secretary Mr Cunningham Ngcukana, addressing over 10 000 mourners at the funeral service of PAC founder-member Mr Japhta Masemola, accused the ANC of going into talks with the Government without consulting other sectors of the liberation movement.

"It is very sad for the ANC to have taken that decision. We in Nactu say it is arrogant of the ANC in that regard."

He said the only choice of the PAC and Nactu was to escalate the struggle.

The criticism came just a day after an ANC external delegation jettied into Cape Town from Lusaka for the talks, which are scheduled to begin on May 2.

Masemola was dedicated to the strategy of the armed struggle, Mr Ngcukana said.

"President F W de Klerk has indicated that

any negotiated solution with the puppets of the people must be tested by the white electorate," Ngcukana said, adding De Klerk had shown he was very much against majority rule.

Masemola, who died two weeks ago at the Garankuwa Hospital near Pretoria, was described by speakers at the funeral as having been very uncompromising toward a negotiated settlement with the Government.

## Flags

He reportedly perceived negotiations as a form of political "power dice".

The funeral turned into a full-blown PAC political rally with thousands of mourners dressed in the black, green and gold PAC colours.

Flags and banners of the PAC, its military wing the Azanian People's Liberation Army, and the organisation's affiliates fluttered over the Atteridgeville Stadium where the service was held.



TOP LEFT: The

## JIT OFFER

Him and Her

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# Accusations traded as slaughter goes on

861 22/4/90 By Dawn Barkhuizen

Accusations and counter-accusations are flying between the political players in the Natal war about their roles in the violence.

Inkatha president and Chief Minister of kwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has vehemently denied claims that he is behind the slaughter. The Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) maintains that it and its UDF/ANC affiliates are the victims.

## Buthelezi says:

"I am ready and willing to play my part (to bring peace) in whatever way I can."

In a strongly worded statement, Chief Buthelezi said he was doing his utmost to bring an end to the bloodshed and that while the violence continued, it was not violence of his making.

"I truly believe that the origins of the violence, now out of control, were not of Inkatha's making. I can't stop it. Mr Nelson Mandela and the ANC can't stop it. The UDF can't stop it. Cosatu can't stop it. Church leaders can't stop it. The whole ghastly situation appalls me ... I want no part of it. Inkatha wants no part of it."

Earlier this week, he described Cosatu as power hungry and "looking forward to becoming a Cosatu-government over a Cosatu-run South Africa".

"It was Cosatu which created the low-pressure system ... which originally sparked off violence which spread and spread and which is now enveloping vast areas. It is they -- Cosatu -- who came to sow death and destruction."

## Cosatu says:

"From our side, we are prepared to do everything in our power to bring peace to the region."

Responding angrily to criticism levelled at it by Chief Buthelezi, Cosatu accused the Inkatha leader of making "wild and unsubstantiated allegations" which were the "height of irresponsibility at a time when our people are dying in Natal".

"This kind of language only creates a climate in which Cosatu members are identified as targets for the warlords and kwaZulu police," a statement said.

"In the past few weeks it is Cosatu and UDF members who have faced the brunt of violent vigilante attacks. Documented evidence has shown that the violence in Maritzburg in recent weeks has been the result mainly of invasions by armed Inkatha impis raiding non-Inkatha areas."

# Success of a new SA constitution hinges on 'broad political participation'

A new South African constitution can only be successful if it is the product of broad political participation.

In "Shaping a Future South Africa", Anglo American's team of writers suggests how broad-based participation can be achieved in the process of drafting a new constitution.

They identify three stages in the constitution-making process.

First, proposals should be drafted by various authors reflecting all the key parties to political conflict.

Apart from rich international experience, SA groups such as the kwaZulu/Natal Indaba, the ANC and the National Party have already tabled proposals for constitutional change.

These documents suggest some important areas of agreement: a united (though not necessarily unitary) country, equal political participation for all, a multi-party democracy, the independence of the judiciary and a bill of rights.

The authors say an expert individual or group could chart areas of agreement as well as a set of alternatives. Foreign expertise could be enlisted to examine what SA could learn from other societies.

"Shaping a Future South Africa: A Citizens' Guide to Constitution-making" suggests how ordinary South Africans can participate in drawing up a new constitution. ESMARE VAN DER MERWE reports.

"We must look for countries of comparable levels of economic development, in dustrialisation and urbanisation. Brazil, Mexico, Portugal, Greece and India may all have something to offer in this regard."

Second, alternative proposals should be debated by all groups with significant political power — on the condition that they are willing to compromise. The process of debate should allow for leaders to discuss concession or deadlock issues with their supporters.

"Constitutions agreed to by leaders without the step-by-step knowledge and support of their followers are unlikely to be effective."

A third stage is the ratification and adoption of agreed compromises by the broadest and most inclusive process of popular participation possible. In divided societies like South Africa, constitutions not only need the support of numerical majorities but also those politically organ-

ised minorities on whose co-operation the constitution depends.

This suggested process raises many problems. Which individual or group enjoys sufficient confidence across groups to be entrusted with the drafting of proposals, how can the type of debate needed be initiated, and what form of popular but inclusive endorsement would indicate broad-based support?

The authors suggest that the starting point should be the drafting of a bill of rights, a principle which has been accepted by most major players.

"The purpose of a bill of rights is to ensure the necessary degrees of freedom for all citizens to join or form political parties, articulate and debate political aspirations, and engage in peaceful political activity.

"At the same time this concept is designed to protect public order against political violence.

"Surely this instrument — if supported by a political culture which makes it more than a piece of paper — holds the promise of reconciling freedom and order in a way that will make a debate about future constitutions both possible and constructive. Perhaps the first debate should be about the bill of rights."

Urging all citizens to take command of their destiny by participating in the drafting of a new constitution, the authors conclude: "Democracy is not South Africa's inevitable or automatic destiny. In history government by consent has been the exception rather than the rule. Yet there are grounds to believe that democratic politics are possible in South Africa.

"Popular cultures, indigenous and imported, which cherish liberty; key democratic institutions such as the courts, the press and universities, economic interdependence; and — perhaps crucially — a set of alternatives, all of which seem much less attractive; all suggest the possibilities for a meaningful, inclusive democracy here.

"Much will depend on the expectations SA's citizens express and the accountability they demand of their political leaders."

Sp  
Mr

-UOU

# Zimbabwe is poised for an 'economic revival'

**Z**IMBABWE'S President Robert Mugabe this week promised his people, many of them jobless, an economic revival in the next decade as he led celebrations marking 10 years of independence from white colonial rule.

"We are now poised for an economic breakthrough, all other things being equal," he told thousands of supporters in Harare's Chinese-built 7 000-seat National Sports Stadium. "The next five years must certainly be a dramatic leap forward."

The celebrations, also attended by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, have been overshadowed by growing worries among Zimbabweans over runaway unemployment.

Economists say only between 10 000 and 20 000 new jobs are created each year although about 300 000 children leave school. Unemployment is estimated at more than one million in a population of nine million.

Mugabe said government efforts to promote investment had generated tremendous confidence in Zimbabwe, but he did not announce any new policy initiatives such as trade liberalisation, which his ministers have promised by mid-1990.

Flanked by leaders of numerous African one-party states, among them Malawi's life President Kamuzu Banda, Mugabe side-stepped the controversial issue of whether to abolish the country's multi-party political system.

The independence anniversary

also marked the expiry of the British-negotiated Lancaster House constitution, which enforced a 100 per cent vote in parliament before certain entrenched clauses in the country's Bill of Rights could be changed.

Now two thirds of the House vote will be enough to amend key clauses which block Mugabe's long-stated goal of a one-party state.

His first term as Prime Minister followed a sweeping win in the pre-independence poll in 1980. He was re-elected in 1985, and in 1987 he widened his powers by becoming president.

In last month's general election, his Zimbabwe African National Union (Zanu-PF) party came out on top for the third time, taking all but three of the 120 seats. Mugabe also defeated the only rival presidential candidate by a four-to-one margin.

Lord Carrington who, as British Foreign Secretary, forged Zimbabwe's independence constitution in 1979, also attended the anniversary. In an interview with Associated Press he said the white minority remained essential to the prosperity of the former British colony.

Of Mugabe's plans, Carrington said: "I don't particularly think one-party states are a very good idea... they rather tend to become one-man states."

"But you have to remember that you can't impose... your views on other people.

"It (the constitution) has lasted for 10 years. If the people of Zimbabwe

want to change it, it is not for you and me to decide that they can't."

Since independence, the white population has fallen by more than half to some 90 000 and whites are now outnumbered 100-to-one by the rapidly growing black majority.

Carrington, who argued fiercely with Mugabe during the independence negotiations, said the former guerrilla leader has been "astonishingly magnanimous" and has made a genuine effort to "keep the whites there and have a multiracial society".

"There have been some bad things as well... a certain amount of corruption, a lot of unemployment and so on," said Carrington.

"But, on the whole, I would have thought it was considerably more plus than minus.

"(Mugabe) was determined not to be prime minister of a bankrupt country," he said.

"That was why he kept the whites on the land and kept the whites in industry. And I think as long as he goes on doing that there is no reason why Zimbabwe shouldn't go on being a very prosperous state."

Meanwhile, Mugabe this week opened a new 14-storey headquarters for his Zanu-PF party.

Banda performed the ribbon-cutting ceremony.

The opening followed a stinging attack by Mugabe on opponents of his planned one-party state.

He singled out Zimbabwe's Roman Catholic Church for "raving and ranting" over the issue.



President Robert Mugabe and Nelson Mandela at the celebrations.

"Let the Catholics not waste their time lecturing us that there is strength in division. We will never accept that," Mugabe said.

He said disunity would lead to chaos but a one-party state would not be imposed unless the majority of the people wanted it.

"We will solve our disagreements as one family," he said.

Earlier this week the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace published a large advertisement in

the country's main newspaper opposing a one-party state.

The commission is a human rights monitoring group which was highly critical of Rhodesia's white minority government in the 1970s and has clashed with Mugabe on many occasions.

Although Mugabe promised after the election that opposition parties would be allowed to exist for the time being, his government has been stepping up efforts to present other parties as a security threat. - Sapa

# Torture: ANC must come out in the open

11A  
Miss  
24/1/90

WHILE it is to be welcomed that Mr Nelson Mandela admits torture took place in the ANC and it is said corrective steps have been taken, serious questions about the issue remain unanswered, says *Die Burger* in an editorial.

The impression was left that such treatment of the ANC's detainees had been stopped.

These claims were denied by those who were tortured. In an open letter to Mr Mandela he was asked to see to it that the guilty be punished as it is alleged that torture continues. According to the letter there is concern about the fate of about 120 dissidents who are held by the ANC.

The ANC should be open about this issue. As early as 1988 it was alleged in a report to the American Senate that the ANC tortured its prisoners. Did the organisation do something about the issue at the time?

The ANC will also have to say what it sees as acceptable treatment in the interrogation of detainees and what steps does it take to ensure that detainees are treated humanely.

As an organisation that wants to take part in negotiations for a new dispensation in South Africa, the ANC's attitude to democracy affects South Africans deeply, says *Die Burger*.

# Smear campaigns are bent on causing fear, anger in SA



GERALD LEISSNER



SAMPIE TERREBLANCHE

*(Times 22/4/90)*

This week, ANC internal leader Dr Walter Sisulu distanced his organisation from the attacks.

"It is inconceivable that the ANC would do such things," he said.

"This is disgusting propaganda — a shameful attempt to drive a wedge between the ANC and the Jewish community."

Jewish leaders agreed the ANC was not responsible.

Jewish Board of Deputies national chairman Gerald Leissner said: "Anybody can write left-wing slogans. We believe the attacks were the work of the right wing."

The two attacks have shocked the Jewish community, triggering awful recollections of the Holocaust.

Meanwhile, Jewish Theological Seminary chancellor Rabbi Nissim Wernick has announced the creation of the Shomrim — a group formed to protect Jewish holy places and people "wherever anti-Semitism raises its ugly head".

"We can no longer afford the luxury of words and resolutions. We are prepared to respond with deeds," he said.

A third disinformation campaign has also played on racial issues.

Fear gripped Indian communities recent-

ly when a pamphlet advising black men to have sex with Indian women hit the streets of Pretoria, Laudium, parts of the Transvaal and parts of Natal.

Purporting to come from the ANC, the inflammatory pamphlet said AIDS expert Dr Rueben Sher had proved Indian women carried antibodies to the AIDS virus, and black men should therefore choose them as sexual partners.

It claimed South Africa paid Israeli scientists R1-billion for the virus, and "white racists" were using it in a slander campaign.

It also called on blacks to arm themselves with "pangas, knives, guns, bricks and stones to destroy the white racists. Kill an Indian, coloured or white today."

Once again, the ANC was forced to clear its name.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela said: "This is a smear which totally contradicts the ANC's policy of non-racialism. We had nothing to do with it."

## Lashed

Police agreed and said: "The pamphlets are no more than an amateurish effort to create uncertainty and panic — especially in the white community."

And disinformation swept through the portals of Parliament last week when Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht announced the existence of a secret ANC plan to assassinate right-wing leaders, make the homelands ungovernable and carry out attacks against Inkatha.

President F W de Klerk lashed out at him for disclosing a report "probably fabricated to upset peace talks".

Forced to defend himself, Dr Treurnicht

A SINISTER underground campaign of disinformation aimed at sowing fear and distrust is being waged in South Africa.

Academics, politicians and religious leaders this week blamed far-right elements and called on the Government to hunt down these agents of anarchy.

Stellenbosch academic Professor Sampie Terreblanche said disinformation campaigns were a notorious feature of societies in flux. "There will be such elements manipulating any unstable society — especially one like ours," he said.

"If the authorities are not brave enough to put a stop to it, there will be havoc."

Four incidents in the last few months bear the trademarks of a vicious disinformation campaign.

In March, the bleeding head of a pig was left at the entrance of the United Hebrew Congregation synagogue in Kempton Park.

**11A Kill**  
The perpetrators tried to pin the act on left-wing groups, daubing the building with slogans such as "Viva Mandela", "Pigs" and "Zundel lies".

A placard decorated with a swastika and bearing the words "death to all race mixers" was pinned to one of the synagogue's doors.

Last week, vandals desecrated the Jewish section of a Pretoria cemetery, setting fire to a burial house and smashing tombstones.

Once again, attempts were made to disguise the vandalism as the handiwork of the left. Slogans saying "Viva ANC", "Kill the Jew", "PAC" and "Free Azania" were painted on graves and cemetery gates.

He said: "This document came into the CP's possession unauthorised and illegally." Yet again, the ANC had to clear its name. Mr Sisulu told the Sunday Times the CP's allegations were "too cheap to even comment on".

"Treurnicht should be ashamed to be associated with such propaganda. The ANC regards this in an extremely serious light. The right wing is obviously trying to create a bloodbath.

"We appeal to people not to panic, but rather to sift through information they hear and pick out the true from the false. Then they will realise Dr Treurnicht's allegations cannot be taken seriously."

CP secretary Andries Beyers said: "We are not anti-Semitic. We condemn any acts of intimidation and it's certainly not necessary to act against other races."

Politicians and academics this week called on the Government to put a stop to disinformation campaigns.

**Chaos**  
Democratic Party MP Tony Leon said: "It is vital that the Government and security forces hunt down the perpetrators and bring them to light.

"The ultra-right and the wild men of the left are the greatest threat facing South Africa. They will try their best to sow uncertainty and chaos because they have a lot to gain from an ungovernable South Africa.

Professor Terreblanche explained that disinformation "fans fears and creates panic. Unless the Government disciplines these groups, all kinds of instabilities will emerge."

then claimed the information was leaked to him in a document by an official of the National Intelligence Service.

President De Klerk this week told Parliament an inquiry was being launched into how an intelligence document marked "secret" had reached the CP.

He said there were many reports in circulation in the intelligence community concerning "rumours, disinformation and allegations" and it was necessary to subject every report to expert evaluation before it was passed on to the authorities.



DESECRATION ... a Jewish grave wrecked by sinister elements

# Killer hails ANC leader in 'Kei

By BILL KRIGE

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela was greeted at Umtata Airport yesterday by a casino bomber whose act of terror was described by a judge as "cold and callous".

A little more than two months ago Mr Phumzile Mayapi, 31, was on Death Row in Transkei for a double murder stemming from a limpet mine blast in a toilet at the Wild Coast Sun on April 16 1986.

But he was on hand as a member of the Mandela Reception Committee to greet his leader, who arrived to a red-carpet welcome at the start of an extended visit to the land of his birth.

The explosion in the crowded casino, caused by Mr Mayapi and his colleague Ndibulele Ndzamela, tore apart teenager Bhenkosi Ntakane.

## 'Callous'

He had just celebrated his 13th birthday.

A few days later, Durban resident Thomas Hudson, 50, died in Addington Hospital of his wounds.

At least two other men, one black one white, were severely injured.

Both Mr Mayapi, 31, and Mr Ndzamela, 28, were ANC operatives who received military training in Zambia, Cuba and East Germany in the early 80s.

Passing the death sentence on them in May last year, after a noisy interlude in which both men shouted ANC slogans from the dock, Mr Justice Mitchell described the bombing as a premeditated "cold, calculating and callous act".

## Release

The two men were freed from Death Row by Transkei's Military Council.

Their release coincided with Mr Mandela's from Victor Verster Prison after 27 years in jail.

Mr Mandela has a varied programme in slow-moving Transkei during the next few days. It includes a rally, dinner with President Futor Ndamase, talks with business leaders and industrialists, and a visit to his birthplace Qunu, his first in 30 years.

Hundreds of thousands of people were converging on Umtata this weekend to catch a glimpse of the ANC leader.

Transkei leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa heralded the visit as an event of unparalleled importance in the political history of Transkei.



WHEN Luvo Mbengo joined thousands of other angry young black South Africans in fleeing their homeland to go to war he had no idea he would land up in a YMCA hostel in Nairobi.

But that's where 28-year-old Mbengo and four other former ANC guerrillas have been languishing for the past three months counting the days before they can return home.

They quit the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, last December in disillusionment, despair and disgust after four years in detention for their role in a mutiny against guerrilla commanders in Angola.

During that time, they claim, they were routinely tortured by their jailers and agents of the dreaded security division of Umkhonto known as Mbokondo (the rock that crushes).

Their chilling accounts of systematic murder, torture and detentions of volunteer fighters in ANC camps in Angola, Tanzania and Uganda cast doubt on the ANC's sincerity in claiming to seek democratic rule in South Africa.

The rebel guerrillas insist that they remain staunchly loyal to the ANC and its deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela.

But they accuse the military command of corruption, abuses of power and of alienating young recruits. And they believe Mr Mandela is being regularly misled and misguided by these leaders.

Among their most serious allegations:

- Hundreds of guerrillas were rounded up in Angola after the 1984 mutiny, 60 of whom are feared dead. Up to 120 are still being held in detention camps.

- The mutiny was staged only after peaceful efforts to air their grievances were exhausted. The recruits were

# Rebel guerrillas wait in Kenya and dream of returning home

51 Times 22/4/90

11A

11B

From NORMAN ELLIS in Nairobi

opposed to fighting alongside Angolans and Cubans against South Africans and Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita, arguing they had left home to train for guerrilla warfare inside their own country.

- They were lashed to trees and sjambokked, locked in metal transport containers and left to roast in the searing sun and kicked and beaten by their jailers.

- A recruit at Dakawa camp in Tanzania — home to 12 000 refugees and some 5 000 guerrillas — who reported in the house newspaper News and Views that ANC president Oliver Tambo had suffered a stroke was arrested and accused of being an "enemy agent". He was assaulted daily while an interrogator tugged on a cord tied around his genitals.

- The two top military chiefs, Joe Modise and Chris Hani, were less interested in guerrilla warfare than in lining their own pockets. They "grew fat off our sweat smuggling diamonds from Angola and cars from South Africa", said one of the rebels, Jackie Molefe.

The litany of charges against the ANC prompted Mr Mandela to deplore the use of torture before he flew to London for a star-studded rock concert in his honour.

Mr Mandela said the culprits had been punished and

that further torture had been banned.

But the exiles in Nairobi insist that 120 dissidents are still in detention. They say Modise and Hani and other top commanders are "untouchable and unaccountable" and that Mr Mandela appears to be the target for a major cover-up.

The dissidents, who arrived in Kenya in January after illegally crossing the border from Tanzania, are still anxiously awaiting word on their fate from Kenyan officials and the UN High Commission for Refugees.

They hope to gain refugee status to qualify for UN assistance in returning home. And then?

"We're afraid we might be necklaced," said one.

The ordeal by the ex-guerrillas began after they finished military training in East Germany and the Soviet Union in the early 80s and were sent to Angola.

After the mutiny, in which hundreds of guerrillas rebelled against their commanders, they were held at punishment camps called Pango and Quatro.

After more than four years in detention they were transferred to Tanzania, where they witnessed further

abuses and became more vocal in their criticism of the military leadership.

A visit to Dakawa camp by Hani on December 3 was the final straw. Hani, escorted by armed Tanzanian soldiers, ordered the dissidents to cease all ANC activities.

Amos Maxongo recalled: "Hani mentioned the 1984 mutiny, so that was our chance to explain what happened to the people because the mutiny had always remained a secret.

"We told Hani: 'You are a murderer. There are a lot of shallow graves in Angola because you guys have murdered people'."

After that, the rebels quit the ANC military wing. Three tried to escape to South Africa through Malawi, but were turned back by immigration officers.

Appeals for help to the UNHCR went unheeded. The dissidents are convinced that key UNHCR officials in Kenya and Tanzania are sympathetic to the ANC and don't want to see its leadership tainted by scandal.

When the ANC's Walter Sisulu visited Tanzania after Hani, the rebels were detained by police. But they went on a hunger strike and were freed after six days.

That's when they took to the bush and trekked to Nairobi's YMCA hostel.

Here they've been busy talking to foreign correspondents, lobbying human rights groups, such as London-based Amnesty International, and firing off letters to ANC officials.

In a four-page handwritten letter mailed to Mr Mandela this week, they implicitly blamed Mr Tambo for ignoring appeals by dissidents to intervene and prevent the 1984 mutiny.

The ex-detainees called on Mr Mandela to mount a commission of inquiry into the allegations of atrocities.

# Horror of 'torture camps'

# camps'

By MARK STANSFIELD  
WO more groups of NC dissidents — including we Sizwe cadre commander — have made horrifying claims of torture and murder committed in NC camps.

## Dissidents tell of firing squads and murders

One of the groups plans to form a political organisation in opposition to the NC.  
Its leader is former MK cadre commander Mr Mwezi Twala — the man responsible for the 1984 mutiny within K ranks in Angola.  
The men who managed to escape with him were leaders of the mutiny. They allege they were arrested and tortured in the notorious Quatro Camp in Angola and on their return to South Africa hope to hand over a list of the names of NC people they say were killed. Some were murdered,

others were executed by firing squad.  
Mr Twala said in a letter to friends in South Africa: "We feel parents should know what happened to their sons and daughters and where they are buried."  
The first group of dissidents to speak out is awaiting repatriation from Kenya, where they sought refuge.  
The two groups of disenchanted ANC soldiers were hiding out in an African country, the name of which is known to the Sunday Times.  
Sources close to the groups have asked that the name of the country not be revealed because "hundreds" of other former members who have

fled the organisation hope to reach this "safe" country, from where they hope to contact the United Nations for help.  
**Help**  
A third group, consisting of four men, a woman and two small children, was "sneaked" through Jan Smuts Airport on Friday without fanfare and under the watchful eye of a contingent of security policemen. They have been allowed to return to their families without being detained.  
At least two of the men brought home on Friday were horribly emaciated. One limped very badly.

The Sunday Times was refused permission to speak to or photograph the group at the airport.  
The second group consists of six ANC soldiers, two mothers and their children. This group is due to return later this week.  
In handwritten letters, the two women — who fled with the six ANC soldiers from the new Dakawa Camp, located near Arusha, in Tanzania — alleged that most young women who fled South Africa to join the ANC fell pregnant — against their wishes — within months of arriving at ANC camps.  
They were then sent to Tanzania and forced to look

after the children while their "husbands" remained at the front.  
One of the women was a former guard at the notorious Quatro Camp, which has since been moved to Tanzania.  
The group was based in Eastern Angola and forced, many against their will, to fight against Jonas Savimbi's Unita movement.  
Many became disenchanted because, they felt, they were engaged in a war against the Angolan people, who were not their enemies.  
Mr Twala fled South Africa and joined the ANC in 1975. He described the living and working conditions of ANC soldiers — especially those under detention — as "horrifying".  
"The MK soldiers in my cadre decided to mutiny because we were not fighting the South African regime — the thing we had joined the ANC for — but our fellow sufferers.  
"After our arrest and detention in Quatro Camp, the commander, Andrew Masondo, would often line us up and shoot at us to psychologically break us down.  
"We were beaten and tortured simply because we were disenchanted with the ANC. We were not allowed to leave freely," he said.  
The group managed to flee from Tanzania late last year and were arrested in an African country, where they were placed in safe custody. They emerged from hiding last week.  
A police spokesman said the returning dissidents would be checked for criminal records on their arrival.  
"They will be placed in a safe house by the South African authorities because we fear for their safety, but they will be free to come and go as they please after that."

11A  
22/4/90

# Teens flee to Lusaka

By RYAN CRESSWELL

ABOUT 210 young people have fled Natal fearing for their lives and have sought refuge at the ANC's Lusaka headquarters. ~~210~~

About 150 had trickled into the organisation's Zambian headquarters by Tuesday and another 60 teenagers arrived on Friday. More are believed to be en route to Lusaka.

Said ANC spokesman Tom Sebina: "There is a steady stream of kids aged between 10 and 23 fleeing to Swaziland and asking to be sent to our Lusaka headquarters. ~~210~~

"Most of those I have spoken to say they left Natal because of general insecurity. They claim to have been attacked in their classrooms and in the streets by Inkatha, vigilantes or kitskonstabels. ~~210~~

"The ANC had nothing to do with their departure.

"I have talked to a number of students in the group, including three who were at Durban Technikon, and they wish to continue studying." ~~210~~

Mr Sebina said provision would be made for refugee students to continue their studies in other African countries.

# NATAL YOUTHS FLEE TO ANC

C/press 22/4/90  
147  
250

## Violence forces youngsters to seek refuge in Lusaka

ESCALATING violence in Natal has forced about 150 youths into exile in Zambia, where they have taken refuge at ANC headquarters in Lusaka.

ANC spokesman Tom Sebina told a news conference in Lusaka - where the 150 were paraded - the number of South African refugees fleeing from Natal to Swaziland had increased during the past few weeks, and many were finding their way to Lusaka.

About 10 youths a day were crossing to Swaziland before being moved on to Lusaka, Sebina said.

Four-year-old Nzoza Gaba and his sister Lindiwe, 10, who had been caught up in the violence between ANC and Inkatha supporters, were among the refugees, he added.

Sources in Swaziland said there were about 70 youths in the country who had fled what they described as the "killing fields" of Natal. Some of the youths were being housed at Malindza refugee reception centre near Manzini. Others were at prison remand centres around the country.

The first group of 17 arrived in Swaziland at the beginning of March.

One youth told reporters: "The violence is being perpetrated by (Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu)



INSIDE

The accused of being a warlord

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Mandela concert

Picture special

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...they were crossing their way to Lusaka.

About 10 youths a day were crossing to Swaziland before being moved on to Lusaka, Sebina said. Four-year-old Nzoza Gaba and his sister Lindiwe, 10, who had been caught up in the violence between ANC and Inkatha supporters, were among the refugees, he added.

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One youth told reporters: "The violence is being perpetrated by (Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu) Buthelezi in connivance with police and with the blessing of (Law and Order Minister Adriaan) Vlok.

"It was terrifying. We could have been hacked to death at any time. We had no alternative but to flee."

Refugee Sibusiso Mdabe, 27, told reporters none of those in his group had been kidnapped by the ANC, as alleged in media reports. They had fled the country because they feared they would be killed in the wave of violence, he said.

About 3 000 people have been killed and thousands left homeless during the past 18 months in violent clashes between the two factions.

Sebina said the ANC had not yet formally sought refugee status for the exiles through the UN High Commission for Refugees, but might seek assistance if the influx continued.

Five other refugees from Natal were reported to have flown to Dar-es-Salaam in Tanzania from Swaziland.

Meanwhile yesterday, 40 South African clerics began a two-day meeting with ANC leaders in Lusaka to discuss the return of South African exiles.

The delegation included representatives from the SA Council of Churches, the Catholic Bishops' Conference, and Moslem, Hindu and Jewish communities.

Medical experts and social workers from South Africa are joining in the discussions.

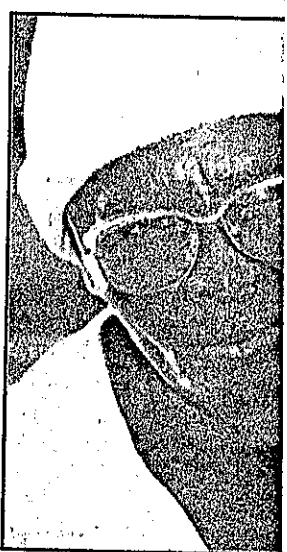
Head of ANC religious affairs Rev John Lamola said long-term exiles were expected to encounter difficulties finding homes and jobs when they returned.

They were likely also to face emotional stress when readjusting to life.

About 20 000 South Africans are estimated to be living in exile. Many of them have spent up to 25 years abroad.

Most ANC exiles are expected to return in time for the organisation's national convention, scheduled for December in Bloemfontein. - Sapa, AP, ANO.

# 'Prop



Miriam Mogothane ... 'sus, I have been persecute

# SA SOCC

By VIVIAN REDDIAR

GET on with the job and unite! That, in effect, is what repre of three of South Africa's four controlling soccer bodies were litely but firmly at a meeting w African and other officials at a meeting in Gaborone, Botswan day.

Twelve local soccer offic some of the most influential southern African sport voice t cern at the continuing disunity African soccer and say local ad tors had an urgent respons achieve unity as soon as possibl

Ismail Bhamjee, a Botswa executive member of the Afric ball Confederation (CAF) said

# Cheers and tears at Mandela show

CPRESS  
22/4/90

119



By ATHENA PETERSEN

ON Monday night, April 16, 72 000 people left London's Wembley stadium with a warm glow of satisfaction despite the miserable weather. They had gone to Wembley to see Nelson Mandela - a legend and a symbol of inspiration to millions of people.

When Mandela stepped on to the stage a thunderous roar erupted and lasted seven minutes. Their hero had arrived to be greeted by 72 000 people giving the clenched fist salute of solidarity and black power.

And then the crowd burst spontaneously into the football anthem *You'll Never Walk Alone*.

Afterwards, Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, introduced by actor Denzel Washington - who played Steve Biko in the film *Cry Freedom* - calmed the crowd to allow Mandela to speak.

Mandela addressed the delirious crowd for 25 minutes with ease - as if he had been doing it all his life. His first words were to thank the people for their support.

"Thank you that you chose to care because you could have decided otherwise.

"Thank you that you elected not to forget, because you took a humane decision that you could not ignore the inhumanity represented by the apartheid system."

The crowd once again erupted into cheers and applause.

Many people burst into tears.

The concert started with British Lenny Henry telling the crowd: "If anyone thinks he had trouble getting here because of the traffic, just think it took one guy 27 years to get here." The audience responded with a roar of approval.

Top British and American stars who performed included Patti La Belle, Tra-



A fish-eye view of the ja...

cey Chapman, The Neville Terence Trent D'Arby, An Natalie Cole, Peter Gabriel Duke and Simple Minds.

Exiled South African musician Semanya, conducted the South African artists.

Many South Africans per their leader despite initial c that some had not been in.

Hugh Masekela refused to

"It's just another 'feel good white stars.

"We're getting tired of gphoric celebrations for South

"After the show, the aud back to their free countries left with the South African.

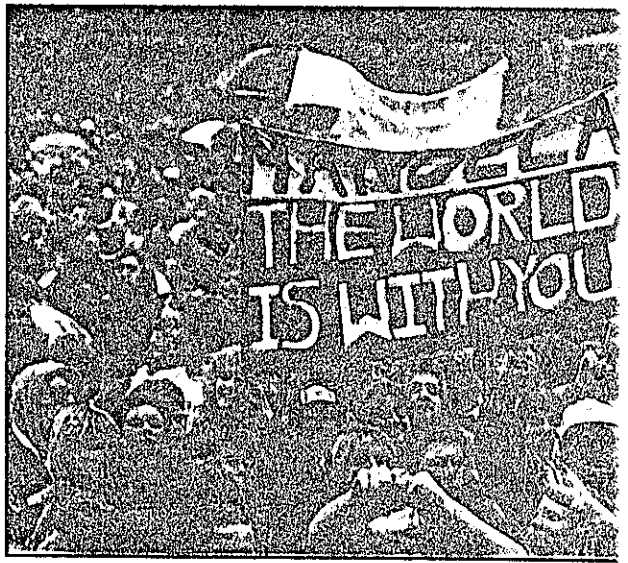
"These media celebration ting to be a drag. I'm waiting to go to South Africa to celebrate with my people."

Pics: RETNA PICTURES, L...

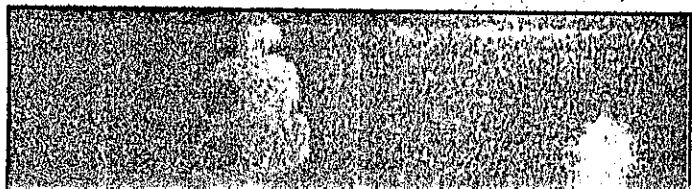
Nelson Mandela, with wife Winnie, were received with a seven-minute ovation.



Exiled South African musicians, under the baton of trombonist Jonas Gwangwa, belt out a rousing freedom number for the crowds.



They lived, they cried... and they were thanked because "I...



# ears show

ATHENA PETERSEN

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Top British and American stars who performed included Patti La Belle, Tra-



A fish-eye view of the jam-packed Wembley Stadium, where 72,000 people braved miserable weather to see Mandela.

cey Chapman, The Neville Brothers, Terence Trent D'Arby, Anita Baker, Natalie Cole, Peter Gabriel, George Duke and Simple Minds.

Exiled South African musician, Capius Semenya, conducted two sets of South African artists.

Many South Africans performed for their leader despite initial controversy that some had not been invited.

Hugh Masekela refused to perform.

"It's just another 'feel good' event for white stars."

"We're getting tired of going to euphoric celebrations for South Africa."

"After the show, the audience goes back to their free countries and we're left with the South African baby."

"These media celebrations are getting to be a drag. I'm waiting for the day I can go to South Africa and celebrate with my people," he said.

Pics: RETNA PICTURES, London



Winnie Mandela warms up with Jim Kerr of Simple Minds, left, and Peter Gabriel, right, during the concert.



They lived, they cried... and they were thanked because "they chose to care".



The banners say it all as a watchful bobby patrols the perimeter fence.



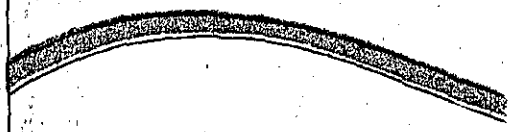
Exiled South African musicians, under the baton of trombonist Jonas Gwangwa, belt out a rousing freedom number for the crowds.



They lived, they cried... and they



Tracey Chapman gets talking about revolution for Mandela.





# The tiger has fallen

By **CONNIE MOLUSI**

POLICE have launched an investigation into the death of PAC founder member Japhtha Masemola, who was killed in a car crash this week.

Masemola, released last year with seven ANC leaders, was on his way to Garankuwa hospital for a medical check when his Volkswagen Beetle collided with a truck at the Brits-Rosslyn junction. He was taken to hospital with multiple injuries.

Acting chief superintendent at Garankuwa Hospital, Dr Louis van Heerden, said Masemola was admitted to the trauma unit with multiple injuries and died minutes later.

Masemola's colleague Mark Shinnars claimed the ambulance called to take the injured man to hospital arrived only an hour after the accident.

He said Masemola's life could have been saved if the ambulance had arrived promptly.

However, Akasia Town Council fire chief Sakkie Venter said his ambulance team acted promptly and professionally, responding to the distress call within a minute.

"We got the call at 12.38pm and an ambulance in Pretoria North was instructed to go straight to the accident scene, more than 21km away," said Venter.

Shinnars told a Press conference the PAC "deeply mourned their leader and the impact of his loss would be evident as they had lost a man of enormous calibre and talent".

Masemola, dubbed "The Tiger of Azania", was the first political prisoner to be sentenced to life imprisonment.

C/Press 22/4/90 (11A)

## Police launch investigation into Masemola's fatal crash

He was released on October 15 last year after serving 26 years of the sentence with six ANC leaders including Walter Sisulu.

A teacher by profession, he was arrested in March 1963 and sentenced to life imprisonment on July 7 that year.

Born in Bon-Accord, Pretoria on December 12, 1931, he was the youngest son of 11 children born to Sekgomaredi and Evelyn Masemola.

When just over a year old he lost both his parents and was looked after by one of his sisters in Marabastad location outside Pretoria.

His political career began while teaching at Bareng Primary School in Atteridgeville. Impressed by the political views of Isaac Ramopo, principal of the school at the time, he joined the ANC Youth League in 1958.

A committed African nationalist, Masemola was a founder member of the PAC and served on the executive of the Pretoria region until the organisation's banning in 1960.

He was said to have been instrumental in forming and developing PAC underground structures. He also ushered in the armed struggle by helping form the PAC's armed wing, Poqo, in the 1960s.

He was arrested on March 21, 1963, after attending a meeting of PAC underground structures in Basutoland

(now Lesotho) with John Nkosi and 14 other PAC members.

They were tried by a judge and two assessors in the Pretoria Supreme Court and convicted for blowing up power-lines and sending cadres out the country for military training.

Masemola was bitter about their treatment in court as they were not allowed proper legal representation at the time. Their lawyers - who included Sydney Kentridge and Jack Unterhalter - were refused access to interview them.

In 1969, while on Robben Island, Masemola was accused of masterminding an escape bid and allegedly made duplicate keys. He was separated from other prisoners.

In 1985 Masemola refused then State President PW Botha's offer to release him on condition he denounced violence and the armed struggle.

Masemola told Botha his imprisonment was insignificant compared to the oppression under which his people

lived.

At his release, Masemola said: "Our release from prison is intended to soften world pressure on the racist regime."

He was critical of negotiations with the government, but said he would not stand in the way of those who considered negotiations a solution.

"We cannot negotiate with the usurpers of our land. Our primary task, as stated over and over again, is to repossess our country - Azania," he said.

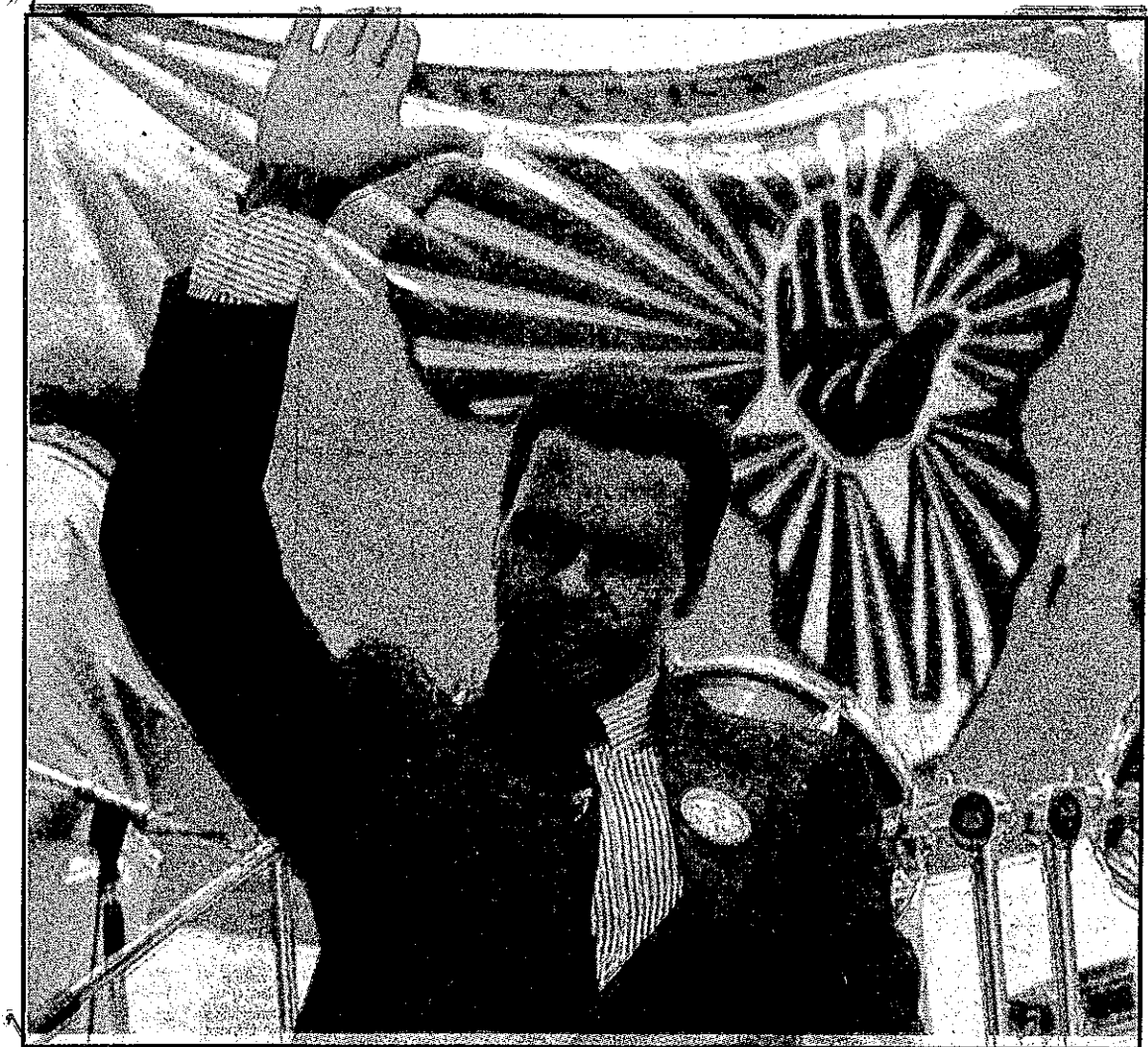
At the time of his death Masemola had received an invitation from the United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid to address the 14th anniversary of June 16 in New York.

Masemola was active in the revival of the PAC's internal structures since its unbanning on February 2 this year.

UDF general secretary Popo Molefe said the death of Masemola was a "loss to all the people of South Africa and the entire liberation movement".

Azapo general secretary Pandelani Nefolovodhwe said Masemola's death was a great loss to the liberation struggle.

"The struggling people of our country have lost one of their important leaders and we in Azapo are sending our condolences to his family and organisation."



**Japhtha Masemola . . . founder member of the PAC who was killed in a car crash this week.**

# 'Boer'

11A  
CAPE TOWN 23/4/90

# army

# threat

## Right-wing mobilise

Staff Reporter

AS right-wing elements formed a countrywide "Boer army" which was said to be ready to embark on an "armed struggle", the ANC deputy leader Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday that Dr Andries Treurnicht and other "backward elements" belonged to the past.

Mr Mandela said that in a future South Africa there would not be place for people who advocated racial war and racism.

Speaking at a rally in Umtata, Mr Mandela said it was unfortunate at this delicate stage of the country's history that backward elements were still trying to gather support for their racist views by exploiting the unfounded fears of a section of the population.

He called on white South Africans to reject "these evil attempts" to polarise South Africans and invited whites to join the ANC.

Mr Mandela said he also condemned the desecration of a cemetery of



WELCOME HOME . . . Mr Nelson Mandela addresses a crowd at Transkei's Matanzima Airport.

Picture: REUTERS

CAPT TINTS 23/4/90  
Tambo may not recover 11A

UMTATA. — ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo might never recover fully from the illness which has confined him to a clinic in Stockholm, Sweden, ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela said here at the weekend.

Mr Mandela told a function in the presidential palace in Umtata that on his recent visit to Sweden, Mr Tambo had told him he wished it to be conveyed to people in SA that he might not recover completely from the stroke he suffered about two years ago.

Mr Mandela paid tribute to Mr Tambo. He said that as leader of the ANC he had held it together for 30 years, despite its exile from SA during that time. — Sapa

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the Jewish community in Pretoria and gave the assurance that the ANC was not responsible.

"The policies of the ANC are fundamentally anti-racist and are opposed to anti-Semitism."

Meanwhile, it was claimed yesterday that a "Boereveermag" (Boer army) has been mobilised countrywide by an alliance consisting of the AWB and the Boerestaat Party.

Boerestaat Party leader Mr Robert van Tonder said the "army" was based on the commando system of the old Boer republics, according to an Afrikaans Sunday newspaper, Rapport.

Mr Van Tonder said the right wing would protect Mr Piet "Skiet" Rudolf, his deputy leader, who is alleged to be involved in the theft of R180 000 worth of modern weapons from the SADF — but denied that the stolen weapons had been intended for the arsenals of the "Boere army", said Rapport.

He claimed that "every white in the country was already armed" and that most of the recruits of the "army" had done military service.

Mr Rudolf is still on the run following the theft — the biggest from the SADF yet.

And in another development, a fugitive from Namibian justice, AWB member Mr Leonard Veenendal, is reported as saying that the AWB would not allow the ANC to come to power and if AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche called the right wing to arms "we will do so".

● Sapa reports that two more men have been arrested in connection with the theft of weapons from SA Air Force headquarters near Pretoria.

The chief of the Pretoria murder and robbery unit, Lt-Col Suiker Britz, said a policeman and a 46-year-old man would appear in Pretoria Regional Court today in connection with the thefts.

# Thatcher to hear ANC sanctions views

18/04 23/4/90  
UMTATA — ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela will raise the question of sanctions with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher when he meets her on July 6 this year.

Mandela, addressing a rally of about 50 000 people in Umtata yesterday, said the ANC was upset that Thatcher had unilaterally decided to ease sanctions.

The armed struggle would continue until the minimum demands of the Harare Declaration had been met by government, he said.

The ANC had been called upon to abandon

the armed struggle, but it would not discard any of its methods or strategies until the right climate for negotiation had been created.

The government had to control the security forces before there could be any talk about the ANC abandoning its strategy.

He told the rally Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht and other right-wingers belonged to the past and in the future SA there would be no room for advocates of racism and racial war.

□ On Saturday Mandela told a function at the presidential palace in Umtata ANC

11/11  
president Oliver Tambo had told him he might never recover fully from the stroke he suffered about two years ago and which has confined him to a clinic in Stockholm.

□ Military Council chairman Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa, addressing the Umtata rally, said there were fears among blacks that government's plans for power-sharing were nothing but a ruse to entrench political privilege for the ruling party.

The only way a democracy could be brought about in SA was for the majority party in an election to become the government. — Sapa.

# ANC rebels to return

*Journalism 23/4/90*

A GROUP of ANC dissidents - participants in the brutally repressed "Mkata Shinga" mutiny in Angola in 1984 - with a

tale of ANC murder and torture are expected to arrive in South Africa this week.

The group is believed to be the vanguard of what could become a flood of ANC dissidents waiting to return from various parts of the world.

It consists of two children, two women and four men.

They are planning to start a political organisation opposed to the ANC and will mobilise parents and relatives of exiles tortured or killed by the ANC.

The group is now believed to be in a southern African country.

It is one of four known groups of ANC dissidents. Three of them are now in Africa - one in Kenya - and the other is in Sweden, where seven exiles were recently given residence permits after denouncing the ANC.

Sowetan 23/4/90

# Socialism has not had chance in Africa

11A

By ALI MPHAKI

SOCIALISM has not been given a chance in Africa, an Azanian Students Movement (Azasm) seminar held at the Medunsa University heard at the weekend.

was ironic that Swapo still maintained its name while the country had changed its name to Namibia.

Attended by about 200 members and observers, the seminar was told that while socialism was being repressed, the failure of capitalism in both Africa and the West were swept under the carpet.

Addressed by several exponents of the Black Consciousness Movement (BC), including former presidents of Azapo, Nkosini Molala and Lybon Mabasa, delegates heard that capitalism was in direct opposition to socialism therefore the answer to the problem lay in socialism.

"Capitalism has not done anything for the working class. And we have reason to suspect that nationalisation without worker control is not going to benefit the working class," a speaker, Mr Oupa Ngwenya said.



Siphso Maseko, Azasm publicity secretary.

Speaking on the role of the students in the liberation struggle, Azasm publicity secretary, Mr Siphso Maseko, said unity among students was imperative but it should not be unity for the sake of unity, "but unity in principle".

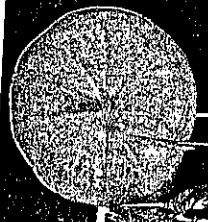
Maseko warned about white liberals joining the struggle adding that "just because a white has read 100 pages of Karl Marx then he thinks he can identify with us."

"We need to discourage this parochial, misinformed thinking from the broader liberation struggle," he said.

Dr Gomolemo Mokaac, Transvaal vice president of Azapo, said in some quarters you could only be called progressive if you were progressing towards a white person.

Mokaac also criticised Namibia for not adopting socialism, adding that it

THE



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# ANC rebels to tell of murder, torture

From CRAIG KOTZE  
The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A group of ANC dissidents — participants in the brutally repressed "Mkata Shinga" mutiny in Angola in 1984 — are expected to arrive in South Africa this week with accounts of ANC murder and torture.

The group is expected at Jan Smuts early this week, the Johannesburg Star, sister newspaper of The Argus, has learnt, and is believed to be the vanguard of what could become a flood of ANC dissidents waiting to return from various parts of the globe.

The group consists of two children, two women and four men.

They are planning to start a political organisation opposed to the ANC and will mobilise the parents and relatives of exiles tortured or killed by the ANC, which has admitted using torture and says it is "necessary".

The group is hiding in a southern African country, the name of which is known to the Star.

It is one of four known groups of ANC dissidents. Three are now in Africa — one in Kenya — and the other is in Sweden, where seven exiles were recently given residence permits after denouncing the ANC.

## Crushed

One of the groups is in South Africa, arriving at Jan Smuts Airport on Friday.

Also expected this week is

former Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK, the armed wing of the ANC), commander, Mr Mwezi Twala, one of the leaders of the 1984 mutiny. About 60 MK members had joined the protest at bad conditions and being used to fight against Unita instead of being deployed in South Africa.

Mr Twala fled the Dakawa internment camp in Tanzania this year.

The mutiny was brutally crushed, its leaders were allegedly executed by firing squad and others are being held in ANC camps in Tanzania in violation of international law.

The mutiny is widely known within the ANC as the "Mkata Shinga mutiny", which means "those who are tired of carrying guns on their shoulders" and a reference to the "ANC yoke".

# De Klerk praises ANC

Southern 23/4/90

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STATE President FW de Klerk has welcomed the ANC's reaction to his initiatives as a "positive step" and as being in line with an attitude which allowed for the search for peaceful solutions.

De Klerk issued a statement on Saturday afternoon welcoming the ANC decision to send a delegation to meet him, saying he believed that direct contact was the best method of achieving peaceful solutions.

"Foreign agencies and foreign intervention will get us nowhere," he said.

## SA Press Association

The full text of De Klerk's statement reads:

"I welcome the decision of the National Executive Committee of the ANC to send a delegation to meet with me.

## Talks

"This commitment to talks with the South African Government on ways and means of getting negotiations off the ground is a positive step and appears to be consistent with an attitude to search for solutions through

peaceful means. I sincerely believe that direct communication is the best way to attain this. Foreign agencies and foreign intervention will bring us nowhere.

"Obviously, legal uncertainties which members of the National Executive Committee may have in regard to visits to South Africa will have to be addressed beforehand. These and other particulars concerning arrangements for the proposed meeting are receiving immediate attention.

"It is disappointing however that the ANC leadership meanwhile

continues to set preconditions despite the new climate created by the recent decisions of the Government.

"This attitude is in stark contrast to the enthusiasm, if not impatience, on the part of all other leaders in South Africa to get negotiations going.

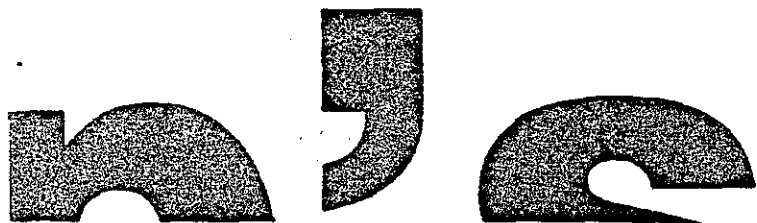
## Peace

"It is also disappointing that the ANC leadership continues to talk about an armed struggle and hostilities at a time when most South Africans, supported by the rest of the world, want

peace. The South African Government is committed to a new dispensation which offers peace and justice for all. An armed struggle and hostilities do not fit into this pattern."

