

BLACK POLITICS

1990

Aug.

# Obstacles to talks 'will fall away'

DURBAN — ANC national executive committee member Thabo Mbeki hinted yesterday that major obstacles in the path of negotiations would be cleared away at the meeting between the ANC and government next week. <sup>11/18/90</sup>

In describing the ANC's agenda suggestions for the August 6 meeting, Mbeki said: "Hopefully we will complete the process that we started at Groote Schuur with regard to identifying those things that were identified as obstacles to negotiations."

Speaking at a Nafcoc congress, Mbeki told about 600 delegates the ANC hoped the meeting would complete the process in that decisions would be made on, for example, the definition of a political prisoner.

He said the second item the ANC had suggested related to the question of violence.

He said the ANC was concerned about what the police were doing, or not doing, about what the vigilantes were doing "and indeed even about what the ANC is doing".

"We have asked that this question be addressed with a view to arriving at practical measures to end this vio-

TIM COHEN

lence from all sides." <sup>11/18</sup>

He said the ANC was concerned "because clearly even the political negotiations need a climate of peace."

"But even beyond that ... it would be a reward in itself to read in the newspapers that, according to reports, nobody got killed yesterday."

Mbeki said Natal occupied a very special place in this context. It was a shame on all people, black and white, that this situation had been allowed to persist for as long as it had.

The ANC wished to discuss this with a view to achieving practical proposals which would result in at least a reduction of the violence.

The third suggested item was "what steps need to be taken to begin the process of drawing up a new constitution. What will come out of that discussion, I don't know," he said.

He did not know what the government would want to add, but presumably it would want to discuss Tongaat, Mbeki said, referring to allegations that the SACP was plotting armed insurrection if negotiations failed.

# ANC sends peace feeler to Inkatha

<sup>11/18/90</sup> Patrick Lekota, the African National Congress's southern Natal convener, broke new ground in attempts to end the Natal-KwaZulu political violence with his reconciliatory address to a memorial service for victims of the Inanda bus disaster last week, said former Inkatha secretary-general Oscar Dhlomo.

Lekota had extended a word of peace to the people of Mshayazafe, an Inkatha stronghold in Inanda. He told ANC followers to make peace, not to seek revenge. And he told parents who had lost their children not to retaliate, said Dhlomo. <sup>11/18</sup>

"I still think, though, that all attempts at this stage should be directed to encouraging a meeting between Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Mr Nelson Mandela

"One would wish to plead with Mr Lekota and his colleagues to make sure that such a meeting takes place as soon as possible.

"Because, if the two leaders do not meet, it is not clear how any proposals to end the violence will receive the blessing of the warring factions." — Sapa.

## PEANUTS

By Charles Schulz

**Slovo still in team**

118 PETER DELMAR 118/70

ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela will tell President F W de Klerk at their meeting today SACP secretary-general Joe Slovo cannot be excluded from the meeting with government on August 6.

ANC sources yesterday predicted Mandela would insist that Slovo had been incorrectly implicated in an alleged plot to overthrow government.

It is expected De Klerk will ask for an undertaking from the SACP to commit itself to ending hostilities. The arms build up by Umkhonto we Sizwe is also expected to be on the agenda.

# ANC's 'policy of co-operation' gaining diverse support (11A)

ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela yesterday met Labour Party (LP) leader Allan Hendrickse as part of an extensive strategy by the ANC to broaden co-operation with a diverse range of political organisations.

Also at the meeting, one of a series the ANC has been having with various groups including those active within the "establishment", was LP deputy leader Miley Richards and the LP's Peter Hendrickse.

Yesterday the United Municipalities of SA (UMSA) president Tom Boya declared his organisations's full support for the ANC

**PETER DELMAR**

after a similar meeting.

And in a third major development this week, it was revealed that the ANC would co-operate with Africanist and black consciousness organisations on finding common strategies.

Hendrickse said in a statement after the two-hour meeting it had been agreed that the LP and ANC would meet again at leadership level to discuss future "strategies for co-operation".

Our political staff reports that Hen-

drickse said the agenda would include the sanctions debate, reducing tensions that "have and are existing" between the ANC, UDF and LP and the question of privatisation and political activity in the rural areas.

"We both accept a common objective of peaceful settlement of conflict" Hendrickse said.

Boya said his organisation — one of two major bodies representing black councillors — would seek close links with the ANC on all fronts.

There was a possibility that UMSA and

the ANC would establish a joint working committee to discuss future local government models.

Boya said former UMSA members who were involved in the newly-launched *National Forum* had done so in their personal capacities and not as representatives of UMSA.

The UMSA and LP meetings were two in a series of meetings between Mandela, senior ANC officials and organisations within and outside the Mass Democratic Move-

To Page 2

## ANC policy (11A)

ment held this month. They were called by the ANC ostensibly to discuss Mandela's overseas tour.

Organisations involved have included the UDF, various leaders of religious groups, homeland leaders and trade unions. The ANC is also due to meet Nafcoc and Nactu. ANC NEC member Thabo Mbeki addressed the Nafcoc congress in Durban yesterday.

Azapo general secretary Pandelani Nefolovhodwe said yesterday the ANC had agreed to co-operate in a national consultative conference of liberation organisations — proposed by Azapo to iron out differences and devise a common strategy.

The Azapo meeting was called by the ANC to discuss Mandela's trip, he confirmed, and added that the question of a consultative conference had been raised by Azapo at the meeting.

Nefolovhodwe said it had been agreed that the conference would not take place

before December or January because the ANC would be preoccupied with arrangements for its December national congress.

Although formal alliances were not yet on the cards, this could be addressed by the consultative conference, he said.

Other organisations which would be invited to the conference included the SA Communist Party, the PAC, Cosatu, Nactu, the Workers Organisation for Socialist Unity and the New Unity Movement.

Commenting on the latest outreach initiative, ANC spokesman Pallo Jordan said the organisation was concerned with resolving the differences between the various liberation movements as far as possible through dialogue.

The ANC, he said, was not actively soliciting support, but he added it would "obviously be to our advantage and to the advantage of the whole liberation process if there was a certain consensus among all the anti-apartheid forces".

From Page 1

11A  
CME 12/25 1/8/90

# Gunfire in Bop claimed by PAC

JOHANNESBURG. — Guerillas of the Pan Africanist Congress traded gunfire with a combined force of South African and Bophuthatswana soldiers in a skirmish in the homeland in June, says a PAC spokesman.

A SA Defence Force spokesman in Pretoria denied its involvement in any such incident.

PAC general secretary Mr Benny Alexander told a press conference "the enemy forces suffered heavy casualties" in the fighting, on June 25 in Mafikeng.

He said one PAC member, Mr George Khosologane Nyanga, was killed and another, Mr Oupa Makoboto, was arrested and was allegedly being held in Mmabatho police station.

## One killed

The Bophuthatswana Defence Force yesterday denied it had suffered heavy casualties in a skirmish with PAC guerillas and that SADF soldiers had helped the BDF in the alleged incident on June 25.

A BDF spokesman said two guerillas — apparently members of the Azanian People's Liberation Army — walked into a unit of the BDF task force 23km north of Mafikeng on June 21.

"The BDF killed one and captured the other." In another incident, on June 13, BDF soldiers opened fire on about 10 APLA fighters who had allegedly stolen two vehicles and a computer from the Tsholofelo irrigation scheme.

# Soccer body refuses to meet Ramsamy

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Sam Ramsamy has been snubbed by South Africa's most important soccer body, but he will meet a wide variety of sports leaders during a nine-day visit which starts on Friday.

The itinerary of Mr Ramsamy, executive chairman of the SA Non-Racial Olympic Committee (Sanroc), has been worked out by the SA National Olympic Committee (Sanoc) and the National Sports Congress (NSC), according to Sanoc director Mr Doep du Plessis.

The decision of the Soccer Association of South Africa (Sasa) to turn down an invitation to meet Mr Ramsamy means he will not be meeting with a body which unquestionably represents the majority of soccer players.

Sasa decided to snub Mr Ramsamy after a joint meeting on Tuesday with their professional wing, the National Soccer League.

Mr Ramsamy will hold a press conference after his arrival. "I expect he will discuss his itinerary then," said Mr Du Plessis.

## Asmal comes home for visit

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Lawyer Mr Kadar Asmal, one of the most distinguished South African exiles, arrives in SA today for his first visit in more than 30 years.

Mr Asmal, a professor of law at Trinity College, Dublin, and specialist legal adviser to the UN, will address a meeting of the National Association of Democratic Lawyers in Durban.

Chairman of the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement and a leading figure in the sports boycott campaign, he will then accompany Sanroc executive chairman Mr Sam Ramsamy on his South African visit.

From page 1

## 20% pay increase

Mr John Muir added that the council had become part of the "tricameral gravy train", as its permitted increases had been decided upon by a local government co-ordinating council and the provincial administrators, and linked to a countrywide local authority grading system.

Several councillors said that the last increase they had had was in mid-1987.

Mr Arthur Wienburg argued that councillors' annual increase was in the region of 7%, as the last increase had been three years ago. He said allowances were supposed to reimburse

councillors for expenses they incurred.

He said he put in 78 hours of work a month for the council, and spent R200 a month on petrol, and R600 on secretarial services.

Executive committee chairman Mr Richard Friedlander said all the major cities, except one which was still deciding, had approved the new allowance rates.

Those who voted against the increases were councillors Mrs Bronnie Harding, Mr Rupert Hurly, Mr Ian Iversen, Mr Clive Justus, Mr John Muir, Mr Gordon Oliver, Mr Neil Ross, Mr Gerry Sullivan and Mr Frank van der Velde.

Staff Reporter

A CITY man, aged 34, sprayed teargas into the face of a detective who had accosted him after the man had allegedly defrauded a Green Point computer company late yesterday.

According to Major Jan Calitz, a police liaison officer, it was also found that the man was driving a stolen car.

He said the owners of the computer company had alerted the police after the man had taken

## Suspect teargasses detective in the face

Point, he had forced the man's car off the road. While the policeman was checking on the car's registration number, the man had

Call first (111)  
1/8/90

### 'Open land' plan by UDF

JOHANNESBURG. — The Transvaal branch of the UDF is to launch its "open land" campaign today encouraging homeless people to occupy open spaces as squatters.

Announced in July, the campaign was confirmed by the UDF publicity secretary for Southern Transvaal, Mr Ronny Mamoepa, yesterday.

Arrangements for squatters to occupy open spaces were being finalised. — Sapa

The  
the 1990  
Psych  
used to  
"It be  
mixed sp  
"Just fo  
Week for  
My, Peter  
Mann  
Med svbut  
d uresalle  
s, kn  
ods Gd y  
litu  
S/  
lan  
in

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

**TODAY's** crunch meeting between President FW de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela is expected to produce some hard-nosed exchanges on several issues that have flared up between the government and the African National Congress.

Both sides are hoping the one-on-one meeting will help restore some of the confidence and trust that has been shaken by a series of damaging allegations and counter-allegations.

The meeting is expected to coincide with the weekly 10am cabinet meeting, and may be held in time to enable Mr De Klerk to brief the cabinet on their discussions.

If it produces an easing of tensions between the two sides, the stage will be set for productive talks when the government and the ANC resume full-scale discussions on August 6.

Next Monday's talks could put the bow on an agreement dealing with the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles. Such an accord would bring the two sides close to agreeing on a ceasefire.

Heading the agenda at today's talks will be the alleged "red plot" by the SA Communist Party to seize power if negotiations break down.

The ANC and SACP have dismissed the plot claims as an "insult" and an attempt to divide the two organisations, while senior government sources have said Mr De Klerk will be looking for a repudiation of anyone contemplating violent solutions.

# Key talks for FW Mandela

Copy Time 11/8/90

119

Mr De Klerk had said that while he had noted the weekend statements by Mr Mandela and Mr Slovo which committed them to a negotiated settlement, these had not eliminated all the problems and that a variety of issues which the government considered "serious" still had to be cleared up.

The government would like Mr Slovo dropped from the ANC team but

such a move has already been rejected by the ANC.

The detention of ANC executive member Mr Mac Maharaj is also bound to be raised.

Meanwhile, the Democratic Party yesterday called on President De Klerk to order an urgent investigation into what it called the gross inaccuracies contained in security police "revelations" about the so-called "red plot".

DP law and order spokesman Mr Tian van der Merwe said the public was entitled to know whether the "untruths" were merely a result of ineptitude or whether it represented an attempt by the security establishment to derail the negotiation process.

The "sorry saga" was reminiscent of the public statements about an impending Swapo incursion into Namibia last year by so-called "security experts".

In both cases Foreign Minister Mr Plk Botha and the SABC "lost no time in exploiting the untrue information for short-term political gain".

There was also the potential of derailing the peace process in both cases.



11A

# Deep look at the 'silent revolution' in SA

JOHANNESBURG. — The "nation-building" idea propounded by the Sowetan newspaper is an important revolt against the myth of black helplessness, but the conventional wisdoms.

This view is expressed in "South Africa's Silent Revolution", released yesterday by the South African Institute of Race Relations. Its author, executive director Mr John Kane-Berman, notes that the nation-building campaign is "running into heavy weather, both at home and abroad".

Among prevailing attitudes, the most insidious are assumptions of black helplessness and the belief that only political activity counts, Mr Kane-Berman believes.

He said that Sowetan editor Mr Aggrey Klaaste and assistant editor the late Mr Sam Mabe played an important role in highlighting the achievements of black people across a wide range of activities, and in challenging the view that "the only good black is a powerless black exploited, banned, jailed, dependent on foreign funding or martyred".

Mr Kane-Berman quotes Mr Klaaste as saying: "Foreigners want us to fit into their preconceived ideas. When I was about talking to American diplomats did not like it at all. It did not fit into their mind-set of blacks as helpless victims of oppression."

One of the implications of nation-building is a much wider concept of leadership, Mr Kane-Berman says. He quotes Mr Klaaste: "We seem to think that to be a leader one has to be a politician or an office-bearer of a political organisation."

But my concept of leadership goes much further. This country has an abundance of such people. They are in business, in social, youth, cultural, sport, education and women's organisations.

Through the Sowetan's philosophy of nation-building, we want to rouse such people to action. The book is a distillation of research in non-violent change in South Africa.

Mr Kane-Berman writes: "Despite the trauma of the years 1984 to 1989, under-lying social and economic forces have been transforming our society in what amounts to a silent revolution."

— Sapa

## Exile slams Mandela in US interview

# PAC aims to end ANC grip on SA politics

(11A)

Sowetan 11/8/90

NEW YORK - Exiled leaders of the Pan African Congress are making determined efforts to end the ANC's "monopolistic grip" on South African politics and are working towards an early meeting with President FW de Klerk to help accomplish this aim, said a former top PAC leader yesterday.

Mr Nana Mahomo, an ex-member of the PAC's national executive committee, also warned that white South Africans and newspapers who supported Mr Nelson Mandela's campaigns abroad to gather international funding and support for the ANC "are simply opening the way for an eventual one-party state."

"What will emerge will be a new South Africa led by and dominated by the ANC leadership to the exclusion of all others, and those people who are now supporting it will end up having no place in that society," he said.

### Interview

Mahomo, a former PAC exile now based in London, made these comments during a wide-ranging interview in New York yesterday, during which he outlined in detail the wide rift that has developed between the ANC and the PAC, once the most militant and belligerent of South Africa's black political organisations.

Mahomo, who believes the day is not too distant when the PAC will overtake the ANC as the first-choice mass movement championing black rights, accused President De Klerk of leaving Chief Buthelezi "out in the cold," and warned that a National Party-ANC alliance that failed to take other significant parties and groups into account would be "utterly disastrous."

The mild-mannered Mahomo reserved his most scathing comments for Mandela, whom, he said, "is out of touch and out of date."

## FOCUS

### Sowetan Correspondent

"He had 27 years in which to think out an agenda, and what concrete proposals has Mr Mandela set out for the people of South Africa?" he asked.

"Just what is Mr Mandela's South Africa? Nobody knows."

He was particularly critical of Mandela for building himself up into a "mystical figure" and said the ANC leader had failed dismally on his overseas tour to accomplish "anything that mattered."

### Positive

"The nearest Mr Mandela came to achieving anything positive was when he asked the parents at a New York high school to donate some money for black South African school children," he said.

"How pathetic. In the huge crisis facing black education in South Africa, what was needed was a considered appeal, delivered to the most influential audience, for something on the scale of the Marshall Plan (for the reconstruction of Europe after World War II) or the Manhattan Project (through which America developed the atom bomb ahead of Germany.)"

### Derided

Mahomo pointed out that it was the PAC that had made the first approach for negotiation and dialogue when a PAC delegation held secret meetings in Johannesburg with a group of Stellenbosch University professors in the early 1960s.

"The ANC derided us then for that approach," he said. "Now it is the ANC who are adopting a policy they once criticised."

Mahomo made it clear, however, the PAC still held strongly to

its belief that negotiation was "the right path" for both white and black South Africans and was eager to play its full role in the negotiations being mapped out by De Klerk.

"We hope, in fact, to be seeing Mr de Klerk ourselves very soon."

Mahomo, a film director who gained international acclaim for two films, *End of the Dialogue*

and *Last Graves of Dimbasa*, which won him an Emmy Award, said PAC policy toward the "new dispensation" in South Africa was "simple and straight-forward."

"We want to start off on the simple proposition that we can all create a South Africa in which not a single black or white child will be killed. That may be idealistic. But it's what inspires us, and it's what we are going to work for."

## Mahomo is an impostor, says PAC leader

By SY MAKARINGE

THE president of the Pan Africanist Congress, Mr Zeph Mothopeng, yesterday said Mr Nana Mahomo was a dissident member of the PAC and had no right to talk on behalf of the movement.

He said Mahomo was expelled "a long time ago and is no longer a member of the PAC."

Reacting to Mahomo's remarks that the PAC hoped to see State President FW de Klerk very soon, Mothopeng said: "The position of the PAC regarding negotiations with De Klerk is clear. 'We're still where we were.'"

### Confusion

A PAC activist said Mahomo was an impostor and any publicity that was given to him would just create confusion among the masses.

"If I were you, I would not waste my time and carry that



ZEPH MOTHOPENG

report in your newspaper," he said.

Mahomo was earlier this year believed to be part of a five-man delegation, purporting to be executive members of the then banned organisation, which visited the country to make preparations for a special conference later this year.

PAC leaders were surprised at how the men moved freely in and out of the country even though they were claiming to be members of a banned organisation.

# PAC hero's corpse being claimed by another group

*Sowetan 1/8/90*  
THE PAC in exile has released details of a member of its military wing who "died in action" in Mafikeng, Bophuthatswana, a month ago.

In a statement released in Dar-es-Salaam, PAC defence secretary Sabelo Phama said the dead guerilla, George Khosologane Nyanga (21), was a political commissar in

## SOWETAN Correspondent

the PAC's Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla).

He was formerly a member of the PAC's youth wing, the Azanian National Youth Unity (Azanyu), in the East Rand township of Tembisa.

He was born in Olifantsfontein on

August 20 1968, and received his education at Tlamma-tlamma Lower Primary School and Bokamoso-High School.

*119* *GP*  
According to Phama, he joined Apla on September 23 1988, and received military training from January to August 1989. He "died in action" on June 25 this year in Mafikeng.



# Mandela at Union Buildings

Political Correspondent

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela arrived at Union Buildings in Pretoria at 8.40 am today for talks with President de Klerk. Mr de Klerk is expected to report the results of the meeting to the Cabinet later today.

The President, his Cabinet and other National Party leaders returned to Pretoria last night from a two-day intensive strategy session at a secret venue in the Transvaal bushveld.

Sources said the session had been concerned largely with medium and long-term planning and immediate matters had not been discussed in depth.

The row over police allegations of an SACP/ANC "plot" to mount an armed insurrection if negotiations failed, did not figure largely as this was being handled by Mr de Klerk.

● Leaders meet today -

See Page 6.

## 'Strydom gets SACC money'

Stc 118790 (11A)  
The SA Council of Churches has been condemned by the Pan African Congress for allegedly contributing R40 a month to Pretoria mass murderer "Wit Wolf" Barend Strydom.

This amount was made available to everyone who was condemned to death including Strydom, said SACC director of communications Saki Macozoma.

The money was intended to be spent on cigarettes, newspapers and food, he said.

PAC general secretary Benny Alexander said today an immediate investigation would be launched to check if the donation was in fact being made.

"This is indeed so, it is highly irregular ...," he said. — Staff Reporter.

## Asmal comes home for visit

Carl T. T. 1/18/78

Own Correspondent 1/18/78

LONDON. — Lawyer Mr Kadar Asmal, one of the most distinguished South African exiles, arrives in SA today for his first visit in more than 30 years.

Mr Asmal, a professor of law at Trinity College, Dublin, and specialist legal adviser to the UN, will address a meeting of the National Association of Democratic Lawyers in Durban.

Chairman of the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement and a leading figure in the sports boycott campaign, he will then accompany Sanroc executive chairman Mr Sam Ramsamy on his South African visit.

## ANC, LP leaders hold talks <sup>11A</sup>

*ANC 11-13 1/8/70*  
JOHANNESBURG. — The Labour Party leadership and an ANC delegation led by the deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela, yesterday held talks lasting two hours.

The LP was represented by its leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, the deputy leader, Mr Miley Richards, and LP spokesman Mr Peter Hendrickse.

Mr Peter Hendrickse said further talks would be held to discuss differences between the two parties, including the issue of sanctions against South Africa.

They would also discuss ways of reducing tension between the LP, the ANC and the UDF. — Sapa

# PAC hero's corpse being claimed by another group

*Sowetan 1/8/90*  
THE PAC in exile has released details of a member of its military wing who "died in action" in Mafikeng, Bophuthatswana, a month ago.

In a statement released in Dar-es-Salaam, PAC defence secretary Sabelo Phama said the dead guerilla, George Khosologane Nyanga (21), was a political commissar in


## SOWETAN Correspondent

the PAC's Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla).

He was formerly a member of the PAC's youth wing, the Azanian National Youth Unity (Azanyu), in the East Rand township of Tembisa.

He was born in Olifantsfontein on

August 20 1968, and received his education at Tlama-tlama Lower Primary School and Bokamoso High School.

*119*   
According to Phama, he joined Apla on September 23 1988, and received military training from January to August 1989. He "died in action" on June 25 this year in Mafikeng.



CAPL front 11A  
11/8/90

# Dhlomo praises peace call by Lekota

DURBAN. — Mr Patrick Lekota, the ANC's southern Natal convener, "broke new ground" in attempts to end the Natal KwaZulu political violence with his reconciliatory address to a memorial service for victims of the Inanda bus disaster last week.

Former Inkatha secretary-general Dr Oscar Dhlomo said Mr Lekota had extended a gesture of peace to the people of Mshayazafe, an Inkatha stronghold in Inanda, by telling ANC followers to make peace and not to seek revenge.

Mr Lekota had told parents who had lost their children not to retaliate, said Dr Dhlomo.

The former KwaZulu cabinet minister said he was extremely impressed with Mr Lekota's statesmanlike remarks.

"If Mr Lekota and his colleagues in the ANC, the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions, as well as Inkatha on the other side, could more regularly address the issue in such conciliatory and reconciling tones, then we would not be too far from finding a solution."

By calling on people not to retaliate "Mr Lekota strikes the nail on the head. There is violence from pre-emptive strikes of course, but mostly violence comes from self-defence or retaliation, so he is breaking new ground when he warns his people not to retaliate".

● Inkatha yesterday slated the ANC for proposing a March on August 11 to the SAP headquarters in Sebokeng, Transvaal, to protest against the presence of Inkatha members in the Vaal Triangle.

"It is absurd to think that there shall be residents of any area who should be forcefully moved out of their legitimate homes because they do not align themselves with the ANC, said the chairman of the Inkatha Youth Brigade on the West Rand, Mr Themba Khoza, described the action as the worst sort of political decision. — Sapa

SA COMMUNIST Party stalwart Brian Bunting left SA yesterday after being in the country for just one week following 27 years in exile.

Bunting, 70, was given a seven-day visa on his arrival at Jan Smuts last week after immigration officials originally gave him unlimited access to the country.

"My father, S P Bunting, was at the SACP's launch in 1921 and I just had to be there when the party re-emerged from 30 years underground," he said in an interview at the SACP's offices in Johannesburg.

Bunting explained how hanging around a Jan Smuts airport lounge waiting for a lift had cost him an unlimited stay. After being given unlimited access, customs officials found him waiting for his overdue lift to Johannesburg, called him back and stamped his British passport with a seven-day visa.

Returning exiles were instructed to follow ANC procedures to ensure that they had immunity. After sending in his name, which apparently got lost in the system, Bunting decided to "take pot luck", believing that the SA Police had nothing more on him than his membership of a once-banned organisation.

On Sunday Bunting was among 22 interim SACP leaders introduced to 40 000 supporters as the party relaunched itself at Soccer City.

# A communist comes home

B10cuy 218/90

PETER DELMAR (11A)

The experience, Bunting said, was unforgettable. But returning to SA after so long had its problems.

"Obviously I'm overjoyed to be back. But SA is very different now. That difference reflects itself in all sorts of ways. Many of my dearest friends and comrades are dead — killed in detention or action. In a way it's not like coming home. It's more like creating a new home."

Wearing a tweed jacket and horn-rimmed spectacles, Bunting looks more like a school headmaster than a revolutionary. He is delighted at the prospects for a peaceful socialist revolution, but no one, he says, knows how long it will take for the socialist transformation of SA to be realised. "The SACP will have to adjust policies and even its constitution to meet the changing times. But the party will continue to work unceasingly towards the completion of that revolution."

Bunting has no delusions about the challenges facing the SACP — particularly money.



□ BUNTING

For 20 years he has edited the SACP's quarterly theoretical journal, *The African Communist*. For 20 years it was printed and distributed gratis by East Germany.

The last two issues have had to

make do without that donation. And, Bunting acknowledges, money from Eastern Europe has dried up. The *African Communist* has had to cut its 18 000 circulation almost in half and reduce its number of pages.

More money will have to be found for party offices, full-time workers, vehicles and propaganda, but he believes the party has enough supporters to find that money in SA.

Based in London since 1963, Bunting's party involvement has been mostly concerned with the *African Communist*. It is his history before exile that makes riveting listening.

In 1952 he was elected to Parliament as a Native's Representative, but was prevented from taking his seat in terms of the Suppression of Communism Act.

He recalls that he "walked" the election, despite being technically prohibited from standing, canvassing or holding public meetings. Brought to court for standing in defiance of government's ruling, the magistrate decided that "if I was good enough to be invited to the Governor-General's garden party, he didn't see why I should be prosecuted".

From 1942 (after the Soviet Union entered the War) Bunting served with the SA forces in North Africa, and the Middle East. After being demobbed, he returned to work for the *Guardian* weekly newspaper — the official mouthpiece of the SACP.

Bunting's regional editors at the time included such ANC luminaries as Johannesburg editor Ruth First, Govan Mbeki in Port Elizabeth and N P Naicker in Durban.

In 1960 Bunting was detained. Two years later he was placed under house arrest. Frustrated by security police efforts to keep him out of a job and with a wife and family to support, the final straw came in 1963 when all staff members of the *Spark* — as the *Guardian* had then become — were prohibited from working on the newspaper. He left for London.

At the end of the war, the *Guardian* was selling 45 000 copies a week. By the time he left SA, its circulation had dropped to 20 000, largely, Bunting says, because of police harassment, particularly of news sellers.

Bunting bears no resentment about being allowed to stay only a week. He came to be at the rally and he was there, and now he has to get back to London to edit another *African Communist*. As for not going to Cape Town, well, he's saving that to share with his wife, Sonia, when they and the *African Communist* come home for good next year.

## LETTERS

A Day 2/8/90

11A



ANC national executive member Aziz Pahad speaking at a meeting on the Wits campus yesterday. Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

# 11 killed as minibus, SADF Buffel collide

MARITZBURG — Fifteen people have died in Mapumalanga since the weekend — four were shot in their homes on Tuesday night with shotguns and 11 died in a collision between a SADF Buffel and a minibus yesterday.

Two of the people killed in the collision, which happened at 6.30am, were soldiers attached to the Cape Regiment. According to a resident, they died after being trapped under the overturned Buffel.

Ten injured minibus passengers were rushed to hos-

TIM COHEN

pital after being freed from the crushed taxi by residents who hacked open the wreck with axes. Nine passengers were killed.

The resident said it was not clear how the accident happened, but when she arrived on the scene soon after the collision it appeared that the side of the minibus was crushed while the front of the Buffel had been damaged.

Thirteen soldiers were slightly injured.

Sapa reports KwaZulu policeman Col Lindelhle Khanyile said the Buffel and minibus were travelling in opposite directions.

Khanyile said it appeared the minibus had suddenly veered to the right in front of the army vehicle and was crushed.

Meanwhile, according to the police unrest report, a group of blacks fired at a man and woman at Mpu-

mulanga, fatally wounding the woman and seriously wounding the man.

The group later shot and killed another man. The group then fired at two youths, killing both.

A Mpumalanga resident said on condition of anonymity that residents believed the group to be KwaZulu police "kitskonstables" from nearby Woodglen.

The resident said the man, Mzinezinsiwa Magutshwa, 25, and the woman Tandi Meyina, 20, were asleep when a group of about five people knocked at the door saying they were policemen.

On seeing the group Magutshwa fled and was shot in the arm.

The group then went to another house, fired at Mlingi Shozi, 25, and then shot brothers Lu and Mbuzeni Meyina at another house.

## 'SA facing a new dawn'

PETER DELMAR

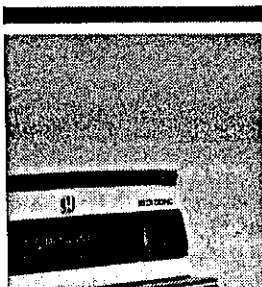
SA WAS on the "threshold of a new dawn" and it was clear a situation had been reached where there was a real possibility of a genuine settlement, ANC National Executive member Aziz Pahad told a meeting at Wits University yesterday.

Discussing obstacles to negotiation, Pahad told 400 students at an outdoor meeting he believed the government-created "Red scare" constituted a new obstacle.

The ANC had no intention of removing SA Communist Party chief Joe Slovo from its delegation to meet government next week.

He described allegations of an SACP plot to seize power as a "deliberate distortion of the facts to subvert the political process".

The ANC, he said, would leave no stone unturned in its search for a peaceful settlement. However, it did not believe progress was possible unless the government made concrete moves to end political violence.



# 'Little hope of equality for women'

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Winnie Mandela, the wife of ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, has tackled head on the thorny issue of women's rights, predicting that equality of the sexes would be "highly improbable" under an ANC government.

Mrs Mandela expressed this reservation in the foreword to the book "Black Woman Worker", written by Mr Mandela's biographer, Fatima Meer.

"While the ANC accords women equal status, it is highly improbable that under an ANC government women will in fact enjoy equality of status with men; for equal relations emanate from a state of mind and not from laws," she said.

"Presently, neither sex sees the other as equal. As this study shows, both men and women in our society see women to be subordinate to men."

## Migrant labour

Migrant labour forced rural women into "penury" and the job market. Most black women today were employed as domestics "which remains the hardest kind of work with the longest working hours".

An appreciable proportion of "gainfully employed" women were in nursing and teaching and there had been a growth of black women workers in industrial employment.

She said there was also the "spectacular presence" of a few black women in executive positions, but "the overwhelming majority of businesswomen are in fact pavement vendors, just eking out an existence".

"Despite their lowly position and their low earnings, women contribute equally, if not more (if their double day is taken into consideration) than men in labour to our society, yet most times they are not even considered as workers..."

11A 2/8/90

# Church takes Slovo to task on Jesus remarks

By Kaizer Nyatumba,  
Political Staff

The Rhema Bible Church yesterday took exception to South African Communist Party (SACP) chief Joe Slovo's remarks at the weekend that had Jesus Christ lived in South Africa he would have joined the armed struggle.

At a press conference at Randpark Ridge, Randburg yesterday, Rhema Ministries (SA) pastor Ray McCauley took Mr Slovo to task for his statement, saying the SACP leader had insulted Christians all over the world by standing under the Red Flag and making statements about the Bible.

Mr McCauley, leader of the International Fellowship of Christian Churches and the Pentecostal Church in South Africa, further challenged both the African National Congress (ANC)

and the SACP to spell out their stand on freedom of religion, at the same time issuing another challenge to ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela to make public his stand on Christianity.

Speaking at the launch of the SACP at the First National Bank Stadium (Soccer City) south of Johannesburg on Sunday, Mr Slovo said Jesus or any other great religious leader who might have found himself in South Africa would have joined the underground and broken the laws without hesitation in the struggle against apartheid.

## 'Distortion'

Jesus, Mr Slovo said, might have even joined the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto weSizwe.

"This is a total distortion of the teachings of the Lord Jesus Christ. He would have never joined any organisation which resorted to violence — like car

bomb attacks on innocent people or the devilish tactics of necklacing," said Mr McCauley.

Jesus, whose mission on earth was to bring peace, reconciliation, justice and mercy, would certainly have opposed the Group Areas Act and other racist laws, but he would have done it by peaceful means.

Mr McCauley said he had received numerous questions both here and abroad about Mr Mandela's religious convictions and he had repeatedly answered that it was his understanding that Mr Mandela was "a committed Christian". However, he had never heard the ANC leader mention his Christianity in public.

Mr McCauley said he had since written to Mr Mandela asking him "to make public your position as a Christian", but the ANC deputy president had not responded to his letter.

11A ~~SECRET~~

# Talks are on and Joe Slovo will attend

B/Doc 2/8/90

MONDAY's talks between government and the ANC to remove obstacles to negotiations are to go ahead and SA Communist Party chief Joe Slovo will be there.

The talks were given the go-ahead after ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and President F W de Klerk met for more than three hours at the Union Buildings in Pretoria yesterday.

The meeting was called to discuss allegations of an SACP insurrection plot, Slovo's alleged involvement in it and government concerns that the ANC was not abiding by a commitment in the Groote Schuur Minute to resolve the existing climate of violence.

In a statement issued after he had briefed the ANC National Executive Committee (NEC) on the talks, Mandela said he had given De Klerk an assurance that he and the NEC would do their utmost to guarantee strict adherence to the minute.

In a statement issued last night De Klerk welcomed Mandela's assurance, saying it had made it possible for government to continue with talks.

De Klerk said he had made it clear at the meeting "in no uncertain terms" that statements and actions by senior ANC and SACP members which militated against the wording and spirit of the Groote Schuur Minute seriously jeopardised the continuation of discussions aimed at creating a climate for negotiations.

MIKE ROBERTSON  
and PETER DELMAR

"These discussions can only continue fruitfully if trust is established that all who participate are in earnest to promote, by word and deed, the realisation of the Groote Schuur Minute," he said.

Mandela, who requested yesterday's talks, said he had established at a meeting with De Klerk last Friday that the President was "was gravely concerned about recent alleged events that are now public knowledge. I understood his concern in this regard."

He said: "In my discussions with the President today I reiterated the total commitment of the ANC, Umkhonto We Sizwe and the SACP to the Groote Schuur Minute. I also made an undertaking that I personally, together with the NEC, will do whatever we can to ensure that steps are taken to guarantee strict adherence to the Groote Schuur Minute. The problems raised by President De Klerk with regard to the recent events will be discussed during the meeting of August 6."

At last Friday's meeting De Klerk, according to varying accounts from senior government sources, either indicated that Slovo's presence in the ANC delegation for Monday's meeting was unacceptable or expressed a preference that Slovo not be included in the ANC team.

□ To Page 2

## Talks

B/Doc 2/8/90

11A ~~SECRET~~

□ From Page 1

De Klerk was acting on information supplied to him by police that Slovo was present at a SACP meeting in Tongaat which allegedly discussed insurrection.

The SACP chief has since denied he was present at the meeting and produced date stamps in his passport to support this.

The ANC and SACP have also said the Tongaat meeting had nothing to do with Operation Vula — an ANC operation started in 1987 to re-establish the organisation's underground in SA.

After initially attempting to link the two, police now say they are separate.

In his statement yesterday Mandela appeared to bend over backwards to allow De Klerk room for manoeuvre over the Slovo incident.

He said he had misinterpreted the President's concern over "evidence placed be-

fore him of statements and actions which went against the spirit of the Groote Schuur Minute" as a demand that Slovo be excluded from the ANC delegation.

De Klerk said in his statement that government had in the light of continuing investigations refrained from official reaction to the recent spate of arrests and "important information obtained by police".

He added that: "Unfortunately, erroneous deductions were made as a result of the fragmentary coming to light of portions of the real evidence.

"The time has therefore arrived to correct wrong impressions. The Minister of Law and Order (Adriaan Vlok) will, observant to the sub judice rule, issue a statement in this regard."

# Ceasefire?

11A  
~~11A~~

CAPT TINTS 2/8/90

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

**THE progress achieved at yesterday's crisis talks between President FW de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela has raised hopes that next Monday's full-scale meeting between the government and the ANC could lead to a formal ceasefire.**

Indications last night were that three hours of tough talking at the Union Buildings went some way to closing the gulf of mistrust and suspicion that has soured relations between the two sides in recent weeks.

After consulting for a further three hours with members of the ANC's National Executive Committee (NEC), Mr Mandela issued a statement that was both conciliatory and optimistic in tone.

But Mr Mandela also strongly hinted that he had undertaken to exercise his authority more decisively and crack the whip against any ANC or SACP member whose words or

actions jeopardised future peace talks with the government.

Mr Mandela said that both he and the ANC's NEC would "do whatever we can to ensure steps are taken to guarantee strict adherence to the Groote Schuur Minute" — which commits the parties to stability and the peaceful process of negotiations.

He did not spell out what these "steps" entailed but government sources said Mr De Klerk would be looking for firm undertakings to halt the practice of bringing arms into the country, an end to projects like Operation Vula and the toning down of "war talk" by the ANC-SACP alliance.

And in Durban, the ANC's foreign affairs director, Mr Thabo Mbeki, hinted strongly that the next round of talks could result in the suspension of the armed struggle and that an ANC sub-committee would be formed to explore this possibility.

In a strongly worded statement, Mr De Klerk said last night that he had made it clear to Mr Mandela "in no uncertain terms" that talks between the government and the ANC could continue fruitfully only if mutual trust was maintained.

Mr De Klerk said he had stressed to Mr Mandela that he regarded "recent develop-

## Dear Comrade Slovo

**FARID ESACK, a leading figure in the UDF and the MDM in the Cape, addresses an open letter to Mr Joe Slovo, secretary-general of the South African Communist Party.**

See Page 6



ments" — which he did not specify in his statement — as a breach of trust.

Mr De Klerk said: "I made it clear that statements and actions by prominent ANC members, as well as SACP members, which militate against the wording and spirit of the Groote Schuur Minute, seriously jeopardise the continuation of talks aimed at the creation of a climate for negotiation."

Mr De Klerk — whose reaction to yesterday's meeting came only after the cabinet had met for over six hours — said that after putting the government's point of view and Mr Mandela's subsequent reaction, it had been decided to go ahead with the August 6 talks.

The problems he raised with Mr Mandela would be discussed further at the meeting between full delegations of the government and the ANC next week.

Mr De Klerk said: "I welcome the fact that Mr Mandela again unconditionally committed the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) and the SACP to honour the agreements of the Groote Schuur Minute and undertook to take specific steps in this regard.

"It remains the government's attitude to create, by way of discussion, a climate conducive to peaceful solutions and the cessation of violence, intimidation and attempts at destabilisation," Mr De Klerk said.

In his reaction, Mr Mandela said he was positive the August 6 talks would "go ahead in a good spirit" in the light of yesterday's discussions.

Significantly Mr Mandela emphasised yesterday: "I also made an undertaking that I personally, together with the NEC, will do whatever we can to ensure that steps are taken to guarantee the strict adherence to the Groote Schuur Minute."

In an apparent reference to the "Red Plot" saga, Mr Mandela allowed that Mr De Klerk had been gravely concerned about

"recent alleged events", adding that he understood Mr De Klerk's concern.

"These were seen to go against the trust which was built up over the past months." From this he had inferred, incorrectly, that Mr De Klerk was no longer prepared to sit at the same meeting with SACP chief Mr Joe Slovo.

Mr Mandela did not say whether Mr De Klerk had changed his mind about the earlier police evidence in the light of yesterday's meeting but it now appears certain that Mr Slovo will remain a member of the ANC delegation on August 6.

However he did emphasise that "in the light of the facts I conveyed to the State President today (Wednesday) as well as the discussions between us, I am positive that the talks on the 6th of August will go ahead in good spirit".

But in a hint that the problems raised by Mr De Klerk had not been completely resolved, Mr Mandela said that these would still be raised at next Monday's talks.

However, the major item on next Monday's agenda is expected to be the amended report by the joint ANC-government working group on the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles.

**TERRORISM ACCUSED AT COURT**  
climbed through a hole under a SAP liaison officer Colonel an airport. — Sapa

# UDF leader's Open Letter to Joe Slovo

CMA Trib 2/8/90 114

**FARID ESACK**, a leading figure in the United Democratic Front and the Mass Democratic Movement in the Cape, addressed this open letter to Mr Joe Slovo, Secretary-General of the South African Communist Party. Moulana Esack, who is studying abroad, has been invited by the Cape Times to write an occasional column on this page.

Dear Comrade Slovo,

From distant Washington DC I have been watching the relaunch of "the party". It is a momentous event in the history of our country and in the struggles of our people. I know how much you have missed "home" and share in your party's joy at being able to play your rightful role in the dismantling of apartheid and in the construction of a new South Africa.

## Acceptable

You are not aware that I have consistently demanded the unbanning of "the party" and have regularly reminded the religious community of the role that the party has played in ensuring the non-racial character of our struggle. I have done so when other religious leaders often refused to march if "the hammer and the sickle" were spotted hovering above our heads or, when they did march, later apologetically asserted that the presence of the flag was part of an apartheid plot to embarrass them.

I have always argued that your struggles and that of the party that you lead have, at immense personal and organisational cost, earned you the right to fly your flag.

There is, however, a far more important reason why I rejoice in the sight of your flag at the rally last Sunday: the right of South Africans to believe what they wish and to espouse those beliefs are becoming acceptable. This brings me to the purpose of my letter; the party and its commitment to openness.

Cde Slovo, I sincerely believe that you are "short-changing" us on this question. I furthermore do not believe that democracy and openness will become entrenched features of a new South Africa if these issues are not adequately and honestly addressed by you now. (Your party, it is evident, is going to play an important role in the reshaping of our country.)

i) Where was the party when hundreds and thousands were dispatched to the Communist Gulag? What in your/our personal and ideological make-up did not only allow you/us to remain quiet in the face of those atrocities but caused you/us to seek excuses for it and to condone it? We knew the truth. We never really believed it to be CIA propaganda.

## Proponents

It is not a question of letting bygones be bygones but one of discovering what we and our values are really all about. How can our people trust us with anything if, at the wave of



**JUST GOOD FRIENDS . . .** Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr Joe Slovo together at the Soweto re-launch of the South African Communist Party last weekend.

one person's magic wand of glasnost and perestroika, we suddenly discover that we had it all wrong. What if Gorbachev's successor waves that magic wand in another direction tomorrow?

Perhaps if it was just a question of where we were then it may not be such a "heavy" question. Where are we today when proponents of democracy are being mowed down, detained and exiled in Kenya and Zambia. Can we do no better than an appalling "blame it on the West", as Cde Mandela did recently? Are we so wrapped up in such a myopic view of our struggle that we are prepared to walk over the legitimate aspirations of others — even if it coincides with ours — as long as those tyrants support our struggle?

ii) You have never — to the best of my knowledge — honestly addressed the failure of the socialist regimes and I am concerned because you are one of the finest thinkers in the socialist world. Your common resort to religious arguments ("I don't believe that communism is outdated. It's like saying in view of the crimes committed by Christianity that the Gospels are out of date") is quite unbecoming of a materialist. It is rather symptomatic

of a reactionary religious fundamentalism. Progressive and committed scholars of Christianity would not dream of viewing the Gospels of Christianity in the way in which you evidently view communism.

## Interpreted

You have also offered the rather simplistic "if a tool is used badly, it is the fault of the workman and not the tool". Has it ever occurred to you that if every workperson who touches the tool messes up the job then it could be a badly constructed tool? Nowhere in your speeches or interviews does it appear as if you are beginning to address that question. How about employing the same radical analysis that we do for apartheid to another ideology which has caused immense misery to others: communism?

You have correctly interpreted the basis of your organisation's popularity among the oppressed when you said: "The more the apartheid government denounced us as public enemy number one, the more the black people of this country decided we must be public friend number one."