"The Government will continue to act firmly against violence from whichever source and against any effort to destabilise our country. We have the will and the ability to do just that. Besides a commitment to peaceful solutions, the maintenance of stability and good order is of crucial importance to the right climate for successful negotiation."

# in hospital





# Mandela to meet with British PM

CAP (7 min) 23/4/90

UMTATA. — Deputy ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday that he would meet British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher in London on July 6 despite her government's decision to lift some economic sanctions against South Africa.

Addressing more than 50 000 supporters at a rally in Umtata, he said the ANC was upset that Mrs Thatcher had unilaterally decided to ease sanctions on South Africa and he would raise the matter with her at their meeting.

Against the backdrop of a mounting right-wing backlash over Mr F W de Klerk's reformist policies, Mr Mandela lashed out at the leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, accusing the former minister of stirring white hysteria.

"In the South Africa that we envisage and are busy building, there will be no place for racist practices," Mr Mandela said, speaking alternatively in English and Xhosa from a platform overlooking a hillside packed with cheering supporters.

"We make a special call to our white fellow South Africans to reject these evil attempts to further polarise us as South Africans ... there are still backward elements who openly advocate racism and racial war," he said.

He said the armed struggle would continue until the minimum demands of the Harare Declaration had been met by the government.

## 'Refuse to be intimidated'

There could be no talk of peace while the SA Police continued to massacre people such as they had in Sebokeng, Viljoenskroon and in Natal.

The government had to control the security forces before there could be any talk about the ANC abandoning its strategy.

"We refuse to be intimidated by police violence. The armed struggle must be intensified but in a disciplined way to ensure that the government does not backtrack from the path of negotiation."

He said he intended to raise "continued war talk" when an 11-member delegation of the ANC meets the SA government for three days of talks starting on May 2 on obstacles standing in the way of formal power-sharing negotiations.

"Only successful negotiations can convince us to ban the armed struggle," Mr Mandela said. "Peace will come as a result of negotiation. It is not negotiations which must come as a result of peace."

"Whilst we recognise the changes Mr De Klerk has implemented and those that he is still promising as

# Poor wages for doing most dangerous work

CAP Tm/1 23/4/90

11A

JOHANNESBURG. — Poor wages for dangerous work and humiliation at the hands of mine authorities are just some of the problems faced by South African mineworkers despite a lifting of statutory discrimination by management, ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela said on Saturday.

Speaking at a National Union of Mineworkers central committee meeting in Johannesburg, Mr Mandela noted that whites were not subjected to strip hygiene checks as blacks were. Mine lift decks were segregated and blacks still received poor wages despite doing the most dangerous work.

Now that the ANC was unbanned it would do all it could to aid the NUM in its fight for miners' rights.

Mr Mandela was presented with a framed NUM honorary life membership card depicting his own metamor-

phosis from humble mine policeman to deputy president of the African National Congress.

Mr Mandela, in a jovial mood, thanked the union and did a sedate toyi-toyi on the stage as the audience of about 200 cheered and sang.

Also on the stage were law lecturer and ex-detainee Mr Raymond Suttner, who is now a spokesman for the ANC, NUM general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, NUM president Mr James Mollatsi and Cosatu president Mr Elijah Barayi.

Mr Mandela left the meeting straight for Jan Smuts Airport, from where he was to fly to Transkei — there to speak to various ministers and to visit Qunu village where he was born.

It will be his first return to the place of his birth, and it felt "tremendous", he told reporters. — Sapa

# ANC to continue armed struggle -



Nelson Mandela

THE ANC would continue the armed struggle as long as the South African Government continued to conduct a war against unarmed and defenceless black civilians.

This was said by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela at a rally in Umtata yesterday

He said the main rea-

## Mandela

SA Press  
Association

son that compelled the ANC to form its armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, had been the use of brutal force against

people which was a still a reality today.

If an atmosphere of peace was to be created then the government had to control its security forces.

"We refuse to be intimidated into inactivity by this phenomenon of police violence.

"We must continue to intensify our mass struggle in a disciplined way to ensure that the gains we have made so far are not reversed and the government does not backtrack from the unfolding process of negotiation."

### Massacre

Mandela said there could be no talk of a lasting peace while government agents continued to massacre people as had happened at Sebokeng, Viljoenskroon and in Natal.

Meanwhile Mandela proposes to meet Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher here On July 5, the *Observer* reported yesterday.

SALE! SALE!

# Black businessmen are urged to forge links



SOUTH African black business people have been urged to engage in an economic debate with their Zimbabwean counterparts, the ANC and trade union movements.

This plea was made at a dinner held in Johannesburg at the weekend in honour of about 140 business people who are to tour Zimbabwe by the chairman of the Argus group, Mr M B Hofmeyer.

Hoffman said the task of business was to demonstrate that the private enterprise system was the most efficient way of ensuring growth needed to provide basic necessities, including employment for a fast growing population.

**By JOSHUA RABOROKO**

"Black business is in a unique position to participate in this fundamental debate.

"I believe we will come to realise increasingly in the days ahead that, contrary to the general conception that business both black and white are poles apart from the fores of democracy including the trade union movement, there is in fact a remarkably strong interdependence.

## Goodwill

"Just as business will not prosper if it does not enjoy the confidence and goodwill of the new democratic forces that will

make an important part of a new South African Government, so to the new democratic South Africa will not prosper unless it can secure adequate local and foreign investment and this will depend very much on the confidence of South African business in the political and economic systems of the new South Africa", he said.

Mr Hofmeyer said: "I very much hope that you will have the opportunity and the inclination to engage both your business counterparts in Zimbabwe and also the ANC in a forthright manner on issues of economic policy and practice."

**Teachers w**

determine the relative merit of each applicant irrespective of race or colour.

(3) No.

New questions:

#### ANC/SACP supporters in SADF

\*1. Adv S C JACOBS asked the Minister of Defence:†

Whether persons who support the principles and policy of the ANC and the South African Communist Party may join the South African Defence Force; if so, (a) how many such persons have already joined and (b) in respect of what date is this information furnished?

Hansard 24/4/90 B686E

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

No. (a) and (b) fall away.

†Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: Mr Chairman, arising out of the reply of the hon the Deputy Minister, if this then means that members of the ANC and the SA Communist Party may not join the Defence Force, on what grounds are they prevented from becoming members, as they now belong to a legal grouping in South Africa? On what grounds are they thus now prevented from becoming members?

†The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Chairman, I believe that Mr Mandela will be very pleasantly surprised about the assistance he is receiving from the CP here today in order to have ANC members taken up in the SA Defence Force, as is clear from this as well as the following question. [Interjections.] The hon member is his party's chief spokesman on defence. He knows that when any person applies to join the SA Defence Force, the application goes through a selection board and security procedures. In this procedure an applicant's *bona fides* are naturally investigated, and because the SA Defence Force is an instrument of the government of the day, such persons' political feelings . . . [Interjections.] I don't really mean political feelings. They must support the underlying principles of policy and the Constitution of the Government of this country; otherwise it is self-evident that they cannot become members of the SA Defence Force. [Interjections.]

†Adv C D DE JAGER: Mr Chairman, further arising out of the reply of the hon the Deputy Minister, on what grounds does he then take

over the function of the selection board by deciding himself who can be admitted and who not?

Hansard 24/4/90  
†The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Chairman, it is really futile to reply to the hon member's question as a result of his complete lack of any ability to understand. [Interjections.]

I have just said that a procedure exists in the SA Defence Force through which prospective members must go to be selected for the Defence Force. We know the hon member finds it difficult to understand something. I leave it at that. [Interjections.]

†Dr W J SNYMAN: Mr Chairman, further arising out of the reply of the hon the Deputy Minister, is it not correct that exactly a week ago in an interpellation debate, as reported in Hansard, he admitted that members who support and are favourably disposed towards the ANC and the SA Communist Party may become voluntary members of the Commandos or the Permanent Force? [Interjections.]

Is it also not further true that in that session for replies he said that members of the ANC and the SA Communist Party should also do compulsory military service? I ask the hon the Deputy Minister this directly.

†The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Chairman, to a certain extent the hon member for Pietersburg is twisting my replies of last week completely. [Interjections.] He is twisting it intentionally! [Interjections.] It is subject to . . .

†Mr F J LE ROUX: Mr Chairman, on a point of order: Is it permissible to say that the hon member for Pietersburg intentionally twisted the hon the Minister's words? [Interjections.]

†The DEPUTY MINISTER: I withdraw it, Mr Chairman.

†The CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES: Order! The hon the Deputy Minister has withdrawn it.

†The DEPUTY MINISTER: The hon members have no argument; then they come with this kind of rubbish. [Interjections.]

Naturally, further to my replies during the interpellation, those applications must all go through this procedure which I just spelled out to hon members. Hon members should know that

according to the Defence Act there is a different dispensation for national servicemen. That Act says that everyone who is a member of the White group must do national service. Thus CPs and all kinds of strange characters have done their national service in the past and we have accepted them as such.

Mr P G SOAL: Mr Chairman, arising out of the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, does this mean that if David Bruce and Charles Bester had said that they supported the aims and principles of the ANC, they would not have been sent to jail for six years each? [Interjections.]

The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Chairman, that has no relevancy to this debate. [Interjections.] They were national servicemen who failed or refused to do service in terms of the Defence Act.

†Adv S C JACOBS: Mr Chairman, further arising out of the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, I should like to know from him whether in view of the fact that the ANC is a legal organisation, he discriminates between members of the ANC—for example the family members of Mandela—who want to join the SA Defence Force, and Blacks who are not members of the ANC and who want to join the SA Defence Force?

†The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Chairman, it is clear that the hon member has understood nothing of what I tried to tell him. I say again we take note that the CP is advocating the case for the ANC today in the House of Assembly to become members of the SA Defence Force. [Interjections.]

†The CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES: Order! I have allowed five supplementary questions on this question. I am not going to allow any more supplementary questions.

#### Umkhonto we Sizwe members in SADF

\*2. Adv S C JACOBS asked the Minister of Defence:†

- (1) Whether he intends including members of Umkhonto we Sizwe in the South African Defence Force as a part of the so-called new South Africa; if so, <sup>Hansard</sup> 24/4/90
- (2) whether he will hold discussions or enter into negotiations on this matter with Umkhonto we Sizwe or its members;

(3) whether he will make a statement on the matter? B688E

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

(1) No.

(2) and (3) Fall away.

†Mr Chairman, it is for the same reasons which I have just given to hon members, and it will serve no purpose to reply to further supplementary questions in this connection. [Interjections.]

†The CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES: Order! The hon the Deputy Minister has given notice that he will not allow any further supplementary questions.

†Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: Mr Chairman, on a point of order: He cannot do that! [Interjections.]

†The CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES: Order! The hon the Deputy Minister has indicated that he will not reply to supplementary questions. [Interjections.] Order! I shall hear the hon member as to whether he may do so or not.

†Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: Mr Chairman, I am of the opinion that questions form part of the proceedings of this Parliament and that it is the duty of an hon Minister to reply in Parliament to questions on a matter of public interest. I suggest that the hon the Deputy Minister has no right to evade his responsibilities as he is doing now and in the way in which he is running away from the challenge which he has put to the hon member for Bethal. He is compelled to reply to the questions.

†The CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES: Order! My ruling is that, just as the hon the Deputy Minister may refuse afterwards to reply to a supplementary question, he may refuse beforehand to do so.

†Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: He is a "pappbroek"!

†The CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES: Order! The hon member for Overvaal must withdraw the word "pappbroek".

†Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: I withdraw the word "pappbroek" and say that he is a coward.

†The CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES: Order! The hon member must withdraw his remark

unconditionally; he must therefore also withdraw the word "coward" ~~(11A)~~

†Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: I withdraw it, but I will get him in Kroonstad! [Interjections.]

†The CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES: Order! ~~Hansard 24/4/90~~

†Adv S C JACOBS: Mr Chairman, on a point of order: With regard to the question of whether an hon Minister or Deputy Minister may refuse to reply to a supplementary question, I wish to refer you to the ruling of the Rules Committee that five supplementary questions are admissible. [Interjections.] I wish to submit that in this case no supplementary questions have been allowed and that the five supplementary questions may still be put.

†The CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES: Order! Supplementary questions have not been refused. The hon the Deputy Minister himself indicated that he would not reply to supplementary questions. [Interjections.]

*Business interrupted in accordance with Rule 180C (3) of the Standing Rules of Parliament.*

**Certain book recommended by SADF**

\*3. Mr P C CRONJÉ asked the Minister of Defence: ~~Hansard 24/4/90~~

- (1) Whether the South African Defence Force sent out a circular in which it recommended a certain book, particulars of which have been furnished to the Defence Force for the purpose of the Minister's reply; if so, (a) under whose signature was the circular sent out, (b) to whom was it directed, (c) what are the particulars of the book in question and (d) what was the cost of sending out this circular;
- (2) whether the publishing company concerned refunded the South African Defence Force for the cost of the circular; if not, why not?

B742E

The MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

- (1) Yes.
  - (a) The previous Chief of the SA Army.
  - (b) Officers, warrant-officers and non-commissioned officers of the Perma-

nent Force, the Citizen Force and the Commandos. ~~Hansard 24/4/90~~

- (c) The particulars are as supplied by the Honourable Member.
  - (d) R5 843 for envelopes.
- (2) No, because the circular was sent out on the initiative of the South African Defence Force. The SA Defence Force has over a period of 23 years, gained victory after victory in the struggle against Marxist expansionism. The SA Defence Force succeeded in halting this expansionism until the philosophy and ideology behind it collapsed in Eastern Europe. The SA Defence Force achieved one of the bravest victories in modern warfare in South East Angola in 1987/88. This crowned the military successes of the previous years and opened the way for a successful negotiation process regarding Namibia. This book reflects the SA Defence Force's successes and because thousands of members of the SA Defence Force were involved in the war, it was decided to introduce the book to as many members as possible.

**Johannesburg city councillor: investigation**

\*4. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Finance:

- (1) Whether officials of the Department of Inland Revenue were requested by officials of the Johannesburg City Council to investigate the tax affairs of a Johannesburg city councillor; if so, what was the response of the Department of Inland Revenue;
- (2) whether he will furnish information on the persons involved in this matter; if not, why not; if so, what (a) are the names of the city council officials who made the request and (b) is the name of the city councillor concerned?

~~Hansard 24/4/90~~

B746E

The MINISTER OF FINANCE:

- (1) The duties of the Commissioner for Inland Revenue are not limited to the collection of taxes; he must also ensure that there is compliance with the tax laws.

He will accordingly take notice of information in regard to tax matters that come to his notice from any source whatsoever, and act thereon in terms of the powers granted to him by law. In the light of the secrecy provisions contained in section 4 of the Income Tax Act, details of his actions and findings may, however, not be furnished to any person other than the taxpayer or his lawful representative.

- (2) In view hereof no further information or comment can be furnished in reply to the Honourable Member's question.

**Kaftan electrified fence: exclusion of areas**

\*5. Adv T LANGLEY asked the Minister of Defence:†

- (1) Whether the farms (a) Greefswald, (b) Den Staat, (c) Samaria and (d) Kruitfontein are to be excluded from the Kaftan electrified fence west of Messina; if so, (i) for what reasons, (ii) at whose request and (iii) what will be the cost of such exclusion; ~~Hansard 24/4/90~~
- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

~~Hansard 24/4/90~~ B773E

The MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

- (1) (a) to (c) Yes.
  - (i) Due to research with regard to the existing system as well as ecological disturbances which the fence could bring about.
  - (ii) The SA Defence Force.
  - (iii) The cost is not known as the exact location of the fence has not yet been determined.
- (d) A gap has, for the time being, been left in the fence in anticipation of the outcome of the ecological investigation regarding this specific farm.
- (2) No.

**Prison warders dismissed/suspended**

\*6. Mr D J DALLING asked the Minister of Justice:

- (1) Whether, subsequent to his reply in the House of Representatives to Question No

1 on 27 March 1990, any prison warders have been dismissed or suspended; if so, (a) how many, (b) for what reasons and (c) at which prisons were they stationed at the time of their dismissal or suspension; ~~Hansard 24/4/90~~

- (2) whether these warders raised any grievances with the authorities; if so, (a) what grievances and (b) what action was or is being taken by his Department to address such grievances?

~~Hansard 24/4/90~~ B765E

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

- (1) Yes, only suspended.
 

(a) and :	King	: 5 Members suspended on 27 March 1990
(c)	William's Town Prison	: 2 Members suspended on 29 March 1990
	East London Prison	: 2 Members suspended on 27 March 1990
	Pollsmoor Prison	: 2 Members suspended on 27 March 1990
	Brandvlei Prison	: 1 Member suspended on 30 March 1990
	Fort Beaufort Prison	: 1 Member suspended on 27 March 1990
	Stutterheim Prison	: 1 Member suspended on 27 March 1990
	Port Elizabeth Prison	: 27 members suspended on 9 April 1990
	Grahams-town Prison	: 1 Member suspended on 10 April 1990
	Grahams-town Prison	: 1 Member suspended on 17 April 1990

- (b) For the same reasons mentioned in my reply to Question No 1 on 27 March 1990 in the House of Rep-

by Esmaire van der Merwe,  
Political Reporter

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht last night accused State President F W de Klerk of deliberately misrepresenting the facts to Parliament about an intelligence document on African National Congress plans to assassinate right-wingers.

At a public meeting in Vereeniging, Dr Treurnicht launched a scathing attack on Mr de Klerk's handling of the document which had been leaked to the CP and subsequently made public by the CP leader.

Reacting to Mr de Klerk's challenge to reveal the source of the document, Dr Treurnicht said: "Even if you throw the entire CP into jail, the CP will not reveal our source."

# FW <sup>Star 24/4/90</sup> under fire from

He said it was "truly regrettable" that the State President, in his eagerness to get at the CP, had handled the CP's revelations so haphazardly.

"The State President owes me and the country an apology because he has sent an untruth about me and the CP into the world."

Mr de Klerk had deliberately misrepresented the facts by saying in Parliament that:

- The document revealed to the CP had differed from the one given by National Intelligence to the State President;
- Dr Treurnicht and the CP's chief secre-

tary, Mr Andries Beyers, differed on the source of the document;

● Mr Beyers had told the SA Police he did not know where the document had come from, that the CP had destroyed the envelope in which the document had been posted and that copies had been made to ensure that it would be impossible to identify the original document.

Dr Treurnicht said the police had never questioned Mr Beyers about the source of the document. Mr Beyers had in fact told the police that he did not know where the envelope was. And he had told police that

the document had been copied, not with the aim to make identification of the document impossible, but that identification had been impossible as a result of the copying.

Dr Treurnicht said the investigating officer, a Brigadier Lambrechts, had confirmed Mr Beyers's account. Mr de Klerk's statement to Parliament had thus been incorrect.

He added that the intelligence source had passed on the information to the CP because he "has information" that the Government would not give any attention to the

The Star Tuesday April 24 1990

3

much of the content of the document — for example action against Inkatha, homeland governments and security officials — had already come true. The only new revelation had been intended action against right-wing leaders.

He challenged Mr de Klerk to say why he had "ordered the CP's persecution" and why he had launched an inquiry into police action in Sebokeng instead of prosecuting the ANC which was preaching violence and sanctions and which was contravening the Internal Security Act.

Reacting to Mr de Klerk's "cynical" remark that he received numerous death threats, Dr Treurnicht said the position of the State President and that of the leader of the Opposition were not comparable. The State President enjoyed full and intensive security protection.

document because it would have embarrassed the ANC and thus jeopardised negotiations.

"I have reason to believe that the person acted in good faith and out of concern over human life by warning us about attacks by the ANC. The Government's fury about the revelation of the document is probably based on the fact that it (the document) had embarrassed the NP's negotiation partner, the ANC."

He said the Government's opinion that the CP had contributed to a violence psychosis was unfounded. This was so because

Treurnicht

## Govt playing into hands of

### ANC - CP

*24/4/90 (11A) (11A)*  
The Government had directly played into the hands of the revolutionary forces, the Conservative Party's spokesman on law and order, Mr Moolman Mentz, said yesterday.

Speaking during the Law and Order budget vote, he also said the Government was suffering from a delayed reaction about police pay.

The Government knew that they were being "scandalously underpaid", yet only now that thousands had left the force, did it offer them better pay.

The Government was breaking down the image of the SAP — while complaints were received by SAP members about the transgression of laws, the police could do nothing about it because of decisions by higher-up politicians that these laws were no longer being applied.

The ANC's Radio Freedom had called on black members of the security forces to turn their backs on the white members. It was therefore an alarming phenomenon that the ANC leadership was being allowed into South Africa. — Sapa.



Star 24/4/90  
11A

# Mandela says supporters opposed talks

UMTATA — Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday that ANC supporters had prevented him from meeting Inkatha president, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, on his recent visit to Natal.

Mr Mandela, deputy president of the ANC, told a gathering of chiefs and paramount chiefs in Umtata yesterday he had tried to solve the conflict in Natal but the fighting had continued.

He had called on people to stop fighting and had been willing to meet Chief Buthelezi and accompany him to the worst hit areas to call for peace. "But when I told my people about this, they nearly throttled me."

They did not want him to be seen with the man who headed the organisation they alleged was killing them. Within days of his visit two ANC supporters had been killed.

The ANC alleged that Inkatha and "the police" were responsible for the deaths. — Sapa.

# Mandela goes back to his rural roots

South Africa 24/4/90

(11A) (#) (10P)

FOCUS

NELSON MANDELA returned to his roots on Sunday night and fought back tears as he saw the little mud hut at Qunu where he was born.

It was his first visit to the tiny poverty-stricken village among eroded hills and fields in Transkei in more than 30 years - 27 of them spent in jail.

Mandela, deputy president of the African National Congress (ANC) and South Africa's most celebrated black leader, was visibly moved when he arrived unexpectedly at sunset on Sunday. He is scheduled to return on Thursday.

His voice broke several times and his words slowed as he embraced half-naked children and gazed at the small brown rondavel, a circular hut with mud walls and thatched roof, where he spent his childhood.

"It was here where I ground grain on a stone, where I hunted antelopes and other animals," he told dozens of relatives and other villagers who had gathered to greet him, ululating and chanting his clan name, *aah-dalibhunta*.

## Chief's son

Mandela was born on July 18 1918, the son of the chief councillor of the paramount chief of the Thembu, one of the region's two major tribes. He was groomed as a youth to become a traditional chief, but chose the path of radical politics.

"It is the greatest pleasure to be back here with you at home and the home of our ancestors," he said haltingly.

"Throughout the decades of my absence I have always had fond memories of this part of our beloved country.

"After the decades of separation imposed on us by the criminal policy of apartheid, through which I and my comrades were sent to prison and exiled, we cannot but be proud and rejoice at the victories we have achieved so far."

Mandela next week leads an ANC delegation into talks with President F W de Klerk to discuss the possibility of blacks sharing real political power with whites for the first time in South Africa's history.



ANC vice-president Mr Nelson Mandela received a welcoming skin shawl and spear when he arrived at Transkei's K D Matanzima airport on Saturday.

Mandela's home lies about 30km from Umtata, the capital of Transkei, a nominally independent tribal homeland created by the South African Government a decade ago in line with its policy of keeping black "nations" separate so they would not overwhelm whites. Neither the ANC nor the outside world recognises the homelands, which are economically and politically dependent on the Pretoria Government.

The poor but pretty village is floodlit orange at sunset. The colour is everywhere - over the hills and fields of corn and scat-

tered cattle, in the traditional clothes of the peasants and on the painted faces of the women.

Most of the villagers have heard word of Mandela but few have seen him or read about him. There is no television or newspapers and most people are illiterate.

## Freed

While much of the world watched entranced as Mandela was freed from prison last February, his home was tuned out.

Most people live on remit-

tances from relatives working in the rich gold mines and factories of Johannesburg. But they, like millions of blacks throughout South Africa, believe their lives will improve because Mandela has come back.

"His coming home will contribute very much to the uplifting of this village," said nephew Nompilisi Mandela who lives across from an overgrown plot of land which will be presented formally to his uncle on Thursday amid much rejoicing and festive slaughtering of cows and goats. - Sapa-Reuter.

# Mandela <sup>11A</sup> forced to <sup>24/4/90</sup> snub <sup>24/4/90</sup> Buthelezi

UMTATA. — ANC supporters prevented Mr Nelson Mandela from meeting the Inkatha president, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, on his recent visit to Natal's troubled townships.

Mr Mandela, deputy president of the ANC, told a gathering of chiefs and paramount chiefs in Umtata yesterday that he had tried to solve the conflict in Natal.

He had been willing to meet Chief Buthelezi. He had even been willing to accompany the Zulu leader to some of the worst-hit areas to make a call for peace.

## 'Nearly throttled'

"But when I told my people about this, they nearly throttled me."

They had told Mr Mandela that they did not want him to be seen with the man who headed the organisation they alleged was killing them.

Nine people were reported killed in the Umazi district south of Durban at the weekend.

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CAP TINTS 24/4/90 (11A) (11B)

# Mandela's return rooted in tears

**QUNU.** — Mr Nelson Mandela returned to his roots on Sunday and fought back tears as he saw the mud hut where he was born.

Mr Mandela was visibly moved when he arrived unexpectedly at sunset. His official return is scheduled for Thursday.

His voice broke several times and his words slowed as he embraced children and gazed at the traditional circular hut with mud walls and thatched roof where he spent his childhood.

"It was here where I ground grain on a stone, where I hunted antelopes and other animals," he told dozens of relatives and other villagers who had gathered to greet him.

Mr Mandela was born on July 18, 1918, the son of the chief councillor of the paramount chief of the Thembu, one of the region's two major tribes. He was groomed as a youth to become a traditional chief, but chose the path of radical politics.

"It is the greatest pleasure to be back here with you at home and the home of our ancestors," he said haltingly.

"Throughout the decades of my absence I have always had fond memories of this part of our beloved country."

Mr Mandela next week leads an ANC delegation into talks with President FW de Klerk.

His home lies about 30km from Umtata,

the capital of Transkei. Most of the villagers have heard of him but few have seen him or read about him. There are no newspapers or television sets and most people are illiterate.

Most live on remittances from relatives working in the gold mines and factories of Johannesburg. But they, like blacks throughout South Africa, believe their lives will improve because Mr Mandela has come back.

"His coming home will contribute very much to the uplifting of this village," said nephew Nompilisi Mandela.

— Sapa-Reuter

# Tribal chiefs welcome in the ANC says Mandela

UMTATA — ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela yesterday called on the chiefs and paramount chiefs in Transkei to support the ANC because they had always been part of the liberation struggle.

Addressing them at a meeting called by the ANC here, he said there had been a misunderstanding in the past that chiefs were not welcome in the ANC. This impression had been created by the youth during the years when the ANC had been banned.

Earlier Mandela met Transkei officials at the presidential palace. After the meeting, he and the Military Council chairman Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa de-

scribed the talks as fruitful.

And on Sunday night Mandela returned to his roots and fought back tears as he saw the mud hut where he was born.

It was his first visit to Qunu, the tiny village among eroded hills and fields in Transkei, in more than 30 years.

"It was here where I ground grain on a stone, where I hunted antelopes and other animals," he told dozens of relatives and other villagers.

Mandela was born on July 18 1918, the son of the chief councillor of the paramount chief of the Thembu, one of the region's two major tribes.

In his address to the chiefs yesterday,

Mandela said ANC supporters had prevented him from meeting Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi on his recent visit to Natal's troubled townships.

He had called on people to stop fighting and had been willing to meet Buthelezi and accompany him to some of the worst hit areas. "But when I told my people about this, they nearly throttled me."

They had told Mandela they did not want him to be seen with the man who headed the organisation they alleged was killing them.

However, he was still willing to work for peace in the region, he said. — Sapa.

B/Dev 24/4/90

117 (10)

ANC walk  
free in SA  
embassy

LONDON. — Members of the ANC walked freely into the South African embassy here yesterday — probably for the first time ever.

They were there to witness the first day of the sitting of the Harms Commission and, quipped one, expected one day to be moving into South Africa House permanently.

The ANC is accompanying former SA police hit-squad member Mrn David "Spyker" Tshikange.

Another key witness — former death-squad commander Mr Dirk Coetzee — is expected to give evidence from tomorrow.

● Ex-gardener tells of Mxenge's murder — Page 5

Rosholt quits

JOHANNESBURG. — Mike Rosholt is to retire as chairman of Barlow Rand in January next year. Warren Clewlow, vice-chairman, will succeed him. — Sapa

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# I was barred, says Mandela

*Southen 24/4/90*

TIA  
~~scribble~~

SUPPORTERS of the African National Congress prevented Mr Nelson Mandela from meeting Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi on his recent visit to Natal's troubled townships.

Mandela, deputy president of the ANC, told a gathering of chiefs in the Bhunga building in Umtata yesterday that he had tried to solve the conflict in Natal but the fighting had continued.

He had called on people to stop fighting and had been willing to meet Buthelezi. He had even been willing to accompany Buthelezi to some of the worst-hit areas to make a call for peace.

"But when I told my

## ANC followers did not favour meeting with Buthelezi

people about this, they nearly throttled me," Mandela said.

They had told him they did not want him to be seen with the man who headed the organisation they alleged was killing them. Within days of his visit to Natal two ANC supporters were killed.

The ANC alleged that Inkatha, working in conjunction with "the police" were responsible for the deaths.

However, he was still willing to work for peace in the region, Mandela said.

Meanwhile, Mandela

yesterday called on chiefs and paramount chiefs in Transkei to support the ANC because they had always been part of the liberation struggle.

He said there had been a misunderstanding in the past that chiefs were not welcome in the ANC. This impression had been created by the youth during the years when the ANC was banned.

Not only had they believed that chiefs were not part of the ANC, but in some cases had seen them as collaborators with the system. The liberation struggle should



**NELSON MANDELA**

go hand-in-hand with traditional beliefs.

"We cannot be united if we reject any group," Mandela said.

Earlier yesterday he met Transkei officials at the presidential palace in Umtata.

After the meeting he and chairman of the Transkei military council Major-General Bantu Holomisa described the talks as fruitful. - Sapa.

# Pull out of talks, PAC call to ANC

THE PAC and Azapo yesterday called on the ANC to pull out of negotiations with the Government following State President Mr FW De Klerk's Sunday British television interview in which he dismissed majority rule as a simplistic model.

In an interview on ITV, screened on SABC-TV1, De Klerk said majority rule would be suicide for South Africa's whites.

He said he was committed to negotiating a peaceful future for South Africa but would not give in to ANC demands for black majority rule.

The PAC and Azapo, who have rejected negotiations with De Klerk, said he had already pre-empted the talks-about-talks scheduled for May 2 on negotiations for a new constitution.

An ANC spokesman said yesterday the organisation would issue a statement when ready.

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela heads the delegation which would meet De Klerk next week.

PAC general secretary Mr Benny Alexander said: "The view still expressed is that De Klerk

By THEMBA MOLEFE

vindicates the PAC's stance that he is not ready for any meaningful talks and anybody who negotiates with the Government now is a sellout.

"The PAC wants to warn the masses that the smell of appeasement is thick in the air," Alexander said.

Azapo president Dr Jerry Mosala said De Klerk's statement confirmed the organisation's suspicions that no real negotiations were intended by De Klerk.



DE KLERK

"We call on the ANC to get out of negotiations and, as a major liberation movement, engage in negotiations with other liberation forces. The ANC should not commit suicide," Mosala said.



CAL Traits 24/4/90 (114)

**Own Correspondent**

LONDON. — The ANC's delay before agreeing to talk to the South African government on May 2 was caused by rivalry between its two key military leaders, the journal, Africa Confidential, claimed yesterday.

The magazine said speculation about a split on the issue after the police shootings in Sebokeng, had camouflaged the real problem — a power struggle between hardline chief-of-staff Mr Chris Hani and commander-in-chief Mr Joe Modise.

The journal said that Mr Hani, with his MDM mentor, Mr Steve Tshwete, was to be part of the delegation to meet the SA government.

It claims that contrary to speculation, Mr Modise and his powerful ally, Mr Josiah Jele, were not opposed to the talks, but felt they were being eclipsed by Mr Hani.

## Military rivals behind ANC's delay on talks

Mr Modise protested that as army head, he should have precedence over Mr Hani.

Umkhonto said Mr Modise pressed his case at the time of the Sebokeng shootings, when Mr Nelson Mandela advised the exiled leadership to suspend talks with Pretoria.

The result was that Mr Modise, who had been involved in a long-running power struggle with the articulate Mr Hani, came out on top with both Mr Hani and Mr Tshwete excluded from the final composition of delegates.

**M**OBILISE, organise for the final offensive! All youth to battle! All youth to the frontline! — so summons the current issue of New Nation in a "report" on the recent SA Youth Congress (Sayco) gathering in KaNgwane.

This is not journalism. It is a trumpet call to action, subsidised by the Catholic Church, the paper's principal paymaster.

I end a five-week stay in SA with the impression that it is somewhat *outré* to take such things seriously. Good people are supposed to believe that Zwelakhe Sisulu, New Nation's editor, does not really mean it. His organisation, the ANC, is really quite decent at heart, but the poor dears have this rather wild constituency that they can't afford to alienate. Their bloodcurdling rhetoric has nothing to do with the necklacing of children or the show trial and execution of a Steadville, Natal, councillor by youths bent on hijacking existing civil authority.

**R**eally? This is the kind of thinking that encouraged the world to stand by while Hitler prepared for the elimination of 6-million Jews. The Nazis were not actually that anti-semitic, commentators like Walter Lippman opined after trips to Berlin in the '30s, but they had to make a show of it to keep the lumpen proletariat happy.

Let me pay the ANC and its formations the supreme compliment of believing what they say. When Sayco declares Chief Mangosuthu Buthezi "an enemy of the people" and calls for Umkhonto we Sizwe-backed "defence units" to confront Inkatha, it must be taken at its word. Sisulu himself must likewise be deemed an honest man, when, in an editorial next to the Sayco feature, he applauds the emergence of a one-party state in Zimbabwe and calls for its emulation here.

"In our struggle," he writes, "we can no longer afford to have grey, undefined areas. Now, more than ever before, it is the people or the regime." Those who do not join the

# Way must be found for decent majority to write its destiny

BIDAY 25/4/90

SIMON BARBER

HA (circled) (circled)

"the people" (i.e. the ANC) will "inevitably gravitate towards the government and all it represents" — and are therefore legitimate targets for the corrective ministrations of the young lions.

One of the most depressing things about this country is the capacity of its liberal white elites to find excuses for the ANC. Give the ANC time, they say. After so many years in jail, its leaders need space to get their act together. Nationalisation and the armed struggle are mere bargaining chips. Besides, you can't expect Nelson Mandela to stop glorifying violence until he has firmly established his authority. Nor can you expect this to happen overnight because the government so effectively smashed the movement's command structure. These people have to get organised.

Indeed they do, but what they mean by organised is not quite the same as nice white people think. There is, for example, a lot of organising going on in Natal. Children are being organised with petrol-filled tyres.

Beneath the exquisite socio-babble of the pundits — most of whom lap up the "data" provided by ANC/UDF fronts and spokesmen as though it were the revealed and only truth —

the carnage in the Natal townships is very simply explained. There is a civil war going on to determine the shape of the table at which the government will negotiate its surrender and, therefore, whether the "new" SA shall be a one-party state or a multi-party democracy.

One may have doubts about the democratic convictions of Inkatha, but that is not the point. The point is that it is another party and the ANC is not prepared to brook another party. Anyone who is not with the ANC is against it and faces a choice between re-education and liquidation, "Terror" Lekota's hurt remonstrances that the ANC is only trying to defend itself notwithstanding.

**W**hy this should be a mystery is a mystery in itself. The ANC has made its objectives entirely plain by its "peace" proposal — namely that President F W de Klerk and Nelson Mandela should do a joint tour through Natal, thus having the government effectively bless the ANC's assertion that it is the sole representative of the local black population. At his meeting with De Klerk on

April 5, Mandela rejected the suggestion that Buthelezi be part of the tour. In his, or his organisation's, view, SA's Yalta should be attended only by Stalin and Roosevelt.

Inkatha is not the only thorn in the ANC's flesh. Attacks on PAC/Azapo/Black Consciousness (BC) also continue, though not at the pace of the late '70s and early '80s when the ANC set out to drive BC from the face of the eastern Cape. Somehow, this grisly episode has slipped from people's minds, too.

Mandela has promised a prompt investigation into the torture claims by ANC dissidents. This neatly glosses over the fact that these allegations are merely the tip of a long-ignored iceberg. Scores of BC followers who fled the country after 1976 were placed in detention camps in Angola and Tanzania with the active co-operation of the UN High Commission on Refugees representative in Lusaka. She happened to be the wife of a senior ANC official. Their fates are largely unknown, though one survivor told a US Senate investigator two years ago of how she had been repeatedly raped by her captors in Quatro, an infamous gulag in Angola.

Merely to highlight such events is

not enough. The intimidation is everywhere. Among other results, it has led to a near total suppression of free speech in the townships amounting to censorship as severe as anything ever imposed by the white government.

The Institute for Race Relations recently held a round table discussion with four black journalists. One, Themba Molefe of the Sowetan, recounted how he had had a tyre placed round his neck in Tzaneen simply because his newspaper was suspected of BC tendencies. The Star's Kaiser Nyatumba complained it was impossible to question black leaders freely. "If you do that now, they 'give you a call'." The effect is that nearly all news emerging from the black community has a heavy ANC slant.

My fear is that the white establishment is sliding into functional cahoots with the ANC and its totalitarian project because the establishment lacks either the guts or the basic humanity to do otherwise. It wants order internally. It craves an end to harassment by outside powers who see the situation through the ANC's eyes and look on Inkatha and the Africanists — and anyone else, for that matter — with sneering contempt.

**W**hen a heavy-thinker employed by one of the world's largest corporations can suggest that MK be brought in to help quell unrest on the grounds that its presence would legitimise the use of force, one begins to sense that this country's long nightmare may have only just begun. A one-party state condoned by a specially protected white *nomenklatura* is a recipe for continued agony.

The only ray of hope is De Klerk's suggestion of a political realignment based on values rather than pigmentation. A way must be found to release the vast, decent majority of SA to write its own destiny. Absent that, and Natal is the future, and the only rules that will apply are regulations R-1 and AK-47.

□ Simon Barber has returned to Washington and his regular commentary will resume on May 8.

# What urban blacks expect of the future

NR645  
25/4/90  
11A

**T**HE Rubicon Project — a research exercise on current political reform conducted in Soweto recently — has indicated a considerable degree of political understanding by

## RESEARCH

blacks in the township but has also shown two widely divergent points of view.

Conducted by McCann, a Johannesburg advertising agency, the qualitative research project revealed an optimistic, accommodating viewpoint in which inter-racial reconciliation would play an important part. But it also indicated a view in which powerful racist overtones prevailed, with black resentment and bitterness seeking a vengeful reckoning with the white man whose future in a black South Africa was questionable.

However, Project Rubicon did reveal the existence of a considerable degree of goodwill for President De Klerk and his reform efforts. But this goodwill was tempered by the fear that the reform would either not continue or

By **CHRIS MOERDYK** in Johannesburg

would prove to be merely window-dressing. The President, said respondents, would have to maintain momentum to retain credibility and support.

Discussing the research project a spokesman for McCann said: "It always comes as a surprise to discover how strongly politicised the average black person tends to be even in normal circumstances and in unrelated and non-political discussions. These (research) discussions were therefore intelligent, fruitful and highly charged. We believe the respondents reacted well to the subject and participated in good spirit, making for successful groups."

He said Nelson Mandela did in some instances assume god-like proportions and he was considered a unifying element for all the black ideologies, political and tribal. "The recent horrific events on the Reef with the taxi wars and the apparent intervention by the Zulus, however, do not support this attitude and one wonders whether this has changed or at least been tempered somewhat.

Perhaps Nelson Mandela does not after all have the control and influence he was

attributed with soon after his release."

Respondents discussed the difference in ideology between the PAC and ANC and there was evidence to strongly suggest that in future the ANC could have credibility problems posed by their very willingness to negotiate with the government.

The ANC would probably do well to distance itself somewhere from the existing government, or the government could appoint a negotiating committee drawn from all political parties. It did not seem improbable, according to the research data, that given free elections, the people would vote for PAC or another non-government favoured party as happened in Zimbabwe when the well-publicised and favoured Bishop Able Muzorewa lost to Robert Mugabe.

Although the groups of blacks participating in the research project showed reason for optimism given the continued reform effort there were two disturbing elements:

Firstly, the apparent willingness to "go to war" and the easy way in which "civil war" was talked about as a solution to current events. Given

the present climate of violence in the townships it would probably not take a great deal to call to arms the average man in the street. An emotive and charismatic orator could do this with relative ease.

Secondly, while there was on balance more goodwill expressed than not, the young students in the group were very negative and exhibited a strong cynicism for the status quo and expected change.

The spokesman for McCann commented: "It must be noted here that the vast majority of the black population is below the age of 24 (more than 60 percent) so we are talking about a demographic segment of considerable proportions and influence. The government must take this impatient and cynical segment into account with their reform programme and address it directly.

"In the final analysis white South Africans will have to adapt rapidly to prevailing and ever-changing currents. Nothing less than a black government was apparently acceptable and at least a certain amount of nationalisation inevitable as the 'rights' of the nation are accommodated," he said.

# PAC exile was one of six killed <sup>AKG/S</sup> in shooting <sub>25/4/70</sub>

<sup>(114) (12) (325)</sup>  
The Argus Correspondent  
JOHANNESBURG. — The man who was gunned down with his family in Botswana and whose home was destroyed in a bomb blast was an exiled member of the Pan Africanist Congress.

Botswana police confirmed the death of Mr Sam Chand, his wife Hajira, his sons Redwan, 26, Amina, 23, and Imran, 17. A nightwatchman, whose name is not known, and a dog also died.

The president of the PAC, Mr Zephania Mothopeng, today condemned the killings and warned that such attacks only served "to escalate the struggle."

Mr Mothopeng said, although he did not have all the facts, he believed the killings may have been carried out by agents of the South African government.

## SHOCK

"I mean, who else does this sort of thing in neighbouring countries?" Mr Mothopeng asked.

PAC secretary for foreign affairs Mr Gora Ebrahim last night expressed shock at the killings.

He blamed "agents of apartheid for this cowardly and Satanic act".

"Why kill innocent children? Why don't they take on our combatants who have been giving them hell on the ground?"

"We have always said there has been no change in the country and apartheid continues."

Botswana police were tight-lipped about the attack.

It is understood police did not arrive until long after the shooting even though the house is not far from their post between Botswana and South Africa.



# Police debriefing ANC dissidents, says Sisulu

ARGUS 28/4/90

114

114

114

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The 10 dissident African National Congress members detained on arrival at Jan Smuts Airport were probably to be "debriefed" by the security police, the ANC's internal leader, Mr Walter Sisulu, has said.

Mr Sisulu — who returned from Umtata yesterday where ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela was on a visit — said the ANC was not worried about the return of the dissidents, who claim they had been tortured in ANC camps in Angola.

The dissidents, who returned to form a rival political group, were detained yesterday under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

## Protection

Their detention was criticised by the Azanian People's Organisation as another government attempt to stifle political debate.

But Mr Sisulu said he believed the dissidents were arrested for their own protection from other hostile groups. He believed there was an agreement between the State and the dissidents and their arrest was a form of protection.

A range of political and human rights organisations — including the United Democratic Front, the Democratic Party, the Conservative Party, Lawyers for Human Rights and the Detainees Aid Centre — refused to comment.

Azapo publicity secretary Mr Strini Moodley said the detention of the dissidents under the Internal Security Act proved the government would continue to exert its powers to stifle political debate.

Asked whether it was possible the dissidents had been detained to protect them from ANC retaliation, or to obtain information on the ANC from them, Mr Moodley said: "The possibility exists. But then, the Internal Security Act is not designed as a protective measure, but as a method to extract information with a view to prosecution."

● Political Correspondent MICHAEL MORRIS reports from parliament that a spokesman for Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok confirmed the group was still being held, merely for questioning.

It is understood police are keen to hear first hand the group's allegations of torture at the hands of the ANC.

# ANC security beef-up after rightist threats

Copy 7th 25/4/90

11A

By MARIUS BOSCH

SECURITY around ANC leaders is sure to be tightened following right-wing threats against the organisation, an ANC spokesman said yesterday.

Speaking from Lusaka, ANC publicity secretary Mr Tom Sebina also warned that if President F W de Klerk did not control the right wing it would be a "recipe for chaos" in the country.

It is believed that Mr Nelson Mandela and other high-profile leaders are being protected by specially trained Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) cadres.

Mr Sebina said that following re-

ports of a "Boer army" being mobilised and threats made against the ANC, the organisation was taking the threats from the right wing seriously.

Self-styled right-wing extremist Mr Piet "Skiet" Rudolph has claimed responsibility for the theft of weapons from the SADF and vowed "to go for the throat" of the ANC.

"What was regarded as (right-wing) rhetoric up to now has been translated into deeds," Mr Sebina said.

He said the organisation hoped the government would take "very strong" action against militant right-wingers, adding: "I don't know what we will do with them in the new South Africa."

Opp. Times 25/4/90 (11A)

## ANC plan to end Natal violence

**DURBAN.** — The African National Congress yesterday announced its convening committee for Southern Natal and plans to build formal ANC structures throughout the area — a move which it hopes will help end the violence in the province.

Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota, ANC convener for Southern Natal, said public meetings to discuss the formation of an ANC branch would be called in each area.

"The ANC is committed to a multi-party democracy, a policy of co-existence of organisations or parties which hold opposing policies, without resorting to armed confrontation," Mr Lekota said.

"The ANC does not adopt a belligerent position towards Inkatha or any other opposing political party.

"A special word of welcome is addressed to the white, coloured and Indian minority groups."

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FROM THE ...

*Cape Times 25/4/80*  
**60 black councillors quit**

PRETORIA. — Sixty out of 692 black councillors have resigned following "unrest and intimidation" over the past few months, the Transvaal MEC in charge of local government, Mr Olaus van Zyl, said here yesterday.



CAPT Tink 25/4/90 (11A) (33) (12)

# Indemnity for exiles?

## Political Staff

WITH the first talks with the ANC a week away, the government yesterday tabled a bill which will grant temporary immunity or permanent indemnity against arrest and prosecution to exiles.

The preamble of the Indemnity Bill of 1990 says that for the sake of reconciliation and the pursuit of peaceful solutions it has be-

come necessary to grant immunity or indemnity to people who might have been guilty of certain criminal offences in the past.

Once passed by Parliament, the Act will empower the State President, if he deems it necessary for the promotion of peaceful constitutional solutions or the unimpeded and efficient administration of justice, to grant either

conditional or unconditional immunity to those exiles who participate in negotiations.

The bill stipulates that no proceedings, either civil or criminal, will be instituted or continued against any person granted such immunity for actions carried out by him prior to being granted immunity. Such immunity will apply for certain short periods.

# ANC rebels held

110

Cape Times  
25/4/90

**Own Correspondent**  
**JOHANNESBURG.** — A group of ANC dissidents who flew into South Africa from Malawi were detained on arrival at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday.

A police spokesman said the group of 10 — six men, two women and two children — were being held for questioning under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

The refugees arrived on board an Air Malawi aircraft after fleeing from Tanzania amid claims

that they were tortured by the ANC.

Last week another group of five dissidents — who recently gave details of alleged torture against them in ANC camps to British newspapers — flew into SA but were not detained.

### Embarrassment

They told British newspapers of plastic being melted on to a prisoner's skin, of rocks being thrown at faces and of guerillas jumping on the heads of ANC members who had criticised the military leadership.

The deputy president of the ANC, Mr Nelson Mandela, admitted two weeks ago that mem-

bers of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), had been tortured. But he added that those responsible had been disciplined and expelled from the movement.

"Unfortunately it is true that some of these people who were complaining were in fact tortured," Mr Mandela said.

Political observers believe the arrival of the dissidents has been an embarrassment to the ANC. It has also been speculated that the dissidents would start an anti-apartheid movement in SA opposed to the ANC.

The detentions took place as a draft law allowing President F W

To page 2

He said in Cape Town early this month that he had been approached by the group in Nairobi last month. Police could not say how long the group would be detained. "If they were not seen and legal process" was necessary for the sake of reconciliation and for the finding of peaceful solutions.

The tabling of the amnesty bill had been widely predicted to ensure the safe return of former guerillas and it would be silly to allow them free access into the country.

An ANC spokesman said the organisation had no comment to make on the arrival or detention of the 10.

A spokesman for Archbishop Desmond Tutu said that as reports were sketchy, it was unclear whether the group included any of the people the archbishop saw in Nairobi last month.

Archbishop Tutu had asked the All Africa Conference of Churches (AACC) to help the group of five former members of Umkhonto we Sizwe return last night.

He said said there from Nairobi to SA.

He said in Cape Town early this month that he had been approached by the group in Nairobi last month. Police could not say how long the group would be detained. "If they were not seen and legal process" was necessary for the sake of reconciliation and for the finding of peaceful solutions.

From page 1  
Cape Times 25/4/90

11A



**ANC MEMBERSHIP CARDS** ... New membership cards are now being distributed to all members of the ANC. Card-carrying members (from left) Tyrone Parks, Errol April and Claude Mullins, all of Mitchells Plain, were among the first in Cape Town to receive theirs, at a function at the Peninsula Technikon on Saturday night. The ANC membership fee is R12 a year.

Picture: BENNY GOOL



ANC leader Nelson Mandela and his wife Winnie are introduced to the Cuban youth delegation that attended Sayco's congress in the Eastern Transvaal

PIC: GILL DE VLIET

# Militant youth attack Gatsha

From MONO  
BADELA

LEKAZI (Eastern Transvaal).— Inkatha chief Gatsha Buthelezi was strongly attacked at a significant congress of the militant South African Youth Congress (Sayco) held here last weekend.

Sayco president Peter Mokaba called the Kwazulu leader an "enemy of the people".

"There's no way we can win Buthelezi back - he is lost cause," he said.

He urged the youth to join the ANC's armed wing.

He made the call because the government continued to draft white youths into the SADF's training camps, he said in his address to more than 1500 delegates from 700 youth congresses and rep-

resenting some 1,5 million members.

Mokaba said it was now legal to join the ANC's armed wing.

It was "muddled thinking to say MK should be dismantled before negotiations," Mokaba said.

The ANC's deputy president Nelson Mandela opened the congress to rousing applause and heaped praise on KaNg-

wane's Chief Minister Enos Mabuza for his role in aligning his people with the views of the ANC.

Mabuza himself attended the conference held in a jam-packed cinema in Ezinyamazane.

A delegation of the ANC Youth section expected to attend the conference from Lusaka

failed to arrive due to lack of clarity on the issue of indemnity for returning exiles.

Foreign delegates as guests or observers to the congress included two Cubans from the Union of Young Communists.

Other guests included students from the predominantly Afrikaans "Youth for the SA - Jeugkrag".

South 19/4 - 25/4/90

11A

NO price is too high to pay for peace, so the saying goes - but what has happened to the peace process in Natal?

So far, the road to peace has not been smooth at all. In turn, peace initiatives have repeatedly been suggested, attempted, squashed and spurned by the parties involved.

The only initiative which really got off the ground was the peace talks between Inkatha and the Cosatu/UDF in June last year. These broke down last September when Inkatha declared a moratorium on the talks, but since then representatives of the two sides have continued to meet sporadically.

However, in recent weeks the peace process has, according to some, relapsed into nothing more than a slanging match between Inkatha and the UDF.

Now everyone is asking what needs to be done to set the peace process in earnest motion once again.

## Democracy

According to Mr Radley Keys, regional director of the Natal Midlands for the Democratic Party and leader of the party's unrest-monitoring group in the area, the answer lies primarily in the political education of members within both organisations and the re-establishment of law and order in affected areas through the courts.

Together with this, the dismal socio-economic conditions in Natal's black townships need to be redressed.

"There must be a political education campaign within each organisation to explain to their members what democracy is all about," Keys said.

"Both Inkatha and the UDF espouse democracy, but in both organisations at some levels there is absolutely no tolerance of opposition."

## Upliftment

He said another vital need was for the police to remove criminals from society.

"More than 2 000 people have died in our area alone since 1987, and at the most there have been 10 convictions for murder in the courts.

"Known murderers, prominent people in many cases and often out on bail, are still carrying on their nonsense.

"Until law and order and a normal judicial system is re-established, people will not respect the law. They do not see justice being done," he said.

# Political education needed in Natal - DP

Sowetan 25/4/90

He said the political situation was aggravated by the appalling socio-economic conditions in Natal's black townships, and the Department of Development Aid should embark on their upliftment programmes without delay.

The director of the Inkatha Institute, Mr Gavin Woods, agreed that socio-economic conditions had played an immense role in fueling the violence.

According to research done by the Institute, around 90 percent of all violence in the province is perpetuated by youth.

"A youth sub-culture of violence has definitely come into being, a sub-culture where human life has very little value. The youth find their lives in a frightening limbo with harsh and unstable circumstances all around them. They, more than anything, are the tragic product of the apartheid environment," said Woods.

## Approaches

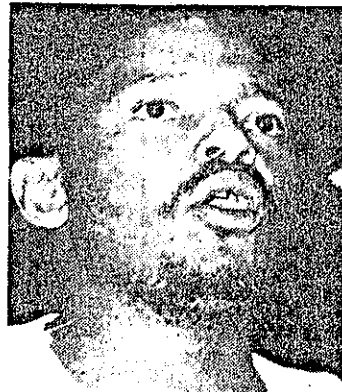
"They have heightened expectations that things are going to change, that many good things will come their way ... the reality of their deprivation is frightening, and no direction is left to them to follow other than the political."

Woods suggested three possible approaches to ending the violence.

One was the adopting of the Government's recently announced two-part plan, which included a mass injection of security forces into war-torn areas to quell the fighting, combined with an intensive socio-economic upliftment programme.

Another was KwaZulu Chief Minister Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi's adoption of a sustained "hearts and minds" campaign of national proportions to try and cultivate extreme disgust at the violence throughout society.

However, Woods himself



TERROR LEKOTA

believes the most effective approach would be to combine both of the above, and then launch a joint campaign of the national leaders, where they would address joint public rallies and meetings in each of the problem areas.

"These would have to include the message that the violence must stop immediately, and that all past grievances must be buried and forgotten.

"Political education is also necessary - people are going to have to realise that it is necessary to move into conventional politics, and expressing allegiance to a political organisation must be done only through conventional activities."

## Structures

This was echoed by the national publicity secretary for the UDF and ANC convenor in southern Natal, Mr Terror Lekota, who said the ANC was in the process of setting up conventional political structures - which it had been unable to do before February 2 this year - and it was hoped that this would channel the energy and frustration of the people constructively.

He agreed that a sub-culture of violence and lack of discipline had set in to certain communities, and said some sectors had lost touch with the political direction of the

FOCUS

ANC, or had joined without really understanding what the organisation was all about.

This was largely due to the fact that the ANC, being banned, had not been in a position to operate normally. Lekota said they were doing all they could to build up the organisation as quickly as possible.

He said the ANC was committed to a multi-party democracy and intended to emphasise this through political education programmes.

"Where Inkatha has support, it must be allowed to continue. If we can't co-exist with Inkatha, then we can't co-exist with any other political parties," he said.

Regarding the ongoing two-on-two peace discussions between members of Inkatha and members of the Cosatu/UDF alliance's Joint Working Committee (JWC), he said although the talks had been productive, "we have the distinct impression that hardly anything can come of them now."

"Quite frankly, at the moment we don't foresee a speedy meeting between ourselves and the Inkatha leadership.

## Peace talks

"We have the impression that the Inkatha representatives involved are themselves no longer as confident as they were about the productivity of these talks."

"We believe now that peace will not be found so much between us and Inkatha as between us and the Government - we think now that the emphasis should be placed on the meeting between the ANC and the State President in May," said Lekota.

Both Lekota and Inkatha's secretary-general, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, said they were optimistic about the future, as they believed the majority of people in Natal supported the message of peace.

However, Dhlomo - a kingpin in the ongoing talks between Inkatha and the Cosatu/UDF alliance - said he believed the ongoing talks with the JWC had been productive, and it was "the resurgence of very unhelpful vitriol aimed at Inkatha, especially from certain UDF ranks", which had hindered the fragile peace process. - Sapa.

# PAC

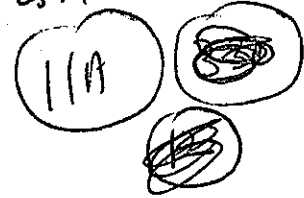
Exiled  
family  
is shot  
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# slain

*Sowetan  
25/4/90*



**AN exiled member of the Pan Africanist Congress and his family of four, their nightwatchman and a dog were gunned down in Botswana before a powerful bomb blasted their house.**

Botswana police yesterday confirmed the death of Mr Sam Chand, his wife Hajira, his sons Redwan (26), Amina (23) and Imran (17). The identity of the nightwatchman is not yet known.

The police were, however, tight-lipped about the attack and would

**By THEMBA MOLEFE**

only say the explosion occurred at 2.20am on Monday at Sikwane village in the Kgatleng district, 40km north-east of Gaborone.

They would not say whether or not the attack was politically motivated except that they were investigating.

PAC internal publicity secretary Mr Benny Ntoele said the attack was the work of "imperialists" and that similar incidents would escalate.

The house in which Chand lived and an adjoining trading store were reduced to rubble by the explosion.

Radio Botswana said yesterday it had been told by a witness, who was

not named, that she had seen the attackers approaching the house about 2am and had escaped through the back window.

She heard repeated gunshots before the building was blown up.

A relative of the family, who asked not to be named, said yesterday the killers first shot the three sons before shooting the parents.

It is understood the police did not arrive until long after the shooting even though the house is not far from the border post between Botswana and South Africa, where police are based.

Police said six bodies, including that of the nightwatchman, were recovered from the remains of the devastated house.

**ANC exiles detained - Page 3**

# ANC exiles return to SA

Sowetan 25/4/90

11A  
~~11A~~

By ISMAIL  
LAGARDIEN

A HANDFUL of ANC dissidents arrived at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday and were whisked away by police for questioning under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

Colonel Steve van Rooyen yesterday confirmed that the six men, two women and two children would be detained until they had been debriefed.

No special arrangements have been made for the children nor have their ages been disclosed.

"At this stage they are being kept with their



WALTER SISULU

parents," Van Rooyen said.

The group arrived about noon from Lilongwe, Malawi, and were arrested as they stepped out of the aircraft.

They are originally from Tanzania, Van Rooyen said.

Journalists, who had been waiting in the international arrivals hall, were delightfully sur-

prised when ANC leader Mr Walter Sisulu and his wife, Albertina, walked through the arrivals gate.

The couple arrived on a Transkei Airlines flight from Umtata, minutes before the Malawi aircraft landed.

They and Mr Nelson Mandela had visited their ancestral and family homes in Transkei.

They were just as surprised to see the journalists.

Commenting on the arrests, Sisulu suggested they were merely a cover-up for the State's obligation to protect the dissidents who were allegedly

tortured by Umkhonto we Sizwe as South African Government spies who had infiltrated the ANC.

"There is really nothing to the arrests.

"For sure they will be assisted by the State to set up a political opposition against the ANC," he said.

Sisulu was in good spirits about his visit to Transkei and said the place was "absolutely fantastic".

He said the leaders and chiefs in the area said they would "take over" from the youth and rally support for the ANC themselves.

Diplomats

*[Handwritten signature]*

# ANC dissidents held for police questioning

B10 am 28/1/79

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11A

THEO RAWANA

A GROUP of ANC dissidents who flew into SA were detained on arrival at Jan Smuts Airport from Malawi yesterday.

A police spokesman said the group of 10 — six men, two women and two children — were being held for questioning under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

Asked how the new Indemnity Bill — which was published soon after the dissidents' arrival — would affect their cases, he said there would be no automatic indemnity for the people.

President F W de Klerk would look at individual cases on their merits, he added.

The refugees arrived aboard an Air Malawi aircraft after fleeing from Tanzania amid claims that they were tortured by the ANC.

An ANC spokesman said the organisation had no comment to make on the arrival or detention of the 10.

A spokesman for Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu said as reports were sketchy, it was unclear whether the group included any of the people Tutu saw in Nairobi last month.

"The archbishop would condemn any detention without trial."

Tutu had asked the All Africa Conference of Churches (AACC) to help a group of five former members of ANC military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe to return from Nairobi to SA, the spokesman said.

Tutu said in Cape Town earlier this month he had been approached by the

group while he was in Nairobi last month. The refugees were accusing the ANC of brutal treatment.

"While they said they had been ill-treated by the ANC, they did not go into details and I was unable to make any judgment on their account," Tutu said.

He had referred the matter to the refugee desk of the AACC, "which has considerable expertise in dealing with the problems of refugees throughout Africa".

Sapa reports police could not say how long the group would be detained.

## Access

A police spokesman said that if they were not seen to be a threat, arrangements would probably be made for their permanent residence in SA.

"Being a member of the ANC is no longer illegal, but knowing nothing about them, it would be silly to allow them free access into the country," he said.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela admitted two weeks ago that Umkhonto we Sizwe members had been tortured. But he added that those responsible had been disciplined and expelled from the movement.

● See Page 4



## PAC calls for calm at funeral

(11A)

Own Correspondent

Star 25

4/90

The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) has appealed for calm and discipline at the funeral of its founder member, Mr Japhta (Jeff) Masemola, in Atteridgeville this weekend.

The funeral, originally set for Sunday, will take place on Saturday, it was announced.

"We are laying to rest a respectable national leader and we want his funeral to be treated with the respect it deserves," Mr Benny Ntoele, the PAC's publicity secretary, said at a press conference in Pretoria yesterday.

The organisation stated that only PAC banners and flags would be displayed during the funeral service, to take place at the Super Stadium in Atteridgeville from 9.30 am.

Mr Masemola (60), who died in a car accident on April 17, will be buried at the old Atteridgeville cemetery at 1.30 pm. He will lie at the local community hall from 7 am to 9 am.

Mr Masemola, who was jailed in 1963, was released from Robben Island in October last year. He served 26 years of a life sentence for PAC activities.

Mr Ntoele said a vigil would be held at the Masemola family home at 26 Makgatho Street, Atteridgeville, on Friday from 8 pm.

Memorial services will be held at various venues countrywide today, including the Atteridgeville Methodist Church near Rankie's shop, Mamelodi Community Centre and the Roman Catholic Church in Klerksdorp. All start at 6 pm.

8-1 25/490  
**10 dissidents  
held for 'own  
(11A)  
protection'**

By Esmaré van der Merwe,  
Political Reporter

The 10 dissident African National Congress members who had been detained on arrival at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday would probably be "debriefed" by the security police, said ANC internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu.

Mr Sisulu, who had returned from Umtata, where Mr Nelson Mandela was on a visit, said the ANC was not worried about the return of the dissidents, who claimed they were tortured at ANC camps in Angola.

The dissidents, who returned to form a rival political group, were detained under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

Mr Sisulu said he believed the dissidents were held for their own protection from other hostile groups. He believed there had been an agreement between the State and the dissidents.

While a range of organisations, including the United Democratic Front, the Democratic Party, the Conservative Party, Lawyers for Human Rights and the Detainees' Aid Centre, refused to comment, some observers expressed concern that the detentions could jeopardise negotiations on a new constitution. The detentions were criticised by the Azanian People's Organisation.

# Mystery over Chand bombing

*Sowetan* 25/4/90  
MYSTERY still surrounds the bombing of the Pan Africanist Congress family of five in Botswana as the country's government and police remain tight-lipped over the incident yesterday.

A source told *Sowetan* yesterday the "matter will be addressed by President Quett Masire when he returns from his trip outside the country".

The source said all government departments had their "hands full"

after a person was shot dead outside State House in Gaborone yesterday.

The Botswana police said the bombing of Mr Sam Chand, his wife, three sons and their night-watchman was being investigated.

They would not say whether the attackers of the Chand home in Sikwane Village in the Kgatlang district on Monday morning were from outside Botswana or if it was

politically motivated. (117)

South African Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok yesterday said police had nothing to do with the attack.

Our correspondent reports that an SAP spokesman in Pretoria said that if the PAC had any information to substantiate its claim that the attack was the work of South African agents it was welcome to present its evidence which would be looked into.

# Introducing environmental awareness to the struggle

Soweto 25/7/90



I WANT to commend Sacwu for giving environmental awareness a place on the agenda of the workers' struggle.

I must also commend them for ignoring the view held by those who say we are simplistic or that we trivialise the struggle by linking environmental issues to it.

When you introduce environmental awareness to the agenda of the struggle, you are taking a holistic approach to the struggle, which is what Nation Building is all about.

## Approach

This is an approach through which we should concern ourselves, not only with the achievement of political freedom, but also freedom from hunger, disease and ignorance which are today among the most serious problems facing former colonies of Africa, Asia and South America.

Because of its holistic approach to the struggle, Nation Building can be defined in many ways. I define it as a process of socio-political and economic reconstruction, through which we explore a number of routes that can lead us to the ending of apartheid.

The concept is about the empowerment of the masses, to help them know how to face challenges of a post-apartheid society.

## Concept

Through this concept, we preach a revolution that will not only bring about a change of political leadership as the liberation struggle has done in most former colonies, but a revolution that will change the na-

On Sunday, Sam Mabe was one of the speakers at an Earth Day rally held by the South African Chemical Workers Union at Shareworld. This is a summary of the talk he gave on Nation Building and a Post Apartheid Environment.

tion's mentality, perceptions, values and norms.

There is a clear distinction between apartheid as a philosophy of tribal discrimination and, laws that enforce the economic exploitation and political oppression of the black or African people.

Our struggle should be aimed at doing away with both. But I wonder if political activists who seem to have assumed the monopoly of the struggle are aware of these differences as most of us seem to think the removal of apartheid laws alone will lead to our liberation.

The removal of apartheid laws is just one and comparatively the least crucial aspect of our struggle.

At a stroke of a pen, we could get rid of all apartheid laws in the statute books. But unlegislated apartheid is the most dangerous.

## Victims

This is the apartheid that has become so entrenched in our mental make-up that even in the post-apartheid era, we will continue acting the way victims of apartheid are supposed to act.

As a system of interpreting social reality, Nation Building takes cognisance of the fact that the revelation of social reality is the first step towards changing society.

Since nationhood comes about because of the character of its people, you cannot build a nation without first developing people who constitute a nation's components.

A complete development of people means

building among other things, the spiritual, moral, cultural, economic, political, technological and academic character of the individual.

## Attitudes

To do that successfully, you have to also address the environment in which he lives. This is because the environment determines many things about the people's cultural values, attitudes, norms and lifestyles.

It determines their relationship with their fellow men and with the Almighty God.

The environment also determines the health and wealth of a nation.

Living conditions in places like Mshenguville where the streets are not tarred, and where garbage is left lying in the open for many weeks, gives people tuberculosis and a variety of other diseases related to overcrowded and unhygienic living conditions.

## Problems

In trying to disguise the effects of the environment on the make-up of our socio-political personalities, our education system has been designed in such a way that doctors and nurses are trained to provide medical solutions to problems caused by environmental conditions under which their patients live.

A nation that does not own the land on which it lives cannot be wealthy and a nation without wealth is no nation at all.

It is because we do not own the land that the Government of this country encouraged us to commit the crime of destroying our environment.

In townships of Soweto blacks were forbidden to plant trees as it was argued that trees

would lead to the collapse of their houses. But the houses would collapse because they were of very inferior quality.

In white suburbs, trees have become part of the white man's culture. It is a breach of council by-laws for anybody to remove a tree even from his own yard without getting permission from the local authorities.

The environment in which we live is being destroyed deliberately through the policies of apartheid.

## Resist

To resist this onslaught against us, let us as a community of workers educate the nation about the environment.

By so doing, you will not only be removing the tangible chains that bind the people's hands and feet, but you'll be removing the psychological blinkers that would otherwise make us continue to be our own oppressors even after the collapse of apartheid.

By interpreting and telling the people the truth about their environment, you will be freeing the people's minds.

## Struggle

There are many nations of the world that have perished or are about to perish today, because they failed to make environmental issues part of their struggle against colonialism.

If you plant a tree, you will be taking an insurance policy that will save our nation from ruin.

One Afrikaner friend jokingly told me the other day that we blacks were so fond of blaming colonialism or the white man for things that go wrong in Africa that sooner or later, the white

man would be blamed for the drought that is hitting Northern African countries like Chad, Ethiopia and Sudan.

It was until I visited Ethiopia two years ago that I stopped seeing any humour in the remarks passed by my Afrikaner friend.

I started realising that colonialism was indeed to blame for part of our lack of respect for the environment and consequently, we have had the so-called 'natural' catastrophes that have ruined a number of countries of Africa.

## Desert

It is the absence of trees that is turning a greater part of Africa into a desert.

Fertile soil is being eroded when it rains in the mountains of Lesotho.

If we planted trees, we would increase the amount of oxygen that people scramble for in the overcrowded townships of Soweto.

If we had trees in Ethiopia, there would be no drought there because trees provide the humidity that causes rain.

If we had trees, our roofs would not be blown away by wind because trees serve as effective windbreakers.

## Environment

Before you leave this meeting, I want you to commit yourselves to doing something from today, to ensure that we live in a decent environment. Commit yourselves to planting a tree to mark the significance of May Day, June 16, Heroes Day and all other dates that bear significance to our struggle.

For occasions like Arbor Day which comes in August, we could request our employers to give us half a day off from work in order to go and plant trees.

If you plant a tree, you will be saving a nation.

I wish all of you a very green and pollution-free day.

Thank you and God bless the Nation.

25 (11A) (11B)

## Sayco leaders to hold joint peace rally in bid to end violence

**BUSHBUCKRIDGE** — Youth leaders at Bushbuckridge have called for a joint peace rally to halt violence in the Eastern Transvaal area.

A spokesman for the SA Youth Congress said the rally would take place at Acornhoek's Mapulaneng Technicon on Saturday.

A letter has been written to Lebowa leader Mr Nelson Ramodike, asking for his co-operation.

The Sayco spokesman added that the Lebowa Minister of Works, Mr L M Mokoena, and Bushbuckridge Principals Council members had agreed to meet youth representatives at separate meetings tomorrow.

### Assaulted by police

The Bushbuckridge Sayco affiliates made the rally decision at a meeting on Sunday, where they also resolved that students should return to school "despite all problems".

The spokesman claimed youths on their way to school in Mareti on Tuesday had been assaulted by Lebowa police and "the notorious Mankweng Riot Squad", and that 1 500 pupils were allegedly arrested.

Lebowa Police Commissioner Colonel J J de Swardt said there were not sufficient facilities to detain that amount of people in the homeland.

Although information about such a raid had not been passed on to him, similar allegations had proved unfounded in the past.

The officer in charge of operations was not available to comment on the allegations. — Sapa.

South 26/4 - 2/5/90



Barney Desai, Western Cape PAC coordinator, left, at the memorial service at St George's Cathedral on Wednesday for Jeff Masemola, who died in a road accident last week.

11A

# Apartheid (11A.) laid to rest

From CHRISTINA SCOTT

DURBAN. — Verwoerd must have rolled over in his grave at the news — cemetery apartheid here has been laid to rest.

Grave-faced councillors won the motion by a majority of one after conservatives tossed out the issue three times.

The tussle was complicated by the absence of any racially restricting by-laws.

Apartheid in Durban, it seems, was so habitual that laws were not needed to enforce a status quo.

But the rightwingers have vowed not to let the matter die.

"A political move," sneered former Royal Air Force pilot and rightwing Civic Action League chairman Arthur Morris, who argued that whites were "uncomfortable with black habits of large funerals."

This will not be the end of the matter," blustered his colleague, Athol Bowles. "People will take action."

# ANC's first recruits

HUNDREDS of Western Cape residents are carrying their coveted black, green and gold African National Congress membership cards following the start of the organisation's recruitment drive.

The ANC will be establishing branches soon, stretching from Namaqualand to Plettenberg Bay. The Western Cape is the largest ANC region in the country.

The Western Cape Interim Committee of the ANC has been broadened since the announcement of a five-person team.

The committee now consists of Reggie September, Trevor Manuel, Amos Lingisi, Christmas Tinto, Johnny Issel, Mzonke Jacobs, Mountain Qumbela, Cheryl Carolus, Neville van der Rheede and Amy Thornton.

At a meeting last Saturday, the ANC (Western Cape) discussed methods of initiating the process of establishing the organisation legally in the region.

People from as far as Namaqualand and Oudtshoorn attended the meeting.

## Namaqualand

The Interim Committee has divided the Cape region into zones, which will consist of at least three branches. Each branch must have at least 100 paid-up members. Membership fees are R12 a year.

Zones are to be established in Cape Town as well as Namaqualand, Cedarberg, West Coast, Boland, Karoo, South Western Cape and Northern Cape.

ANC structures inside and outside the country are being consolidated and people have been elected or co-opted to serve on them.

The National Executive Committee (NEC) is the highest decision-making body.

Inside the country, the Internal Leadership Core (ILC) operates under the chairmanship of Walter Sisulu with Nelson Mandela, Govan Mbeki, Raymond Mhlaba and regional convenors.

The ILC will grow as NEC members return from exile. Serving on the ILC is Wilton Mkwayi (organising department), Ahmed Kathrada (information and publicity), Raymond Suttner (political education) and the UDF's Archie Gumede and Popo Molefe.



ANC Western Cape Interim Committee member Mzonke Jacobs signs up Retreat resident Adam Jaffer at the ANC's meeting at the Peninsula Technikon last Saturday.

## PAC, Azapo slam ANC on talks

From MONO BADELA

JOHANNESBURG. — The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) this week called on the African National Congress to pull out of negotiations with the Government.

Their call follows an interview on British television with state president FW de Klerk in which he dismissed majority rule as a simplistic model.

The PAC and Azapo spokespersons said De Klerk had already pre-

empted the talks-about-talks scheduled for May 2.

PAC general secretary Benny Alexander said: "The view still expressed is that De Klerk vindicates the PAC's stance that he is not ready for any meaningful talks and anybody who negotiates with the Government now is a sellout."

"The PAC wants to warn the masses that the smell of appeasement is thick in the air," Alexander said.

Azapo's president Jerry Mosala said De Klerk's statement confirmed the organisation's suspicions that

no real negotiations were intended by the government.

"The ANC should not commit suicide," he said.

Meanwhile the ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela told 6 000 people at the University of Transkei this week that he would shortly be meeting PAC president Zeph Mothopeng.

He said the ANC intended to work for total unity among blacks, adding that he had also recently met officials of Azapo and the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu).



(11A)



Mandela



Sisulu



Nzo



Gumede



Mompoti



Kathrada



Mbeki

"STRENGTH through diversity" has been a favourite government cliché for describing South Africa's diverse mixture of tribes and cultures.

But when that government sits down for talks with the ANC next week, it will be their opponents who hold the most diverse — and some will say — strongest hand.

The ANC delegation is a fascinating mixture of men and women, Christians and communists, militants and moderates — all gathered under the movement's flag.

#### Broederbond

The ANC team, to be led by deputy president Nelson Mandela, ironically contains a former Broederbond, the Reverend Beyers Naude.

Co-opted to bolster the ANC group are two officials of the United Democratic Front, co-president Archie Gumede and Western Cape publicity officer Cheryl Carolus.

Naude's inclusion has come as a surprise but the ANC's internal leader, Walter Sisulu, explained: "He has been associated with the ANC for a very long time and has contributed tremendously to our struggle."

"Granted, like some others in the delegation, he is not a member of the ANC's national executive committee, but he is a

leading personality in anti-apartheid circles."

Apart from being the leader of the delegation, Mandela's main contribution will be his high-esteem among the men he will face across the table.

Gumede was more likely to be elected because of his knowledge and understanding of the violence in his home province of Natal — a topic expected to feature strongly.

Undoubtedly, a key member of the delegation is Thabo Mbeki, the 47-year-old director of the ANC's international affairs portfolio.

He is gifted with debating qualities. His ability to interact on a one-to-one basis with a Frederik van Zyl Slabbert or the former head of Anglo American Corporation, Gavin Relly, is well known.

#### Diplomatic

He has been at the centre of the ANC's diplomatic and political efforts abroad and is one of the main authors of the document that later became known as the Harare Declaration.

His CV includes military training in the Soviet Union and an MA degree in economics from Sussex University.

He is tipped as a future president of the ANC.

The most senior exiled member of the the ANC is

**Indications are that the ANC '11' to represent the movement at next week's historic meeting with the government have been selected to produce results.**

**A mixed bag of young and old, Robben Island stalwarts and Young Turks based in Lusaka and inside the country, make up a formidable team.**

#### MONO BADELA looks at the men and women the Nats will face:

secretary general Alfred Nzo.

With Oliver Tambo, he is credited with keeping the movement's structures together during the lonely years in exile. He heads the movement's external mission in the absence of the ailing Tambo.

A former health inspector in Alexandra township north of Johannesburg, he participated in the 1952 defiance campaign.

#### Boycott

He also played a leading role in the 1957 bus boycott in Alexandra.

Joe Slovo, former chief of staff of the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, is a figure white South Africa has come to hate.

A secretary general of the South African Communist Party, he served on the ANC's revolutionary council from 1969 until it was disbanded in 1983.

He was the first white to be elected to the the ANC's national executive committee.

Ahmed Kathrada, the 60-year-old former Rivonia trialist, is known to be an

ideologue in the ANC and a key figure in the internal leadership core.

Walter Sisulu, at 78, is the most senior member of

the delegation. A former ANC secretary-general, he now heads the newly-formed ANC Internal Leadership Core.

He serves on the ANC's national executive committee based in Lusaka.

Joe Modise, as commander-in-chief of the

ANC's army, is expected to provide the main response to the government's insistence that the ANC suspend its armed struggle.

Ruth Mompoti is a senior member of the ANC's NEC and a noted strategist on the Political and Military Council. She is a veteran of the 1952 defiance campaign.

She has been out of the country since 1962.



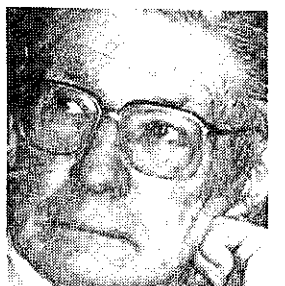
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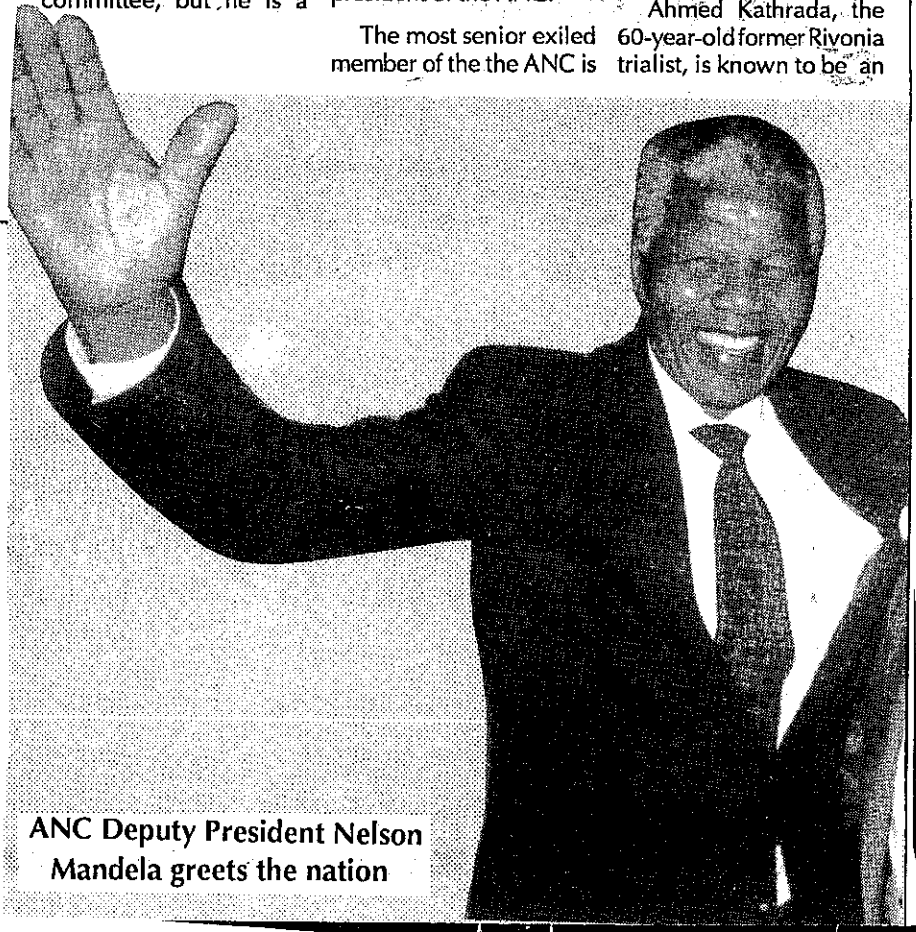
Carolus



Slovo



Naude



ANC Deputy President Nelson Mandela greets the nation

HOW to build tomorrow today is the crucial issue for the trade union movement in its approach to negotiations between the ANC and the government.

The bottom line for Cosatu, the most organised component of the MDM, is that negotiations lead to a transfer of power to the people.

At the same time the federation will be seeking to lay the basis for a socialist transformation of South Africa in the face of attempts to impose a reformist solution on the country.

**Alien**

The concept of negotiations is not alien to the trade union movement since unionists are involved on a daily basis in negotiations with management.

As far back as last year, the labour movement began to grapple with the notion of negotiations as a site of struggle in South Africa.

Both the Cosatu congress and that of Cosatu's second largest affiliate, the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (Numsa), adopted a position similar to that of the ANC on the question of negotiations and preconditions for meeting with the government.

In an interview with the Labour Bulletin following the Cosatu congress, Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo said the federation saw negotiations as a "multi-faceted strategy".

**Emphasis**

Naidoo emphasised the importance of mass struggle in determining what would happen at the negotiating table.

"We are absolutely clear that it is the struggles of the masses which will basically determine the shape and content of post-apartheid society.

"Negotiations must express the content of mass struggles. The balance of forces of each party at the negotiating table will be determined by their strength on the ground," Naidoo said.

Numsa general secretary Moses Mayekiso has also emphasised the importance of building mass structures in order to be in a position to "control" negotiations.

Mayekiso said it was vitally important for far-reaching discussion about the constitution, a working class political programme, the workers charter and the South African economy to take place in the MDM.

The SACP has also argued that while negotia-

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**Unions:**  
**quiet**  
**force**

*The labor movement will be the 'quiet force' when the May 2 talks get under way.*

**CHIARA CARTER, examines some of the debates on the shop-floor:**



**Jay Naidoo**

tions are a terrain of struggle they cannot substitute for mass struggle which, it argues, is the path to power.

Last week, Cosatu's largest affiliate, the National Union of Mineworkers (Num) gave "unqualified support to the ANC initiative to enter into talks with the government".

The resolution was adopted by Num's first ever central committee meeting.

Num warned that if the "talks within talks" failed to achieve its objective this would be seen as indicating a lack of seriousness by the government and the union, along with other mass based structures, would be forced to intensify action against the regime.

Num committed itself to fight for the realisation of the objectives of the Harare declaration, to intensify all liberation movement campaigns and to help create a climate for negotiations.

Given that most progressive unions accept that negotiations are necessary, the labour movement faces the question of how to ensure that worker interests are adequately represented at the negotiating table.

Cosatu, while maintaining its independence "in principle and practice", has entered into disciplined alliances with community organisations, the ANC and the SACP.

A historic meeting in Harare at the beginning of the month marked the beginning of a closer working relationship between the SACP which has said it

intends to transform itself into a mass based political party within South Africa, and the trade union federation.

Within its own ranks Cosatu has embarked on a programme of discussion about the constitutional guidelines.

Of major significance is the federation's campaign for a worker's charter.

A questionnaire which covers worker rights within the factory and beyond has been widely distributed as a preliminary to the drawing up of such a charter.

Still to be determined is whether the charter is to be a document listing aims specific to the labour movement, part of a new constitution or written into labour law.

Also of far reaching importance is how Cosatu has implemented its congress resolution to examine the South African economy.

**Impact**

Cosatu's economic trends project is already achieving considerable impact on the labour movement's approach to restructuring the economy.

The Harare meeting between the federation and the SACP resolved in consultation with the ANC to draw up a programme for economic reconstruction in South Africa.

This will clearly be part of the labour movement's agenda for negotiations.

**Undefined**

Still undefined is how the labour movement is to be involved in the actual negotiating process.

The absence of a labour movement representative from the team to meet with the government on May 2 has been the cause of some raised eyebrows.

It is unclear how Cosatu's independence will affect the federation's inclusion in an ANC team and to what extent the SACP will represent organised labour's interests.

Also to be determined is how the federation will ensure that participation in negotiations is on the basis of mandates from members.

Numsa is currently engaged in an ambitious factory-level consultation with its members about negotiations.



Elijah Barayi addresses a NUM rally in Johannesburg last year

**Fsa**  **Fellesradet for det sørlige Afrika**

**The Norwegian Council for Southern Africa supports the African National Congress led by Nelson Mandela at the meeting with the South African government.**

**The release of the true leaders of the South African people and the unbanning of the organisations is a result of internal pressure and international sanctions and solidarity work.**

**We support the South African people's struggle for a free, democratic and non racial South Africa.**

**We demand that the white minority regime immediately:**

- \* release all political prisoners and detainees unconditionally
- \* end the state of emergency
- \* remove all troops from the townships
- \* lift all regulations on the media
- \* remove the internal security act

**ONE PERSON - ONE VOTE - ONE NATION in a democratic, non-racial South Africa.**

**A LUTA CONTINUA!**  
Sjurd Tveit /s./  
chairperson  
The Norwegian Council for Southern Africa



## ANC 'umbrella' denied

<sup>Argus 76/4/90</sup> The Argus Correspondent <sup>ill</sup> they were belligerent towards Inkatha.

DURBAN. — The African National Congress has never demanded that all black organisations in South Africa should fall under its umbrella, according to Mr Patrick Lekota, ANC convener in southern Natal and the UDF's national publicity secretary.

He was responding to statements made yesterday by the Chief Minister of Kwazulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who said the ANC had asked all blacks to come under their umbrella before negotiations with the government, and that

"This is not, in my view, in keeping with the concept of multiparty democracy. It is aimed more at establishing a one-party state," Chief Buthelezi said.

However, Mr Lekota said "at no stage" had the ANC demanded that all organisations fall under its umbrella.

"What the ANC supports and puts forward is that blacks should move towards a common position and speak to the government as one united voice."



Mr Joe Slovo

# Slovo will speak but Press will have to pay

By ANDREA WEISS  
Staff Reporter

THE general secretary of the South African Communist Party, Mr Joe Slovo, will speak in this country for the first time since the early '60s at an African National Congress rally in Mitchell's Plain on Sunday.

On the platform with him will be other members of the ANC delegation who will hold talks with the government on May 2, including the deputy-president of the ANC, Mr Nelson Mandela. Five members of the ANC's external delegation are due to leave Lusaka for Cape Town on tomorrow.

A decision by the ANC to charge the media for places at the historic rally has caused an outcry among journalists.

The announcement that journalists would be expected to pay for the use of a special platform was made at the first Press conference of the Western Cape regional ANC interim committee in Cape Town yesterday.

Similar arrangements were made for the recent Mandela pop concert at Wembley, London, where journalists were asked to pay £100 (more than R400) for information kits, refreshments and a marquee.

## NOT MAKING MONEY

ANC regional committee member, Ms Cheryl Carolus, said it was hoped the media would pay for the stand, which would cost an estimated R30 000 to erect.

"I can assure you we are not making money out of you. We would like to, but we are not," she added.

The committee said there would be ordinary accreditation for journalists on the ground and special colour-coded accreditation for a paid-up position on the scaffolding.

Places on the scaffolding could cost between R200 and R300, she said.

It is understood photographers will not be able to take pictures without a place on the scaffolding. Those wishing to bring their own structures have been told the city council will not allow them to do so.

A freelance cameraman pointed out at the Press conference that the ANC had relied on freelancers to cover similar events in the past and asked what kind of provision would be made for them if they could not afford to pay.

## FULL DELEGATION

Meanwhile, Peter Fabricius and Kaizer Nyatumba of The Argus Political Staff report that the high-powered delegation from Lusaka will arrive in the country tomorrow; four days before next Wednesday's talks.

ANC stalwart and former Rivonia treason trialist Mr Govan Mbeki said: "I have also been informed that they will fly to Cape Town and not Johannesburg."

Besides Mr Slovo, the Lusaka delegation will include ANC secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo, foreign affairs director and "crown prince" Mr Thabo Mbeki, Umkhonto we Sizwe chief Mr Joe Modise, and national executive committee member Ms Ruth Mompati. They will join South African-based ANC delegates, led by Mr Mandela, for the three-day talks with the government.

Police yesterday told the organisers of the Mitchell's Plain meeting that it would be illegal if magisterial permission were not given — but the organisers said they would not seek permission.

Ms Carolus said rally organisers had "learnt a lot of lessons since the Grand Parade" — where congestion caused problems when Mr Mandela spoke on February 11.

She said 2 000 marshalls had been trained in crowd control during the past three weeks.

# will have to pay

26/4/90

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ANC regional committee member, Ms Cheryl Carolus, said it was hoped the media would pay for the stand, which would cost an estimated R30 000 to erect.

"I can assure you we are not making money out of you. We would like to, but we are not," she added.

The committee said there would be ordinary accreditation for journalists on the ground and special colour-coded accreditation for a paid-up position on the scaffolding.

Places on the scaffolding could cost between R200 and R300, she said.

It is understood photographers will not be able to take pictures without a place on the scaffolding. Those wishing to bring their own structures have been told the city council will not allow them to do so.

A freelance cameraman pointed out at the Press conference that the ANC had relied on freelancers to cover similar events in the past and asked what kind of provision would be made for them if they could not afford to pay.

## FULL DELEGATION

Meanwhile, Peter Fabricius and Kaizer Nyatumba of the Argus Political Staff report that the high-powered delegation from Lusaka will arrive in the country tomorrow, four days before next Wednesday's talks.

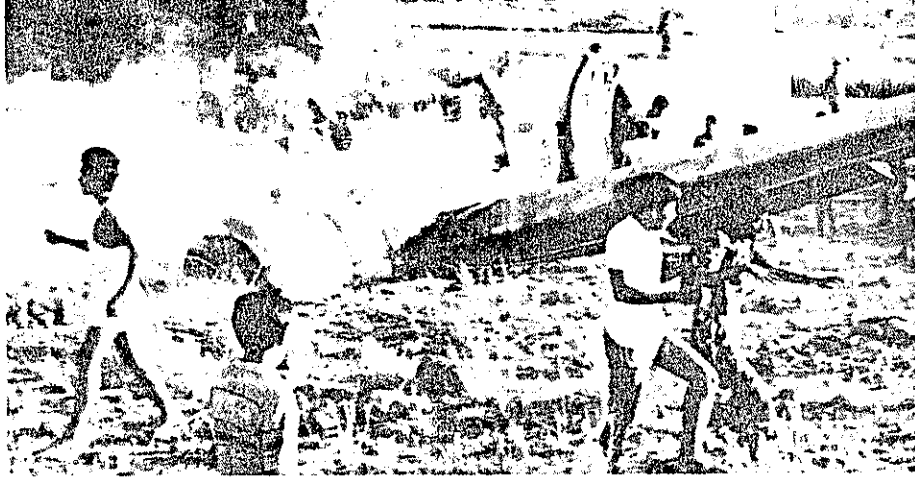
ANC stalwart and former Rivonia treason trialist Mr Govan Mbeki said: "I have also been informed that they will fly to Cape Town and not Johannesburg."

Besides Mr Slovo, the Lusaka delegation will include ANC secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo, foreign affairs director and "crown prince" Mr Thabo Mbeki, Umkhonto we Sizwe chief Mr Joe Modise, and national executive committee member Ms Ruth Mompati. They will join South African-based ANC delegates, led by Mr Mandela, for the three-day talks with the government.

Police yesterday told the organisers of the Mitchell's Plain meeting that it would be illegal if magisterial permission were not given — but the organisers said they would not seek permission.

Ms Carolus said rally organisers had "learned a lot of lessons since the Grand Parade" — where congestion caused problems when Mr Mandela spoke on February 11.

She said 2 000 marshalls had been trained in crowd control during the past three weeks.



**AIR CRASH DRAMA:** A survivor of a burning DC-3 plane, which crashed in a ricefield near Manila in the Philippines today, is helped by a villager, lower right. Six people were killed and 18 survived. The pilot reported engine trouble soon after takeoff. Survivors scurried from the wreckage before it exploded into flames.

## Gangster shot dead, 4 wounded

Crime Reporter

A GANGSTER was killed and four others were wounded when two men opened fire on them outside a block of flats in Manenberg.

Mr Clive Ahrodes, 23, of 28 Aletta Court, Manenberg, died shortly after the shooting at 10.30pm yesterday and Mr Phillip Brander, 24, Mr Gavin Baartman, 21, Mr Isgak Jacobs, 19, and Mr Donovan Isaacs, 21, were injured.

Police liaison officer Captain Gys Boonzaaier said the five, all members of the Hard Living Kids gang, were standing outside Aletta Court when two men appeared out of the darkness.

A volley of shots was fired and all five men were hit. Mr Ahrodes was fatally injured.

Mr Brander, of 10 Aletta Court, was hit by a bullet in the left knee, Mr Baartman, of 9D Aletta Court, was shot in the side, Mr Jacobs was shot in the back and Mr Isaacs of Buall Walk, was shot in the left arm. All four were admitted to hospital.

## Woman on walk attacked, robbed

Crime Reporter

A KENILWORTH woman who was walking next to a river in Tokai was attacked by two men who pulled off her clothing.

The 51-year-old woman was walking behind the Blue Route Shopping Centre at 9.30am yesterday when she was attacked.

The men pulled off her clothing and one attempted to rape her, said police liaison officer Captain Gys Boonzaaier.

When the man was unable to rape the woman, he and his accomplice stole her watch and two rings worth R1 500 and fled.

## Woman's death leap off bridge — lands on car

The Argus Bureau

PORT ELIZABETH — Two women have died bizarre deaths in the Eastern Cape.

One lay on a railway line and was killed by a train and the other jumped from a freeway bridge on to a car.

A police spokesman said Mrs Barbara Rademeyer, who turned 43 on Tuesday, yesterday telephoned the manager of the garage where she worked as cashier and said he would not see her again.

## R5 000 DISCREPANCY

There had apparently been a R5 000 discrepancy in the books and she had been given until tomorrow to repay the money.

The manager of the garage telephoned her son-in-law who arrived at the Fish River station about 40 kilometres from Cradock just in time to see the tragedy.

Mrs Rademeyer was standing near the railway lines and lay down on the lines as a train approached.

In the other incident yesterday, a woman jumped from a freeway bridge and landed on a car bonnet.

She was taken to Livingstone Hospital, but was dead on arrival. A packet of tablets was found in her possession. The driver was not injured.

## Policeman 'executed' — stabbed 45 times

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — An off-duty Bloemfontein riot policeman was abducted, sentenced to death by a "people's court" and stabbed to death by a mob in Mangaung township, police said.

The mutilated body of Constable M.J. Zeekoei was found in the township. It is believed he had been stabbed 45 times.

Constable Zeekoei was apparently intercepted, taken to a people's court and "sentenced" to death.

His "sentence" was that every man present stab him once. The killing was then carried out.

No arrests have been made.

Police said unrest claimed two other lives yesterday.

In Galesheuw near Kimberley four special constables opened fire when they were attacked by a mob of several hundred.

A youth was killed and a man and three youths were arrested.

In Molweni near Durban a woman was killed by a mob.

## 'House of Horrors' dig may continue

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA — Police may today continue their investigation at the "House of Horrors" in Capital Park.

Major Chris Bignaut, coordinating officer of the Child Protection Unit, said he was still waiting feedback from the investigating officer. A decision would then be taken whether or not to continue, he said.

He reiterated that no new information or evidence had been uncovered.

• Odd spot •

### Keep your dog tailed

The Argus Foreign Service  
LONDON. — Gordon, a crossbred Scottish deerhound, is home safe and sound — the first successful chip off a new block.

The dog was electronically tagged six months ago, one of 15 000 in Britain to have microchips painlessly injected into their necks to identify them if lost.

When police found Gordon on Wandsworth Common, bedraggled and with his collar torn off, they took him to Battersea Dogs' Home, where he was electronically screened and found to belong to Fulham market researcher Nikki Fitzjohn, 28.

"I think tagging is wonderful," said Nikki, the first owner to have her pet returned in this way. It didn't cause Gordon one second of pain and has saved me a lot of unhappiness."

## Mike Tyson goes for booze and women ...

From RAMSAY MILNE

The Argus Foreign Service

NEW YORK. — Is defeated world heavyweight champion Mike Tyson finished, down and out to booze and disillusionment?

That is the view of Kevin Rooney, who trained Tyson until he was dismissed when the seemingly invincible champion in 1988 threw in his lot with promoter Don King.

"I think Tyson has lost interest," Rooney said today. "I don't think he can take the pressure any more. Every fighter gets to the point where he can't take the pressure and he either retires or loses his desire to fight."

Rooney said he had heard Tyson had been drinking heavily before his fight against James (Buster) Douglas



Mike Tyson

Bill Cayton, Tyson's estranged manager, is another who says he is aware of Tyson's present love of the bottle and spending most nights in discos.

In December Tyson admitted that he had been drinking heavily to ease the pain of his marital problems after his actress wife Robin Givens had filed for divorce in October 1988.

But Tyson said he had stopped drinking after his disappointing performance in February last year against Britain's Frank Bruno.

Few believed him then and have less reason to believe him now. First came word that he would be training in a newly-built facility in Catskill, New York.

Last week, Tyson, reportedly weighing nearly 110kg, turned up in the bright lights of Las Vegas, Nevada, to train for his next fight, a June 16 bout against Henry Tillman.

Tyson-watchers soon found out what the change of venues meant: He needs the good life among women and booze at least as much as he needs the ring.

the organisation's regional interim committee has disclosed.

At a meeting in Cape Town yesterday the committee said the decision to form 20 sub-regions was taken last weekend at a closed meeting to which about 500 activists had been invited.

The ANC's constitution stipulated that each branch should have no less than 100 members. The level of interest would determine the number of branches.

Thousands of people are waiting to sign up with the ANC, the interim committee claimed.

## "Foot soldiers"

In one street in Guguletu 112 people had indicated they wished to join, making a branch on their own. In Athlone an estimated 2 000 people wanted to join.

Ten people in the elite Bellville suburb of Welgemoed have expressed an interest in joining the ANC after attending an informal discussion group at a private house in the area.

Mr Willie Hofmeyr of the UDF executive said the meeting in Welgemoed was not an ANC recruitment meeting but a discussion group. The 10 residents have not yet signed up.

Mr Trevor Manuel, ANC spokesman in the Western Cape, said the ANC wanted the starting of branches and recruitment of members to be a public process and appealed to the media to communicate this message to the world.

Asked why the media had been barred from the weekend meeting, Mr Manuel said it was necessary to talk to the ANC "foot soldiers" who had never been signed-up members to set the process in motion.

"We felt it was best the meeting took place as a closed meeting," he said.

## "Dream come true"

Mr Manuel said people could join the organisation at venues to be announced. There would also be recruitment at an ANC rally in Mitchell's Plain on Sunday.

At the close of the meeting committee member Mr Christmas Tinto made an appeal to the media to be "friendly" to the ANC.

"Now the dream has come true and the ban on the ANC has been lifted. The work now is for everybody to join the ANC," he said. "Branches everywhere must be full."

Addressing the Press, he said: "We expect the majority of you to be card-carrying members of the ANC."

The members of the interim committee are Ms Amy Thornton, Ms Cheryl Carolus, Mr Tinto, Mr Neville van der Rheede, Mr Amos Lengesi, Mr Mzonke Jacobs, Mr Mountain Khumbela, Mr Manuel and Mr Johnny Issel. The committee is to be chaired by exiled ANC member Mr Reginald September.

## Schoolgirl, 17, killed by car

Staff Reporter

A schoolgirl died today when she was knocked down by a car at the corner of Durban and Kendal Road, Durbanville.

Police said Charlotte Engel, 17, of Hill Street, Kraaifontein, was a pupil at Fairmont High School.

Traffic department staff said the accident happened about 7.30am in fog.

A blanket of fog covered the area during the traffic peak period this morning.

A woman died near Crossroads about 4.15pm yesterday when a lorry struck her as she was crossing Lower Lansdowne Road near the corner of Eiselen Road.

## Cloudy and cold

(Details — page 2)



Mr Joe Slovo

# ANC gets set

ARBUS 26/4/90 HIA

## 20 branches for W Cape; thousands waiting to join — claim

**Slovo will speak** <sup>HIA</sup>  
**but Press will have to pay** <sup>ARBUS 26/4/90</sup>

By ANDREA WEISS  
Staff Reporter

THE general secretary of the South African Communist Party, Mr Joe Slovo, will speak in this country for the first time since the early '60s at an African National Congress rally in Mitchell's Plain on Sunday.

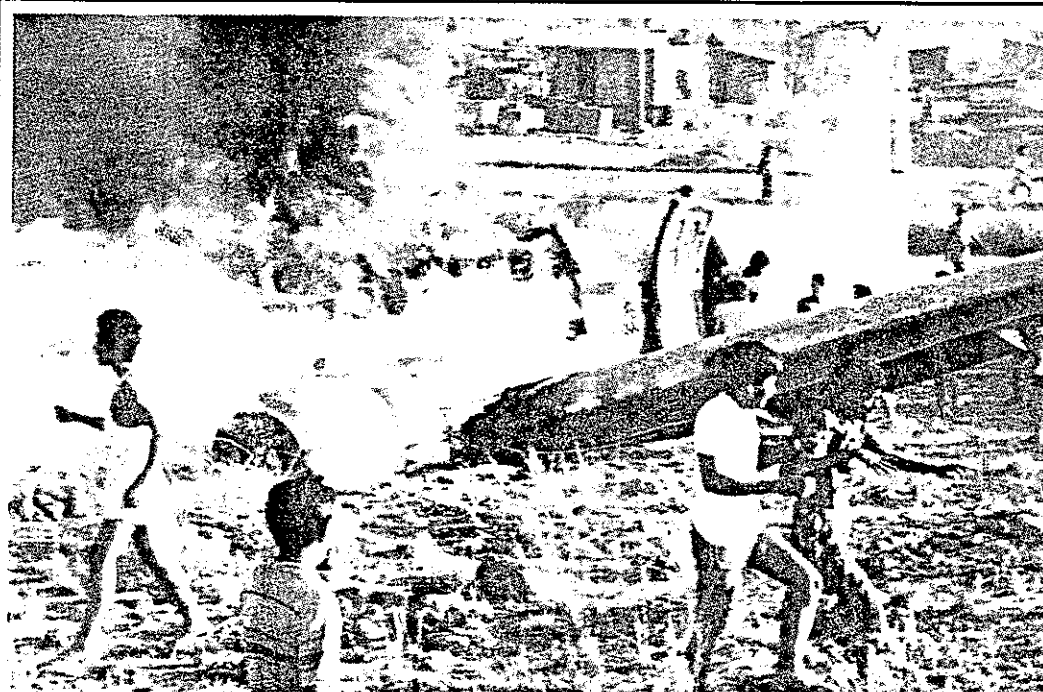
On the platform with him will be other members of the ANC delegation who will hold talks with the government on May 2, including the deputy-president of the ANC, Mr Nelson Mandela. Five members of the ANC's external delegation are due to leave Lusaka for Cape Town on tomorrow.

A decision by the ANC to charge the media for places at the historic rally has caused an outcry among journalists.

The announcement that journalists would be expected to pay for the use of a special platform was made at the first Press conference of the Western Cape regional ANC interim committee in Cape Town yesterday.

Similar arrangements were made for the recent Mandela pop concert at Wembley, London, where journalists were asked to pay £100 (more than R400) for information kits, refreshments and a marquee.

**NOT MAKING MONEY**  
ANC regional committee



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**Top policeman ordered killing of Mxenge,** <sup>ARBUS 26/4/90</sup>  
**says Coetzee** <sup>ZEP</sup>

The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — Former hit squad boss Dirk Coetzee has told the Harms Commission here that the regional commander of security police in Port Natal, Brigadier J van der Hoven, ordered the killing of human rights lawyer Mr Griffiths Mxenge.

Among the chilling and detailed allegations made by Mr Coetzee, whose claims about alleged hit squad activities are pivotal to the commission's inquiry, the exiled and self-confessed hit squad chief described how

● Brigadier Van der Hoven issued orders to kill Mxenge, and then debriefed Mr Coetzee at home in his pyjamas after the killing.