I need not alert you to the dangers of this kind of reasoning despite its usefulness as a rhetorical device. The support

of uncritical people is earned by this kind of reasoning which may be useful if it is just power that one is interested in. Hopefully the party is interested in more than just that. Could we then have some greater ideological clarity about what your party and its programme have to offer, given its commitment to a world view that now lies in ruins all over the world.

## Questions

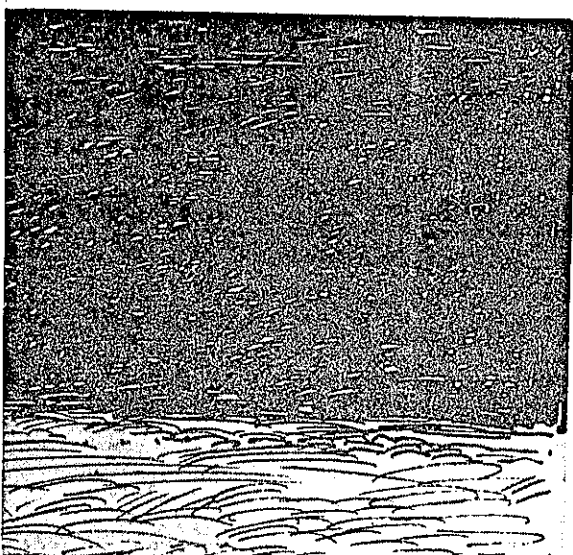
Numerous socialists such as myself are bitter because their criminal blunders have shattered our visions of a classless society. I, however, being a Muslim believer, continue believing. You, comrade, are the materialist and you — on the basis of scientific materialism — and not religious rhetoric must prove that your ideological merchandise is worth purchasing.

I hope you don't mind my raising these questions with you publicly. I have never felt comfortable with the "our enemies are going to use it against us" idea. It is so un-glasnost.

Yours in the struggle for a non-racial and non-sexist and classless world.\*

Comrade Farid

\* Psst. Can we include Albania, Kenya, Iran and all the unfree countries?





## ANC not firm on state control

Political Staff

DURBAN. — The ANC was not necessarily wedded to the idea of state control over the economy but so far had not been able to find a satisfactory alternative economic policy.

This was said here last night by the convener of the Southern Natal region of the ANC, Mr Patrick Lekota, when he addressed a meeting organised by the South African Perceptions group, a business committee on free enterprise.

Addressing leading businessmen, Mr Lekota also said the ANC had never committed itself to the objective of establishing a communist society.

He said the type of economy that would eventually emerge in South Africa could be negotiated.

The ANC spokesman was emphatic that privatisation could only consolidate privilege.

CAPE TOWN 2/8/90 (11A) (S) (S)

## Right's 'Rambos' slammed

JOHANNESBURG. — The continuing violence of "right-wing Rambos" could no longer be tolerated, ANC spokesman Mr Aziz Pahad told a crowd of Wits University students yesterday.

Mr Pahad also condemned the government's actions towards the SA Communist Party and suggested that either the media had been misled by the government or the government by the media.

"The only thing the government achieved by their new Red scare was to put Tongaat on the map," Mr Pahad said.

The alleged creation of a new Red plot by the government had caused a new obstacle to negotiations, he claimed.

He blamed the continuing violence in Natal on collusion between the government and Inkatha and said more people were being killed in Natal than Beirut. — Sapa

# PAC slams 'Wit Wolf' gift

Sowetan 2/8/90

11A

Sowetan Reporter



**BENNY ALEXANDER**

THE South African Council of Churches has been condemned by the Pan Africanist Congress for allegedly contributing R40 a month to Pretoria mass murderer "Wit Wolf" Barend Strydom.

This amount was made available to everyone who was condemned to death, including Strydom, SACC director of communications, Mr Saki Macozoma, said yesterday.

The money was intended to be spent on cigarettes, newspapers and food, he said.

PAC general secretary Mr Benny Alexander said yesterday an immediate investigation would be launched to check if the donation was in fact being made.

"If this is indeed so, it is highly irregular that an institution which is expected to side with the oppressed should finance people who are bent on keeping oppression alive to the point of slaughtering innocent people," he said.

# So who can De Klerk rely on for the truth?

AKG 2/8/90

1114  
3011

WHAT does the president of any country do when his security advisors present him with what they aver is conclusive proof of a plot to stage an armed insurrection against his government? He is, of course, entirely at their mercy; he has no independent source of verification or guidance. He has no choice but to accept what they say and he is altogether the innocent victim if there is an attempt to mislead him, or embarrass him, or if there is a crass error of judgment within the security establishment.

Is this what has happened to President De Klerk in the past fortnight? Has there been an attempt to mislead him about an alleged "plot" by the South African Communist Party to seize control of the government by violent means if negotiations fail, as some Democratic Party spokesmen fear might be the case? Or was there a misinterpretation of data, or a perilous error of judgment, at the highest levels of the security police and, presumably, the National Intelligence Service and the National Security Council?

## The probabilities

In search of answers, it is necessary to consider the probabilities. The first, of course, is the probability that as an accomplished lawyer, Mr De Klerk would not have easily assumed the guilt of the accused, in the "plot conspiracy" without any charges having been laid against them or, indeed, without even the Attorney General having seen a docket.

Another probability is that a politician who has staked his entire career on negotiating with the ANC and who has faced vicious attack for

doing so, would not lightly jeopardise the entire exercise, and thus leave himself looking like a wimpish sell-out, by allowing the whole "conspiracy" charge to be made public before he had even sought explanations from the leaders of those purportedly responsible.

## Not much choice

But Mr De Klerk did not appear to have had much choice in the matter.

The security establishment would seem to have jumped in first with the disclosure of a "plot" (it was leaked simultaneously to all weekend newspapers a fortnight ago), adding all the hype and embellishment to ensure that it got page one treatment. Thus, whether or not Mr De Klerk had misgivings about the allegations, the public disclosure of them was a new political reality he had to live with.

On the government's electronic mouthpieces the guilt of the accused seemed to be assumed by official police spokesmen without benefit of formal charges, let alone a court hearing.

Which brings us to an unavoidable probability — that the security establishment must have known what the political implications were of going public on the "conspiracy" story within days of Mr Nelson Mandela's return to South Africa and only a few short weeks before the next round the "talks about talks", and of rubbing it in with fervour for days on end.

Those implications included the obvious likelihood that mutual suspicion and antagonism caused by "evidence" of the "red plot" would have either wrecked, or at least seriously impeded, the whole process of talks.



ISSUES

Hugh Robertson

And the implications, more importantly, included the strong likelihood of Mr De Klerk being made to look like a weak-kneed capitulator if he went ahead with talks in the light of the grave accusations made by the police — accusations later backed by transcripts of "evidence" and repeated police statements.

I can accept that an individual securocrat would fail to see all this. As in all professions, they too have their fair share of incompetents. But a whole department of securocrats, plus the NIS and the NSC, all failing to recognise the political embarrassment to the president attendant on publicly alleging a "communist plot" on the part of members of the very organisations with whom the president intends to negotiate? That, I find too improbable to swallow.

## Cruelly repressive

Perhaps communists the world over deserve a great deal of the suspicion they arouse. After all, with very few exceptions, communist regimes have come to power by violent means and not through any democratic process and with few exceptions they have been cruelly repressive.

Furthermore, a political party of erstwhile Stalinist bent, which retained its Stalinist loyalty and connections through some of the most brutal excesses in human his-

tory, which has publicly announced its intention to form secret cells, which has declined to identify its full executive, which has confirmed that some of its leaders will remain in exile, and which upholds the ideal of the "armed struggle", cannot expect to escape suspicion.

## Beyond incompetence

But to imply on untested, and patently ambiguous, "evidence" that SACP members of the ANC were planning the violent overthrow of the state, to add all the interpretations which have been added as if these were the findings of a court, and to do all this just as President De Klerk was about to resume talks with the ANC (with its SACP members), was surely beyond the realm of incompetence or simple error.

And if one is to look at the history of the communists, it is necessary, too, to look at the vastly less than benign reputation of the security establishment. We did not even need the evidence before the Harms and Hiemstra Commissions to tell us that they, too, have had their spells of ruthlessness, their reckless abuses of power, their moments of political high adventure, and their meddling in the affairs of state.

On balance, it is not at all improbable that what we have witnessed is their last desperate attempt to deal a fatal blow to an old adversary, to try to restore the comfortable Botharian days with clearly defined enemies and unhindered power and, who knows, perhaps even to try to stop in his tracks a president whose vision they do not even dimly understand and who they see as a threat to all that they hold dear.

# The m

What makes a communist?

For Moses Mayekiso, general-secretary of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa and president of the Alexandra Civic Association, it's the belief that people can control their own lives coupled with the "failure of capitalism".

"I'm a communist or socialist because I've seen that capitalism doesn't work. It breeds poverty and homelessness.

"I think that the system that will cure these ills is socialism."

Mayekiso refuses to be drawn on how long he has been a party member or how he was recruited.

"It's sufficient to say that I'm a committed member of the SACP."

He believes the crucial component of communism is democracy. "One can't talk of socialism without democracy. This is the lesson of Eastern Europe."

He says the key to "the journey towards socialism is that ordinary people,



**VANGUARD:** Thousands of mine workers attending the SACP rally pack the stands at the FNB stadium

# The red

*After more than three decades of silence and many years of harassment, the South African Communist Party (SACP) hoisted high its hammer and sickle red flag at the FNB stadium near Soweto last Sunday.*

*To many South Africans, the SACP is not only a bogey but a mystery. Many questions abound about the party's leadership, policies and alliance with Cosatu and the ANC. CHIARA CARTER examines some of the issues:*

**PICS: DYNAMIC IMAGES/AFRAPIX**

**AGAINST** a backdrop of the "Red Plot" conspiracy allegations all too familiar to South Africans, the world's newest — and some say last — Communist Party raised the red flag over Johannesburg last Sunday.

The launch of the SACP as a legal organisation for the first time in 40 years was attended by about 60 000 people.

The long absence of the SACP from political platforms was evident when the Internationale was sung — few in the crowd knew the words.

There were few surprises in the names included in the 22-person internal leadership group (ILG), the composition of which indicates the party's intention to rely heavily on intellectuals and workers.

Among the intellectuals included were: African Communist editor Brian



**SALUTED:** Joe Slovo and Al

Bunting, poet-activist Jeremy Cronin and veteran ANC leader Govan Mbeki.

Cosatu is heavily represented in the ILG with both vice-presidents, Chris Dlamini and John Gonomo, as well as assistant general secretary Sydney Mafumadi, serving.

### Relationship

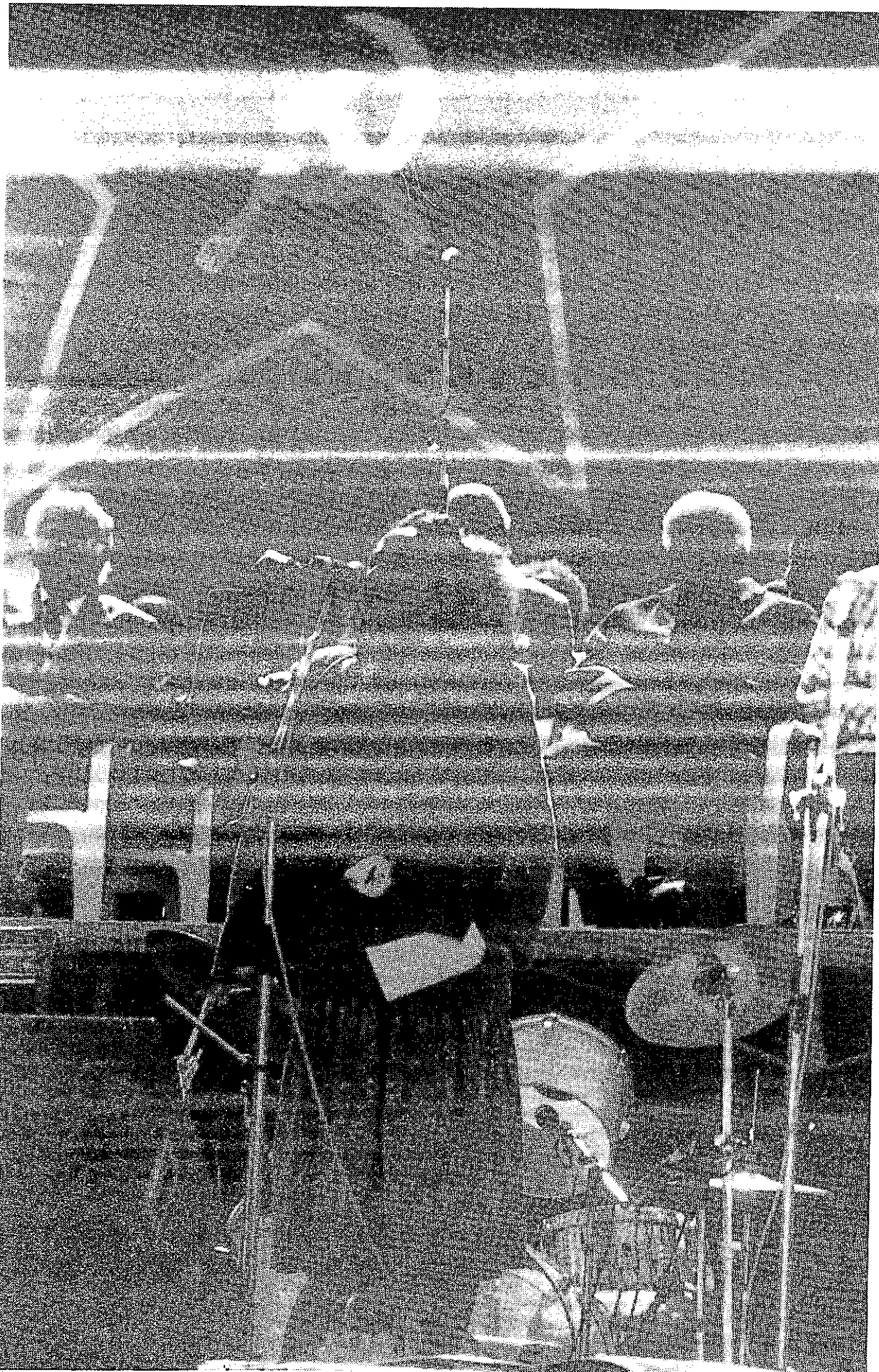
The close relationship between the SACP and trade unionism was evident in the inclusion of Sactu's John Ndamimeng, Billy Nair from Natal, and veteran trade unionist Ray Alexander.

A coup for the party is the inclusion of Numsa's general secretary and Alexandra Civic Association leader, Moses Mayekiso, once regarded as "workerist".

Mayekiso is widely respected for his commitment to grassroots democracy and socialism.

Also from the left of the party is Natal Midlands ANC leader Harry Gwala.

One surprise was the absence of any representative from the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM).



**INTRODUCTIONS:** Western Cape ANC leader Cheryl Carolus introduces the SACP's leadership at last Sunday's rally

# Making of a communist

11A

South 2/8 - 8/8/90

especially the working class, gain control over their own lives".

"One can't just say, here is socialism. The people of South Africa must find a socialism suitable for their own country. The balance of power must tilt towards the working class.

"Workers must control production, people must share in the wealth of the cities and control the areas where they stay. Wealth must be used for education, health care and other social services and unemployment must be eradicated.

"If we achieve these, we've taken a giant step towards socialism."

Mayekiso believes the SACP must be a "home of the Left".

"People who view the road to socialism a bit differently but agree with the end goal, should find a home in the SACP.

"Of course, with independent socialist groupings, it is up to them to decide. I see little point in the left forming tiny

splinter groups like in Britain."

Mayekiso believes that a large number of workers will join the party.

He says the SACP's office has been flooded with applications. The party would ensure quality membership through an intensive education process.

The immediate tasks of the internal leadership group are to build branches and regions, he says.

"We must attract as many members as possible and make people understand our goals, programme and practice.

"Through energetic campaigns we will show people that this is a working class party that caters for their aspirations."

For Mayekiso, being part of the Internal Leadership Group (ILG) of the party is an added burden.

"It's another load but I accept it must be done."

He said the strong overlap between union and party leadership did not compromise the trade union movement.

"The point is not personalities but structure. The party, unions and the ANC all have their own guidelines and constitutions.

"One doesn't go to a union congress as a party member and one attends party meetings as a member of the party and not as a unionist. The trade unions must be independent.

"As long as union officials don't accept high-ranking positions in the party, there are no problems."

Mayekiso says the emergence of the SACP does not mean an end to unions playing a political role.

It would free them to do other work. "It will relieve unions of the burdens they have to carry. There will be a demarcation of roles.

"A land campaign, for example, will be spearheaded by political organisations and unions will participate as allies."

With so great an overlap between the ANC and SACP, how will one distinguish party members?

"Party members have been traditional members of the ANC and we have identified our primary task as helping to build the ANC. We will at all times respect its independence.

"The party's work go beyond the ANC. We will work with the ANC to build a democratic, free and nonracial society but our work goes beyond that because our task is to build socialism."

"This task arises beyond the national liberation struggle. It is up to the people to choose whether or not they want socialism."

Mayekiso says the "parting of the ways" between the ANC, SACP and Cosatu will be determined by future events.

"It will depend on what kind of government the ANC will be, what kind of policies it will have.

"Whatever the government, the trade union movement must continue, even under an SACP government", says Mayekiso.



Numsa's Moses Mayekiso

# flag flies again

South 2/8 - 8/8/90

11A



C deputy leader Nelson Mandela salutes the crowd at Sunday's launch at the FNB stadium



FULL GEAR: "Comrades" in combat gear show their support for the SACP



REPLICA: Toyi-toying youth with wooden replica AK-47's were a feature at the rally

Cyril Ramaphosa was master of ceremonies and NUM press officer Jerry Matjaladi had been making "party" sounds recently, so the omission may be tactical.

The party's commitment to developing women leadership was given content by the inclusion of Western Cape UDF and ANC executive member Cheryl Carolus — one of two women in the ILG.

The overlap with the ANC leadership is strong — ANC/SACP leaders in the ILG include the convener Raymond Mahlaba, MK chief of staff Chris Hani, and Ronnie Kasrils, dubbed the "red pimperl".

A significant omission is the absence of any Sayco representatives to the ILG.

The crowd also reflected the range of people the party hopes to recruit. A large proportion of the audience were workers. They included a large NUM delegation — complete with hard hats.

Not all present were convinced communists.

Commented Siceo Dlamini, 19: "I

am an ANC member. I am not sure about the SACP but I am here to support our allies."

A unionist from the Western Cape: "I'm keeping an open mind as a socialist. I hope the party will represent the working class. The big question is whether it can shed its Stalinist baggage."

While a message of support from the central executive committee of the Soviet Communist Party reminded the

audience of this legacy, more evident was a commitment to avoid what the party views as "Stalinist distortions".

Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo dealt with this in his welcome speech.

"Leadership must not be imposed but earned," he said.

He said mistakes of Eastern Europe could be avoided by "building democratic practices at every level."

The key, Naidoo said, was Mandela's report-backs and accountability

"There can be no socialism without democracy and no democracy without

socialism", he said.

In a carefully diplomatic speech, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela greeted the SACP warmly — but from a distance.

Mandela said the ANC was not a communist party but the ANC — because it believed in democracy — would fight for the SACP's right to exist.

"As a parliament of the people, the ANC has defended and will continue to defend the right of any person to adhere to the Marxist ideology if that is his or her wish."

On a personal level, Mandela spoke warmly of SACP general secretary Joe Slovo as an "old friend" with whom he shared family links and a political history.

Both Mandela and Hani made it clear that Slovo would not be dropped from the ANC negotiating team.

Mandela refuted speculation that the ANC would pull out of the talks if the recent detainees were not released.

Introducing SOUTH's  
new satirical column ...

## Against the grain

### Boereraad in the bushes

SO FW and his team are off to the bush for a constitutional safari before the next talks about talks.

I hope they don't go bossies, although I must say it makes a change to have the country's future determined among buffels and hippos with legs!

I suppose it's also safer to meet in the bush — meetings in National Party offices could turn out to be quite explosive nowadays, if you know what I mean.

Having said that, I can just see the next Camel cigarette advert — Pik, Vlok and FW riding bareback on hippos in search of a new constitution through a dangerous jungle inhabited by wild animals like Piet Skiet and Aquila.

After a hard day's riding in circles, they light a fire to make supper, but unfortunately, the boerewors turns out to be a fuse to a bomb.

Then there's a huge blast, but like true macho men, they still have enough limbs to pull out a pack from the top pockets of what used to be safari suits, they light up a Camel and smile their Nuwe Suid Afrika smiles!

For their sake, I just hope these talks work, or the next time they go to the bush, they might have to deal with Winnie.

#### Lady Winnie

She vowed that if the talks fail, she would be the first to return to the bush (is that why she'd like to be called the First Lady?)

Return to the bush? Actually, I didn't know Winnie had been to the bush — unless she meant George, the president.

After London, Paris and New York and the Orlando West double storey, the bush may be a little er ... one star, but maybe a bit of designer camouflage will at least make it fashionable.

Apparently, one of the reasons for the boereraad is to build team spirit. Ja, man, morale — like the gold price — is a bit low at the moment.

Despite all FW's wonderful changes, the Bokke still haven't been invited to tour Namibia, the rand is still worth less than monopoly money, National Party offices are becoming extinct and we still have to watch Dallas 'cos we can't get British TV shows.

I mean, how many more episodes of illegitimate Ewings popping up do we have to sit through before the cultural boycott is lifted?

#### Team scream

In the old days, before the RSA turned into the NSA (New South Africa), and PW was captain of the team, too many ouens wanted to play on the right wing.

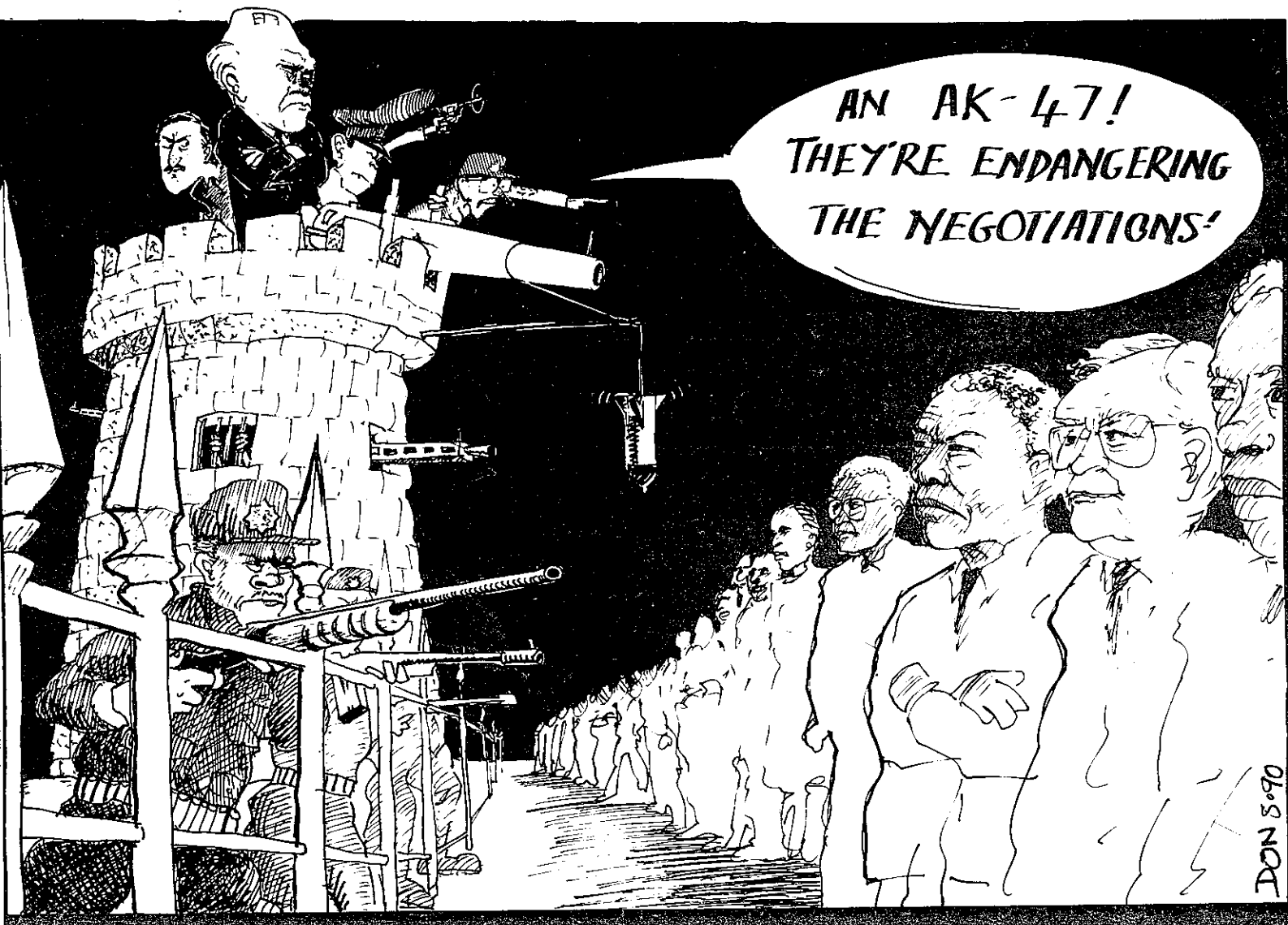
Part of the bosberaad then, is to make the team more comfortable with some positional switches to the left wing.

Some players, like Vlok, may take some adjusting, but the team coach, a clinical psychologist specialising in schizophrenia, will be on hand to help.

Of course, some of the old players aren't in the team this time, like Magnus.

Magnus has been shown the red card because his CCB committed too many fouls on those who made him see red. Now his position is also on the left: left out!

Another reason for the teams's bosberaad is to find out where the goalposts are. In this game, you don't need a goalie — you just shift the goalposts.



By DAVID NIDDRIE

A CEASEFIRE could be in place soon — possibly as early as mid-September — with both sides in Monday's second round of South African peace talks eager for rapid progress.

The two days of talks between President FW de Klerk's team and a five-person ANC team led by deputy president Nelson Mandela are part of a pre-negotiation process to iron out obstacles to a negotiated end to apartheid.

#### Definition

In the three months since the parties' first meeting at Groote Schuur in Cape Town, a joint ANC-government working group has agreed on a definition of what constitutes a "political offence" — opening the way for a rapid start to the release of political prisoners and the return of political exiles, both demanded by the ANC before negotiations proper could begin.

Endorsement of the working group's proposal is likely to be little more than a formality on Monday.

Also flowing from this endorsement will be the withdrawal of charges against those currently in the dock in political trials in South Africa.

Pretoria sources indicate that the working group will also recommend to Monday's meeting that the two delegations agree to an indemnity cut-off date — possibly as close as six weeks away, although probably closer to the end of the year — after which releases and the return of exiles will begin in earnest.

Linked to this is the question of South Africa's security laws, the promulgation of which created many of the "political offences" in the first place.

Logically, these cannot remain in place — without creating an endless cycle of imprisonment and amnesty — once the indemnity cut-off date is passed.

# Ceasefire on cards

*In spite of all the difficulties and tricky problems, both sides in the South African peace process are eager for progress. DAVID NIDDRIE examines some of the issues at stake as the second round of talks resumes on Monday:*

Mandela's ANC team will therefore be arguing that all "repressive legislation" must be withdrawn simultaneously with the general amnesty, or fairly soon thereafter.

And although only the three racially-segregated South African parliaments may formally lift legislation, the president — on the recommendation of his Cabinet — can suspend their operation until parliament meets again.

Paralleling this, however, is the issue of the continuing low-intensity guerrilla campaign by the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) army.

#### Battle-orders

Both at Groote Schuur and in joint working group meetings since, government negotiators have argued they cannot release convicted guerrillas who would simply return to MK for new weapons and battle-orders.

Reliable sources indicate that the ANC has accepted this logic, and are now willing to agree to a ceasefire — although only temporarily, depending on the progress of the talks — either on the cut-off date or slightly in advance of it.

A fairly minor shift from the ANC's perspective, it represents a major public-relations victory for De Klerk — he now has some benefit to show his rapidly-waning pool of white supporters in exchange for the string of concessions he is about to make.

own, restrict their actions.

How this is resolved is likely to be a major bone of contention in next week's — and possibly future — meetings.

For the ANC, however, some acceptable solution is essential: with armed security forces continuing to occupy black townships without what officials call "effective measures" to control them, the movement could not practically accept a ceasefire by its Umkhonto guerrillas.

The issue is therefore crucial for implementing a ceasefire — and all that would flow from it.

Ideally, for the ANC it would be resolved by introducing elements of its own force to operate in some parallel or joint process with government security units, with the power to intervene where necessary.

For such a system to work, either a joint government-ANC control or that of an independent authority would be required.

#### Interim government

All these issues — and thus the prospect for progress at the talks — are interlocked. They are also connected, the ANC argues, with the idea of a joint or independent authority: an interim government.

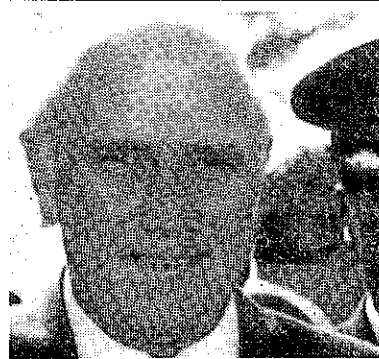
The ANC therefore will be arguing for the rapid introduction of an interim government to replace De Klerk's white National Party government.

And on this issue, if not on the idea of a link between Umkhonto and the police and SADF, the government appears to be edging towards the ANC's view.

Since Groote Schuur, Pretoria's negotiators have spoken openly of the need to formulate a revised constitution or bill of rights appropriate for an interim period during which a fully-democratic, post-apartheid constitution is formulated.

This still leaves open the question of how that post-apartheid constitution is formulated.

The ANC says through an elected constituent assembly, De Klerk rejects this — but leaves room for major progress on Monday and Tuesday. — *SouthScan Features*



FW DE KLERK: leaving room

Both sides recognise, however, that mounting violence throughout the country will not end with a suspension of hostilities between Umkhonto and South African security forces.

High on Monday's agenda will thus be what additional steps are needed to end violence — steps prefigured by the joint communique issued after the Groote Schuur meeting recognising the need to end "intimidation from all quarters".

From the ANC's perspective, this means the introduction of curbs on the police force and South African Defence Force (SADF), whom they say are the main initiators of violence.

De Klerk has demonstrably failed so far to restrain the security forces, and the ANC believes that the scrapping of security legislation would not, on its

# Deal on prisoners to affect thousands

THE outcome of next week's talks between the Government and the ANC is bound to affect the lives of more than 750 people incarcerated in South African jails for "political offences".

It is likely to be the task of a joint government/ANC committee to determine the definition of a political prisoner and whether he or she qualifies for amnesty.

While the release of political prisoners is considered a precondition to negotiations as outlined by the ANC in its Harare Declaration, the government is clearly seeing it as a "bargaining chip".

Monitoring groups have listed more than 700 political prisoners. They estimate the actual figures to be between 2 000 and 3 000.

There is not enough information avail-

able to pinpoint the government's definition of a political prisoner.

The London-based International Defence and Aid Fund (IDAF), which monitors political trials and imprisonment in South Africa, said in a recent publication that the state in the past had used the term "crimes against the security of the state".

The Minister of Justice Mr Kobie Coetzee last year referred to 374 prisoners serving sentences for security offences.

Other terminology used by the government for certain offences, which the ANC insists are political in nature, are public violence, incitement, arson, dam-

age to property, sedition and murder.

A phenomenal 40 000 people were arrested between 1984 and 1986 in what the Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok termed "unrest related" charges. It is not known how many were convicted.

IDAF said between July 1987 and July 1988, 509 people were convicted of public violence.

No figures are available on the number of political prisoners in the homelands.

Of known political prisoners, 14 are serving life sentences and more than 50 have been imprisoned for 20 years or more.

South 2/8 - 8/8/90

The issue of indemnity has become a matter of life or death for the approximately 80 political prisoners on Death Row at Pretoria Central Prison.

Prominent Death Row prisoners include Robert McBride, the Uppington 14 and Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres.

A case likely to become highly-charged — should a general amnesty be declared — is that of mass killer Barend Strydom.

Strydom has already become a rallying symbol for the right and the government would be under severe pressure to include him in a general amnesty.

His release, however, would not be readily accepted in the black community.



Adriaan Vlok

## Wife of Death Row prisoner Robert McBride speaks out

WHEN the joint working committee on the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles was set up after the Groote Schuur talks, both parties committed themselves to total confidentiality.

The African National Congress has honoured this commitment.

As a result, the media have been forced to speculate on the findings and report of the working group, as they have been limited to mysterious "government sources".

### Contextualise

Most media articles cite the case of Robert McBride as controversial and difficult, and one which will not be covered by the amnesty.

This article is intended as a response, and is an attempt to contextualise not only the case of Robert McBride but of all political prisoners.

Robert was sentenced to death on April 13 1987, after being convicted on 19 counts — including furthering the aims of the ANC, aiding a prisoner to escape, harbouring a terrorist, terrorism, murder, attempted murder and assault.

The state's case against Robert was political, not criminal.

On the counts relating to the blast at the Parade Hotel in Durban, the state submitted this had been carried out with the intention to "achieve, bring about or promote constitutional, political, industrial, social and/or economic change in the Republic" in an attempt to overthrow the state.

### Umkhonto

If this state is now to question whether Robert falls into the category of political prisoner, perhaps they need to refer to their own indictment and charge sheet against him.

All the charges Robert faced were as a result of his activities on behalf of the ANC. He is a member of Umkhonto we Sizwe and at all times acted under the auspices and instructions of its leadership.

# Please release my husband

**WITH agreement looming between the ANC/government joint working committee on prisoners and exiles, speculation has been mounting that some political prisoners will not qualify for release. One such prisoner is Robert McBride, sentenced to death in 1987 after placing a bomb near a hotel in Durban. But, argues his wife PAULA MCBRIDE, her husband qualifies for amnesty in terms of the ANC's commitment to reconciliation:**

The Nationalist government has entered into negotiations with this same leadership and has seen fit to extend indemnity to them for this purpose.

It is ironic that this government entertains those who issued instructions, while incarcerating those who obeyed them.

It has been suggested in recent press articles that because Robert was involved in causing the deaths of "innocent civilians", he will not qualify as a political prisoner.

It would appear there is only one category of civilians considered innocent in this country — and this category is white.

### Vilification

It is interesting to examine the recent case of the Witbank bomb blast which claimed the lives of three people (who were black).

The perpetrator of this blast has not received one-tenth of the media vilification Robert received.

Political violence has claimed the lives of thousands of people in South Africa, the vast majority of whom are "innocent civilians".

The vast majority of the victims were (and continue to be) black — but their killers are not imprisoned or awaiting the report of the working committee, as they have never been charged, convicted or sentenced for their crimes.

In the past years we have

had SADF generals and National Party MPs proudly proclaiming on the successes of their raids against the ANC in neighbouring states.

Eight-year-old children were killed as collaborators, Mozambican jam factory workers and women in Botswana ... the list of innocent victims is endless.

### Trojan Horse

Closer to home, we have only to think of the Trojan Horse incident, Soweto, Uitenhage, Athlone, Robertson and Mamelodi.

Since February 2 1990, more than 130 people have been killed by police action — these are the official figures. How many of the perpetrators of these killings have been brought to book?

It is clear the concept of indemnity or amnesty is neither new or foreign to this government.

State witnesses, particularly in political trials, are either given indemnity from prosecution as a reward for their betrayal or the state declines to prosecute them.

In Robert's case, his accomplice has never been prosecuted and now walks free. Andrew Sibusiso Zondo's accomplice "Jacob Mofokeng" was indemnified from prosecution.

It is irreconcilable that the state is prepared to do this, merely as a reward for co-operation, yet hesitates to do so when the cause is so much greater — the promotion of peace and reconciliation.

What this illustrates is that it is obviously not the nature of the act which warrants indemnity, but expediency.

There has been much moral outrage expressed in the media and elsewhere about armed attacks on what are termed "soft targets".

This term is never used in descriptions of government action, it is especially reserved for the liberation movements.

What is strange about this is that apartheid has never attacked hard targets — it has attacked people, not structures.

The people who were hurt were hurt because they were born with the "wrong" colour skin. And once again, those who attacked these soft targets have not only not been punished, but in many cases have been rewarded and decorated for their efforts.

### War

If the softness or hardness of a target is to become the criteria for imprisonment the jails will, of necessity, have to be filled by functionaries of this government.

In June 1987, a nationwide state of emergency was declared. This effectively declared war on the people of South Africa.

The state of emergency did not delineate military zones or acceptable areas of military activity; it was functional throughout the country.

This state of emergency



AMNESTY PLEA: Paula McBride

claimed many lives, detained thousands of people and disrupted and destroyed the social fabric of our society.

Under the state of emergency we did not see careful selection of hard targets by the SADF and SAP — the laws allowed them to act with even greater impunity than before against the people of South Africa.

The ANC has indicated its willingness to forgive years of horror, brutality and oppression by agreeing to sit down at the negotiating table with the perpetrators of these acts.

It has openly stated its

desire for reconciliation and an end to violent conflict.

If, however, the Nationalist government insists some actions are too atrocious to forgive, they open the door for trials of retribution — trials of those who have committed atrocities on behalf of this government, here and elsewhere; trials of those who gave the orders for those atrocities to be committed; trials of those who voted into power the government who allowed such orders to be carried out and trials of the hanging judges.

The government's insistence on retribution could

take us into a spiral of post-apartheid trials and executions which would be difficult to stem.

I believe that if the correct action is not taken now, this spectre is before us.

It is inevitable that the discussion on political prisoners will be extended to include people beyond those who have acted against apartheid — people who have acted in order to entrench racism and possibly those who have acted out of a belief that they are defending the interests and rights of a minority group.

### Reconciliation

I do not believe the armed actions of such people can be justified. They are fighting to entrench an unjust, racist and oppressive system.

However, in the interests of reconciliation, it is probably necessary that such people fall within the definition of political prisoner and as such be covered by the amnesty.

For this to happen, the people of South Africa will require from them a guarantee that they will commit themselves to the building of a nonracial and democratic society through negotiation.

The pain of the victims of political violence cannot be denied or trivialised whether this is the pain of mother whose child has been hanged, of the families of police killings, of relative of victims of bomb blasts or of those tortured in detention.

### Pain

The opportunity we now have is one to stop creating more pain. If we can do this, we must.

The release of all political prisoners has long been a precondition to negotiations; the Harare Declaration is very clear on this point.

The administrative structures for such a release are in place, as they were for mass arrests and imprisonment.

This demand is an unambiguous one which cannot be compromised. If we are to move forward to a point where real negotiations are to start, this demand has to be met.



# UDF's yes to R2-bn scheme

South 2/8-8/8/90

(119)



## FROM PAGE ONE

Its recommendation to the UDF national executive committee meeting last weekend was that the Front should engage with the trust. The recommendation was accepted. Molobi said the UDF was given an assurance by Steyn that the government and autonomous of the government and that he was not operating as an individual but with the guidance of a board of trustees. Although the names of the trustees are not known to SOUTH, the UDF is apparently satisfied with its composition.

### Influence

Another assurance given to the UDF was that the R2-billion was not generated from privatisation but that it was surplus money after the government had over-budgetted. Molobi said the special committee felt that with participation on the board and focus committees Steyn intended establishing, there was considerable room to influence the policy of the trust. "The developmental projects have great possibilities to develop communities with the provision of health, education and housing," he said.

"By being involved the UDF can influence the policy. The money is not going to community councils, for instance."

Molobi said Steyn had also approached the ANC to participate and claimed Popo Molefe, Thabo Mbeki and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela were also involved in discussions with him. However, critics have raised problems with the UDF's decision to participate in the fund.

### Priorities

The structure of the fund does not allow for a process followed by the UDF since its inception. It removes direct control over the process of development from the communities themselves.

The communities will not be part of determining needs and priorities and allocating the funds in their areas. The trustees are also not accountable to the communities and will be making decisions without consulting them.

The funds will also be implemented and managed by private sector organisations over which the UDF has no control and with which it has had confrontations in the past.

# UDF'S

South 218-818190

# yes to

# R2-bn

# plan

 11A

By REHANA ROSSOUW and CHIARA CARTER

**THE United Democratic Front has decided to participate in a special fund established by President FW de Klerk for urban development.**

With its participation, the UDF has the possibility of delivering some of the demands for improvement in black townships.

The R2-billion fund, announced by De Klerk on March 15, is being administered by the former chairman of the Urban Foundation, Mr Jan Steyn, through the Independent Development Trust (IDT).

Steyn has approached the ANC, UDF, Cosatu, PAC, Azapo and Inkatha to serve on a board of trustees, chosen on the basis of their skills.

Most of the funds are likely to be used for projects in the fields of housing and education.

The UDF elected a special committee — the Development Forum Committee — to examine the IDT.

The committee, chaired by Eric Molobi, had to investigate and report on the basis of the Front's "engagement" with the trust.

Molobi said the committee consulted with community organisations and had several discussions with Steyn, the most recent one this Tuesday.

TO PAGE THREE

By DAVID NIDDRIE

A CEASEFIRE could be in place soon — possibly as early as mid-September — with both sides in Monday's second round of South African peace talks eager for rapid progress.

The two days of talks between President FW de Klerk's team and a five-person ANC team led by deputy president Nelson Mandela are part of a pre-negotiation process to iron out obstacles to a negotiated end to apartheid.

#### Definition

In the three months since the parties' first meeting at Groote Schuur in Cape Town, a joint ANC-government working group has agreed on a definition of what constitutes a "political offence" — opening the way for a rapid start to the release of political prisoners and the return of political exiles, both demanded by the ANC before negotiations proper could begin.

Endorsement of the working group's proposal is likely to be little more than a formality on Monday.

Also flowing from this endorsement will be the withdrawal of charges against those currently in the dock in political trials in South Africa.

Pretoria sources indicate that the working group will also recommend to Monday's meeting that the two delegations agree to an indemnity cut-off date — possibly as close as six weeks away, although probably closer to the end of the year — after which releases and the return of exiles will begin in earnest.

Linked to this is the question of South Africa's security laws, the promulgation of which created many of the "political offences" in the first place.

Logically, these cannot remain in place — without creating an endless cycle of imprisonment and amnesty — once the indemnity cut-off date is passed.

# Ceasefire on cards

*South 2/8 - 8/8/90*

**In spite of all the difficulties and tricky problems, both sides in the South African peace process are eager for progress. DAVID NIDDRIE examines some of the issues at stake as the second round of talks resumes on Monday:**

Mandela's ANC team will therefore be arguing that all "repressive legislation" must be withdrawn simultaneously with the general amnesty, or fairly soon thereafter.

And although only the three racially-segregated South African parliaments may formally lift legislation, the president — on the recommendation of his Cabinet — can suspend their operation until parliament meets again.

Paralleling this, however, is the issue of the continuing low-intensity guerrilla campaign by the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) army.

#### Battle-orders

Both at Groote Schuur and in joint working group meetings since, government negotiators have argued they cannot release convicted guerrillas who would simply return to MK for new weapons and battle-orders.

Reliable sources indicate that the ANC has accepted this logic, and are now willing to agree to a ceasefire — although only temporarily, depending on the progress of the talks — either on the cut-off date or slightly in advance of it.

A fairly minor shift from the ANC's perspective, it represents a major public-relations victory for De Klerk — he now has some benefit to show his rapidly-waning pool of white supporters in exchange for the string of concessions he is about to make.



FW DE KLERK: leaving room

Both sides recognise, however, that mounting violence throughout the country will not end with a suspension of hostilities between Umkhonto and South African security forces.

High on Monday's agenda will thus be what additional steps are needed to end violence — steps prefigured by the joint communique issued after the Groote Schuur meeting recognising the need to end "intimidation from all quarters".

From the ANC's perspective, this means the introduction of curbs on the police force and South African Defence Force (SADF), whom they say are the main initiators of violence.

De Klerk has demonstrably failed so far to restrain the security forces, and the ANC believes that the scrapping of security legislation would not, on its

own, restrict their actions.

How this is resolved is likely to be a major bone of contention in next week's — and possibly future — meetings.

For the ANC, however, some acceptable solution is essential: with armed security forces continuing to occupy black townships without what officials call "effective measures" to control them, the movement could not practically accept a ceasefire by its Umkhonto guerrillas.

The issue is therefore crucial for implementing a ceasefire — and all that would flow from it.