● He witnessed the poisoning and shooting of African National Congress member Mr Sizwe Kondile, and was present at the violent interrogation of kidnapped ANC man Mr Joe Pillay.

● Special instructions were issued by Brigadier Van der Hoven to "get rid of him" (Mxenge) — "and that can only mean one thing ... take him out, kill him. We have a language (in the security police) where a few words mean a lot. Taking him out does not mean taking him out of the room," and that the victim was not to be shot.

● He (Coetzee) selected the hit squad, among them Almond Nofemela, David Tshikalange, Joe Mamasela and Brian Ngalunge.

● "Knock-out drops" Coetzee obtained from General Lothar Neethling, head of the police forensic laboratories, were used to kill a victim.

"Four drops are enough for an average man. They are colourless and tasteless."

Full report, page 27.

**Gangster shot dead, 4 wounded**

Crime Reporter

A GANGSTER was killed and four others were wounded when two men opened fire on them outside a block of flats in

**Woman's death leap off bridge — lands on car**

The Argus Bureau

PORT ELIZABETH. — Two women have died bi-

**Policeman 'executed' — stabbed 45 times**

The Argus Correspondent  
JOHANNESBURG. — An off-

<sup>ARBUS 26/4/90</sup>

# The BIG welcome

11A

South 26/4 - 2/5/90

By CHIARA CARTER and  
REHANA ROSSOUW

THE African National Congress is planning a major show of strength on the eve of its historic talks with the South African government next week.

Feverish preparations are underway for a massive ANC rally scheduled to take place at the Lentegeur sportsground in Mitchells Plain, Cape Town, on Sunday.

For the first time in more than 30 years, ANC secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo, and South African Communist Party secretary-general, Mr Joe Slovo, will address a gathering inside the country.

ANC deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela, will also speak at the historic rally, which precedes the talks between the ANC and the government on May 2.

ANC national executive committee members Mr Aziz Pahad and chief of security Mr Joe Nhlanhla were the first to arrive in Cape Town on Wednesday.

## Security

The two were spotted at Jan Smuts airport in Johannesburg by journalists on Wednesday night but arrived in Cape Town under a veil of security.

An airport official at DF Malan airport said they had been whisked off the tarmac by officials from the Department of Foreign Affairs.

ANC intelligence chief, Mr Jacob

Zuma, flew to South Africa earlier this week to make security arrangements for the ANC team due to arrive in Cape Town on Friday.

The main programme at the Lentegeur rally will begin at 3pm.

From noon, there will be cultural events and speakers from the MDM.

The ANC interim committee (W Cape) says it wants to prevent a repeat of the events which occurred at the Grand Parade rally on the release of Mandela.

## Lessons

Interim committee member, Ms Cheryl Carolus said the ANC had "learnt a lot of lessons from the Grand Parade" and were anticipating a large crowd.

"One cannot underestimate the popularity of the ANC," Carolus said.

Members of the Western Cape interim committee met the Cape Town City Council and other local authorities this week to make arrangements for the meeting.

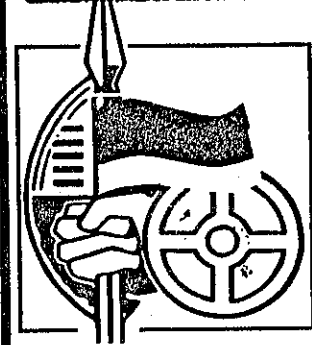
Toilet facilities, water points, first aid and traffic control have been guaranteed by the rally organisers.

By Wednesday, City Council employees had already cleared bush surrounding the sportsgrounds and scaffolding was about to be erected.

The ANC said there would be more than 2 000 trained marshalls present to control the crowds.

According to sources, additional security will be provided by members of the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, who will guard the ANC speakers.

● **First recruits Page 5**



What

**Freedom**  
- In our time -



Coetsee



Meyer



Botha



De Villiers



Du Plessis



De Klerk



Van der Merwe

The most striking thing about the government's negotiating team for May 2 with the ANC is how under-represented the Cape is and how prominent the Transvaal is.

Or viewed differently, how the University of Stellenbosch does not shape up to the University of Potchefstroom.

It demolishes one popu-

# Potch slant to FW's team

larly held view — namely that the Cape is more liberal than the Transvaal — because the nine men represent the strongly 'veligte' element in the Cabinet, with Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok probably being closer to the centre of the National Party.

The other eight are FW de Klerk (State President), Gerrit Viljoen (Constitu-

tional Development), Pik Botha (Foreign Affairs), Stoffel van der Merwe (Education and Development), Barend du Plessis (Finance), Dawie de Villiers (Mineral and Energy Affairs, Public Enterprises), Kobie Coetsee (Justice) and

Roelf Meyer (Deputy-Minister of Constitutional Development) who will also provide the "secretariat".

### Stellenbosch

Of these only Dawie de Villiers went to Stellenbosch and is also the only Cape Minister — a far cry from the days when it was accepted that Maties provide the leaders of the National Party.

The University of Potchefstroom provides two and a half members — FW himself plus Barend du Plessis and Stoffel van der Merwe, who started out at Potch but finished his degree at the University of Pretoria.

The latter university has three and a half representatives — Pik Botha, Gerrit Viljoen and also Stoffel. The Free State university in Bloemfontein has two ex-students — Kobie Coetsee and Roelf Meyer.

While the geographic element is interesting, more important is the influence of Potchefstroom, intellectual home of the Gereformeerde Kerk, smallest of the three Dutch Reformed Churches. It is the most conservative of these churches in its social view but has always been strongly verlig politically.

Increasingly the National Party leadership is saying that what it wants to do in South Africa is

create a just society — a view and an approach which has Potchefstroom stamped all over it and one which is too frequently ignored when evaluating the De Klerk National Party.

Note, too, that the two men who carry most weight in the NP's caucus and in the party itself, are FW de Klerk and Barend du Plessis, both born in Johannesburg, schooled on the Reef and are Potch Old Boys.

With the exception of Vlok, all the ministers also sit on the special Cabinet committee on negotiation. Vlok has taken the place of Provincial Affairs Minister Hennis Kriel — not an indication that Kriel is too conservative but that the issue of law and order will be high on the agenda on May 2.

### Exclusion

Most noticeable is the exclusion of senior minister Magnus Malan, whose department is playing a much smaller role under De Klerk than under Botha.

The composition of the government team underscores the fact that the basic issues to be discussed are political and not security-related.

In the past few weeks De Klerk has committed his government to the scrapping of the remain-

**FW de Klerk has surprised in naming his team for the historic talks with the ANC on May 2.**

**A possible influence on the lineup is the University of Potchefstroom and the Gereformeerde Kerk.**

**HARALDPAKEN-DORF examines the make-up of FW's side:**



Vlok



Viljoen

ing apartheid measures while several of the negotiating team have stressed the need for negotiations to get off the ground sooner rather than later.

Of course, the main

issues on the table will be the state of emergency and the release of political prisoners. The government will place the issue of violence high on the agenda and will look to a date for the next round.

### The teams for May 2:

FW de Klerk  
Kobie Coetsee  
Adriaan Vlok  
Roelf Meyer  
Stoffel van der Merwe  
Gerrit Viljoen  
Pik Botha  
Barend du Plessis  
Dawie de Villiers



Nelson Mandela  
Alfred Nzo  
Walter Sisulu  
Ruth Mompati  
Joe Modise  
Joe Slovo  
Ahmed Kathrada  
Beyers Naude  
Archie Gumede  
Thabo Mbeki  
Cheryl Carolus



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State President FW de Klerk



# Mkwayi to speak at civic meeting

UNITY is expected to be high on the agenda when more than 250 delegates attend a civic conference in Atlantis from April 27 to 29.

ANC internal leader, Mr Wilton Mkwayi, will deliver the keynote address. An interim committee to launch a united civic structure will be elected at the end of the deliberations.

Delegates from as far as Namaqualand, Karoo towns and Knysna in the Southern Cape will attend. They will represent more than 100 civic organisations.

The theme of the conference is "Unity Through Civic Action".

Conference organiser, Ms Zohra Ebrahim, said the consequences of government policy were felt mostly at local government level.

"People involved in civic

organisations are thus best placed to make an impact on the way of life in a future South Africa," Ebrahim said.

"We can decide on the way we want to be governed and future policy on land and housing."

Ebrahim said the conference was being held to give people an opportunity to meet and work through the problems they faced in civic structures in both the urban and rural areas.

At present, most policy decisions were taken in urban areas; rural issues were often ignored, she said. *South 19/4 - 25/4/90*

"There has been a resurgence in civic activities since the beginning of the year — as witnessed through the hundreds of marches that were held, taking people's

demands to the local municipalities," Ebrahim said. *119*

"This indicates the necessity for the conference, so that we can forge unity to take up civic issues throughout the country."

A recent UDF workshop resolved to work towards such a structure. A full-time coordinator would be appointed soon. *119*

"Another important focus of the conference is to discuss the role of civics, particularly after the unbanning of the ANC, and the creation of more space in which to organise," Ebrahim said.

"We now have an alternative leadership in the ANC and we can speak directly to the future government about our problems, knowing that we will be heard," she said.

Freedom  
- in our time -

# Setting the 'table'

MOST people believe each side comes to the negotiations table with insistent, if not extreme demands.

The demands are gradually softened by confrontations, threats and pleading.

If the two parties do not trust each other, negotiations cannot succeed.

The positions of each party should be determined and a compromise found between the two extremes.

Concern exists about enforcing the compromise, and representatives often face the daunting task of trying to convince their constituency to support the agreement with the argument, "it's the best we could get, given the circumstances".

### Future

If this is the kind of negotiations South Africans have in mind when they anticipate the future, the process will be long and arduous.

The situation in South Africa, however, is unique and — while lessons can be learnt from other countries — they cannot be imposed in our negotiations.

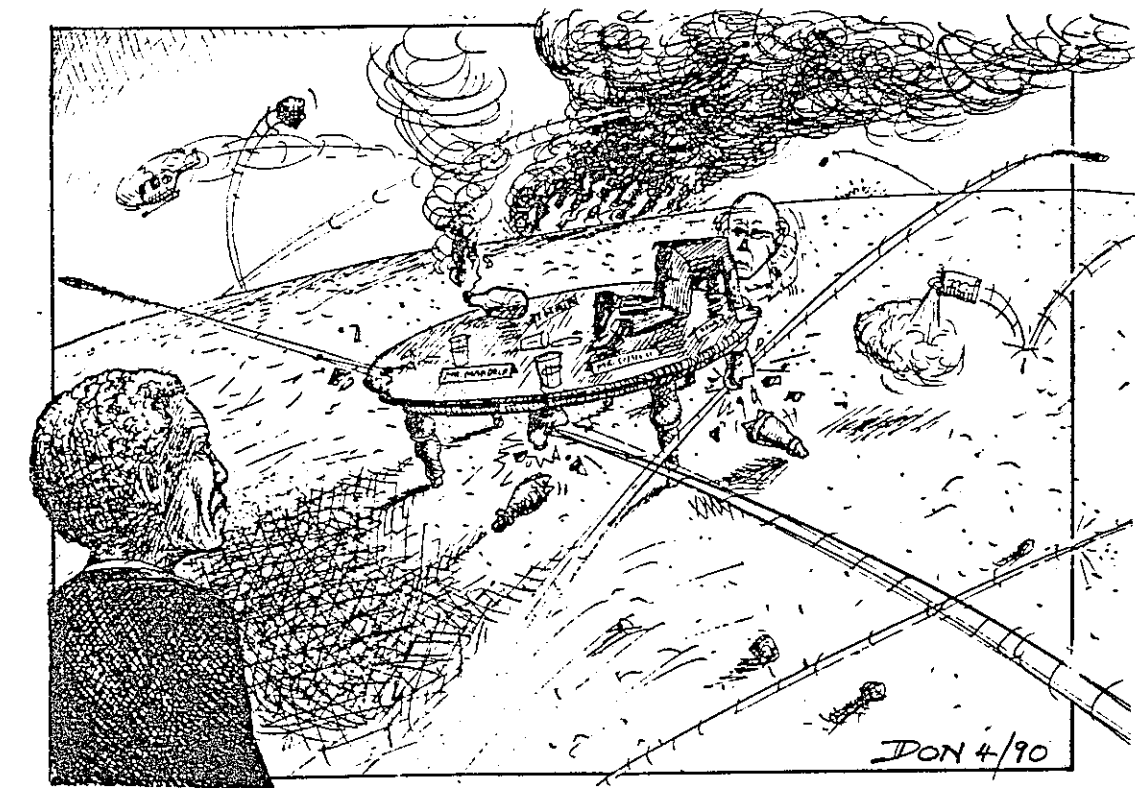
The South African government and the ANC are

**Most people view negotiations as a battlefield where two opposing sides continue their war at the bargaining table.**

**But, to progress at the table, key leaders will need to break from their old ways of thinking, not only about South Africa, but about negotiation itself. REHANA ROSSOUW reports:**

not bargaining petty issues. They will debate the transfer of power from the National Party to the majority of people.

Their negotiations will determine not only a new constitution for the country, but — many hope — a new way of life.



People's expectations of negotiations are high. They expect it to deliver jobs, housing, education, land and health for all.

It is in each party's long-term interest to "provide space" for internal bargaining to be successful on the opponent's side.

This was accomplished recently when the government unbanned the ANC and 35 other organisations, freeing them to meet, consult and plan for negotiations.

Secondly, ensuring that representatives of all influential constituencies are

part of negotiations is crucial to their success.

The popular myth of the government and the ANC sitting down at a table and negotiating the future of the nation is unrealistic.

The two key actors may well be able to agree on next steps for a negotiation

process which will quickly bring in broader actors.

Getting to the table, or pre-negotiation, is often the hardest part of the job. "Bargaining about bargaining" is thus a key stage in negotiation.

Numerous issues must be resolved before nego-

tiations can take place. These include:

**Location**— where talks are held often hold enormous emotional symbolism for parties.

**Time frame**— when to meet, how often and for how long.

**Participants**— who will be at the bargaining table?

**Procedures and ground rules**— format of discussion, behaviour at the table, how to deal with the media.

### Challenge

The real challenge in South Africa will not be how to devise processes capable of bringing the right people to the right place at the right time. Rather, the question is whether the key actors are prepared to learn from the hard-won lessons of similar situations elsewhere.

*(Adapted from an article by Ron Kraybill, an authority on conflict mediation established at the UCT's Centre for Intergroup Studies, published in the January 1990 edition of Leadership.)*

CAN anyone doubt that South Africa stands on the threshold of momentous events?

Since February 2 this year, the way has been cleared not only for a needed restructuring of the country's economy but also, and perhaps more importantly, for a political restructuring that will establish the foundations for a durable, non-racial and multi-party democratic future.

Indeed, a political restructuring has become an essential precondition for any economic restructuring given the continued internal political conflict and the external imposition of economic sanctions.

**Growth**

Against a background of demographic change, at the heart of which is an inexorable growth of population, any extended failure of the South African economy must mean a continued increase in unemployment.

That, in turn, must threaten attempts to return the country to a situation of social and political normality.

The hopes of millions,

# Business view



Ronnie Bethlehem

*The South African business community has blown hot and cold — if the indices on the JSE are used as a gauge — since the release of Nelson Mandela and the February 2 speech of FW de Klerk.*

*Hopes of world markets opening and great economic prosperity have been tempered by the nationalisation "bogey".*

*But special contributor RONNIE BETHLEHEM detects a sense of optimism now that the ANC/government talks are back on the rails:*

black and white, rest on our collective ability now to seize the opportunity that has been created by two men, President FW de Klerk, the NP leader, and Deputy President of the ANC, Nelson Mandela.

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The initiative would never have been taken in the first place had De Klerk and his senior government colleagues not found in Mandela a leader whose own integrity, courage and authority they felt they

could trust.

Certainly, had Mandela not come to the independent judgement that the moment now was ripe for

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All the evidence suggests that the understand-

ing achieved between De Klerk and Mandela is still in place despite the strain that has been placed upon it during the past month.

Not only has the increase in violence, especially in Natal, tested that understanding, but attempts have also been made by extremists of both the left and right to subvert it by increasing fear and confusion within the constituencies of both men.

Also important has been their realisation that time is running out for both their parties. For the NP, time is of the essence because if it fails to deliver on a constitution negotiated with credible black leaders, it will forfeit control of Parliament to the CP.

**Domination**

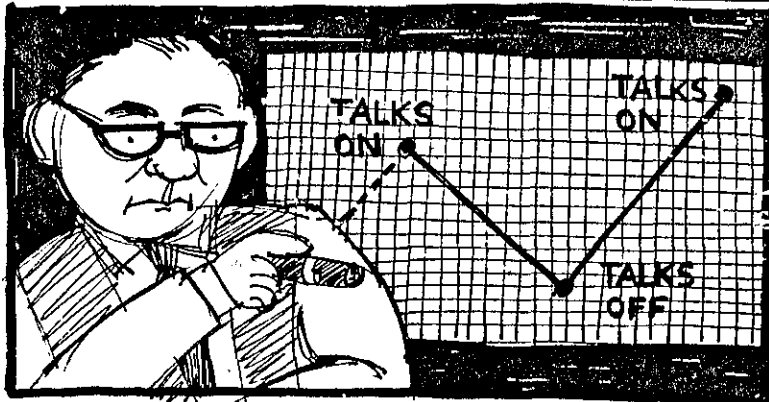
In other words, in opting for democracy and abandoning white domination, it has abandoned

any possibility of a second chance being given it by an exclusively white electorate.

For the ANC, time is of the essence too because if it fails, the initiative in black politics must shift towards the PAC to whose uncompromising black nationalism the younger generation of radical township youth must logically orientate.

The ANC's commitment to non-racialism needs to be seen by white, and the business community especially, despite the organisation's reaffirmation of nationalisation, in this harsh perspective.

While in present circumstances the ANC remains the major force in black politics nationally and would probably secure between 50 and 80 percent of the vote in an exclusively black election, its following among those



in the eight to 18 age group must be more doubtful. And more than 60 percent of the black population is under the age of 20!

The policy gap between the NP and the ANC has been dramatically narrowed and could easily be bridged by compromise in eventual constitutional negotiations. The likelihood has also greatly increased of an NP-ANC cooperation in a Government of National Unity (GNU) the task of which would be to oversee such negotiations.

**Embrace**

Once talks-about-talks are successfully past, a GNU will become necessary to attend to the on-going administration of the country.

It would logically include all parties able to embrace the idea of democracy. It could even, conceivably, include the CP were its vision of some kind of territorial underpinning of Afrikaner political identity or national sovereignty to be placed on the negotiations agenda.

In the context of a GNU, the issue of nationalisation, too, would be more rationally dealt with. It has to be considered in the broader perspective of a restructuring of the economy which all are agreed now is necessary.

Given a GNU, prospects for the economy change dramatically, and for the better.

**Mineral**

With a rich mineralogical base, an excellent infra-structure, an already established market system, a not insubstantial skilled labour force and a business community which can hold its own with the best in the world, South Africa has a lot going for it economically.

It also has a degree of underdevelopment that offers the prospect of considerable growth from a low base given the right external circumstances and internal policies.

There is every reason to believe, therefore, that if the difficult road to a new constitution can be negotiated, SA will become one of the economic success stories of the first quarter of the 21st century.

The salvation of the whole of southern Africa, in the context of a restructured global economy, depends on that.

(Dr Bethlehem is group economic consultant at Johannesburg Consolidated Investments)



The Western Province Council of Churches



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We express our solidarity with the ANC delegation in its historic talks with the government on May 2. It is our prayer it will be the beginning of a process that will eventually bring peace and justice to our country.

Freedom  
- in our time -

# Business view

CAN anyone doubt that South Africa stands on the threshold of momentous events?

Since February 2 this year, the way has been cleared not only for a needed restructuring of the country's economy but also, and perhaps more importantly, for a political restructuring that will establish the foundations for a durable, non-racial and multi-party democratic future.

Indeed, a political restructuring has become an essential precondition for any economic restructuring given the continued internal political conflict and the external imposition of economic sanctions.

### Growth

Against a background of demographic change, at the heart of which is an inexorable growth of population, any extended failure of the South African economy must mean a continued increase in unemployment.

That, in turn, must threaten attempts to return the country to a situation of social and political normality.

The hopes of millions,



Ronnie Bethlehem

**The South African business community has blown hot and cold — if the indications on the JSE are used as a gauge — since the release of Nelson Mandela and the February 2 speech of FW de Klerk.**

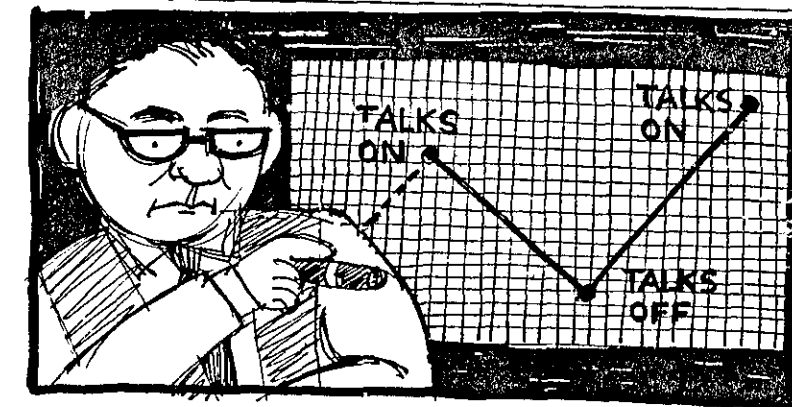
**Hopes of world markets opening and great economic prosperity have been tempered by the nationalisation "bogey".**

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FROM Diepkloof prison to death row, all eyes will be fixed on next week's talks where the ANC will try to win the release of hundreds of political prisoners.

# Focusing on May 2

South 26/4-2/5/90

"We cannot tolerate a situation where some of the activists will be denied participation in shaping the future of our country because they are still in prisons where they should not have been in the first place," said general secretary Alfred Nzo, who leaves Lusaka this week for Cape Town.

He said the government had "not fully satisfied" the ANC's demands for the creation of a climate conducive for the commencement of negotiations.

Nzo said the process of negotiations could not start while the state of emergency "continued to hang over the head of our democratic movement like the sword of Damocles".

"Also, some of the most vicious security legislation is still in place ready to be used against the democratic movement and its allies.

"There is therefore no guarantee that there will be no similar reaction when the masses begin to intensify their legitimate mass struggle.

"The ending of the State

**High on the agenda at next week's historic talks between the ANC and the government will be a general amnesty for political prisoners.**

**General secretary, Alfred Nzo spoke to HENRY LUDSKI in Lusaka recently:**

of Emergency and the release of all our comrades from apartheid prisons will be of tremendous advantage to our democratic movement," Nzo said.

Thabo Mbeki, ANC director of international affairs, said that the ANC would not surrender the issue of political prisoners to "some closed meeting at Tuynhuys"

## Mobilise

"We have a continuing responsibility to mobilise the masses of the people into action and not to be paralysed into thinking that everything is being discussed very nicely around a cup of tea somewhere,"

he said.

He said that the government was "bound to play tricks and do all sorts of things", but it was essential to remember that "it is because of our strength that they have moved in the direction in which we wanted them to move".

"It is therefore important that we sustain that struggle otherwise the tricks of the regime will succeed."

He said that the ANC's national executive committee had taken a decision to carry out a process of consultation on as wide a basis as was possible in the country before the May 2 talks.

## Obstacles

It had also appointed working committees to look at every aspect of the talks with the government.

He said that if at the meeting with De Klerk all obstacles were removed, the next stage visualised in the Harare declaration was a mutual cessation of hostilities.

"It will mean that we will have to sit down with the regime and say; what do we do with MK on this side and SADF on that side:"

THE government's chances of drawing homeland leaders onto its side of the negotiating table are fading fast.

The ANC's success in wooing groups traditionally allied with the government was most dramatically demonstrated in the recent pullout by homeland leaders from a meeting with President FW de Klerk.

After personal telephone calls from ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela, four leaders of the non-independent homelands at the last minute pulled out of talks with the government scheduled for early April.

#### Allies

The government has been assiduously looking for allies to take to the negotiating table.

In De Klerk's dramatic February 2 speech announcing the unbanning of the ANC and other groups, he made a special point of promising homeland leaders and the tricameral parties that their place at the table would be guaranteed.

Last week, in a speech during his debate in Parliament, he said there was

**Fear of ending up on the wrong side of the negotiations table has brought crashing down South Africa's so-called constellation of independent and non-independent states.**

**FRANZ KRUGER examines the ructions in the Bantustans in recent months:**

no question of narrowing the process of negotiations to two or three parties.

"Every leader who seeks peace and who has a



Kwazulu Chief Minister Gatsha Buthelezi

proven power base — be it large or small — has to be given an opportunity to participate," De Klerk said.

But the government's

search for allies has been less than successful. It has been clear for some years that it would not be able to construct a credible ally with a national base among

urban black communities.

The black local authorities have never been able to build support for themselves. At the same time, the tricameral parties are fast losing what little support they had.

#### Crucial

The homelands were to be a crucial part of the alliance, and there have been a series of meetings with both the independent and non-independent homeland leaders to discuss constitutional options.

But the homelands have been changing rapidly. Transkei's Bantu Holomisa has long made it clear he sees the territory's future in a united South Africa.

In March, growing resentment in the rural and urban areas of the Ciskei swept President Lennox Sebe's regime from power and installed the military council of Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

Gqozo immediately moved close to the broad democratic movement,

sharing platforms with local UDF leaders and giving massive financial and logistic support to the welcome home rally organised for Mandela in Bisho.

#### Clean

Since then, there has been a coup in Venda, although the complexion of the new government of Colonel Gabriel Ramushwane is not nearly as clear as those in the Transkei and Ciskei.

There were indications that he seized power with the knowledge of Pretoria, and there was speculation in the MDM that the coup was designed to prevent a complete collapse of the homeland.

Left almost alone has been Bophuthatswana's Lucas Mangope, who bravely promised that his homeland would be still be around in 100 years' time.

Among the non-independent homelands, it is only Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's KwaZulu that feels strong enough to swim against the stream of popular sentiment.

Buthelezi was left as almost the only participant in the April talks, and he has made it clear he is willing to go into negotiations with the government regardless of what anyone else says.

#### Isolated

However, he is appearing increasingly isolated in this stance, and it is clear the government realises the only participant in talks that really matters is the ANC.

Even if Buthelezi is prepared to talk without them, the government may no longer be willing to do so.

Nevertheless, he remains an important player, with massive support from Western powers.

In its campaign to draw off Pretoria's allies, the

ANC has made it clear this does not guarantee even sympathetic homeland administrations an equal place in any ANC-led negotiating alliance.

#### Intensified

There have been calls for the struggle in the homelands to be intensified. The movement argues that it is important to maintain pressure on the leaders, to ensure they continue to act in the interests of popular organisations.

Whether this will include immediate reincorporation is not yet clear. It remains a long-term goal, but there are advantages for organisations in maintaining these structures for the moment.

There are clear advantages in the relative autonomy from Pretoria, and in the fact that the homeland administrations will allow popular mobilisation.

This does not mean they are likely to become liberated zones, as this would entail the popular groups taking over outright control.

UDF leader Mohammed Valli said recently: "While we have reached an advanced stage in the struggle, we must still decide whether it is in our interests to call on the homeland leaders to resign at this moment."

#### Elite

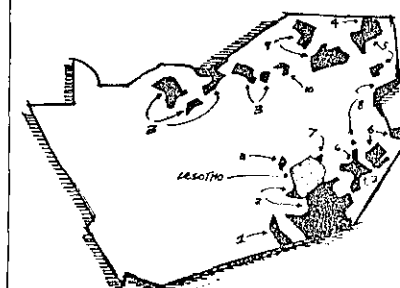
In the end, the new generation of progressive homeland leaders have emerged out of a local elite, who have an interest in the survival of local bureaucratic structures.

This may not be much of a problem in an area such as Transkei, which has had some kind of separate identity and administration since the last century. The ANC, too, has recognised this and deals with Transkei as one of its regions.

But the Ciskei, and most other homelands, have no such geographic and historical logic. In the long run, the bureaucratic structures built in these areas will have to be dismantled.

This will be no small task and it is not at all clear where the homeland leaders will stand once this issue moves onto the immediate agenda. — Eena

#### Constellation of independent and self-governing states



#### Independent

1. Ciskei
2. Transkei
3. Bophuthatswana
4. Venda

#### Self-governing

5. Gazankulu
6. KwaZulu
7. Qwaqwa
8. KaNgwane
9. Lehova
10. KwaNdebele

## Freedom - in our time -

AS the negotiating process takes shape, the African National Congress is likely to experience increasing pressure from the Frontline States to make compromises in the search for a negotiated settlement.

The Frontline States — Zambia, Zimbabwe, Angola, Tanzania, Botswana and Mozambique — will continue to be staunch public allies of the ANC and will not be party to any sell-out.

But the framework in which gradual and subtle pressure will be exercised is now firmly established.

The process will gain momentum once President FW de Klerk demonstrates that the era of destabilisation of neighbouring states has come to an end.

### Nudging

The Frontline States have already played a central role in nudging the ANC towards negotiations.

Since Mozambique's Frelimo government signed the Nkomati Non-Aggression pact with Pretoria in 1984, the ANC's infiltration routes from the north have been systematically closed off.

The turning-point in the waning fortunes of the ANC's armed struggle came in August 1988 when — in terms of the Geneva Protocol — Angola tacitly agreed to close the ANC's military camps in Angola in return for Pretoria cutting aid to Unita.

While the ANC publicly agreed to this request — in the name of assisting the process leading to Namibian independence — leaders of Umkhonto we Sizwe openly admit that it was a major setback to the armed struggle.

The relocation of the ANC's military camps from Angola to Uganda and Tanzania involved a massive logistical operation which made enormous demands on the ANC's resources, effectively suspended military planning and infiltration, and did nothing for the morale of MK cadres.

### Pressure

Further pressure has been exerted on the ANC to opt for talks by Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda who has played political host to the ANC headquarters in Lusaka for the past decade.

Shortly after ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela visited Lusaka last month, Kaunda broke ranks with other Frontline leaders by calling on the ANC to suspend its armed struggle.

He has not pursued the issue since then but is



Angola's Dos Santos



Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe



Zambia's Kenneth Kaunda

# Pressure on ANC

clearly impatient that the negotiating process should make rapid progress and deliver early results.

After his first meeting with De Klerk in Livingstone in August last year, President Kaunda pledged to arrange a summit of Southern African leaders once Namibia won its independence.

### Isolation

Despite ANC efforts to dissuade Frontline leaders from meeting De Klerk, he has succeeded in breaking through the cordon of isolation that once kept South Africa apart from its neighbouring states.

But the ANC has succeeded — so far — in preventing a full Southern African summit that would include De Klerk.

At the Namibian independence celebrations on March 21, De Klerk scored a significant diplomatic breakthrough. Before sharing a platform with Namibian President Sam Nujoma, he held his first face-to-face meeting with Angola's President Jose Eduardo dos Santos.

Conspicuous by his absence at the celebrations was Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe who cited election campaign commitments as the reason for his surprise non-attendance.

But the general feeling in Windhoek was that Mugabe wished to avoid a face-to-face meeting with the South African leader. Mr Mugabe has taken a notably harder line towards De Klerk, and he and his colleagues have warned the ANC not to abandon on the armed struggle immediately.

Significantly, this is the line advocated by the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC), which Mugabe has willingly hosted in Harare on several occasions.

Another forum where the ANC could soon begin to feel pressure is from the

*The realities of the Southern African sub-region have resulted in growing pressure on the African National Congress from its staunchest allies in the Frontline States. Developments in the region over the past year have changed perceptions of the South African government from Maputo to Luanda. JOHN BATTERSBY reports:*

nine-nation Southern African Development Coordinating Conference (SADCC).

At a conference in Lusaka in February, the SADCC — formed 10 years ago to reduce economic dependence on South Africa — made provisions for South Africa to eventually join the grouping.

Future Frontline State pressure on the ANC will be exerted within the framework of the United Nations General Assembly's Declaration on Apartheid adopted on December 14 last year.

The UN resolution, adopted unanimously, represented a major triumph for the ANC.

But it also involved significant concessions by the ANC on its original policy document on negotiations — the Harare Declaration — adopted by the ad hoc committee of the Organisation of African Unity on Southern Africa in Harare on August 21 last year.

### UN Declaration

In terms of the UN resolution, there will be no compromise on the complete eradication of apartheid and the creation of a system of universal franchise, based on one person one vote, in a unitary South Africa.

But, to achieve international consensus, the ANC agreed to soften provisions on sanctions and the armed struggle and dropped references to a sovereign "interim government" — which would have included the ANC.

In terms of the UN resolution, the Pretoria government will retain effective control of the country throughout the negotiating

process — until elections are held under a new constitution.

The ANC's more recent insistence on a democratically-elected constituent assembly to draw up

the constitution is intended to compensate for the loss of the guarantees implicit in the "interim government".

But it is not either part of the Harare Declaration

Declaration or the UN resolution and its attainment will require additional ANC leverage.

Once De Klerk has succeeded in locking the ANC into the negotiating

process — and emasculating both the armed struggle and sanctions — the ANC will have few levers.

### Options

It is at this point that the Frontline States could join with the international community in closing off the ANC's exit options.

(John Battersby is the Southern Africa correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor)

## COSAW

Congress of South African Writers

The Congress of South African Writers, recognising negotiations as a site of struggle, supports the initiative of the ANC to engage the regime.

We hope that the demands of the Harare Declaration will be met to bring about a conducive environment for talks.

We extend our revolutionary greetings and support to the delegation in the ensuing talks to bring about peace in this strife-ridden land.

**Freedom**  
In our time



Mandela



Sisulu



Nzo



Gumede



Mompoti



Kathrada



Mbeki

"STRENGTH through diversity" has been a favourite government cliché for describing South Africa's diverse mixture of tribes and cultures.

But when that government sits down for talks with the ANC next week, it will be their opponents who hold the most diverse — and some will say — strongest hand.

The ANC delegation is a fascinating mixture of men and women, Christians and communists, militants and moderates — all gathered under the movement's flag.

**Broederbender**

The ANC team, to be led by deputy president Nelson Mandela, ironically contains a former Broederbender, the Reverend Beyers Naude.

Co-opted to bolster the the ANC group are two officials of the United Democratic Front, co-president Archie Gumede and Western Cape publicity officer Cheryl Carolus.

Naude's inclusion has come as a surprise but the ANC's internal leader, Walter Sisulu, explained: "He has been associated with the ANC for a very long time and has contributed tremendously to our struggle."

"Granted, like some others in the delegation, he is not a member of the ANC's national executive committee, but he is a

leading personality in anti-apartheid circles."

Apart from being the leader of the delegation, Mandela's main contribution will be his high-esteem among the men he will face across the table.

Gumede was more likely to be elected because of his knowledge and understanding of the violence in his home province of Natal — a topic expected to feature strongly.

Undoubtedly, a key member of the delegation is Thabo Mbeki, the 47-year-old director of the ANC's international affairs portfolio.

He is gifted with debating qualities. His ability to interact on a one-to-one basis with a Frederik van Zyl Slabbert or the former head of Anglo American Corporation, Gavin Relly, is well known.

**Diplomatic**

He has been at the centre of the ANC's diplomatic and political efforts abroad and is one of the main authors of the document that later became known as the Harare Declaration.

His CV includes military training in the Soviet Union and an MA degree in economics from Sussex University.

He is tipped as a future president of the ANC.

The most senior exiled member of the the ANC is

*Indications are that the ANC '11' to represent the movement at next week's historic meeting with the government have been selected to produce results.*

*A mixed bag of young and old, Robben Island stalwarts and Young Turks based in Lusaka and inside the country, make up a formidable team.*

**MONO BADELA** looks at the men and women the Nats will face:

secretary general Alfred Nzo.

With Oliver Tambo, he is credited with keeping the movement's structures together during the lonely years in exile. He heads the movement's external mission in the absence of the ailing Tambo.

A former health inspector in Alexandra township north of Johannesburg, he participated in the 1952 defiance campaign.

**Boycott**

He also played a leading role in the 1957 bus boycott in Alexandra.

Joe Slovo, former chief of staff of the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, is a figure white South Africa has come to hate.

A secretary general of the South African Communist Party, he served on the ANC's revolutionary council from 1969 until it was disbanded in 1983.

He was the first white to be elected to the the ANC's national executive committee.

Ahmed Kathrada, the 60-year-old former Rivonia trialist, is known to be an

ideologue in the ANC and a key figure in the internal leadership core.

Walter Sisulu, at 78, is the most senior member of

the delegation. A former ANC secretary-general, he now heads the newly-formed ANC Internal Leadership Core.

He serves on the ANC's national executive committee based in Lusaka.

Joe Modise, as commander-in-chief of the

ANC's army, is expected to provide the main response to the government's insistence that the ANC suspend its armed struggle.

Ruth Mompoti is a senior member of the ANC's NEC and a noted strategist on the Political and Military Council. She is a veteran of the 1952 defiance campaign.

She has been out of the country since 1962.



Modise



Carolus



Slovo



Naude



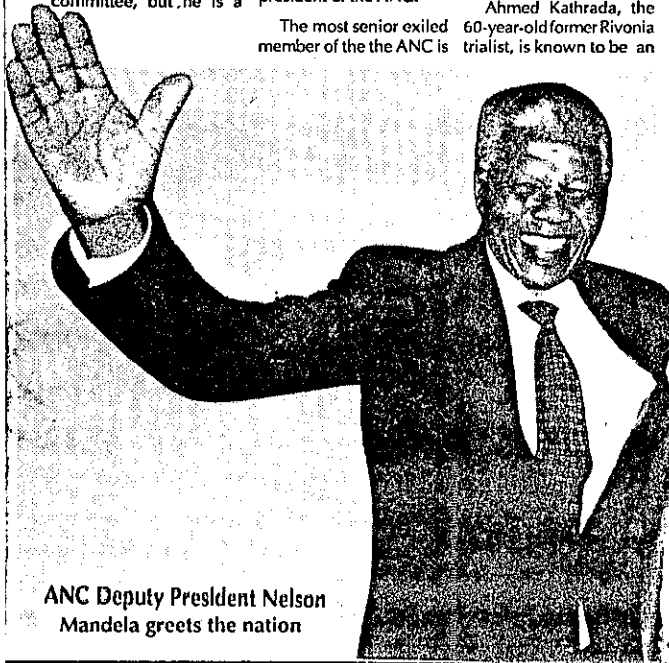
**WEST COAST COUNCIL OF CHURCHES**  
**WESKUS. RAAD VAN KERKE**  
**IQUMRU LEENKONZO ZONXWEME LENTSHONA**

**The West Coast Council of Churches support the talks about talks between the ANC and the NP Government. These talks are crucial for peace in South Africa.**

**We believe that these talks are the fruit of decades of struggle, both internally and externally.**

**We see this as the beginning of the process of negotiations, that will ultimately ensure a just and democratic settlement for all in South Africa.**

**We pray that the talks will lead to a commitment by both parties to remove the stumbling blocks for the negotiations and ensure PEACE in OUR LIFETIME!**



ANC Deputy President Nelson Mandela greets the nation



Freedom  
- In our time -

# Armed struggle will continue

AS recently as last Sunday, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela called on members of his organisation to intensify the armed struggle.

Faced by police killings in several townships and a right wing threat to launch an armed struggle, the ANC is not likely to consider laying down arms.

There is no question of the unilateral abandonment of the armed struggle. For the organisation, nothing has changed in South Africa to justify this move.

They believe that only at the negotiation table can the issue of arms be discussed - the cessation of hostilities on both sides and the creation of a new security force in South Africa.

The effectiveness of the ANC's armed struggle is borne out by official police figures on the number of armed attacks inside the country.

### Underground

There is an estimated 10 000 trained ANC guerilla's housed in camps spread throughout Africa. No figures are available of armed cadres in underground structures inside South Africa.

According to police figures, there were 199 attacks on government and

economic installations inside the country during 1989.

This was a substantial decline on 1988, the most active year in South Africa's history, when there were 281 attacks.

President FW de Klerk's February 2 speech unbanning the ANC went nowhere near creating conditions for a suspension of the armed struggle.

"I am sure the ANC won't call off the armed struggle because it has been unbanned," said Umkhonto's chief of staff

**The South African government and the African National Congress will not be able to hammer out a peace settlement without seriously considering a cessation of hostilities.**  
**REHANA ROSSOUW reports:**

Chris Hani. "MK is not merely there because the ANC is a banned organisation. It is an answer to the violence

of the regime." A ceasefire agreement between the government and ANC's armies would have to be binding on both

sides, with monitoring procedures set into place. The cessation of hostilities implies that troops on both sides would be con-

finied to their bases.

Indications are that the Umkhonto's cadres underground in South Africa will remain in place until the climax of the negotiation process.

Since the unbanning of the ANC, several armed actions have taken place, particularly in the homelands. There have been no civilian casualties.

At some stage, the ANC and the SADF would have to discuss the role of the army in a democratic South Africa where both the SADF and MK are inte-

grated.

This process will start in Lusaka next month at a three-day conference hosted by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa.

### Integrated

About 40 top Umkhonto we Sizwe members will be attending the talks which will explore the creation of an integrated post-apartheid army.

Umkhonto we Sizwe has already initiated a programme to train selected officers for a future South African army.

Some guerillas' skills will be upgraded to enable them to perform regular army duties.

"We will not be happy with a situation where leading officers of a future South African army are from the SADF," said Hani.

Hani said a future army in South Africa would have to defend democracy.

Umkhonto we Sizwe has been instrumental in building the ANC into the force it is today, its commanders say.

"If there is a breakdown in the talks and we see the government is not serious and is resorting to its old ways of violence against us, then those units will be given instructions to fight back and continue the armed struggle," Hani vowed.



Youths at Mandela's rally in Umtata show support for Umkhonto we Sizwe



# Villagers want Mandela to return

RECUS  
26/4/90

**QUNU.** — While Nelson Mandela strides centre-stage in South African politics, his home village wants him to give it all up and come back to his roots.

Villagers have set aside a bare, windswept plot, one of the biggest in Qunu, for their distinguished son in the hope that he will one day relinquish his position in the national struggle for black rights and live among them.

Today, Mandela will visit Qunu for a traditional feast with the community. Each tribal chief in the region is expected to slaughter a cow, goat or sheep for the occasion.

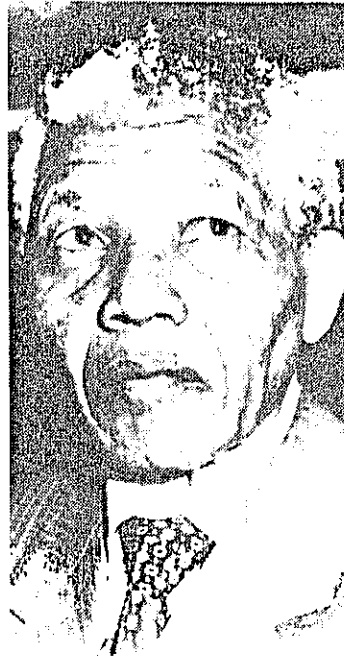
### Visit graves

Mandela will visit his parents' and relatives' graves. His mother died in 1968, four years after he was sentenced to life imprisonment.

No one yet knows what Mr Mandela will do with the plot, but village elders want him to build a homestead and settle. Others believe the site could be used to build a clinic or a school.

Qunu, a tiny poverty-stricken village among eroded hills and fields, lies 30km from Umtata, the capital of Transkei.

Next week, Mandela leads an ANC delegation at talks with the white government of President FW de Klerk to discuss the possibility of blacks shar-



Mr Nelson Mandela

ing real political power with whites for the first time in South African history.

But in Qunu's eyes, these momentous events pale into insignificance compared with Mandela's unexpected visit on Sunday to the poor but pretty village surrounded by fields of maize and scattered cattle.

"His coming home will contribute very much to the upliftment of this village," said nephew Nompilisi Mandela

who lives across from the overgrown plot of land which was presented to Mandela.

Residents say Qunu has deteriorated in the decades since Mandela left for Johannesburg to work in the mines and then to pursue a career in radical politics.

The poor soil has eroded and the yield is low, so villagers depend largely on pensions and remittances from relatives working in South African mines.

The village needs dams, schools and agricultural equipment, and residents believe their lives would improve if Mandela could return.

### Growing up

"Maybe his return will help contribute to better living conditions," Mandela's half-sister Nothanda Bulaehluthi said.

Transkei's president, Paramount Chief Tutor Ndamase, remembers growing up with Mandela.

"He was one of the cleverest boys in the village, very articulate and bright at school. We all looked up to him for advice on village issues." — Sapa-  
Reuter.

CAPT  
Trent  
26/6/80  
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①

# PAC man 'dedicated life to fight'

Staff Reporter

PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS stalwart Mr Geoffrey "Japhta" Masemola dedicated his life to fighting for the return of the land to the indigenous people of Africa, an executive member of the PAC said at a commemoration service for him at St George's Cathedral last night.

About 300 people attended the service conducted by three Anglican priests. Mr Masemola was mysteriously killed in a car accident last week.

Mr Masemola, a founder member of the PAC, was the longest serving prisoner on Robben Island.

The service was attended by many local activists such as PAC member Mr Barney Desai, Mr Frank van der Horst, vice-president of the newly-formed Workers' Organisation of Socialist Action, former Robben Islander Mr Trevor Wentzel and many others.

UK wants  
July meeting

JOHANNESBURG. — The British government is in the process of arranging a meeting between Mrs Margaret Thatcher and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela for the first week of July, a British embassy spokesman said yesterday.

Precise dates and arrangements were being discussed with the ANC, a spokesman said.

That long-awaited meeting was left hanging after she angered the ANC by partially lifting sanctions against South Africa. It is now definitely on, however.

The Commons Foreign Affairs Select Committee in London has invited Mr Mandela to address the House of Commons on sanctions.

— Sapa

CAK. Tom's  
sday, April 26, 1990

# Mandela is tops with British teenagers

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Mr Nelson Mandela is top of the British teenager's international political hit parade.

According to a recent poll, one in three youngsters named the ANC leader as the political figure they most admire — with Soviet leader President Mikhail Gorbachev trailing in a weak second place.

The Daily Express survey, published

yesterday, also found the overwhelming majority of heroes of Britain's teenagers are black.

Over 1 120 young people aged between 13 and 18 were asked to name their favourite politician, pop star, film idol, sportsman and TV personality.

Mr Mandela was a runaway winner of the political section, polling an overall total of 34%.

Mr Gorbachev — second with 20% of the total vote — appealed more strongly to boys (23%) than girls (16%).

British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher was in third place (overall 10%), just sneaking in ahead of Labour Party leader Mr Neil Kinnock (eight percent).

Four of the top five sportsmen were black. First choice was heavyweight

boxer Frank Bruno (34%), followed by Olympic decathlon champion Daley Thompson (19%), footballer John Barnes (eight percent), Grand Prix ace Nigel Mansell (seven percent) and Olympic sprint star Linford Christie (five percent).

"Beverly Hills Cop" star Eddie Murphy topped the film idols list with 21%, with Tom Cruise (16%) in second place.

# Business leaders to meet with ANC

Opp Tmt  
26/4/90

11A  
~~11A~~

## Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — High-level discussions between the business community and the ANC on options for the country's future political economy are to be held here on May 23.

The gathering, organised by the Consultative Business Movement (CBM), will include 400 of the country's top businessmen and 25 ANC leaders based both inside and outside South Africa.

Keynote addresses at the first conference will be Anglo American's roving ambassador Mr Gavin Rely and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela.

The CBM described the meeting as a landmark one. It expected the discussions, to be held behind closed doors, to be "exploratory and form part of an on-going process".

Spokesman Mr Colin Coleman said the CBM hoped the meeting would be just the beginning of talks between the ANC and the business community over the shape of a future economy.

The CBM describes itself as "a voluntary grouping of senior business leaders who, from a business perspective, acknowledge and support the need for constructive transformation of South Africa's political economy".

"Its mission is to participate and initiate processes geared towards bridging the polarization in South Africa as the means to restore economic strength, by consulting across the broadest spectrum of interest groups to help create a prosperous, non-racial democratic South Africa."

The CBM began the process in 1987 with in depth discussions between businessmen and representatives of Cosatu and the UDF.

It has held a series of regional discussions between local business, union and political leaders in recent months.

Businessmen active in the CBM include Southern Life chief executive Mr Neal Chapman, Mr Leon Cohen of PG Bison, JCI director Mr Ken Maxwell, AECI managing director Mr Mike Sandér, Volkswagen's Mr Peter Searle, Gencor director Mr Naas Steenkamp and Sentrachem managing director Mr Johan van der Walt.

# Members of ANC talks team due to to jet in tomorrow

*Sowetan 26/4/90*  
THE external delegation of the African National Congress, which is to meet the Government next week on the launching of talks for a new constitutional initiative, is due to arrive in South Africa tomorrow, reports SABC radio news. (11A)

This was said yesterday by the Western Cape regional interim committee at a media briefing on preparations for the delegates' reception.

A member of the ANC's 11-member team, Ms Cheryl Carolus, said members of the delegation would outline the movement's negotiating position at a rally in Mitchell's Plain this Sunday.

The speakers will include ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, its acting president Mr Alfred Nzo, as well as South African Communist Party secretary-general Mr Joe Slovo. - Sapa.

# UK offers Mandela a platform to give views

Sowetan 26/4/90.

(11A)



LONDON - A British Parliamentary select committee as offered its platform to ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela to convey his views to the public on sanctions against South Africa an independent alternative to a direct meeting with premier Margaret Thatcher.

The Commons Foreign Affairs Select Committee, which recently confirmed plans for an October visit to Southern Africa as part of an inquiry into British policy on South Africa, has offered its public platform to Mandela regardless of whether or not he takes up Thatcher's standing invitation to meet for talks.

According to reports in London yesterday, MPs on the Conservative Party dominated Committee were waiting for a response from the ANC, with indications being Mandela might well take

up the invitation when he visits Britain in July.

An unconfirmed date given for a Mandela/Thatcher meeting is July 6.

Thatcher issued her invitation to Mandela even before he was released from jail in February, but a meeting was left hanging in the air after she angered the ANC by lifting some sanctions measures against South

Africa.

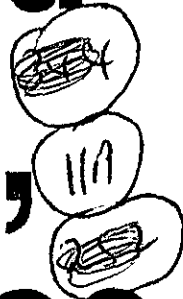
Mandela has, however, stated a number of times he regards a meeting with Thatcher as important, and that he looks forward to it.

He has agreed in principle to address the opposition Labour Party conference in October, and offered to make a similar appearance at the Conservative Party conference in the same month. - Sapa



# Mxenge had ANC funds, says witness

Sowetan 26/4/90



Sowetan Foreign  
News Service

LONDON - Human rights lawyer Mr Griffiths Mxenge was murdered "because he was working with the ANC", according to a former policeman who says he was part of the alleged hit squad which killed him.

Mr David Tshikalange (35), on his third day in the witness box at the Harms Commission in London, said when the four alleged killers received their instructions they were told that a large amount of funds from the ANC were going into Mxenge's account.

He has testified that apart from taking part in the 1981 murder, he sometimes "went around" with the Askaris - disaffected ANC members who worked with the police looking for current ANC members, who were



HARMS  
PROBE  
INTO  
HIT  
SQUADS

then killed or kidnapped and interrogated.

He had also helped to burn cars belonging to trade unionists, he said.

Tshikalange claimed he was part of a special unit at the alleged hit squad base at Vlakplaas, where he was employed in 1981.

"We were working against people who were against the Government," he said.

When told by other commanders that certain people were terrorists, he said, "we believed them".

Tshikalange said even the Askaris were not safe from reprisals if they made mistakes. ".....they just disappeared."

The hearing, which is being held at the South African Embassy, continues.

Stats 26/4/90 (circled) 10A (circled)

# Middle ground must act

There are many straws in the wind these days and they are all blowing in different directions. The political scene is so confused that it is difficult indeed to discern trends, options, directions. Yet it is vital to do so in order to be able to take constructive action.

Contrary to all expectations, it seems that we now have the extraordinary phenomenon of the Government and the ANC occupying the middle ground. They do this not because they share common beliefs or ideologies, but because they are willing to negotiate an acceptable future and are showing surprising flexibility, tolerance and willingness to compromise.

When Mr Mandela was released, one nursed the irrational hope that his history, his ability and his undoubted stature would somehow make it possible for him to overcome all obstacles, contain his constituency, and be permitted to rise above it in order to achieve the miracle of peace, negotiation and an end to violence. Obviously this was asking too much of any one man, but he has certainly tried.