Ideally, for the ANC it would be resolved by introducing elements of its own force to operate in some parallel or joint process with government security units, with the power to intervene where necessary.

For such a system to work, either a joint government-ANC control or that of an independent authority would be required.

#### Interim government

All these issues — and thus the prospect for progress at the talks — are interlocked. They are also connected, the ANC argues, with the idea of a joint or independent authority: an interim government.

The ANC therefore will be arguing for the rapid introduction of an interim government to replace De Klerk's white National Party government.

And on this issue, if not on the idea of a link between Umkhonto and the police and SADF, the government appears to be edging towards the ANC's view.

Since Groote Schuur, Pretoria's negotiators have spoken openly of the need to formulate a revised constitution or bill of rights appropriate for an interim period during which a fully-democratic, post-apartheid constitution is formulated.

This still leaves open the question of how that post-apartheid constitution is formulated.

The ANC says through an elected constituent assembly, De Klerk rejects this — but leaves room for major progress on Monday and Tuesday. — *SouthScan Features*

## Carolus may quit ANC posts

WESTERN Cape ANC leader Cheryl Carolus, who "surfaced" as a member of the South African Communist Party at their launch this week, said she may give up her ANC responsibilities.

Carolus, ANC Western Cape convenor Reggie September and trade unionist Ray Alexander were Cape people appointed to the Internal Leadership Group of the SACP.

She also serves on the ANC interim regional

committee, is publicity secretary for the United Democratic Front and secretary of the Federation of South African Women in the Western Cape.

Carolus said she would probably devote most of her time to Party work in the future.

"There has never been conflict between the two organisations but we will have to negotiate my position," she said.

"The Party is quite new and we still need to do a lot of work, so I will

probably be giving a lot of attention to doing its work.

"But I remain an active member of the ANC as well."

Carolus said there were already "quite a few" SACP members in the Western Cape who would be issued with membership cards in the next few weeks.

Consultations will be held with trade unions and community organisations about the Party but the majority of members will be drawn from union ranks.

(11A)

South 2/8 - 5/8/90

## 'Thousands' apply for SACP membership

THE SA Communist Party had already received thousands of applications for membership and it is to establish five regional offices — in the Western Cape, Eastern Cape, Border, Natal and the Witwatersrand.

The party's internal leadership group (ILG) held its first

meeting on Monday under the chairmanship of Mr Raymond Mhlaba.

Two of its members, Mr Mac Maharaj and Mr Billy Nair, were unable to attend the meeting because they are in detention under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act. General secretary Mr Joe

118 Slovo told the meeting the SACP now had a firm foundation on which to build a powerful party, the ILG said in a statement.

The group decided that plenary meetings of the ILG would be held at least once every two months.

club memberships to  
the US. tional  
alise

## Random check

### 30 die in Soviet air crash

MOSCOW — A Soviet aircraft carrying at least 30 people from Armenia to the disputed territory of Nagorno-Karabakh crashed into a mountain yesterday, killing all aboard. — Sapa Reuter.

### ANC man freed from island

CAPE TOWN — ANC member Mr Dheki Cele (35), was released from Robben Island late yesterday afternoon after a successful appeal by his attorneys in Durban. He was detained in 1988 and later imprisoned after being charged under Section 54 of the Internal Security Act for allegedly being in possession of banned literature and for having received military training abroad. *Spec 2/8/90* (11A)

# Squatting fees go to ANC - claim

*Sowetan 13/8/90*

*119*

**SQUATTERS** at Lesilo Park camp in Thabong, Welkom, claim the local crisis committee demands that they pay R26,50 for ANC membership to qualify for stands on which they can build shacks.

The squatter camp which was started last month by the Lesilo Park Crisis Committee accommodates about 1 500 squatters.

Mr Fannie Skwere, a

**By KENOSI MODISANE**

spokesman of Kenalematla Advice Centre accused the committee of charging residents an "exorbitant R80 for the provision of water and toilets".

However, a Thabong Advice Office spokesman, Mr Vuyani Jabuza, denied the claims.

"It has never been our policy to force people to join the ANC. Those residents who joined did so

voluntarily," said Jabuza.

He said the R80 fee was agreed upon by the residents for the hiring of portable toilets. The fee covers the first two months and is payable when a resident is given a stand for a shack.

The fee is later reduced to R40 which is for the maintenance of the toilets.

## Claims

Jabuza however acknowledged claims of a man collecting money for ANC membership. He said the advice centre had delegated a commission of inquiry to investigate.

Mrs Lydia Mafisa, a camp resident, said she was forced to pay the money by a man only known as Kholekile.

She said she was told that R2,50 was for a membership card, R2 for joining fee, R10 for a video film on the plight of the squatters at the camp and R10 for officials travelling between Welkom and Johannesburg.

Regarding the video fee, Jabuza said residents engaged the services of a private firm to film a video of the area.

"It was used to expose the 'bad conditions' under which people are living while the council is in charge of the area".

Mr Freddy Vanga, regional co-ordinator of the ANC in Thabong dismissed the allegations as "petty issues which are only meant to discredit our movement."

He said: "It is quite obvious that Kenalematla is a BCM initiative and we call upon the movement to discuss such issues with us before running to the newspapers".

BCM regional co-ordinator in the area, Jethro Dlalisa could not be reached for comment yesterday.

Talks back  
on track after  
ANC promise

Political Staff

The ANC-Government talks on Monday are back on track, almost certainly with SA Communist Party chief Joe Slovo firmly in the five-man ANC team.

The "Red plot" row which threatened the talks was patched up yesterday at a three-hour "very cordial" meeting between Nelson Mandela and President de Klerk at the Union Buildings.

The ANC deputy president gave Mr de Klerk an undertaking that he personally, and the ANC's national executive, would take steps to guarantee that the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe and the SACP adhered strictly to the Groote Schuur Minute, which binds both sides to peaceful negotiations. All the organisations remained "totally committed" to the Minute.

Mr de Klerk welcomed this undertaking, which meant the Government would go ahead with the August 6 talks.

Mr Mandela said he was positive the talks would go ahead in good spirit.

But Mr de Klerk stressed that the "plot" row had not been fully resolved. It would be discussed further on August 6, and in the meantime Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok would issue a statement on the plot allegations, to correct "erroneous deductions" made because of "fragmentary" emergence of information.



# FW did not demand Slovo be excluded, says Mandela

Southern 2/8/90

(11)

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday he had assured President FW de Klerk of the ANC's compliance with the Groote Schuur Minute.

However, he refuted allegations that De Klerk had demanded the exclu-

sion of Mr Joe Slovo from the ANC delegation due to meet the Government next week.

Mandela issued a statement following his meeting with De Klerk yesterday morning and after a three-hour consultation with members of the ANC's national executive committee at ANC headquarters in Johannesburg.

He said the problems raised by De Klerk with regard to the recent events such as the so-called "Red plot" and the detention of several ANC and SACP members

would be discussed during the August 6 talks.

"I reiterated the total commitment of the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe and the South African Communist Party to the Groote Schuur Minute.

"I also made an undertaking that I personally, together with the national executive committee, will do whatever we can to ensure that steps are taken to guarantee strict adherence to the Groote Schuur Minute."

Mandela refuted media reports that De Klerk had demanded the exclusion of SACP general secre-

tary Slovo from the August 6 talks.

"The correct position is that the State President was disturbed by evidence placed before him of statements and actions which went against the spirit of the Groote Schuur Minute." - Sapa.



ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela pictured outside the Union Buildings in Pretoria just before he met President FW de Klerk yesterday. Mandela refuted claims that De Klerk had demanded that South African Communist Party boss Mr Joe Slovo be dropped from the August 6 talks between the ANC and the Government. Report on page 2.

*Sowetan 2/8/90*

11A

ANC POLICY AND PRAGMATISM

# Reflections on a diamond deal

FIM 318/90

The political implications of the deal that De Beers has done with the Soviet Union are probably more far-reaching than the immediate business ones, which, as we explain elsewhere, are substantial. For most businessmen they will be salutary — and ironic — after the events of the past week, among which was the relaunching of the ANC affiliate, the world's newest (and probably last) communist party.

Simply put, the Soviets have seen fit to borrow resources from and take advantage of the extraordinary marketing skills of the world's most enduring and arch-capitalist cartel, of which even the US is wary. It is a deal that is complex and one in which, clearly, access to skills is as important as the lending of resources.

Yet here in SA, the country in which De Beers and its Central Selling Organisation have their taproot, the ANC, in which there are an unknown number of influential Marxists, is threatening the nationalisation of the mines and other large businesses in the name both of equity and the acquisition of power.

It would be interesting to speculate whether, if in the next few years the ANC were to have its way with the government of this country, how the Soviets would feel about De Beers being nationalised. Our guess is that they would not be phlegmatic about any ANC dilution of existing CSO skills and management resources.

Indeed, in view of events in middle and eastern Europe and the Soviet Union's own internal economic problems, which are much more severe than in its satellites, it could well be that Moscow itself would not be prepared to countenance the degree of nationalisation which the ANC and SA Communist Party espouse as their policy at present.

So while the ANC's Nelson Mandela may be reaching for the economic stars, he will get the diamond mines only over the body of a supine Russian bear.

Moreover, the launching of the SA Communist Party as an entity separate from the ANC, in the face of protestations that they are historic allies with what are perceived to be identical aims and aspirations, might also be interpreted as encouraging. It suggests that, at some stage in the future, their interests and policies might in certain circumstances diverge. After all, Mandela claims that the ANC is not a communist party, though it is hard at present to see much difference in their declared policies.

The difference could be, however, that the

SACP remains dogmatically Marxist as a matter of principle, regardless of the obsolescence of this doctrine and its manifest failure wherever it has been tried.

The ANC, in contrast, wants to use nationalisation as a means of levelling the playing fields after 40 years of National Party rule that despoiled blacks of their property, family life, education, participation in the wealth creation of the economy and aspirations towards participation in real government. But it has also argued that if another way can be found to redistribute wealth, then it is prepared to reconsider nationalisation.

The ANC's opposition to privatisation appears to be grounded in a similar point of view — that it will be modified or removed if another form of wealth sharing, or its illusion, could be put forward with sufficient political conviction.

The *FM* is persuaded to this interpretation as we find it hard to believe that the ANC leadership, having itself experienced the bureaucratic inertia of a bloated public service waving an apartheid rulebook — and seen the destruction collectivism has brought to parts of Europe and Africa — could seriously contemplate the application of similar policies here and be naive enough to believe the outcome would be different.

We would not argue the same for the generality of its membership. The masses expect the ANC leadership to deliver what amount to reparations — and in quantity. They do not understand that nationalisation can provide only an illusion of wealth distribution and that collectivism does more to despoil an economy than enhance its capacity to provide the essentials of civilised existence. After an apartheid education, it is hardly surprising that they know not what they do.

The only way forward in those circumstances is patient and persistent leadership and unflinching intellectual integrity — both on the part of the ANC and government. This won't be helped either by the ANC's adherence to a policy of violence and economic bravado in the changed climate of this country, nor the National Party government's reluctance to use security forces to curb all violence — and its gullible acceptance of faulty security intelligence.

The deal between De Beers and the Soviets is an example of economic and political pragmatism — no doubt mothered by some necessity on both sides. Its spirit is worthy of emulation by the political and economic protagonists in this country.



NEGOTIATIONS FIM 318190

~~2000~~

11A

## No more red herrings

If there was one lesson learnt during the past week's exchanged accusations over allegations of a communist conspiracy to overthrow the State, it was that negotiations are paramount.

Neither the ANC under Nelson Mandela nor President F W de Klerk indicated at any stage that negotiations were under threat — despite police allegations of a planned insurrection and the detention of about 50 people under security legislation. The ANC's reaction to the detention of senior SA Communist Party member Mac Maharaj was low-key and his release is expected shortly.

The strongest rhetoric seems to have come from the police and newspapers. Elements in both appear to be gullible and out of touch. However, the remarkable elusiveness of ANC and SACP spokesmen does not help journalists striving for balance. It is surely time the ANC made itself reliably accessible to the media.

SACP general-secretary Joe Slovo said at the relaunch of the party on Sunday in Soweto that "we are convinced that President De Klerk would like a peaceful, negotiated solution. We believe a negotiated solution is in the interests of all South Africans, white and black."

However, the ANC and some observers are asking whether all De Klerk's men are as committed to a negotiated solution as he is. Similarly, some senior government men express concern about fiery statements by the likes of Chris Hani and the influence of Marxists on ANC policy and strategy. Can De Klerk and Mandela pull their teams with them? Both are certainly determined to do so and both must have regarded the recent row as an irritating distraction.

The next stage of talks between government and the ANC on August 6 will focus on a negotiated ceasefire. "Talks about talks" as a concept is evaporating as almost all the elements of the Harare Declaration are in the process of being met; real negotiations are moving on to the horizon.

It could be that the SAP's habitual reliance on security legislation led to last week's botched and exaggerated conspiracy report. Simple police investigation would have revealed that Slovo was not in the country when the meeting in question was held in Tongaat. The police faced the humiliation of having to withdraw allega-

tions against Slovo on Monday and fell back on the old ploy of blaming the media.

Operation Vula, it turned out, is not an SACP plan and it is not new: it was drawn up in 1987 under the leadership of ANC president Oliver Tambo.

It is clear that De Klerk cannot afford such embarrassments. He will need to be more wary of the information fed to him by close advisers. The intelligence community will have to ensure that when they cry "wolf" there is indeed a wolf. When people are arrested they must be brought to court; when claims are made they should be backed up by documentary proof, released for inspection. Such guidelines might concentrate a few minds.

The opinions expressed at the Tongaat meeting posed no threat to the security of the State.

The detailed SACP report of that conference — not a policy-making meeting, but a consultative conference — was released to the press by the SACP on Monday. Discussing the SACP programme adopted last year, the minutes read:

"In the light of developments leading to the Groote Schuur talks we need to ask whether our thesis on seizure of power has become irrelevant . . . We cannot be sure of the outcome of negotiations. There is always a possibility of a return to repression. White politics is volatile and violent.

"There was a general agreement that our perspective on seizure of power through insurrection in the programme should not be abandoned. The building of the revolutionary army, therefore, remains a crucial task of the revolutionary alliance. Development of self-defence units of our people is a necessity anyway. We need to develop the concept of people's militia, an important element with MK, of a revolutionary army . . .

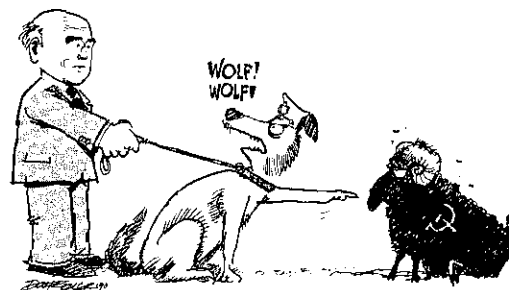
"The armed struggle remains in place until new political conditions demand a review of the armed struggle . . . However, full cognisance has been taken of the changed situation which requires that the possibilities offered by negotiations should be explored to

the fullest, while not abandoning the above perspective."

These minutes indicate nothing different to conventional SACP or ANC stances. Self-defence committees are a concept that emerged in 1984, as part of "people's structures" and the formation of area, branch and street committees. In most areas they are seen as community efforts to combat crime. That some of these could be used as rallying points for Umkhonto we Sizwe is not impossible; how effective they would be in overthrowing the State is another matter.

Meanwhile, until a ceasefire has been negotiated and made binding, confusion over the use of violence will endure and both sides will continue to train and equip cadres.

Charlene Smith



## ANC denies buying Ponte apartment block

SEVERAL ANC spokesmen yesterday denied their movement was the mystery buyer of Ponte City apartment block in Berea, Johannesburg.

The organisation, they said, could not afford such a large outlay — reportedly in the region of R20m.

ANC internal finance head Vusi Khanyile, who is

PETER DELMAR

a member of the National Co-ordinating Committee for Repatriation, yesterday described a report that the ANC would buy Ponte to house up to 2 000 returning exiles, as being "devoid of all truth".

He disclosed that the ANC and other organisations, including the SACC, which are drawing up plans to receive and resettle about 20 000 exiled South Africans, were hoping property companies could

help out.

Yesterday's report about the building being sold to an organisation "close to black liberation movements" evoked a flurry of denials.

A source at the building's managers Bankorp confirmed Ponte had been sold, but denied the buyer was the ANC, the SACC or any other political organisation. 11A  
61001 318190

Housing company Quantum, named as a party to the deal, also denied any involvement.

114

# Call on Mandela is 'disturbing', says Chikane

By Kaizer Nyatumba,

South African Council of Churches (SACC) general secretary, the Reverend Frank Chikane, said yesterday the Rhema Bible Church's call on ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela to publicly declare his stand on Christianity was disturbing.

In a statement, Mr Chikane said South Africans had a right to choose whether to be Christians or communists.

He was responding to a call on Mr Mandela this week by Rhema Bible Church pastor Ray McCauley to make public his stand on Christianity.

At a press conference in Randburg on Wednesday, Mr McCauley took exception to South African Communist Party chief Joe Slovo's remarks at the weekend that Jesus would have joined the armed struggle had he lived in South Africa.

Mr McCauley, leader of the

International Fellowship of Christian Churches and the Pentecostal Church in South Africa, challenged the ANC and the SACP to spell out their stand on freedom of religion.

The moderator of the Dutch Reformed Church, Professor Johan Heyns, shared Mr McCauley's views.

Yesterday, Mr Chikane said the position of Mr McCauley and Professor Heyns was not surprising to him given the radical differences of opinion and experiences between white and black Christians in South Africa.

White Christians are part of the European history of East-West communist fear and hatred.

Mr Chikane said blacks had no experience of communist oppression. Their experience was that of oppression "by whites who claim to be Christians in the name of Christianity".

easy victory. — Daily Telegraph

*Capt. Tim P 3/8/90* (114)   
**Nactu meets ANC's NEC**

**JOHANNESBURG.** — The National Council of Trade Unions, led by its president Mr James Mndaweni, met an ANC NEC delegation led by Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday.

Reports by Staff Reporter, Own Correspondent, Sapa-Reuters-AP and UPI

FIM 3/8/90

~~800~~

11A

land ownership, integration of the SADF and Umkhonto we Sizwe, economic policies, sports and culture.

A forum spokesman could not confirm any of the main speakers but says they will include representatives of the ANC, NP, SA Communist Party, Inkatha and the CP.

The Association of Black Accountants of SA (Abasa) will debate "Accounting for Wealth Creation and Redistribution of Resources" at its fifth annual convention in Cape Town next month.

Executive director Mashudu Ramano says the meeting's aim will be to examine the economic practicalities of the redistribution of wealth.

"We hope to make a valuable contribution to the debate on nationalisation and redistribution, and possibly clarify some of the more controversial points. We chose the convention theme last year in anticipation of the situation that has now developed."

Speakers will include: Zimbabwean businessman Lawrence Vambe; Stefan Szymanski, of the London Business School; Greta Russel, past president of the National Association of Black Accountants in the US; and Cyril Ramaphosa, of the National Union of Mineworkers.

Ramano says the association hopes to stimulate constructive debate on economic policies. "We don't want to discuss only effective redistribution strategies, but also how to make the cake bigger."

He adds there's an urgent need for blacks to become more involved in mainstream business. Of the 3 000 directorships of companies listed on the JSE only about 30 are held by blacks.

Abasa was established in 1985 to address inequalities in education, employment and professional development facing aspirant and qualified black accountants.

Its membership — including accounting technicians — is 500.

CONFERENCES FIM 3/8/90

### Below the icing ~~800~~

Negotiations and restructuring of the economy form the basis of two conferences to be held in August and September. They reflect a growing need to move away from emotive posturing and to focus on the practical implications of negotiations and redividing the economic cake.

The first conference, "SA at a Turning Point — Negotiations and the Future," will be held on August 24-26 at the World Trade Centre near Jan Smuts Airport.

It will be hosted by the Five Freedoms Forum, a mainly white, anti-apartheid group, and 850 delegates are expected to participate in 19 discussion groups including:



## Township truce collapses after fighting

# Army called into Crossroads

CAPE TIMES 3/8/90

By CHRIS BATEMAN

THE army is to be called in to restore peace in Old Crossroads after a shaky but hard-won month-long truce was shattered yesterday by the petrol bombing of at least six Old Crossroads homes and the shooting of a resident.

The army units are expected to move in today or by Monday.

Last night a police spokesman would confirmed that SADF units would move in to Phase Two and nearby areas after R500 000 worth of damage had been caused to new buildings recently.

Yesterday's violent incidents started at 1am and continued until 10am when the unoccupied home of a special constable was shot at. A man, identified as Mr Thembinkosi Phoswa, 30, was shot and wounded in the leg.

There were also reports of youths and pupils clashing near school premises with many unconfirmed serious injuries.

Teachers and parents of the Noxolo School in Section One (predominantly supporters of mayor Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana) yesterday appealed to the town committee to resolve the fighting which was "causing chaos at school".

They said Noxolo School pupils were attacked by pupils from Section Four, an area under breakaway headman Mr Jeffrey Nongwe.

The renewed fighting follows Sunday night's reported fatal shooting of two residents, identified as mother-of-three Mrs Nomaquma Koyana and a man known only as "Gelem".

A reliable Old Crossroads source said yesterday that bands of youths had been gathering before splitting into smaller groups

and attacking and burning homes, mainly in the new Phase Two housing development.

The renewed fighting is known to have upset Mr Hernus Kriel, Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs, who chaired a much-acclaimed "peace-meeting" between the two sides 23 days ago.

Both leaders publicly committed themselves to peace and an independent community figure and chairman of the Western Cape Hostel Dwellers' Association, Mr Johnson Mpukumpa, was appointed as a facilitator.

Mr Mpukumpa was in Johannesburg yesterday and unavailable for comment.

Yesterday Mr Bill Staude, regional chief director of the Department of Education and Training, said the Noxolo School principal was trying to call meetings to "see if they can solve this within the community".

## Tensions rise after hit on PAC

By CHRIS BATEMAN

TENSIONS rose in Khayelitsha yesterday in the wake of an attack on the home of PAC member and local residents' association chairman Mr Lawrence Smous, whose wife Anna was shot and wounded in the shoulder on Wednesday night.

Mrs Smous was in a serious condition in Groote Schuur Hospital yesterday and her husband remained in hiding.

Their home was deserted and locked.

There has been long-standing enmity between the local civic association and Mr Smous' more conservative Khayelitsha Residents' Association.

Meanwhile the local civic association plans a mass march in the township tomorrow to demand the resignation of the Lingeletu West Town Council and to protest against "high rentals and poor housing and services".

Chairman of the Western Cape Civic Association Mr Michael Mapongwana said tomorrow's march

would go ahead whether magisterial permission was granted or not.

While permission had been applied for "this will probably be the last time we do that", he said.

It was reliably learnt yesterday that police met with members of the Khayelitsha Civic Association (a zone of the WCCA) in an attempt to defuse tensions.

Considering the application for the march, magistrate Mr J van Reenen said yesterday that no finality had yet been reached on the matter.

Police are known to be concerned about the march coming so soon after last week's widespread violence in the township which cost four lives and left 18 heavy-duty trucks burnt out in the Green Point and Silvertown areas.

Khayelitsha town clerk Mr Graham Lawrence yesterday said he had no objections to the march taking place provided it began away from the township's main thoroughfare.

# Still doubt over Slovo's role at secret conference

By MICHAEL MORRIS,  
Political Correspondent

DOUBT remains over government claims about South African Communist Party general secretary Mr Joe Slovo's role at the party's secret Tongaat conference in May after Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok's statement yesterday dismissing the issue as unimportant.

Democratic Party co-leader and one of the party's law and order spokesmen, Dr Denis Worrall, said today it was clear government sources created the impression that Mr Slovo was at the meeting.

He said the police had made no effort to correct the impression, adding: "They were obviously quite content to let it take hold".

In addition, a document purported to have been used by the Department of Foreign Affairs to brief foreign diplomats on the saga — and leaked to the Press by government sources last week — unequivocally attributes a statement from the minutes of the Tongaat Conference to Mr Joe Slovo. The reference in the minutes themselves is merely to "Comrade Joe".

But, in a statement yesterday rejecting allegations that the police were trying to sabotage the negotiating process by misrepresenting the facts about an alleged SACP plot to seize power, Mr Vlok said he was satisfied on the basis of documents and other evidence that the information police had given to President De Klerk and the Cabinet was "correct in all respects."

He added that it was not of utmost importance whether Mr Slovo had attended the Tongaat meeting.

"The fact is that the meeting had, beyond any question, been attended by key figures within the SACP. There is no doubt about that."

The police investigation of the evidence was continuing and he could not make public facts which could be used as evidence in court. But if any party felt the police had acted improperly, he would be happy to present the facts to a court.

● See page 2.

ANC hits at 'free  
food' pamphlets

The ANC has asked whether the State or the AWB is behind anti-consumer boycott and anti-ANC pamphlets being distributed throughout the Eastern Transvaal.

"Who are these faceless people?" asked a spokesman for the ANC.

Some pamphlets say the ANC Nelspruit regional office secretary, Joe Nkuna, will provide free food to boycotters. — Highveld Bureau.

111603 3/8/90 (114)

CITY



NATIONAL

# Adelaide Tambo due back from exile

## The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — The ANC's first lady, Mrs Adelaide "Matlala" Tambo, is to return to South Africa on Monday after nearly 30 years in exile.

The nursing sister from Vereeniging who married ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo in 1958 will be in Johannesburg for just eight days to attend the first legal conference of the ANC's

women's movement since the late '50s when Mrs Tambo was an executive member.

Mrs Tambo will be looking for a new home for her and her husband's expected return in December.

Her trip will be filled with memories from her early married years when she and Mr Tambo ate, slept and drank politics.

In exile Mrs Tambo has been the quiet — and sometimes not so quiet — force behind the presidency. She has had a major influence on the ANC in London, often being the main link between the exiles and their new home.

Mrs Tambo's personality has made her friends in high places in Britain including financier Mr Tiny Rowland, Opposition leader Mr Neil Kinnock and film director Richard Attenborough.



Mrs Adelaide Tambo

# 'Outlook bleak for women under ANC'

ANL 3/8/90



Mrs Winnie Mandela

By ANDREA WEISS (11) (12)

Staff Reporter  
MRS Winnie Mandela has tackled head-on the thorny issue of women's rights, predicting that equality of the sexes would be "highly improbable" under an ANC government.

Mrs Mandela expressed this reservation in the foreword to the book *Black - Woman - Worker* written by Mr Nelson Mandela's biographer, Fatima Meer.

"While the ANC accords women equal status, it is highly improbable that under an ANC government women will in fact enjoy equality of status with men; for equal relations emanate from a state of mind and not from laws," Mrs Mandela said.

"Presently, neither sex sees the other as equal. As this study shows, both men and women in our society see women to be subordinate to men.

"Until these status differences are redefined, and the redefinition becomes a reality in the hearts and minds of our two genders, women will continue to be subordinated."

## Handouts

Mrs Mandela said in traditional African society women were workers and producers while the men were the accumulators and controllers of capital in the form of livestock.

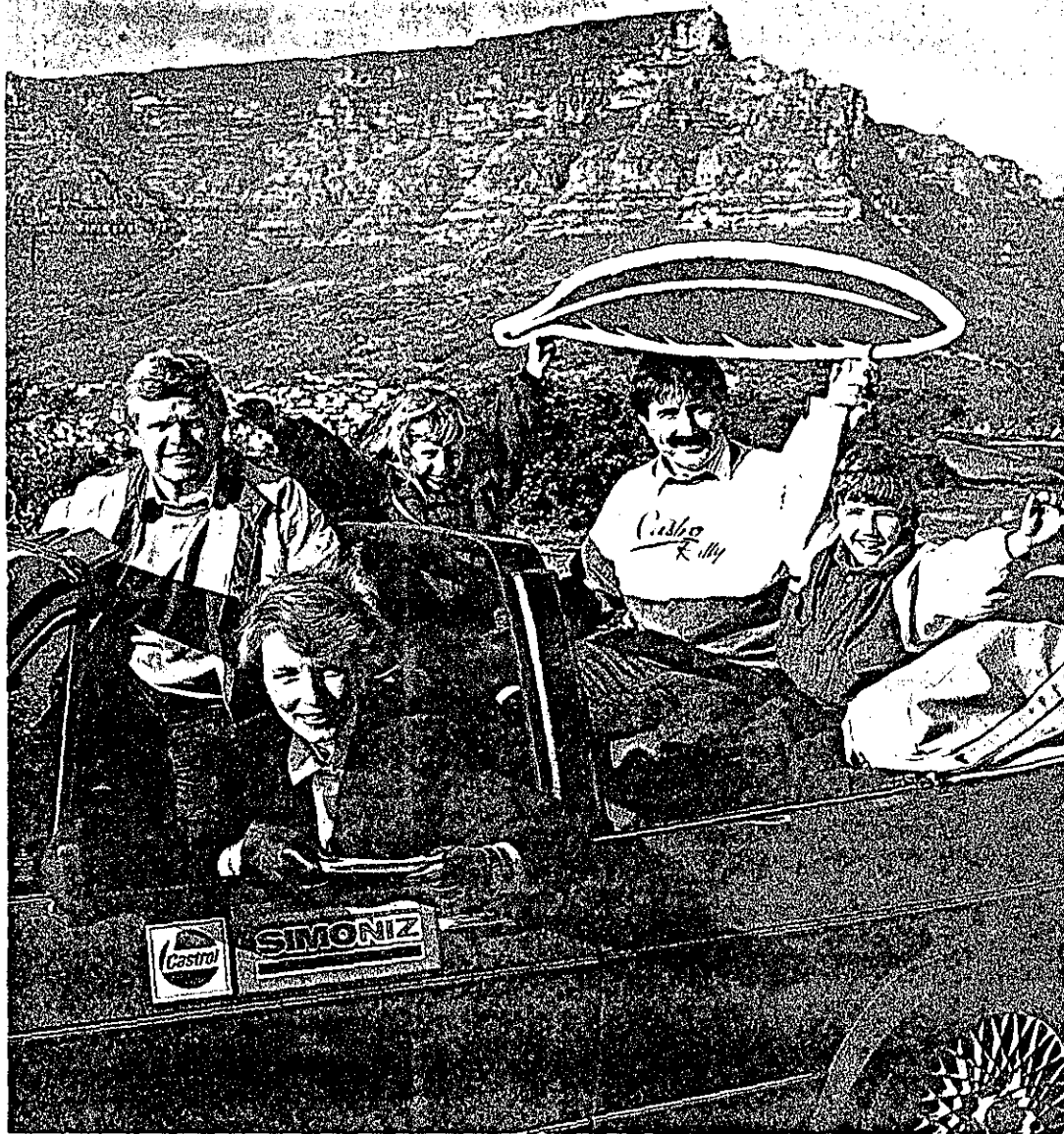
Therefore, practically all work was "housework" and hence largely women's work.

When Africans lost their land, "housework" lost its significance in the African economy and women lost their role as "workers".

They became increasingly dependent on the men for handouts from the wages they earned in the market place "and consequently became even more subordinated than before", she argued.

Migrant labour forced rural women into "penury" and the job market. Most black women today were employed as domestics "which remains the hardest kind of work with the longest working hours", Mrs Mandela said.

"Despite their lowly position and their low earnings, women contribute equally, if not more (if their double day is taken into consideration) than men in labour to our society, yet most times they are not even considered as workers and are dismissed as domestics, housewives and agricultural labourers," she said.



## Renewed fears over slaughtering of seals

By JOHN YELD  
Environment Reporter

THE seal-processing factory at Port Nolloth is nearly complete and, contrary to reports, the Taiwanese businessman involved has not withdrawn, according to the Seal Action Group (SAG).

The group is preparing radio and television commercials to promote its opposition to the killing of seals.

In its newsletter *Seal News*, SAG said there was still a "very good chance" that the Kleinsee seals would be slaughtered.

It said its meeting with Environment Affairs Minister Mr

Gert Kotzé had been "unproductive" and Mr Kotzé had refused to say when a decision would be taken on the fate of the seals.

"He could not tell us why the permit was issued initially. Nor could he answer the puzzling question of why a resource was being used when there is no market for the products," SAG charged.

"Another alarming thing was that Mr Kotzé was unaware that the conditions of the permit were contravened last year when nearly 4 000 bulls were slaughtered, their genitals cut out and the bodies dumped."

**FUN RALLY:** The Community Chest Mystery Rally will start from the UCT parking area behind the Baxter Theatre in Rondebosch on Sunday, August 12 at 11am. The rally dares families to test their ingenuity, stamina and knowledge of Cape Town on a course that promises to amuse and confuse the most astute navigator. Seen from back, left to right are rally driver Serge Damseaux, schoolboy Martin McNaughton, Castrol's Cape Town branch manager Peter Reck and schoolgirl Carolyn McNaughton. Cape Town mayor-elect Jo Stern sits in the front. (Rally details on 418-1920 or 210-2900).

# Vula aimed to set up bases - Vlok

## Political Staff

Operation Vula was aimed at establishing underground structures, revolutionary bases and expanding a revolutionary army in South Africa, said Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok yesterday.

He had seen documents and evidence substantiating all police disclosures to President de Klerk and the Cabinet.

Operation Vula had been continued "by certain elements" after the Groote Schuur conference in May, when the ANC committed itself to a peaceful process of negotiations.

## FW request

"Accusations that police twisted the facts or misrepresented the facts are bereft of any truth," he said.

Referring to the controversy of whether or not Communist Party chief Joe Slovo attended an SACP strategy meeting in Tongaat in May, Mr Vlok said this was not the crucial question. "The fact is that the meeting was attended by key figures within the SACP."

Mr Vlok was responding in a statement to President de Klerk's request that he clear up misunderstandings about the recent police crackdown on alleged infiltrators and arms caches.

# Slovo on slicing the cake

SAZC 3/8/90

(11A)

This is an edited version of an article written by South African Communist Party general secretary **JOE SLOVO** for the Financial Times of London. Mr Slovo is also a senior member of the ANC's policy-making national executive committee.

The conflict of views associated with the struggle against apartheid now revolves around the construction of a new economic system as much as a new policy.

The African National Congress's approach to restructuring the post-apartheid economy derives from our conception of liberation: we are committed to the ultimate ending of domination in all spheres of life.

Domination does not just create political deprivation. Its primary roots are embedded in economic imbalances: 85 percent of all personal income goes to whites; about 98 percent of all productive property is in the ownership/control of whites.

At this stage, the overriding factor which we are addressing is not so much the question of class disparity, but national disparity.

The legislative lifting of race barriers cannot, on its own, lead to any meaningful correction of these disparities. If every racist statute were to be repealed tomorrow, leaving the economic status quo undisturbed, white domination would remain intact.

## Everyone's reach

We aim to achieve a major redistribution of wealth and income so that health, education, decent housing, food, water, electricity and good communications are within everyone's reach. This will involve more than slicing the existing cake in different proportions. We obviously need a strategy to generate growth in the post-apartheid mixed economy.

This growth must be both sustainable and equitable. The existing system is dramatically failing to attain these goals.

The economy has failed dismally in international terms as well. Although manufacturing now accounts for much employment and output, it is uncompetitive on world markets and becoming more so as investment stagnates. The country's international survival depends alarm-

ingly on gold and mineral exports.

Thus we will be inheriting a low-productivity economy in what is a slow-moving backwater, internationally. We intend changing the system to overcome that and to meet people's needs.

The main source of growth should be industrialisation directed both to export markets and to the demand for rising living standards at home.

Sustainable industrialisation requires investment in new technology to enhance productivity and allow wages to rise while competitiveness is strengthened. For that reason foreign investment is needed, particularly as a potential source of new technology. Foreign companies should be encouraged to build export plants consistent with the country's growth strategy.

In other words, foreign companies should have a place within an industrial strategy determined by our democratic government.

Private South African companies and new enterprises will have a strong role to play as well as foreign businesses. But we cannot rely on these sectors to generate new investment automatically. The State and State-owned industries should have the main responsibility for generating investment by all sectors and carrying out productive projects within the public sector itself or in partnership.

All too often, developing countries have been hit by an investment strike on the part of private companies or they get the type of investment that does little to build a strong economy. To avoid that fate, public sector investment must play a central role.

As Nelson Mandela has made

clear, we shall extend public sector ownership where it is necessary to achieve such goals. The State will take ownership stakes in some industrial and financial groups. These can be of varying types, including full nationalisation.

This has been on our agenda since the adoption of the Freedom Charter (the ANC's chief policy document adopted in 1955), not because the ANC wears ideological blinkers, but because we have learnt that a strong lead from the State is necessary to create conditions where both the people and private capital can flourish.

Critics of public ownership say that it is beyond the power of any State to run public industries. In fact, by far the most difficult task facing the State will be providing health care, education, housing and other basic needs for the whole population.

In these areas there is, of course, a role for the private sector, but it remains the principal responsibility of the State.

## Firm control

These tasks will need money although firm control must be kept to prevent the State Budget becoming unaffordable as it did under the National Party. Our growth planning has obviously to be accompanied by a financial plan. The idea that everything can be financed from cuts in military and security spending is a chimera.

So our financial strategy should see the raising of domestic savings and their more purposeful mobilisation and direction as the basis for growth.

These economic policies will con-

tinue to be criticised as statist and contrasted with free market policies. That is an unnecessary polarisation. The South Africa we have known is not a free market system.

It has a tightly knit economy dominated by State industries, State regulation, and a few all-powerful conglomerate trusts such as Anglo American and Barlow Rand. The privatisation and limited deregulation of recent years has not destroyed that; it has shifted power further towards the private trusts.

The leading argument for a free market future comes from those trusts and, frankly, we doubt their sincerity.

Business and finance will continue to charge that our strategy will undermine business confidence. Other countries have even had to abandon welfare policies, supposedly to maintain "confidence". But we see confidence as a two-way street.

Business has to maintain the confidence of the people as well. The new democratic government will want to have confidence in companies' commitment to invest, to operate fair employment practices, and to contribute towards building the new country before judging whether public ownership, regulation or other policies are necessary.

The reconstruction we envisage for the South African economy comes at a time when more than half the globe is re-examining its economic strategies. Our difficulties and opportunities are special because of the legacy of apartheid. But many of the issues are common.

Some South African countries have suffered from an ossified and badly-implemented belief in statism. Others have headed for ruin through a naive belief in the "market" panacea.

Regrettably, the rich and powerful states and international agencies have fostered the latter as the condition for finance and trade. We believe that our strategy will be more successful and democratic than either of these simple alternatives.

# Vlok denies derailing talks

CAPL 7/12/90 3/18/90

11A

~~Political Correspondent~~  
Political Correspondent

MINISTER of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok yesterday strongly dismissed suggestions that the police's handling of the controversial "Red Plot" saga was aimed at derailing talks between the government and the ANC.

Mr Vlok said the perception that the police were trying to sabotage the negotiation process by misrepresenting facts about the alleged SACP plot to seize power was "devoid of all truth".

In a strongly-worded defence of the police role in the affair, Mr Vlok said he had personally studied documents and other evidence and was satisfied the information the police had conveyed to President F W de Klerk and the cabinet was "correct in all respects".

However, a number of questions and apparent contradictions remain surrounding the handling of the "Red Plot" row which sparked a series of accusations and counter-accusations from the government and the SACP which came close to wrecking the talks — which will now resume on Monday.

In a statement issued in Pretoria, Mr Vlok argued that it was not of the utmost importance whether SACP general-secretary Mr Joe Slovo had attended the Tongaat meeting two weeks after the signing of the Groote Schuur Minute.

Police had earlier maintained that minutes from the meeting which quoted a "Comrade Joe" showed that Mr Slovo attended the meeting and that he had said that the SACP would not be bound by any ANC-government ceasefire agreement.



## Breakthrough at meeting expected

11A

MIKE ROBERTSON

GOVERNMENT and the ANC were confident yesterday of achieving a breakthrough on Monday in removing obstacles identified by the ANC as preventing negotiations taking place.

The ANC has committed itself to considering a "cessation of hostilities" if this is achieved. 8/0am 3/8/90

A senior government source said yesterday that while a number of issues relating to the so-called "Red plot" needed to be clarified, he was confident the working group report on political offences would be acceptable to both sides.

The working group was appointed at the meeting at Groote Schuur to come up with an agreed definition of a political offence and to suggest mechanisms and time frames for the release of political prisoners and return of exiles.

It is also understood to have proposed that a group of local experts be appointed to make decisions on those people whose status as a political offender was in dispute.

According to sources on both sides the working group has drawn heavily on the work of Prof Carl Norgaard, a Danish jurist appointed by the UN in Namibia to determine which Namibians qualified for amnesty and/or release as political prisoners during the independence process.

Norgaard is understood to have suggested a very broad definition of what constitutes a political offence.

To Page 2

## Breakthrough

8/0am 3/8/90

Meanwhile, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok yesterday defended police conduct in connection with the so-called "Red plot" which threatened to derail Monday's talks.

In the first official statement by government on the matter, Vlok said police had uncovered evidence of Operation Vula, the aim of which was to establish underground structures in SA, expand an internal revolutionary army and create a popular insurrection.

"These activities, started in 1987, were continued by certain elements after the acceptance of the Groote Schuur Minute."

Vlok said that in their investigation police had taken possession of a large quantity of documents, computers and disks.

Among the thousands of documents extracted from computers were those relating to an SACP meeting in Tongaat.

Vlok in his statement did not link the Tongaat meeting to Operation Vula, but

11A/ said documents of the meeting formed part of an intensive police investigation being conducted in close co-operation with the Attorney-General of Natal.

The Law and Order Minister skirted around the issue of SACP leader Joe Slovo's alleged presence at the meeting, saying it was not the crucial question.

He did not specify what the crucial question was, but went on to say that: "The fact is that the meeting was without doubt attended by key figures in the SACP."

Vlok yesterday dismissed as devoid of truth accusations that police had distorted facts relating to the Tongaat meeting.

"I have personally satisfied myself through documents and other evidence that the information supplied by police to the State President and the Cabinet in this connection was correct in all respects," he said, adding the perception that police were trying to derail the negotiation process was also devoid of truth.

From Page 1

# 'Mr Clean' has dilemma in Soweto

JAPHTA "Mr Clean" Lekgetho, president and founder of the National Environmental Awareness Campaign, is an environmentalist in a difficult position.

He is torn between his calling to save the environment of his people and the need to cater for their political needs, which sometimes conflicts with environmental conservation.

As a newly appointed ANC spokesman on environment, Lekgetho has endorsed the ANC-UDF alliance campaign that the homeless must occupy "every centimetre" of empty land, an exercise that "will not benefit the environment because of the lack of services".

By PHANGISILE  
MTSHALI

"My first duty is to preserve humanity," the former schoolteacher said.

"We cannot worry about saving rhinos and seals when we can hardly provide for our own. To me, environment must be saved to serve human beings. The homeless people must provide for themselves although this may be detrimental to the environment."

The cheerful man with a ready smile insists that his new political position does not compromise what Neac was established to do 13 years ago.

"We serve people of all political affiliations. Neac is a civic organisa-

tion and it will remain that," he said.

South Africa's environment is deteriorating and will continue in that direction as long as racist laws are maintained, said Lekgetho, who earned the title "Mr Clean" when he launched Neac.

"Black townships are uninhabitable. They are a health hazard," he said.

"In Soweto there are more rodents than people - thanks to inefficient local authorities who have turned our townships into garbage dumps.

"The stench is unbearable. Flies, mosquitoes and rodents are breeding in every corner of every township. Sewerage pipes burst every day. We have poor street cleaning.

## Families

"Garbage is collected once or twice a week and in some yards we have more than five families using one bin.

"For blacks, environmental conservation means getting these things right.

"In this country environment is politics," he said.

Neac has recently launched several campaigns to better the environment in the townships.

A "Green Revolution" a campaign to plant trees, is planned for August.

Neac will also intensify its anti-asbestos campaign and call for strict laws prohibiting industrial air pollution.



MR JAPHTA LEKGETHO

# ANC calls on its members to defend themselves 11A

THE African National Congress has called on its members in small towns in the Border region to defend themselves against violent attacks in the area.

The ANC has blamed the clashes on local Pan Africanist Congress members and the police, and says that this leaves it "no option but to hit back".

Over the past week, two people were shot and injured in Jamestown, grenades were thrown at two houses and other homes were damaged by fire and

stones.

Lucille Meyer, of the Border ANC Interim Committee, said that if the PAC and police were responsible, then "it clearly shows that the state is not interested in a peaceful resolution of the country's problems. While on the one hand the leaders of the Nationalist Party show a willingness to negotiate, we see an escalation of violence on the other hand."

"This leaves us with no option but to

*WMA 318 - 5/8/90* hit back."

On Sunday, PAC members allegedly fired at homes in Masakhane township outside Jamestown.

PAC members, including Masakhane "Mayor" T Mtukiswa, were also accused of shooting two people including a child at an ANC gathering on Sunday.

Police confirmed the grenade attacks and said that stones were thrown at Mtukiswa's home and he fired in self-defence. — Elnews

# SACP unveils its plan for branches across the country

w/mant 3/8-5/8/90

11A

By GAVIN EVANS  
THE central committee of the South African Communist Party yesterday announced that it has appointed a secretariat, a PWV-based working group and that internal leadership groups (ILGs) will be appointed in six regions around the country.

and these will be responsible for setting up branches.

According to a central committee statement, "special attention shall be paid to ensuring a proper and adequate representation of women at all levels". At present the 22-person internal leadership group includes only two women — Ray Alexander and Cheryl Carolus.

The ILG meeting on Tuesday stressed "that we seek a membership which actively participates in the work of the SACP, its allies, ANC and Cosatu and the broad democratic formations".

"Already we have received thousands of applications for membership of the Party. These are receiving our urgent attention," the statement said.

Until next year's congress, the highest structure of the Party remains the central committee which was elected at the Party's last congress, held in Cuba last May. According to the SACP journal *Umsebenzi*, this included representatives both from the internal underground and from exiled units.

The 1989 SACP constitution states that the congress is the highest authority of the party, and must be called at least once every five years. It elects the general secretary, chairman and 18 other members of the central committee, which may then appoint a further five candidate members.

Since the 1989 congress, the SACP's internal leadership group chairman, Raymond Mhlaba, and ANC National Executive Committee member Govan Mbeki, have been appointed to the central committee.

Its new interim structure will exist until the SACP's next congress, which takes place on its 70th anniversary on July 29 1991.

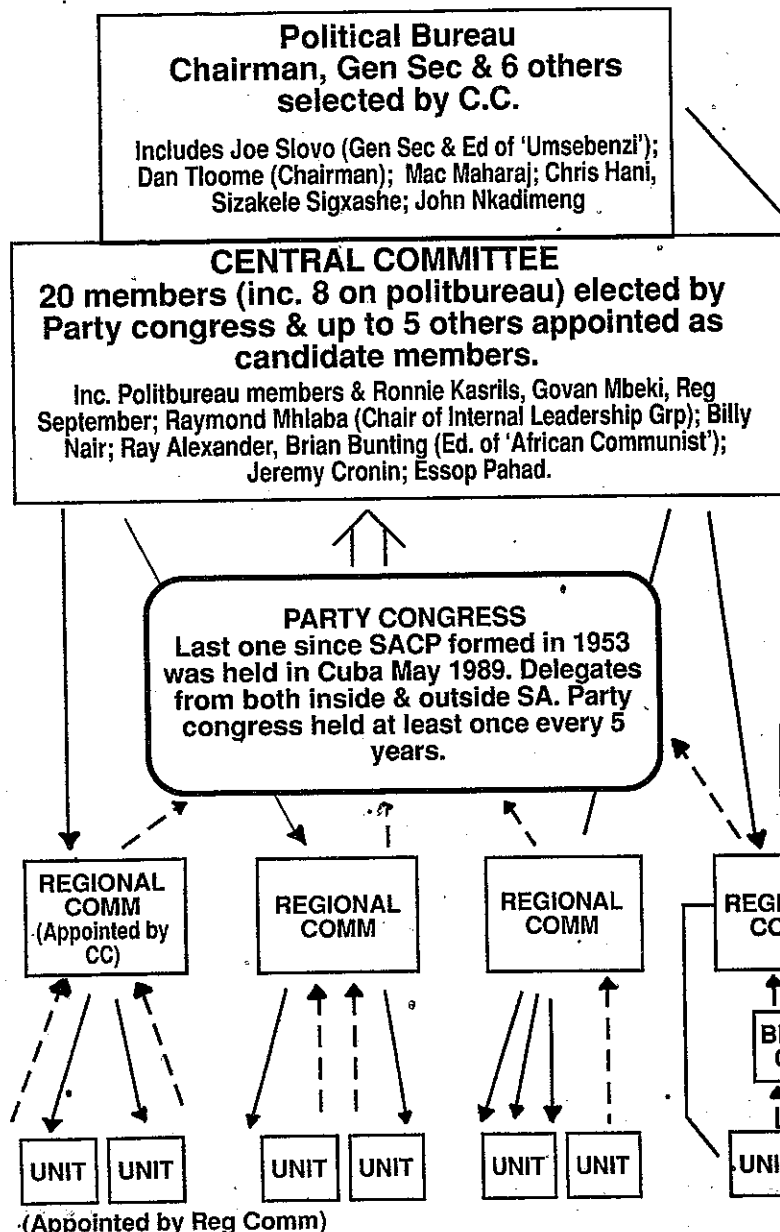
The Party's general secretary, Joe Slovo, has said that underground formations would remain in place for the time being, but that branches would be set up in each of the regions with open membership.

This means, in effect, that the underground and above ground structures will exist side by side until next year's congress when a new central committee will be elected and a new programme drawn up. By then it is believed that there will be no underground members.

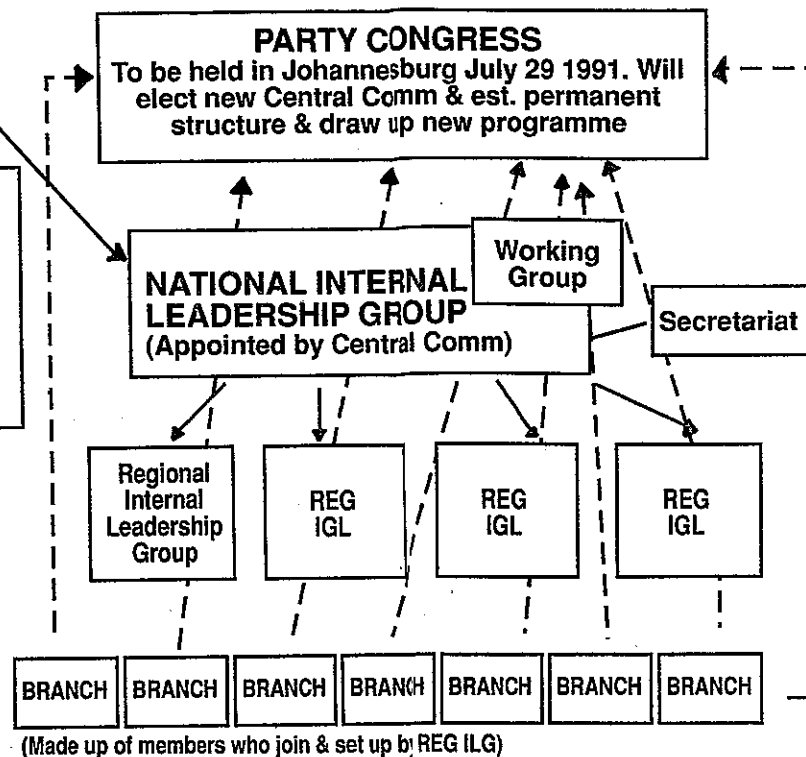
Over the next year, the central committee announced, the ILG will meet at least once every two months, while in the interim a working group, composed of members based in the PWV area, will meet every fortnight. In addition, a secretariat has been appointed to see to the running of the Party's headquarters in Sauer Street in central Johannesburg. It is housed in the same building as the African National Congress' national head office.

Regional ILGs will be set up in the PWV area, Natal, the Eastern Cape, Border region and the Western Cape,

## SACP UNDERGROUND STRUCTURE



## SACP INTERIM STRUCTURE



The SACP's structure as it will exist until the party's next Congress on 29 July 1991

# SACP, democracy: strange bedfellows

W/Mant 3/8-5/8/90

11A

**C**OULD the South African Communist Party play a role in building a democracy?

Those who know the SACP and its past will greet the question with a loud laugh. It was for decades the most Stalinist Communist Party in the West. Many on the Left, as well as non-socialists, associate it more with secret manipulation than with a desire for freedom.

While the party insists it has shed its past, it still refuses to say who all its leaders are, let alone all its members.

As long as it retains this sort of secrecy, it will be unable to fully rebut claims that it is party to secret conspiracies.

But, despite this, there is an intriguing possibility that the SACP could help, rather than hinder, democracy here.

This will depend on what sort of party it becomes.

Traditionally, it has been a "vanguard" party which sought influence without the backing of a mass membership.

Now it says it wants to become a "legal mass party".

It has told left-wing unionists that it is open to all socialists whether or not they support its brand of Marxism.

Whether or not it means this, it is keen to now recruit mass support. It is likely to draw it from two sources — workers in Cosatu unions and youth in the SA Youth Congress.

These are two very different but important constituencies.

The fate of democracy here will depend partly on whether an economic compromise is achieved between the majority's demand for redistribution and the need for economic growth.

Because the majority will have high

Some unionists who seemed hostile to the SACP have, therefore, joined — either they believe it has changed or they feel that if they want a worker party it will have to be this one.

Others have stayed out. But, because an independent worker party has even less chance of support now than it had when the SACP was banned, they are unlikely to form their own party.

So, if a strong worker party is needed for a compromise, the SACP could be the only candidate.

The chance that it may back a compromise is better than it seems.



**WORMS  
EYE**  
*Steven  
Friedman*

Its leaders may not be unquestioned democrats, but they may well be enthusiastic compromisers: one reason why some unionists don't like the party is that it has spent part of the past few years trying to get them to defer demands for socialism.

It is not even clear what the SACP means now when it talks of "socialism". It seems to be trying to sound more like a moderate social democratic party than a revolutionary

vanguard.

(Other left-wing parties have to drop the "communist" label even if they want to stay socialist. Here, apartheid may have ensured that a left-wing party must retain the label even if its wants to retreat from socialism).

Nor is it certain that the SACP will remain the kind of party it has been in the past.

Even if its leaders still want to manipulate, not represent, workers they might not find this easy. If union members do join, the party would acquire an organised base used to running their own organisations. They may insist on running the party too.

a "vanguard" party which sought influence without the backing of a mass membership.

Now it says it wants to become a "legal mass party".

It has told left-wing unionists that it is open to all socialists whether or not they support its brand of Marxism.

Whether or not it means this, it is keen to now recruit mass support. It is likely to draw it from two sources — workers in Cosatu unions and youth in the SA Youth Congress.

These are two very different but important constituencies.

The fate of democracy here will depend partly on whether an economic compromise is achieved between the majority's demand for redistribution and the need for economic growth.

Because the majority will have high expectations which can't be fulfilled, the compromise will only stick if it is negotiated by organisations strong enough to persuade apartheid's victims to accept less than they had hoped for.

Since unionised workers will be a key element in the compromise, one of the negotiators will have to be a strong union movement. A compromise might have more chances of success if it is backed by a workers' party.

Non-communists would prefer that party not to be the SACP. But there may be no alternative.

One of apartheid's many dubious achievements is that, while calling a party "communist" is a liability virtually everywhere else, here it is a positive asset.

Since the early 1980s, some leaders of what is now the Congress of South African Trade Unions have debated forming a party which will represent worker interests.

But they found that apartheid has bestowed such symbolic appeal on African nationalism — and the African National Congress — that a worker party which is independent of the ANC would enjoy little support.

The SACP has no such problem. It is allied to the ANC and this, together with a feeling among many activists that anything the Nats have vilified for so long can't be all bad, gives it a credibility which has little to do with its ideology.

So the SACP launch has placed unionists who want a workers' party in a quandary. Many still suspect it, but believe it may be the only potential worker party which can win mass support.

Steven  
Friedman

the SACP means now when it talks of "socialism". It seems to be trying to sound more like a moderate social democratic party than a revolutionary

vanguard.

(Other left-wing parties have to drop the "communist" label even if they want to stay socialist. Here, apartheid may have ensured that a left-wing party must retain the label even if its wants to retreat from socialism).

Nor is it certain that the SACP will remain the kind of party it has been in the past.

Even if its leaders still want to manipulate, not represent, workers they might not find this easy. If union members do join, the party would acquire an organised base used to running their own organisations. They may insist on running the party too.

And, while socialist rhetoric is common in Cosatu, its leaders and members are used to compromise. So it is at least possible that the SACP could become a vehicle for an economic compromise which could sustain democracy.

The youth are equally important to democratic prospects. Sayco is the most uncompromising part of the ANC alliance and its members could do a great deal to derail a compromise settlement.

It may only accept a settlement if it is persuaded by a party with "revolutionary" credibility — the kind the SACP might have.

This does not mean the SACP will be a force for democracy or compromise. Just as the ANC is divided between those who want to negotiate and those who want a revolution, so too is the SACP. But, if there are strong anti-democratic currents in the SACP, they will be weakened only if it has to compete for mass support. Excluding it from politics did not reduce either its appeal or its influence over anti-apartheid politics — it did the opposite.

And anti-democratic currents within the party might well be weakened the more the SACP is forced to engage in open politics.

If the government wants the SACP to be bound by a settlement, its best option may be to insist that it sign one. It can only do that if it negotiates with it. And if business wants an economic deal, it may have to negotiate it with any party, including the SACP, which can make it stick.

For both, dealing with the SACP may hold less risk than ignoring it.

THESE are the 10 men who will decide South Africa's immediate future.

This weekend, together with senior colleagues and advisers, the government and African National Congress talks teams prepare for Monday's "Grootse Schuur II" discussions in Pretoria — possibly the last formal session of "talks about talks" before negotiations begin in earnest.

In contrast to the unwieldy 29-person group which met at Grootse Schuur in May, the outcome of next week's deliberations will depend on only 10 personalities. Without exception, all have expressed their fullest commitment to the negotiating process.

It is not yet known whether the meeting will produce a new, or amending, document along the lines of the Grootse Schuur Minute, which has served as the formal lynchpin of the negotiating process. But the meeting is regarded by all involved as being of equal importance to the first, ground-breaking talks.

The ANC has finalised its five-man team: Deputy president Nelson Mandela, general secretary Alfred Nzo, Umkhonto weSizwe commander Joe Modise, international department head Thabo Mbeki, and National Executive Committee member Joe Slovo.

The "opposition" line-up is still under wraps, but *The Weekly Mail* understands from government sources that it is likely to be as follows: State President FW de Klerk, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok.

It is expected that both sides will stick to five-man teams, although at Grootse

# Ten men who will decide on South Africa's future

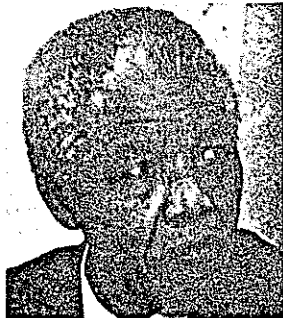
*The government and the African National Congress meet on Monday to iron out obstacles to the negotiation process.*

**SHAUN JOHNSON reports on the intricacies of the talks**

Schuur in May, the ANC fielded a 15-person delegation as compared to 14 on the government side. All of those expected to meet in Pretoria on Monday are "veterans" of the first round of talks.

It is thought that bickering over the composition of the teams, which characterised both Grootse Schuur and the upcoming meeting, is over for the moment. Neither side may be particularly happy about this, but the government has tacitly accepted Slovo's presence, as has the ANC in the case of Vlok.

If, as is hoped by both sides, finality can be reached on Monday on the key obstacles — the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles — a qualitative change in the peace process is inevitable. It is regarded as certain that the resolution of these questions will pre-empt a ceasefire, and set negotiations on an irreversible course leading to success or failure. It would become virtually impossible for either the government or the ANC to renege on following the process to conclusion without cast-iron proof of a breach of faith by the other side.



Nelson Mandela



FW De Klerk

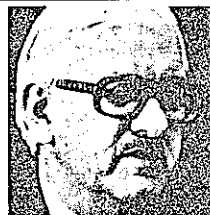
It would also signal the beginning of the end of the loosely-defined "talks about talks" phase of negotiations, seen by all as a vital precursor to getting substantive constitutional negotiations under way, involving all representative parties. It is notable that the ANC has tabled longer-term constitutional questions as a matter to be broached on Monday.

After his man-to-man meeting with De Klerk this week, Mandela said the government's "concern" over alleged underground plotting by ANC/South African Communist Party members would be a major point of discussion on Monday. Some agreement is likely to be sought on

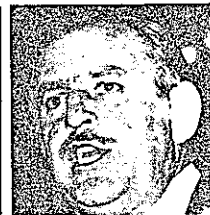
resolving the diplomatically dangerous situation in which senior ANC officials are in detention, and threatened with prosecution. An eventual ceasefire and amnesty would of course remove the danger.

This week, De Klerk conceded that aspects of police allegations about a "red plot" — Joe Slovo's attendance at an underground planning meeting in Tongaat in particular — were "erroneous", but insisted that the security operation against the underground would continue.

This view was bolstered yesterday by Vlok, who issued a statement saying police had discovered arms caches and



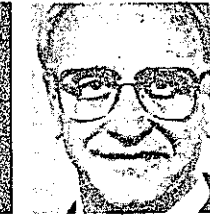
Gerrit Viljoen



Pik Botha



Kobie Coetsee



Adriaan Vlok



Alfred Nzo



Thabo Mbeki



Joe Slovo



Joe Modise

damning evidence against "those people who (are trying) to achieve their aims through violence (and who) want to abort the process of peaceful change".

The Grootse Schuur Minute committed both government and ANC to "the resolution of the existing climate of violence and intimidation from whatever quarter as well as a commitment to stability and to a peaceful process of negotiations". It also established a working group — which is still in existence — to deal with obstacles to substantive negotiations, and bound the government to a review of security legislation.

Since the signing of the Minute, the State of Emergency has been lifted in

large part and "efficient channels of communication" have been established between the two parties. Both were additional undertakings contained in the Minute.

At the historic Grootse Schuur gathering of May 2, De Klerk said the opening talks "could make an important contribution (to negotiations) by eliminating real or perceived obstacles. This is part of an essential process in creating the right climate for meaningful negotiations. The government wishes this to happen as soon as possible ... Our ultimate goal is a new, democratic dispensation for South Africa and all its people. The process of attaining this is under way and I

large part and "efficient channels of communication" have been established between the two parties. Both were additional undertakings contained in the Minute.

trust that these discussions will be another milestone on the road to a new, just South Africa."

In response, Mandela said he accepted De Klerk's interpretation of the importance of the talks. "The ANC approaches the project on which we are about to embark as a significant first step on the road towards the fundamental restructuring of South African society ... The time to reach this end has come."

The outcome of Monday's meeting will provide the most stringent test yet of whether the intervening months have seen progress towards these goals, or whether the process has become more rather than less bedevilled.

# All Azanians must have land. Not just indigenous people

11A  
w/Man  
318-5/8/90

**T**HE Azanian People's Organisation is intensifying its demand that "the land belongs to the rightful owners", a pivotal part of its policy and one that distinguishes it from the African National Congress.

But is the phrase mere revolutionary rhetoric from the Black Consciousness Movement, or is there more behind the slogan?

Land repossession was a major focus during this Week's annual conference of the National African Chambers of Commerce in Durban when an Azapo paper, entitled "Land Distribution as an Economic Strategy for the Future", was presented.

The technicalities of implementing the redistribution of land "will have to be worked out in its finer details by the government that comes into power", admitted publicity secretary Strini Moodley.

The paper dealt with "giving land distribution, as an economic strategy, a new contextual meaning", a crucial issue at this stage. "A landless people cannot be liberated."

Azapo's goal to liberate the land would seem to be based, according to the paper, on a class analysis of society.

Land had to be returned to its original function of providing shelter and productivity, he said. Utilised for wealth-creation and profit-making, land would become private property — a taboo word. Under capitalism "land is an exploitable commodity at the expense of human needs and human life", Moodley said.

He added: "No one can argue about democracy without arguing for the total re-distribution of the land and wealth in this country."

At present, white society controlled 87 percent of the land. "It is a reality that 87 percent must be included in the re-distribution," Moodley said.

Land ownership, and not merely employment, was seen as determining "a person's position in terms of wealth"; it meant owning land for a home, business, industry, the extraction of raw materials or the provision of recreation and cultural activities:

The landless and homeless — black people in the main — were de-

*Azapo spelled out its policy on land, a major issue that separates it from the African National Congress, at this week's National African Chambers of Commerce conference in Durban.*

**By CASSANDRA MOODLEY**

nied access to this wealth, Azapo said.

"The struggle for land is a struggle not only to possess land but also to change the relationship with land." Moodley criticised the ANC's campaign for "squatters" to occupy empty land — "the struggle is to repossess all the land, not just empty land".

"Land," said Moodley, "is the primary means of production", it supported the water, the grain, the animals. "Metals, oil and gas — all came from the land."

But he also pointed out that the land did not give off wealth automatically. "Somebody has to work the land."

Historically, said Azapo, during the conquest of the land in 1652, "white settlers turned dispossessed black people into labour producing the wealth extracted from the land".

The programme of colonisation



**Strini Moodley ... A landless people cannot be liberated**

had three phases: the conquest of the land, the creation of justifications for exploiting blacks as cheap labour — "racism and apartheid", and the institution of legislation which made blacks landless.

Moodley outlined what was meant by returning the land to its rightful owners.

"We are not simply talking about returning land to an indigenous people. We are talking about freeing the land from a society that has taken it illegally and ensuring that land does not become the basis for exploitation of people."

This does not mean Azapo had discounted the race factor.

Moodley pointed out: blacks needed to rid themselves of the notion brought on by racism that they have inferior claim to the land — "racism has distorted the value of land, made land a private thing — to be exploited for profit".

And white society used black labour to gain security, privilege and power, convincing themselves of their superiority — "the psychological capture of land".

He then outlined implementation of this policy.

Once the land had been reconquered, redistribution would follow. "It would be available for all Azanians." The inhabitants of a liberated South Africa would not be distinguished by race, according to Azapo.

If land was to be used for personal use, that land had to be freely available to all people. The people who contributed to the economy of the country had to be allowed to build homes on land, without having to pay for the land, Moodley said.

Proscriptions would follow when land was used for the creation of wealth — it should not belong to individuals.

This would not prevent individuals having access to land for wealth creation, "but they will have to pay rent on the land into the national treasury".

Private ownership of the land for wealth-creation or profit-making, however, would be prevented and would only be sanctioned for housing. Land for recreation would be free to all communities, Azapo said.

Referring to presently occupied land, Moodley said a future government would have to work out the mechanism for appropriation. "Where private ownership for personal use is excessive those excesses will be redressed."

## LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

■IN your edition of Monday July 30, you carried a full-page advertisement addressed to the Minister of Environmental Affairs.

Who, do you think, are the voters referred to in the advert? Did *The Daily Mail* inquire?

### Why was this advert in your paper?

■SADLY I am inclined to agree with the Cape Technikon's Nick Kok that its siting in District Six is "irrevocable" (*The Weekly Mail*, issue July 27-29). But the same need not be said of the present alleged racial ratios of eight whites to one coloured/black. (In fact I am re-



# Gumede hauled over the coals for 'racist' remarks

w/ mail 318-578190.

118

By CARMEL RICKARD: Durban

ARCHIE Gumede, controversial president of the United Democratic Front, is in trouble over "racist" remarks he made in an interview screened by the SABC this week.

Members of the Natal Indian Congress — a major affiliate of the UDF — say they will write to the ANC, complaining about Gumede's statements. NIC official Farouk Meer yesterday said Gumede's remarks had been "anti-Indian" and "racist".

"One of the things he said was that if ever there was an election, he knows they (the Indian community) will vote for the white man," said Meer.

"He did not even say there was 'a sector' that would vote for them — he did not qualify his remarks at all."

The television documentary dealt with the position of the Indian community in South Africa, and relations between the Indian and African communities.

Said Meer: "We are going to inform the ANC in Johannesburg and call on them to take action as they feel fit against an errant member."

Meer conceded it was possible that Gumede's remarks had been edited in such a way as to make it appear he had made "anti-Indian" remarks.

Meer also criticised the programme itself, saying it was negative and biased.



Archie Gumede ... In hot water

A number of other Indian leaders have made similar accusations, including the minister of local government in the House of Delegates, Yunus Moolla who said the programme was an attempt to denigrate people of Indian background.

NIC president George Sewpershad said last night that he would write to the SABC on behalf of his organisation complaining about the programme.

"The entire programme was bad. They projected (National People's Party leader) Amichand Rajbansi and (Solidarity leader) J N Reddy as the only spokesmen for the Indian community. I do not have to tell you their standing in the community."

Meer said the programme presented Indians as a frightened minority, and as the only group in the country fearful about the future.

Gumede said he had not seen the programme and did not know whether his remarks had been edited in such a way as to make them appear racist.

He said ANC southern Natal convenor Terror Lekota had been to his office yesterday afternoon and they had drafted a statement which he was supposed to "check with Mandela before giving to the press".

He said that in the statement he referred to his association with the Indian community, saying "it was a very long one and of such a nature that it would not be correct to say I have a negative attitude."

"I also said that if my remarks have been interpreted as in any way giving offence, I apologise for that."

"The reality is that the whole of my political life has been such that I have worked closely and fruitfully with Indian people."

GAVIN EVANS

Mac Maharaj — described by his ANC colleagues as a "canny devil" for the role he played in building the movement's underground — brazenly moved in and out of South Africa under the noses of the security police for at least three years before the organisation was unbanned.

The General Secretary of the South African Communist Party (SACP), Joe Slovo, this week told *The Weekly Mail* that Maharaj, who is in detention, had entered the country in connection with the ANC's Operation Vula.

"When ANC leaders were asked who would be prepared to re-enter South Africa to help build the underground network Mac was the first to volunteer and the first to go back".

Maharaj (55) is a member of the ANC's National Executive Committee, its President's Committee and its Political Military Council, as well as a member of the SACP's Politburo.

The veteran activist played a key role in building the ANC underground after the movement was banned in 1960.

Maharaj's tenacity was proven, according to colleagues, during eight

# Mac Maharaj — activist who came in and out from the cold

WIMail 318-518190

*Brazenly moving in and out of the country for the ANC's Operation Vula, Mac Maharaj has been called "a canny devil" by colleagues. By GAVIN EVANS*

months of detention at the hands of the Special Branch in 1964.

He is said to have survived solitary confinement and severe torture without "cracking".

During his three-year operation here, it is believed rumours that he was severely ill successfully kept the security police off his track.

Maharaj was seen in public on several occasions before his arrest with his characteristic grey hair and "goatee" beard beginning to grow again, suggesting an abandoned disguise.

Earlier press reports indicate police

may have dealt a serious blow to the network set up by Maharaj after police succeeded in penetrating a computer network during their crackdown on the ANC last month. It is reported that security police now have the real names — as well as the codenames — of up to 400 ANC members.

Asked to comment, Slovo said he had no information on what police have collected.

"What I must stress is that Operation Vula had nothing to do with the SACP. It was an ANC operation," he said.

It has also been confirmed that one of approximately 40 ANC members detained under section 29 of the Internal Security Act with Maharaj is an Umkhonto weSizwe commander known by the codename of "Gabuza".

A "class of 76" graduate, he left the country after the Soweto uprising and became prominent in the activities of the



Mac Maharaj

ANC's Military Headquarters, after serving as a commander in Swaziland.

His name has come up in several trials of captured MK insurgents.

Among the other prominent ANC leaders currently in detention is Billy Nair, who is a member of the movement's Natal Internal Leadership Core.

Nair is also a member of the SACP's Internal Leadership Group and its Cen-

tral Committee.

The only other Central Committee members who were based inside the country when the Party was unbanned are former Rivonia trial life prisoners, Govan Mbeki and Raymond Mhlaba.

With him in detention is prominent Natal Indian Congress and United Democratic Front leader Pravin Ghordhan, who is also a member of the ANC.

●The SACP Central Committee announced yesterday that regional Internal Leadership Groups would be established in the PWV region, Natal, the Eastern Cape, Border and the Western Cape and that the national ILG would meet at least once every two months.

It said in a statement that a secretariat had been appointed "to see to the day to day running of the SACP headquarters. In setting up structures special attention shall be paid to ensuring a proper ... representation of women at all levels.

"It was emphasised that we seek membership which actively participates in the work of the SACP, its allies, ANC and Cosatu and the broad democratic formations," the statement said.

# Ponte for returned exiles a tall story, says ANC

nd Mail 318-518/90  
By CASSANDRA MOODLEY

THE African National Congress yesterday denied newspaper speculation that the landmark Ponte City apartment block in Berea was to become a home for returning ANC exiles.

Reports in the Johannesburg daily *Die Beeld* said that South African Council of Churches general secretary Frank Chikane and housing company Quantum Group Limited were concluding negotiations for the sale of the building to house exiles.

ANC representative Ahmed Kathrada told *The Daily Mail*: "This is absolutely not true and despite our denials the story was reported in the media."

Quantum also denied knowledge or involvement. The group's managing director, Chris Otto, said: "Quantum concentrates on all aspects of property development in the black market.

"Neither Quantum nor any of its subsidiaries has any financial interest, directly or indirectly, in Ponte City."

Chikane, who confirmed that arrangements were being made for the return of 20 000 exiles, also dismissed talk of a deal being concluded for the block, but admitted the possibility would be explored.

The 50-storey building, which has 467 apartments, was in the news a few months ago — it was reported in *Fi-*

*nance Week* that the building was operating at a loss. (22) (11A)

Ponte was reportedly trading at a loss of about R6-million a year. Long-term loans stood at R33-million.

The magazine speculated that Bankorp Property Services, which administers the property, was looking for a buyer. But Bankorp has now admitted that a sale was not concluded.

In April the price of Ponte City was speculated at R10-million and renovation costs at another R10-million.

ANC finance head Vusi Khanyile said the organisation did not have the resources to contemplate such a deal.

# Warring clerics: Chikane tackles Rhema's McCauley

W/MAN 318-518190  
By JOHN PERLMAN

THE general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, Reverend Frank Chikane, has hit back at Rhema Church leader Reverend Ray McCauley for challenging Nelson Mandela to distance himself from the South African Communist Party and publicly declare his commitment to Christianity.

Chikane said this call, issued two days ago in response to speech made by Joe Slovo at Sunday's SACP launch, was "not only disturbing but adds insult to our injury. What we expect from white Christians at this stage is to confess their sins of brutal black oppression" rather than "preoccupy themselves with the rooi gevaar".

Chikane said McCauley's reaction, and similar sentiments by Professor Johan Heyns of the Dutch Reformed Church, made it clear that "the experience of black Christians in South Africa is radically different from that of white Christians.

"We have no experience of communist oppression and attack on our faith.

Our experience is that of oppression by whites who claim to be Christians in the name of Christianity," Chikane said.

"No communist attacked us while worshipping and praying in our churches. It is apartheid forces in the name of defending western Christian civilization, meaning the apartheid system, who attacked us. No communist justified apartheid. It is Christians who developed an elaborate theological justification of an inhuman, evil and racist apartheid system.

"Our experience, like that of Dr Mandela, is that of white communists who expressed solidarity with the oppressed black majority while white Christians were supporting apartheid," he said.

Chikane said the priority was to end apartheid and establish a non-racial democratic South Africa "where there will be freedom of religious expression and practice which both the ANC and the SACP have guaranteed. In that society all South Africans will have the right to choose."



# Mandela slams apartheid justice

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Mr Nelson Mandela said here yesterday that, in general, the judiciary and the whole system of justice had, over the years, been an ardent enforcer of apartheid laws.

Mr Mandela delivered the keynote address at the annual conference of the National Association of Democratic Lawyers.

Speaking to about 2 000 people in the City Hall, Mr Mandela said that during the "reign of terror" under South Africa's various states of emergency, the Supreme and Magistrates' courts had, with rare exceptions, enforced arbitrary detentions and suppression of liberties even when there was scope to act otherwise.

He said the refusal, or failure, or inability of the judiciary to intervene in this "reign of terror" could not be forgotten.

Mr Mandela commented on the "perverse way" in which the whole

legal system had been shaped to serve the apartheid order.

"In our country the judiciary enjoys no legitimacy. It cannot, because it is drawn from the ranks of the white minority.

"Judicial officers are drawn from the ranks of the privileged and it is they who sit in judgment over the victims of this system, the underprivileged," he said.

Mr Mandela said no civilised society could tolerate the system of prisons in which thousands of people were "brutalised" and "dehumanised". For blacks, by and large, prison life was "sheer hell".

He pleaded for "a system of justice which is legitimate, fair, humane, accessible and expeditious".

He said it would take a long time to democratise and humanise life in South Africa.

He said the continuing political violence in Natal and KwaZulu was likely to be raised at a crucial meet-

ing between the ANC and the government on Monday.

When asked about a possible meeting between himself and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Mr Mandela said: "We are addressing the question of black unity and have appointed a top committee of various members of the national executive committee to address the whole question of how violence could be ended."

● A crowd of 1 000 Inanda residents gathered to hear Mr Mandela speak after he stopped at the side of the road to speak to the residents after visiting the site of the Inanda bus disaster which claimed 26 lives.

Mr Mandela was accompanied by Mr Alfred Nzo, Mr Joe Slovo and Mr Walter Sisulu.

Minutes later the crowd spontaneously presented Mr Mandela with a sheep which he accepted with words of gratitude.

"We are tired of war, Nelson Mandela, we want peace," said an Inanda woman.

the NSRU boat stood by while a tug was called.  
It was later towed to Hermanus harbour by another Lusitania vessel, the Arizon II.

*CHL 7-13 4/8/90*  
**Right-wingers appear**

JOHANNESBURG. — Three alleged right-wingers, who appeared in the Regional Court here yesterday in connection with possession of explosives, were arrested after an investigation by the police into recent explosions, an SAP statement has confirmed.

"These arrests follow an extensive investigation by the police into the recent explosions which rocked the Witwatersrand and the West Rand," the statement said.

The three are Warrant Officer Pieter Bekker, 35, of the West Rand Police Unrest Unit; Mr Julius van Eeden, 27, of Discovery, Roodepoort, and Mr Gottfried Heydenreich, 27, a former policeman of Florida. — Sapa

*114*  
**Union leader slapped**

*CHL 7-13 4/8/90*  
DURBAN. — A man flew into a rage and slapped trade union leader Mr Jay Naidoo when he apparently cold-shouldered a question on nationalisation directed at Communist Party leader Mr Joe Slovo at Durban airport.

Police spokesman Lt Bala Naidoo said he believed the unnamed white man had approached Mr Slovo at Louis Botha Airport yesterday and questioned him on the ANC's nationalisation plans. He had apparently wanted to know the future of his business if the ANC came to power.

At that stage Mr Naidoo apparently moved in and told the questioner Mr Slovo would not reply.

No charge had been preferred by either party. — Sapa

W  
E  
S  
T  
A  
F  
R  
I  
C  
A  
N  
P  
R  
E  
S  
S  
A  
N  
D  
I  
N  
F  
O  
R  
M  
A  
T  
I  
O  
N

Now that the South African Communist Party has come in from the cold, there is some doubt about its place in the scenario of the future. Academics believe that although many African National Congress supporters regard it as an instrument for their liberation, they do not envisage a future under communism, Weekend Argus Political Correspondent FRANS ESTERHUYSE writes:

# The Hammer and

# the Psyche

## WHAT FUTURE FOR THE SACP?



**T**HE new-look communists face a formidable task if they are to have any notable impact after four decades of living in the shadows as the bogymen of South African politics.

The obstacles include the heavy burden of Stalinist baggage, a huge legacy of anti-communist hostility whipped up by successive Nationalist governments and the problem of credibility in entering a potentially democratic political environment from a world of outdated and discredited authoritarian ideologies.

The South African Communist Party (SACP), relaunched with a flourish under the hammer and sickle at Soccer City on the outskirts of Soweto last Sunday, emerged from the shadows with the unflattering image of being an anachronism — and possibly the last communist party to be launched anywhere in the world.

From the outset the party and its leaders were in the thick of political controversy over their alleged role in a "Red plot" to overthrow the government.

**A**MID such allegations it was ironic that the party used its first public rally to commit itself to peaceful negotiations and to point an accusing finger at "the enemies of peace who surround President De Klerk" — this after more than 40 years of being at the receiving end of Nationalist accusations that the SACP was a threat to peace.

Generations of South Africans have been reared on government propaganda that has painted communists as political monsters to be shunned at all costs. The witch-hunt began not long after the NP came into power in 1948 and it became a punishable crime to promote the widely-defined aims of communism.

In those days communists were portrayed by Nationalist propagandists as the main advocates of racial equality and racial mixing — then regarded as a cardinal sin.

**W**HAT may provide an initial strong support base for the SACP are its close links with the African National Congress and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu). The SACP and ANC are so intertwined that some analysts regard them almost as a single entity, at least as far as their top leadership structures are concerned. Similarly there are close links with Cosatu, as evidenced, for example, by the fact that a press release by the SACP's Internal Leadership Group (ILG) this week was issued by Cosatu.

A members of the SACP's central committee, Mac Maharaj, has outlined the party's immediate aims. These include a recruitment drive, the formation of local branches and district committees and the launching of a programme for "systematic political education".

Joe Slovo, SACP general secretary, is on record as having said membership will be derived from two primary constituencies — workers and militant youths.

Mr Maharaj said the SACP would support the ANC by encouraging joint membership. In the same breath he claimed the party had consciously shed Stalinist practices even before the Soviet Union did.

**O**BSERVERS note that although communism is in a deep crisis internationally, the red flag still flies high at township rallies in South Africa.

A spokesman for the SACP, Jeremy Cronin,

explains the paradox like this: "After years of bannings and persecution of their leaders, people have come to think that whatever the regime claims to be nasty must in fact be good."

Does the SACP have a future? How viable is it as a party in the South African political climate?

Professor David Welsh of the department of political studies at the University of Cape Town says it is highly ironic that the SACP should relaunch itself at a time when, worldwide, communist parties are in an advanced state of disarray and decline.

He believes it is probable that the SACP will

gain a fair amount of support in the unions, among radicalised black youth and in certain intellectual quarters. But its viability is ultimately dependent on its maintaining its close ties with the ANC. This would diminish the breadth of the ANC's potential support.

"I suspect that in the long run, however, the same forces that have destroyed Marxism-Leninism as a credible doctrine will continue to

exert an impact on the SACP and push it increasingly in the direction of social democracy," Professor Welsh said.

**P**ROFESSOR Philip Nel, head of the unit for Soviet studies at the University of Stellenbosch, says that although the SACP is anachronistic, this does not mean it has no growth potential. On the contrary, its growth could be stimulated by factors like trade union support through links with Cosatu's leadership and potential support from young black people who are not fully behind the ANC.

An important factor that is likely to affect the party's growth is its ability to "stand on its own legs instead of riding on the back of the ANC".

This, together with the disadvantages for the ANC of its close ties with the SACP, could lead ultimately to a parting of the ways for the two organisations.

Professor Nel expects this could happen in a "post-liberation situation" when the role of the SACP as an ANC ally in the struggle will have run its course.

After years of Nationalist anti-communist propaganda and P W Botha's warnings of "the total onslaught" that live on in the minds of many, the SACP is believed to have limited potential for growth among whites. As Joe Slovo put it: "We've been rubbished, attacked, vilified and slandered without any right to reply for 40 years."

Some political analysts see communism's dismal world track record as a potentially fatal handicap for the SACP as a political force.

**T**HEY say that if the "new South Africa" is to be based on genuine democratic principles as promised, the SACP — no matter how laudable its declared ideals — will have little credibility because of the heavy political baggage carried through from the heyday of the ruthless dictatorships of the Stalin era.

It could be significant that within days of the SACP's relaunching, a voice in the powerful Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) expressed serious doubts about its credibility.

In an "open letter" to Joe Slovo, a leading MDM and United Democratic Front figure, Farid Esack, asked: "Where was the party (SACP) when hundreds and thousands were despatched to the communist Gulag?"

Mr Esack bluntly told Mr Slovo: "You have never — to the best of my knowledge — honestly addressed the failure of the socialist regimes and I am concerned because you are one of the finest thinkers in the socialist world."

**P**ROFESSOR Albrecht Herholdt, head of the department of political science at the University of the North, said he had strong doubts about the strength of black support for the ideology of the SACP. His impression was that ordinary people did not even know the meaning of communism and communist ideology.

However, he found that most black opinion-makers saw nothing wrong with a process of nationalisation and socialisation and were strongly in favour of more rights for the individual. Black thinking seemed to be moving away from an emphasis on "armed struggle" towards the idea of negotiation and non-violence.

Many blacks, especially supporters of the ANC, regarded the SACP as an instrument for their liberation, but did not envisage a future for themselves under communism.

area of some 15 to 20  
e remaining wetland.  
s saying the area "will  
tial," has he received  
ity council?  
ll be served when, at  
as to the re-zoning ap-

tion laws referred to in your article.

The masterly inertia of the Department of the Environment when appealed to in this case raises the question, yet again, as to why this paralysed arm of government receives public funds from the long-suffering taxpayer?

MS BROOKS  
Tokai

## Just Jon and nobody else

**T**HANK you for being "Just Jon" and nobody else — the truth straight from the cuff. It hurts to be who you are at times — my greatest respect goes to the so-called blacks.

They are not asking for the inheritance from their "voorvaders" but their birthright — Africa which belongs to Africans.

I salute the elderly blacks, those who have aged, who watch now with dimmed vision.

With reverence I uphold them in prayer for they have been booted into police vehicles, abused with foul language.

The mammas went on diligently about their madam's work and lovingly cared for children. Thank you, nammamas and pappas, for your sacrifice in paving the hard road for us. I, or one, took courage from you.

I do welcome the changes in the country, but you can't help being

suspicious when whites go out of their way to make friends.

At work recently, a boss and I differed over an issue.

She asked what would happen to me should I be dismissed. She actually asked me, an adult of over 40, to sit on her lap. I was disgusted and slammed the door in her face.

Now she has asked me to char.

No matter how whites try to correct their past behaviour, nothing will help.

They are still vowing to pursue the apartheid policy with a gun. For my part, I take my stand like the mammas and the pappas of earlier days. Let them shoot their last bullet, we will shed our last drop of blood for our children.

Just Jon, I love you for being Just Jon.

(Ms) GRACE MOJARNE  
Mitchell's Plain

**t's not always the doos' fault**

# Recall a march for change

11/8  
On 9, 20 000 women marched on the  
against the pass laws. RAY  
of the Federation of South African  
of the SACP, recalls the event.

That day left a memorable record in the pages of our national liberation struggle. It was the biggest, most colourful demonstration to have been held at the Union Buildings. The Xhosa women from the Cape were in their traditional ochre dresses, with the green, gold and black headscarves of the ANC; women of all races from the Free State, the Transvaal and Natal dressed in ANC colours and Indian women wore colourful saris.

**T**HE 20 000 demonstrators marched to the amphitheatre of a building where Africans could enter only as cleaners and messengers. It was a march that took 2½ hours. They sang a Zulu song, the words of which, translated, were: "Strijdom, you have tampered with the women, you have knocked against a rock."

Prime Minister Strijdom and his Cabinet were too afraid to meet the women, but the women's leaders, carrying petitions signed by many thousands around the country, left these

in Strijdom's office. They returned to the demonstrators, reporting that Strijdom had refused to see them. The demonstrators stood for 30 minutes in silence as a protest.

Thereafter they sang *Nkosi Sikelel iAfrica* and their voices rang out across the city. The leader of the ANC at the time, the late Chief Albert Luthuli, said: "When the women begin to take an active part in the struggle, as they are doing now, no power on earth can stop them from achieving freedom in our lifetime!"

The regime's response was to introduce laws prohibiting demonstrations. The pass laws continued to be enforced.

Some government officials said the pass laws for women would be enforced "humanely". Experience does not allow us to be deceived by such statements. No unjust and oppressive law could be humanely enforced, certainly not by a government notorious for its harshness and brutality towards the African people. It was the people's hatred of this system which forced the government to repeal the pass laws.

Now we are on the road to free our country from racial oppression, our leaders are returning from exile and our movements have been unbanned. Women have decided to rebuild the ANC's Women's League, which also will be launched on August 9, a day which the United Nations has declared a day of solidarity with the struggling women of our country.



# Mandela spells out ANC plan for transitional government

W/E ARGUS 4/11/90 11A  
Weekend Argus  
Correspondent

DURBAN. — The African National Congress wants the National Party to hand over control of the country to a transitional authority while an elected body sits and draws up a new constitution, ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela said here.

Mr Mandela spelled out what the ANC would like to see happen in the next few transitional years in an address yesterday to the National Association of Democratic Lawyers in the Durban City Hall, on the eve of crucial talks to take place in Pretoria on Monday between the ANC and the government.