So has Mr de Klerk, from where

## ANC, Nats both have ability to compromise

**JOYCE HARRIS** of the Transvaal region of the Black Sash argues the need for the middle ground in South African politics to be strengthened to achieve a just society as soon as possible.

he stands. Both leaders have taken enormous risks with their constituencies, the results of which are demonstrated by the osmosis of the middle ground towards the peripheries. The PAC appears to be consolidating. Violence in Natal is escalating and spreading to other areas.

The hideous necklace has surfaced once again. The security forces sometimes appear to be out of control. The right wing is stealing arms from the Air Force and threatening to go for the throat of the ANC and the National Party is bleeding. The creation of the middle

ground has not been without risks.

These remain and will be aggravated for as long as the middle ground is unable to consolidate itself, control its constituencies, and show tangible, constructive results.

The field in the middle is fertile — the Government, the ANC, business, Cosatu, the UDF, Nactu, the DP, liberals and their organisations, Inkatha — all those who have professed a preference for negotiation and peace.

Lumping these disparate constituencies together in the middle ground may require a double take. They appear to be odd bedfellows. But the scenario is very different from that which has prevailed during all the years of National Party rule and the ideology of apartheid.

There has been a very real shift in the political configuration and it must be recognised.

It may be difficult indeed for all such parties and organisations to co-operate. It will probably go entirely against the grain for many of them. But each has its supporters. Each has its policies. Each has a stake in the future of this country, and each can help to swell the middle ground and make it prevail, stopping the leak to the peripheries.

If the process is allowed to reverse itself, if the leak is in the opposite direction and the radicalism, or the reaction, or the violence of the periphery are allowed to

spread and permeate the middle ground, the result can only be anarchy, bloodshed and disaster.

The middle ground will need to do more than woo its supporters to prevent the leak. It will have to deal firmly with all the chaos being created on the periphery. It will have to find a way of handling the violence in Natal and elsewhere, a violence which is becoming increasingly mindless and which feeds upon itself. Somehow this will have to be defused and the perpetrators courted with attractive alternatives.

The existence of a strong middle ground of co-operating constituencies will help, by offering positive, visible alternatives and hope for an eventual solution of all the problems. But it will have to act urgently and with firmness and strength, intervening physically to put a stop to the horrors that are being perpetrated and to exercise control.

None of this is easy. But the alternatives are "too ghastly to contemplate".

The middle ground must win. The periphery must be controlled and absorbed, so the contribution to the middle ground becomes increasingly broad.

Everyone has a part to play to strengthen the middle ground, and all of its constituencies must co-operate so that negotiations can proceed with the least possible delay and positive steps can be taken to stop the rot, quell the appetite for violence and get on course towards a future acceptable to all our people.

All those constituencies comprising the middle ground, actually or potentially, should stop their politicking and go for the achievement of a just society for all as peacefully as possible. Only then can their various agendas be brought into play, to be argued and not fought over. The future of the country demands this.

Stein 26/4/90 (11A)

# Theories of alliances may be a little glib

**GRAHAM LINSOTT** examines current theories on possible alliances the National Party may consider with major black political groups.

An alliance between the Nats and Inkatha? Just a year ago such a thing would have been as unthinkable as the unification of East and West Germany or a McDonald's hamburger joint in Moscow.

But are people not perhaps being just a little glib and superficial about such an alliance? What is meant by it anyway?

A popular bar-room theory holds that the Afrikaners and the Zulus, the largest ethnic groups in white and black South Africa respectively, will reach an historic compromise. They will share power and rule the country between them.

Fine. Except that (assuming every Afrikaner supports the Nats and every Zulu supports Inkatha, which is untrue of either) Afrikaners plus Zulus do not amount to a majority within greater South Africa.

Even if the TBVC states are excluded it is doubtful. Huge and densely populated regions such as the Eastern Cape and the Witwatersrand would not be properly represented in the alliance. Nor would the powerful trade union movement.

Rule by such an alliance would be a recipe for polarisation and a paralysis of industry.

The bar-room theory needs some rethinking. It seems unlikely that Inkatha would want a straight alliance with the Nats anyway. Dr Oscar Dhlomo, secretary-general, has already cried "Whoa" to the speculation.

Surely the last thing Inkatha needs to be branded with is Muzorewa politics?

And surely, if the Nats believe Inkatha has a contribution to make, the last thing they need is a Muzorewa-ist ally who would shed huge support to the ANC?

A broad consensus or grand alliance containing the Democrats and other groupings would be a different matter.

But could it be that our bar-room theorists are actually in the wrong thought mode altogether? That they are thinking Westminster (simple majority, winner takes all) when in fact we have moved on from that?

President de Klerk has been using a lot of Indaba-speak lately: power-sharing, equally weighted votes, the possibility of two chambers — one majoritarian, the other representing groups. This is straight from the proposals of the kwaZulu/Natal Indaba.

And if Indaba thinking is in vogue, that would imply a drawing in of the ANC as well. Power-sharing would be incomplete without it.

Nobody should bluff himself that the ANC would easily accept such a power-sharing model. At the moment it is busy gathering to itself as much support as it can, in the homelands and elsewhere. It seeks power as representative of the overwhelming majority.

But the emergence of a strong moderate alliance — including the Nats, Inkatha, the DP and others — could create uncertainties. In time — and possibly quite a long time — power-sharing just might become more attractive.

Which brings us to bar-room theory No 2, usually expounded over martinis in the more upmarket establishments and in the accents of foreign correspondents.

This holds that far from doing a deal with Inkatha, the Nats will do a deal with the ANC because this would create stability over most of South Africa, leaving Inkatha-dominated kwaZulu just a troublesome region — a containable Savimbi factor.

I hae me doots. And are we not weary of theories?

Perhaps the most instructive thing about these two is that they show how, in spite of our unitary political structure, South Africa still is a country of distinct regions that have been tacked together.

How much more appropriate federation would have been in 1910.

SPK 26/4/90 (SIPA) (SIPA) (11A)

## CP won't revolt — Dr No

The Conservative Party would fight at the ballot box and did not speculate about revolution or counter-revolution but supported the rights of the public to defend themselves when they came under threat, the party's leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said in a statement yesterday.

He asked whether the Government was aiming to disarm CP supporters while the ANC and the PAC were receiving weapons to carry on an armed struggle.

However, he said he had warned his supporters against talk of a coup d'etat and shooting as they pleased. But the Government had allowed the unrest to get out of hand leading to a feeling of insecurity among many people.

"People are arming themselves and they have the right to defend themselves. We support them. They are keeping their weapons ready and some are even threatening to start shooting." — Sapa.

SA 28/4/90 ~~28/4/90~~ 1119

# DP will consult ANC, Actstop on open Jo'burg

By Esmaré van der Merwe,  
Political Reporter

The Democratic Party plans to involve political groups such as the African National Congress and the anti-eviction organisation Actstop in negotiations on a non-racial city.

DP city councillor Mr Sias Reyneke yesterday said this was in line with the new DP-led management committee's policy of involving residents in council affairs.

"We want a desegregated Johannesburg as soon as possible. By involving as many organisations — for example, political and business groups — as possible, we want to ensure that the change will be well-managed.

"We do not want the transition to an open city to be seen as a well-polished form of apartheid, but as the *bona fide* desegregation of Johannesburg."

The decision to establish a committee to investigate the opening up of the city had been taken by the DP caucus, he said.

However, DP management committee member Mr Paul Asherson denied such moves, saying there was no need to involve organisations outside the council in the DP's plans for an open city.

"We have said we will not rest until we see the city open. The issue is non-negotiable."

Actstop spokesman Mr Cas Coovadia said many organisations rooted in the community could contribute towards moves for an open city.

"The history of the Nationalist government was a 'top-down' one. They took decisions and forced them down people's throats. We welcome the DP's attitude. In fact, we insist that organisations be consulted because we know our constituencies. All interested parties should work together in ridding the city of apartheid."

The Save the Pageview Association (SPA), which has been involved in a protracted legal tussle over the group areas status of the Johannesburg suburb, has come out in support of the management committee's plan for an open city.

This follows the city council's rejection on Tuesday of the declaration of parts of Mayfair and Pageview as free settlement areas.

SPA secretary Mr Ebrahim Kharsany yesterday said earlier moves to have parts of Pageview declared a free settlement area had been a tactical decision.

"It was merely a question of survival, a strategy to prevent further evictions. We are in regular contact with the new DP-led management committee and fully support moves to have the entire city opened up."

# FW, Mandela expected to visit US soon

By David Braun,  
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — President de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela are expected to take up President Bush's invitation to visit the United States within the next two months.

Mr Mandela is expected to visit Washington first, but the African National Congress has been urged to wait until after the high profile summit meeting between Mr Bush and President Gorbachev, scheduled to take place in May.

ANC sympathisers are recommending early June as a good time, after the publicity surround-

ing the superpower summit has subsided and the media can concentrate on Mr Mandela.

According to Washington commentators, the ANC will use Mr Bush's invitation to visit the White House as a stepping stone to reach the American public.

The ANC deputy president is expected to address a joint session of both Houses of Congress, an honour normally given to visiting heads of state.

He may also make one or two other high profile public appearances elsewhere in the US, including New York and the West Coast.

By appealing directly to the

American public for support, commentators predict Mr Mandela will keep up the pressure on both Congress and the Bush administration to maintain sanctions against South Africa.

Mr de Klerk's visit to the US is likely to be a more low profile affair. Some observers believe his visit will be announced only a day or two before, and that the South African president may be in Washington only a few hours.

Speculation in Washington is that Mr de Klerk will make a snap visit to Mr Bush either immediately before or after his coming tour of European capitals.

# Police died 'in trap for ANC'

By Celeste Louw 25/4/90

A Johannesburg Inquest Court, investigating the deaths of two special policemen and another man allegedly shot dead by members of the SADF, was told yesterday that police in the area were warned to stay clear of a Soweto house as the SADF had planned an operation there.

Members of the SADF opened fire on four policemen and an informer, because it was believed that they were members of the ANC who had committed a robbery, the the court heard.

Lieutenant David Mildren told the court that he was doing a military camp on December 14 1988 in Soweto when he received information about members of the ANC who had carried out an armed robbery.

He said he and three other members of the SADF took up position in a house in Jabavu.

Lieutenant Mildren said he was in radio contact with his superiors. Police were asked to stay away from the

area, he said.

When four men cocked their rifles and proceeded towards the house, they were sure their lives were in danger, Lieutenant Mildren said.

He heard gun fire shortly after requesting back-up forces.

Bombardier Johannes van Rooyen told the court that he had been inside the house with the three other SADF members when he saw four men approaching the house.

Bombardier van Rooyen said he opened the door with the barrel of his gun after the four banged on the door.

"An armed man stood in the doorway and lifted up his rifle. I pulled the trigger of my rifle," he said.

He said he ran outside and shot three more men, one of them in the legs.

He approached the man he had shot in the legs and then realised that they had shot at members of the police force when the man told him not to shoot, because they were police.

The hearing continues.

## NP, ANC will rule together - De Beer

CAPE TOWN - Leaders of the National Party and the ANC would sit together in one government in the near future, the parliamentary leader of the Democratic Party, Dr Zach de Beer, said yesterday.

Addressing a DP meeting in Cape Town, he said this might sound improbable, but he believed it would prove essential, and that the country would one day see it happen.

He said South Africa would need a broadly-based coalition government in the future.

In 1933, after the Great Depression and before people of colour were participating in politics as they were now, it was necessary for the South African Party and the NP to merge to form the United Party. "In the near future we will need something similar."

He said it was necessary to have a government which would enjoy legitimacy.

"Now I am sure there are people who believe that a government composed of black people only could meet these cri-

teria. In the short run, anyhow, I do not believe it.

"The economy of South Africa is in deep trouble, and whilst it is true that this is mainly the result of apartheid, simply scrapping apartheid will not be a panacea.

"We shall also need skills, business experience, international relationships and all the factors which make the private sector work. And these, for the time being, are chiefly provided by white people. Hence the need for a wider political base."

Referring to rumours of an alliance between the NP and Inkatha, he said Inkatha policy did not differ materially from the DP. The NP had now moved close enough to these ideas to make it possible for it to share benches with Inkatha.

"However an exclusive partnership between those organisations would be a dangerous move and I agree with my co-leader, Denis Worrall, who has already said publicly that he does not think that it would be in Inkatha's interest. - Sapa.



# Out rolls a shiny Madibamobile

By EDDIE KOCH

WHAT kind of Mercedes Benz rolls off the assembly line wrapped in cellophane paper and plastered with stickers proclaiming the virtues of the South African Communist Party?

Answer: a bright red top-of-the-range Mercedes Benz 500 SE, certified "made by worker hands only", and dubbed the *Madibamobile*.

"Yes! Our gift to Comrade Nelson Mandela was completed on Monday," proclaimed a shop steward at the Mercedes Benz factory near East London.

"It has just been sent off for a car-phone to be fitted. When it comes back, we will ask Madiba to come and collect it."

The workforce celebrated the completion of the R250 000 super-luxury sedan with an impromptu work stoppage at the plant on Monday.

Exuberant members of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa sang and *toyi-toyed* as they pushed the car — clad in a plastic

wrapper and covered in photographs of Mandela, African National Congress slogans and South African Communist Party stickers — from the assembly line to the depot where it will wait for its owner.

"Everything is finished. The car passed its road test with flying colours. Now we are discussing if Mandela should collect it from the factory or if we must hold a rally for him to receive it," the shop steward said. *WIM 2716-3190*

The workforce presented management with a lesson in productivity by assembling the super-luxury R250 000 sedan — complete with automatic transmission, air conditioning, soft leather upholstery, power steering, central locking, electric window winders, adjustable steering column, state-of-the art sound system, eight speakers, electrically adjustable seats with computerised memory,

outside temperature indicator, electric sunroof and burglar alarm — in the equivalent of just four days of labour time. *(1/9)*

The average 500 SE takes 28 days to manufacture.

"Workers made this car with their own hands," the shop steward said. "We did not want junior management to touch the car because they have a bad attitude to our cause. So we said the car would be checked by our own professional inspectors. It is a 100 percent worker car." *(1/9)*

To press home the point about the sedan's proletarian purity, shop stewards have put an embargo on union officials talking about the car and gave workers the right only to make statements to the press.

Numsa members made the car by each doing an hour of free labour every day since March 26. They will pay the company for parts and components by each working in four-and-a-half hours of overtime for free.



Open arms ... (from left) Bishop Khoza Mgojo, John Lamola and Hlophe Bam at the conference

11A

## ANC lays plans to send 15 000 back

U/Mail 27/4 - 3/5/90

By **THANDEKA GQUBULE**  
and **MBULELO LINDA**

THE African National Congress has begun planning for the repatriation of 15 000 refugees from all over the world.

A two-day consultative conference in Lusaka last weekend, called by the ANC to draw up the repatriation plans, was attended by the South African Council of Churches, one of the main groups expected to be involved in the reintegration of exiles into South African society.

The ANC will also seek the help of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees if its members and supporters inside the country agree.

The ANC fears that the presence of the UNHCR inside the country might create a misunderstanding among its members.

"It would therefore be necessary to sensitise our people on this issue so as to make sure that such involvement does not create an impression of a change of policy," said a representative of the ANC.

The ANC will also consult the Frontline states, the Organisation for African Unity and the United Nations on the issue.

Last weekend's conference was attended by 37 delegates from the SACC, the SA Catholics Bishops Conference, Young Women and

Men's Christian Association, the Muslim Judicial Council and other extra-parliamentary organisations.

At a press conference held at the end of the conference, the ANC said it would appeal to Frontline states and international aid organisations for financial assistance to help bring the exiles home.

The South African government will not be approached for assistance although money will be raised from supporters inside the country.

One of the issues over which exiles, particularly those whose homes are in Natal, are anxious is the war in the province.

The meeting requested that the ANC delegation due to meet State President FW de Klerk on May 2 raise the war as a matter of urgency.

Members of the ANC and the churches inside the country will look at the provision of legal services and a monitoring group will be set up to check on the orderly return and settlement of detainees.

Special arrangements will be made for the aged, single parents, the ill, the disabled and children among the refugees.

The ANC was particularly concerned about the education crisis in South Africa and its implication for children of returnees.

The meeting agreed that a special consultation meeting be convened to discuss the extent of the education crisis and the way it affects the repatriation process.

# Mandela really home at last, but lost for words

W/Mand 27/4 - 3/5/90

By PETER AUF DER HEYDE

IT is not often that a politician is at a loss for words, but then it is not often that a politician is prevented from returning to the village of his youth for 27 years. W/Mand 27/4 - 3/5/90

When African National Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela visited Qunu yesterday he was unable to put into words how he felt, but his facial expression gave him away.

As he walked through the mielie fields towards the grave of his mother his face continuously "lit up" as he saw places that he remembered and he kept showing his wife Winnie

places which brought back memories to him. (11A)

After the customary throwing of sand on the graves and the washing of the hands, he walked back to the plot on which he had stood in which he had grown up.

The whole village had come to welcome him as he walked around the fields on which he had played, he recognised many faces of people he had known then.

He later told the villagers that he could see many changes and "some of the mielie fields that could be seen now had been villages then".

"The road from Umtata to Port Elizabeth is a modern road and it is one of the signs of progress, but as I travel into the countryside my heart becomes very sore indeed."

He said the poverty he saw when he last visited the place in 1956 was still present and "staring him in the face".

In honour of Mandela, the people of the village prepared a customary feast.



**Chris Hanani . . . wary of negotiations**

**CHRIS HANI** FIM 27/4/90 (11A)

**Still a believer**

**Chris Hanani** — chief of staff, political commissar and deputy commander of the ANC's military arm, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) — has his doubts and suspicions about negotiating with the Pretoria regime.

The bright, energetic, charismatic Hanani — said to be Winnie Mandela's blue-eyed boy and a highly popular figure among the cadres — is the most influential ANC figure to articulate this view. It is a view, however, which has not (yet) manifested itself as an open split within the ANC.

He warned recently: "We must not get caught in a mood of euphoria . . . We know that De Klerk has his own agenda. He is not about to surrender power to us . . . We need the underground . . ." Thus he cautions against "demobilising" the masses and the struggle in the run-up to negotiations.

Hanani (48) was elected to the ANC national executive committee in 1974. Though regarded by some as Thabo Mbeki's main rival for the top post in the ANC, failure of the armed struggle, security lapses in MK and ANC acceptance of negotiations, appear to have stymied his chances.

Hanani was born at Cofimvaba in Transkei and joined the ANC Youth League aged 13. He and Mbeki were classmates, both matriculating at Lovedale. Thabo's father Govan influenced Hanani's thinking.

In 1959, Hanani registered as a BA student at Fort Hare, where, after involvement in student politics, he was suspended.

He completed his degree at Rhodes in 1962, majoring in English and Latin, and started articles with a Cape Town law firm, Schaeffer & Schaeffer. At the same time, he joined MK's western Cape branch and was detained in 1962 and sentenced under the Suppression of Communism Act. While on bail, Hanani went underground and, escorted by Joe Modise (now commander of MK), slipped out of SA in May 1963 on the ANC's instructions. He was among the first to undergo military training in the Soviet Union.

In 1967, Hanani fought alongside Zipra in its first battle against the Rhodesian army at Wankie. He was arrested for illegal possession of arms in Botswana. He was jailed for two years and then deported to Zambia.

In 1973, Hanani covertly entered SA to establish a political infrastructure but "conditions for survival were not ideal." He slipped back into Lesotho, set up an MK base and units in the Free State, Transkei and Cape. SA demanded his expulsion from Lesotho and, after at least one hit squad attempt on his life, he returned to Zambia effectively to direct insurgency against SA. ■

# ANC 'will push FW to the limits'

CAPE TOWN — The ANC would push President F W de Klerk to the limits to win irreversible political reforms at next week's talks, senior ANC strategist Trevor Manuel said yesterday. (11A) (305A)

"We cannot afford to lose the moment... the only alternative to the present situation is violence on a scale this country has never seen before," he said.

He said the ANC, led by deputy president Nelson Mandela, would try to lock De Klerk into political reforms without driving him beyond the limits of his flexibility.

"You have to understand De Klerk, his motivation, what he can live with. You have to be able to yield and know what your next step is going to be," Manuel said.

"The transfer of power is at hand... we cannot back down because of the right-wing threat from the whites who are arming themselves on such a scale.

Then De Klerk would be compelled to retreat into the laager, to abdicate to the right wing and we would have to relive the times of repression all over again," he said.

Manuel said if the ANC and De Klerk

responded to their obligations to pursue negotiations, SA could have a new, non-racial constitution by 1995.

Five Lusaka-based members of the ANC delegation that will meet De Klerk for talks on May 2 are due to arrive in Cape Town this afternoon. They are Alfred Nzo, Joe Modise, Thabo Mbeki, Ruth Mompati and Joe Slovo.

□ Meanwhile, the Home Affairs Department in Pretoria yesterday refused to divulge whether it was aware of the arrival of eight — now detained — ANC dissidents this week. 510am 27/4/90

The department did not identify people who entered the country, and thus did not want to comment on whether a particular person or persons had entered, department spokesman Charles Theron said.

Former Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Mwezi Twala is believed to be one of those detained.

The group has charged the ANC with torturing and killing exiled members in southern African camps and reportedly intends organising internal opposition to the ANC. — Sapa-Reuter.

# For a brief TV moment, the ANC and PAC speak with one voice

W/M and 27/4 - 3/5/90  
Have the ANC and PAC found common ground in the field of culture? MOIRA LEVY reports on a debate screened last week on Britain's Channel Four

BRITISH television viewers last week were treated to the sight of African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress cultural activists sharing a platform; they heard the PAC's Lauretta Ngcobo agree, in all apparent sincerity, with the ANC's Albie Sachs.

The debate over what it means to deploy art as a weapon of struggle — which began at an ANC seminar over a paper written by Sachs and continued in the arts and letters pages of the *Weekly Mail* as well as other publications — was shifted last week to Channel Four.

*Dogma and Dreams* looked at how artists and writers in South Africa had responded to years of censorship, cultural isolation, and, in some instances, exile.

It opened with a clipping of interspersed interviews with novelist André Brink and poet Don Mattera. It was the Paris uprising of 1968 and the atmosphere of the Sorbonne where he studied that launched Brink as a writer on a different path; Mattera talked of ceasing to write for all his years of house arrest.

The scene was set for the opening question — now that 30 years of restrictions on the ANC and other organisations have been lifted, is it time for culture to turn its attention once again to landscapes, love, and the stuff that art in other places is made of?

Answering the question, in no uncertain terms, was a formidable platform of some of South Africa's leading cultural workers. Alongside Sachs and Ngcobo were poet and academic Heim Willemse, Njabulo Ndebele, president of the Congress of South African Writers, and writer, critic and academic Neville Alexander.

In his paper, *Preparing Ourselves for Freedom*, Sachs declared — in the face of a lifetime of battle against censorship — that the phrase "culture is a weapon of struggle" should be banned, and declared it as a "banal, meaningless" label.

Sachs is on record as saying that progressive culture runs the risk of narrowing its themes to the extent that good and bad become neatly

●To PAGE 24

ARTS

W/M and 27/4 - 3/5/90

# The strange sight of the ANC and PAC agreeing

compartmentalised and ambiguity and contradiction are avoided. Now he told the panel "a gun must fire in one direction. The heart has to fire in every direction."

Ndebele took the debate a step forward by proposing a return to the start: "We ought to retain that commitment, but direct it towards more constructive ends. We must attend now to the business of living, rather than the business of opposing and destroying."

Consensus was easily reached on the importance of celebrating South Africa's cultural diversity; says Sachs: "There is one good thing about apartheid, only one, and that is it has forced people to come together, to learn to respect each other, without having to give up what each has."

"It has laid the foundation, not just for an anti-apartheid culture, but for a pro-South African culture."

At this point in the debate Ngcobo turned to Sachs in agreement: "We are not going to wake up one blessed day after independence and say, now we have a common culture. What I want to see is the validation of every one of our cultures in South Africa."

"I want to be able to go into a church without challenging anybody, or wear a sari if I wish."

Said Sachs: "We must learn to recapture the joy and love of our country, its space, its sounds, its light ... and the fact that we have all three continents in one with a strong African base."

He was referring specifically to white South Africans, and their need to unlearn "their capacity for domination and hatred."

"As whites we were nursed by African wom-

en. We were held to the bosom of Africa, so to speak, learning, sometimes even more than from our own mothers ... its music, song, physical movement. But then we tried to suppress it, push it out."

The debate moved elsewhere, to a consideration of language, the association of language with specific groups, and the "myth", according to Willemse, of Afrikaans as "lily-white", as the language of the oppressor. He articulated it as something to be re-appropriated by black Afrikaans writing.

It touched on the division between urban and rural culture; Ngcobo — men who left the rural areas often forgot their traditional cultural roots; Sachs — some of the most glorious features of South African culture lie in the vibrant culture of working people in the cities.

Sachs distinguished between music and literature: "Music captures the sound of South Africa in every respect. We have not reached that in our literature. Our writing is gloomy, weighed down. We don't write about ourselves; our literature is dominated by the enemy. It is like the police are stalking every page."

He referred back to what he wrote in his ANC seminar paper: "Can it be that once we join the ANC we do not make love anymore, that when the comrades go to bed they discuss the role of the white working class?"

"It's worse than I thought," he told the panel. "People came to me after the seminar and said, 'Comrade Albie, it's true ... that is what we discuss in bed'."

●From PAGE 22

# Cosatu, Azapo May Day rallies

TRADE unions and community organisations will hold services countrywide on May 1, marking the International Workers' Day.

Among organisations holding services as part of worldwide celebra-

**Sowetan Reporter**

tions are the Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu) and the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo).

Cosatu's May Day rallies will be held at East London's Sisa

Dukashe Stadium or Gompo Hall (10am); Dan Qeqe Stadium in Port Elizabeth (10am); Queenstown's Border Agricultural Showgrounds (9am).

Grahamstown Lavander Valley (10am); Uitenhage Jabavu Stadium (10am); Mamelodi Stadium (10am); Phokeng Hall in Rustenburg (10am); Warmbaths Stadium (10am); Phalaborwa Stadium (10am).

George Thabe Stadium, Sharpeville (9am); Rocklands

Stadium, Bloemfontein (9am); Harrismith Stadium (9am); Thabong Stadium, Welkom (9am); Huhudi Stadium, Vryburg (9am); Embalehle Stadium, Secunda (10am); Ackerville Stadium, Witbank (10am).

Likazi Stadium, Nelspruit (10am); Ratanda Stadium, Heidelberg (11am); Vosloorus Stadium (10am); Athlone Stadium, Cape Town (10am); Durban's Curries Fountain (9am).

Azapo will hold services at Leeufontein Hall (9am); Tweefontein in Kwandebele (1pm); Lebowakgomo Showgrounds (9am); Bekkersdal Stadium (10am); Mohlakeng Stadium (1pm); David Landau Community Centre, Durban North West (10am);

Garankuwa Stadium (10am) and Rio Cinema in New Brighton (12pm).

Bamcwu said its services would be held at Daniel Skuij Hall in the

Northern Cape (10am); Ulco Hall (10am); Seshen in Kuruman at 12pm.

Azapo and Bamcwu said other services would be announced later in the week.

The theme of Azapo's meetings is "Negotiations and the Working Class".

Rallies jointly organised by Cosatu and Nactu will take place at George Thabe Stadium, Sharpeville (10am) and Orient Theatre in East London (10am).

*Sowe fountain 27/4/90*

*11A*

# Breakthrough for LP

Political Correspondent

Aklus 27/4/90

(11A) (12) (13)

BOYCOTTING legislation in parliament has earned the Labour Party a significant breakthrough, with the government agreeing for the first time to include farmworkers in certain labour legislation.

The Labour Party agreed today to suspend its boycott of all manpower and agricultural legislation, a move which has effectively prevented debate on these Bills in parliament so far this session, after reaching an agreement with the Minister of Manpower, Mr Eli Louw.

The LP demand was that the country's scores of unprotected farmworkers be covered by existing labour legislation.

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# ANC delegates arrive from Lusaka today

11A

Sowetan 27/4/90

A SENIOR African National Congress delegation from Lusaka will arrive in South Africa today for talks with the Government next week, a senior ANC leader has confirmed.

ANC stalwart and former Rivonia treason trialist Mr Govan Mbeki yesterday confirmed that the ANC's interim Western Cape committee an-

## SOWETAN Correspondent

nounced in Cape Town that the high-powered delegation from Lusaka will arrive in the country four days before the commencement of the talks next Wednesday.

"I have also been informed that they will be arriving in Cape Town and not in Johannesburg," said Mbeki.

## Consult

Asked if the ANC leaders will be travelling in the country to consult with the organisation's Internal Leadership Corps, Mbeki said the delegation will have come "with a specific mission of holding talks with the Government," and it was therefore unlikely that they would travel around the country.

He confirmed, how-



GOVAN MBEKI

ever, that the delegation will attend a rally at Mitchell's Plain in the Peninsula on Sunday. South African Communist Party leader Mr Joe Slovo and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela are scheduled to address the rally.

Carolus said the external delegation will hold a press conference at a time and venue still to be announced tomorrow.

Police yesterday told the organisers of the Mitchell's Plain meeting that it would be illegal if magisterial permission was not given - but the organisers said they would not seek permission.

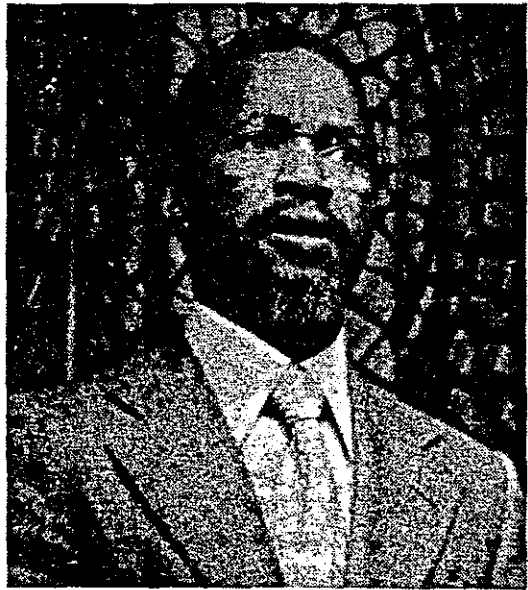
The names of people elected by the ANC national executive to the committee were announced.

The chairman is Mr Reginald September. Others are Ms Amy Thornton, Ms Cheryl Carolus, the UDF's Western Cape president, Mr Christmas Tinto, Mr Nevill van der Rheede, Mr Amos Lengesi, Mr Whitey Jacobs, Mr Mountain Khumbela, and Mr Johnny Issel.

Gouws said he knew Forum, had led to his of one incident where resignation. Barnard had arranged for The hearing continues. the telephone of a - Sapa.

# PAC call to businessmen

11A



**NTHATO MOTLANA ... leading a group of businessman visiting Zimbabwe.**

HARARE - Leaders of the exiled ANC and PAC shared the platform in Harare yesterday when they spoke on the crucial role black business could play in bringing about economic liberation in South Africa.

At a dinner in a local hotel the leaders called on South African businessmen visiting Zimbabwe to support liberation movements in fighting for the political, economic and social emancipation of blacks in the region.

However, during a stormy question and answer session, the ANC and PAC leaders were challenged by the businessmen to forget their political and ideological differences.

They were told to unite and fight for a democratic and non-racial South Africa.

The leader of the visiting group, Dr Nthato Motlana, said black business was under siege from people who treated them with suspicion

**By JOSHUA RABOROKO  
in Zimbabwe**

about their operations, especially during uprisings.

He cited recent attacks on black business people in Mdantsane and wanted to know about the relationship between liberation movements and business in the future.

PAC economist Mr Siphoshe Shabalala said the organisation recognised that business formed an integral part of the liberation struggle.

Business' role in the emancipation of Africans from oppression and exploitation was important.

He condemned the burning of black business premises and said this could only be attributed to other elements and not to political activists.

Shabalala said the PAC stood for

an economy that would represent the economic and political interests of all Africans.

He said there should be no exploitation in the production and distribution of resources.

"No individual, group, or section of the society should subject other individual, group or section of the society to economic exploitation and political oppression.

"The resources of the country, by democratic right, belong to born and unborn members of the freed society", he said.

ANC representative in Harare, Mr Maxwell Mlonyeni, said the movement believed that black business needed to demonstrate and generate wealth. The attack on black business was unacceptable.

He said the ANC was still working on an economic guideline which would also consider nationalisation.

South African 27/11/90

Handwritten mark

# From a 'Kei jail to the side of Mandela

By PETER AUF DER HEYDE

THERE has been much speculation about the identities of the men who stand, arms folded and with visible bulges under their coat pockets, next to Nelson Mandela.

During the African National Congress deputy president's Transkei trip there is, however, no need for such speculation, as most of them are Umkhonto weSizwe cadres recently released from prison.

One of the bodyguards looking after Mandela in the Transkei is former Western Cape commander of the military wing, Mzwandile Vena.

Vena, who was arrested in Cape Town in late 1987, and extradited to the Transkei a few months later, is still facing charges resulting from an attack on the Umtata fuel depot.

He was released on bail following recent developments in the territory and in South Africa and is scheduled to appear in court again next month. While there has been widespread speculation that charges against him will be dropped, they have not yet been formally withdrawn.

Bodyguards Mfamalo Matshaya and Pumlani Kubukeli were part of a group of five MK cadres arrested by Bophuthatswana police as they were crossing the border back into Botswana. After being interrogated by Bophuthatswana security police, they were handed over to their South African counterparts.

It was decided to split the group into two and charge Matshaya and Kubukeli in the Transkei, while Lindile Nxeweni, Thanduxolo Nokele and Sakhiwo Mehlo were charged in South Africa and are presently imprisoned on Robben Island.

Ironically, Matshaya and Kubukeli were the more senior members of the group, having been military instructors in the camps and as a result were sentenced to 10 years imprisonment, four of which were suspended.

And while they are now free, their comrades, who received lesser sentences, remain behind bars, even though they fall into the category of prisoners liable for release following State President FW de Klerk's announcements.

One of the other bodyguards is Phumzile Mayapi, 31, who last year was sentenced to death for his part in the Wild Coast Sun bombing during which one person died.

After successfully appealing against the conviction of murder, his death sentence was set aside and he was jailed for 18 years. He was released earlier this year after being pardoned by the military council, just in time to be able to act as bodyguard.— ANA

*W/Mail 27/6 - 3/5/90*

# A three-day look at culture controversies

ABOUT 90 delegates from all parts of the country are expected to attend a three-day cultural workers' meeting hosted by the National Interim Cultural Desk in Johannesburg next month.

The meeting, to begin on May 25, comes against a background of a number of controversial issues, including the role and structure of the cultural desk and the form and continuation of the cultural boycott.

Delegates will focus on the position of returning exiled artists and other political developments in the country.

Desk National Cultural Co-ordinator Mzwakhe Mbuli told the *Weekly Mail* this week that

**A three-day forum on culture next month will tackle some controversial issues, reports PHIL MOLEFE**

11A

the return of exiles will be high on the agenda. There will be discussions on what their return will mean for the cultural boycott and how it would be monitored thereafter.

He said a distinction would have to be made between South African-born artists and other overseas artists whose presence here is still considered a violation of the isolation campaign against South Africa.

at Mand 27/4 - 3/5/90  
The meeting will also focus on the way the return of exiles can contribute towards the "creation of a progressive people's culture".

Mbuli said the meeting is likely to discuss the unity of all cultural workers — including those operating outside Mass Democratic Movement formations.

Such a discussion would be a significant development, according to Barbara Masekela of the African National Congress Culture and Arts section in Lusaka. "In order to dismantle apartheid," she said, "we should be unified and the ideal is to have as broad participation as possible."

She said last year's Conference for a Democratic Future, which brought together different anti-apartheid organisations in South Africa, was an explicit effort towards that goal.

"Nelson Mandela's actions since his release have demonstrated that the ANC is for unity of all South African people and as cultural workers we need to follow along those lines."

She said, however, the ANC does not dictate what structures in the country should do. "The ANC really appreciates the work done so far by cultural organisations in the country and our coming back home will not mean taking away those responsibilities from people," she said.

# Freedom Charter not socialistic - Mandela

IIA  
Soweto  
27/4/90

THE ANC had not detailed how nationalisation of sectors of the economy would be implemented, but had only declared its intention to do so, and would do so only if nationalisation would strengthen the economy.

This was said in Umtata on Wednesday by ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, in an address to businessmen.

Mandela said the ANC, mobilising mass popular support, did not have the resources to rectify the glaring economic imbalances occasioned by apartheid and would have to nationalise sectors of the economy to provide the masses with equitable housing and education.

Only the mines, banks and monopoly industries would be nationalised following thorough research by teams of experts, and if their findings did not encourage nationalisation, the ANC would listen carefully to their advice, he said.

The approach of the ANC on the nationalisation issue was "let's do this together" and the ANC intended to share South Africa's wealth with "its white brothers and sisters".

## Privatise

Mandela said while his references to nationalisation had stirred controversy, people did not question the fact that the railways, airways and steel industries were already nationalised.

The Government, realising blacks would soon play an effective role in government with a right to share in South Africa's wealth, had chosen to privatise the iron and steel sector.

The ANC believed this move was made to impede blacks' full realisation of their political rights, since the ANC did not have the financial muscle to buy substantial portions of shares.

It rejected the move as a unilateral decision which was not in the interests of the majority.

When the National Party came into power in 1948, it too had plans to nationalise, but it became

The business community and the ANC will hold high-level discussions on May 23 on options for a future political economy.

The gathering in Johannesburg, organised by the Consultative Business Movement, will include 400 top businessmen and 25 ANC leaders from in and outside the country. Keynote speakers include Nelson Mandela and former Anglo American chairman Gavin Relly. Thabo Mbeki, the ANC's international affairs director, and Tradeagro MD Donald Masson will take part in a panel discussion.

The discussion, designed to elicit broad participation by the participants - attending by invitation only - will be chaired by Murray Hofmeyr, former JCI chairman. This article looks at the ideas on nationalisation Mr Nelson Mandela shared with businessmen in Umtata this week.

FOCUS

squarely placed on their shoulders because they were victims of apartheid.

Many of the youth had been detained, some for long periods and forced to abandon their studies, so it was understandable that they were bitter.

Mandela said it had been pointed out to the youth that the business community were "our friends and deserved our support".

He appealed to the meeting to let bygones be bygones, and allow the ANC to reach the youth and give it time to put it on the footing it held before its leadership was exiled or imprisoned.

It was not ANC policy to reject any sector of the community, least of all the business community, which was looked to to help the smooth return of exiles to decent houses and jobs so they could afford to educate their children.

## Miners

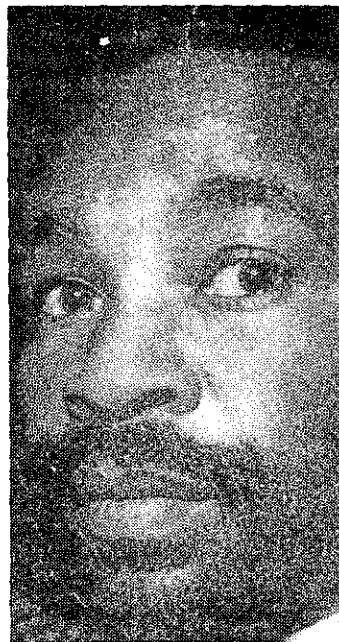
"And I am talking of some 20 000 people," he said.

Mandela said black miners were subjected to discriminating and humiliating work conditions, including an "acclimatisation process" which involved standing naked for hours in front of other people, a process to which white miners were not subjected.

Black miners were forced to queue to catch lifts from underground, and were barred from entering the deck reserved for white miners, even if it was empty.

"Why should we tolerate an industry which treats our people with such degradation?" he asked.

Mandela expressed disappointment at the handful of white businessmen who attended the meeting, organised by the Transkei Chamber of Commerce, and said he hoped it did not reflect the attitude of white businessmen in the region. Sapa.



ANC international affairs director Thabo Mbeki and former Anglo American chairman Gavin Relly will speak.

a "bourgeois" party and shelved the idea, he said.

## Socialistic

Regarding the ANC's position in relation to businessmen, Mandela said it was not anti-capitalism, and other sectors of the community would operate on a free enterprise basis.

He rejected the commonly-held

belief that the Freedom Charter was fundamentally socialistic.

If this was so the ANC would effectively halve its membership which comprised those who advocated capitalism and those who went beyond socialism.

Mandela again said the youth had perpetuated the belief that the ANC opposed businessmen.

He said the ANC was currently involved in clarifying its policy on all matters with its members and he added that blame could not be

5/27/90 (UAF) (USA)  
**No turning back  
now, says Pik**

**Political Staff**

President de Klerk and his Cabinet have no guarantee that agreement will be reached on a new constitution for South Africa, but there is no turning back, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, told Parliament yesterday.

"Had we not started to walk towards the moral high ground our doom would have been sealed in the dark hole of apartheid," he said in the foreign affairs vote debate.

He said the release of Mr Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of critics were not just tactical moves or just to "gain time".

# Youths take over settlements

MARITZBURG — Anarchy has broken out in areas on the lower Natal south coast where youths have usurped the authority of allegedly corrupt tribal authorities and taken control of peri-urban settlements at Port Shepstone.

"It's total anarchy," according to the principal of Sister Joan's High School, Mr John Harrison.

Community workers said an explosive situation was developing with massive ANC-aligned youth leagues

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having been formed without any structures or direction. "Criminal elements have taken control," one said.

A news team on Wednesday toured the Murchison and Bhoohoyi areas, where several people have been neck-laced recently. No resident was willing to talk of the killings. It was too dangerous to visit families who had become victims, residents added.

Many have been killed for alleged involvement in witchcraft. — Sapa.

# ANC warned on nationalisation

By Michael Chester

The African National Congress was warned by an investment expert yesterday to expect a severe international backlash if it pressed ahead with nationalisation of South African gold mines in any political takeover.

The warning came from Mr Mike Brown, director of the Johannesburg stockbroker firm of Frankel Kruger and Vinderine and former chief economist of the SA Chamber of Mines.

He told a special seminar held in Sandton to examine the nationalisation issue, called by the Achievers Efforts management consultancy, that seizure of gold mine assets would be an automatic invitation to retaliation from abroad.

"Some 20 percent of South African gold shares are still in the hands of foreign investors," he said.

"Nationalising their assets would invite retaliation through seizure of South African assets abroad — and would terminate all chances of fresh foreign investment."

Moreover, with the market capitalisation of gold shares standing at around R60 billion, South African taxpayers would need to shoulder enormous new burdens to foot the bill of compensation payments.

And the ANC would be in grave error if it reckoned on huge windfalls from the dividends paid out by the gold mines, which last

year climbed no higher than R2,2 billion. "Seizing current shareholder assets with out compensation seems scarcely worth it for such a small income stream," he said.

Nor did nationalisation make sense when any new government had to weigh the high risk of the development of new mines, at a cost of between R1 billion and over R3 billion, with long waits of five to 10 years for profit returns.

Its most urgent need would be for immediate finance to cope with social programmes aimed at better black housing, education, health services and community projects.

## Struggling

Nationalisation would bring few benefits to the 400 000 unskilled workers employed on the gold mines, when current high production costs ruled out major wage advances without productivity improvements.

Even now, more than half of the 48 major gold mines were struggling to meet break-even point because of soaring costs.

Mr Ronnie Bethlehem, chairman of the Economic Affairs Committee of the SA Chamber of Business, said it was naive to believe nationalisation would provide solutions to racial inequalities.

"There is a danger in thinking that a restructuring of the economy will alone solve all our problems," he said.

"There is no fairy godmother who can

wave a magic wand and convert more than 20 million poor people into high-income professionals overnight. The processes of economic improvement have to be stretched out over a long period of time."

The objective of restructuring had to be a far higher economic growth rate to avoid an even worse unemployment crisis.

An annual increase in gross domestic product of only one percent would sweep the unemployment total to about 9 million inside the next 10 years. In contrast, a growth rate of 8,5 percent a year — within the capability of a sound formula, — would wipe out the problem.

"We need both market socialism and people's capitalism in a unique blend of political and economic democratisation," he said.

Mr Eugene Nyathi, director of the Centre for African Studies, pleaded for a radical change in white attitudes towards the vital steps to racial equality.

He found it curious that many whites regarded moves towards equality in Britain or West Germany or the United States as "democratic" when similar moves in Africa were branded as "anti-white Marxism".

He also urged the ANC to allow far more internal dialogue about shaping its policies — "taking care not to substitute the despots of the National Party with a new generation of autocratic black despots".



ough, to a meeting where the rent crisis will be discussed.

### Taylor better

**CALIFORNIA**  
Pneumonia-stricken Elizabeth Taylor's spirits were good despite an uncomfortable ventilator that helped her breathe after a surgical biopsy to determine the cause of her illness, Dr Michael Roth said.

## ANC defectors still detained

THE 10 ANC defectors were still in police custody, police public relations officer Lieutenant M Erasmus confirmed yesterday.

They were being debriefed and "no information" was available.

The children in the

group were also still in custody and were being taken care of, Erasmus said. *Sowetan 26/4/90*

The 10 were arrested at Jan Smuts when they arrived from Tanzania via Lilongwe, Malawi.

It is believed they are part of a group that was

allegedly tortured by the ANC for being South African Government agents.

The ANC's Mr Walter Sisulu was reported to have said that his movement was not overly concerned about the detention and that the dissidents were being protected for their own good.

# Saturday burial for Masemola

**PAN Africanist Congress leader Mr Japhta "Jeff" Masemola, who died in a car accident last week, will be buried in Atteridgeville, Pretoria, on Saturday.**

**By THEMBA MOLEFE**

His funeral will not be on Sunday as announced previously.

A short service begins at 8am in the Methodist Church at Atteridgeville and then mourners will proceed to the Atteridgeville stadium for the main ceremony from 9am to 2pm.

Meanwhile, Black Consciousness Movement supporters in British Columbia, Canada, have sent a message of solidarity to Masemola's family and the PAC.

In a letter sent via *Sowetan* the four signatories said Masemola would not be forgotten. They are Sam Ditshego, Phetole wa Mankgabe, Michael Moeti and Men-

ziwe Mbeo. *11A*  
"It is often said that the death of a great teacher or prophet is the beginning of the rise of his ideas. So let it be with Comrade Masemola," the four said.

The PAC and its affiliates have announced more memorial services in various parts of the Reef.

Services were held last night at the Atteridgeville Methodist Church, the Mamelodi Community Centre and at the Katlehong African Christian Church.

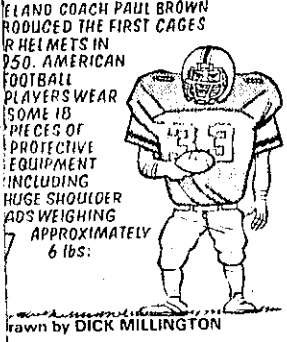
Today there will be services at the Tembisa Mkhathini Multipurpose Centre at 6.30pm, Bokamoso Secondary School, Tembisa (2.30pm) and at the



**JAPHTA MASEMOLA**  
Mohlakeng Lutheran Church (5.30pm).

A bus has been arranged to take mourners from the corner of Van Onselen Street and Vincent Road, Meadowlands, Soweto, at 7am on Saturday.

For further information people could contact Pauline Magodiello at telephone (011) 23-5601 during office hours and Alfred Ndaba at (011) 936-5358 after hours.



ELAND COACH PAUL BROWN INTRODUCED THE FIRST CAGES OR HELMETS IN 1950. AMERICAN FOOTBALL PLAYERS WEAR SOME OF THESE PIECES OF PROTECTIVE EQUIPMENT INCLUDING HUGE SHOULDER PADS WEIGHING APPROXIMATELY 6 lbs: Drawn by DICK MILLINGTON

# ANC exiles head for city

AGUS 21/4/80 11A  
By MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN has been placed on a top security footing today for the arrival of five veteran ANC exiles from Lusaka for next week's meeting with the government.

The pace and nature of the negotiation process hinges on this significant engagement. It will focus specifically on obstacles in the way of negotiations, from the government's and the ANC's point of view.

Senior government sources say they are confident that the meeting will produce positive results.

The ANC veterans, who are understood to be flying from Zambia in a private plane, are expected this afternoon.

They will form part of the 11-member delegation, led by the organisation's deputy-president, Mr Nelson Mandela, which will meet a government team under President De Klerk on Wednesday, Thursday and Friday next week.

For some of them, today's homecoming follows nearly a lifetime of exile. It is seen as a highlight in the rapprochement between the National Party government and the country's black majority.

## Indemnity

The way for their return has been cleared by special indemnity and immunity arrangements introduced by the government this week to protect them from arrest, prosecution or civil legal action arising out of activities in the armed struggle.

The five are: ANC secretary general Mr Alfred Nzo, international affairs chief Mr Thabo Mbeki, general-secretary of the affiliated South African Communist Party Mr Joe Slovo, guerrilla commander Mr Joe Modise and Ms Ruth Mompati of the ANC's department of women's affairs.

At least one other member of the delegation, Mr Archie Gumede, arrived this morning. The others are Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr Ahmed Kathrada, Ms Cheryl Carolus and Mr Beyers Naude.

Most members of the team are expected to gather for their first joint meeting tonight. It is understood Mr Mandela will arrive tomorrow.

## Tutu's home

Although there has been no confirmation, some sources say Mr Mandela will be staying at Archbishop Desmond Tutu's home, Bishop's Court, and the other members will be staying at private houses.



**FAMILY GRAVE:** African National Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela visits the family grave in his home village of Qunu, Transkei, with his wife Winnie. It is the first time he has been to Transkei since before he was arrested 27 years ago.

Conscious of the ever-present threat of attack from extremists who would wish to see the negotiation derailed, police have mounted a special security operation for the duration of the delegation's stay in the city.

Police spokesman Major Jan Calitz confirmed the measures, but would not divulge details.

Labelled "talks about talks about talks", next week's meeting will focus on stumbling blocks in the negotiation process.

STG 274490 (140H) 133/150

# ent key

South Africa has traditionally been, and to a large extent still is, a country which has relied heavily on labour. Wages for the black workers made this worthwhile, but as wages have increased under union pressure, so this advantage has been eroded, leaving South Africa in the position of needing to make each worker more productive.

One avenue towards increased productivity is training and motivating the workforce. However, another essential element needed to compete with the overseas producers is technology.

The problem is that the value of the rand has diminished against the major world currencies and most of the technology required to bring South African plants in line with their overseas competitors is imported.

Brickequip director Mr Bert Wijnbelt says: "Prices of machinery in West Germany, for example, have only increased between 5 and 10 percent during the past few years. However, the rand has fallen against the Deutschmark. Just five years ago R1 would buy 2,20DM, now R1 will buy only 0,65DM. This means that machinery bought in West Germany and imported into South Africa has increased in price by about 300 percent.

"There is some machinery produced locally but the high rate of inflation has pushed up prices — though the recession has helped to keep price hikes to the minimum."

Most of the sophisticated equipment used for making bricks is imported, though Mr Wijnbelt says every effort is being made to increase the local content of each installation in an effort to keep costs down.

"Manufacturers want the latest overseas technology because labour is no longer the cheap option it was some years ago. Labour is still cheaper in South Africa than overseas but the workforce is not as productive.

"Another problem is that a plant must run 24 hours a day, 365 days a year. A kiln cannot simply be shut down as the start up is very expensive. This means that during the day enough green bricks (undried and unfired bricks) must be produced to keep the kiln busy at night and over the weekends.

"With this in mind the manufacturers cannot afford strikes. A shut-down plant costs hundreds of thousands of rand each week. This has led to a tendency to cut out unreliable labour.

"A modern high technology plant can run with about 10 people because everything is computerised. There is no manual brick handling and the people needed tend to be high calibre staff, such as electricians for checking, controlling and maintaining machinery and equipment," says Mr Wijnbelt.

Johnson Tiles managing director Mr Keith Dixon says all the machinery required for tile making has to be imported, and under the influence of the low rand value, the prices have gone heavenwards. This has handicapped the local industry in its attempts to keep up with the latest technology.

"Another problem is the lack of local support for the equipment. This places us at a disadvantage when compared with countries such as Italy. We may have to fly in a technician if something goes wrong. Most of the better equipment is manufactured in Italy so they have support on their doorstep.

"With this in mind great care has to be taken when selecting equipment, to ensure it is reliable and not subject to frequent breakdowns," says Mr Dixon.

Continental China Holdings group managing director Mr Bill Favard estimates that the replacement cost of the company's production facilities is in excess of R100 million.