Free and fair non-racial elections should be held for the purpose of electing representatives who will come together in a constituent or constitutional assembly for the purpose of negotiating and

drawing up a new constitution for our country," Mr Mandela said.

He said a constituent assembly was the only just and legitimate mechanism to ensure real, effective and broad participation by all South Africans in the unfolding negotiation process, in shaping the new constitution, and in creating a new social order.

## New tradition

The elections would give the elected representatives a mandate and legitimacy, and would clarify once and for all "who is who in political life".

The elections for a constituent assembly would be a valuable experience in democratic decision-making and accountability, and would help to create a new tradition.

"The issue of a constituent assembly or non-racial elections prior to negotiations for a

new constitution also raises the question of who is to oversee this process.

"Can one of the contending parties, in this instance the National Party, be both a player and referee at the same time? Clearly not. There should, in our view, be some transitional arrangement to ensure firstly that the process is not aborted and secondly that it is conducted freely and fairly," Mr Mandela said.

A pre-condition for the peaceful transition to a truly democratic social order was an end to the rampant violence, killing and assaults. Peace had to be established and a climate created to allow free and peaceful political activity to take place and flourish, Mr Mandela said.

After his address, Mr Mandela visited the site of the Inanda bus accident where 26 people lost their lives last week.

# New-look SACP will have to ditch 'outmoded Red baggage'

CAPE TOWN — South Africa's new-look communists face a formidable task if they are to have any serious impact after four decades of living in the shadows as the "bogeymen" of South African politics.

Obstacles facing them include the heavy burden of Stalinist baggage to be shed, a huge legacy of anti-communist hostility whipped up by Nationalist Governments over the years, and the credibility problem of entering a potential democratic political environment from a world of out-dated and discredited authoritarian ideologies.

The South African Communist Party (SACP), re-launched with a flourish under the hammer and sickle at Soccer City on the outskirts of Soweto last Sunday, emerged from the shadows with the unflattering image of being an anachronism — and possibly the last communist party to be launched anywhere in the world.

Generations of South Africans have been reared on Government propaganda depicting communists as political monsters. The witch-hunt began not long after the NP came into power in 1948, and it became a punishable crime to promote the widely defined aims of communism.

Observers note that, while communism is in a deep crisis internationally, the Red Flag still flies high at township rallies in South Africa. SACP spokesman Jeremy Cronin explains the paradox like this: "After years of bannings and persecution of their leaders, people have come to think that whatever the regime claims to be nasty must in fact be good."

But does the SACP have a future? How viable is it as a party in the present-day South African political climate?

Professor David Welsh, of the department of political studies at the University of Cape Town, says that it is highly ironic that the SACP should re-launch itself at a time when, worldwide, communist parties are in an advanced state of disarray and decline.

He believes it is probable that the SACP will gain a fair amount of support in the unions, among radicalised black youth and in certain intellectual quarters. But its viability is ultimately dependent on maintaining its close ties with the ANC. This will diminish the breadth of the ANC's potential support.

"I suspect that in the long run, however, the same forces that have destroyed Marxism-Leninism as a credible doctrine will continue to exert an impact on

## FRANS ESTERHUYSE

the SACP and push it increasingly in the direction of social democracy," Professor Welsh says.

Professor Philip Nel, head of the unit for Soviet studies at the University of Stellenbosch, says, although the SACP is an anachronism in the world, this does not mean it has no growth potential in South Africa. On the contrary, its growth could be stimulated by factors like trade union support through links with Cosatu's leadership, and potential support from young black people who are not fully behind the ANC.

An important factor likely to affect the party's future growth is its ability to "stand on its own legs instead of riding on the back of the ANC".

This, together with certain disadvantages for the ANC in its present close ties with the SACP, could ultimately lead to a parting of the ways for the two organisations.

Professor Nel expects this could happen in a "post-liberation situation" when the role of the SACP as an ANC ally in the liberation struggle will have been completed.

The growth potential of the SACP among whites is believed to be limited after years of Nationalist anti-communist propaganda, and the P W Botha legacy of "total onslaught" which lives on in the minds of many people. As the SACP's Mr Joe Slovo put it: "We've been rubbished, attacked, vilified and slandered without any right to reply for 40 years."

Some political analysts see the dismal track record of world communism as a potentially fatal handicap for the SACP as a political force in South Africa.

They say that if the "new South Africa" is to be based on genuine democratic principles, as promised, the SACP — no matter how laudable its declared ideals — will have little credibility with its heavy political baggage from the heyday of ruthless communist dictatorships of the Stalin era.

It could be significant that within days of the re-launching of the SACP this week, a voice from the powerful Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) expressed serious doubts about the SACP's credibility.

In an "open letter" to Mr Joe Slovo, a leading MDM and UDF figure, Mr Farid Esack, asked: "Where was the party (SACP) when hundreds and

thousands were despatched to the communist Gulag?"

And then Mr Esack bluntly told Mr Slovo: "You have never — to the best of my knowledge — honestly addressed the failure of the socialist regimes and I am concerned because you are one of the finest thinkers in the socialist world."

Professor Albrecht Herholdt, head of the department of political science at the University of the North, says he has strong doubts about the strength of black support for the ideology of the SACP. His impression is that ordinary people do not even know the meaning of communism and communist ideology.

However, he finds that most black opinion-makers see nothing wrong with a process of nationalisation and socialisation and were strongly in favour of more rights for the individual. The climate of thought among blacks seems to be moving away from emphasis on "armed struggle" and towards the idea of negotiation and non-violence.

Many black people, especially supporters of the ANC, regard the SACP as an instrument for their liberation, but do not envisage a future for themselves under communism.

# SACP's 'Stalinists' under siege

Sto 4/8/90

UCA

THE virtual admission by the SA Police that Mr Joe Slovo, leader of the SA Communist Party, was not at the meeting where a plot to overthrow the Government was allegedly hatched did not do much to cool the ardour of the NP-supporting newspapers in their pursuit of "Stalinists".

Dawie, political commentator of the Nasionale group, said that because of the communists' record, all denials that the "Stalinists in the CP" had been involved in various dark conspiracies should be taken with the proverbial pinch of salt. Further clarity on the matter would come from court actions which it was to be hoped would soon take place.

Transvaler said the denials by Mr Mandela and the SACP would not be enough for a public that was alive to the conscienceless machinations of the communists. It was important that the allegations against the SACP should be tested in court.

Die Burger was not impressed by the "soothing words" of Messers Mandela and Slovo, while Beeld said there was strong evidence that things were happening that were not compatible with the spirit of negotiation.

On a less suspicious note, Volksblad's political columnist, Willem, attached importance to conciliatory statements that had emerged from the meeting of the ANC's national executive committee at Broederstroom.

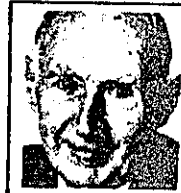
□ □ □

The vituperation the NP-supporting newspapers have hurled at the heads of the two leading "political clerics", Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Dr Allan Boesak, over the years would fill volumes. Were these men aware, I wonder, of the kind words now being aimed at them from the same quarter?

Transvaler said it was to Archbishop Tutu's credit

Nadere Kennis

JAMES McCLURG



that he had undergone a transformation since President de Klerk announced his drastic reforms on February 2. It particularly praised the decision that Anglican priests should not be members of political parties.

With his new approach the Archbishop was expanding his role as a spiritual leader to whom all the country's Christians could listen, said Transvaler.

Die Burger said that if what had happened had given Dr Boesak a better understanding of human fallibility and limitations, something good could come out of it.

"With his talents and his great personal following in politics, on which he now apparently wishes to concentrate, he could continue to play a significant role, based on his strong personal influence."

Dr Boesak, Die Burger said, had adopted a more conciliatory attitude and had expressed disapproval of violence.

□ □ □

Die Burger has launched a strong attack on the SABC's introduction of a lunchtime news programme consisting of American material.

Recalling that when the Government sanctioned a 50 percent increase in the licence fee, one of the conditions was that the proportion of South African productions should be stepped up, Die Burger said it was not clear how the new programme could be reconciled with this proviso. TV viewers already received an "overdose" of American material.

A further objection was that the innovation would enable the SABC to increase its advertising content, which was based on a percentage of the total hours transmitted.

The Afrikaans newspaper have long protested against the SABC's encroachment on advertising revenue which would otherwise go to the press.

□ □ □

As a regular reader of Nasionale Pers newspapers for nearly 60 years, this columnist finds it a pleasure to salute the company on its 75th anniversary.

## Sayings of the Week

● If the SA Communist Party fails to attract many Afrikaners to its ranks following its inauguration on July 29, the ghost of Bram Fischer will to a large extent have been laid. — Beeld columnist Willie Kuhn.

● If the Government is really serious about checking the growth of the population, it should immediately start encouraging men to be sterilised. — Mr H Steenkamp of Vredenburg, Cape, in a letter to Die Burger.

● I am an Afrikaner to the core, but I do not regard Afrikaners as above criticism. Afrikaners need to become more approachable, genuine and sensitive towards other people. — Maretha Maartens, author, as quoted in Beeld.

## ACCOUNT DIRECTOR

Highly experienced advertising agency account director seeks senior advertising/marketing position. Johannesburg/Cape Town.

Please reply to  
Box 2893,  
c/o THE STAR,  
PO Box 1014,  
Johannesburg 2000.

42298

# Tired of blood: Women in peace pledge

By EDWARD MOLOINYANE  
Weekend Argus Reporter

**WOMEN** representing the warring factions in Crossroads have resolved to do "all in their power" to restore peace to the squatter camp because men have "failed".

At a Red Cross initiated three-hour meeting in Wynberg yesterday the 14 women spoke movingly about the violence that has raged since last December.

The two factions — those supporting the squalid camp's controversial Mayor, Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana, and his chief rival, Mr Jeffrey Nongwe, were each represented by seven women.

The Red Cross was represented by its president Mr S Samson, regional director Mr K Gower, public relations officer Mrs H Powell and field-worker Mrs E Nkoma, who had played a major role in bringing the two sides together.

At times almost in tears, both sides gave detailed, horrifying accounts of what the violence had done to the township.

They said children had "also



Picture: DION TROMP, Weekend Argus.

**SA Red Cross Society president Mr S Samson, left, regional director Mr K Gower, meeting chairman Mrs E Nkoma and public relations officer Mrs H Powell listen to Crossroads women representing two warring factions.**

turned into monsters", families had been broken down, most residents had lost relatives, husbands and houses, sleeping at night had become impossible and schooling had been disrupted.

Emphasising the need to forget past differences, the two pledged to work for the restoration of peace in Crossroads because they were all "tired of blood".

Laying the blame squarely

on their leaders' shoulders, the women said it was time they stood up because men had failed.

There were moving scenes when a delegate pointed to another on the other side and said they were related but had become enemies.

They had not seen each other in ages, she said.

They identified the causes of the strife as the allocation of the new houses being built in

the township to "outsiders" by the Crossroads town committee, after they had been paying R11 a month since 1986 to a fund for houses.

The women undertook to go back to their constituents and tell them the "good news".

A meeting of all Crossroads residents is planned for next week at a venue outside the township. Mrs Powell said the Red Cross would possibly provide transport for the meeting.



# Judgment today on Stompie murderer

*NEWS 8/8/90*  
 The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Judgment begins today in the trial of Jerry Vusi Muzi Richardson, former coach of the Mandela Football club who was convicted in May of having murdered Stompie Seipei, 14.

Richardson, 41, was found guilty on 10 other counts, including kidnapping, assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm and attempted murder.

Mr Justice B O'Donovan is expected to give judgment in the Rand Supreme Court today on whether or not there are extenuating or aggravating circumstances present in five crimes which could result in death penalties.

## Discretion

The application of the amendment to the Criminal Procedure Act, which means the death penalty is no longer mandatory, was mentioned several times during argument yesterday.

The judge has a discretion to impose the death penalty for four kidnappings and the murder of Stompie.

Yesterday Mr H Joubert, appearing for Richardson, argued that Richardson could not have walked away from Mrs Winnie Mandela, in whose house he lived.

She had taken two trained terrorists to Richardson's house for safety but they were killed in a shoot-out with police and Richardson's house was damaged. Richardson then went to live at Mrs Mandela's Diepkloof home, Mr Joubert said.

Richardson's role as coach and as part of the struggle as well as being close to Mrs Mandela, were all regarded as status symbols, Mr Joubert said.

When Mrs Mandela told the four youths they were not fit to be alive and began to assault them, Richardson could not have refused to take part or have gone to the police, Mr Joubert said. He argued that violence was the norm in Soweto.

Mr C van Vuren for the State, disputed that violence was a norm in townships. Many people grew up with violence around them but did not regard it as normal, he said.

He disagreed that Richardson moved to Mrs Mandela's house because he had no where else to go. His wife and two daughters lived elsewhere.

Mr Van Vuren said the psychological profile of Richardson, presented by a clinical psychologist called by the defence, was based on invalid tests and conflicted with the facts.

# Accord

● FROM PAGE 1.

historic first round of "talks about talks" in Cape Town on May 2 to 4.

## Committee

A working committee drawn from both sides was set up to discuss the differences and to work for their resolution. The ANC was initially hesitant about accepting the working committee's recommendations, asking for additional time to consider them.

But formal acceptance of the proposals is now imminent, thus removing two obstacles to the establishment of — to quote from the OAU-approved Harare Declaration — "a climate for negotiations".

Saturday Star understands that the formula for the definition and release of political prisoners is based in large measure on that used in the Namibian settlement.

The optimism surrounding the pending talks does not mean that Monday's meeting will not be characterised by tough talking.

Mr de Klerk has signalled that he will raise the smuggling and storing of weapons under the ANC's "Operation Vula" as contrary to the Groote Schuur Minute signed by both sides after the Cape Town talks in May.

Mr Mandela has indicated that he will raise the issue of police action against civilians.

"We also insist that the talks must proceed in conditions of peace," Mr Mandela said at the SACP's huge rally in Soweto last Sunday. "The violence of the police against the people must come to an end."

But it is anticipated that tough talking will clear the air rather than prevent agreement on the removal of obstacles to substantive negotiations on a new constitution.

Monday's talks provide a backdrop to two impending events of relevance to the course of negotiations.

On August 10, four days after his meeting with the ANC, Mr de Klerk meets the chief ministers of South Africa's six partly self-governing states.

Mr de Klerk believes they should be at the negotiating table when a new constitution is discussed. The ANC has responded by trying to draw them on to its side as part of its delegation.

But Saturday Star understands that at least three chief ministers — Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Kenneth Mopeli and Hudson Ntsanwisi — want to be at the negotiating table as independent interlocutors.

## Conference

The second event is a consultative conference between the ANC's old rival, the Pan Africanist Congress, and the American Chamber of Commerce in Harare over the weekend of August 11 and 12.

The conference was seen by one observer as a sign that the PAC may be reconsidering its strong stand against negotiations with the "apartheid regime".

The choice of the SA-based American Chamber of Commerce — which represents the interests of American capital here as well as SA companies trading with the US — may reflect the first moves by the PAC to exploit anxiety over the close ties between the ANC and the SACP.

# Gumede must go, says TIC

PRESSURE is mounting against United Democratic Front president Archie Gumede, who was asked to bow out of politics yesterday after "anti-Indian" remarks he made in a recent television. Sta. 4/8/90 (11A) (2)

In a tough-worded statement, Transvaal Indian Congress president Cassim Salojee called on Mr Gumede to bow out of politics gracefully as he was allegedly "out of touch with the aspirations of the oppressed".

The TIC president said Mr Gumede had become notorious for making ill-considered statements.

Following the launch of the UDF in

1983, he said, Mr Gumede was on record as saying Indians' involvement in the progressive movement was merely for material gain.

This week Mr Gumede reportedly told SABC-TV that, if ever there was an election, Indians would vote for whites.

The TIC had approached the ANC to consider disciplinary action against Mr Gumede, Mr Salojee said.

The Natal Indian Congress is said to be planning to write a letter to the ANC expressing similar sentiments. Sapa.

# Gumede must go, says TIC

PRESSURE is mounting against United Democratic Front president Archie Gumede, who was asked to bow out of politics yesterday after "anti-Indian" remarks he made in a recent television. Sta. 4/8/90 (11A) (34P)

In a tough-worded statement, Transvaal Indian Congress president Cassim Salojee called on Mr Gumede to bow out of politics gracefully as he was allegedly "out of touch with the aspirations of the oppressed".

The TIC president said Mr Gumede had become notorious for making ill-considered statements.

Following the launch of the UDF in

1983, he said, Mr Gumede was on record as saying Indians' involvement in the progressive movement was merely for material gain.

This week Mr Gumede reportedly told SABC-TV that, if ever there was an election, Indians would vote for whites.

The TIC had approached the ANC to consider disciplinary action against Mr Gumede, Mr Salojee said.

The Natal Indian Congress is said to be planning to write a letter to the ANC expressing similar sentiments. Sapa.



# How women won long freedom struggle

THURSDAY is Women's Day in South Africa. It was on August 9, 1956, that 20 000 women filled the amphitheatre at the Union Buildings in Pretoria in response to an appeal by the Federation of South African Women and the African National Congress Women's League to protest against the extension of the pass laws to African women and to pass laws generally.

They travelled long distances from all parts of the country, many of them with babies and, of course, with the Special Branch. They arrived in Pretoria the night before and homes and halls in

local black areas were packed as residents opened their doors to the protesters.

The day was born out of a continuous and persistent struggle by our women against racial oppression. In 1913, the women of the Free State became known as South Africa's first black suffragettes, when they refused to carry passes.

They demonstrated their ability to organise and suffer imprisonment and they were victorious.

In 1919 the Government made another attempt to compel black women to carry passes. The ANC, then only seven years old, led the anti-

82x 4/8/90  
By **RAY ALEXANDER**, executive member of the South African Communist Party and of the Federation of South African Women. (i) (A)

pass campaign, which forced the Government to withdraw.

Once again, in 1929, the Government announced its intention to compel black women to carry passes. A meeting of women in Bloemfontein resolved to fight against this and again the Government retreated.

## NP acts

As soon as the National Party came into power in 1948 they introduced a Bill to force all black women to carry passes, but great demonstrations against the measure stopped the Bill's passage.

By 1956 the NP had introduced a mass of oppressive laws, had banned or removed many leaders under the Suppression of Communism

Act, and made a frontal attack by extending the pass laws to women.

Fedsaw and the ANC's Women's League decided to fight back. They organised nationwide petitions and held meetings and demonstrations against passes and in support of universal adult suffrage. It was this campaign that culminated in the 20 000 demonstrating in Pretoria on August 9 1956.

That day left a memorable record in the pages of our national liberation struggle. It was the biggest, most colourful demonstration to be held at the Union Buildings. The Xhosa women from the Cape were in their traditional ochre dresses, with the green, gold and black headscarves of the ANC; women of all races from

the Free State, the Transvaal and Natal dressed in ANC colours with beads and embroidered shawls, and Indian women wore colourful saris.

The demonstrators marched to the amphitheatre of a building where blacks could only enter as cleaners and messengers. They sang a Zulu song the words of which, translated, were: "Strijdom, you have tampered with the women, you have knocked against a rock".

## Petitions left

Prime Minister Strijdom and his Cabinet were too afraid to meet the women, but the women's leaders left in Mr Strijdom's office, petitions signed by many thousands around the country. They returned to the demonstrators, reporting that Mr Strijdom refused to see them, and the demonstrators rose to their feet and stood for 30

minutes in silence as a protest.

Thereafter they sang Nkosi Sikelel iAfrica. The leader of the ANC at the time, the late Chief Albert Luthuli, said: "When the women begin to take an active part in the struggle, as they are doing now, no power on earth can stop them from achieving freedom in our lifetime."

The regime's response to the women's demonstration was to introduce laws prohibiting demonstrations, and the pass laws continued to be enforced.

It was the people's hatred of this system which forced the Government to repeal the pass laws.

Now we are on the road to free our country from racial oppression, our leaders are returning from exile and our movements have been unbanned. Women have decided to rebuild the ANC's Women's League.

71  
11  
12

CAP 7/15 4/8/90

# Winnie 'gave death order'

JOHANNESBURG. — Mrs Winnie Mandela had told her "football club" to kill two young men she regarded as "problematic" and this was why the house of their mother, ANC member Mrs Dudu Chidi, was set alight, the Rand Supreme Court heard yesterday.

Mrs Chidi gave evidence during the trial of Mr Charles Zwane, 22, who has pleaded not guilty to 38 charges including 11 murders, 22 attempted murders, arson and two counts each of unlawful possession of an AK-47 machinegun with ammunition.

Mrs Chidi said she had not allowed her sons to join the football club.

She said Mrs Mandela had told her her sons would be regarded as "sell-outs" if they did not join the club and had sent people to fetch them.

Mrs Chidi said the club members were Mrs Mandela's bodyguards, as she had never seen them play against another football club.

"The things they did — burning people's houses and killing people — are not what football clubs do," she said. — Sapa

c/Press 5/8/90

# PAC men win court appeal

By **MARTIN**  
**NTSOELENGOE**

THE jail terms of Skotaville editor Jackie Seroke and two co-accused were reduced from 10 years to eight in the Rand Supreme Court this week.

After an appeal by the Black Lawyers' Association, judges decided the sentences were too harsh, but that magistrate H Hoffman was correct in finding them guilty of being members of the PAC and of terrorism in 1988.

Mandla Cele, 24, and Thembinkosi Khonongwe, 24, received the same sentence as Seroke.

The three will serve six more years, as they have already served two.

Before passing sentence two years ago, Hoffman described Seroke as a PAC executive member and a propagandist.

The judges accepted Seroke was a member of the PAC, but there was no evidence he had worked in its propaganda section or that he had re-

ceived military training.

But the judges said he had brought weapons into the country from Botswana.

The judges also said Cele and Khonongwe received military training and came into the country with arms to overthrow the government.

Cele received his military training in Tanzania and Khonongwe in Libya.

The court also heard they conspired with the PAC military wing, the Azanian People's Liber-

ation Army, in Botswana to bring weapons into the country.

■ Seroke was recently made a member of the Canadian-French PÉN, an international body of poets, editors and novelists.

# White-run business should open its ears

(Press 5/8/90)

(11A) ~~30/11/90~~

By Z B MOLEFE

**B**LACK business is on the warpath.

But its stance is not yet clear, judging by this week's four-day National African Federated Chamber of Commerce annual conference in Durban.

Predominantly white-run big business should start listening, a number of delegates said after the conference which focused on black participation in a mixed economy of the new South Africa.

ANC international affairs direc-



ANC's Tito Mboweni... looking closely at the monopolies.

tor Thabo Mbeki told the delegates: "Nelson Mandela's estimation of Nafcoc is that it is representative of the democratic movement in the business world of South Africa."

ANC economist Tito Mboweni told the conference a clear policy on conglomerates would have to be formulated.

He said: "This could take the form of anti-trust legislation or an anti-monopoly commission backed by the law."

ANC Southern Natal convenor Patrick "Terror" Lekota said: "We can't allow monopolies when we become the government."

Azapo publicity secretary Strini Moodley, who spoke on behalf of Azapo president Jerry Mosala, said: "We regard the liberation of black people as a priority. In that context, the liberation of the land is a primary objective.

"Technical details on how distribution of land shall be implemented will have to be worked out in finer detail by the government that comes to power.

"What is crucial to understand is that land distribution as an economic strategy must be given a new meaning."

National Union of Mineworkers assistant general secretary Marcel Golding painted a grim picture of the mining industry's future.

He said the odds were heavily stacked against black miners and warned: "No South Africa can be called 'new' until its black miners' position has been addressed.

"Our view is unashamedly socialist. We say the State must play a central role in the economy of a future South Africa."

Accountant Israel Skosana said South Africa's financial sector had

to be transformed to make capital available to victims of apartheid.

Skosana said he believed the financial sector had the unavoidable choice of making changes itself or having them imposed by the State. He said: "I believe the survival, let alone the future prosperity, of the country and its people is dependent on a financial sector which is responsive to its people."

Mbeki said: "You can have Nelson Mandela sitting there as President of South Africa, but as long as problems of poverty persist, he can't hold the country together."

Nafcoc has set up an economic commission co-ordinated by United States-educated and trained economist Vincent Phaahla.

Its brief is to survey a cross-section of people and organisations countrywide, including the ANC and PAC, on the question of a new economic order in a new South Africa.

■ This week, America's largest-selling national daily, *The Wall Street Journal*, looked at nationalisation and the Anglo American Corporation.

The journal's Johannesburg correspondent said Anglo and many South African corporations went beyond the realm of business by challenging government to scrap apartheid and white-minority rule in favour of power-sharing with the black majority.

The correspondent said: "In the boardroom, Anglo is circling the wagons against threats from newly legal organisations to nationalise or break up the company as a means of dismantling the white economic monopoly.

"In the new politics of correcting the inequalities of apartheid, Anglo is the fatted calf."

# Gumede 'must go'

*press 5/8/90*  
PRESSURE is mounting against UDF president Archie Gumede, who this week was asked to bow out of politics following "anti-Indian" remarks he made in a television interview recently.

In a tough-worded statement released on Friday, Transvaal Indian Congress president Cassim Salojee called on Gumede to bow out of politics as he was "out of touch with the aspirations of the oppressed".

The TIC president said Gumede had become notorious for making ill-considered statements.

Following the launch of the UDF in 1983, he said, Gumede was on record as saying the involvement of Indians in the progressive movement was merely for material gain.

This week Gumede reportedly told SABC-TV that if ever there was

*(11A) 37*  
an election, Indians would vote for whites.

The TIC had approached the ANC to consider disciplinary action against Gumede, Salojee said.

The Natal Indian Congress is planning to write to the ANC expressing similar sentiments. — Sapa



Archie Gumede ... "out of touch".

# Soweto tense as Inkatha meets

By SANDILE MEMELA

C/Pers 11A  
5/8/90

FEAR swept through Soweto this week after rumours of planned attacks by Inkatha members following today's Inkatha rally in Soweto.

Cosatu spokesman Neil Coleman said Inkatha would hold the rally at Jabulani Amphitheatre or Orlando Stadium.

It is alleged a planned campaign of terror will be launched against anti-Inkatha residents of Soweto.

Coleman alleges Inkatha has embarked on a recruitment drive in all hostels on the Reef and those unwilling to join are attacked.

Two men are reported to have been shot and killed at a Denver hostel for reluctance to join Inkatha.

Cosatu lawyers have written to the Commissioner of Police in Pretoria requesting a ban on the Inkatha rally.

However, Regional Commissioner of Police in Soweto, Brigadier DJ Malan, says Inkatha has every right to hold a rally in Soweto.

Malan called on Cosatu to refrain from any deed which might disturb the peace in Soweto.

Cosatu lawyer Peter Harris said he had information showing Inkatha meetings were held at a hostel in Denver, near Johannesburg, where the possibility of attacking residents at Sebokeng yesterday was discussed.

It was however decided that Inkatha members would attack residents of Jabulani and possibly Diepkloof after the rally.

Sapa reports that Inkatha chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has placed the blame for the July 22 Sebokeng violence, which claimed the lives of 29 people, squarely on the shoulders of the African National Congress.

Buthelezi accused the ANC of murder, intimidation, assault and provocation in his description of bloody events in Sebokeng.

# Tsietsi's funeral is on!

## Organisations rally as government says OK

By SOPHIE TEMA

MINISTER of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok has granted permission for exiled student leader Tsietsi Mashinini to be buried in South Africa.

Mashinini, leader of the Soweto student uprising of June 16, 1976, who died in Guinea in West Africa, will be buried in Soweto on August 11.

His body is expected to arrive at Jan Smuts Airport on Tuesday and will be accompanied by his brother Dee Lebakeng Mashinini and a close friend who is based in London, Barney Mokgatle.

Tsietsi's body is expected in Zimbabwe tomorrow.

A night vigil organised by the Liberation Support Committee will be conducted in Zimbabwe tomorrow night.

Dee said: "Most of the work has been completed and the South African community in Zimbabwe has been very sympathetic."

Back home, the ANC, UDF, Azapo, the SA Youth Revolutionary Council and the Soweto Civic Association have created a committee to plan the peaceful co-ordination of the funeral.

A commemoration service is also planned by Azapo for today in Soweto.

Speakers will be Tsietsi's comrade Kgotso Seatlholo and his brother Tsepiso Mashinini, who is in the country and comes from London.

When *City Press* telephoned Mokgatle on Friday, he appealed for unity and peace at Tsietsi's funeral.

He said: "We appeal for peace and calm so we can bury our leader with honour. This appeal I send to all political organisations in South Africa

and to those who will be attending as individuals."

Meanwhile, about 200 people gathered at the offices of the SA Council for Higher Education on Friday for a service to pay tribute to Tsietsi.

Speakers at the service remembered him as a gallant and dynamic leader who would have contributed significantly to the changing face of South Africa.

Most people at the service were part of the 1976 disturbances, including school children under Tsietsi's command.

Tables were adorned with burning candles and flags of the SA National Student Congress, Azapo and the Azanian National Youth Unity.

Speakers praised Tsietsi as a self-sacrificing leader who stood for unity among all the oppressed. A plea was made for all political organisations to observe his funeral as a symbol of unity.

Seatlholo said: "Many offers of luxury were made to buy him out of the struggle, but he declined them, although this meant his inability to buy a dress for his mother or shoes for his sisters."

Seatlholo said the mission started by Tsietsi in 1976 was not complete and he called on the youth to work for the unity the leader had stood for.

He said: "Mashinini cannot rest in peace while we continue to kill each other over different ideologies. He stood for unity and we have to see that his dream is realised."

Tshepo Mashinini, who was only nine years old when Tsietsi went into exile, told sympathisers his family was devastated by his death.



To bury a comrade ... Tsepiso Mashinini and Kgotso Seatlholo at a commemoration service

C/Prem  
5/8/90

11A

# Is the SACP turning pink?

## It may already have become a European-style Labour Party

By STEVEN FRIEDMAN, Senior Researcher at Wits University's Centre for Policy Studies

Is the South African Communist Party which was reborn at Soccer City last week the same party which existed in the past?

And will it remain the same party in the future? We can now see the SACP first hand for the first time in 40 years. But many questions about it are still unanswered.

The questions are important because they may help tell us what sort of society we will become when white rule goes.

Until last weekend, the SACP was a small group which did not try to win mass support – but sought to influence politics by “guiding” workers (and the ANC?).

Many people on the left, as well as liberals and conservatives, insisted it was a threat to democracy.

The SACP was for years the most hard-line communist party in the West. It eagerly supported the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia and expelled communists who differed from the party line.

It was also secretive – far more so than its ally the ANC, which was also banned. The SACP held its congresses in secret and delegates who voted members on to its central committee were not even told who had been elected.

It was also a revolutionary party which supported Soviet-style Marxism.

Although it had only a few hundred members, it gained influence through its alliance with the ANC. Its critics claim it manipulated the movement by winning positions on its executive. But the SACP insists it is now not that sort of party.

It has rejected its hardline past. Joe Slovo and other SACP leaders say they now support multi-party democracy and all the other freedoms which Soviet-style Marxism outlawed.

Now legal, the SACP has decided to become a



SACP secretary-general Joe Slovo is joined by comrades in a toyi-toyi at the party's Soccer City re-launch last weekend.

Photo: AFRAPIX

rally, members of other unions didn't show up in droves.

The SACP may well win support among union members – but this could turn it into a very different sort of party.

For some years now, leading unionists in what is now Cosatu have been interested in forming a party to represent workers' interests, rather than those of all the voteless.

They soon realised they would make little headway.

are used to organisations in which leaders are meant to do only what their members tell them. They might insist the SACP does the same. Mass membership may also mean the SACP will be less of a revolutionary party. Although Cosatu unions support socialist ideas, they are used to making gains by negotiating.

For the moment, recruiting activists inside the country could make the party more “radical”. Some commentators like to see the SACP as the “revolutionaries” and the ANC as the “negotiators”. But there are “radicals” and “moderates” in both.

members are allowed to belong to both the ANC and the SACP.

But what will happen if we have a majority rule election? Voters can't vote for both the ANC and the SACP – are ANC leaders such as Slovo going to vote against their own party? And, even before then, if the SACP recruits a mass membership – won't it be seen to be trying to become the ANC's rival?

This issue is a key topic of debate within the SACP now. Some activists believe the SACP should become a socialist party and compete with other parties.



east party, in the west, it eagerly supported the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia and expelled communists who differed from the party line.

It was also secretive – far more so than its ally the ANC, which was also banned. The SACP held its congresses in secret and delegates who voted members on to its central committee were not even told who had been elected.

It was also a revolutionary party which supported Soviet-style Marxism.

Although it had only a few hundred members, it gained influence through its alliance with the ANC. Its critics claim it manipulated the movement by winning positions on its executive. But the SACP insists it is now not that sort of party.

It has rejected its hardline past. Joe Slovo and other SACP leaders say they now support multi-party democracy and all the other freedoms which Soviet-style Marxism outlawed.

Now legal, the SACP has decided to become a “mass” party which will recruit members and elect its leaders openly.

Its leaders also stressed at last week's rally they firmly supported a negotiated end to apartheid, rather than a revolution. But how real is this change? How much support does the SACP have? What will become of its alliance with the ANC? Will it help or harm attempts to negotiate an end to apartheid?

The rally answered few of these questions. But we may be a little closer to answers than before.

Whether the SACP really has changed will depend partly on whether it decides to become a legal, open, party.

Although some of its leaders' names were announced last week, not all were. The party says some must remain underground because it needs protection if the government again tries to suppress it. But, until it is entirely open, it will not be able to fully answer charges that it conspires in secret.

But the SACP wants to broaden its membership and sign on thousands of people it did not try to recruit in the past.

It is most likely to win that support from Cosatu unions and militant members of the SA Youth Congress.

The extent of its support in the unions is not clear. Four leading Cosatu unionists are among its leaders – but, although a large delegation of miners attended its



SACP secretary-general Joe Slovo is joined by comrades in a toyi-toyi at the party's Soccer City re-launch last weekend.

■ Pic: AFRAPIX

rally, members of other unions didn't show up in droves.

The SACP may well win support among union members – but this could turn it into a very different sort of party.

For some years now, leading unionists in what is now Cosatu have been interested in forming a party to represent workers' interests, rather than those of all the voteless.

They soon realised they would make little headway. Apartheid has ensured black workers are interested in “national liberation” first and workers' rights second – they are far more likely to identify with liberation movements such as the ANC than with a workers' party.

A workers' party independent of the ANC would probably be doomed because it would be seen as a rival. But one workers' party doesn't have that problem – the SACP. It has credibility among activists – and not necessarily because of its ideology, but because its activists are among the most dedicated ANC members.

In the months before its launch, the SACP made an effort to woo unionists (many of whom have always been suspicious of the party) and other socialist activists. It insisted the party was no longer open only to those who supported its type of socialism, but to all socialists: it urged them to join.

Some stayed out. But others didn't: two of the unionists in its leadership have in the past been known to be interested in an independent workers' party – rather than the SACP.

They either believe the SACP has changed – or that it is the only workers' party which is likely to win mass support.

Other unionists may decide that, if they want a workers' party, the SACP is their only choice. Union members could do the same.

But the SACP may then change. Union members

are used to organisations in which leaders are meant to do only what their members tell them. They might insist the SACP does the same. Mass membership may also mean the SACP will be less of a revolutionary party. Although Cosatu unions support socialist ideas, they are used to making gains by negotiating.

For the moment, recruiting activists inside the country could make the party more “radical”. Some commentators like to see the SACP as the “revolutionaries” and the ANC as the “negotiators”. But there are “radicals” and “moderates” in both.

As in the ANC, some of the older, previously exiled, SACP leaders are likely to be “more moderate” than some of the new recruits in the country.

But, the more grassroots worker members the SACP gains, the more it may become a Labour Party like those in Western Europe.

It may already have become that!

The SACP has long been less of a socialist party than it seems. It argues socialism is not possible here until long after “national liberation” and, like the ANC, its leaders support a mixed economy after apartheid goes.

One of the reasons some socialists have opposed the SACP is because it has been trying to persuade them to drop demands for socialism now.

All this highlights the SACP's greatest strength.

In every other country, communist parties are being forced to change their names if they want to win support. Here, the SACP's long alliance with the ANC and its key role in the fight against apartheid means its name is its greatest strength. It may keep the name even if its policies become less socialist.

But that the SACP has won support largely through its alliance with the ANC could also be its greatest weakness.

If it is really going to recruit anyone wanting to join, how is it going to stop itself from competing with the ANC?

At the moment this problem can be delayed since

members are allowed to belong to both the ANC and the SACP.

But what will happen if we have a majority rule election? Voters can't vote for both the ANC and the SACP – are ANC leaders such as Slovo going to vote against their own party? And, even before then, if the SACP recruits a mass membership – won't it be seen to be trying to become the ANC's rival?

This issue is a key topic of debate within the SACP now. Some activists believe the SACP should become a socialist party and compete with other parties.

But if it did, it would lose the support it gained through its alliance with the ANC and would face the same problem as any other workers' party – a recent survey found that only 12 percent of black people support the SACP.

Others insist the SACP must remain an ally of the ANC. But none of them seem able to say how the alliance should work.

And, whichever path the SACP takes, it is still not clear why anyone should join it rather than the ANC.

The usual answer is that the SACP is a socialist party but the ANC isn't.

But, while the SACP says it supports “socialism”, it is not clear what this means: after events in Eastern Europe, SACP leaders have told us at great length what socialism isn't, but they still haven't told us what it is and how it would work.

At last week's rally, no speaker tried to describe socialism. The SACP is still keen to stress its similarities with the ANC rather than its differences.

So it seems likely it would fight an election – or negotiate with the government – on the same economic policies as the ANC. Why then should voters support one rather than the other?

The SACP's support seems to rest more on its image than its policies. It is seen by many, particularly the militant youth, as apartheid's most radical enemy. It may attract support for this reason rather than because its policies are widely supported.

For the moment, this is its strength – and the SACP may try to avoid spelling out its policies. But, the nearer we move to a democracy, the less able will it be to do that – and it is then that the strength may become a weakness.

But, because the SACP is a party with a “revolutionary” image which is forced to back “moderate” policies, it could play an important part in smoothing the way for negotiated change.

If we are to have a political settlement, both militant workers and youths will have to compromise on some of their hopes.

The chance they will do this may depend on whether the settlement is backed by a party “radical” enough to persuade “militants” to accept it without being accused of “selling out”. The SACP might just be that party.

# I'm sorry, UDF leader tells Indians

THE top brass of the African National Congress forced one of its members to retract anti-Indian remarks made in a TV interview this week.

Mr Archie Gumede, co-president of the United Democratic Front and ANC stalwart, later apologised for his scathing attack on Indians during a controversial SATV programme shown in Tuesday night's news slot.

Now the ANC and the UDF are set to take harsher disciplinary action against Mr Gumede and a call has

By GEORGE MAHABEER

been made for him to quit politics.

During the interview, featured in a documentary about South African Indians, Mr Gumede:

● Equated local Indians with those who were kicked out of Uganda by deposed president Idi Amin;

● Said it would not be surprising if many Indians in South Africa felt more at home in India;

● Claimed Indian people imitated whites in discriminating against

blacks;

● Said he would not be surprised if many Indians voted with whites.

Mr Gumede later told the Sunday Times that he had not seen the programme because his TV set was out of order. But he added that he had not intended his comments to apply to all Indians.

Late on Thursday, Mr Gumede through the ANC — retracted his remarks unconditionally and apologised "to all those who may have been offended".

Transvaal Indian Congress presi-

dent Cassim Saloojee condemned the "racist and anti-Indian" comments made by Mr Gumede.

"We are aware that the ANC ordered Mr Gumede to apologise, but we are demanding they take more severe action against him," said Mr Saloojee.

"He has become notorious for making ill-considered statements. Mr Gumede is unable to perceive the divisive role played by SABC-TV — as this is the second time that he has made anti-Indian remarks on television."

S/Twinds 5, 18/70

11A

Stat 15/8/90

11A

# Mandela must stand beside me – Buthelezi

Staff Reporter

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said last night in a TV panel discussion that violence in South Africa would not be properly addressed until he and Nelson Mandela were seen addressing joint rallies together.

The KwaZulu Chief Minister denied that Inkatha was responsible for the violence which was mushrooming on the Reef.

He said the initial outbreaks of township violence in 1985 had begun on the Reef, after which the Government introduced the state of emergency.

"It is not Inkatha which espouses violence; it is not Inkatha which brings messages from Lusaka saying black town

councillors must be killed. It is false to say the violence mushrooming in the Transvaal is imported here by the Zulu people," he said.

## Free

When asked if the UDF and ANC areas which had sprung up in Natal meant that he was losing support in the province, Chief Buthelezi said he believed it was healthy for people to be free to support whatever political organisation they wanted to support.

"Therefore I don't think it is unhealthy if people support the UDF or ANC or PAC.

"What is unhealthy is the extent of political intolerance

which has resulted in violence."

He said KwaZulu was not created by the homelands policy as the Zulu nation was a sovereign state before colonialism.

Asked whether he felt he was at the end of his political career because he had been deliberately left out by Mr Mandela who had spoken to all other homeland leaders, Chief Buthelezi replied: "That would imply Dr Mandela was God and that I was a protégé of Dr Mandela.

"While I have a lot of respect for him I don't regard him as God."

Chief Buthelezi said he believed in one man, one vote but said a constitution for South Africa needed to consider the cultural roots of all people.

# FORGET THE 'OR ELSE'

STimes 5/18/90

"HAVE you heard the one about the man who walked into the bar and banged his fist on the counter?" asked a South African Cabinet Minister as he leaned back on the couch of his large, but austere furnished Pretoria office.

"Give me a double whisky — or else," the customer demanded belligerently.

"Or else what?" the barman said, equally menacingly.

"Or else just a glass of water, if you don't mind," the man responded meekly.

The joke was not without a point. It was made at the height of the Tongaat affair and was meant as a direct commentary on how the negotiations are going.

The point was simply that there is no effective "or else" to the negotiating process.

## Disasters

The two major players in the unfolding SA constitutional drama have no alternative but to make sure the show goes on — and played through to its finale.

No matter what dead ends and disasters may be encountered as the script unfolds, a denouement there must be. And both President FW de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela knew this all along.

The Tongaat affair, in which secret minutes emerged of a clandestine SA Communist Party meeting where insurrection and alternatives to negotiation were discussed, has, more than anything else, sharpened this knowledge.

That is why, seen from this perspective, the affair has not been without value and it is not a bad thing that it happened at this early stage in the progress towards full negotiations.

It has provided valuable lessons to both the Government and the ANC.

## Robust

It has illustrated vividly the role good faith and trust will play in the negotiations. It has also established clear beacons of what can, what will and what will not be tolerated while negotiations are going on.

That is why, when the Government and ANC teams sit down at Die Ou Presidensie in Pretoria tomorrow to tackle the final phase of removing obstacles to negotiations, both groups will have a much more robust appreciation of what it is they are about.

Foreign governments have been waiting for an illustration of the irreversibility of the process South Africans have embarked on



TIME TO TALK ... President de Klerk and Mr Mandela have no option but to find a settlement. Picture: AMBROSE PE

## Lester Venter cautions the parties at tomorrow's crucial talks not to delude themselves that there is an alternative to a negotiated settlement



— and surely this has been it.

Faced with the possibility of breakdown, the Government found itself confronted with the full realisation that all it had done in unbanning the ANC six months ago was give effect to two elementary realities of SA political life.

The first was that the ANC, and the degree to which it voiced black aspirations, was an ineradicable part of SA life.

The second was that black aspirations had not only to be accommodated, but those involved had also to speak for themselves.

The old way of foisting "solutions" on black South Africans was demonstrably dead.

To return to this would have been the only alternative to carrying on with the negotiating process.

Faced with the possibil-

ity of a breakdown, the ANC confronted the knowledge that the only alternative that awaited it was to return to 78 years of fruitless struggle against a bleeding, but still-invincible, state.

Neither of these were tenable prospects for either party.

## Weapons

Furthermore, neither could afford the weight of international blame for allowing the process to falter and fail.

But that is not all that will be girding up the next round of talks tomorrow.

The ANC has learnt that infiltration of armed cadres and stockpiling of weapons are not compatible with its engagement in the peace talks and will be subject to the action of law.

Mr Mandela's two latest meetings with President De

Klerk signified acceptance of this in the ANC leader's pointed omission of any mention of the detained insurgents in his statement after the meetings.

That, in turn, brings the ANC to a critical juncture.

It seems to have become clear to Mr Mandela that he can no longer maintain the ambiguity of conducting an armed struggle on the one hand while claiming commitment to a peaceful search for a solution on the other.

While history contains many examples — notably Vietnam — where negotiations for peace went on while hostilities continued, the import of the Groote Schuur Minute that both parties attested to in May (and Mr Mandela repeated after his last meeting with President De Klerk this week) clearly envisages something very different.

The Government should find the ANC a far more cohesive organisation, to deal with tomorrow.

It is likely to have experienced some internal galvanising in the recent events that have shown its leadership the danger of having sub-groups pursuing their own agendas within the main body of the organisation.

In particular, the ANC will have had a deeper insight into the international repercussions of its blind allegiance to a political fossil in the SACP.

## Violence

The Tongaat affair will also have pressed Mr Mandela into exercising a stronger leadership hand over the ANC's disparate elements.

Paradoxically, however, it has forced him into a closer, defensive identification with his lieutenants — and Mr Mandela is now far less the "facilitator" between the Government and the ANC than was originally thought he might be.

But it is the issue of violence — and the ANC's continued adherence to the armed struggle, at least in

its rhetoric — expected to be the most substantial on tomorrow's agenda.

It is also one on which the Government's team is expected to show "progress".

Because the issue is pivotal to the ANC's own future, it is to this point, a solution is not anti.

If the ANC thinks

OPINION 2

THE 'OR ELSE' FACTOR

SA Times 5/8/90



right abandonment of the armed struggle is more than its image and support base can take, the Government will be prepared to settle for a "suspension" till the end of negotiations.

The Government is understood to be prepared to even discuss a "mutual cessation" of violence.

Much of the art of the deal will be in the language used to phrase it.

However, before the parties get to talking about violence — the most sensitive and emotive issue in the pre-negotiations — they will deal with the return of exiles, the release of political prisoners and the ending of the remains of the state of emergency.

Exiles

The Government and ANC working group has quietly been going about its business behind the fuss on front-stage and has achieved agreement on the exiles (where a form of amnesty will be needed) and prisoners (where there will be a phased release of an estimated 1 500 people).

Observers close to the talks believe the Government will be able to lift the emergency in Natal and deal with unrest there under normal legislation once it is armed with an undertaking on violence from the ANC.

For both parties, then, the formal obstacles to negotiations will be cleared.

Nevertheless, those impatient for political leaders simply to get on with it should brace themselves for much more intense wrangling.

Issues of who will sit at the table, in what numbers, how they will be selected and how their opinions will be measured against one another's will doubtlessly be as intensely argued as anything that has happened up to now.

its rhetoric — that is expected to be the central and most substantive item on tomorrow's agenda.

It is also one on which the Government's team is cautiously expecting "progress".

Because the issue is so pivotal to the ANC's view of itself and what has brought it to this point, a single-fix solution is not anticipated.

If the ANC thinks an out-

The Government should find the ANC a far more cohesive organisation to deal with tomorrow.

It is likely to have experienced some internal galvanising in the recent events that have shown its leadership the danger of having sub-groups pursuing their own agendas within the main body of the organisation.

In particular, the ANC will have had a deeper insight into the international repercussions of its blind allegiance to a political fossil in the SACP.

Violence

The Tongaat affair will also have pressed Mr Mandela into exercising a stronger leadership hand over the ANC's disparate elements.

Paradoxically, however, it has forced him into a closer, defensive identification with his lieutenants — and Mr Mandela is now far less the "facilitator" between the Government and the ANC than was originally thought he might be.

But it is the issue of violence — and the ANC's continued adherence to the armed struggle, at least in



option but to find a settlement. Picture: AMBROSE PETERS

acceptance  
ANC leader's  
ance of any  
he detained  
is statement  
ings.  
brings the  
cal juncture.  
have become  
Mandela that  
er maintain  
of conduct-  
struggle on  
while claim-  
ment to a  
h for a solu-  
her.  
ry contains  
es — notably  
ere negotia-  
ce went on  
es continued,  
the Groote  
e that both  
ed to in May  
Mandela repeated  
meeting with  
Klerk this  
y envisages  
y different.

SHORT TERM BUSINESS

(N)

# Crucial Pretoria talks could end armed struggle

# HOPES SOAR FOR PEACE!

11A  
1/18/90

S/Times 5/8/90

By LESTER VENTER  
and DRIES VAN HEERDEN

**THE 30-year war between the ANC and the Government could effectively be over by tomorrow night.**

This is widely expected to be the first prize in the crucial second round of peace talks in Pretoria tomorrow.

On the eve of the meeting — to be held in the historic Presidensie, east of the Union Buildings — both sides were optimistic.

They believed a dramatic breakthrough was possible and that many of the remaining obstacles to negotiations for a new constitution would be swept away.

The most important elements expected in tomorrow's accord are:

- The African National Congress will suspend its "armed struggle";
  - Political prisoners will be released — 1 300, according to the ANC's definition;
  - More than 22 000 exiles will be assisted to return to South Africa;
  - The state of emergency will be lifted in Natal.
- Other promising spin-offs from the agreement are likely to be:
- Moves towards ending the international sanctions campaign;
  - The beginning of serious negotiations between the ANC and Inkatha over the war in Natal;
  - A tentative understanding that the



**It's a  
bloody  
KO for  
king  
Pierre**

JOHNNY DU PLOOY'S gamble of catching Pierre Coetzer cold in the early rounds backfired horribly in the Sun City Superbowl last night when he was stopped by South Africa's heavyweight champion only 2 mins 46 secs into the second round of their scheduled 10-rounder.



# Peace hopes soar

S1 Times 5/8/90

□ From Page 1 (11A)

the armed struggle. The ANC will not summarily end the conflict. Instead, it will "suspend the armed struggle pending the outcome of negotiations".

This undertaking falls short of earlier government hopes, but it is a compromise that its top negotiators are prepared to accept, it was learned.

An appreciation has grown on both sides that the issue of armed conflict is one that needs to be dealt with in stages.

Much debate is expected on the ancillary issues of strikes, boycotts and intimidation, because the ANC is wary of shouldering sole responsibility for bringing this to an end.

Previous calls by Mr Mandela and other senior ANC leaders on supporters to end the Natal violence and

for children to return to schools, for example, have been met by a poor response.

Nevertheless, a formal commitment to peace by the ANC would have an immense symbolic effect.

● Mr De Klerk will be assisted in the talks by Foreign Minister Pik Botha, the Government's chief constitutional negotiator Dr

Gerrit Viljoen, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok.

Mr Mandela will lead a team made up of ANC secretary general Alfred Nzo, SA Communist Party general secretary Joe Slovo, ANC external secretary Thabo Mbeki and commander-in-chief of Umkhonto we Sizwe Joe Modise.

## Boesak shifts foundation

By CLIVE SAWYER, Tygerberg Bureau

THE Foundation for Peace and Justice, of which Dr Allan Boesak is director, is to move to Durban Road, Bellville, this week from its offices in Bellville South.

Dr Boesak's private secretary, Mr Norman Michaels, said the present offices could not accommodate the foundation's administration. The foundation has seven staff members, including Dr Boesak. The new building is owned by the organisation, he said.

The foundation, funded by local and overseas supporters, gives material support to impoverished rural communities and organises conferences about poverty and society.



# State must end strife - ANC

Sowetan Reporter

*Sowetan 5/8/90*

THE ANC and its allies - Cosatu, the UDF and South African Youth Congress - have resolved that the State is responsible for ending the continuing violence in Natal.

The groups met last weekend at a national consultative conference on peace and reconstruction in Natal at the University of Durban-Westville.

It was the first time the full national executive of the ANC had met its allies since its unbanning on February 2.

The conference resolved that a delegation led by ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, and comprising members of the movement's NEC and Natal leadership, would meet State President FW de Klerk to discuss free political activity in the beleaguered province.

## Peace

Apartheid structures there prohibit the activities of the movement, Cosatu said in a statement.

Other resolutions were that:

\* A special working group should be established and to be made up of the ANC NEC subcommittee in Natal, delegates from Natal and Government representatives; and,

\* The ANC and its allies should initiate a "broad-based" peace conference committed to ending violence in the province.

# Bank moves to diffuse 'political neutrality' row

3/Day 6/8/90

STANDARD Bank moved quickly on Friday to preserve its non-political image and to avert a row with the ANC, UDF and affiliated organisations.

Anti-eviction group Actstop issued a statement last week saying it would consider withdrawing its account over reports that the bank was banning its staff members from being involved in politics.

Standard Bank Group MD Conrad Strauss recently sent a memo to management saying that the bank had a strategic advantage in its "perceived political neutrality" and that this must be maintained.

Actstop spokesman Cas Coovadia said in a statement the organisation believed the bank's definition of political and quasi-political organisa-

PETER DELMAR

tions included Actstop.

After Strauss said on Friday afternoon he had no comment "whatsoever", Standard GM Andre Hammersma phoned Business Day to say that he had sorted the matter out with Coovadia and had assured him that the bank never intended to prevent staff members becoming involved in politics.

## Allow

Standard would not allow its members to stand for public office on a party political ticket or to solicit party contributions from customers, Hammersma said.

He said it was impossible to prevent members from becoming in-

involved in politics.

The Johannesburg-based Actstop group has close links with other organisations in the broader ANC camp, particularly the UDF, which Coovadia predicted would share its condemnation of the bank's decision.

Coovadia said on Friday the ANC and UDF were considering the matter and were likely to issue a statement this week.

Hammersma also confirmed that the bank would sponsor a conference in London next month at which speakers including ANC international affairs secretary Thabo Mbeki, Finance Minister Barend du Plessis and Reserve Bank Governor Chris Stals would deliver papers on the future of the SA economy.

ICR

**T**HE odd thing about the launch of the World's Last Communist Party in a soccer stadium outside Soweto a week ago was that so few communists turned up. Those who did come knew neither the words nor the tune of the "Internationale", and they showed no great passion for "the party" or its leaders.

In deference to the occasion I switched my BMW for a borrowed Uno, stripped off my tie, and found something to wear that resembled a Mao tunic. As it turned out I was hopelessly underdressed, and in danger of being mistaken for a foreign correspondent.

Except for a phalanx of hard-hatted miners, patient and impassive, the crowd consisted, in more or less equal parts, of the unionised labour elite and of Soweto's middle-class set, smart and savvy. To this veteran of freedom rallies from Khartoum to Maputo and Gaborone to Cabinda, it seemed very staid.

**A**t least the workers turned up; the intellectual Marxists did not. I spotted Wits lecturer Raymond Suttner, who once promised that the barber shops would not be nationalised, but he was pretty lonely. I did not see a single Marxist historian, though I'm told there were a couple in the crowd, and not a single sociologist of the kind that expounds funny economics.

Not even the Congress of Democrats was represented, so far as I could see, except by the "leaders" on the platform who, of course, couldn't stay away. Had I not known better, I might have suspected a boycott.

I did see one white-haired man who might have been Professor Jack Simons but, since I was not among the generations of students to whom he dispensed error (with great brilliance, I am told) at UCT, I could not be sure.

His wife, Ray Alexander, was on the platform to be introduced to the masses as one of their leaders, having joined "the party" underground in Latvia in 1928. I am not sure what part she played in the events that led

# How can you have a party if nobody knows the tune?

*B/D ay 6/8/90* (11A)

---

**KEN OWEN**

---

to the brutal communist subjugation of the land of her birth, but she was honoured for it by being named a leader of the World's Last Communists.

So too was Lithuanian-born Joe Slovo, who completed the Baltic contingent, and whose land of birth is, like Latvia, struggling to escape the fate which he wishes on us. Brian Bunting (in whose defence, as a fellow-member of the miserable trade union that represented journalists, I once sent a futile telegram to John Vorster) was flown in from London for a week to be a "leader".

I thought it all rather bizarre but the crowd, tolerant and good-natured, gave him a round of polite applause, as they might have done for any elderly gentleman in an English topcoat. They paid similarly restrained homage to those marvelously constant veterans, Dan Tloome, Govan Mbeki and Raymond Mhlaba, as any party congress honours the stalwarts of yesteryear.

Between rounds of clapping, we stared (some of us morosely) at the huge emblem of capitalist success that hung over the stadium: an advertisement for Castle Lager. It will be such a pity if our new rulers nationalise the beer industry, and lose

the touch of Charles Glass.

The crowd's enthusiasm was reserved for Nelson Mandela and the ANC leaders, and especially for Umkhonto's Chris Hani, who at least saw action during the ANC's defeat in Wankie. Slovo, I thought, was also applauded more as a leader of Umkhonto than in his own right, and even then he had to toyi-toyi for it. Ronnie Kasrils picked up a bit of that sort of hero worship, but nobody else, it seemed to me, wowed the crowd.

**T**hree observations may be apt: firstly, the World's Last Communist Party has chosen to introduce to its rank and file, and to a wider public, only those "leaders" who are already known. Their average age has drawn widespread comment, but the explanation is surely that the younger, more energetic leaders remain underground.

The second is that the rising generation of SACP leaders — Cheryl Carolus, Chris Dlamini, John Gomo, Sydney Mafumadi, Moses Mayekiso — have been drawn from the labour movement, and they are poised to shake off the control of the

old party-line communists. They may not, in fact, be communists at all.

Thirdly, the real power base within the World's Last Communist Party is to be found in the trade unions, whose members are subject to union discipline but hardly aware of the need to learn to hum the "Internationale".

My impression, admittedly subjective, was that the audience — no more than 45 000 people, I thought — were more accurately classified as members of the ANC, whose colours many wore, than the SACP. Only the leaders themselves could with confidence be called communists, and even some of those are possibly trade unionists first, communists second.

This raises again the question of who, in the relationship between ANC and SACP, is the rider, who the horse, but there is a novel twist to it: most of the union workers have become an elite in the townships, part of the new labour aristocracy. That township aristocracy is directly threatened, in a variety of ways from scabbing to township anarchy and crime, by the non-unionised, desperate underclass or marginal workers and the unemployed.

Before we can even begin to talk about the new South Africa, we must surely analyse the relationship between the union members, dependent on the health of the industrial sector for their privileges, and the bitterly poor people who make up the rest of the black urban population.

There is very little research to go on, but perhaps the point can be demonstrated speculatively: Business Day recently discovered from enlarged aerial photographs of Soweto that almost every householder harbours in his back yard a number of squatters, some in garages, some in shanties or huts.

Inquiries on the ground disclosed that each household drew rents from several squatter families, but most of them refused — as part of the rent boycott — to pay rent to the local authority. The householders of Soweto in fact constitute a new rentier class of families.

Assume the householder is a union worker earning R1 200 and living rent-free, his wife earns R800, and they collect rents of R500, tax-free. The family then has an income equivalent of, say, R33 000 a year — in a country where the per capita income is perhaps R5 000 a year.

**I**n such a community, any talk of "redistributing wealth" goes down well only if it is cast in racist terms: redistribution from "rich whites" to "poor blacks". But the union leaders are not stupid; they know that increasingly the interests of the unionised workers diverge from the interests of the deprived underclass.

The underclass may respond with passion to the call to revolution, banners waving to the strains of the "Internationale", but the unionised workers, if they are to keep the relative privileges which they have already gained, need stability, investment, growth, order. They don't need mayhem.

Don't be surprised, then, if the unions shake off their rider, convert the SACP into an old-fashioned workers' party, and settle down to do what they do best: negotiate with capitalists over the division of the spoils.

# Mier land issue puts talks in jeopardy

9/11/74 P  
6/8/90

11A  
~~11A~~

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

FUTURE talks between the ANC and the Labour Party will be jeopardised if the sale of land in Mier is not halted and a referendum held among residents.

After last week's discussions between the two organisations, the LP is to consider an ANC request for a moratorium on the implementation of the controversial House of Representative law to privatise land in Mier, in the Gordonia district of the North-Western Cape.

The LP will also consider an ANC request for a referendum of residents of the area, its public relations officer, Mr Peter Hendrickse, confirmed yesterday.

Dissatisfied Mier residents have also instituted a Supreme Court action in Kimberley to have the Mier law set aside.

The ANC has threatened to reverse the sale of land in Mier if the law is implemented.

CHL Treits 6/8/90

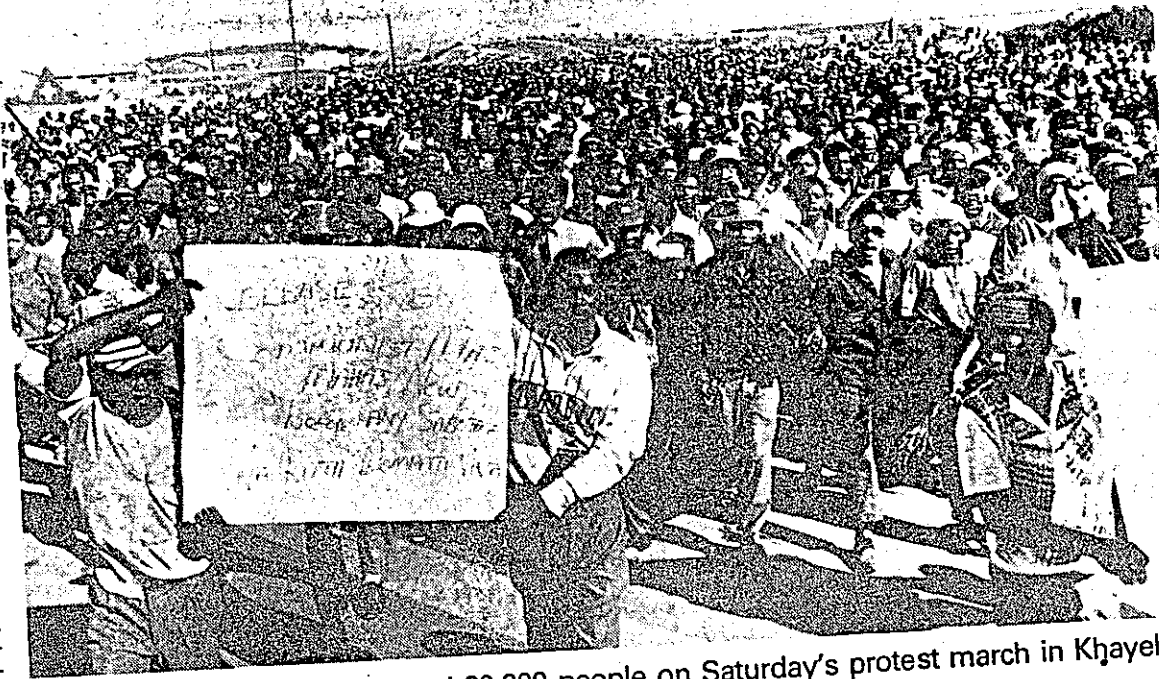


# Police clash with 20 000 marchers

Staff Reporter

POLICE and about 20 000 protest marchers clashed on Saturday after a petition had been handed to the Lingeletu Town Council in Khayelitsha calling for the immediate resignation of all town councillors.

An 11-strong delegation of local ANC and Western Cape Civic Association representatives presented the town clerk, Mr Graham Lawrence, with the memorandum which



LEFT: Part of the estimated 20 000 people on Saturday's protest march in Khayelitsha. RIGHT: A teargas canister explodes at the feet of one of the marchers.

Pictures: OBED ZILWA

the feet of one of the marchers.

# ANC man's peace plea

CMT 7.475 6/8/70 11A

By PETER DENNEHY

A SENIOR member of the ANC, speaking in Nyanga yesterday, called for peace.

Mr Christmas Tinto's appeal came on the eve of today's talks between the government and the ANC. He said ANC members must turn their minds to the peace process.

Mr Tinto, who is also Western Cape UDF president, spoke in place of Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Mr Chris Hani at the Zolani Centre. He addressed the annual meeting of the Western Cape Hostel Dwellers' Association.

Mr Hani had been billed as the main speaker at the event, but he did not turn up.

Mr Tinto said he had been sent to speak in his place, and to convey a message from the national executive committee of the ANC.

He urged ANC members not to get involved in "petty differences which lead to warring". He said the ANC had a problem in Khayelitsha, where "there seems to be a fight".

"Whoever is carrying a card of the ANC must commit themselves to bringing about peace between comrades, and bringing back normality."



CALL ... Mr Tinto makes a call for peace

Mr Tinto said the Crossroads branch of the ANC was the biggest in the Western Cape, with more than 3 000 card-carrying members, one of whom was squatter leader Mr Jeffrey Nongwe.

The second-largest was the Masincedane branch at KTC, with close to 2 000 members, followed by Paarl, which had more than 1 300.

All the other branches had fewer than 1 000 members each. Mr Tinto said this information had been

gathered at a meeting at the University of the Western Cape on Saturday of all the conveners of the ANC in the Western Cape.

"We called them together to ask them two questions: How many members they have, and the date when their branches would be officially launched."

At the same meeting on Saturday, the squatter community had been keen to hear "the message of Chris Hani, leader of MK", but unfortunately he had not yet arrived, Mr Tinto said.

Mr Tinto, a former unionist who has been involved in ANC activities since 1951, said the organisation did not have a card-membership system in the old days.

"You joined it with your blood," he said. However, President F W de Klerk "has been listening to us", he said. "He has pulled the cotton wool out of his ears."

Mr Tinto told his audience that the ANC was going to govern this country.

"We have the leaders to do it, and the discipline."

He urged everyone in the audience to join the ANC, as he said they would eventually be represented in Parliament through their membership of community organisations, not through union cards.

# Ashton homes hit by petrol bombs

*CM Tuis 6/8/90*

Staff Reporter

THE Ashton homes of a schoolteacher and a transport planner were petrol-bombed in two separate incidents on Saturday and yesterday morning, police said.

Damage estimated at R30 000 was caused at the Rosa Crescent home of Mr Andrew van der Merwe — a schoolteacher — when a petrol bomb was hurled through his lounge window about 1am yesterday morning.

Mr Van der Merwe could not be reached for comment yesterday.

Police have opened an arson docket.

The first home to be petrol-bombed was that of transport planner Mr Boeta le Roux, 57, of Wium Street.

He and his wife, Mrs Maria le Roux, 55, were asleep in their bedroom about 2.15am on Saturday when they woke to the sound of their lounge window breaking.

The couple's daughter, Mrs Corine Smith, said yesterday that her parents heard the explosion and ran to the lounge where the curtains, carpet and a couch had caught fire.

"Neither of my parents was seriously injured but my father burnt his hands quite badly trying to put out some flames."

Mrs Smith said damage had been estimated at about R3 000, and she believed the bombers were malicious pranksters.

No arrests have been made.

## Mine causes little damage

Staff Reporter

A SUSPECTED mini-limpet mine which rocked the Bishop Lavis Police College's single quarters late on Friday night caused minimal damage to property, and no one was injured, police said yesterday.

Major Gys Boonzaaier said nobody had claimed responsibility for the blast.

## MDM meets to discuss violence

DURBAN. National leaders and Natal delegates of the Mass Democratic Movement met at length on Saturday to thrash out a policy on the Natal violence, including the question of Inkatha's participation in a peace conference.

Mr Nelson Mandela's keynote speech addressed many contentious issues facing the hawks and the doves in the movement.

## Natal farmer escapes shooting

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — A Natal Midlands farmer had a lucky escape when he was shot at while driving on his farm road early yesterday.

Mr Walter Hillermann said a log had been placed across the farm road. Two shots were fired at him, one hitting the side mirror of his vehicle. The second shot missed the vehicle.

# ANC meets govt with peace offer

*CM Tuis 6/8/90*

PORT ELIZABETH. — The ANC will be going into today's round of talks with the government with a definite offer to suspend the armed struggle, national executive committee member Mr James Stewart said in Grahamstown yesterday.

Mr Stewart said the formerly banned organisation would table proposals aimed at expediting negotiations with the government, including a cessation of the activities of its military wing.

"We are hopeful that as a result of our initiative great strides will be made in the entire process of negotiations."

Speaking at the launch of the organisation's Grahamstown branch, Mr Stewart said many people had "rejected our armed struggle as amateurish and of no significance".

He said, however, the armed struggle was the key factor "in the regime deciding to open up discussions with the ANC".

He said the ANC represented a democratic alternative to "white racist domination".

# Cops laud calm at ANC funeral

*CM Tuis 6/8/90*

JOHANNESBURG. — The police on Saturday thanked community organisations in Sebokeng, on the East Rand, for maintaining calm at the funeral of three ANC supporters, who were killed during fierce clashes last month with Inkatha members.

The three were buried earlier in the day. "That it was not necessary for the police to take any action is testimony to the fact that the police will not interfere unnecessarily with the public in its everyday walk of life," said a police statement.

About 4 000 people attended the burial. At least 19 people died on July 22 when about 2 000 Inkatha supporters leaving the stadium allegedly attacked ANC-aligned Vaal Civic Association (VCA) supporters, who had wanted to hold a rally there the same day.

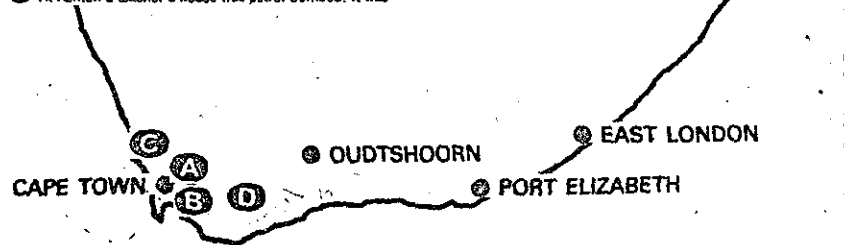
Meanwhile, two men were shot while they were sleeping in a Sebokeng hostel room at the weekend, police said. A group of unknown people fired at them through the window of their room.

One of the men was shot in the chest and the other in the arm. Both are in a satisfactory condition. — Sapa

## UNREST: POLICE REPORT

THE following unrest-related incidents were reported by police over the past 48 hours:

- 1 At Old Crossroads a house was petrol-bombed. In a separate incident a man was found with a gunshot wound in his leg. He alleged that a group of people had shot him. He was not seriously injured and a case of attempted murder is being investigated.
- 2 At Khayelitsha two police vans were stoned in separate incidents. Police dispersed a crowd with teargas, rubber bullets and birdshot. There were arrests and no injuries were reported. In three other incidents police dispersed a gathering with teargas and rubber bullets. There were no arrests and no injuries were reported.
- 3 At Nyanga police fired teargas and rubber bullets to disperse a gathering. There were no arrests and no injuries reported.
- 4 At Ashton a teacher's house was petrol-bombed. It was



extensively damaged. There were no arrests and no injuries reported. Another house was petrol-bombed, but damaged was slight.

5 At Molswedumosa (Modder River in the Northern Cape) a police van was damaged during a stoning incident. Police used birdshot to disperse the crowd. No injuries reported and no arrests.

6 At Stellenbosch (Gardenburg) people stopped and searched

7 At Daveyton (Benoni) a man set a delivery truck on fire. No arrests were made.

8 At Kallehong (Germiston) people petrol-bombed the home of a taxi driver. Damage was extensive. There were no reports of injuries and no arrests were made.

9 At Shawele (Soweto) people barricaded a road and police used teargas to disperse them. No arrests were made and there were no injuries.

10 At Sebokeng near Vereeniging two black men were shot

# Labour Party's priority 'to broaden contacts'

By MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent

Labour Party leaders are embarking on wide-ranging consultations with political parties and organisations over the next few months as part of a process to assure the party a role in the politics of the future.

The party is also to have a special combined caucus and national executive committee meeting towards the end of next month to discuss the latest political developments.

However, in spite of speculation, there is little likelihood at this stage of the party considering alliances or disbanding and reconstituting itself as part of a broader front.

Broadening contact with other groupings is the immediate priority, according to Labour's public relations officer, Addo MP Mr Peter Hendrickse.

## DIFFERENCES AND SIMILARITIES

Speaking after the Labour leadership's meeting last week with African National Congress deputy-president Mr Nelson Mandela, Mr Hendrickse said the intention in the wide-ranging talks to come was to assess the differences and similarities in approach between the Labour Party and other groupings.

"We will be meeting those with whom we agree with and those with whom we disagree. We are committed to broadening our contacts."

A second meeting is on the cards with the ANC to discuss differences between the two parties including the issues of sanctions, privatisation and political activity in the rural areas.



# 'ANC now has to convince people'

ARGUS 6/8/90

11A

**A**CKNOWLEDGED masters of underground political organisation, the ANC was faced with a very different challenge when its leadership returned this year to begin public reconstruction.

After a mauling by the State in the 1960's the ANC was faced with the long and painful process of reconstructing its tattered underground structures, applying hard-learned lessons to guard against infiltration by "the opposition," as Mr Jordan puts it, building into its internal structure a system of damage control to limit the effects of penetration.

This is managed to a large extent to achieve and by the time the external leadership returned this year the ANC was faced with the task of "translating what we had been able to do through underground activity — popularising and raising the prestige of the ANC — into organised support and organisation," says National Executive Committee member Palo Jordan.

Several problems — both of the ANC's own making and those which grew out of its 30 years of banning — awaited it.

One of the most difficult to counter was to get "people who were underground activists to shed the habits of underground work".

## Obligations

"When you are part of an underground organisation you tend to deal with people you know very, very well; you don't easily get involved in (open) political discussion.

"And now its the opposite; you have to go out there and convince people."

Some resistance of paying the annual R12 membership fees has been experienced among people "who have become accustomed to organisations that didn't depend on members as their primary source of finances."

It must be understood, however, that "when you join the organisation you take on certain obligations; one of those is that you sustain the organisation through membership fees."

These fees will equal R48-million if the stated membership target of four million this year is reached — a target considered "conceivable" by Mr Jordan.

Reluctant to speculate on the nu-

August marks six months since the African National Congress was unbanned. Palo Jordan, Information and Research head, charts the organisational problems and achievements so far in an interview with **CLAIRE ROBERTSON** of The Argus's Pretoria Bureau.



Mr Palo Jordan

merical strength of the ANC lest he be accused of telling "wild propagandist lies" Mr Jordan is however "encouraged" by the growth — "on a scale of one to ten? Seven?"

The members are recruited at branches controlled by 15 regions countrywide. Although the ANC's goals dwarf anything seen in South African politics, it has still managed in six months to set up more than the ten Inkatha regional offices established by that organisation in 15 years.

On its return ANC was faced with a "drastic change" in leadership style from the unquestioning acceptance and implementation of decisions which characterised the closed communities of ANC functionaries in exile.

"We must take a great deal of responsibility for this problem," says Mr Jordan. The ANC is having to learn a leadership style that relies on feedback and acceptance of decisions from members involved in



Mr Nelson Mandela

their own communities and workplace.

"This is a very drastic and fundamental change. Everyone has to get accustomed to the 'bottom-up' style of leadership."

But its decades in exile also produced characteristics that would be the envy of any party organiser — "a sense of total commitment to the organisation; people always prepared of put in that little bit extra".

The "esprit de corps" existing among the returned exiles is another "very important asset."

"This can be good and bad — exiled people cling to each other for warmth ... exile does mold them into a very tight-knit and cohesive body."

"It's good in that it has that centripetal aspect, but it can be very detrimental in that it can begin to express itself in negative forms like in-groups and out-groups".

"Nevertheless, down the road, we are going to need that sense of hanging together, no matter what,

to pull us through."

Organising — particularly the printing and dissemination of propaganda material — has been bedevilled by the fact that many members trained in this field are still unable to return to South Africa.

"By now I thought we would be talking in terms of an ANC weekly news bulletin, I thought we would be talking in terms of all sorts of ANC propaganda materials flooding South Africa.

"The violence in Natal is now being exported to the Transvaal. It would be proper that the ANC should make some pronouncement on that issue to the people in that are — not only in English but in the language that people are most comfortable with.

"We haven't had the people who are able to do that.

## Target

Putting no faith in a local Press almost "totally monopolised by a handful of corporations" the ANC relies on briefings "and you know what happens with orally transmitted information — 'send reinforcements, I'm going to advance' after passing through ten ears becomes 'send three and fourpence, I'm going to a dance.'"

"We expect that sort of thing happens as well."

Recent briefings — on Nelson Mandela's trip abroad and the progress of negotiations have been held by a National Executive delegation and homeland leaders, Tom Boya (of United Municipalities of South Africa), the United Democratic Front, Cosatu, the Labour Party, Azapo, religious leaders, and "we invited the PAC but they did not come."

A target for the months ahead is to "bring about a closer identification of the ANC with people's everyday very humdrum aspirations of a better life."

And all of this has to happen in an atmosphere of extremely high expectations of the movement.

"People almost presented us with a bill: 'I promise to pay the bearer, you said. Where is it?'"

"There is a great deal of impatience for results. We have to go through a whole number of phases before we get there. Not that we don't have money in the bank. We have money in the bank. We just don't have the chequebook."

POLITICS

# ANC youth section sets its sights on young Afrikaners

ARC us 6/8/90

11A

**The Argus Correspondent**

JOHANNESBURG. — The African National Congress (ANC) will launch its Youth League here early next year — with a special goal to recruit young Afrikaners to its ranks.

According to an article in the latest issue of the ANC's mouthpiece, *Mayibuye*, the league, which will be nonracial in content and character, will make a special effort to recruit the Afrikaner youth.

*Mayibuye*, the ANC's underground publication for many years, was published in South

Africa for the first time last week.

In an article headed "Young Lions plan Youth League launch", *Mayibuye* said the ANC Youth League (Ancyl) would be launched officially on April 6 next year, to coincide with the day on which ANC guerrilla Solomon Mahlangu was executed at Pretoria Central Prison.

While organisationally autonomous with its own decision-making structures at local, regional and national level, the Ancyl will be under the ANC's political leadership and

subscribe to the ANC's policies and programmes.

Ancyl would recruit and mobilise people aged from 14 to 30, most of whom had felt left out of the ANC as constituted at present.

*Mayibuye* said the Ancyl, which would be mass-based and accommodate "the working, unemployed, peasant and student youth", would be constituted mostly by the present ANC youth section and the South African Youth Congress (Sayco) who, after a recent meeting, reached "a common perspective" on the Ancyl's establishment.

# Worrall calls for a mediator

Source: 6/8/90

11A

THE ANC and the Government should agree on the appointment of an independent mediator who could talk to all parties who wished to be part of the negotiation process.

Democratic Party co-leader Dr Dennis Worrall said at the weekend the point had been reached where the process should be opened up to all parties and a mediator appointed who could talk to all parties, including the

Conservative Party and the Pan Africanist Congress.

"Ideally the DP believe this should be the Chief Justice, but any individual whose integrity is acceptable to all parties would do," he said.

The fact that the talks were going ahead was attributable to the mature leadership of President FW de Klerk and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, said Worrall. - Sapa.

## Paper's office bombed

WINDHOEK - Three phosphorous bombs caused damage estimated at thousands of rand at the offices of *The Namibian* newspaper in Windhoek early yesterday.

The editor, Gwen Lister, said the editorial office and computer equipment were seriously damaged in the explosion.

Those responsible also destroyed all the cameras in the offices.

Eyewitnesses have claimed three men were responsible for the attack.

Lister said the men broke into the daily newspaper's offices and placed three bombs at strategic places. Police are investigating.

Last Monday the paper carried a report of an alleged plot to overthrow the Namibian Government.

Source: 6/8/90

APR 1990

# From underground to political open ground

For 6/8/90

119

Acknowledged masters of underground political organisation, the ANC was faced with a very different challenge when its leadership returned this year to begin public reconstruction.

After a mauling by the State in the 1960s, the ANC was faced with the long and painful process of reconstructing its tattered underground structures, applying hard-learned lessons to guard against infiltration by "the opposition", as Pallo Jordan puts it, and building into its internal structure a system of damage-control to limit the effects of penetration.

This it managed to a large extent to achieve and by the time the external leadership returned this year, the ANC was faced with the task of "translating what we had been able to do through underground activity — popularising and raising the prestige of the ANC — into organised support and organisation".

Several problems — both of the ANC's own making and those which grew out of its 30 years of banning — awaited it.

## Activists

One of the most difficult to counter was to get "people who were underground activists to shed the habits of underground work.

"When you are part of an underground organisation you tend to deal with people you know very, very well; you don't easily get involved in (open) political discussion.

"And now it's the opposite; you have to go out there and convince people."

Some resistance to paying the annual R12 membership fees has come from people "who have become accustomed to organisations that didn't depend on members as their primary source of finances".

These fees will equal R48 million if the stated membership target of 4 million this year is reached — a target considered "conceivable" by Mr Jordan.

Reluctant to speculate on the numerical strength of the ANC lest he be accused of telling "wild propagandist lies", he is however encouraged by the growth: "On a scale of one to 10? Seven!"

The members are recruited at branches controlled by 15 regions countrywide. Although the ANC's goals dwarf anything seen before in South African politics, it has still managed in

August marks six months since the African National Congress was unbanned. Pallo Jordan, Information and Research head, charts the organisational problems and achievements so far in an interview with **CLAIRE ROBERTSON** of The Star's Pretoria Bureau.



six months to set up more than the 10 Inkatha regional offices established by that organisation in 15 years.

On its return, the ANC was faced with a "drastic change" in leadership style from the unquestioning acceptance and implementation of decisions which characterised the closed communities of ANC functionaries in exile.

"We must take a great deal of responsibility for this problem," said Mr Jordan. The ANC is having to learn a leadership style that relies on feedback and acceptance of decisions from members involved in their own communities and workplace.

"This is a very drastic and fundamental change. Everyone has to get accustomed to the 'bottom-up' style of leadership."

But its decades in exile also produced characteristics that would be the envy of any party organiser — "a sense of total commitment to the organisation; people always prepared to put in that little bit extra".

The esprit de corps existing among the returned exiles is another valued asset.

"This can be good and bad — exiled people cling to each other for warmth ... exile does mould them into a very tight-knit and cohesive body.

"It's good in that it has that centripetal aspect, but it can be very detrimental in that it can begin to express itself in negative forms like in-groups and out-groups.

"Nevertheless, down the road, we are going to need that sense of hanging together, no matter what, to pull us through."

Organising — particularly the printing and dissemination of propaganda material — has been bedevilled by the fact that many members trained in this field are still unable to return to South Africa.

"By now I thought we would be talking in terms of an ANC

weekly news bulletin, I thought we would be talking in terms of all sorts of ANC propaganda materials flooding South Africa.

"The violence in Natal is now being exported to the Transvaal. It would be proper that the ANC should make some pronouncement on that issue to the people in that area — not only in English but in the language which people are most comfortable with.

"We haven't had the people who are able to do that."

## Briefings

Putting no faith in a local press "almost totally monopolised by a handful of corporations", the ANC relies on briefings.

"And you know what happens with orally transmitted information — 'Send reinforcements, I'm going to advance', after passing through 10 ears, becomes 'Send three and four-pence, I'm going to a dance'."

Recent briefings — on Nelson Mandela's trip abroad and the progress of negotiations — have been held with homeland leaders, Tom Boya of United Municipalities, the United Democratic Front, Cosatu, the Labour Party and Azapo, among others.

A target for the months ahead was to bring about a closer identification of the ANC with people's everyday, very humdrum aspirations of a better life, Mr Jordan said.

And all of this had to happen in an atmosphere of extremely high expectations.

"People almost presented us with a bill: 'I promise to pay the bearer,' you said. Where is it?"

"There is a great deal of impatience for results. We have to go through a whole number of phases before we get there. Not that we don't have money in the bank. We have money in the bank. We just don't have the chequebook."

## Mashinini

did not take

sta 6/8/90  
sides - Azapo

(U) Stan Hlophe

Tsietsi Mashinini, former president of the Students' Representative Council and the South African Students' Movement, was a revolutionary who refused to align himself with any of the liberation movements.

This was said by Azapo's secretary general, Pandelani Nefolovhodwe, at a memorial service for the student leader who died in Guinea two weeks ago. The service was held at the Regina Mundi.

Mr Nefolovhodwe said Mr Mashinini was not a CIA agent as his detractors claimed.

"He refused to live in luxury in Europe like his detractors and ... fought for unity and liberation."

Mr Mashinini was a leader of the 1976 Soweto uprising. His body is expected to be flown from Zimbabwe tomorrow for burial on Saturday at an unannounced venue.

SAW 6/8/90 (11A)

# ANC to launch its Youth League

## Political Staff

The African National Congress (ANC) will launch its Youth League in Johannesburg early next year, states an article in the latest issue of the ANC mouthpiece, *Mayibuye*.

*Mayibuye*, the ANC's underground publication, was published in South Africa for the first time last week.

In an article headlined "Young lions plan Youth League launch", *Mayibuye* said the ANC Youth League (ANCYL) would be launched on April 6 next year, to coincide with the day on which ANC guerilla Solomon Mahlangu was executed at Pretoria Central Prison.

## Age group

The ANCYL would recruit people from the age of 14 to 30, the article said. It would accommodate "the working, unemployed, peasant and student youth", would be constituted mostly by the present ANC Youth Section and the South African Youth Congress (Sayco) which, after a recent meeting, reached "a common perspective" on the ANCYL's establishment.

The agreement reached by the two organisations was also shared by "the broad student movement" made up of

organisations such as the Congress of South African Students (Cosas), the South African National Students Congress (Sansco) and the National Union of South African Students (Nusas), said the ANC magazine.

It added that the ANCYL would be larger than both the ANC Youth Section and Sayco, and would attract thousands of young people, including those who were not already members of Sayco, Sansco, Nusas or Cosas.

The organisation would be non-racial and would make a special effort to recruit Afrikaner youth.

While the ANCYL would have its own decision-making structures, it would fall under the ANC's political leadership and subscribe to the ANC's policies and programmes.

The report said Sayco would call on its members "to join and strengthen" the Youth League. However, the ANCYL would not be a student organisation and would respect the autonomy of student organisations at schools and tertiary institutions.

*Mayibuye* said Sayco and the ANC Youth Section had already agreed on an interim constitution, manifesto and a code of conduct. The Youth League would be divided into the existing 14 regions of the ANC.

# Winnie's fighting talk for women

By Stan Hlophe 8/8/90

South African women would liberate this country and if need arose they would fight Inkatha members to defend their children, Winnie Mandela said yesterday.

Speaking at a meeting of the ANC Women's League in Sebokeng near Vereeniging, the wife of ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela said it was the Government's strategy to connive with Inkatha to attack the black masses.

Mrs Mandela told about 500 toyi-toying women that on her way to Sebokeng she had seen an "impi" of more than 3 000 Inkatha members armed with assorted weapons marching through the streets of Soweto in full view of the police. She believed they were going to attack Soweto residents.

"That does not mean we can't retaliate. We are a disciplined organisation. The ANC would have long overthrown the Government if it had

wanted to, with our Umkhonto we Sizwe," Mrs Mandela said.

"But we opted for peaceful negotiations, and if (President) De Klerk does not listen, we will continue with the armed struggle."

She extended her condolences to Sebokeng women for the pain and suffering they had endured during clashes two weeks ago in which about 20 people died.

## 'Don't fight'

"Women of this country will liberate this country whether the Government wants it or not," she said.

She urged women not to fight against the Zulus, as that would be playing into the hands of the Government.

Mrs Mandela called on women throughout the country to go in large numbers to an ANC Women's League rally in Durban on Sunday to show solidarity with their Natal colleagues.

"You should go to Dur-

ban and show the Government and Inkatha that we are tired of burying our sons and daughters."

The African National Congress Women's League will be officially re-launched on Thursday.

The launch will kick off with a media conference and culminate in a festival and rally on Sunday in Durban, according to the ANC mouthpiece, *Mayibuye*.

Quoting Gertrude Shope, who heads the ANC Women's Section, the article said a National Women Internal Leadership was appointed to organise the launch.

The leadership includes Albertina Sisulu, Sister Bernard Ncube, Thandi Modise and Rae Simons.

The Women's League will be organised in a similar way to the ANC — there will be 14 regions divided into zones and branches.

The first league conference is scheduled for October.

4  
Mandela critical  
of justice system  
2011/11/14

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The judiciary in South Africa enjoys no legitimacy because, in general, over the years it has been an ardent enforcer of apartheid laws, according to ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela.

Addressing about 1 800 people at the National Association of Democratic Lawyers' annual general meeting in Durban City Hall last week, Mr Mandela said the judiciary was drawn from "the ranks of the white minority" who sat in judgment over the victims of the apartheid system.

"What is more, the laws are made by the same privileged group," he said. "Blacks are denied the right to participate in the making of the laws. This factor in itself delegitimises the system of justice."



## DP and ANC go north

7-6/8/60 Northern Transvaal Bureau

Political history will be made in Pietersburg tonight when the Democratic Party and the African National Congress share a platform at a public meeting for the first time in the far Northern Transvaal.

In a local hotel, Zach de Beer of the DP and Thabo Makunyane of the ANC will address an open meeting which has aroused a great deal of local interest.

The DP established a branch in Pietersburg last year, and the ANC recently opened a regional office in the town.