And, he says: "If a new plant were to be constructed today only about 30 percent could be provided lo-

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IN sharp contrast to the Natal violence, peace has returned to the previously strife-torn Uitenhage area — through a combination of consultation, commitment and sheer hard work.

Despite differences between the two areas, local peacekeepers feel Natal can learn a lesson from the Eastern Cape initiative.

The calm which descended over Uitenhage's sprawling kwaNobuhle township when a peace accord was signed there two months ago, is holding.

The pact was signed in February between the Mass Democratic Movement and the Pan Africanist Movement (now incorporated in the Pan Africanist Congress) after two years of feuding between supporters of the UDF and Africanists.

Wonga Nkala, who signed the peace accord on behalf of the MDM, described how the peacekeeping groups have had their work cut out.

Five-person committees from the MDM and the PAM, set up in terms of the agreement, meet frequently to discuss how the accord is holding, and to investigate alleged violations.

Whenever problems were raised, the two committees consult, and where necessary call in witnesses. Violators of the pact had the terms of

## Some lessons for Natal from a strife-torn area that found peace

the accord explained to them and were warned, Nkala said.

The strategy seems to have been effective. "We've never had a repeat case, even where the person involved hasn't been a member of either the MDM or PAC," he said.

Had perpetrators failed to respond to the warnings, they would have been taken before a "higher forum", comprising 20 members from each group and local church people.

There has, however, been no need to convene this body.

Educating people about the accord and what it meant was a fulltime job. "We had to realise it wouldn't have been an overnight task to restore a spirit of reconciliation between the two groupings," Nkala explained.

"There was a lot of suspicion and some misconceptions. When we met, we adopted an approach of accepting our ideological differences. We agreed that organisations with differ-

**A strife-torn community in the Eastern Cape, where Charterists and Africanists feuded bitterly for years, has found peace ... and the way the truce was achieved holds some lessons for Natal, report PATRICK GOODENOUGH and JUSTICE SIGONYELA**

ent positions should not fight, but co-exist peacefully."

It took some time before the realisation that an agreement had been reached filtered down, but the increasingly influential and well-organised street and area committees helped this process.

Peace was preached in shebeens, at rallies and at sports fixtures, while copies of the accord were printed and distributed throughout kwaNobuhle.

The schools were seen as crucial.

Peace committee members and clergy toured every school in the area, reading out the document and explaining its implications.

"We have been called in by teachers when conflicts seem to be arising, and our visits have been very successful," Nkala said.

One source of potential strife was affiliation to student and sports bodies. Youth belonging to the Uitenhage Students' Congress supported the National Sport Congress, while the Pan-Africanist Students' Organisation followed the South African Council on Sport (Sacos) line.

Nkala said an agreement was reached between Usco and Paso, whose members agreed not to interfere in each others' organisations.

At one high school, Student Representative Council elections took place in a peaceful, democratic atmosphere, and representatives of both ideological tendencies were elected onto the

SRC.

There have been visible indications that peace has come to kwaNobuhle. People who have fled to the Africanist stronghold at the height of the conflict have asked to return to their homes. After consultation with the relevant street and area committees, they have returned, and without incident.

"Last weekend, ama-Afrika (Eastern Cape vigilantes) group was drinking in our shebeens. There were no problems. The barriers are slowly breaking down," Nkala said.

Timothy Jantjie, who signed the accord on behalf of the PAM, also expressed his delight about both groups' adherence to the treaty. He felt co-operation at a leadership level served as an example to the community.

He believes co-operation at a leadership level served as an example to the community. Observers feel a similar commitment to responsible behaviour and rhetoric in Natal could be a small step towards peace there.

The police have been widely blamed for exacerbating the Natal conflict. In Uitenhage, too, they allegedly took sides in the feuding, and stirred up suspicions when the peace initiative began to gain momentum. — ecna

11A

# Black hopes and white fears as cross-table nears

w/ Mail 27/4 - 3/5/90

The ANC team flies in tomorrow as talks begin. But behind the tables, violence is escalating  
**GAVIN EVANS previews the agenda**



Two arms of the struggle: ANC military leader Chris Hani and diplomatic head Thabo Mbeki at Lusaka's repatriation consultation  
Picture: MBULELO LINDA

THE hopes and fears of South Africa are to be put on the line this week when the government and the African National Congress meet on Wednesday across the table for the first time.

The top-level negotiations teams sit down together in Cape Town for three days of intensive discussions in a bid to "remove the remaining obstacles to negotiation" amid a still-simmering climate of violence and fierce criticism from both far right and far left.

Figures released yesterday by Pretoria University's Institute of Strategic Studies suggest that contrary to speculation that the "armed struggle" was winding down, the number of guerrilla attacks in the first three months of 1990 is significantly higher than in the same period last year (see accompanying box). The government is expected to push hard for an agreement on the suspension of ANC military activities.

Sources close to both sides, however, say that neither negotiating team is expecting more than preliminary agreements on a few of the issues, and note that the first exchange will serve essentially as a "feeling out" process.

"The most important thing about next week's talks," said Idasa's Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert, "is that they will serve as a seasoning of minds.

"Things won't be wrapped up immediately and I'm not sure that we can expect much more than an agreement on the return of exiles and a declaration of intent to prepare the groundwork for future talks."

ANC acting president Alfred Nzo and South African Communist Party leader Joe Slovo will join Nelson Mandela at a mass rally in Cape Town on Sunday.

ANC National Executive Committee member Aziz Pahad, who is a member of the ANC's back-up team, arrived in South Africa on Wednesday night while Nzo, Slovo, Ruth Mompoti and Thabo Mbeki are expected home today.

Delegation member and ANC internal PRO Ahmed Kathrada told the *Weekly Mail* the talks were "definitely on, and no last-minute hitches are foreseen".

"Our agenda will be focused squarely on removing the obstacles to negotiation outlined in the Harare Declaration, such as the release of political prisoners and detainees, the lifting of the State of Emergency, and an end to political trials."

Other climate-creating moves listed in the Harare Declaration and which have yet to be met by the South African government are the repealing of the Internal Security Act and the removal of troops from the townships.

State President FW de Klerk has made it clear that from his side the ANC's "armed struggle" will have to be suspended before the second stage of negotiations can begin.

He said last week the government insisted on an "unequivocal commitment" to peaceful solutions, adding that the ANC's continued commitment to the armed struggle, "even if merely rhetorical", was an obstacle to negotiation.

bert. "But De Klerk will insist on it as a *quid pro quo* for a partial lifting of the Emergency."

The talks should begin sorting out the prickly issue of a permanent amnesty for all those who had been involved in acts of politically-inspired violence.

The release of all remaining political prisoners and return of Umkhonto weSizwe members will depend on this, but the expected government response is to sue for an indemnity for those involved in South African Defence Force and South African Police death squad murders.

ANC sources say they do not expect the issues of the return of all exiles and the release of Umkhonto weSizwe political prisoners to be sorted out immediately.

Slabbert believes the release of political prisoners will be the "big area of contention". Another question

which could create difficulty is the need for an independent "court of appeal" to monitor developments, he said.

ANC Western Cape interim coordinator Trevor Manuel said the ANC's aim was to attempt to lock De Klerk into further reforms "without driving him beyond the limits of his flexibility".

"We cannot afford to lose the moment ... The only alternative to the present situation is violence on a scale this country has never seen before.

"You have to understand De Klerk, his motivation, what he can live with. You have to be able to yield and know what your next step is going to be," Manuel said.

The two delegations differ markedly in composition. The ANC team, headed by 71-year old deputy president Nelson Mandela, ranges in age from 33 to 78 and includes nine men

But on this question the ANC delegation might counter with allegations of the police's role in firing on peaceful protesters and of supporting Inkatha in Natal. With Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok in the government's team this is an issue likely to generate some heat.

The government is expected to insist on at least the suspension of the armed struggle in return for meeting ANC conditions such as the release of political prisoners and the end of the Emergency.

The ANC, on the other hand, is likely to argue for a ceasefire which is binding on both sides and therefore would have implications for the police and army roles.

Slabbert said the most the government could expect from the ANC on the violence issue was a "commitment to consider the suspension of the armed struggle".

"Even with this there is a risk involved as some of their supporters may see it as copping out," said Slab-

and two women, seven blacks, two whites, one "coloured" and one Indian.

Other members are ANC interim leadership corps head Walter Sisulu, 78, acting president Alfred Nzo, 65, South Africa Communist Party secretary general Joe Slovo, 64, international department head Thabo Mbeki, 47, Umkhonto weSizwe commander Joe Modise, 61, administrative secretary Ruth Mompoti, 65, internal publicity secretary Ahmed Kathrada, 60, former South African Council of Churches secretary general Dr Beyers Naude, 75, United Democratic Front co-president Archie Gumede, 76 and UDF Western Cape executive member Cheryl Carolus, 33.

The government team, led by 54 year-old State President FW de Klerk, is comprised only of white men aged between 43 and 63.

It includes Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha, 58, Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen, 63 and his deputy Roelf Meyer, 42, Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister Dr Dawie de Villiers, 49, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee, 59, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, 52, and Education and Development Aid Minister Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, 50.

De Klerk surprised many observers last week by announcing the government's platform for the second stage of the negotiations process.

Both sides are under tremendous pressure to come out of this week's talks with substantial gains for their constituencies, and both realise that to achieve this concessions will have to be made.

De Klerk is faced with an alarming rise in rightwing militancy involving open threats of "counter-revolution" and increasing dissatisfaction in his police force. The prime target of the revolt is the ANC, and the National Party can be expected to take flak for making concessions to its prime antagonist.

The ANC is faced with a section of its constituency, particularly among its youth supporters, which is uneasy about negotiations and unaccustomed to the politics of compromise.

At the same time the Pan Africanist Congress, whose growth many believe is held back primarily by its organisational limitations, and Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) have come out in opposition to the ANC's willingness to negotiate.

# ANC branches 'will help end Natal's war'

W/Ment 2714 - 315790

AFRICAN National Congress branches and membership in southern Natal will have a "positive impact" on ending violence there, say ANC officials.

Southern Natal convenor Terror Lekota — who takes responsibility for setting up the ANC in one of the most violent areas — said this week he and his convening committee would begin immediately to establish branches and recruit members.

The area covered stretches inland to Mpumalanga, north to Stanger and south to the Transkei border.

Committee member Diliza Mji said he believed that setting up the ANC in the region "would go smoothly". There had been a lot of pressure from people wanting to join, and he believed many would sign up.

Mji said he believed this could make a positive contribution to ending the violence in Natal.

"In the past we have witnessed a lack of political leadership in the areas through repression, detentions and killings. We have also seen a lack of co-ordination among our supporters because of the federal structure of the

By CARMEL RICKARD  
Durban

(11A)



United Democratic Front.

"But now, because of the legal establishment of the ANC, for the first time we have the possibility of a clear line of discipline, good co-ordination and a unitary organisation. It will clearly make a difference."

Also on the convening committee is senior Congress of South African Trade Unions official Alec Erwin.

Commenting on Erwin's membership of the committee, Mji said it was an acknowledgement of the close relationship between the ANC and Cosatu, but said it was not foreseen there would be anything closer than an alliance between them.

Other committee members are Archie Gumede, Sibusiso Ndebele, Billy Nair, Cleopas Ndlovu, Virgil Bonhomme, Florence Mkhize. A tenth member is still to be announced.

Outlining ANC policy on Inkatha, Lekota said his organisation and the committee were committed to a multi-party democracy and did not "adopt a

belligerent posture" towards Inkatha or any other opposing political organisation.

He added, "The freedom for which the ANC is fighting does not exclude any of the oppressed, including Inkatha members. Therefore, Inkatha members are assured that the ANC is their natural political home."

On the procedure for setting up branches, members of the convening committee said they would hold well-advertised inaugural meetings in different areas.

At such a meeting members would sign up and pay a R12 annual membership fee. If more than 100 members were present, the meeting would then go on to elect branch officials.

Once local branches were established a regional conference would be called and regional leaders elected. At this point the convening committee would disband.

Organisations sympathetic to the ANC, like the Natal Indian Congress and the United Committee of Concern, would also help the formation of ANC branches, after which they also would "probably disband".

## ANC plants 'green revolution' seeds

W/Mant 27/4 - 3/5/90

AFRICAN National Congress leader Andrew Mlangeni yesterday planted a tree in Soweto to mark the start of a "green revolution" in the township.

Mlangeni was guest of honour at a tree-planting ceremony arranged by the National Environment Awareness Campaign (Neac) to highlight the fact that there is a growing environmental awareness among resistance groups.

"We believe that the people of South Africa are on the brink of regaining control of their land, a land which they have been denied for hundreds of years," said Neac President Japhta Lekgetho.

"Through greed and disregard for human life in general, we find that the land has been abused to such an extent that it will take years of effort to retrieve it."

Lekgetho condemned the "misuse" of pesticides and fertilisers in South African agriculture and slammed the government for allowing imports of toxic wastes to South Africa.

He stressed that a solution to South Africa's ecological problems depended on the abolition of the Group Areas Act and the Land Act.

●The South African Youth Congress (Sayco) this month blamed apartheid for the "deliberate destruction of our land and environment" and vowed to fight for a greener South Africa.

# Mandela: We'll nationalise only if it boosts economy

w/Hand 2714-315190

THE African National Congress would only nationalise businesses if such a move would strengthen the economy, ANC Deputy President Nelson Mandela told a gathering of businessmen in Umtata this week.

Mandela's comments follow an announcement that the ANC will meet leading businessmen next month to discuss options for a political economy.

Mandela said the ANC, mobilising mass popular support, did not have the resources to rectify the glaring economic imbalances caused by apartheid and would have to nationalise sectors of the economy to provide the masses with housing and education.

Only the mines, banks and monopoly industries would be nationalised following thorough research by teams of experts. If their findings did not encourage nationalisation, then the ANC would listen carefully to their advice, he said.

Mandela said while his references to nationalisation had stirred controversy, people did not question the fact that the railways, airways and steel industries were nationalised.

The government, realising blacks would soon play an effective role in

government with a right to share in South Africa's wealth, had chosen to privatise the iron and steel sector.

The ANC believed this move had been made to impede the full realisation of blacks' political rights, since the ANC did not have the money to buy substantial amounts of shares.

It rejected the move as a unilateral decision which was not in the interests of the majority.

When the National Party came into power in 1948, it too had had plans to nationalise, but it became a bourgeois party and shelved the idea, he said.

Regarding the ANC's position in relation to businessmen, Mandela said the organisation was not anti-capitalism and rejected the commonly-held belief that the Freedom Charter was fundamentally socialistic.

Mandela said the youth had perpetuated the belief that the ANC opposed businessmen.

It was not ANC policy to reject any sector of the community, least of all the business community, which was being looked to to help provide jobs, housing and education for returning exiles. "And I am talking of some 20 000 people," he said. — Sapa.





Amidst celebration, Nelson Mandela returns to his Transkei birthplace, his first visit since 1956 ...  
Raymond Mhlaba (left), Walter Sisulu, Mandela and Transkei leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa  
w/ Mail 2714 - 3/5/90

(P3) (11A)

Picture: PETER AUF DER HEYDE, Afrapix

11A

# ANC will intervene in key areas of economy

Political Staff

South Africa was unequivocally committed to free enterprise, but free enterprise with a "human face", said Minister of Trade and Industry and Tourism, Mr Kent Durr.

By Jabulani Sikhakhane

A future African National Congress government will seriously consider re-nationalising recently privatised companies like Iscor, a representative of the ANC said in Johannesburg yesterday. Breaking up of the vast concentration of economic power would also be a key priority in post-apartheid South Africa, trade unionist Mr Mike Roussos told a conference on "Aspects and implications of nationalisation" in Sandton yesterday.

"Even the most dedicated free marketeers would not argue that the State has no responsibility towards the less fortunate in the race of life: such thoroughgoing laissez faire would be unthinkable in any civilised country," he said at an awards ceremony at the Industry Development Corporation, in Johannesburg.

Nationalisation, he said, would be undertaken to increase the size or nature of the State's intervention in the economy in order to tackle some of the injustices and inequalities inherited from apartheid. This could help the State directly to extend services and infrastructure, control strategic industries like gold mines, derive extra revenue from ownership, take direct control of investible funds and provide increased employment opportunities.

The State will intervene via regulation and possibly even directly in key areas to ensure that this broad framework is adhered to, he said.

## Pros and cons

However, Mr Roussos said the future government would have to weigh up the benefits against the problems of nationalising.

"Alternatives would have to be considered. The fact that all this will be occurring within the framework of a capitalist economy means that limitations will exist. Capitalist economies depend on the private owners of capital being willing to invest it," he said.

If private owners of capital are not confident that their money or their new business ventures will not be taken away from them, they will not invest.

"If these conditions do not exist then economic growth will be very difficult."

Turning to monopolies, he said: "One of the priorities of a democratic government must surely be to break up the vast concentration of economic power."

But he said this concentration of power could afford the State a unique opportunity to guide the economy if it assumed control of the conglomerates.

Methods that could be used included requiring all companies controlling more than five percent of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange to appoint one-third of board members from trade unions, one-third from the State and one-third from its shareholders.

Stu 27/4/90

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NEW

# An emotional Mandela goes back to his roots

QUNU — African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday made an emotional pilgrimage to the tiny village where he grew up, saying the poverty of rural blacks makes "my heart very sore indeed".

He greeted old friends, reminisced about his youth and tossed sand on the graves of his parents in a traditional act of reverence during a walk through Qunu, in Transkei.

"I have found many changes," said Mr Mandela.

"Many villages which I see today were not here when I was growing up and new roads have been built."

On Sunday, Mr Mandela paid a 15-minute visit to Qunu, his first since 1956. Yesterday he spent several hours speaking with virtually all of Qunu's 1 000 or so residents. The villagers slaughtered two oxen to celebrate his return.

Qunu is made up of a few hundred huts. Almost all the men of working age have left to work in the cities or on the mines.

"My heart becomes very sore indeed because the poverty that was here when I last visited this place, that poverty is still there staring me in the face," said Mr Mandela.

He urged children to do well in school and recalled that he failed classes one year in his early teens. — Sapa-AP.

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# ANC gathers in Cape under huge SA Police guard

sta 27/4/90 (11A)

Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The African National Congress delegation gathers here today amid huge SA Police security for next week's historic first formal talks with the South African Government.

Both sides are maintaining strict secrecy about the talks, and even the venue has not yet been divulged. The most that sources will disclose is that they will take place in Cape Town and not in the Boland, as originally supposed.

Cabinet sources were today saying little about the agenda or prospects for the talks, but one source expressed confidence that progress would be made towards the main purpose of the discussions — the removal of obstacles to formal negotiations.

The ANC has made it clear that the lifting of the state of emergency and the release of political prisoners are the main items on its agenda.

## 'Stop preaching'

And President de Klerk stressed in Parliament recently that he in turn would insist at the talks that the ANC stop "preaching" the armed struggle and would also lay emphasis on the ending of violence.

Although it appears likely that the Government will seek an agreement whereby the ANC at least suspends the armed struggle in exchange for a lifting of the state of emergency and the release of political prisoners, this has not been confirmed.

The Government's chief negotiator Dr Gerrit Viljoen said in an interview this week he thought it unlikely that all the obstacles to negotiation could be ironed out at next week's talks. This suggested that the Government envisaged further rounds.

He also indicated that the lifting of the state of emergency could be difficult because of the high level of violence in the country and the ANC's continued commitment to the armed struggle.

Sources confirmed today that they would be responsible for the security of the ANC team, which will include such figures as former "Public Enemy No 1" Mr Joe Slovo, general secretary of the SA Communist Party and Mr Alfred Nzo, the ANC secretary-general.

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# WARM HUG FOR COMRADE JOE

## Oh, the feeling of being back home in South Africa!

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Staff Reporter

A CAPE drizzle and Afrikaans SAA announcements awaited the five ANC exiles who flew into the city yesterday for their epoch-making talks with government next week.

The five, SA Communist Party general-secretary Mr Joe Slovo, ANC secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo, ANC international affairs chief Mr Thabo Mbeki, ANC guerrilla commander Mr Joe Modise and Ms Ruth Mompati of the ANC's department of women's affairs, arrived on a chartered Air Zambia flight.

A hundred supporters who slipped past a police net sang outside as the five addressed a news conference in the international arrivals hall at DF Malan airport, almost 30 years after going into exile.

They were met and hugged by jubilant ANC veterans after stepping off the plane from Zambia that brought them from a life of exile.

Police kept a discreet watch as the five recounted their emotions during their four-hour flight to South Africa.

A high-spirited Mr Slovo, asked his first question from the press since his return, said: "As I was saying before I was so rudely interrupted 27 years ago."

He said the pilot's announcements of South African place names — such as the Limpopo River,



HOME AGAIN . . . SACP veteran Mr Slovo hugs a friend from the crowd who greeted him on his arrival at DF Malan airport yesterday after more than 30 years in exile.

Picture: ADIL BRADLOW

Johannesburg, Soweto, Vereeniging — during the flight to Cape Town "sounded like a symphony".

Fashionably dressed and wearing red socks, he said it was a remarkable feeling to enter South Africa "through the front door after leaving by the back".

The group burst into laughter when an SAA flight to Windhoek was announced in Afrikaans over the PA system.

Said Mr Alfred Nzo: "Thank you very much. Now I know we are in Cape Town."

Outside police turned away several hundred ANC and SACP supporters.

At the international arrivals lounge police would not let any media representatives through unless they had yellow ANC press accreditation cards.

● Nzo: Whites have nothing to fear — Page 2

# Such music to me — Slovo

By MICHAEL DOMAN  
Weekend Argus Reporter

"I COULD never have imagined that the pilot's announcement could make such music to me ... it was almost like a symphony."

With these words South African Communist Party secretary-general Mr Joe Slovo described the remarkable feeling he and his four ANC fellow-members had at being back in South Africa for the first time in almost three decades.

Asked at a Press conference in the international arrivals waiting-room at D F Malan Airport what coming home meant to him, Mr Slovo began: "As I was so rudely interrupted 27 years ago ...

"I think it means we are on the way.

"That was the longest four-hour jet journey I've been on," he added, referring to the trip from Lusaka in the green-and-orange Zambian Airways jet.

"From the time we crossed the Limpopo and the pilot said 'That's Johannesburg on the left; Pretoria on the right' — it all just brought a lump to our throats.

"For those of us who left by the back door to enter by the very front door it is a remarkable feeling.

"It will take a little time to sink in — like the airport announcement in Afrikaans a moment ago. It makes one feel at home.

"As the days pass the link with this beautiful country of ours will sink in.

"Until 15 minutes before we landed the country was bathed in complete sunshine. I don't think that's an omen — but we were struck at how big and beautiful the country is."

Mr Slovo, asked if he had any fears for his safety, replied: "If I ordered my life according to the menaces we face in the struggle in South Africa I would have abandoned the struggle long ago.

"Whatever one does, danger is lurking.

"But I'm sure — I hope — proper arrangements have been made to ensure that those who have ulterior intentions will not be able to put them into practice."

# SQUARING UP

W/Lt-AR645 28/4/90 (11)

## Nats to push for struggle to be ended

Weekend Argus Political Staff

GOVERNMENT leaders hope progress will be made towards real negotiations in next week's talks with the African National Congress, but they regard the encounter as only one of a number of preliminary rounds.

They are preparing for a further rounds of talks if the initial discussions do not prove decisive. It is possible a government tactic in the first round could be to postpone, until the real negotiations begin, dealing with the issues the ANC regards as stumbling blocks.

### Demands

The ANC delegation is to demand the lifting of the state of emergency, the removal of troops from the townships, the release of political prisoners, an end to political trials and the scrapping of Acts like the Internal Security — all of which it says are obstacles to negotiations.

In turn, the government team is to tackle the ANC on its commitment to armed struggle.

The ANC, senior government figures have said repeatedly in recent weeks, is being inconsistent when it speaks of being committed to finding peaceful solutions while it continues its armed struggle.

The ANC needs to transform itself from a "liberation movement" into a political party, Nationalist politicians say.

It has been under pressure from prominent sympathisers and international backers to abandon violence.

However, one reason why government sources are confident of a breakthrough at the first talks is that ANC exiles — of whom there are 20 000 or more — are said to be eager to return home.

The Indemnity Bill tabled during the week gives President De Klerk the power to grant indemnity from prosecution to these exiles. However, amnesty for political prisoners who were involved in violence may be one of the sticking points.



Pictures: BRENON GEACH, Weekend Argus.

South African Communist Party secretary-general Joe Slovo, left, and his African National Congress counterpart, Alfred Nzo, at F Malan Airport.



ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo (second from right) shares a joke with internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu, right, shortly after a second group of ANC delegates arrived at F Malan Airport today. Mr Ahmed Kathrada (left) arrived with Mr Sisulu from Johannesburg. There to meet them were Mr Jacob Zuma (second from left) and Mr Aziz Pahad (behind Mr Nzo). Top security has been imposed at a hotel outside Cape Town where the five-member group, part of a delegation due to have historic talks with the government next week, is staying.

# 'Whites have nothing to fear' — ANC's Nzo

CAPL Times 28/4/90

11A

## MP calls for repatriation of SA exiles

Political Staff

DEMOCRATIC PARTY MP for Greytown Mr Pierre Cronje made a call yesterday for the government to "bring home" South African exiles and emigrants from abroad and to "rehabilitate" them.

He said in Parliament there had been a stream of exiles from South Africa since the banning of the ANC and in later years a "brain drain", which had seen thousands of professional and highly qualified people leave the country.

According to official figures, some 2 000 attorneys, 890 accountants and 412 doctors had left the country since 1984.

"The actual figure could be more than double this since many just skipped the country," he said.

However, many were pining to return.

"We need to bring these South African exiles back, indeed welcome them back, to help build the new South Africa," said Mr Cronje, suggesting the Department of Manpower embark on an "immediate rehabilitation programme".

### Placement of people

It should contact the ANC and plan the return of exiles, and not wait for thousands of people simply to return and swell the ranks of the unemployed.

The department should help with the advance placement of people, both within in the private sector and the government.

"There are educational needs, housing needs and other resettlement needs. Will there be assistance as for other immigrants?" he asked.

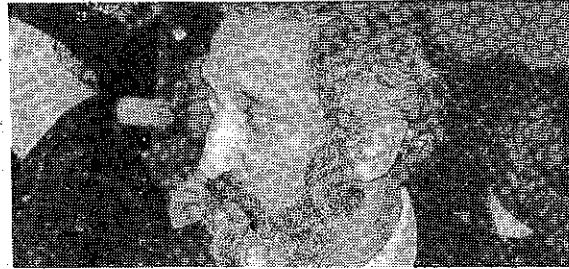
"Illustrate that the government means business in building the new South Africa. View it as an opportunity and a major immigration initiative.

"Secondly, there are vast numbers of managers, professionals, technicians and artisans who are not under the wing of the liberation movements.

"Instead of going to Hungary or East Germany to recruit immigrants, as suggested by the government, the department, together with other departments, should advertise in Australia, Britain, Canada and elsewhere to lure, if not to beg, South Africans to come home and help build a new South Africa."



**MOMPATI** . . . Ms Mompoti of the ANC's department of women's affairs.



**PAHAD** . . . ANC executive member Mr Aziz Pahad, who welcomed the ANC veterans yesterday.



**MBEKI** . . . Mr Thabo Mbeki, who was welcomed by his father Mr Govan Mbeki.

Pictures: STEWART COLMAN

By **ANTHONY JOHNSON**  
Political Correspondent

**THE** leader of the ANC's five-person delegation, the organisation's secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo, yesterday brought a message of conciliation for the white community: "They have nothing to fear in a democratic South Africa."

However, he and other members of the ANC's negotiating team in Cape Town for next week's talks with the government emphasized that sanctions, international isolation and the struggle "must continue until apartheid is no more".

The ANC team, accompanied by members of the Lusaka executive and aides, arrived amid tight security at a wintry DF Malan airport on a Air

Zambia flight late yesterday afternoon.

Journalists needed both ANC and South African press cards to attend the first press conference by the returning exiles.

The ANC exiles were welcomed at the international arrivals lounge by a number of MDM leaders and an advance party of ANC members already in the country to help smooth the way for the talks about obstacles to negotiation later next week.

Yesterday's delegation comprised: Mr Nzo, Umkonto we Sizwe commander Mr Joe Modise, SA Communist Party secretary-general Mr Joe Slovo, the ANC's foreign affairs head Mr Thabo Mbeki and the ANC's women's affairs head Ms Ruth Mompoti.

Almost half of the members of the ANC national executive committee are currently in the country, though

only five are formally part of the ANC's negotiating team.

At a brief press conference at the airport, Mr Slovo declared: "We come in a spirit of conciliation — but we have not come as petitioners but as claimants of the people who have been kept down for too long."

An emotional Mr Slovo told journalists after his "longest four-hour flight ever" that "those who left by the back door are entering by the front door — it's a remarkable feeling".

Declaring that "apartheid is still very much in place", Mr Nzo said the main purpose of upcoming talks was to remove the obstacles to negotiation which would lead to the establishment of a non-racial democracy.

Mr Nzo praised the contribution over the years by the UDF, Cosatu and women's organisations, but added that "we at the same time congratu-

late the brave campaign from the white sectors" who consistently rejected apartheid.

"We wish to assure the white community they have nothing to fear in a democratic South Africa.

"They, like everybody else, will be expected to contribute to the building of a new South Africa."

Mr Thabo Mbeki said that next week's meeting with the government would "hopefully produce the necessary results".

However, he said the main purpose of the talks was to produce a situation in which all parties had equal opportunities.

"Let's all proceed from the same base, the same rules and level ground."

The ANC will be holding a mass rally in Mitchells Plain tomorrow and consulting with the leadership of the UDF and Cosatu on Monday.



# ANC AND POLICE

# WORK TOGETHER

W/E ARGUS 28/4/90

11A

Political Correspondent

AFRICAN National Congress organisers worked hand in hand with police at DF Malan Airport yesterday to marshal the large Press contingent and ensure that only journalists carrying official ANC accreditation were admitted to the Press conference.

For the first time in South Africa the ANC is operating an embryonic bureaucracy to manage media coverage and provide orderly access to the events surrounding the meeting between its delegation and the government.

In an ironic reflection of the working relationship forged between the ANC and the police, Cape Town civil rights lawyer Mr Willie Hofmeyr — who is suing the Minister of Police over his treatment during detention in the awaiting-trial section of Pollsmoor prison — stood side by side with two members of the police, helping to sort out accreditation problems.

### Numbered cards

Entry to the international section of the airport was strictly limited to those who had the ochre-coloured cards bearing the words "African National Congress Press". Each card was signed and numbered. They also had to produce proof of identity.

Applications for accreditation had to be submitted to the ANC's offices, housed in a city centre electronics

firm, in advance.

If names on ANC Press accreditation did not match those on press cards, journalists — like Argus photographer Brenton Geach — were bluntly told by police: "We were told by the organisers (the ANC) the names must match".

Rainy weather probably cut the number of potential ANC supporters to a few hundred.

They were disappointed at not being allowed inside, but not even one supporter's attempt to get past the police with his own version of the yellow Press pass — a R20 note of similar colour — would move the boys in blue.

There was tight security before the arrival of the Zambian Airways aircraft bearing the ANC veterans.

Perhaps in anticipation of the scheduled arrival time, a small group of supporters began to toy-toy outside the arrivals hall on the stroke of 4 pm.

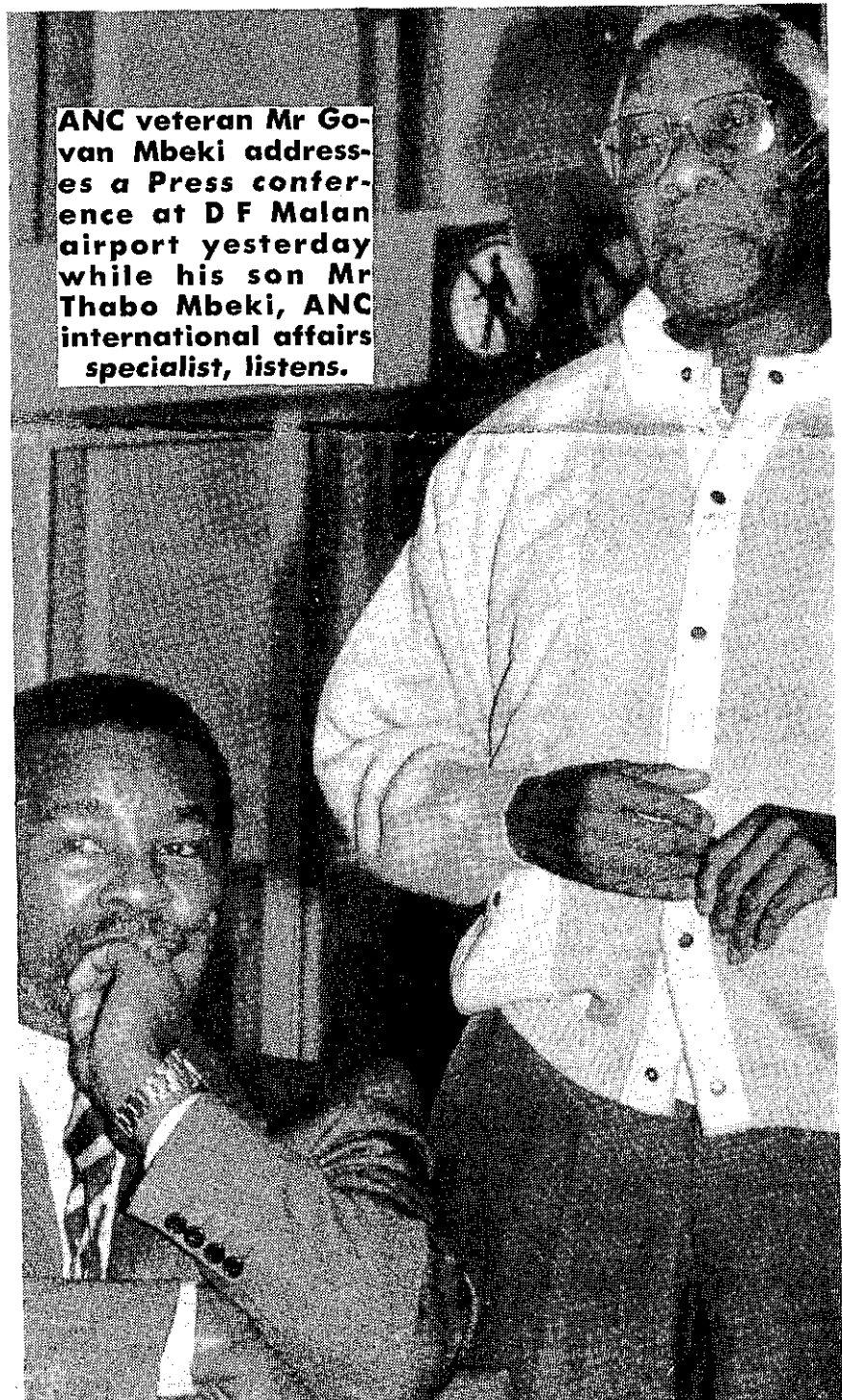
Journalists were frisked before being allowed into the conference lounge 15 minutes later and were confronted by the five smiling ANC members seated behind a table.

As former political prisoner Mr Govan Mbeki formally welcomed the group, standing at the left shoulder of his son Thabo, police, including former Western Cape divisional commissioner of police Brigadier Roy Doring and senior public relations officer Major Jan Calitz, observed benignly from only five metres away.

### Enthusiastic welcomes

The various ANC and UDF members ranged behind the main group included Western Cape ANC head Mr Reg September, Mr Steve Tshwete, UDF chairman Mr Curnick Ndlovu and members of next week's "talks about talks" group, Ms Cheryl Carolus and Mr Archie Gumede.

Only a handful of questions were allowed after the Press conference, which was followed by some journalists and friends enthusiastically welcoming the ANC group before police started ushering people out — again in terms of an agreement with the ANC.



ANC veteran Mr Govan Mbeki addresses a Press conference at DF Malan airport yesterday while his son Mr Thabo Mbeki, ANC international affairs specialist, listens.



Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Mr Joe Modise.

# Business talks will be closely watched

THE high-level discussions on South Africa's economic future on May 23 between businessmen and the ANC will be closely watched by local and international businessmen.

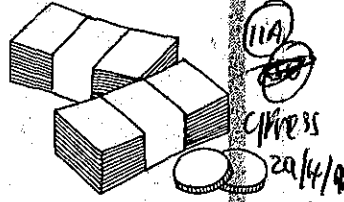
We live in an extremely competitive world and South Africa has one of the few relatively developed economies which has been virtually static during the past few years, while most others were booming.

The main reason for our economic plight is, of course, our political instability. Should the coming discussions indicate that the present impasse could be resolved on issues such as nationalisation and sanctions, some of our competitors in other countries will have to take note.

They are at present comfortably established in markets that South Africa dominated for many years and would try to regain.

Business, here and overseas, is extremely concerned by the ANC's constant talk of nationalisation. Certain overseas publications are even referring to economic chaos in South Africa, similar to the processes which economically ruined Mozambique and other States.

Building up a successful business in a competitive local and international environment is extremely difficult and risky. Nobody will take that risk if he believes that, after many years of hard work, powerful politicians will simply take it away from him.



## ■ MONEY TALK

11A  
20/4/88  
90

# ANC firm on removal of 'obstacles'

W/4 Argus  
28/4/90  
By MICHAEL MORRIS

Weekend Argus  
Policital Staff

ANC deputy-president Mr Nelson Mandela and his team of 10 are determined not to budge on their demands for the removal of obstacles they say stand in the way of a negotiation process.

They reasserted their commitment to "the struggle" and the South Africa's international isolation.

The spirit of their engagement with the government was one of conciliation, but the political essence, the purpose, was uncompromising, one of the key figures, Mr Joe Slovo said on his arrival yesterday.

"We have not come as claimants on behalf of people who have been kept down for too long," he said.

Another key exile visiting the country for the first time in years, international affairs chief Mr Thabo Mbeki, revealed the delegation's attitude when he said there was no question of "give and take" when it came to political prisoners and the emergency.

These were "straightforward" issues. What was required was to create equality among all parties.

## "Exciting moment"

But he said the ANC hoped the government would approach the issues "in the spirit we would want them to" and he was "hopeful the meeting will produce the necessary results".

Secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo described the arrival as an "emotional, exciting moment" after being exiled for almost three decades.

This, however, was tempered by the recognition that the country was still "bleeding, ravaged by the apartheid system which continues to divide people into warring clusters of minorities".

He said the main task was to explore the possibility of removing obstacles to negotiations "which must lead to the establishment of a non-racial democracy".

"We hope, when that time comes, negotiations will begin in real earnest to achieve this goal."

However, until it was clear the new South Africa had arrived, the struggle — and the international campaign to isolate South Africa — must continue, he said.

He congratulated those who had consistently rejected apartheid.

He added, in a message to whites: "Through them we wish to assure the rest of the white community that they have nothing to fear in a democratic South Africa."

NR 645 28/4/90 (11A)

NEWS

## Stones thrown at UWC campus

PRETORIA. — Stone throwings have occurred at the University of the Western Cape, according to the latest police unrest report.

A spokesman said several police vehicles as well as other vehicles were damaged. Police used tearsmoke to disperse the groups. No casualties were reported.

At Umlazi Natal, 11 houses were set alight and extensively damaged.

At Galeshewe, near Kimberley, extensive damage was caused to a council vehicle after it was set alight. Several vehicles were stoned and set alight.

### Rubber bullets

A motorist was injured in one of these incidents and a policeman was slightly hurt when a man petrol bombed a police vehicle. Police used tearsmoke, rubber bullets and bird shot to disperse the crowds. Five casualties were reported among 31 people arrested.

At King William's Town one person was arrested after an illegal gathering and at another illegal gathering at Tinus, near Fort Beaufort, police used tearsmoke to disperse the crowd.

At Bergsig near Kirkwood, Eastern Cape, five policemen were slightly injured in stone throwing incident. Police used tearsmoke to disperse the mobs. Four people were arrested.

At Kathlehong, Germiston, police used tearsmoke to disperse a group who threw stones at passing trains.

At Khutsong, near Oberholzer, a car was extensively damaged when set alight by a group. — Sapa.

WILEY ARGUS 28/4/70

## Second delegation flies in to DF Malan

By VIVIEN HORLER  
Weekend Argus Reporter

THERE was a heavy police presence at D F Malan Airport today when a second ANC delegation, including internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu, information spokesman Mr. Ahmed Kathrada and Dr Beyers Naude, flew to Cape Town for the "talks about talks" with the government.

Among the group there to meet them was ANC general secretary Mr Alfred Nzo, who arrived in Cape Town yesterday from Lusaka with South African Communist Party Mr Joe Slovo, international affairs chief Mr Thabo Mbeki and Ms Ruth Mompati.

The arriving delegates were greeted with grins and enthusiastic hugs by the party there to meet them before being whisked away in a convoy of delegates and police.

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# Crossroads unrest: Meiring orders probe

CAPT T. M. L. 28/4/90 (11A) (11B) (11C)

## Political Staff

A COMMISSION of inquiry is to be appointed into the causes of unrest and violence in Crossroads, the Administrator of the Cape, Mr Kobus Meiring, announced yesterday.

"The continuing unrest, ongoing tension and sporadic violence between conflicting factions in Crossroads has been a source of great concern over a considerable period of time for the Cape Provincial Administration and the government," he said in a statement.

In the light of this, he had decided, after consultation with the Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs, Mr Hernus Kriel, to appoint a commission of inquiry into the

causes of unrest and the use of violence.

An announcement in this connection would be made shortly and details would be provided to the media, Mr Meiring said.

He did not disclose who the members of the commission would be or whether it would be headed by a judge, nor did he give any further details of the commission's terms of reference.

Mr Meiring said he wanted make an urgent and serious call on the residents of Crossroads to follow the peaceful and the meaningful road of negotiation to solve differences and problems.

# Backlogs 'due to no access to capital'

CAP TINTS 28/4/90  
Own Correspondent

11A (103) (103)

UMTATA. — The socio-economic backlogs in Transkei existed in all black communities in South Africa and were the result of a lack of access to capital resources, ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

In a parting message of gratitude for the "warm reception and hospitality accorded me and my entourage by the people of Transkei", Mr Mandela said the backlogs fuelled the ANC's drive for an even distribution of national wealth and the establishment of a single South African Parliament.

"With the establishment of the ANC interim committee in Transkei, we hope that the people of the region will have the golden opportunity of acquainting themselves with the policies of the organisation," he said.

Mr Mandela described the manner in which the military administration of Major-General Bantu Holomisa assisted him and his delegation to reach people in the dispersed villages of Transkei as an "example we wish other bantustan leaders to follow".

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# Slovo: 'Return was like music'

CAPE TOWN — "As I was saying before I was so rudely interrupted 27 years ago ..."

These were the first public words of SA Communist Party boss Mr Joe Slovo uttered after he returned to South Africa yesterday from long exile.

The former head of the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe looked anything but white South Africa's "public enemy number one" as he addressed a press conference in the international terminus of Cape Town's DF Malan Airport after arriving on a direct charter flight from Lusaka.

Smiling constantly in bemusement at the unfamiliar surroundings of his homeland, the bespectacled 63-year-old seemed avuncular and friendly.

He was amused by a typical SA Airways announcement in Afrikaans which cut through the conversation.

And, under the baleful stares — and protection — of a large knot of the policemen who had hunted him for so long, he described his feelings about coming home after 27 years:

(11A)

**PETER FABRICIUS** *Star*  
**Political Correspondent** 28/4/90

"It means we are well on the way. It was the longest four-hour jet journey I have ever been on. I never imagined that the pilot's announcements would make music; it was almost like a symphony.

"When he announced, 'We are crossing the Limpopo, to the right Pretoria, to the left Johannesburg, Soweto, Potchefstroom, even Vereeniging', it brought a lump to our throats.

"Like the announcement just now in Afrikaans, it made one feel at home.

"For those of us who left by the back door and are now entering by the very front door it is a remarkable feeling.

"I suppose it will take a little time to sink in really.

"Of course, I think we are here with our hearts filled with great hope not for ourselves, but for ourselves and all the people of South Africa.

"We have come in a spirit of reconcilia-

tion, but not as petitioners. We have come as claimants on behalf of the people who have been kept down for too long.

"As the days go by, from a personal point of view, the links with this country, which is so beautiful and which we love, will sink in.

"Until about 15 minutes before landing, the whole of South Africa was bathed in complete sunshine," Mr Slovo said as the rain poured down outside.

"I don't think it is an omen," he quipped.

"It just struck us how much room there is for everyone."

Asked if he feared for his life as the person most hated by whites, Mr Slovo — whose wife Ruth First was killed by a parcel bomb in Maputo in 1982 — said if he had ordered his life according to fear, he would have abandoned the struggle long ago.

"I hope that proper arrangements have been made to ensure that whoever might have ulterior motives will not be able to translate them into practice," he added.



Star 28/4/90 (11A) 28/4

# Modise's new SA mission

## POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

CAPE TOWN — The last time Umkhonto we Sizwe chief Mr Joe Modise visited South Africa he was on a mission of destruction, his ANC colleague, Mr Govan Mbeki, told journalists yesterday.

Now his mission was different, the former Robben Island prisoner said.

Welcoming the delegation to Cape Town at the press conference at DF Malan Airport yesterday, Mr Mbeki said of Mr Modise: "The last time I met him here, he was seeking to destroy . . . not South Africa or the people of South Africa, but to destroy that which was evil, which sought to keep the people of this country apart.

"And today he has come, together with the others, on a different mission. The mission is to build a new South Africa."

# Slaughtered family take murder secrets to grave

Sikwane 29/4/90

By CHARIS PERKINS and GEORGE MAHABEER

A BUSINESSMAN who was massacred with his wife and three sons in a dusty Botswana border village this week carried the identities of the killers to his grave.

His relatives fear they will never know who the murderers are — and they claim Botswana police are “not interested”.

It took the police in the village of Sikwane six hours to arrive at the scene of the bombing — a house on a hill less than 600m from the police station.

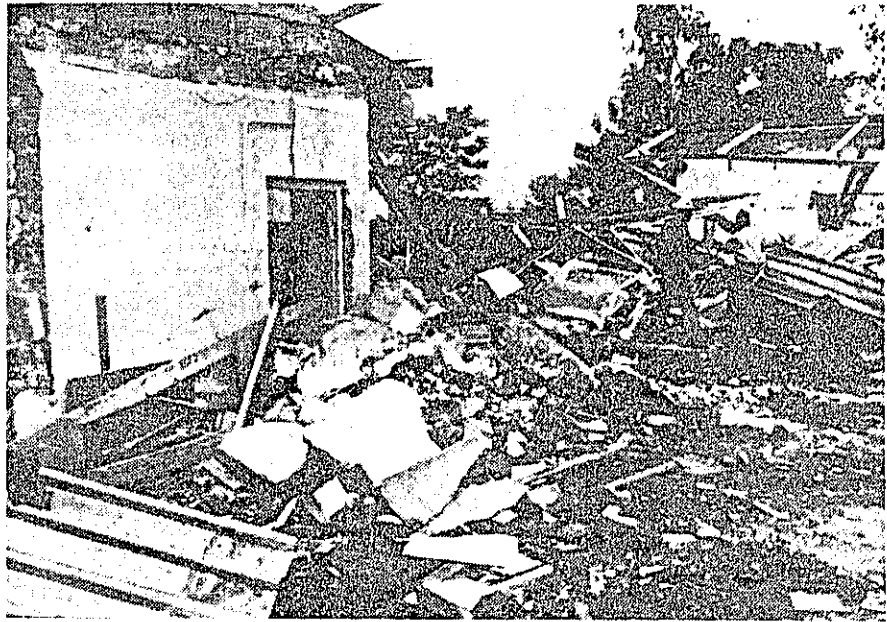
“We want a full inquiry,” said the murdered man’s brother Mr Aziz Chand, a Gabarone businessman.

“But we have little hope of the killers ever being caught. It makes me so angry.”

The Botswana police have refused to comment.

The bombing shook the village of Sikwane on the SA border early on Monday morning.

Pan Africanist Congress sympathiser Sam Chand, his 56-year-old wife Hajira, their



BLASTED: Remains of the death house Picture: PIERRE OOSTHUYSEN

three sons and the family’s dog, Kenny, were slaughtered by bursts of gunfire as they slept. Their night watchman, Mr Mathakwene Pule, was also shot.

Minutes later the house was blown apart by a bomb.

Only one person staying in the house that night escaped death. Domestic worker Miss Mmaletsatsi Thekedi woke up when she heard the night watchman screaming.

She slipped out of a window and, as she ran, she heard shooting in the house behind her and then a massive explosion.

She later told the police she had seen a car parked outside the house and the silhouettes of two men. She could not say if the men were black or white.

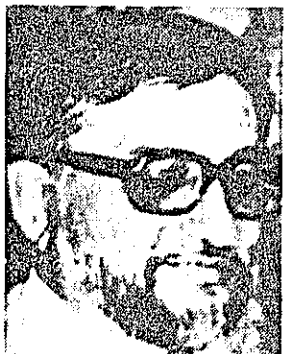
One relative — a South African doctor who asked not to be named — said there were five bullet wounds in Mr Chand’s head and several in his left arm.

“It seems that the attackers then tied an explosive device to his body and detonated it. It blew him to pieces.”

“Only the upper parts of his body were found, lying scattered 20m away from the house.”

The bodies of Hajira and sons Ridwaan, 26, Ameen, 24, and 16-year-old Emraan were found in the rubble of the nine-roomed house.

“Hajira’s body was riddled with bullets,” said the doctor.



SAM CHAND Slain businessman

responsible.

It had picked on the Chand family “simply because they were members of the PAC”.

The South African Department of Foreign Affairs refused to comment on the PAC’s accusations.

“The whole thing is a mountain of speculation,” a spokesman said.

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok said the police had nothing to do with the attack, and a Pretoria police spokesman said they would welcome any evidence the PAC could produce.

Mr Chand’s family could not cast any light on the killings.

“My brother was very tight-lipped about his political activities,” said Mr Aziz Chand.

## Claim

None of the family or the people who worked for Mr Chand could confirm the PAC’s claim that his home had been a safe house.

Mr Lucas Maseko, who was employed by Mr Chand to run the shop adjoining the house, said nobody apart from family members ever stayed there.

Mrs Anna Molefi, who worked for the family for as long as she can remember, said their only visitors had been their children, brothers and sisters.

● In a second tragedy to befall the family, Mr Chand’s brother Ismail, of Lenasia, Johannesburg, was killed in a car accident on his way to Botswana on Thursday.

nt announcement from the rlan Embassy

## ANNOUNCES ELECTION LAW

Austrian citizens abroad are enticlements and participate in federal

able to cast their vote in the next eld probably on October 7, 1990.

he voters list by filling out an

o be lodged to obtain the necesent (Wahlkarte) to be issued by an election authorities upon offi of the election.

f polling document, voting by paper to the competent electoral

and application forms please

storia Austrian Consulate General  
9th Floor  
OR Samro House  
73 Juta Street  
Braamfontein  
2001  
Tel:  
(011) 403-1860/1

Wounds 11A

“It seems a machinegun was used.”

Ridwaan and Ameen — who were deaf and dumb and lived with their parents — had multiple bullet wounds in their heads.

Emraan’s face was crushed by the falling roof and it was impossible to tell how many times he had been shot. He was home for the school holidays.

Confusion now surrounds the identities and motives of the killers.

PAC sources in South Africa this week told the Sunday Times that Mr Chand’s home had been a “safe house” for PAC operatives infiltrating South Africa.

They were quick to blame “agents of the South African Government” for the attack.

PAC secretary for publicity and information Benny Ntoele said there was no reason to doubt that a South African hit squad was

THE past few months have seen a see-saw of one-upmanship and one-downmanship — with the ANC and the Government vying for position with a view to talks-about-talks.

Inevitably, it has been a matter of who's on the side of the angels and who's dallying with the devil.

The ANC is much maligned for preaching armed struggle, but one can guess that in this week's talks it will present itself as angelically amenable, even to the extent of renouncing or promising to renounce violence, a point which President F W de Klerk has recently insisted upon.

Should the ANC go on refusing to call off the armed struggle, one senses it will overplay its hand.

It would be tactically unwise to upset the remarkable patience and goodwill towards it on the part of many responsible South Africans since February 2.

The ANC also needs to take into account those foreigners who hitherto have held such a benign view of it.

In this phase of posturing before real negotiations begin, the ANC, as ever, needs the moral (and media) support of the outside world. And out there some elements are beginning to question the nobility of its soul.