By KEN OWEN

Capt Times 6/8/90

NA

# Communists conspicuous by their absence at launch

THE odd thing about the launch of the World's Last Communist Party in a soccer stadium outside Soweto a week ago was that so few communists turned up. Those who did come knew neither the words nor the tune of the "Internationale", and they showed no great passion for "the party" or its leaders.

In deference to the occasion I switched my BMW for a borrowed Uno, stripped off my tie, and found something to wear that resembled a Mao tunic. As it turned out I was hopelessly underdressed, and in danger of being mistaken for a foreign correspondent.

Except for a phalanx of hard-hatted miners, patient and impassive, the crowd consisted, in more or less equal parts, of the unionised labour elite and of Soweto's middle-class set, smart and savvy. To this veteran of freedom rallies from Khartoum to Maputo and Gaborone to Cabinda, it seemed very staid.

At least the workers turned up; the intellectual Marxists did not. I spotted Wits lecturer Raymond Suttner, who once promised that the barber shops would not be nationalised, but he was pretty lonely. I did not see a single Marxist historian, though I'm told there were a couple in the crowd, and not a single sociologist of the kind that expounds funny economics.

Not even the Congress of Democrats was represented, so far as I could see, except by the "leaders" on the platform who, of course, couldn't stay away. Had I not known better, I might have suspected a boycott.

I did see one white-haired man who might have been Professor Jack Simons but, since I was not among the generations of students to whom he dispensed error (with great brilliance, I am told) at UCT, I could not be sure.

His wife, Ray Alexander, was on the platform to be introduced to the masses as one of their leaders, having joined "the party" underground in Latvia in 1928. I am not sure what part she played in the events that led to the brutal communist subjugation of the land of her birth, but she was honoured for it by being named a leader of the World's Last Communists.

So too was Lithuanian-born Joe Slovo, who completed the Baltic contingent, and whose land of birth is, like Latvia, struggling to escape the fate which he wishes on us. Brian Bunting (in whose defence, as a fellow-member of the miserable trade union that represented journalists, I once sent a futile telegram to John Vorster) was flown in from London for a week to be a "leader".

I thought it all rather bizarre but the crowd, tolerant and good-natured, gave him a round of polite applause, as they might have done for any elderly gentleman in an English topcoat. They paid similarly restrained homage to those marvellously constant veterans, Dan Tloome, Govan Mbeki, and Raymond Mhlaba, as any party congress honours the stalwarts of yesteryear.

Between rounds of clapping, we stared (some of us morosely) at the huge emblem of capitalist success that hung over the stadium: an advertisement for Castle Lager. It will be such a pity if our new rulers nationalise the beer industry, and lose

the touch of Charles Glass.

The crowd's enthusiasm was reserved for Nelson Mandela and the ANC leaders, and especially for Umkhonto's Chris Hani, who at least saw action during the ANC's defeat in Wankie. Slovo, I thought, was also applauded more as a leader of Umkhonto than in his own right, and even then he had to toyi-toyi for it. Ronnie Kasrils picked up a bit of that sort of hero worship, but nobody else, it seemed to me, wowed the crowd.

Three observations may be apt: firstly, the World's Last Communist Party has chosen to introduce to its rank and file, and to a wider public, only those "leaders" who are already known. Their average age has drawn widespread comment, but the explanation is surely that the younger, more energetic leaders remain underground.

The second is that the rising generation of SACP leaders — Cheryl Carolus, Chris Dlamini, John Gomomo, Sydney Mafumadi, Moses Mayekiso — have been drawn from the labour movement, and they are poised to shake off the control of the old party-line communists. They may not, in fact, be communists at all.

Thirdly, the real power base within the World's Last Communist Party is to be found in the trade unions, whose members are subject to union discipline but hardly aware of the need to learn to hum the "Internationale".

My impression, admittedly subjective, was that the audience — no more than 45 000 people, I thought — were more accurately classified as members of the ANC, whose colours many wore, than as SACP. Only the leaders themselves could with confidence be called communists, and even some of those are possibly trade unionists first, communists second.

This raises again the question of who, in the relationship between ANC and SACP, is the rider, who the horse, but there is a novel twist to it: most of the union workers have become an elite in the townships, part of the new labour aristocracy. That township aristocracy is directly threatened, in a variety of ways from scabbing to township anarchy and crime, by the non-unionised, desperate underclass or marginal workers and the unemployed.

Before we can even begin to talk about the new South Africa, we must surely analyse the relationship between the union members, dependent on the health of the industrial sector for their privileges, and the bitterly poor people who make up the rest of the black urban population.

There is very little research to go on, but perhaps the point can be demonstrated speculatively: Business Day recently discovered from enlarged aerial photographs of Soweto that almost every householder harbours in his back yard a number of squatters, some in garages, some in shanties or huts.

Inquiries on the ground disclosed that each household drew rents from several squatter families, but most of them refused — as part of the rent boycott — to pay rent to the local authority. The householders of Soweto in fact constitute a new rentier class of families.

Assume the householder is a union worker earning R1 200 and living rent-free, his wife earns R800, and they collect rents of R500, tax-free. The family then has an income equivalent of, say, R33 000 a year — in a country where the per capita income is perhaps R5 000 a year.

In such a community, any talk of "redistributing wealth" goes down well only if it is cast in racist terms: redistribution from "rich whites" to "poor blacks". But the union leaders are not stupid; they know that increasingly the interests of the unionised workers diverge from the interests of the deprived underclass.

The underclass may respond with passion to the call to revolution, banners waving to the strains of the "Internationale", but the unionised workers, if they are to keep the relative privileges which they have already gained, need stability, investment, growth, order. They don't need mayhem.

Don't be surprised, then, if the unions shake off their rider, convert the SACP into an old-fashioned workers' party, and settle down to do what they do best: negotiate with capitalists over the division of the spoils.

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

MAY seem confusing, but the South African Communist Party and the ANC are not the same — and their leaders have publicly acknowledged they have differences.

The SACP's general secretary, Mr Joe Slovo, has described these differences as "non-hostile, non-agonistic and non-combative".

The two organisations, both unbanned on February 12, do, however, have a close relationship, with leading members of the SACP in key positions in the ANC, and they regard each other as allies.

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela said at the launch of the SACP at Soccer City in Soweto last weekend that the ANC had joined the celebrations because during the nearly 70 years of its existence the Communist Party has distinguished itself as an ally sharing the common objective of the national liberation of our people, without seeking to impose these views on our movement".

### Unclear

The ANC was "not a communist party", he said. "As a defender of democracy it has fought and will continue to fight for the right of the SACP to exist. As a movement for national liberation the ANC has no mandate to espouse a Marxist ideology, but as a democratic movement... the ANC has defended the right of any South Africans to adhere to the Marxist ideolo-

# ANC, SACP not the same, yet maintain close bonds

*CAPT Tims 6/8/96 HA*

gy if they so wish."

Thus, the ANC and the SACP are not one and the same but the nature of their relationship is unclear, particularly in view of claims, repeated recently by the International Freedom Foundation, that as many as 29 of the 35 members of the ANC's national executive committee are communists.

Mr Slovo has dismissed these claims as inaccurate but without providing information on the strength of the SACP in the executive.

Mr Slovo said in June that, while the ANC saw itself as a mass organisation open to all people, the SACP aimed to represent the basic interests of the working class. The ANC did not have a programme for socialist transformation.

### Own campaigns

At its now-famous Tongaat consultative conference, the SACP took decisions which clarify that relationship somewhat.

The party would "assert its independence. We cannot just act within other organisations, and even our members in other organisations must become known as members of the party".

It would launch its own campaigns which "could involve" the ANC and other structures, and the relationship between the party and the fraternal organisations had to change as "the time has come for the party to assert its independence and its own identity".

Significantly, it also said: "The warning was sounded that despite our present popularity we must not presume that the party is as acceptable to the people as the ANC.

"Activists have waved our flags but the average individual is largely ignorant of communism and may have been brainwashed by anti-communists."

The party may develop a large membership but "it would nevertheless remain

vanguardist. It will be a vanguard party of a new type. All of its members would be activists".

### Worker-based

These decisions show that the SACP sees itself as an activist party with a defined policy, operating both independently and within other organisations such as the ANC and Cosatu to promote its aim.

Mr Slovo said in June that potential rivalry between these organisations would be tempered because they were members of the anti-apartheid tripartite alliance and because the SACP, as a worker-based movement, acknowledged the hegemony of the ANC as a mass-based organisation drawing its membership from all levels of society.

Critics have argued that this strategy, together with its significant influence in key positions in the ANC, merely exploits the ANC's popularity to promote its outdated policies.

"What is clear is that the SACP is dependent on the grassroots support-base of the ANC far more than the ANC needs the SACP's organisational and ideological base," the IFF's Mr Russell Crystal said recently.

That may or may not be valid but the reality is that, despite the differences, the ANC and SACP will work closely together for the foreseeable future and there will be acknowledged communists in ANC delegations.

Tensions between the two could develop in the future but for now it would be wishful thinking to count on it.

Natal violence high on the agenda

# Hopes high for today's crucial talks

11A  
~~30/11~~

Bloam  
6/8/90

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela meet in Pretoria today for crucial talks which both sides believe will place SA irrevocably on the road to a negotiated settlement.

Both leaders will be accompanied by four of their closest lieutenants when the first item on the agenda, a report by the working group appointed at Grootte Schuur, comes up for discussion.

One of the suggestions by the working group is understood to be a de-escalation in levels of violence in the country linked to the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles.

Another priority, sources said, would be to come up with an agreed definition of a political offence.

The working group is understood to have suggested that a panel of local experts be appointed to decide whether so-called "hard case" prisoners and exiles qualify as political offenders.

Diplomatic sources said at the weekend that Mandela was so confident of achieving a breakthrough on these issues, as well as the removal of security legislation which inhibits political activity and the lifting of the emergency in Natal, that he recently suggested it would be possible to clear the remaining obstacles this morning and begin discussing real negotiations this afternoon.

Members of the working group have not been named but it is understood that ANC national executive committee (NEC) members Aziz Pahad, Jacob Zuma and Joe Nhlanhla, as well as Penuell Maduna and Matthew Poswa served as ANC represen-

MIKE ROBERTSON

tatives on the committee. Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee, Deputy Constitutional Minister Roelf Meyer, Constitutional Adviser Fanie van der Merwe and Home Affairs director general P J Colyn are believed to have been government representatives.

Coetsee has also been working on identifying aspects of security legislation which inhibit free political activity. He is expected to give an undertaking at today's talks that these aspects will be repealed in the next Parliamentary sitting.

There has been no suggestion from government that it is prepared to lift the emergency in Natal, but sources on both sides believe a way around this problem can be found, possibly by securing a joint commitment to working together in tackling violence in the stricken province.

Mandela has repeatedly stated that once all obstacles identified by the ANC have been removed, the organisation will consider a "cessation of hostilities".

The ANC has in recent meetings with the UDF and mass democratic movement (MDM) broached this in an attempt to prepare the ground for such an announcement in the event of a breakthrough being achieved at today's meeting.

Government spokesman have said they could not agree to the wording "cessation of hostilities" in any joint statement, but would rather be looking for a firm commitment from the ANC to a negotiated settlement. But if the ANC wanted to interpret this as a ceasefire in subsequent statements, it would be welcome to do so.

The ANC delegation consists of Man-

□ To Page 2

## Talks

Bloam  
6/8/90

dela, SACP chief Joe Slovo, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) commander Joe Modise, secretary general Alfred Nzo and international affairs director Thabo Mbeki.

De Klerk will be accompanied by Coetsee, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok.

Sapa reports that national leaders and Natal delegates of the MDM met in Durban

11A  
~~30/11~~

□ From Page 1

on Saturday to discuss a policy on Natal violence, including Inkatha's participation in a peace conference.

In a statement after the meeting, the ANC said Mandela, the keynote speaker, had briefed the meeting on today's talks and on attempts by warlords to extend the violence beyond the borders of Natal.

● See Page 4

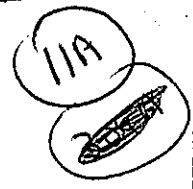
● Comment: Page 6

Armed Inkatha supporters carrying an assortment of weapons march through the streets after attending a rally in Diepkloof, Soweto, yesterday. While no incidents were reported, rumours of an impending Inkatha attack caused panic in the townships. Pic: LEN KUMALO. (Report on page 2).

# Talks

# D-D Day

*Sowetan  
6/8/90*



**THE African National Congress and the Government meet in Pretoria today in what could be the end of "talks about talks" and the beginning of fullscale negotiations.**

Both camps are expected to make major announcements at the end of the day-long meeting, paving the way for real negotiations on the future of South Africa to begin.

The ANC is expected to announce a ceasefire or the end of the

**By SY MAKARINGE**

armed struggle while the Government is likely to agree on the release of more than 1 300 political prisoners and the granting of amnesty to all exiles.

Another important feature at the talks will be the State of Emergency in Natal, which is seen by the ANC as one of the major obstacles to negotiations.

Although it appears that the Government is unlikely to end the emergency in the province, the two parties may reach an agreement on how to end the four-year carnage

which has claimed more than 4 000 lives.

Another thorny issue that is expected to come up at the talks is the call by the ANC for the intensification of sanctions against South Africa.

This is one of the issues the ANC believes forced the Government to unban the movement and other organisations.

The ANC has said it would reconsider its position on the issue once it was convinced that irreversible change had taken place in the country.

● To Page 2

**Talks**  
**begin**  
**today**  
*Sowetan 6/8/90*

**From Page 1**

Depending on what it means by irreversible change, the organisation is likely to announce its new position after or during the meeting.

At a recent Press conference in Johannesburg following a two-day meeting of the national executive committee of the ANC, deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela said any party that went to a negotiating table was expected to make compromises.

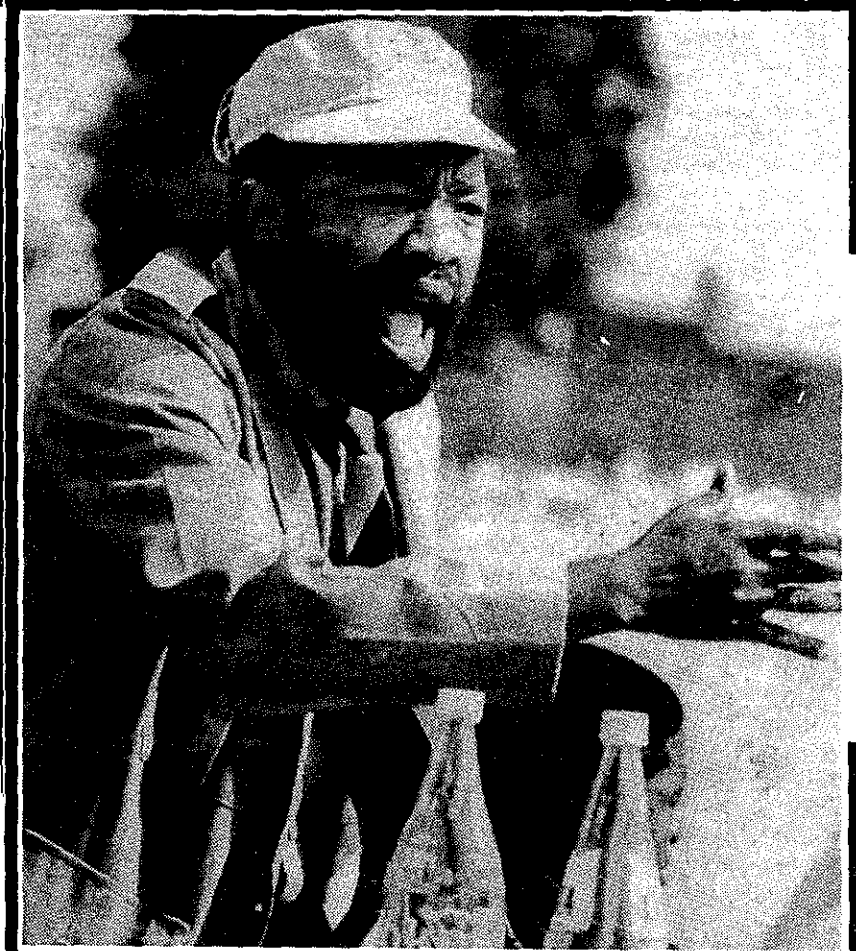
He said, however, there were other issues, such as one-person, one-vote, which were not negotiable.

The talks take place against the background of allegations of a "Red Plot" by the South African Communist Party to overthrow the Government by violent means.

The SACP has repeatedly denied this, saying this was the work of certain elements within the Government who did not wish the negotiations to succeed.

# Inkatha slams Cosatu Over

*Same day 6/8/90*  
**'war'** 



Some of the Inkatha supporters march through the streets of Diepkloof after attending rally.

**By MATSHUBE MFOLOE**

**INKATHA** yesterday slammed Cosatu and organisations loyal to the African National Congress for their campaigns to isolate the movement.

Addressing a rally in Diepkloof, Soweto, Inkatha's Reef leadership dismissed as "laughable" attempts by the Vaal Civic Organisation to stop Inkatha from operating in Sebokeng.

The meeting was attended by an armed impi of more than 3 000.

Inkatha's West Rand secretary, Mr Humphrey Ndlovu, said attacks on Inkatha members should stop and warned that his organisation would continue to mobilise its members anywhere in the country.

He said people who did not believe in the ideals of his organisation should "leave us in peace and not provoke us".

Inkatha had promoted

the concept of negotiations long before the ANC. "Inkatha is the first organisation to condemn pass laws, leaving it behind means leaving liberation behind," he said.

A spokesman for the United Workers Union of South Africa (Uwusa) criticised Cosatu for "using its workers for political gains". He attacked organisations which called for sanctions and disinvestment, saying many people were "now without jobs".

Inkatha's Youth Brigade chairman, Mr Themba Khoza, took a swipe at student organisations for "enforcing" school boycotts. He said Inkatha supported the campaign of "education for liberation" - not "liberation before education".

# The struggle 'will go on'

Sowetan 6/8/90

By MATSHUBE  
MFOLOE

TALKS might have begun but the struggle for liberation had not ended. Umkhonto we Sizwe's commander Mr Joe Modise told mourners at the funeral of four of people killed during the Inkatha-UDF battle in the Vaal triangle township a fortnight ago.

Addressing more than 5 000 people at the Evaton Stadium, Modise called for the continued formation of self-defence structures to combat "reactionary forces which were distabilsing communities".

"Oppression of our

people is still rife," he said.

He warned that the ANC would not allow the killings to go unchallenged.

Eleven other people killed during the fighting will be buried in Transkei on Saturday.

Riot and security police monitored the proceedings but kept a low profile.

An Inkatha attack feared by the organisers did not take place.

Twenty-nine people are believed to have died during the Inkatha/UDF clash on July 22.



Activists carrying coffins of the four unrest victims shoulder-high during their burial in Sebokeng at the weekend.

# Peace: Mandela

# Optimistic

The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela said he could see "no reason" why hostilities between the South African government and the ANC should not be suspended following today's talks between the two parties.

Speaking in an interview on the BBC World Service early today, Mr Mandela was optimistic. But he was adamant that the ANC's demands had to be met to avoid a return to the armed struggle.

"We want a date of granting of indemnity to all political exiles to be determined," he said. "We also want to fix a date by which all political prisoners, including those on Death Row, should be released. We are calling for a commitment from the government that there will be no further political trials.

"We are also demanding that the government should lift the state of emergency in Natal and we are asking for security legislation, which we have identified, to be repealed.

## Repeal of laws

"We accept that legislation can only be repealed during the next session of parliament, but we are going to insist on an agreement that the government is not going to use this legislation between the meeting and the date when parliament will actually repeal the legislation."

Several times during the interview, Mr Mandela insisted that the ANC's main aim was to achieve virtually an immediate end to hostilities.

He said: "If the government is prepared to move forward by way of removing these obstacles, we are prepared to make a declaration at this meeting that we are suspending the armed struggle."

However, he warned that if the government failed to dismantle apartheid, to introduce one-person-one-vote and to stop attacks on the ANC by "the police, vigilantes and rightwingers", the ANC might have to revert to force.

"You cannot expect us in that situation to call off the armed struggle," he said. "You cannot expect us to stop preparing for the moment when we will be required to take up arms to defend ourselves when the government has failed to comply with its duty."

He added: "There is no reason why we should not succeed. We are removing obstacles to negotiations precisely because we want a political settlement on the major national issues facing the country and one of these is the fact that the blacks in this country have no vote, they have no means of determining their own future.

"That is what the fight is all about. And if that is not settled, there can be no peaceful settlement in this country."

Sapa reports from Pretoria that the ANC delegation arrived in convoy at the Presidency today and were waved through after a five-minute delay while police checked their identities.

SACP general secretary Mr Joe Slovo arrived at the head of the convoy in a white BMW, followed by Mr Mandela in his red Mercedes.

The rest of the ANC team arrived in three Toyota Corollas and a minibus.

## News conference

Government officials have made arrangements at the Union Buildings for a news conference after the talks.

A government source said the government was optimistic about the outcome of the meeting. The ANC to

clearly commit itself to peaceful methods.

Tos Wentzel of the Argus Political Staff reports that a political trade-off paving the way for negotiations on constitutional reform is expected at today's talks.

The agreement will probably involve the release of political prisoners, immunity for exiles, the suspension of the armed struggle by the ANC and a government undertaking to review security legislation.

Top government sources did not foresee any problems about reaching an agreement — drawn up by a government-ANC working committee — on the release of prisoners.

The review of security legislation to remove impediments to normal political activities is also not seen as a major obstacle. Government sources said that much of this legislation is "obsolete".

## Question of violence

Apart from the ANC's armed struggle the question of violence in the country will also feature prominently at the talks. At the Groote Schuur talks in May both sides committed themselves to the resolution of the existing climate of violence and intimidation.

The government is expecting a clear commitment from the ANC not only to desist from "open physical violence" but also from what is called "disguised violence".

By this is meant various strategies to make the country ungovernable such as intimidation, rent boycotts, school def-

ance campaigns, strikes and stayaways.

The government also expects the ANC to commit itself to peaceful negotiations in word and deed. This means that it should force its followers to stop taking part in efforts to make the country ungovernable.

● See page 11.



FACE TO FACE: President De Klerk and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela and their teams face each other at the start of today's talks.



## 'Arm yourselves with books'

EDUCATION must be the new weapon in the liberation struggle in SA, Adelaide Tambo, wife of ANC president Oliver Tambo, said yesterday.

Tambo arrived earlier at Jan Smuts Airport after about 30 years in exile.

Speaking in the sitting room of the Mandela home in Orlando West, Soweto, where she is staying, Tambo said generations of oppressed people had waited for the day which was about to dawn.

She said she would be relaunching the ANC Women's League in Durban on Thursday. However, the future was in the hands of the children.

"Education is the new weapon in the liberation struggle. Our youth must



● TAMBO

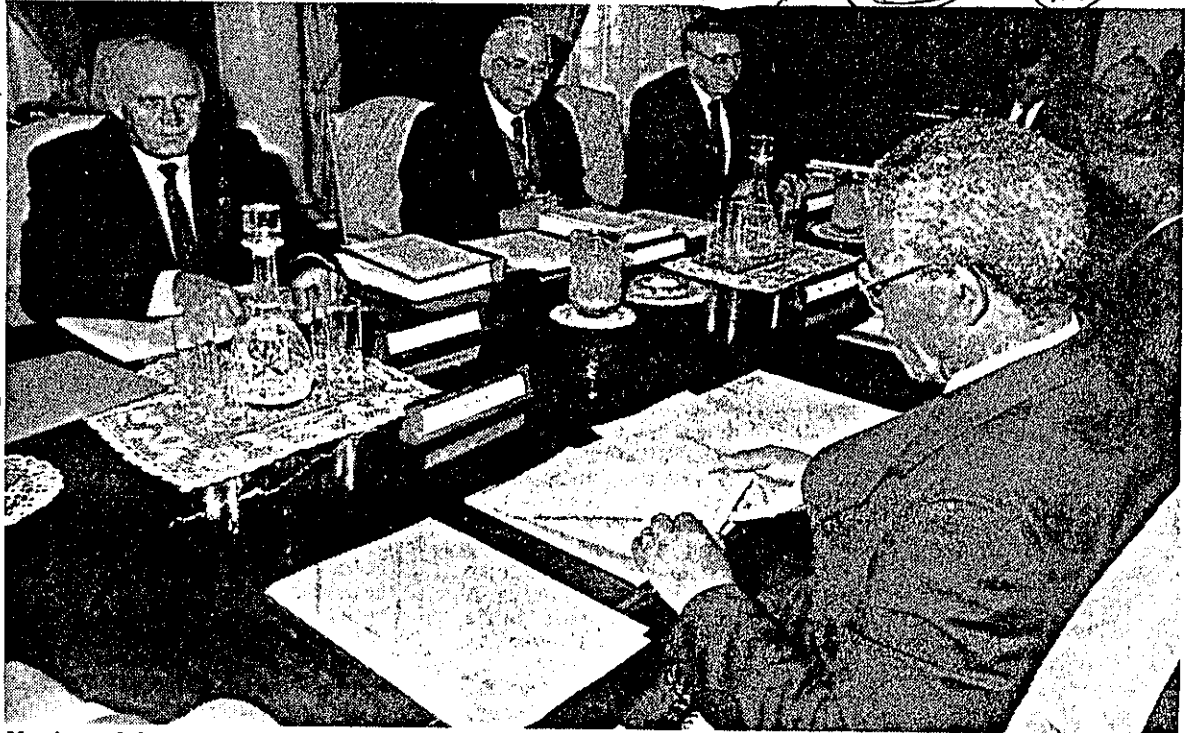
arm themselves with books."

Tambo, on her arrival at Jan Smuts, joined ANC supporters gathered there in singing Nkosi Sikelele' iAfrika. — Sapa.

81099 718190

~~118~~

118



Members of the government delegation to yesterday's talks with the ANC at the Presidensie in Pretoria, are, from left, President F W de Klerk, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok. Facing them across the table is ANC deputy president and leader of the ANC team Nelson Mandela. On his right (obscured) is ANC secretary general Alfred Nzo.

1  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6  
7  
8  
9  
10  
11  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25  
26  
27  
28  
29  
30  
31  
32  
33  
34  
35  
36  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60  
61  
62  
63  
64  
65  
66  
67  
68  
69  
70  
71  
72  
73  
74  
75  
76  
77  
78  
79  
80  
81  
82  
83  
84  
85  
86  
87  
88  
89  
90  
91  
92  
93  
94  
95  
96  
97  
98  
99  
100

7/8/90 (IA) (S) (S)

## 'Youth must arm themselves with books'

Education must be the new weapon in the liberation struggle in South Africa, Adelaide Tambo, wife of ANC President Oliver Tambo, said yesterday.

Speaking in Orlando West, Soweto, Mrs Tambo, who arrived earlier in the day after some 30 years in exile, said generations of oppressed people had waited for the day which was about to dawn.

"For decades we have tried to bring this government to the table for talks. Now at last South Africa is on the right track."

She said the future was in the hands of the children.

"If they are not educated the years of struggle will be jeopardised. Education is the new weapon in the liberation struggle and our youth must arm themselves with books."

Speaking of the women's role in the struggle, Mrs Tambo said without women the defiance campaign would never have got off the ground.

Sitting around her were former comrades who had taken risks when they launched the first consumer boycotts in the Vaal area and burnt their passes.

"Each phase of the struggle needs a different strategy. Today there are the talks, tomorrow we will construct a new non-racial and democratic South Africa for all the people," she said.

Mrs Tambo arrived at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday morning and joined the scores of ANC supporters in the singing of Nkosi Sikelele iAfrica. — Sapa.

8-7/8/90 (11A) (S) (S)

## 'Youth must arm themselves with books'

Education must be the new weapon in the liberation struggle in South Africa, Adelaide Tambo, wife of ANC President Oliver Tambo, said yesterday.

Speaking in Orlando West, Soweto, Mrs Tambo, who arrived earlier in the day after some 30 years in exile, said generations of oppressed people had waited for the day which was about to dawn.

"For decades we have tried to bring this government to the table for talks. Now at last South Africa is on the right track."

She said the future was in the hands of the children.

"If they are not educated the years of struggle will be jeopardised. Education is the new weapon in the liberation struggle and our youth must arm themselves with books."

Speaking of the women's role in the struggle, Mrs Tambo said without women the defiance campaign would never have got off the ground.

Sitting around her were former comrades who had taken risks when they launched the first consumer boycotts in the Vaal area and burnt their passes.

"Each phase of the struggle needs a different strategy. Today there are the talks, tomorrow we will construct a new non-racial and democratic South Africa for all the people," she said.

Mrs Tambo arrived at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday morning and joined the scores of ANC supporters in the singing of Nkosi Sikelele iAfrica. — Sapa.

# Kagiso: 10 die in fighting

APT 70475 7/8/90  
11A

JOHANNESBURG. — The death toll from faction fighting in Kagiso, near Krugersdorp, had reached 10 by late yesterday, while 57 others were arrested on charges of public violence.

Police said the bodies of four men were discovered in the township at about 9am, and that all these victims appeared to have been shot by unknown gunmen.

Four other people died when fighting broke out on Sunday between alleged members of Inkatha and of the ANC.

Police also said a man was shot dead yesterday, and another slightly injured, when police fired shotguns after tearsmoke and rubber bullets failed to "have the desired effect" on a mob gathered illegally at the Kagiso Hostel.

Another body was found in the vicinity of the hostel with stab wounds, a police statement said.

The feuding in Kagiso, which started at the local hostel where Inkatha members are believed to have clashed with opponents on Sunday, left many people injured, although police said they did not have immediate figures.

The streets of Kagiso teemed with heavily armed members of the two factions yesterday, and police cordoned off the area and turned away vehicles wishing to enter the township.

The violence is the latest and bloodiest round in clashes between Inkatha and ANC organisations since 22 people died in faction fighting in Sebokeng near Vereeniging last month. — Sapa



**ZULU WARRIORS . . .** Armed Inkatha members at a rally in Soweto at the weekend.

Picture: REUTER

CAT 7/13 7/18/90  
Stompie killer called  
Winnie 'mommy'

JOHANNESBURG. — Mandela Football Club coach Jerry Richardson, guilty of murdering 14-year-old activist Stompie Seipei, was a violent and aggressive man of below average intelligence who depended on Mrs Winnie Mandela to the extent that he called her "mommy".

This was said by clinical psychologist Ms Midge Doepel, whose report on Richardson was submitted to the Rand Supreme Court yesterday in extenuation of sentence.

Richardson was found guilty in May this year of kidnapping and assaulting three youths, attempting to murder one of them and murdering Stompie, the child anti-apartheid activist.

During his three-week trial in May it was disclosed that Stompie and three other youths were assaulted with sjamboks in Mrs Mandela's Diepkloof house during a brutal and bloody torture session which left the walls of a room in the house splattered with blood.

Ms Doepel said Richardson's judgment was clouded, that he lacked insight, displayed aggressive tendencies, accepted violence as a norm and was apparently prompted in his actions by a need for Mrs Mandela's approval. — Sapa

# Big increase in political deaths

CAPT Tait  
7/8/90

11A ~~276~~

By BARRY STREEK  
POLITICAL violence claimed more lives — 1 591 — in the first six months of this year than in the whole of last year, the South African Institute of Race Relations said yesterday.

The figure for the whole of 1989 was 1 403, it said in a statement issued in Johannesburg.

This year three-quarters of the deaths had occurred in Natal, but the levels of violence had been reduced in

the last three months of this period.

Countrywide, there were a third fewer fatalities in April, May and June than in the first three months of the year.

In Natal the number of killings had dropped by 26% if the second three months of the year were compared with the first three.

The total number of deaths in political violence since its outbreak in September 1984

and the end of June 1990 was 7 130.

In the first six months of this year 48 people had been murdered by the "necklace" method, most of them in Natal. However, necklacings had also taken place on the Reef, in the Free State and in Transkei.

The total number of necklace murders between September 1984 and the end of June of this year was 454, the institute said.

The Eastern Cape alone accounted for nearly a third

of all necklacings. The second-highest number occurred in the far Northern Transvaal and Natal was third.

Deaths in Natal this year had peaked at 291 in March, but dropped steadily to 118 in June.

Outside Natal, deaths had peaked at 167 in March, dropped to 31 in June but in July this figure had almost tripled to 92, the institute said.

# Signs of progress as crucial govt-ANC talks continue into the night

PRETORIA — Crucial talks between government and the ANC taking place at the old Presidency yesterday continued late into the night amid indications that substantial progress was being made in removing obstacles to negotiations.

At the time of going to press the talks, which began at 9am, had resumed after a dinner break. Government spokesmen said they had no idea how long into the night the talks would last.

The ANC had committed itself to considering a suspension of hostilities if agreement was reached at yesterday's meeting on removing the obstacles it had identified as preventing negotiations.

These were: the freeing of political prisoners, the return of exiles, the scrapping of security legislation inhibiting free political activity and the ending of the emergency in Natal.

The main item on the agenda yesterday was a report by a working group appointed at Groote Schuur to come up with an agreed definition of a political offence. If the report is accepted, it will result in the freeing of hundreds of political prisoners and the return of thousands of exiles.

In compiling its report the working group drew heavily on the work of Danish jurist Carl Norgaard, who was asked by the UN in Namibia to draw up guidelines

MIKE ROBERTSON

on what constituted a political offence.

Among the issues Norgaard believed needed to be taken into account when deciding if a person qualified as a political offender were:

- The motivation of an offence;
- The political objective;
- The legal and factual nature of an offence, including its gravity;
- The object of an offence; and
- The relationship between an offence and the political objective being pursued.

A committee of local jurists is likely to be appointed to apply the guidelines and

decide which individuals qualify for release or amnesty.

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee was also expected to outline plans to remove aspects of security legislation that inhibit free political activity.

The ANC was expected to demand that these aspects not be applied in the period prior to their scrapping during the next parliamentary session.

The most contentious issue on yesterday's agenda was expected to be the continuing state of emergency in Natal.

While the ANC insists that the emergency has done nothing to stop violence in the province, government appears adamant

that it is needed.

Before the meeting, however, sources on both sides believed a way around the problem could be found — possibly by securing a joint commitment to work together to stamp out violence in the troubled province and in other unrest areas.

Government was also expected to insist on a firm commitment to peaceful negotiations from the ANC, especially in the light of the police's recent uncovering of an alleged insurgency plot.

The government delegation consists of President F W de Klerk, Foreign Minister Pik Botha, Constitutional Development

□ To Page 2

## Govt-ANC talks

Minister Gerrit Viljoen, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Coetsee.

Sapa reports that the ANC delegation arrived in convoy and was waved through after a five-minute delay while police checked their identities.

SACP general secretary Joe Slovo arrived at the head of the convoy in a white

BMW, followed by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela in his red Mercedes-Benz. The other ANC delegation members, secretary-general Alfred Nzo, international affairs director Thabo Mbeki and Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Joe Modise, rode in lesser cars.

● Comment: Page 8

6/10 day 7/18/90

11A

From Page 1

5/10 day 7/18/90



# Crossroads peacemaker is quitting

CAH TmH 7/8/90 (119)

By CHRIS BATEMAN

AS violence flared again in Old Crossroads, the man who tried to bring about peace in the township said he was quitting.

Two people were murdered in the township at the weekend, prompting an angry mediator, Mr Johnson Mpukumpa, to withdraw from peace undertakings.

Blaming "power-mongers" for the violence, Mr Mpukumpa, chairman of the Western Cape Hostel Dwellers' Association, said it was "senseless to continue with something that is not being honoured".

He was referring to verbal peace undertakings by rival leaders, Mayor Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana and breakaway headman Mr Jeffry Nongwe, a month ago at a meeting with the Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs, Mr Hernus Kriel.

However, he said he would make a last-ditch effort to get the monitoring group and both leaders together on Thursday.

Several shots were heard in Old Crossroads yesterday and a home in Section One was gutted. The renewed outbreak began on Saturday night when an in-law of one of Mr Ngxobongwana's committee was shot in the head at point-blank range.

On Sunday about 1pm a male supporter of Mr Nongwe was shot in the head. Yesterday one of Mr Ngxobonwana's bodyguards was arrested by detectives and an R1 rifle confiscated.

● 10 die in Kagiso fighting — Page 2

YOU PA



Jane  
Seymo



SAV



per



ad



Search



SEARCH



# Late-night bid to make peace

CAT Times 7/8/90

11A

Political Staff

**PRETORIA.** — Hopes for a dramatic breakthrough were rising yesterday as the peace talks between the government and the ANC continued late into the night.

There were indications that substantial progress was being made in removing obstacles to negotiations.

At the time of going to press the talks, which began at 9am yesterday, were still continuing.

The ANC had committed itself to considering a suspension of hostilities if agreement was reached at yesterday's meeting in removing the obstacles it had identified as preventing negotiations.

These were: Freeing political prisoners, return of exiles, scrapping security legislation which inhibits free political activity and ending the emergency in Natal.

The main item on the agenda of yesterday's talks was a report by a working group appointed at Groote Schuur to come up with an agreed definition of a political offence.

If the report is accepted it will result in the freeing of hundreds of political prisoners and the return of thousands of exiles.

## Offer to end the armed struggle — Mandela

From JAN HOBBS

**LONDON.** — Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday told BBC-TV that a formal suspension of 30 years of the ANC guerilla warfare was on offer in the talks with the government.

The ANC deputy president said the offer stood if the government agreed on terms for the return of exiles, the freeing of bombers and

hundreds of other jailed members and stripped the police of their remaining powers of oppression.

Emphasising that the ANC was prepared to cease its policy of armed struggle, Mr Mandela told BBC reporter Mr James Robbins: "That is our intention. If the government is prepared to move forward by way of removing these obstacles, we are prepared to make

a declaration at this meeting that we have suspended the armed struggle."

Suspension of the armed struggle policy would be a major breakthrough and "real political prize" for President De Klerk, said the BBC.

Senior political sources here said they shared the hopes of both sides to achieve a breakthrough.

In compiling its report the working group drew heavily on the work of Danish jurist Mr Carl Norgaard who was asked by the UN in Namibia to draw up guidelines as to what constituted a political offence.

Among the issues which Mr Norgaard believed needed to be taken into account when deciding if a person qualified as a political offender were:

- ① The motivation of an offence.
- ② The political objective.

③ The legal and factual nature of an offence, including its gravity.

④ The object of an offence.

⑤ The relationship between an offence and the political objective being pursued.

A committee of local jurists is likely to be appointed to apply the guidelines and decide which individual cases qualify for release or amnesty.

The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, was also

expected to outline plans to remove aspects of security legislation that inhibit free political activity.

The ANC was expected to demand that these aspects be not applied in the period before their scrapping during the next parliamentary session.

The most contentious issue on yesterday's agenda was expected to be the continuing state of emergency in Natal.

While the ANC insists that the emergency has done nothing to stop violence in the province, government appears adamant that it is needed.

Before the meeting, however, sources on both sides believed that a way around the problem could be found — possibly by securing a joint commitment to work together to stamp out violence in the troubled province in particular, as well as other unrest areas in the country.

The government was also expected to insist on a firm commitment to peaceful negotiations from the ANC, especially in the light of the police's recent uncovering of an alleged insurgency plot.

The hundreds of foreign and local media representatives who arrived to cover the talks were prevented from entering the Presidency.

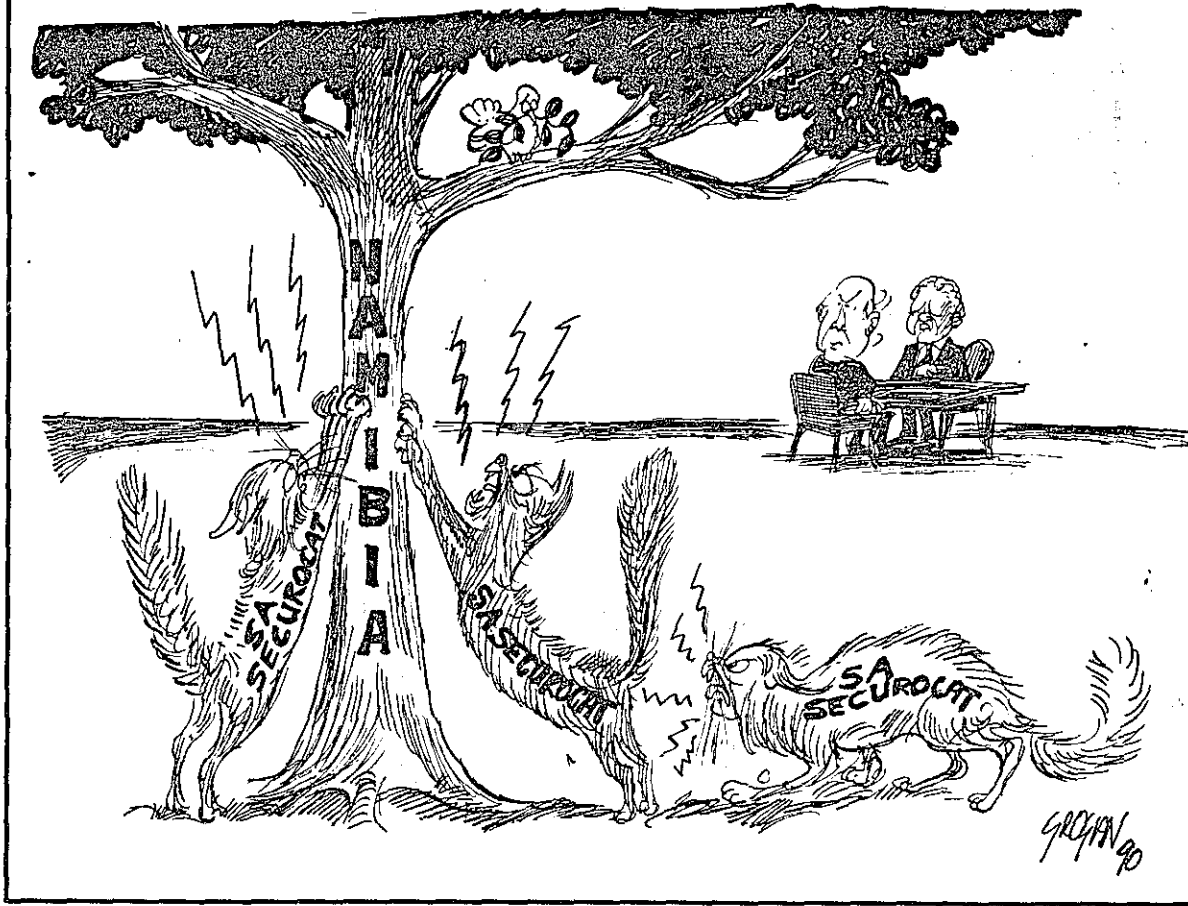
They waited at the the nearby Union Buildings where a joint press conference was scheduled to take place after the conclusion of the talks.

# BEWARE SABOTEURS ON THE SIDELINES — SLOVO



MANDELA AND SLOVO

**CHRIS ERASMUS** conducted this interview with the Secretary-General of the South African Communist Party, Mr Joe Slovo, on behalf of the publication USA Today



**CE:** Where do you see the current preliminary talks between the ANC and the De Klerk administration taking South Africa?

**JS:** If the current talks do not result in a negotiated solution very soon the peace process may well go awry. We don't have much time.

Despite the recent unhappy events (allegations by the SA police and government that Slovo and the SACP were involved in an insurrection plot should negotiations fail) both sides remain committed to a negotiated solution. I believe there is a basis on which to look forward to success in this endeavour but we must move as quickly as possible because of the short time available and because there are too many forces on the sidelines trying to sabotage the talks — not only on the

# 'No time to waste' in negotiating a solution

CHRIS ERASMUS 7/8/90 (11P)

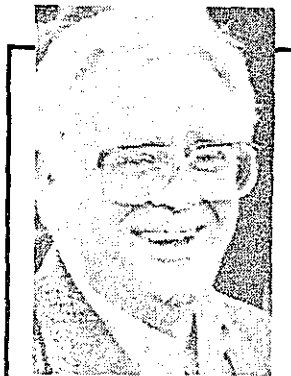


Comments about fighting after an ANC-government ceasefire were made in the context of ongoing conflict in Natal. To the prospect that the warlords there will continue the killing, came the response that people under attack would not and could not be expected to abide by a ceasefire. The other confusion arising



tween the economic needs of the people and the need to have business ticking over; there must be business confidence but business has to understand that this is a two-way street and that there must be confidence by the people in business.

**CE:** What about nationalisa-



"I haven't yet lived in an African state which has practised true socialism. What has failed in Africa is

# 'No time to waste' in negotiating a solution

CAF Tint's 7/8/90 11A

CE: Where do you see the current preliminary talks between the ANC and the De Klerk administration taking South Africa?