Above all, it is the ANC's call for continued violence in a situation of already appalling violence that works against it. This is opening some important foreign eyes to its ugly side.

The ANC must start asking itself: how long can we still count on foreign backing? An early renunciation of violence would obviously stand it in good stead.

Nonetheless, it is a very disturbing perception that the ANC could yet have it both ways merely by saying it will drop the armed struggle.

Should the ANC officially call off violence there would still be little peace.

The point is that the ANC has succeeded in building a network of surrogate organisations well-placed to continue the very violence that serves the ANC's purposes. It is backed by a mind-set.

It could even distance itself from these organisations, confidently knowing this would not make much difference.

With its network established, the ANC is able to follow a two-tier strategy, with peaceful talks on one level and violent action (duly disclaimable) on the other.

Even if the ANC leadership should formally renounce the armed struggle its goals could still be pursued through violence.

Meanwhile, the word is already abroad that the ANC "cannot control the radicals" — which is part ingenious excuse and part truth, for the pagans were not thrown



# Otto Krause It's yo-yo season as ANC jugglers look for an angle

*11A*  
*SI Times*  
*29/4/90*

into the ocean at Nelson Mandela's request.

Most significant is the distinct pattern of political violence since the unbanning of the ANC and Mr Mandela's release.

It is black-on-black violence, and clearly of a very directed kind.

Not only Inkatha and councillors or blacks "within the system" are attacked — radicals of the PAC/BCM and others refusing to accept the ANC's would-be dominance are also being hit.

On another level, blacks are manifestly intimidated, whether in person or simply by the ANC's aggressive stance — and the intimidation touches anyone, from ordinary men to homeland leaders.

All this for the purpose of establishing the ANC's supremacy over black South Africans.

Having achieved that by whipping blacks into line behind it, the ANC would have two options.

One is to again make an

attempt at creating an ungovernable country (and finally exhaust white patience), leading to a major crackdown by government — which, in turn, would bring the wrath of the outside world on it.

After all, this was the revolutionary strategy followed by the ANC in its trouble-making period during the mid-Eighties and it is perfectly valid to assume it may go for a repeat.

The second option is that it could suddenly exude sweetness and light.

Recently, the ANC, ever following its Soviet mentors, has come up with the latest Muscovite formula — a promise of plural democracy and all manner of new freedoms.

Tellingly, this Gorbachev line is now put forward by old Stalinists of the SA Communist Party, operating within the ANC, like Joe Slovo.

But the rapid conversion still reflects nothing but the Moscow line — albeit a new one — and people should be wary of such about-turns.

Nevertheless, even if its revived revolutionary strategy doesn't work the ANC could again still have it both ways.

While the outside world and forces within South Africa are pressing hard for negotiations, the ANC could happily come to the table duly self-anointed with its new political virtues.

The catch is that its campaign of bearing down on any resistant blacks could ensure the ANC being seated as the single representative of black South Africa.

Sadly, this would by no means reflect true black opinion and least of all bode well for an acceptable result — or even civil peace.

Against this gloomy scenario, the country's hopes lie in government toughly but impartially enforcing law and order to protect its citizens. It has the means, but needs wider moral support.

We all should know that without civil peace any notion of a more democratic South Africa-to-be simply falls by the wayside.

In time, the ANC's endless bashing of recalcitrant blacks should lead to a backlash on the part of blacks ground down by years of ANC-fostered disorder.

Meanwhile, a long process of sparring lies ahead. Right at the outset, government has tricky ground to hoe this coming week.

One already feels South Africa needs much more to find peace than merely a renunciation of violence by the ANC.

Tough talk ahead at historic meeting with ANC

# EYEBALL TO EYEBALL!



FW DE KLERK



NELSON MANDELA

11A  
S/Times 29/4/90

By LESTER VENTER and KURT SWART

## The hug worth a million rands

ALL is set for the most dramatic event in South Africa's post-war politics — the first face-to-face encounter between the Government and the ANC-SA Communist Party alliance.

On Wednesday, leaders of the National Party — led by an audacious, reforming State President — will sit down with erstwhile prisoners and exiles who, until recently, were on Pretoria's list of most wanted men.

The purpose: to explore whether obstacles to peace negotiations can be removed.

President De Klerk will lead the Government team and the ANC will be headed by its deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela.

A pact to end violence will be at the top of the agenda — but both sides yesterday acknowledged that it would be hard to achieve.

Top members of both teams told the Sunday Times that violence was the central issue to be resolved before constitutional talks could get under way.

### Struggle

Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, one of the Cabinet negotiators, said: "The



## Sylvia finds it, Sylvia keeps it!

By ALAN DUGGAN and GWEN GILL

THIS was the moment when dreams turned to reality for the Sunday Times Finders Keepers R1-million winner — mother-of-three Sylvia Jacobson from Kew, Johannesburg.

Husband Arnold hugged her and said: "No more worries for us. They're not dreams any more!" The couple were in Matjiesfontein, Cape, the picturesque village where the "treasure" for this year's contest was hidden.

Sylvia, a 37-year-old promotions supervisor, ceremonially composed an engraved

SOLUTION PLUS MORE

By LESTER VENTER  
and KURT SWART

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### Struggle

Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, one of the Cabinet negotiators, said: "The ANC has to face the challenge of why it continues to espouse the armed struggle."

"President De Klerk has said the door is open — it need not be kicked down."

Mr Joe Slovo, SA Communist Party secretary-general and key man in the ANC team, said the ANC would stick to its Harare Declaration of preconditions — of which the state of emergency is the major unresolved element.

Questioned on speculation that the Government would lift the state of emergency if violence abated and the ANC renounced the armed struggle, Mr Slovo said: "We'll consider whatever is put on the table, but our existing position is clear on suspending the armed struggle."

Dr Van der Merwe said: "The armed struggle and the state of emergency are intimately related."

The Harare Declaration lists as preconditions the unbanning of restricted organisations, the removal of troops from the townships, the lifting of the state of emergency and the cessation of political trials and executions.

Of those, only the troops in townships and the state of emergency remain.

Nevertheless, both sides are carefully playing down expectations.

### Flexible

Observers close to the process say both sides need time to "feel each other out".

The talks will take place at a well-protected Government venue in Cape Town and are scheduled to last until Friday.

A Government source emphasised that the encounter would constitute "talks about talks" and that no constitutional issues would be included.

The Government is prepared for the preparatory talks to continue through several rounds, with this week's discussions only the first.

Diplomatic sources said the ANC had shown flexibility behind the scenes on a demand parallel to the Harare Declaration — the release of political prisoners.

The Government and the ANC disagree on the definition, even though many have already been freed. However, the ANC is said to accept that those convicted of deeds causing death will not be released at this stage.

The Government is also said to be flexible on how an ANC renunciation of the armed struggle is framed.

The ANC is the only major group that has not yet fully committed itself to peaceful negotiations, so it may face strong international and domestic pressure to lay down arms.

In Cape Town, the ANC's talks team — many of whom have been exiled for up to 30 years — prepared for a mass rally at Mitchell's Plain today.



CLUTCHING her

## Webster

THE former Johannesburg security official who this week named Dr David Webster's alleged killer is to be questioned by police investigating the murder.

Meanwhile, police hold a little hope of tracing the mystery assassin, named as Paul de Swardt, and apparently a member of the SADF's sinister Civil Co-operation Bureau.

## Nujoma

Sunday Times  
NAMIBIAN President Sam Nujoma has formally asked South African men allegedly implicated in his country.

The South African Justice Minister said yesterday the request was formally received by President F. W. de Klerk.

Although the department has not yet named the men, Civil Co-operation Bureau members Staal Burger and Leon van der Merwe are wanted in Namibia.



Members of the Pan Africanist Congress pay tribute to Japhta Masemola who was buried in Atteridgeville yesterday. ■ Pic: TLADI KHUELE

## PAC's 'tiger' is laid to rest

By <sup>CPRESS</sup> **CONNIE MOLUSI** 11A

<sup>29/4/90</sup> SECURITY forces yesterday kept a close watch on the Atteridgeville funeral of PAC founder member Japhta Masemola.

Masemola - the first South African political prisoner to be sentenced to life imprisonment in 1963 - was killed in a car accident two weeks ago.

The PAC - blaming the authorities for Masemola's death - said it would conduct its own investigation.

Masemola was released from Robben Island in October last year after serving 27 years with seven ANC leaders.

Many speakers paid tribute to Masemola, known as "The Tiger of the Azanian liberation struggle".

The service was interrupted when the 10 000 mourners rose to their feet to welcome PAC president Zephania Mothopeng and his wife Urbania.

Speakers launched an attack on negotiations with the South African government and praised Masemola as "a non-compromising revolutionary" who said the time was not ripe for negotiations.

Mothopeng said Masemola was an

outstanding teacher who encouraged good results from his students.

"Jeph was a believer in non-racialism and is happy today that everybody accepts the basic tenets of this policy in South Africa.

"He was unwavering in his commitment to liberation," said Mothopeng.

PAC deputy president Miamli Makwethu said "the Azanian masses" and the PAC would miss Masemola's leadership.

"Masemola's leadership qualities were put to the test in Uitenhage where PAC and ANC supporters were killing each other.

"To illustrate his impact in the area, both ANC and PAC supporters have travelled all the way to his funeral."

A message read at the funeral was signed by a "Comrade Tito".

It read: "We your fellow comrades on Robben Island mourn your untimely departure from this world.

"You were a son (of the revolution), a fighter and hero.

"You shall be missed by all of us and will always be remembered by your beloved comrades on the island."

# Lost in the political maelstrom

A LUNCHTIME debate on nationalisation between JCT's Ronnie Bethlehem and the ANC's Harry Gwala packs Wits Great Hall.

Thanks to South Africa's nationalised airline, Gwala is late. This affords students towards the front of the audience an opportunity to do a little toyi-toying and sing a few war paeans.

A number of white boys and girls join in. Their efforts are in comic contrast to the overtly threatening performance of their black compadres. They seem not so much to be asserting defiance with their raised fists as trying to ask a question in class.

The question, to judge from their wriggling rendition of the ANC dance, is whether they may be excused.

Towards the back of the hall, a group of black students is sitting silently. One, crouched in the aisle, is unselfconsciously using my knee as an arm-rest. Her body language suggests the deep but cowed exasperation of one who wants an education but knows she will probably be denied its full fruits — both by Doris Lessing's "Good Terrorists" up front and the white establishment they have so successfully mau-maued. It is not a complaint she is permitted to voice.

Bethlehem speaks first, thanking "comrade chairperson" for her introduction. Not the place for a sly joke, this. Nor, regrettably, does Bethlehem appear to be making one as he slides into the revolutionary vernacular. He talks about the need to address poverty and inequity by a "complete restructuring of ownership and economic control".

There should be a "partnership" of the State, the private sector and the labour unions. Everyone, in other words, for whom poverty is not a problem.

The free market thus defended, Gwala

## Simon Barber

*who has returned to Washington after a visit to South Africa, reflects on some of the events he witnessed here*

enters. More dancing, more paeans. A businessman before his imprisonment, he is descended from the Amakho!wa who sided with the British in the Zulu War and were rewarded with land grants.

Gwala is determined that no one, except perhaps the ANC nomenklatura that succeeds Afrikaner nationalism in power, should be so lucky again. The only thing wrong with socialism was Stalin. When the ANC "in alliance with the SACP" takes over, "those who don't agree will have to lump it".

Perhaps we should coin a new term for the majority class in the new SA. The lumpitproletariat.



"POLITICS," says the teacher, gesturing graphically, "is the thing I reject from my body." We are in a shebeen of the most informal kind — the front room of a house in Orlando West.

Like all his colleagues crowded into that tiny space, the speaker is on strike. We are at a point where the beer is starting to unmask the truth without making it totally unintelligible.

Many in the company participated in the teacher's march in Johannesburg the day after Nelson Mandela made his first appearance in Soweto and called on pupils to return to school. The irony is not lost on them.

Most are trying to continue teaching

informally. The union has told them to down chalk, so they have taken the injunction literally and are going about their duties without using blackboards.

They are painfully aware that indeed their physical security is regularly threatened by the lost generation of "liberation first, education later".

Political sophisticates they are not. In the course of a raucous debate on why Mandela was released when he was, one opines that because Madiba was the first major ANC figure to be jailed, it stood to reason that he had to be the last out.

Another professes to be a member of the PAC because Zephania Mothopeng is a relation. She is considering changing to the ANC because its T-shirts are free while the PAC charges R20.

They are doing their best to function in a world of terrifying contradictions. Their demands, so simple — nothing grander, really, than textbooks for every child and an environment in which learning can take place — are lost in the insane hubbub of ideology and racial politics. They are doubly powerless. Unspoken for by the liberation movement, they are unspoken to by the white establishment.



CHIEF P M MAJOZI is the nominal ruler of three townships near Richmond, Natal: Indaleni, Esimozeni, Magoda. Until his election-for-life in 1983, he was Richmond's traffic policeman.

His letterhead is nonetheless remarkably literate, not to mention accurate. Underneath a coronet, it carries the legend: "Uneasy lies the head that wears the crown." The chief recently had his house burnt down and currently wields about the same authority as Richard II in the latter stages of the play.

UDF supporters started challenging his

legitimacy and that of his indunas and councillors in late 1986. In 1988 he wrote a letter to the then chief of KwaZulu police, Brigadier A M J Laas, asking for increased protection.

There was mounting trouble, he reported, compounded by the fact that he was being pressured to "conscript" his subjects into Inkatha.

Though an Inkatha member himself, he said he did not want to aggravate the "Inkatha/UDF syndrome which is tearing our Zulu nation apart". Instead, he preferred to concentrate on "socio-economic issues" like giving his people running water in their homes.

I am not sure that this was the most politically expedient way to petition Ulundi. At all events, Brig Laas replied that he could not help because Indaleni had not been "proclaimed" as a KZP sphere. Perhaps Majosi might care to contact the SAP Commissioner in Pretoria. He did, but to no avail either.

Since then, the UDF has gradually hijacked civil authority in Majosi's areas, replacing the traditional system with street committees and kangaroo courts that mete out extremely rough political justice.

It has also replaced tribal levies with taxes of its own. These include, I am told, a R10-a-month fee for the rental of firearms. You do not have to have loved the old order to recognise that this is gangsterism. It is also a reason Natal is in flames.

The new SA will be built on the corpses and ruined lives of the ordinary people in the middle, the majority of them black and ill-equipped to stand up for their own interests.

This does not seem to bother the white establishment. "In Africa," says one leading industrialist, "it is unwise to compete in the race for power. Just be the first to congratulate the winner."

STimes 21/4/90

11A

# Socialism the only way says Joe Slovo

By KURT SWART

JOE SLOVO's favourite South African dishes are boerewors and snoek, and he still believes socialism is the only way forward for mankind.

At a plush hotel in Somerset West the ANC ideologue, reviled by many South Africans as a bloodthirsty communist bogeyman, talked quietly about the pain of three decades in exile.

The friendly and youthful-looking politician, 64, said his image as Public Enemy Number One was undeserved.

"The intention has been to rubbish me, but I've had a very positive response from the majority. While Thatcher had Saatchi and Saatchi for public relations, I had Botha and Botha."

Mr Slovo said he was concerned about the violence sweeping South Africa, although his political views reflected the ANC's hardline approach to next week's talks with the Government.

Only if the preconditions in the Harare Declaration were met could there be grounds for suspension of the armed struggle, he said.

The Lithuanian-born lawyer said he started believing in the possibility of returning to South Africa a year ago.

"I was certain we'd be back in my lifetime, but not necessarily under Nationalist rule. In a sense one can say that is at least some kind of tribute to the courage of De Klerk."

The visits by SA delegations to the ANC leadership in exile triggered off severe bouts of homesickness.

## Failed

"We had wonderful times when the locals came to visit. It was the first taste of things to come. When the pilgrimages to Lusaka began, I really started believing that perhaps there'd be one in the other direction."

Mr Slovo said he didn't believe the introduction of socialism in South Africa would kill "the golden goose".

"If you look at South Africa, you see that what has failed here has not been socialism but capitalism. Although I don't believe that socialism is immediately on the agenda in South Africa, it's the only rational way for humankind to order its life in the long term.

"On the question of redistributing wealth, the ANC is acting in a tradition which was actually set by the NP when it first came to power in the 1940s.

"It proceeded immediately to redistribute wealth in the interests of disadvantaged Afrikaners."



# ANC seeks new image

S/Times 29/10/90

11A

By LESTER VENTER

THE ANC is talking to Saatchi & Saatchi — Margaret Thatcher's favourite advertising agency — about improving its image.

According to a British newspaper, the ANC is eager to distance itself from its "terrorist" associations.

It is said to be concerned about losing the moral initiative on SA, which it used to take for granted. It also apparently wants to counter the dramatic recent improvement in the Government's international image.

Saatchi's ran the last three successful Tory election campaigns.

**N**OW that it is all systems go for Wednesday's talks between the ANC and the government, it is safe to speculate about the possible outcome.

If I were a fly on the wall at Tuynhuys where the meeting is scheduled to be held, this is probably what I would hear.

Before the gentlemen from Parliament and the comrades from the bush move into the room, I suspect a bugging device will be placed in a corner. But after all, not all the cards will be laid on the table.

This is just the first round of talks, and like all such first encounters, not everything will be discussed.

The meeting is to get to know each other better. More serious stuff will follow. The ANC cannot make the mistake of negotiating without a mandate from the "people".

Key players in this game, Nelson Mandela and FW de Klerk, have had two sparring sessions already and they seem to know each other's

## MY WAY

With Khulu Sibiya

# Now for Round 2



weaknesses and strengths.

They know how critical this meeting may turn out to be.

Neither Mandela nor De Klerk want to come out of the talks carrying the blame for being unreasonable, especially as the outside world is keen to see a positive outcome.

Nearer home, Mandela knows how keen elements of the black leftwing are to make political capital out of the failure of the talks.

Organisations like the PAC and the Black Consciousness Movement have expressed misgivings about any talks with government at this stage.

De Klerk too, knows the rightwing are waiting to whip up white emotions should there be any concessions from the government.

No one wants to be called a sellout, and at the same time both parties want to achieve as much as possible in the first meeting.

Sitting on that wall, I could clearly hear De Klerk saying this was the moment he and his new government had been waiting for all these years - but he was interrupted by Mandela who told him the situation was the other way round.

"Mr President all these people on my side are older than you and were forced into a life of exile. Others were sent to prison for long terms precisely for wanting to talk to your government..."

"I know that gentleman. But this is not the time to start reminding each other about the past. Mr Mandela is right. Some of us were still at school when you gentlemen fought for equal rights. But you must understand we are not like the past government. We are for change and for power sharing..."

"If I may correct you

Mr President," interrupted Dr Beyers Naude, "my friend there, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, and I served on the Broederbond. Our main task was to groom and select future Prime Ministers in South Africa. From the backround we controlled just about everything in the country. But as you know, some of us resigned..."

"But Dr Naude, this is not the time to be talking about such things. What about Mr (Joe) Slovo and Mr (Joe) Modise sitting over there, who over many years committed crimes and atrocities as leaders of MK..."

But after De Klerk had agreed to the demands of the ANC contained in the Harare Declaration, the ANC felt triumphant as winners of the first round of talks.

But in fact the first round winners were the National Party.

They proved their commitment to peaceful change. And what better way of getting the ANC back to the talks than making this little confession.

# SBSA gets go-ahead to rescue African bank

By James Tomlins,  
Foreign Staff

PARIS — The French government has dropped its initial opposition to Standard Bank of South Africa (SBSA) saving a major African bank operating in 16 countries, it was learned here over the weekend.

The ANC was contacted in Lusaka, and said "there are no objections from our side".

They were referring to the recent offer made by the SBSA to invest massively in the presti-

gious, but ailing, Banque Internationale pour l'Afrique Occidentale (BIAO).

BIAO employs 8 000 in 17 branches in 16 French-speaking African countries, with offices in Hamburg, London, Luxembourg, Monaco and New York.

France's BNP bank — one of the country's Big Three — which has a majority share in BIAO started a crisis when it decided six months ago to withdraw its holding owing to heavy losses.

African banks in the struggling

BIAO group had previously accused BNP of rushing in to strip the group's assets and ignoring a deal with SBSA which would have given them time to produce a recovery plan.

Managing directors of the bank's branches said they had no objections to Standard Bank SA taking a share in the (BIAO).

The BNP reflected French business thinking that banking operations in Africa suffered from loose government financial practices and staff problems.

Its branches faced massive embezzlements, loan failures and unacceptable government pressures.

BNP took a controlling 51 percent share in BIAO in 1988, but is seeking to sell its stake. Bankers said France accepted BNP's withdrawal from the African bank after it lost some \$105 million last year, doubling the 1988 loss.

French press reports said BIAO needed \$210 million to cover losses for its Paris operation alone.

BNP has 42 percent of the

BIAO shares which would presumably be taken up by SBSA.

Other major shareholders include Banco da Brasil (20 percent) and the Union des Banques Suisses (20 percent).

The Standard's move has been fully supported by Alassane Ouattara, director-general of the Abidjan-based Banque centrale des États de l'Afrique de l'Ouest (BCEAO), an umbrella body.

He previously put the case strongly to French Finance Minister Pierre Berégovoy on April 4.

# LET'S TALK!

citypress  
29/4/90  
11A  
RDP

## Councillor commits suicide after body is found

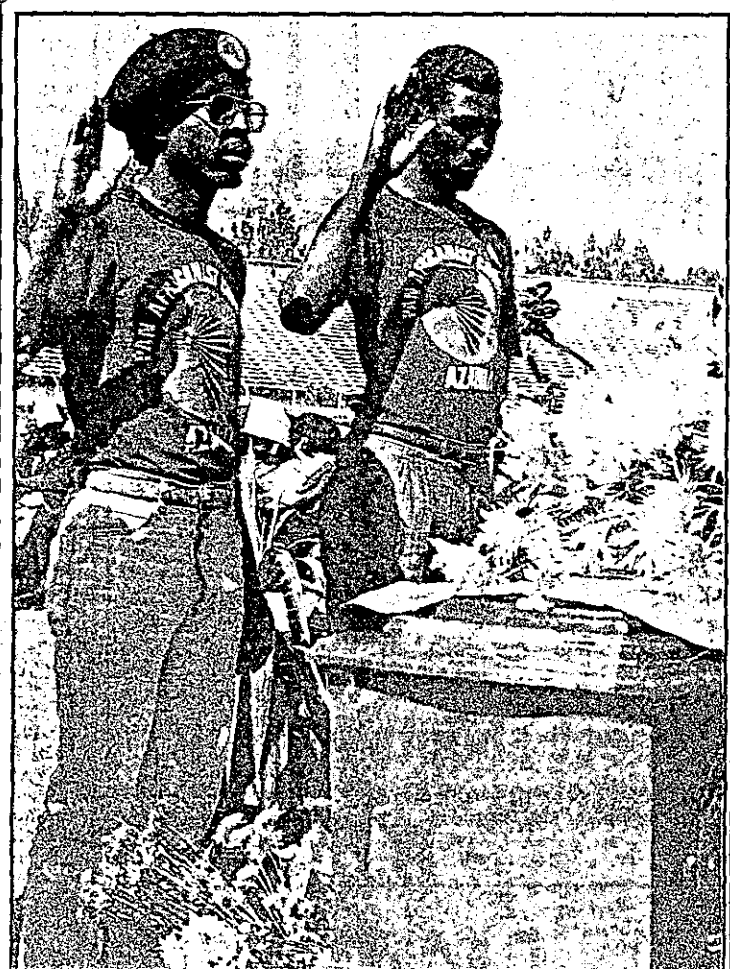
By ELIAS MALULEKE

WEALTHY businessman and councillor John Gatite, 75, shot and killed himself as a 2000-strong crowd attacked his house in Osizweni, Newcastle, following the discovery of the mutilated body of his daughter-in-law.

The attack on Gatite - in which he was stoned and his house set alight - follows the unearthing early this month of the dismembered remains of his daughter-in-law, Thembeke, 30, in a trunk under the bedroom floor of his house.

Her private parts had been removed, her breasts cut off and her teeth extracted. The body was then hacked into pieces with a saw and stuffed into the trunk.

Thembeke's husband, Vusi Gatite,



## Govt and ANC apprehensive over this week's discussions

SOUTH Africa is holding its breath before the talks-about-talks between the ANC and the government in Cape Town this week.

The ANC is expected to insist on full indemnity for all ANC returning exiles while the government fears a section of the ANC might try to sink talks.

It is believed both parties are apprehensive about the talks. ANC delegates have promised a "hard line" in the talks, while the government is not expected to budge easily on certain issues.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha, however, told a City Press correspondent yesterday the government would discuss the ANC's view on the armed struggle and would not be dogmatic about it.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela was due to arrive in Cape Town last night. ANC delegates Beyers Naude, Walter Sisulu and Ahmed Kathrada arrived in Cape Town yesterday morning after the arrival on Friday of Alfred Nzo, Joe Slovo, Thabo Mbeki, Joe Modise and Ruth Momphati.

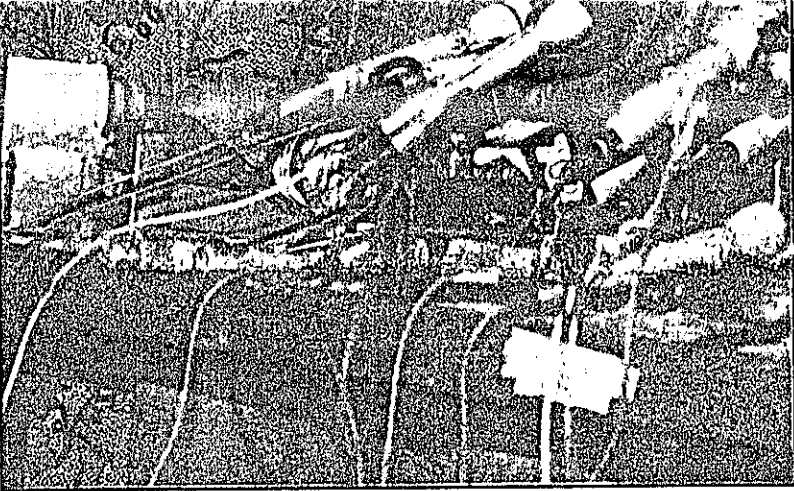
The ANC delegation was yesterday locked behind closed doors in what was believed to be a final strategy planning meeting.

A tight security network was thrown around their hotel, the Lord Charles, in Somerset West. Armed security men were screening the few people allowed through the main gate.



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Back home to negotiate... the ANC's Ruth Momphati and Joe Slovo at the DF Malan Airport press conference

The ANC delegation was yesterday locked behind closed doors in what was believed to be a final strategy planning meeting.

A tight security network was thrown around their hotel, the Lord Charles, in Somerset West. Armed security men were screening the few people allowed through the main gate.

It is now clear that one of the main issues to be tackled in the talks - which start on Wednesday and last until Friday - will be full amnesty for all political prisoners and ANC members. The ANC will insist this demand be met before the right climate for negotiations could be created.

It is believed the government, which this week tabled the Indemnity Bill in Parliament making provision for temporary and selective indemnity, could strongly resist this demand unless guarantees were given that Umkhonto we Sizwe would not establish itself as an armed force in the country.

It is also believed the government could strongly resist the lifting of the state of emergency because of the widespread violence in the country.

Fears have been expressed in government circles that a certain group of delegates might try to scupper the talks.

It is believed in government circles that President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe advised the ANC to conduct the talks in such a way that it appears as if the ANC had won the armed struggle and that they insisted on a ceasefire.

The government reaction would be that the two parties were beyond that stage and the talks were now about power-sharing.

The situation is seen as one of the ANC and the government jockeying for international support and the government feels it

## CP Correspondent

is moving on to high moral ground.

An unannounced approach by Denmark to establish full diplomatic relations with South Africa is quoted as an example of the way international opinion has turned in favour of the government.

Mass Democratic Movement spokesman Murphy Morobe said this week: "The ANC is committed to the peaceful resolution of apartheid. But this hinges on the unconditional return of all exiles and the granting of amnesty to all political prisoners."

He said since the unbanning of the ANC in February the personnel of the organisation had remained outside the country and this hampered the consolidation of the organisation in South Africa.

Mandela and Slovo are today expected to address a historic ANC rally at Mitchell's Plain.

But wet weather in Cape Town may force the cancellation of the rally. A final decision on whether it would take place would have been taken by late yesterday afternoon, an ANC spokesperson said.

The PAC's trade union arm, the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu), on Saturday attacked the ANC for agreeing to the talks.

Nactu assistant general secretary Cunningham Nqekana, addressing thousands of mourners at the funeral service of PAC founder member Japhtha Masemola, accused the ANC of going into talks with the government without consulting other sectors of the liberation movement.

"It is very sad for the ANC to have taken that decision. We in Nactu say it is arrogant of the ANC in that regard."

He said the PAC and Nactu's only choice was to escalate the armed struggle.

## ect cries thief

Courtroom, saying he needed an assurance from the magistrate that his case would be taken up by the prison's commanding officer.

He was dressed in a paint-spattered blue overall, a tattered grey shirt and a pair of gumboots.

Zwane has been charged with the murder of Winnie Makgorogo in Naledi on October 16 last year.

He allegedly attempted to murder four others - Jaconita Gelane, Ouma Elizabeth Kgwale, Patricia Lebogang Kgwale and Boy Matlala Mtholo.

Each Cigar  
a Masterpiece

ALSO AVAILABLE  
IN SUPERIOR MILD

Cream of the Cro

THE  
MASTERPIECE

C/Kess 29/4/90 11A

# At home after 33

## CP Correspondent

WHILE he was in prison Nelson Mandela often thought of going back to Qunu to see the river and dam in which he swam as a young boy and to walk across the fields he played on during his childhood.

On Thursday his wish finally came true. The ANC deputy president finally returned home 33 years after his last visit to the tiny rural village in which he spent much of his youth.

The whole village and many people from surrounding villages came to greet him and lined the small dusty roads as he walked through Qunu.

He saw many faces he recognised from his childhood and spent much of his time talking to the people.

As he walked through the maize fields towards the grave of his mother, he looked at the dam in which he swam as a boy

and remarked to his wife Winnie that it had always seemed very big to him, but now he saw how small it was.

At his mother's graveside he was given sand which he threw on to the grave, before washing his hands.

He later told journalists it was Xhosa tradition to show respect to the dead and that it was customary to eat "roasted flesh" afterwards.

Having paid his respects at his family graves in Qunu, Mandela went to the graveside of king Sabata Dalindyebo and visited the house in which the paramount chief of the Tembus had lived.

After these visits, he returned to Qunu and went to the site of his fathers' plot to address the villagers, many of whom were wearing traditional Tembu dresses.

As he sat next to Winnie and his youngest daughter Zinzi, he often turned to his wife and showed her people he still recognised.

He also took his youngest grandchild on to his lap as local leaders addressed the crowd.

When it was his turn to speak he said no words could describe the emotions he was feeling.

But then he needed no words, for the smile on his face clearly showed the happiness he must have felt at coming home after 33 years.

He told the 2,000-strong crowd he could see many changes in the area, and that some areas that were now maize fields had been villages when he lived there.

"When I came to school here, I used a sheepskin as my blanket,



Maj-Gen

and for the education his riding that was t. clothing I.

He said progress, a ern road t Port Eliza

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Nelson Mandela pays his respects at the graveside of his mother.



On his visit to home village Qunu, Mandela spent most of his time talking to local residents.

C/Kess 29/4/90

11A

# After 33 years

## CP Correspondent

WHILE he was in prison Nelson Mandela often thought of going back to Qunu to see the river and dam in which he swam as a young boy and to walk across the fields he played on during his childhood.

On Thursday his wish finally came true. The ANC deputy president finally returned home 33 years after his last visit to the tiny rural village in which he spent much of his youth.

The whole village and many people from surrounding villages came to greet him and lined the small dusty roads as he walked through Qunu.

He saw many faces he recognised from his childhood and spent much of his time talking to the people.

As he walked through the maize fields towards the grave of his mother, he looked at the dam in which he swam as a boy

mother.



He talking to local residents.

and remarked to his wife Winnie that it had always seemed very big to him, but now he saw how small it was.

At his mother's graveside he was given sand which he threw on to the grave, before washing his hands.

He later told journalists it was Xhosa tradition to show respect to the dead and that it was customary to eat "roasted flesh" afterwards.

Having paid his respects at his family graves in Qunu, Mandela went to the graveside of king Sabata Dalindyebo and visited the house in which the paramount chief of the Tembus had lived.

After these visits, he returned to Qunu and went to the site of his fathers' plot to address the villagers, many of whom were wearing traditional Tembu dresses.

As he sat next to Winnie and his youngest daughter Zinzi, he often turned to his wife and showed her people he still recognised.

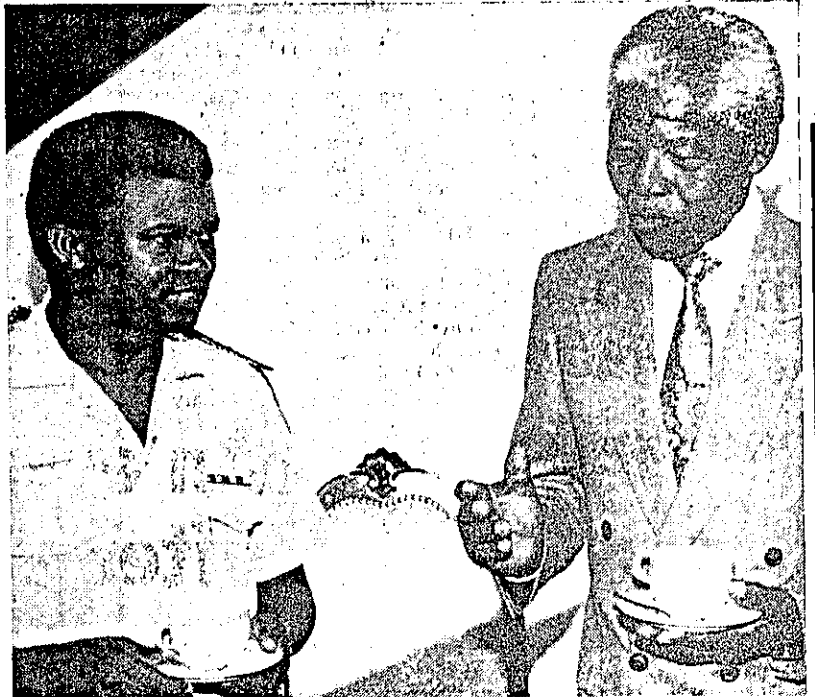
He also took his youngest grandchild on to his lap as local leaders addressed the crowd.

When it was his turn to speak he said no words could describe the emotions he was feeling.

But then he needed no words, for the smile on his face clearly showed the happiness he must have felt at coming home after 33 years.

He told the 2000-strong crowd he could see many changes in the area, and that some areas that were now maize fields had been villages when he lived there.

"When I came to school here, I used a sheepskin as my blanket,



Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa and Mandela chat over a cup of tea.

and for the purpose of my education my father cut his riding breeches and that was the only piece of clothing I used."

He said he could see progress, such as the modern road from Umtata to Port Elizabeth.

"But when I travel into the countryside, my heart becomes sore.

"The poverty I saw when I last came here in 1956 is still present today."

He blamed the South African government for this poverty and announced that he would suggest to the executive of the ANC that they help secure resources to enable homelands with progressive governments to better the living conditions of people living in the territories.

He said anybody visit-



Madiba takes a break with his grandchild.

ing these areas could see the mockery of those saying blacks would starve if sanctions were enforced.

"Blacks are starving already, we do not need sanctions to starve."

After his speech he participated in the customary meal of roasted beef, before flying off in a helicopter to visit another rural area. - ANA

Pics: AFRAPIX

CALL TIPS 30/4/90

11A (100)

# Priest maimed

## SA rightwingers 'behind parcel bomb'?



**MAIMED . . .** Father Micheal Lapsley, who was seriously injured in a parcel bomb blast in Harare. Last night he was in intensive care after his hands were amputated.

**A CHILL** gripped ANC exiles in Harare last night after the parcel bomb attack which blew the hands off a deported Anglican priest who officiated at ANC ceremonies.

Last night Father Michael Lapsley, 41, was in a serious condition in an intensive care ward in a Harare hospital where both his hands had been amputated. He has also lost the sight of his right eye.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu has questioned whether the attack had come from right wing extremists who want to scupper talks between the government and the ANC.

"I hope this cruel bombing is not what we suspect it to be — an attempt by right wing elements, possibly with contacts in the security forces, to sabotage the negotiating process," the archbishop said.

"It is extraordinary that this sort of activity can continue while all these commissions and police investigations are happening.

"I called some time ago for the complete disbanding of the CCB (Civil Co-operation Bureau) and I renew that call.

"The government needs to take every possible step to ensure that no one in its ranks is co-operating with those who want to derail peaceful negotiations," he said.

An angry ANC member in Harare said that the blast was "a warning to all ANC members here and anywhere else that we must not let our guard down".

"With the upcoming talks between the ANC and the government and all the disclosures about the death squads, it appeared that the threat of such bombings had been reduced.

"We had been thinking more about going home than of the danger of another bomb by Pretoria's agents. We were wrong," he said.

ANC members said security measures which had lapsed since the unbanning of the organisation would have to be re-activated.

DP co-leader Dr Dennis Worrall said last night that the incident was "deplorable".

### Car bomb

"We can accept that this is not the official work of the government and should not affect this week's talks about talks. If anything this must be a spur to talks," he said.

The blast was the first such incident blamed on South African agents in Zimbabwe since January 1988 when a car bomb exploded outside a Bulawayo homestead used by ANC exiles. One man was killed in the attack.

Witnesses to the blast said Father Lapsley was sitting down with the telephone receiver in one hand when he opened a book contained in a parcel he had received on Saturday night.

The explosion which followed ripped off the ceiling and shattered windows in the lounge and the adjoining room of his home.

The only other person in the house at the time, a young teacher, was not hurt apart from his hearing being affected.

Before lapsing into unconsciousness, Father Lapsley said the package had a South African postmark, witnesses said.

According to sources in Harare only medical personnel were being allowed to see Father Lapsley.

When he leaves the intensive care unit he will be moved to a security ward.

Father Lapsley, a former chaplain to University of Natal students, went to live in Lesotho after being expelled from South Africa in the mid '70s. He became a member of the ANC and was later expelled from Lesotho and moved to Harare.

He worked for the Lutheran World Federation until recently and was due to move to a parish in the Diocese of Matabeleland soon.

According to a member of the Liberation Support Committee, Mr John Stewart, friends of the Anglican priest had left his house only 2½ hours before the bomb exploded.

The chief representative of the ANC, Mr Max Mlonyeni, earlier said he was to have attended the party. Last night Mr Mlonyeni blamed the attack on South African agents. — Own Correspondent, Sapa and UPI



From page 1

*CAPL Tia P 30/4/90 11A*  
The ANC would not abandon allies who "faced persecution with us for 80 years", Mr Mandela said.

In their speeches, the returning ANC-SACP leadership corps told the rally that the "struggle" would have to continue on all fronts because a negotiated peace would not be achieved simply by smooth talk.

In his first public address in South Africa in almost three decades, Mr Slovo said: "If there is a real way ahead without bloodshed, we will grab it with both hands."

However, he warned to rousing applause that the only brand of non-racialism that would satisfy the ANC/SACP alliance was "one which ends all economic and race privilege".

Emphasizing that this week's talks were part of a search for peace and equality but justifying at the same time the ANC's decision to resort to armed struggle, he said: "We cannot doubt that because we spoke with the AK-47 that dialogue is at least in the air."

Mr Slovo said that some whites were nervous that "we will do unto them as they did unto us".

Many whites had "allowed their feelings to be washed away by swimming pools and champagne".

ANC secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo said the ANC demanded the unconditional release of all political prisoners and an end to the state of emergency.

The possibility of a negotiated settlement did not mean the end of armed struggle.

"To do so would be to desert the brutalised masses and give further licence to those (representing the state) who killed and maimed people."

Mr Nzo noted: "We left to fight and we have returned to fight using whatever means at our disposal."

# SACP link to stay — Mandela

*CAPL Tia P 30/4/90 11A*

By ANTHONY JOHNSON and NORMAN PATTERTON

THE African National Congress had no intention of ending its lengthy alliance with the SA Communist Party, ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela told a rally in Mitchells Plain yesterday.

He revealed that the government had urged the ANC to drop SACP secretary general Mr Joe Slovo from its team due to begin talks with the National Party on Wednesday.

Mr Mandela said the government was "worried" about the composition of the ANC's 11-person team, particularly "the inclusion of Comrade Joe Slovo".

Mr Slovo had for years been characterised by the government as Public Enemy No 1 in South Africa, particularly during the run-up to elections.

Mr Mandela described Mr Slovo as "a true son of South Africa" and said he would remain in the team.

## Enthusiastic reception

A crowd of between 15 000 and 20 000, including a sprinkling of whites, attended the rally at the Lentegeur sportsfields. Organisers who had expected a turnout of more than 100 000 last night blamed the wintry weather.

The crowd had been demarcated into sections with white tape and was bodily searched. Hundreds of marshals were on hand.

There was prolonged cheering when the members of the ANC delegation to the government arrived at the field. The speakers mounted a two-storey stage protected by a two-metre concrete wall topped with razor wire. A police helicopter circled at a respectful distance.

Mr Slovo, despite talking for over an hour at yesterday's rally, was the speaker who received the most enthusiastic reception. His speech was interspersed with chants like, "Viva redistribution of wealth, viva!"

Mr Mandela said the government had told him that it would be difficult for them to explain to their supporters why they were having discussions with a communist.

"I pointed out that we sympathised with them and knew their difficulties and were keen to assist them where we could — but suggested that they must regard the matter as closed."

He had risked his own reputation by telling his organisation that President F W de Klerk was an honest man and meant what he said.

To page 2

The ANC demanded the institution of an impartial interim government to oversee political administration during the transitional period, Mr Nzo said.

Mr Mandela, who spoke only briefly at the rally, said the fact that this week's meeting was taking place with the government represented a victory for the ANC. "We have urged the government for the last three years to meet the ANC and resolve the problems of the country in a peaceful manner."

He said the ANC and the SACP were "totally committed to peace".

All speakers at yesterday's rally had some praise for the changes introduced in recent months by Mr De Klerk.

## Workers' Day

THE Cape Times will not appear on Workers' Day tomorrow. The advertisement offices will, however, be open for acceptance of domestic notices from 8.30am to 11.00am.



- At Your Service
- Births, etc.
- Business
- Crossword
- Focus
- Target

## The late but lively communists

ANC supporters at yesterday's mass rally in Mitchells Plain were urged to abandon the concept of "African time".

"Let's change African time — let's be punctual," said Western Cape UDF president Mr Christmas Tinto to laughter and applause after hundreds of noisy late-comers arrived with a Communist Party flag and disrupted the speech of ANC secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo.

However, the group managed to time their arrival to just a few minutes before the address of their real hero — SA Communist Party general-secretary Mr Joe Slovo.

Govt, ANC burn midnight oil



Greetings ... Nelson Mandela and Joe Slovo at yesterday's rally.

# 'Ceasefire' the key to historic talks

11A 30/4A

By Peter Fabricius,  
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The African National Congress and the South African Government both entered final preparations today for Wednesday's historic talks, with the ANC apparently aiming to negotiate a mutual "ceasefire".

Both delegations held intense consultations over the weekend to prepare for the talks, which are unanimously regarded as critical for South Africa's future.

The Government's nine-man delegation met over the weekend and will spend the whole of the public holiday tomorrow finalising its strategy for the three-day talks which begin at 3.30 pm on Wednesday at an undisclosed venue in Cape Town.

ANC sources said its delegation would hold consultations today with various experts and interest groups in various fields to finalise the agenda.

The issue of violence is emerging as the central problem in the talks, at least in the Government's view.

The ANC has placed the lifting of the state of emergency and the release of political prisoners and return of exiles as its top priorities.

The talks are being held in the face of hostility from both the far-left Pan Africanist Congress and the far-right white Conservative Party.

At the funeral of PAC founder member Mr Japhta Masemola in Atteridgeville on Saturday, PAC vice-president Mr M Mawetu told a crowd of thousands the ANC had "sold out" by agreeing to talks.

"We do not need reform. We need a complete overhaul of the entire economic and political system." There could be no compromise. "Africa will always be for Africans, Africans for humanity, and humanity for God."

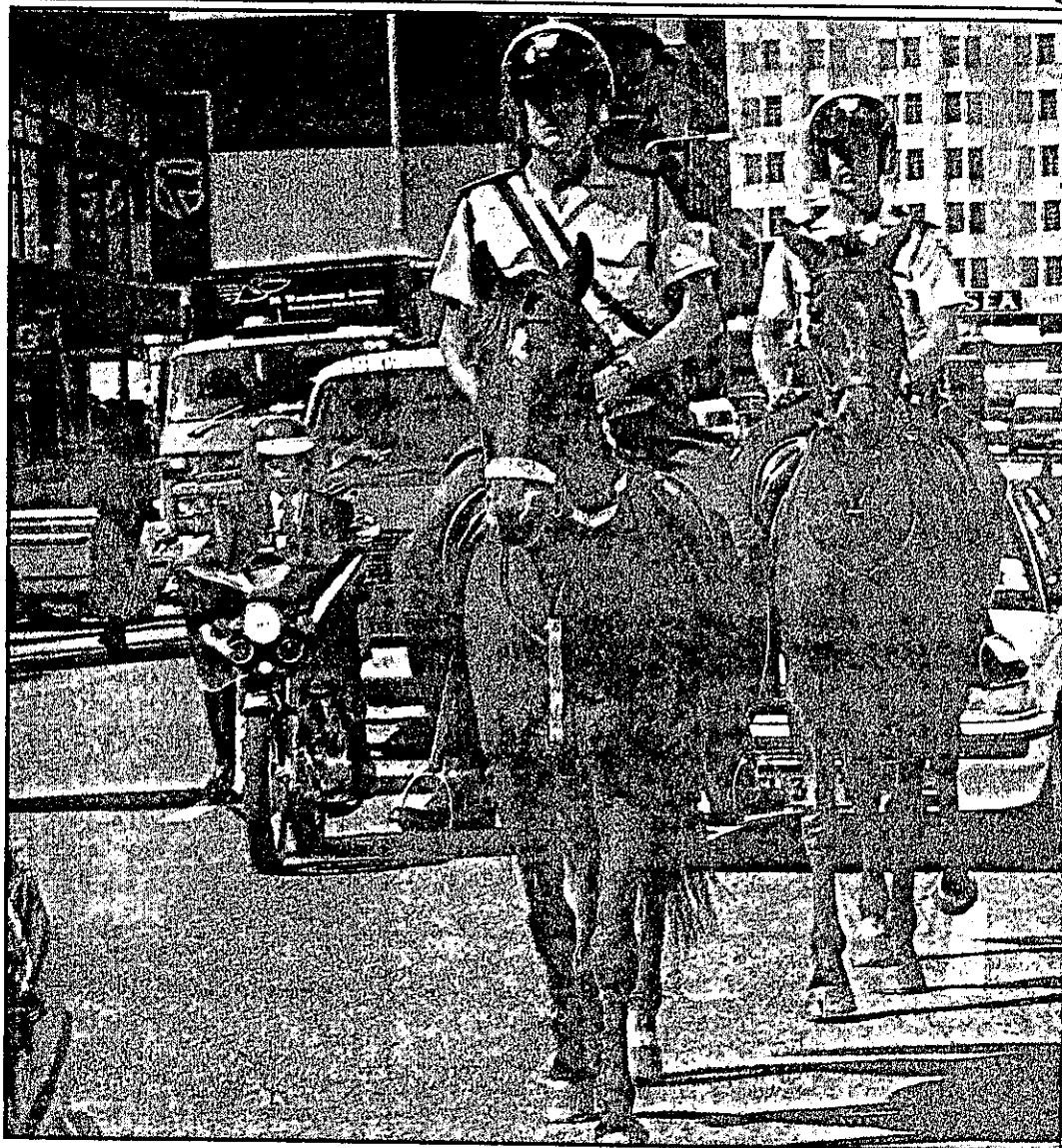
Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht accused President de Klerk at a weekend rally at Potchefstroom of getting people "charged-up" to behave recklessly. It was not the CP that was doing so.

## 'Slowly chaps'

"It is Mr de Klerk who is making people so excited. I must say to them: 'Slowly chaps, slowly, slowly'."

He said the CP was not against negotiation, but the CP "will not barter away its territory to the ANC".

The Government's view at Wednesday's talks is expected to be that the state of emergency cannot be lifted unless the ANC commits itself firmly and unambiguously to a peaceful negotiation process, but the Government is likely to have difficulty with the notion of a ceasefire. A Cabinet source said agreeing to a ceasefire



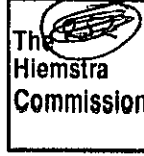
Will these 'Mounties' get their man? ... Heads turned in Hillbrow when two horsemen from their mounts through the traffic en route to the parks, which they have been patrolling during assistants Ivan Judeal riding "Tank" (left) and Andre de Lange on "Tomcat" are used to the welcome they receive from regular park visitors relaxing in the CBD, Hillbrow, Rosebank and Bra

## Police to quiz witness on assassination claim

30/4/90

By Craig Kotze

Police will question former Johannesburg City Council spy handler Mr Hannes Gouws, who has named a former SADF sergeant as the killer of Dr David Webster, as soon as he has completed giving evidence before the Hiemstra Commission, said Brigadier Floris Mostert, the detective investigating Dr Webster's death.



Merwe, the Commissioner of Police, to investigate the claim.

## Demo recalls Webster death

30/4/90 Staff Reporter

Students, staff and members of the Black Sash and Five Freedoms Forum held a placard demonstration outside Witwatersrand University today to commemorate the anniversary of the murder of Dr David Webster.

It is a year ago tomorrow that Dr Webster was gunned down outside his home in Troyeville.

apparently aiming to negotiate a mutual "ceasefire".

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Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht accused President de Klerk at a weekend rally at Potchefstroom of getting people "charged-up" to behave recklessly. It was not the CP that was doing so.

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The Government's view at Wednesday's talks is expected to be that the state of emergency cannot be lifted unless the ANC commits itself firmly and unambiguously to a peaceful negotiation process, but the Government is likely to have difficulty with the notion of a ceasefire. A Cabinet source said agreeing to a ceasefire would imply the ANC had achieved a military victory.

The Government and the ANC will start their talks with diametrically opposite views on the state of emergency. Government's view is that the state of emergency is necessary to curb violence — and is therefore inextricably linked to the need for the ANC to suspend violence.

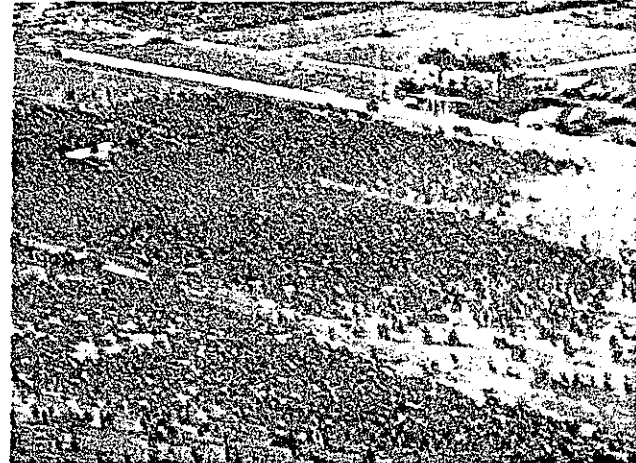
By contrast, the ANC sees the emergency purely as a device to curb Government's political opponents.

Sources in the Government's delegation said today they were "fairly encouraged" by the weekend's statements of ANC leaders.

A source said that although SA Communist Party chief, Mr Joe Slovo, had taken a tough line on majority rule — completely rejecting power sharing — both he and Mr Nelson Mandela had committed themselves to peaceful negotiations.

Mr Slovo had twice said he had come in a spirit of conciliation and ANC foreign affairs spokesman, Mr Thabo Mbeki, accepted that the issue of violence would have to be set aside before proper negotiations could begin.

# Wintry welcome for returned ANC exiles



**LEFT:** ANC executives and officials on the high-security stage, surrounded by barbed wire, at yesterday's ANC-SA Communist Party rally. The delegates who will meet the government this week occupied the upper deck. **CENTRE:** Faces in the 20 000-strong crowd at the rally at Lentegour sportsfields, Mitchells Plain. **RIGHT:** An aerial view of the crowd.

Pictures: GLENN SHERRATT and STEWART COLMAN

# Priest maimed

CAP. Trips 30/4/90

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# Govt wanted Slovo 'dropped'

Political Staff

Star 30/490  
SAPA UFA

The Government wanted the ANC to drop SA Communist Party (SACP) chief Mr Joe Slovo from its negotiating team in Cape Town for this week's "talks about talks", Mr Nelson Mandela revealed at yesterday's political rally in Mitchell's Plain.

A Cabinet Minister made the approach, Mr Mandela said, but the ANC made it clear that it would not compromise on its alliance with the SACP.

He said the Cabinet was worried that the presence of Mr Slovo, a communist, at the talks would be difficult to explain to their white constituency.

Mr Mandela said he told the Minister, who he did not name, that he had

risked his own reputation by telling the ANC and diplomats that President de Klerk "is an honest man and that I believed he meant everything he said".

"I said to them that they should also risk their own reputation and explain to whites in this country that Mr Slovo was a true son of South Africa and that it was quite proper for him to ... try and settle problems in this country in a peaceful manner."

● Mr Mandela yesterday appealed to white South Africans to make it possible for ANC members to throw away their AK47s, reports Sapa.

The ANC was not able to bring about peace, he said. The Government should lead the way and the ANC would try to find a solution as soon as possible.

# ANC 'wants real democracy'

By MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent, and ANDREA WEISS, Staff Reporter

THE African National Congress was ready to walk through State President Mr F W de Klerk's "open door" if it believed there was a prospect for "real democracy", but failing this, the door would have to be broken down.

"This is not war talk, it is peace talk," SA Communist Party general secretary Mr Joe Slovo told a cheering crowd of more than 20 000 at the Lentegeur sports field in Mitchell's Plain yesterday.

"We know that negotiation is a question of give and take, but there is a limit to what one side gives and what the other side takes. This is the gap that must be closed if dialogue is to lead to a political solution," he said.

The commitment to seeking a peaceful negotiated settlement — while maintaining "all forms" of the struggle — and assurances to white "compatriots" were prominent themes in speeches by Mr Slovo, ANC secretary general Mr Alfred Nzo and deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela.

## 'Negotiation'

They shared the platform with the rest of the ANC's 11-member negotiating team and other prominent figures in the movement.

Mr Slovo rejected "arm-chair revolutionaries with mythical armies" who opposed the ANC's decision to talk, saying that "like other liberation movements, we accept when negotiation and even compromise" was in the interests of what people were struggling for.

Addressing compatriots on South African soil for the first time since 1963 in a speech in which he paid special tribute to the "heroes" who had died in "long years" of the struggle, Mr Slovo emphasised the need for "real democracy", cautioning that "without democracy peace does not stand a chance."

"What we want to talk about is democracy as understood by the civilised world."

This was a democracy in which every adult person had an equal vote and played a

leaders were unhelpful to the negotiation process, Mr Slovo said: "Let me say that some of his own militant statements have not been helpful ... he continues to proclaim that there will never be redistribution of wealth or majority rule and the point is made that group rights and vetoes will see to that."

"What he is saying is that 'you can have everything you want except what we decide 'to veto'."

In a message to the white community, Mr Slovo said some white fears were understood because "you are afraid we shall do unto you what you have done unto us".

Propaganda made whites believe that only they knew how to practise democracy. So many whites had allowed their human feelings to be "washed away by swimming pools and champagne".

"Let more and more of you come over to the side of freedom," he invited.

Addressing white workers, Mr Slovo said: "All you own is your skills and your talents. We need you and you need us. Don't allow yourselves to become the stormtroopers of the Maritz and the Rudolfs."

The liberation movement represented the biggest diversity of culture, language, religion and traditions. "We would not oppose such rights," he stressed.

The protection of every citizen in a constitution would be the kind of "veto" the ANC would welcome.

In a resounding conclusion, Mr Slovo told the crowd: "Let

the air vibrate with demands for majority rule, redistribution of wealth and land, a constituent assembly and an equal vote. Let us surge forward in a tidal wave towards freedom. Let us not rest until we have a truly non-racial, united democratic South Africa."

Speaking before Mr Slovo, Mr Nzo said the unbanning of the ANC and other organisations was "testimony to the fact that South Africa will never be the same again. Ours is a society in transition to a new order".

## 'Boldness'

He said the ANC "appreciates the boldness" of President De Klerk, but considered changes so far to be "small steps".

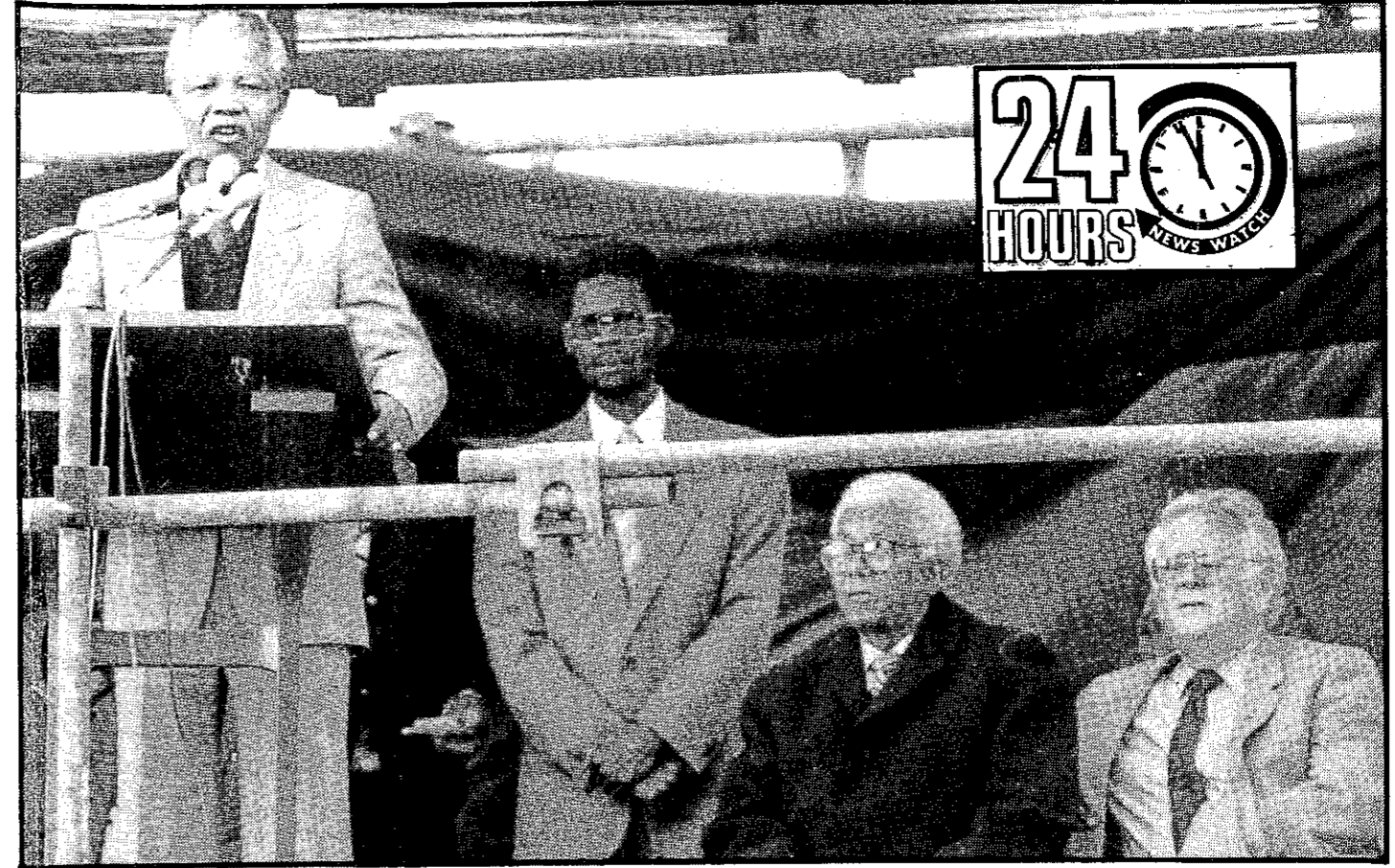
Victory was in sight, but it had not yet been "grasped".

"All necessary forms of struggle must be pursued. Without struggle, our hope will remain pious and our dreams will remain nightmares."

The ANC would "nourish" the search for a peaceful solution, but this "does not mean we should cast aside the armed struggle when the conditions to abandon it have not been created".

The ANC demanded an "impartial interim government to oversee the transition to a new order" and a democratically elected constituent assembly to write a new constitution.

The exiles, he said, had left the country to fight. "We have returned to fight using whatever means at our disposal".



Watched by his body-guard, ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela had the last word at the ANC rally in Mitchell's Plain yesterday. Seated are ANC head of the Internal Leadership Core Mr Walter Sisulu, left, and SA Communist Party secretary general Mr Joe Slovo.

## 20 000 brave cold to greet ANC leadership

By MICHAEL DOMAN and DON HOLLIDAY, Staff Reporters

MORE than 20 000 people braved cold and blustery conditions at Mitchell's Plain's Lentegeur stadium yesterday to listen to speeches by the strongest array of ANC leadership in South Africa in nearly 30 years.

And 2 000 newly-trained marshals delivered on the ANC promise, after the chaotic welcoming of Mr Nelson Mandela at the Grand Parade on February 11, that crowds would be effectively controlled.

They were divided along paramilitary lines into platoons, or "vanguards", each group named after a promi-

hand behind the stage to protect the ANC leaders.

At Lentegeur station a handful of police assisted Spoornet ticket examiners, who eventually gave up trying to check the tickets of crowds who streamed past the barriers.

At the stadium, the atmosphere in the early part of the day as much resembled a rock concert as a political rally.

Two bands pounded out mainly Afro-jazz rhythms and several poets took to the stage to deliver their works, which had strong "struggle" overtones.

Mr Manuel described international affairs head Mr Thabo Mbeki as "the biggest charmer in the ANC", Afrikaaner maverick Dr Beyers Naude as the "man who single-handedly broke the Broederbond" and SACP secretary general Mr Joe Slovo as "the man noted by the SABC for his red socks".

Welcoming the Western Cape convenor of the ANC, Mr Reg September, Mr Manuel said "he is determined to come and eat snoek and patats".

After Mr Slovo's popularly-received speech he and Mr



The Rev Beyers Naude, left, United Democratic Front publicity officer Ms Cheryl Carolus and director of the ANC's international affairs Mr Thabo Mbeki share a joke

DAVID BIGGS



TAVERN OF THE SEAS

## Why not have a male PA?

SOME years ago I was showing a friend round The Argus and when we got to the newsroom he looked around and burst out laughing.

"What's so funny?" I asked.

"All these men," he spluttered, "typing!"

To him typing was an exclusively female occupation, like having babies. It was almost like seeing a room full of men changing nappies.

But I think computers have changed all that. I'm sure there are as many men as there are women in the computer business today and they must all be able to type (some better than others, of course). A computer keyboard is similar to a typewriter keyboard.

However, looking through the "employment offered" advertisements I see that secretarial jobs are still almost exclusively reserved for women.

Blatant sexism, that's what it is.

Personally, I see no reason why a young man shouldn't choose a secretarial career. Men are reasonably bright (some) and should be able to master the intricacies of a filing system. Men have shown (through the computer industry) that they're capable of learning to type. And I've even known men to learn a bit of shorthand, believe it or not.

At one time it was considered essential for all reporters to know shorthand. We may be stupid, but we are trainable.

And, frankly, I think it would be quite a status symbol for a female executive to have a male secretary.

It would certainly sur-

It would certainly surprise the heck out of a lot of callers.

Isn't it time we dropped all this silly sexism and opened the secretarial profession to males?

## Take a powder

ALWAYS read the cautionary pamphlets that come with patent medicines.

A friend who has a small baby studied the pamphlet that came with some teething powders she bought recently. Now she feels that her child might be severely retarded.

The pamphlet says the powders "may lead to drowsiness and impaired concentration".

Fine. She doesn't mind a drowsy baby, even if it isn't concentrating.

Then it says the lack of concentration "may be aggravated by the simultaneous intake of alcohol".

Okay. She'll remember not to let her baby booze until after it has all its teeth.

But the frightening part comes when the pamphlet says: "Patients should be warned not to drive a motor vehicle, operate dangerous machinery or climb dangerous heights, as impaired decision-making could lead to accidents."

Goodness me! She thought her baby was quite bright because it could hold its rattle properly. But all the time there are apparently teething babies driving cars and operating dangerous machinery.

No wonder the storage instructions say: "Keep out of reach of children."

## Foggy again

EXAMPLES of fogspeak are still streaming in from readers, who obviously enjoy this kind of verbal contortion.

Here's a little gem from John Bourhill of Claremont.

"A slight inclination of the cranium is sufficient to the spasmodic movement of one of the optics toward an equine quadruped devoid of its visionary capacity."

Which means, of course, that a nod is as good as a wink to a blind horse.

★★★★★

JOHANNESBURG people really are rich. I heard of one chap who bought his dog a little boy to play with.

*The Wanderer*

an equal vote and played a part in running society.

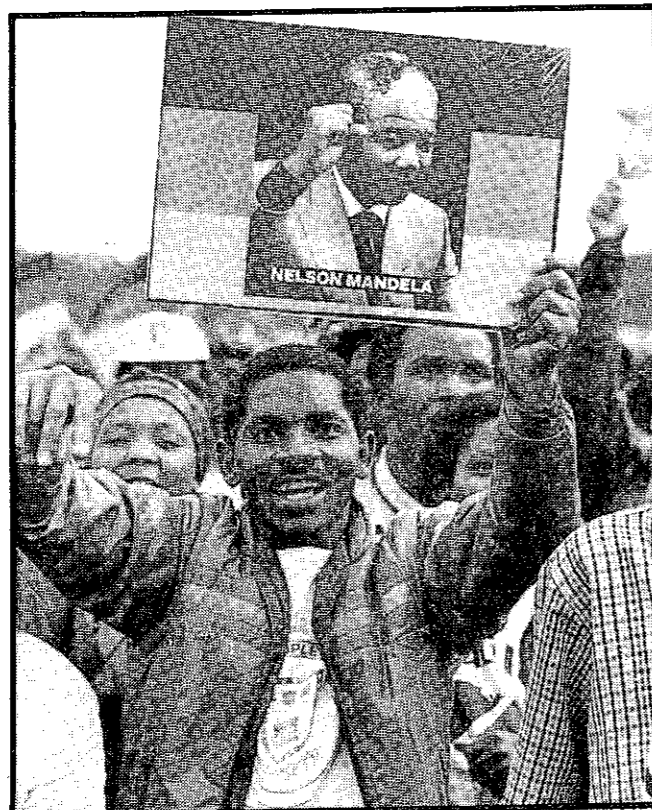
Likewise, non-racialism meant an end to all kinds of "political and economic privilege". Without majority rule and economic equality, South Africa would continue to be "a country of apartheid under another name".

"We cannot go to the negotiating table ready to abandon majority rule. We cannot go ready to forget that 90 percent of all productive property is owned by the white group. If we went to the table forgetting that we would not be negotiating, but discussing terms for our surrender. This we would not be prepared to do."

In answer to Mr de Klerk's repeated "complaints" that militant statements by ANC

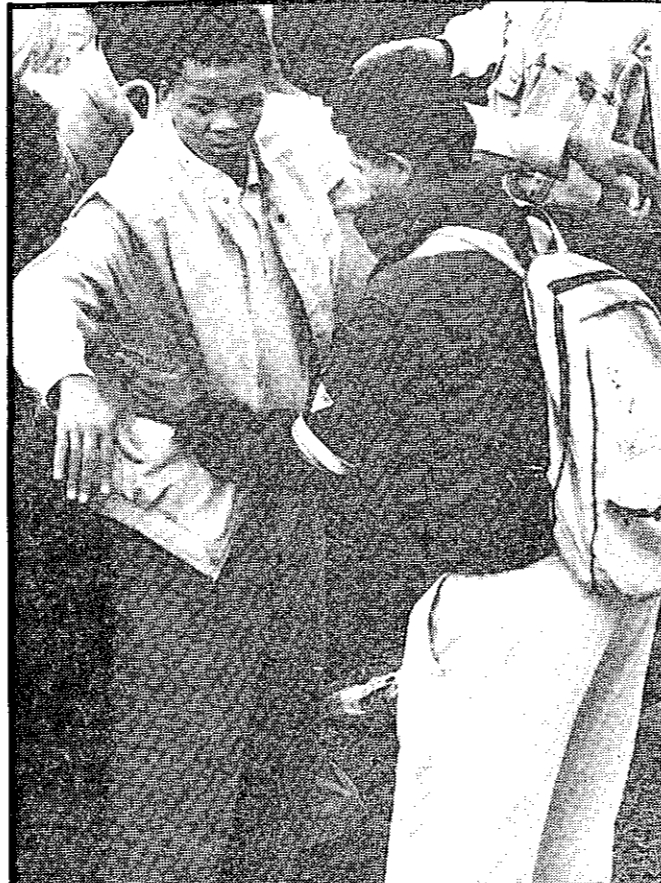


Some of the more than 20 000 people who braved the cold and wind to catch a glimpse of the ANC leaders at the rally



Pictures: LEON MÜLLER and ANDREW INGRAM, The Argus

There's little doubt who this man came to see as he holds aloft a portrait of Mr Nelson Mandela



ANC marshals bodysearched everyone who went into the sports ground.

## Government 'wanted ANC to drop Slovo'

By MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent, and ANDREA WEISS, Staff Reporter

The government wanted the African National Congress to drop Communist Party chief Mr Joe Slovo from the 11-member negotiating team in Cape Town for this week's "talks about talks", deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela revealed at a political rally in Mitchell's Plain.

A Cabinet Minister made the approach, but the ANC made it plain that it would not compromise on its alliance with the South African Communist Party.

Mr Mandela said the Cabinet was "worried" that Mr Slovo's presence at the talks would be "difficult to explain" to their white constituency.

"I pointed out to them that we sympathise with them. We know their difficulties and we are keen to assist where we can, but I suggested they must regard this matter as closed."

Mr Mandela told the Minister — whom he did not name — that he had risked his own reputation by telling the ANC and diplomats that Mr De Klerk

"is an honest man and that I believed he meant everything he said".

"I said to them that they should also risk their own reputation and explain to whites in this country that Mr Slovo was a true son of South Africa and that it was quite proper for him to come down and try and settle problems in this country in a peaceful manner."

He said in stark contrast to the "all Afrikaner" government team, the ANC's was truly non-racial.

nent ANC leader.

All people entering the sprawling stadium complex were subjected to a thorough body search which extended to frisking and sometimes even examination of hairdos and removing of shoes.

The three-tier stage was situated in a razorwire-enclosed area outside the grounds behind a two-metre concrete wall.

Roving squads of marshals periodically ejected hooligans from the crowd.

The South African Police kept a low profile. A police helicopter circled overhead occasionally and security police were reported to be on

Huge ANC and SACP banners dominated the stage and dozens of flags of both organisations fluttered in the crowd.

Promptly at 3pm, the main programme began. Shortly afterwards United Democratic Front Western Cape president Mr Christmas Tinto chided people arriving late.

"Let us change this business of African time where two o'clock becomes three o'clock. We must be punctual," he said.

ANC Western Cape spokesman Mr Trevor Manuel introduced some levity when individually welcoming the luminaries to rousing applause.

spontaneous toyi-toyi dance along with the rest of the crowd. This was the liveliest moment of the afternoon.

Throughout the afternoon, the crowd was urged to sign up with the organisation at several recruitment stations around the stadium.

Officials at the stations reported that "thousands" of people had signed up. After the rally the stations were inundated with inquiries.

And, as exuberant supporters pressed forward to catch a glimpse of the departing luminaries, the crowd was soothed by Miriam Makeba's song, "Aluta Continua".

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BELLVILLE	Holiday Inn, Cross Street, Bellville	Tuesday	24 April	7.30 p.m.
		Wednesday	25 April	7.30 p.m.
		Thursday	26 April	7.30 p.m.
CAPE TOWN	Life Line, 56 Roeland Street Cape Town	Wednesday	25 April	7.30 p.m.
NEWLANDS	Vineyard Hotel, Colinton Road, Newlands	Wednesday	2 May	9.30 a.m. and 7.30 p.m.
		Thursday	3 May	9.30 a.m. and 7.30 p.m.
		Sunday	6 May	7.30 p.m.
SEA POINT	Winchester Mansions Hotel, 221 Beach Road, Sea Point	Monday	30 April	7.30 p.m.
		Tuesday	1 May	7.30 p.m.
SOMERSET WEST	Lord Charles Hotel, Faure Street, Somerset West	Monday	23 April	7.30 p.m.
STELLENBOSCH	Lanzerac Hotel, Jonkershoek Road, Stellenbosch	Tuesday	24 April	7.30 p.m.

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# Inspire women to fight - BCMA

By ALI MPHAKI

MANY women refrain from the activities of the struggle after being treated badly by comrades with childish and playboy habits, contends an article in the latest edition of *Letsetse*, a Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) mobilising pamphlet.

The article further says that women have sometimes been recruited to the struggle simply as companions and fans of male activists.

"When they see their contribution undermined in these ways, many women stay away from the activities of the struggle. Some observe from a distance that the dignity of their gender is not upheld, and decide to use their energies elsewhere," the article states.

While commending the role of women participating in the struggle, *Letsetse* asks pertinent questions like how many women are there at the national leadership of the two main labour federations (Cosatu and Nactu) or the churches and other mass organisations.

It says that in the past many families used to find it more important to educate their sons than their daughters.

## Backbone

"We must work to change these positions," it urges.

In many countries such as Zimbabwe, Nicaragua and the Philippines, women have been and are the backbone of the revolution. Azanian women can do just as well.

"To weaken the forces of oppression, we must make an extra effort to build women's participation, and to increase the women's role in decision-making," the article says.



Militant women have formed the backbone of many revolutions. Without their participation, true liberation is not possible.



1102

# Capitalist polish for the ANC's image

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The ANC has approached the world's most successful — and archly capitalist — public relations firm, Saatchi and Saatchi, to help polish its poor public image, the Sunday Times of London reported yesterday. Saatchi's, which created the thrusting image that helped make Mrs Margaret Thatcher a world figure, is treating the ANC request for help with caution,

the Sunday Times said.

It quoted a company source saying they were unhappy about promoting a political movement that advocated violence to achieve power.

The report said the ANC was desperate to escape from the image, which they blame on South African propaganda, that casts them as a terrorist organisation.

The ANC is notorious for its secrecy and bungled attempts at cov-

ering up uncomfortable truths — which make their errors and misjudgements seem far worse when they are eventually exposed.

A classic ANC foul-up was their bare-faced lie last year that their president, Mr Oliver Tambo, had not suffered a stroke.

Even after he had been flown unconscious from Zambia to London and lay in intensive care, they insisted that he was not seriously sick and would soon be back at work.

There was a fierce internal row in the ANC when they made a spectacular mess of their arrest of and the subsequent "escape" to the British embassy in Angola last year of the South African police infiltrator Olivia Forsyth.

Because of their media paranoia the ANC missed what should have been an international media coup — and Pretoria gleefully and skillfully turned a security failure into an apparent success.

An immediate problem for the ANC is how to make a public response to the charges of the torture and execution over the years of its own dissident members in exile.

It is understood that Mr Nelson Mandela, who this month boldly admitted that there had been instances of torture, has insisted that the matter be tackled head-on and answered publicly to avoid putting the movement in danger of losing credibility in its own camp.

# PAC, Azapo hit ANC for meeting govt

11A  
ANC Talks 30/4/90

PRETORIA. — The Pan Africanist Congress and Azapo, the Black Consciousness movement, have strongly criticised the ANC for agreeing to hold talks with the South African government.

Mr M Makwetu, vice-president of the PAC, said the ANC had "sold out" by agreeing to the talks.

He was addressing thousands of mourners at Atteridgeville stadium, near here, on Saturday at the funeral service of PAC founder member and former Robben Island prisoner Mr Japhta Masemola, who died a fortnight ago.

And Azapo, denouncing the talks in a statement issued yesterday, accused the ANC of trying to reach "an illusory winning post".

Azapo said the proposed meeting did not enjoy the mandate of black people and the talks would bear no fruit as "the people's suffering will not be alleviated".

Mr Makwetu said the problem in negotiating with the government was that the armed struggle had to be suspended.

Another problem was that the white minority had a veto over what was agreed by the negotiators.

He said the end result of talks would be the attainment of reform. "We do not need reform. We need a complete overhaul of the entire economic and political system.

"That means we need to bring the land back to its rightful owners," Mr Makwetu said, adding that there could be no compromise.

PAC president Mr Zeph Motopeng, in an apparent reference to ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela's assurance to whites that they had nothing to fear from ANC policies, said: "In his life Masemola was goaded and moved by the spirit of Pan-Africanism and had no time for compromise and appeasement."

Mr Motopeng said: "Slaves have nothing to gain from negotiating with their masters."

The PAC's trade union arm, the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu), also attacked the ANC for agreeing to the exploratory talks.

Nactu assistant general-secretary Mr Cunningham Nqokana, also speaking at the Masemola funeral service, accused the ANC of going into talks with the government without consulting other sectors of the liberation movement. This was "arrogant" of the ANC, he said. — Sapa



Picture: ANDREW INGRAM, The Argus

**THE BIG THREE:** The speakers at the rally in Mitchell's Plain, ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, left, SA Communist party chief Mr Joe Slovo and ANC secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo greet an ecstatic crowd.

# Hard day's work for talks teams

Argus 30/4/90 (11A)



By IOS WENTZEL On the Presidency  
 THE government and African National Congress teams for this week's historic first round of peace talks were today meeting separately to establish their positions on key issues.

This week's talks are being held to remove obstacles to constitutional negotiations.

One of the ANC delegates said they would have a hard working session today to prepare for issues on the agenda such as the release of political prisoners, immunity from prosecution for exiles and an end to political trials and executions.

At today's meeting they will assess reports on issues to be raised which have been prepared by various experts and interest groups, including the leadership of the trades union alliance, Cosatu, the UDF and the Mass Democratic Movement.

One of the government delegates confirmed that his delegation was also making last-minute preparations today.

Matters for discussion today, among members of the government team also include political prisoners and exiles. Legislation dealing with this is to be introduced soon.

Also on the government team's agenda today will be the official position on the



David Frost

## Sensational sand shot

SOUTH African golfer David Frost sank a sensational sand shot on the final hole of the 72-hole USFG Classic at New Orleans to claim his fourth major US PGA title.

It was a dramatic way for Frost to break out of the worst drought in his short career, having missed the cut in his last eight tournaments.

● See page 14.



Picture: JIM McLAGAN, The Argus

**AERIAL VIEW:** The scene at Lentegeur Stadium where the ANC negotiating team for this week were introduced to supporters.

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Also on the government team's agenda today will be the official position on the ANC's commitment to violence.

A steering committee of officials from both sides will also meet each other today to continue with planning logistics

**The ANC 'wants real democracy'**  
— page 11.

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for the talks, which are scheduled to start on Wednesday and continue until Friday.

Security has been one of the key items on this committee's agenda. The talks themselves are due to be held in Cape Town itself but no statement on this issue has been made.

An ANC spokesman emphasised that the initial round of talks would be purely about the obstacles to real negotiations.

There was also the feeling that this might be only the first of a number of preparatory talks as they dealt with matters that could not be rushed, although leaders from both have expressed the wish for speedy progress.

From the government side the impression of yesterday's rally was that the ANC leaders were taking a conciliatory line, in spite of their seemingly hardline stand on majority rule.

Michael Morris, The Argus Political Correspondent, reports that the ANC's delegation, in fighting form for the talks after a weekend of consultations between the internal and external leadership, is expected to come under pressure from the government team on the question of the "armed struggle".

But ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, who heads the delegation, made it clear at

## Gas blast horror: 9 fight for their lives

**The Argus Correspondent**  
DURBAN. — Fears are that the death toll from a huge gas blast which rocked central Stanger in Natal on Saturday could rise, as nine critically burned victims battle for their lives.

Two people have died so far and 34 have been injured.

An adult and a 10-year-old boy have died at King Edward VIII Hospital in Durban, and seven critically ill people — four women and three men — are fighting a desperate battle for their lives.

### GAS CYLINDERS

And a spokesman for the R K Khan Hospital at Chatsworth said a husband and wife were in a critical condition there.

The blast occurred in the parking lot of a Couper Street shopping centre on Saturday

## Wettest for 25 years

**Staff Reporter**

THIS month has been the Peninsula's wettest April in the last quarter century, according to the weather bureau at DF Malan airport.

Weathermen estimate that, including last night's rain, almost 130mm has fallen. The average April rainfall is 49mm.

And there is little sign of a let-up in the cold frontal conditions.

The rest of the week is likely to remain cloudy with showers and a north-westerly wind turning to south-west later in the week.

### BLESSING

There have been reports of minor damage in several areas, but in at least one instance the results may be positive.

This was in Kloof Street, where the April deluge caused the collapse of the original gable of historic 18th century Rozenhof Gardens.

The destruction of the gable could, however, turn out to be a blessing in disguise, according to Mr Warren Simpson, the architect in charge of a R4-million

project to turn the derelict building into an office complex.

He said today that the National Monuments Council had granted reconstruction and not restoration approval for the building.

Now the gable and portion of wall which collapsed will be fully rebuilt. "It means it will be properly constructed and at the end of the day will last far longer," Mr Simpson said.

Today a basement in Woolworths in Main Road, Claremont, was flooded and low-lying parts of Rosmead Avenue, Claremont, were also under water.

Parts of Hout Bay were without electricity this morning and a shop in Beach Crescent, Hout Bay, was flooded.

● A weather office spokesman at Johannesburg's Jan Smuts airport some 50.3mm of rain was recorded in the 24 hours from 8am on Saturday.

In Pretoria 51mm was recorded and 69mm in Irene.

Heavy rain in Johannesburg caused power cuts in Emmarentia, Greenside, Belgavia and Mayfair.

## Boy dies in shack blaze: 2 arrested

**Staff Reporter**

A YOUNG boy was burned to death early today when alleged arsonists set his family's shack alight in Khayelitsha, turning the wood-and-iron home into an inferno.

Police said Mzwandile Elemi of Section C, Khayelitsha, was trapped in the flames.

A man and a woman have been arrested. Charges of murder and arson are being investigated.

## Man shot in bar dies

DURBAN. — An Amanzimtoti man, Mr Richard Herbst, 40, died after being shot in a bar at the town. Police said that Mr Herbst became involved in an argument with another man who took out a pistol and shot him. A man has been arrested. — The Argus Correspondent.

## Choreographer dies

NEW YORK. — Michael Shawn, choreographer for the Broadway musical *Legs Diamond*, has died from Aids at the age of 45. — Sapa-AP.

● Odd spot

Jobless man

Picture: JIM McLAGAN, The Argus

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## GAS CYLINDERS

And a spokesman for the R K Khan Hospital at Chatsworth said a husband and wife were in a critical condition there.

The blast occurred in the parking lot of a Couper Street shopping centre on Saturday afternoon.

Businessman Mr Ismail Rawat said two gas cylinders had exploded and victims had had their clothes burned off almost instantly.

"It was a frightening sight as the victims' skin burned within seconds, and their bodies turned snow white. It was horrible: it was almost ghost-like," he said.

House of Delegates MP Mr Yunus Moolla described the tragedy as "the biggest calamity to hit the town in living memory."

Mr Moolla has also thrown his weight behind a campaign to set up a relief fund to help the victims.

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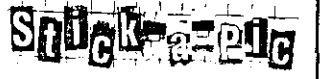
# Choreographer dies

NEW YORK. — Michael Shawn, choreographer for the Broadway musical *Legs Diamond*, has died from Aids at the age of 45. — Sapa-AP.

## The Argus

THE Argus will not be published tomorrow, *Workers' Day*.

The front counter and Classified Advertisement Department will be open from 8.30am to 11am.



● Because there is no Argus tomorrow two clues for the Sticker-a-pic car competition will be published on Wednesday.

# Jobless man wins R808 000

JOHANNESBURG. — A 31-year-old Germiston man has won more than R808 000 on Sun City's "Dream Machine".

This is the second time in two months the giant jackpot has been won.

At lunchtime yesterday Mr Mark Hellens, unemployed and married with two children, was mildly worried about keeping up payments on his car. An hour later he was a rich man.

He said he would buy a home in a retirement village for his 68-year-old mother with part of the money. — Sapa.

## ● Odd spot

# Mail-order bride ban

**The Argus Foreign Service**

MELBOURNE. — The flourishing mail-order bride trade in Australia is likely to slump following new laws in the Philippines banning brides-wanted advertisements.

The Manila government passed the law last week, thus taking the first positive step in stopping the flow of brides to Australia.

There has been rising concern in both governments at the number of young Filipino women marrying much older Australian men.

Many such marriages do not last, causing considerable social problems, mainly for the young Filipinos who end up alone and destitute in a strange land.

Agencies in several Australian cities — and Manila — promote the bride trade, advertising extensively in the Philippines for young women.

# Priest loses hands in bomb blast

Argus 30/4/90

Argus Africa News Service

HARARE. — Anglican priest and ANC member Father Mike Lapsley had both his hands blown off by a letter bomb last night.

Mr Lapsley had just returned from abroad and was alone at home opening a pile of mail when the bomb went off.

Late last night he was having surgery at Parirenyataa Hospital in the centre of Harare. Mr Lapsley was a close friend of exiled ANC lawyer Phyllis Naidoo from Durban.

## SHRAPNEL

Miss Naidoo was herself the victim of a letter bomb in Lesotho several years ago and still carries some of the shrapnel from the attack in her buttocks and lower back.

Mr Lapsley was often photographed by the Press at ANC occasions and anniversaries, leading processions in his priest's robes.

After the news was broken to ANC and Cosatu members attending a meeting here on the South African economy, an ANC member said: "Just when some of us were beginning to sit back and think that we could begin to relax our defences a little because of the recent events in South Africa, this tragedy has come as a great shock.

"We have warned all ANC members in Harare that they have to be on full alert again. It's back to the bad old times."

11A



Nelson Mandela, Joe Slovo and Alfred Nzo with clenched fists on the platform at a rally in Mitchell's Plain, Cape Town yesterday.

Pupils of Grace College playing soccer before the start of classes.

# Tutu slams Harare bomb

ANGLICAN Archbishop Desmond Tutu yesterday slammed the use of a letter bomb which had maimed an Anglican monk in Harare on Saturday night.

"I deplore acts of violence, from whatever source they come," he said in a statement from the Church of the Province.

He suspected the "cruel bombing" was an attempt by right-wing elements, possibly with contacts in the security forces, to sabotage the negotiating process.

"It is extraordinary that this sort of activity can continue while all these commissions and police investigations are happening.

"I called some time ago for the complete disbanding of the CCB (Civil Co-operation Bureau) and I renew that call.

"The Government needs to take every possible step to ensure that no one in its ranks is co-operating with those who want to derail peaceful negotiations."

## Statement

Father Michael Lapsley, a former chaplain to students at the University of Natal, lost an eye and had both his hands amputated after the blast. He is in danger of losing his other eye as well, according to the statement.

The bomb wrecked the inside of the house in central Harare.

Friends of Lapsley told Tutu's office yesterday that the parcel bomb was posted from South Africa. Lapsley opened it on Saturday night in the belief it contained books.

Lapsley went to live in Lesotho after being expelled from South Africa in the 1970s. He became a member of the African National Congress and was later expelled from Lesotho and moved to Harare.

He worked for the Lutheran World Federation until recently and was due to move to a parish in the Diocese of Matabeleland soon. - Sapa.



# The inimitable Japhta Masemola

Sowetan 30/4/90

11A

## FOCUS

**MUNTU MYEZA**, Azapo's projects co-ordinator who spent several years in prison with Jeff Masemola, the PAC leader buried on Saturday, pays tribute.

I REMEMBER your first words to me: "Nobody knows how long life is."

These were the words written in your very first "sputnik" in January 1977. You were in 'A' section and I was in 'E'.

The letter was in response to mine, flushed through the toilet bowl tied to a string. Two days later, and through the same method, I received your reply when I pulled the string back. The method was filthy and risky, but ingenious. A wall was subsequently built, but that initial contact was a prelude to the genius I was yet to discover in you.

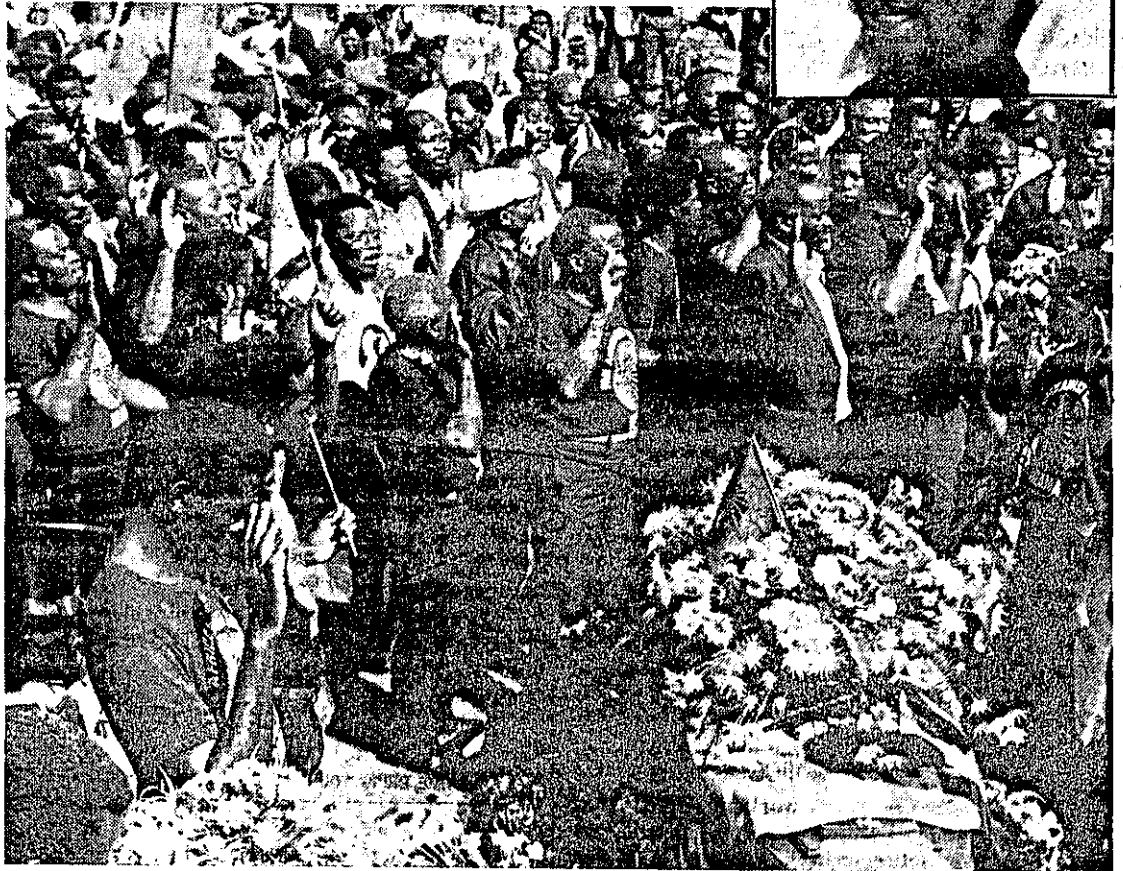
Many, and I daresay all, who came into contact with you found you enigmatic. They would differ on aspects of your personality but none would disagree on your wizardry, particularly with your hands.

### Cardboard

The legend that you constructed a boat right under their noses (they thought it was a good strong gate) ranks along with that of Makana the Left handed. The tell-tales who spilt the beans not only denied the history of Makana Island a glorious chapter, they earned you nine years in the 'A' section where I found you.

Few knew that you were the only one who could lock your cell door from the outside without a key. Even fewer knew that you had a clock that could tell time accurately - constructed from bits and pieces thrown out by the sea.

Fewer still knew that you made the beautiful pyramidal hat you wore to keep off the blistering sun, out of cardboard without any strings or pins or wires. Does anybody know that as a boy you bought bread and ginger cakes



Mourners pay tribute at Masemola's funeral in Atteridgeville on Saturday and, INSET: Muntu Myeza, who wrote this piece.

("knock me downs") with self-made five pence coins? You did not need to buy any tools because you made your tools. I have scoured the hardware shops and relevant factories for a fly catcher to match the ones you made. They almost eliminated all the flies on the island - but such an awful smell!

I always tell myself that if black people had the opportunities, I know of one man who had the knowledge, skill and patience to build an aeroplane from scratch. I did not find it strange that you studied anthropology. The origins of man was an appropriate route for a man like you to take. The knowledge of what man could do and why man did what he did was a logical vocation for someone like you.

Everyone knew that Bra Jeff was not a push-over. No one took a chance with him. I know because I did once. Do you remember the incident in 'A' section when we watched movies? There were 24 of us - but no one took

your seat. I did. I shall not forget how Nkwenkwe the projector man pleaded so that the show could go on.

Do you remember how we had to listen to music with the least lyrics because you felt the music was just "Baby...Baby"?

I remember your sense of humour. Two colleagues were comparing their sentences. One was a lifer like yourself and the other was doing 160 years. Remember the two guys? The comrade with 160 years said his sentence was better because it could be counted. The lifer retorted that his body would at least be released when he died, but that of this comrade would have to be kept until 160 years were over.

### Lyrics

I remember how you laughed. I remember because my six years looked like a "fourteen" sentence compared to such heavy-weight ones. You laughed and I thought there was pity in your laughter about those who tried to know "how long life is".

When we arrived on Makana in the summer of 1976 we had revolution coming through our pores. The flames of June 16 were still blazing and our trial had been one of the longest in the history of political trials.

One of the charges against us was that we eulogised and emulated political prisoners who belonged to banned organisations. You were one of those people. Although you belonged to the PAC and we were in the Black Consciousness Movement (SASO and BPC), it was a recognised fact that the business of struggle tied us together. Instinctively, you realised the magnitude of the events outside jail. I remember you saying something about your son. This was his time.

We differed and we agreed. I would like to think we agreed more than we differed. You remained true to yourself - the inimitable Japhta Masemola.

Sometimes I ask myself whether it would have been better for you to stay in prison and live or get out of jail and die?

So long Bra Jeff.

# Azasm 5 beaten - claim

By MATHATHA TSEDU

Five members of the Azanian Students Movement appeared battered, bruised and soiled at the Thohoyandou Magistrate's Court on Friday. They were allegedly assaulted by members of the bantustan's defence force.

Mr Azwindini Peter Mulibana, Mr Mushathoni Mutobvu, Mr Boikie Tsedu and two other youths told Mr R R Dama that they were beaten and dragged on the ground by soldiers. Tsedu identified one of his assailants as Ado Muila.

No charge was put to them and the case was remanded to June 14. Bail was fixed at R50 each. The packed courtroom reverberated to the singing of freedom

songs as the large crowd filed out of court and other cases on roll came to a standstill as youths sang and danced outside while waiting for the trialists to emerge from the court cells.

Soldiers clashed with the singing youths near the shopping centre and later confiscated this reporter's camera. The camera was returned undamaged. The arrests of the five youths followed an abortive march by members of the Allied Workers Union (AWU) on Wednesday to protest the banning of the union by the military regime two weeks ago.

SACP chief Joe Slovo tells rally

# Victory is ours

*Sowetan 30/4/90*



SACP general secretary Joe Slovo.

NEWLY-arrived ANC and Communist Party exiles received a tumultuous welcome in Cape Town yesterday when they addressed a political rally attended by thousands of people in Mitchell's Plain.

Mr Joe Slovo, South African Communist Party general secretary, and Mr Alfred Nzo, ANC general secretary, who arrived in South Africa on Saturday to take part in talks with the Government on Wednesday, told the crowd that the battle to end apartheid will be won.

Slovo said the working people of South Africa were today better organised than at any other time in the history of South Africa.

"It is you, the youth, the young lions who have and are still prepared to struggle in the face of death, who refuse to bow down before race domination, who

## South African Press Association

made it happen."

He said the ANC wanted the Government to know that "we know only one kind of democracy - a democracy in which every adult has an equal vote and equal say in running South Africa.

"We'll win a united South African homeland," he told the crowd.

This homeland would not be in the bantustans "but in every square metre of South Africa from Cape Point to the Limpopo and from the mouth of the Orange River to the Indian ocean."

He said it was his moment of greatest joy at last being back in this beautiful country but it was a moment tinged with sadness.

Slovo said he was also filled with sadness because some of the finest martyrs in the struggle were buried in South Africa's soil and some far away killed by death squads.

"They should have had the first place on this platform. Their blood fertilised the tree of defiance, the tree of resistance and this tree cannot be cut down," he said.

Apartheid was in the throes of a crisis from which it would not recover and although the ANC appreciated the boldness of President F W de Klerk, the struggles of the peoples had made the Government see reason, ANC general secretary Nzo said at a rally at Lenteguer in Mitchell's Plain yesterday.

## Change

"We have returned and our presence here today is a reflection of the change and changing position in South Africa," he said.

"Ours is a society in transition to a new order," he said.

He also said that Oliver Tambo, President of the ANC, had made remarkable progress recently since his illness last year.

Nzo urged the ending of the state of emergency and the release of all political prisoners and said this was a right.

Sharing the stage with

To Page 2

## More pupils held in police swoops

A WAVE of detentions under the State of Emergency has hit Western Transvaal townships and while a number of cases are confirmed by police, scores of other people have gone missing.

Activists say the areas affected are Klerksdorp, Orkney, Stilfontein and Hartbeesfontein, where a consumer boycott is in progress.

Monitoring organisations and activists put the figure of detainees as high as 300, consisting mostly of young people aged between 14 and 20.

A Klerksdorp attorney, and member of Lawyers for Human Rights, Mr Mohammed Motala, could confirm only those cases in which he had received instructions from families of the detainees.

By SONTI MASEKO

He confirmed about 60 cases in Klerksdorp, six in Schweizer-Reneke and 18 at Hartbeesfontein.

However, he said he could not confirm several cases where either full or proper names were not used.

## Report

Motala said it was difficult to establish the right number of detained people because several families did not know where to report detentions.

He said about 50 schoolchildren travelling in three minibuses were arrested in Klerksdorp on their way from a funeral at Schweizer-Reneke on April 7. This was reported

to him last week.

"The Western Transvaal has been worst hit with detentions," he said.

The Rev Xoliso Duka of the Western Transvaal and Northern Cape Council of Churches said in most cases teenagers gave their nicknames to the police and the organisation could not confirm their detentions.

"It is a problem for us. Parents have brought us reports about missing children and we are unable to trace them because they give wrong names to the police."

One detainee, Mr Lucas Ntloedomsang, is reported to have died at the Klerksdorp prison from "natural causes". He was from Schweizer-Reneke and was buried two weeks ago.

Police comment could not be obtained last night.

There will be no newspaper tomorrow as it is a public holiday, Workers Day. But your favourite newspaper will hit the streets on Wednesday with all the news, racing, sport and pictures. Don't miss it.

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P.T.O

# Azapo slams ANC over 'illusory' talks

*Sowetan 30/4/90*

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F W DE KLERK

**IN THE** hardest hitting statement yet on the impending talks between the ANC and the Government, Azapo yesterday denounced the May 2 meeting, accusing the ANC of attempting to reach "an illusory winning post".

**SA PRESS ASSOCIATION**

"We are surprised that you (the ANC) seem to consider that there are more commonalities between yourself and the De Klerk government to justify a prior meeting with them to the exclusion of a meeting that Azapo has

proposed among liberation organisations," said the statement.

The Black Consciousness organisation said the proposed meeting did not enjoy the mandate of black people and the talks would bear no fruit as "the people's suffering will not be alleviated".

It pointed out that De

Klerk had not acceded to majority rule in a unitary state and that he wished to enshrine minority rights in any future constitution.

In addition, the State President had also stated that the redistribution of land and wealth could not take place.

"All of these tenets

are but what constituted white oppression and exploitation over the centuries.

"This is apartheid, nothing more, nothing less. It is evident, therefore, that De Klerk wishes you to endorse apartheid. We are surprised that you should be lured into this," said Azapo.

# PR drive for the ANC

## Agency may help promote political campaign



FW DE KLERK

LONDON - The African Nationalist Congress had called on Saatchi and Saatchi's London agency to advise a campaign to promote the prospect of black majority rule in South Africa.

If the agency took the account it would produce an unlikely pairing of the Saatchi brothers, who

### SOWETAN Foreign News Service

helped Mrs Thatcher to victory in 1979, with the ANC and Mr Mandela.

But the agency's Blue Chip client list - including multi-nationals such as Proctor and Gamble, ICI and BP - might inhibit it taking on such a politically sensitive account.

Representatives from the ANC are thought to have met with Saatchi's management following a formal approach.

### Concern

The thaw in relations with the South African Government since the release of Mr Mandela has caused concern within

the ANC that pressure for sanctions and a democratic electoral system has subsided.

Anglo American, South Africa's largest company, is running an extensive press advertising campaign stressing the company's record on work-place equality and its opposition to apartheid.

The ANC is anxious that this and the more liberal stance of President FW de Klerk should not lead to a slackening of the international campaign against apartheid. UK opinion-formers are a key target for the ANC as Britain has consistently refused to impose trade sanctions against South Africa.



MRS THATCHER

# Autumn Festival offers insights into literature

By ELLIOT MAKHAYA

THE portrayal of black/white relationships and the role of the literary artist in a volatile political arena will be among the issues raised in the African literature series at the Wits Autumn Festival.

The festival runs from Wednesday to Sunday.

The Wits Autumn Festival offers a rich variety of events covering literature, drama, music, art, science and current issues such as literacy, en-

vironmental awareness and urban geography.

This year's festival will enable the public to share in the learning and cultural activities of the campus. On Saturday, those interested in African literature will have the chance to hear Prof Es'kia Mphahlele and other noted literary figures present a series of enlightening and controversial lectures on this subject in the South African context.

Mphahlele will address the issue of *Black and White in African Literature*. In an abstract to his lecture, he says the approach of African writing in the 19th Century moved between the extremes of rejection and total acceptance of Western culture.

In another lecture entitled *Literature in a Changing Society: The Abduction of the Text*, Nhlahlaha Maake of the Wits African Languages department will pose, and try to answer, the question: "In a politically volatile situation,

do the creative writer and the critic, particularly the teacher of literature, take a political stance which will place their work in the canon of documentary propaganda?"

DBZ Ntuli, writer and Unisa professor, will present a third lecture focusing on Zulu literature. Ntuli will look at the extent to which literature in African languages addresses the social problems of black people in South Africa as well as the hurdles encountered by a Zulu writer in his attempts to reflect these.



Professor Es'kia Mphahlele

THE resolutions that women's organisations took at the historic three-day conference of the National Assembly for Women in South Africa are being carried through, four years after its launch.

The 1 000 women from South Africa and Namibia present at the conference, dubbed Nairobi '85 to SA 200, had resolved, among other things, to forge unity among women's organisations and participate fully in the country's politics.

The conference was convened by six leading black South African women who had attended the Nairobi conference to mark the end of the

# Women to prepare for homecomers says the National Assembly for Women

By SIZAKELE KOOMA

Women's Decade in July 1985.

The past four years have been devoted to the first course. The assembly has been running workshops in conjunction with women's organisations.

Issues discussed included citizenship and the marriage laws. Some members of the assembly also went to Namibia last year to donate clothing to the country's returned exiles and observe how women's organisations there handled the flood of returnees.

The role of women in a changing South Africa will be discussed at the assembly's conference to be held in Johannesburg from May 11 to May 13. Its theme will be "Women Working Together Towards a New South Africa". This, it is hoped, will carry through the assembly's resolve on women's political participation.

Joyce Seroke, a member of the planning committee, said the organisation had identified preparation for returning exiles as a key issue that they should address.

"We hope to involve women of all organisations and delegate dif-

ferent tasks to each of the groups," Seroke said.

"The temporary housing of returnees, tracing their relatives and finding permanent housing for them, if none can be found, is what we will concern ourselves with.

## Integrate

"We should find ways that would help integrate the exiles' children into our education system when they come back. We should also make provision for the health and welfare of returnees, who could have suffered physical disability and mental traumas while they were away," she said.

The assembly is expecting over 20 000 exiles but it would provide for those who have not been identified, especially those in Europe.

About 300 delegates from 30 women's organisations are expected to attend the conference at the Protea Gardens Hotel in Hillbrow, Johannesburg. Solutions to the Natal violence, recognition of contributions of a selected number of women and a special mothers' day dinner are part of the agenda.



JOYCE SEROKE