JS: If the current talks do not result in a negotiated solution very soon the peace process may well go awry. We don't have much time.

Despite the recent unhappy events (allegations by the SA police and government that Slovo and the SACP were involved in an insurrection plot should negotiations fail) both sides remain committed to a negotiated solution. I believe there is a basis on which to look forward to success in this endeavour but we must move as quickly as possible because of the short time available and because there are too many forces on the sidelines trying to sabotage the talks — not only on the Right but also in what you might term the collective opposition (to apartheid). There are just too many inponderables and therefore there is a need for rapid movement forward.

CE: Would you like to comment on the South African Police/government allegations of the existence of a "red plot" and your involvement in it?

JS: I believe this allegation to be the effect of a combination of a deliberate attempt to derail the talks and of misinformation. There are certainly some in the police force who consider the SACP to be dangerous and who were, therefore, trying to split the ANC/SACP alliance. But, I am sure, this whole business has also been the result of some naivete. We feel most of the people around (President F W) De Klerk are with him, although we aren't so sure about (Defence Minister General Magnus) Malan. We wouldn't be surprised if Malan was supportive of this campaign against the SACP. Part of the military intelligence and security establishment left over from the (former President P W) Botha era may also be trying to undermine the peace process.

CE: Do you deny the existence of the plot altogether?

JS: If you read the Tongaat minutes (the record of the meeting in the Natal province at



"We must keep a balance between the economic needs of the people and the need to have business ticking over."

Comments about fighting after an ANC-government ceasefire were made in the context of on-going conflict in Natal. To the prospect that the warlords there will continue the killing, came the response that people under attack would not and could not be expected to abide by a ceasefire. The other confusion arising out of the police allegations concerns the Tongaat meeting and Operation Vula (said by police to be the code name for the insurrection plot). Where there were SACP members involved in this operation, they were involved as members of the ANC, and in any other operation or at any other organisational level of the ANC. It was not, therefore, an SACP plan. Furthermore, the NEC had given (ailing ANC president Oliver) Tambo full powers in 1987 to return leadership structures to the country to rebuild the ANC's underground organisation. As a member of the NEC, I was asked to assist him in that process and he was asked to involve whoever he wanted to at his discretion. When he had his stroke the whole operation was taken over by (ANC secretary-general) Alfred Nzo. So you see it wasn't an SACP project at all. Mac Maharaj (NEC member and SACP office bearer who was detained by police at the height of the row over the plot allegations) was first to volunteer to come back into South Africa and he did this in 1987. He has been here since, rebuilding the ANC's underground structures under the very noses of the South African Police. Part of that operation was to build up a stock of weaponry if there was a need to intensify the armed struggle. This was



"Both in the post-apartheid society and ultimately in a socialist South Africa, there must be multi-party politics."

an organisational project of the ANC from the start and had nothing to do with the Tongaat meeting.

CE: On August 6, five-man teams under President De Klerk and Mr Mandela will meet for the second round of preliminary talks. It is widely rumoured that those talks, should all go well, will ratify a compromise worked out by the joint ANC-government working party set up after the first round of talks in early May. That agreement should see most of the more than 3 000 political prisoners identified by the ANC released, most exiles returned and a halt to political trials in exchange for a suspension of the armed struggle. Is that accurate?

JS: Yes, that is what is expected.

CE: When do you anticipate constitutional talks beginning?

JS: I would say the process must begin almost immediately. Although the ANC and government are not the only factors in this process, these two players must begin moving right away, but they must also do so in a way which does not bind other parties. I believe if these two actors can reach even half an accommo-

tween the economic needs of the people and the need to have business ticking over; there must be business confidence but business has to understand that this is a two-way street and that there must be confidence by the people in business.

CE: What about nationalisation? Will this be a dominant or major theme of the new economic system which you envisage?

JS: Nationalisation is not regarded by the SACP as an "open sesame" for the economy. It is not a magic formula which will create wealth where there is none. It's a phrase which has become over-worked and over-used. There has to be some state participation if imbalances between the races are to be redressed. Only through some state participation can this be achieved. Whether this will take some form of nationalisation, as it is likely to do in some sectors, or joint ventures is again a matter for negotiation and debate. But the correction of historic imbalances must be done without causing economic chaos. In any case, I don't think very much changes if a factory is transferred from ownership and control by a board of directors to control by a board of bureaucrats — this has little impact on the workers in that factory. One needs dialogue on all these questions; the sooner we get down to specifics the better.

CE: What about the political topography?

JS: Both in the post-apartheid society and ultimately in a socialist South Africa, there must be multi-party politics. We are absolutely convinced that no party has the right to rule through being unchallenged.

JS: Yes, that is what is expected.



"I haven't yet lived in an African state which has practised true socialism. What has failed in Africa is capitalism not socialism."

CE: Isn't that exactly what the government is saying it wants in a bill of rights?

JS: No. This isn't that same thing at all. The government wants to protect minority privileges. We think the bill of rights should be entrenched and justiciable.

CE: There have been clerical voices raised since the relaunch of the SACP which have expressed concern over the possibility of an SACP-dominated ANC government outlawing or restricting religious freedom in SA. What is your response to such fears?

JS: These people haven't got anything to fear. We unconditionally accept religious freedom as part of those rights which should be entrenched permanently in the future constitution. And we also think religious belief is a personal matter and that the state ought not to interfere with this.

CE: Having lived in Zambia and other Frontline black states which have disabled economies because of one-party rule and administrative incompetence, are you and the SACP in general "cured" of the need to impose the old-style African socialism in SA?

JS: I haven't yet lived in an African state which has practised true socialism. What has failed in Africa is capitalism not socialism. However long I've lived in Zambia, Mozambique and other countries in the region, I haven't yet found a slum such as exists today in Alexandra (a large township on the outskirts of Johannesburg). Even



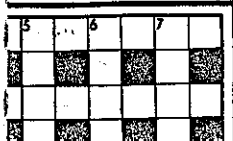
## Target

HOW many words of four letters or more can you make from the letters shown here? In making a word, each letter may be used once only. Each word must contain the white letter, and there must be at least one nine-letter word in the list. No plurals ending in S; no foreign words; no words with initial capital; no hyphenated words. Every word is in Chambers Concise Dictionary 1989.

TODAY'S TARGET: 14 words, good; 18 words, very

## Black Viewpoint

IF THE outcome of today's (Monday's) meeting between the government and the ANC did not go far enough, the anxieties and concerns of many people may find expression in an outpouring of anger and even violence, New Nation commented.



...Magnus? Malan: He wouldn't be surprised if Malan was supportive of this campaign against the SACP. Part of the military intelligence and security establishment left over from the (former President P.W.) Botha era may also be trying to undermine the peace process.

**CE:** Do you deny the existence of the plot altogether?

**JS:** If you read the Tongaat minutes (the record of the meeting in the Natal province at

...De Klerk. But individual members at that meeting did raise, as in any such meeting, the possibility that negotiations might go awry and that the armed struggle might then have to be continued. But it is an outrageous inference to suggest that the meeting was a plot to carry out an insurrection. One of the biggest distortions is the suggestion that anyone at that meeting said we would not be bound by a ceasefire.

...haraj (NEC member and SACP office bearer who was detained by police at the height of the row over the plot allegations) was first to volunteer to come back into South Africa and he did this in 1987. He has been here since, rebuilding the ANC's underground structures under the very noses of the South African Police. Part of that operation was to build up a stock of weaponry if there was a need to intensify the armed struggle. This was

...second round of preliminary talks. It is widely rumoured that those talks, should all go well, will ratify a compromise worked out by the joint ANC-government working party set up after the first round of talks in early May. That agreement should see most of the more than 3 000 political prisoners identified by the ANC released, most exiles returned and a halt to political trials in exchange for a suspension of the armed struggle. Is that accurate?

**JS:** Yes, that is what is expected.

**CE:** When do you anticipate constitutional talks beginning?

**JS:** I would say the process must begin almost immediately. Although the ANC and government are not the only factors in this process, these two players must begin moving right away, but they must also do so in a way which does not bind other parties. I believe if these two actors can reach even half an accommodation we (the ANC) are on the way to involving many other forces which are not presently involved and this is true for the government as well. Without claiming a monopoly over the process, there's no doubt that the starting point is an understanding of what kind of South Africa we are going towards and the mechanism by which we are to move towards that goal. There is also the issue of ratification by the people of any agreements reached by the parties involved in constitutional negotiations — perhaps through a constituent assembly or some other means. But this agreement is not going to be reached spontaneously. I believe if we can reach an agreement on the long term goals then we are half way there.

**CE:** What is the SACP's vision of the "new South Africa"?

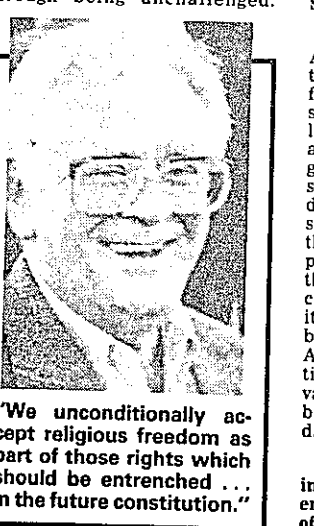
**JS:** There's not a jot of difference between ourselves and the ANC on this point. We hold certain ideals as necessary to peace and stability as well as the eradication of apartheid structures and imbalances. These include a mixed economy, a multi-party democratic system and a bill of rights. The mixed economy is one in which there will be a role for the private sector, both foreign and domestic, as well as for the state sector. The degree of the mix is a matter for debate and negotiation but there will be a continuing role for the private sector, of that there is no doubt. For this to happen a degree of business confidence will be maintained. The economic steps taken will not prevent a redistribution of wealth.

We must keep a balance be-

...part of those rights which should be entrenched permanently in the future constitution. And we also think religious belief is a personal matter and that the state ought not to interfere with this.

**CE:** Having lived in Zambia and other Frontline black states which have disabled economies because of one-party rule and administrative incompetence, are you and the SACP in general "cured" of the need to impose the old-style African socialism in SA?

**JS:** I haven't yet lived in an African state which has practised true socialism. What has failed in Africa is capitalism not socialism. However long I've lived in Zambia, Mozambique and other countries in the region, I haven't yet found a slum such as exists today in Alexandra (a large township on the outskirts of Johannesburg). Even though Tanzania and Zambia are poor as church mice, people there have more of a slice of the cake than in this country — and it does no good to say blacks live better off here than elsewhere in Africa since all things are relative anyway and it is not a relevant comparison; the fact is that blacks live at a much lower standard than whites do.



**"We unconditionally accept religious freedom as part of those rights which should be entrenched ... in the future constitution."**

Every party must be supported freely by people and be contested by other ideological formations — we're totally committed to this now and in the future. Beyond this point, the SACP's main aim is to try to rectify an imbalance in which 85% of all personal income goes to the whites and 98% of all productive property is in the ownership of whites. We must empower the disadvantaged.

**CE:** Would the SACP seriously consider using non-socialist structures to achieve these aims through systems such as that used in Germany where workers share in the ownership of their companies and have a say in decision-making at boardroom level?

**JS:** There's nothing wrong with the German system but it's not a total answer — it still leaves most of the wealth and property in the hands of the privileged.

**CE:** Please elaborate on your view of a South African bill of rights.

**JS:** This should protect minority rights, specifically language, cultural and religious freedom.

...But aren't you simply talking about a redistribution of poverty rather than a redistribution of wealth?

**JS:** We haven't got the "dead cow" approach. We don't believe in slaughtering the cow, having a feast and then starving. We are trying to work towards an equality of prosperity and not an equality of poverty.

**CE:** In conclusion, what would you like to say to Americans, white South Africans and other observers of South Africa who may fear the rise of power of the SACP?

**JS:** These people should get away from the vision of the SACP as being a "bunch of commies". Leaving aside our errors in relation to Soviet foreign policy, which get to most people and for which we should be criticised, the SACP is more popular now than it has ever been. People should see us for our role in the struggle for a non-racial democracy and against apartheid.

There has not been a single political force which has done as much in these areas as the SACP and that's how people should think of us.

### Target

HOW many words of four letters or more can you make from the letters shown here? In making a word, each letter may be used once only. Each word must contain the white letter, and there must be at least one nine-letter word in the list. No plurals ending in S; no foreign words; no words with initial capital; no hyphenated words. Every word is in Chambers Concise Dictionary 1988.

**TODAY'S TARGET:** 14 words, good; 18 words, very good; 24 words, excellent. Solution tomorrow.

**YESTERDAY'S SOLUTION:** Bonce bone bony booh boom boon coho cohos comb combo come cone coney cony cooney coomb coon ebon ebony echo economy hobo home homely homo homy hone honey HONEYCOMB hooley money mono mony mooch moon moony obey oboe ochone ohone omen once.



**DOWN**  
 ...ar, with toboggans (7)  
 ...ch one has certain time off (7)  
 ...h club suit (6)  
 ...marks? (8)  
 (6)  
 ...made to rest (6)  
 ...to upset Daphne about phys-  
 ...ation (8)  
 ...contest for fine pilots (3, 4)  
 ...and annoys (7)  
 ...ctor going around Ireland (6)  
 ...ore landing? (6)  
 ...u'll find a teacher to tell (6)

## Black Viewpoint

**IF THE outcome of today's (Monday's) meeting between the government and the ANC did not go far enough, the anxieties and concerns of many people may find expression in an outpouring of anger and even violence, New Nation commented.**

"Thousands of families across the country are fervently hoping that this meeting will finally make it possible to be re-united with loved ones from exile and the jails of apartheid.

"President FW de Klerk needs to be commended for agreeing to the talks to continue in spite of serious obstacles that are being placed on the path towards peace by some elements."

□ □ □

**NEW NATION continued:** "It has become abundantly clear there are some highly placed people in government and in the security establishment who are intent on disrupting the talks.

"The alleged 'red plot' must serve as an illustration of the time and effort that these elements have put in to derail the talks. It is disturbing that while the government takes a hard line on the so-called plotters, it makes no attempt to taking action against those in government who have repeatedly been linked to violence.

"At least two Cabinet ministers, Adriaan Vlok and Magnus Malan, have been accused of being linked to structures or to the perpetuation of violence. In spite this, there has been a deafening silence from Mr De Klerk."

□ □ □

**PEOPLE,** particularly those at the bottom rung of society, had no protection from intermittent price increases, when the economy of the country took a pounding, Sowetan said.

"While we are aware that most hospitals are struggling to meet costs, we do not see why the cost should be borne by patients, in this case people who can least afford it.

"Public mismanagement of the facilities that are a right to all the people is legendary in its waste. This was the direct result of apartheid system that duplicated facilities and at the same time caused bureaucracies to grow."

### From the Bible

**ACKNOWLEDGE** and take to heart this day that the Lord is God in heaven above and on the earth below. There is no other. (Deut 4:39)

**CRYPTIC SOLUTIONS: ACROSS:**  
 9 Rat, 10 Incessant, 11 Voile, 13 eputy, 16 Peanut, 18 Upstart, 19 esman, 21 Owe, 22 Tennis shoes, 3 Naive, 4 Oncost, 5 Festive, 6 ave doubts, 8 Street cries, 12 Impas-in, 17 Stamps, 19 Winch, 21 Ode.

# The Silent Revolution



KANE-BERMAN

THE "nation building" idea propounded by the *Sowetan* newspaper is an important revolt against the myth of black helplessness, but the going is rough for those who challenge conventional wisdoms.

This according to "South Africa's Silent Revolution", released on Tuesday by the South African Institute of Race Relations.

Its author, SA Institute of Race Relations' executive director John Kane-Berman, notes that the national building campaign is "running into heavy weather, both at home and abroad."

## Assumptions

Among prevailing attitudes, the most insidious are assumptions of black helplessness and the belief that only political activity counts, Kane-Berman believes.

He said that the *Sowetan's* editor, Mr Ag-

grey Klaaste, and assistant editor, the late Mr Sam Mabe, played an important role in highlighting the achievements of black people across a wide range of activities, and in challenging the view that "the only good black is a powerless black - exploited, banned jailed, dependent on foreign

funding or martyred."

Kane-Berman quotes Klaaste as saying, "Foreigners want us to fit into their pre-conceived ideas. When I was recently talking to American diplomats about my idea of nation-building, they did not like it at all. It did not fit into their mind-set of blacks as helpless victims of oppression."

## Leadership

One of the implications of nation-building is a much wider concept of leadership, Kane-Berman says. He quotes Klaaste:

"We seem to think that to be a leader one has to be a politician or an office bearer of a political organisation. But my con-

cept of leadership goes much further. This country has an abundance of such people. They are in business, in social, youth, cultural, sport, education and women's organisations.

"Through the *Sowetan's* philosophy of nation-building, we want to rouse such people to action."

To illustrate the extent to which black people's potential is being debilitated by outdated and often undemocratic attitudes and actions, Kane-Berman quotes extensively from Mabe's articles.

In October 1988, confronting the assumption "that unless you get banned, detained, or harassed in one form or



AGGREY KLAASTE

another by the authorities", Mabe argued that this "let some of our youngsters into taking rash actions and behaving irresponsibly in order that they can get into trouble

## Powers

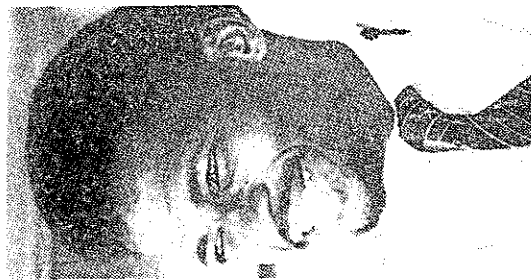


NATION BUILDING

The power is in your hands

Sowetan 7/8/90

11A



SAM MABE

Sapa

with his... visit...  
"One wonders where they get powers to ordain people as relevant or irrelevant and what criteria they use: They wait for something to happen in Pretoria and they unleash stinging condemnations."  
"They also watch out for those who oppose apartheid without conforming to conventional methods of the struggle or who do not wave party political flags. And they write them off as irrelevant."  
Mabe also observed:  
"The education crisis might get closer to resolution if the struggle for liberation in general could cease to be the monopoly of political activists or of political organisations."  
"Ordinary men and women have a role to play in the struggle, even if they are not wearing party political mantles."

# Inkatha, Government are blamed for unrest

11A  
SOWETAN  
7/8/90

**THE Government and Inkatha have come under strong criticism from the ANC for the unrest in Natal and the organisation says both groups share the blame for the violence in the province.**

The attack is contained in a statement issued by the ANC, which together with Cosatu, the South African Communist Party, UDF and other extra-parliamentary organisations took part in a peace conference in

**SOWETAN Correspondent**

Durban at the weekend. More than 370 delegates reportedly gathered at the University of Durban-Westville for the consultative conference, opened by ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela.

The ANC's regional interim leadership core member, Mr Harry Gwala, stressed the root cause of the violence was the Government's attempt to "balkanise" the country through ethnic

authorities.

He alleged the continuing abuse of traditional Zulu values and culture by Inkatha in pursuance of its political agenda was a contributory factor.

The meeting declared unanimously the deployment of the 32 Battalion from Namibia had contributed to the worsening of the violence.

However, the delegates acknowledged mounting poverty and unemployment affecting the African population in Natal were also contributing to the tensions in the region.

The conference advocated a comprehensive programme to reconstruct the shattered communities with the co-operation of the Government, the church,

business and mass democratic formations.

Earlier, Mandela briefed the meeting on yesterday's talks between the ANC and the Government and attempts by what he called "various warlords" to extend the violence outside Natal.

A key issue was the call for a meeting on Natal with State President Mr FW de Klerk. - Sapa.

## Lawyers' group agrees to extend aid to rural areas

THE National Association of Democratic Lawyers resolved in Durban at

**SOWETAN Correspondent**

He said paralegals were people who had basic legal training, usually through law firms

● Pretoria accord 'is a milestone'

● Constitutional talks start soon

# ANC agrees to lay down arms

Sec 7/8/90

11A

By Peter Fabricius,  
Political Correspondent

The ANC is "suspending all armed actions with immediate effect", thus accelerating the pace of negotiations by several months.

The dramatic decision was announced early today in a joint statement by the Government and the ANC after marathon 15-hour talks in Pretoria.

"No further armed actions and related activities by the ANC and its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe will take place", the statement said.

They two parties also announced that ANC political prisoners would be released and exiles granted indemnity from arrest in a phased process beginning from September 1.

The agreement is to be known as the Pretoria Minute.

The ANC and the Government said that, as a result of the agreement, "the way is now open to proceed to negotiations on a new constitution. Exploratory talks in this regard will be held before the next meeting, which will be soon.

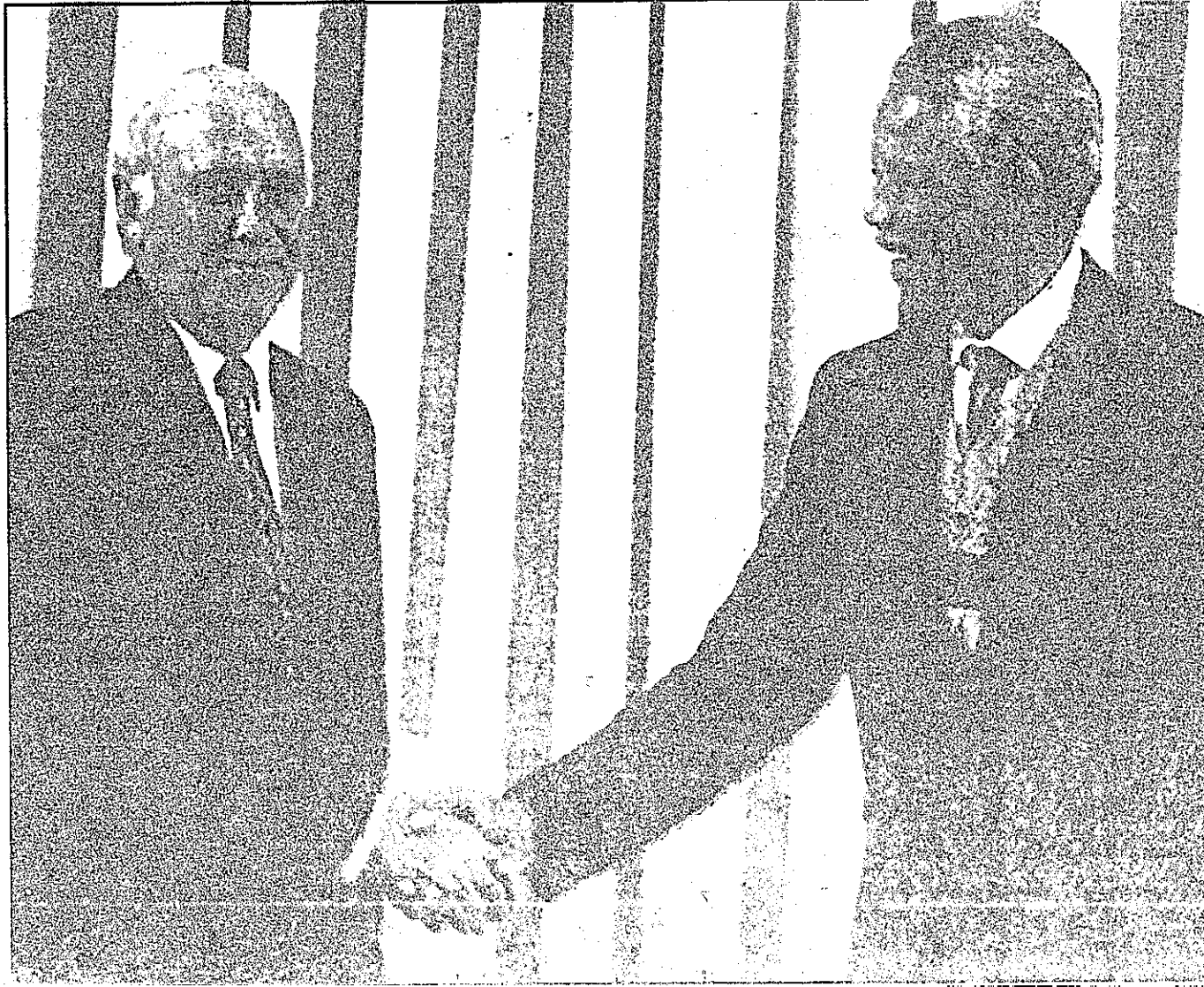
"We are convinced that what we have agreed on today can become a milestone on the road to true peace and prosperity for our country."

The meeting accepted the final report of a working group dealing with political prisoners and exiles "who committed offences on the assumption that a particular cause was being served or opposed".

The working group is to draw up a plan for the release of ANC prisoners and the granting of indemnity to ANC exiles and will report before the end of August.

## Security

On security legislation seen by the ANC as an obstacle to negotiations



Minute is  
Sec 7/8/90  
rejected  
welcomed

By Kaizer Nyatumba,  
Political Staff

A mixed welcome has greeted the midnight ceasefire.

While many organisations have congratulated the Government and the ANC, the Conservative Party (CP), and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) have criticised the agreement.

CP chief secretary A S Beyers said it was quite clear that the Government had betrayed the South African Police, and this constituted a victory for the ANC.

PAC spokesman Mark Shinnors said the PAC was not bound by the historic agreement and would continue with its armed struggle.

Democratic Party (DP) co-leader Dr Denis Worrall said the Pretoria Minute was "a very welcome development" which would bring real constitutional negotiations even closer.

The Johannesburg-based Five Freedoms Forum (FFF) also hailed the Minute, saying it was made possible by concessions on both sides.

The chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates, Dr J N Reddy, described the accord as a very significant step towards peace and stability.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu commended the ANC "very warmly" and warned the Gov



beginning from September 1.  
The agreement is to be known as the Pretoria Minute.

The ANC and the Government said that, as a result of the agreement, "the way is now open to proceed to negotiations on a new constitution. Exploratory talks in this regard will be held before the next meeting, which will be soon."

"We are convinced that what we have agreed on today can become a milestone on the road to true peace and prosperity for our country."

The meeting accepted the final report of a working group dealing with political prisoners and exiles "who committed offences on the assumption that a particular cause was being served or opposed".

The working group is to draw up a plan for the release of ANC prisoners and the granting of indemnity to ANC exiles and will report before the end of August.

## Security

On security legislation seen by the ANC as an obstacle to negotiations, the Government announced it would give immediate consideration to repealing all provisions of the Internal Security Act that:

- Referred to communism or the furthering of communism.
- Provided for a consolidated list.
- Provided for a prohibition on the publication of statements or writings of certain persons.
- Provided for a deposit before a newspaper may be registered.

The Government also promised to continue reviewing security legislation to ensure free political activity with a view to introducing amending legislation at the next session of Parliament, and undertook to consider the lifting of the state of emergency in Natal in the light of positive consequences from this accord.

On suspending the armed struggle, Mr Mandela said the ANC had made a "very significant concession".

Dealing with the release of prisoners and return of exiles, the meeting agreed on certain target dates, most of which should have been achieved by the end of this year.

Where cases had to be dealt with on an individual basis, the process would, it was hoped, be completed within six months but not later than April 30 1991.

© Pretoria Minute text — Page 2.



# ANC gives more than Govt

Political Correspondent

The African National Congress seems to have made more concessions than the Government at yesterday's talks in Pretoria.

The main prize for the Government was the ANC's announcement of an immediate ceasefire.

For the ANC, the main achievement was the Government's decision to begin releasing its political prisoners and detainees and indemnifying its exiles and others against arrest for political offences.

These two related issues formed the core of the agreement.

But this position represented a "significant concession" by the ANC in the words of deputy president Nelson Mandela, leader of the ANC delegation.

He said the ANC's official position had been that it would not announce a ceasefire until the removal of all the obstacles to negotiations which it had identified.

"But we came to the meeting having already decided we would declare a ceasefire. This is a very significant concession."

Apart from the question of prisoners and exiles, the two main obstacles to negotiation as perceived by the ANC were the continuing state of emergency in Natal and what it called "repressive" security legislation.

The Government did not lift the Natal emergency or give any firm undertaking to do so.

It stated its familiar position that it would do so as early as possible "in the light of positive consequences that should result from this accord".

Nor did the Government agree to a general moratorium on security legislation as Mr Mandela had said he would urge.

It did agree to give immediate consideration to repealing certain anomalous or rather minor aspects of the Internal Security Act.

It gave no firm undertaking on more contentious aspects such as detention without trial, but promised to continue reviewing security legislation to give more freedom to political activity.

Amending legislation would be

introduced at the next session of Parliament.

Political observers noted that the ANC's position before yesterday had been that any ceasefire should be mutual.

But the Pretoria Minute makes clear that the ceasefire was agreed by the ANC unilaterally.

All in all, the Pretoria Minute seems rather one-sided. But it might not seem so on closer scrutiny of the ANC's ceasefire.

It is by no means clear what this allows or does not allow.

Police sources expressed concern last night that the ANC's ceasefire in the Pretoria Minute might not have included the formation of underground cells.

Another Government hope that was dashed was that the ANC would provide a firm commitment to suspending its campaign of mass mobilisation, which the Government considers disguised violence.

The Pretoria Minute does provide for "mechanisms of communication" to enable public grievances to be addressed peacefully.

Shaking on it . . . President F.W. de Klerk shakes hands with ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela this morning after 16 hours of talks. The ANC said it had suspended all armed action against the Government, opening the way to negotiations about the end of apartheid.

that the Government had betrayed the South African Police, and this constituted a victory for the ANC.

PAC spokesman Mark Shinnars said the PAC was not bound by the historic agreement and would continue with its armed struggle.

Democratic Party (DP) co-leader Dr Denis Worrall said the Pretoria Minute was "a very welcome development" which would bring real constitutional negotiations even closer.

The Johannesburg-based Five Freedoms Forum (FFF) also hailed the Minute, saying it was made possible by concessions on both sides.

The chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates, Dr J.N. Reddy, described the accord as a very significant step towards peace and stability.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu commended the ANC "very warmly" and warned the Government "very sharply" that if it did not control the police, the prospects for a negotiated settlement would be wrecked.

Azanian National Youth Unity (Azanyu) vice-president Ntsie Mohloai said it was not affected by the agreement.

*Dunhill brings a new dimension of lightness to the gentle art of smoking*

Presenting

**DUNHILL**

*Light Virginia*

in the distinctive new prism pack

# Mystery 'Comrade Joe' comes in from the cold

The Star can today disclose the identity of "Comrade Joe", the man referred to in the minutes of the South African Communist Party meeting at Tongaat and mistakenly named by the police as Joe Slovo.

He is Siphiwe Nyanda, a high-ranking officer in the African National Congress's underground army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, who directed its operations in the PWV in the 1980s.

His identity was divulged to The Star by Ronnie Kasrils, a member of the SACP central committee who attended the controversial May 19-20 meeting at Tongaat.

Mr Nyanda is in detention, having been arrested by police early in July, Mr Kasrils said in an exclusive interview, the first he has given since he went into hiding after the detention of "Mac" Maharaj, another top SACP man, on July 25.

Mr Kasrils, Umkhonto we Sizwe's intelligence chief until 1988, gave further and, if true, startling details about Operation Vula, the ANC's 1987 campaign to build up its underground structures and the closed SACP meeting at Tongaat.

## Underground

Operation Vula was launched by an ANC presidential committee headed by Oliver Tambo in 1987 with two objectives: to strengthen underground structures and, more important, to establish an internally based leadership to direct ANC operations from inside South Africa.

Operation Vula was directed by seven men. Mr Tambo, Mr Slovo, Mr Alfred Nzo, the ANC general secretary, and Mr Thomas Nkobi, the ANC treasurer, supervised operations from the outside, while Mr Kasrils, Mr Maharaj and Mr Nyanda were selected to oversee operations from inside South Africa.

By the end of 1989 the trio given the mandate to return to South Africa were fulfilling their task from within, Mr Kasrils said.

After the Groote Schuur talks between the Government and the ANC on May 2 to 4, indemnity was granted to the ANC national executive by President F W de Klerk.

Mr Kasrils and Mr Maharaj are on the ANC executive. Mr Nyanda is not.

Mr Kasrils recalled remarking jokingly to Mr Nyanda: "We are legal but you are not."

But, Mr Kasrils said, he and Mr Maharaj had, to leave South Africa secretly so that they could return legally.

Mr Kasrils went on to talk about the secret meeting of the SACP at Tongaat, emphatically denying that it was called to plan for the seizure of power.

The meeting, attended by 18

SACP central committee member and a pivotal figure in the ANC's Operational Vula, Ronnie Kasrils, comes out of hiding to talk to The Star about the SACP meeting at Tongaat in May.

PATRICK LAURENCE reports.



Ronnie Kasrils ... Revealed identity of 'Comrade Joe'.

delegates, including the trio of leaders who directed Operation Vula from within, was held in secret as a precautionary measure, not to conspire.

The SACP, still uncertain of Mr de Klerk's sincerity and fearful of a possible right-wing coup, had decided to be prudent, Mr Kasrils said.

He named key items on the agenda. They included: discussion on the general political situation; lessons of Eastern Europe; establishment of a more democratic SACP; public launching of the SACP as a legal party; fund-raising, and review of the SACP programme *The Path to Power*, adopted in Havana in April 1989.

The Tongaat meeting was not mandated to take binding decisions.

It could make recommendations only. Thus, whatever hard-line statements might have been made during discussions were, "nothing more than rhetoric".

Minutes of the meeting ran to 350 pages but the police in

their public disclosures had concentrated on three statements and taken them "out of context", Mr Kasrils said.

The three statements, with Mr Kasrils's comments, are listed below:

- The chairman's remarks that the meeting was a closed one and that the names of those present could therefore not be disclosed. There was nothing intrinsically sinister about that.
- A pronouncement by "Comrade Joe" that a ceasefire was not binding on people who had to defend themselves.

His remark was made about a possible ceasefire in the Natal civil war, not a ceasefire between the Government and the ANC. It applied to people who might find themselves under attack by "warlords" in the Natal conflict.

- A discourse of the seizure of power by "Comrade Gene", alias Mr Kasrils. But Comrade Gene was not advocating the seizure of power: he was outlining the "insurrectionary thesis" set forth in *The Path to Power*, which was drawn up when there appeared to be little or no prospect of a negotiated settlement.

## Reconsider

He had to do so to facilitate discussion of the programme and the need to reconsider it in the light of the changed situation.

Mr Kasrils contended that the police had fused two separate events: Operation Vula, launched by the ANC in 1987 and still in process because no ceasefire had yet been agreed, and the Tongaat meeting called by the SACP to discuss the changed situation since the lifting of the ban on the party.

He offered two explanations for what he considered to be a major police blunder, as epitomised by their erroneous identification of "Comrade Joe" as Joe Slovo.

Either the police had deliberately and "treacherously manipulated information against their own president" or they were "victims of their own propaganda" who, prompted by the word "Joe", forgot or ignored the facts and rushed to Mr de Klerk, boasting that they had the "SACP on the hook".

Mr Kasrils inclined to the second explanation, commenting: "It is a disease suffered by fascists."

He elaborated: "Their professionalism as police is undermined by their political ignorance and paranoia about 'Reds'."

They make a breakthrough by uncovering an ANC underground structure, largely because of mistakes by our comrades. Then they cock it up because of their political mythology."

# Great

Pretoria  
talks about  
talks

mocracy starts with free speech and an independent media giving the public a full range of opinions and information.

This campaign is part of our Nation Building programme this year and the climax will be a conference on freedom of speech during the Nation Building Festival in October.

●The article intended for publication today has been held over until tomorrow because of technical problems.

Sowetan 7/8/90

# expectations

THERE were great expectations as the second round of preliminary talks between the Government and the ANC continued in Pretoria late last night.

A Government source said

the Government was optimistic about the outcome of the meeting, but expected the ANC to clearly commit itself to peaceful methods.

He said while State President FW de Klerk had gone further in his reform moves than most people expected, certain ANC figures still

used damaging rhetoric out of line with the provisions and spirit of the Grootse Schuur Minute.

He confirmed the two teams would return to the matters outlined in the Grootse Schuur Minute, namely:

\* The definition of political of-

● To Page 2



The Government and African National Congress delegations in the conference room of the Presidensie building in building in Pretoria yesterday. President FW de Klerk and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela face each other across the table. Next to De Klerk are Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen and Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok. Next to Mandela (partly obscured) is ANC general secretary Mr Alfred Nzo.

FOSTER'S THE TAXI PEOPLE

Attention all SABTA members  
(For this month only)

## Government and ANC talk again

● From Page 1  
fences in order to grant amnesty to ANC members, and matters related thereto, such as the repatriation of exiles and the release of prisoners;

\* A review of security legislation;

\* The lifting of the State of Emergency in Natal; and

\* The establishment of efficient channels of communication between the Government and the ANC.

He said the Government was keen to remove obstacles to talks, so the

parties could start discussing the structure of future negotiations.

"Time is of the essence. We would like to start as soon as possible."

Government officials have made arrangements at the Union Buildings for a news conference after the talks.

The ANC delegation arrived in convoy at the Presidensie Government guest house yesterday and were waved through after a five-minute delay while police checked their identities.

- Supia.

FOSTER



FOSTER

# Stompie murderer would die for Winnie Mandela, court told

The Argus Correspondent

ABW 7/8/90 (11A) (S) (S)  
JOHANNESBURG. — Jerry Vusi Muzi Richardson, former coach of the Mandela Football Club, "fears and admires Winnie Mandela so much that he feels the need to protect her, even to the point of dying for his struggle," clinical psychologist Mrs Midge Doepel said.

Richardson, 41, was convicted in May of having murdered Stompie Seipei, 14. He was found guilty on 10 other counts, including kidnapping, assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm and attempted murder.

Yesterday the trial resumed after a postponement requested by the defence. This stage of the trial is to establish whether there were any extenuating circumstances in the murder.

In his judgment, handed down on May 25, Mr B O'Donovan made two special findings. First, that Mrs Mandela must have been present at her

Diepkloof house on the night of December 29, 1988, for at least part of the time that Stompie and three other youths were assaulted.

The Attorney General has said he would make no decision on whether Mrs Mandela should be prosecuted until after he has studied the outcome of this trial.

The second special finding was that there was no truth in the allegation that the four youths had participated in sexual misconduct with Methodist minister, the Rev Paul Verryn, the alleged reason for their kidnapping from the manse. It was also alleged Stompie was a police informer.

Mrs Doepel told the court Richardson was mildly retarded with a practical IQ of 63. But under cross-examination by Mr C van Vuren for the State, Mrs Doepel conceded that Richardson was not so retarded that he was unfit to stand trial.

Richardson was not keen to co-operate with testing, Mrs Doepel said.

His remark that he was "not going to do school work" showed an underlying sense of inadequacy, she said.

Under cross-examination she conceded that his remark "I can't do it, my mind is running away with me" could have meant he was anxious about the trial.

## LACK OF REMORSE

Mrs Doepel said soccer was the only area where Richardson had a positive identity and a lack of identity left him open to easy influence by others.

"That he lived in Mrs Mandela's house and that she accepted him were status symbols to him. He appears to idolise Mrs Mandela," Mrs Doepel said.

The only guilt he expressed was about how Stompie's mother must feel. Otherwise his lack of remorse was tied in with a personality disorder which included elements of psychopathy, although Richardson was not a certifiable psychopath.

Richardson's childhood was deprived, emotionally and physically, Mrs Doepel said, and he was exposed to a sub-culture which accepted violence as the norm.

Richardson hated informers and believed the rumour that Stompie was an informer.

Under cross-examination she conceded hatred of informers was a norm and not limited to Richardson.

(Proceeding.)

8/18/90 (11A)

# FW to meet Natal leaders, says Slovo

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — President de Klerk has agreed to meet a representative group of leaders from Natal by the end of this month to

discuss the political violence in the province, according to South African Communist Party general secretary Joe Slovo.

Mr Slovo said at the weekend the ANC believed that all the people of Natal should contribute towards finding a peaceful solution.

He was speaking at a national peace conference involving discussions between the ANC's national executive committee and Cosatu, the UDF and the SA Youth Congress at the University of Durban-Westville.

# Education the *CAT Talks 7/8/90 (11A)* 'new weapon'

JOHANNESBURG. — Education must be the new weapon in the liberation struggle in South Africa, Mrs Adelaide Tambo, wife of ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo, said yesterday.

Speaking in the sitting room of the Mandela mansion in Orlando West, Soweto, Mrs Tambo, who arrived earlier in the day after some 30 years in exile, said generations of oppressed people had waited for the day which was about to dawn.

"For decades we have tried to bring this government to the table for talks. Now at last South Africa is on the right track."

The future was in the hands of the children.

"If they are not educated, the years of struggle will be jeopardised. Education is the new weapon in the liberation struggle and our youth must arm themselves with books.

"Each phase of the struggle needs a different strategy. Today there are the talks, tomorrow we will construct a new non-racial and democratic South Africa for all the people."

Mrs Tambo arrived at Jan Smuts Airport to a tumultuous welcome by scores of ANC Women's League members and other ANC supporters.

She stood with her right hand raised in a clenched-fist salute while she sang the national anthem. Flanking her were Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, and UDF co-president Mrs Albertina Sisulu.

"I feel so totally emotional as I stand here this morning. I last saw my country 30 years ago. Much has changed and again not much has changed."

Mrs Tambo is to relaunch the ANC Women's League in Durban on Thursday. — Sapa

# The Pretoria Minute: text of the agreement

The text of the Pretoria Minute is as follows:

## Pretoria Minute

The Government and the ANC have held discussions at the Presidency, Pretoria, today August 6 1990.

1. The Government and the ANC have again committed themselves to the Grootes Schuur Minute.

2. The final report of the Working Group on political offences dated 21 May 1990, as amended, was accepted by both parties. The guidelines to be formulated in terms of the Report will be applied in a phased manner.

The Report makes provision for formulation of guidelines which will be applied in dealing with members of all organisations, groupings or institutions, governmental or otherwise, who committed offences on the assumption that a particular cause was being served or opposed.

## Dates agreed

The meeting has instructed the Working Group to draw up a plan for the release of ANC-related prisoners and the granting of indemnity to people in a phased manner and to report before the end of August. The following target dates have in the meantime been agreed upon:

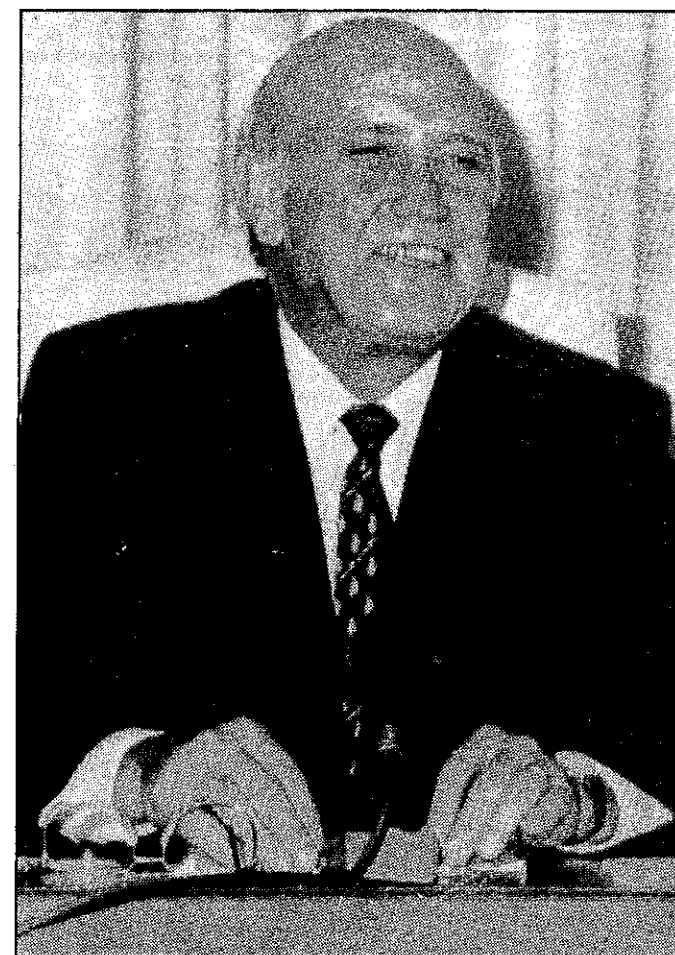
- The body or bodies referred to in paragraph 8.2 of the Report of the Working Group will be constituted by 31 August 1990.

- The further release of prisoners which can be dealt with administratively will start on 1 September 1990.

- Indemnity which can be dealt with in categories of persons and not on an individual basis will be granted as from 1 October 1990. This process will be completed not later than the end of 1990.

- In all cases where the body or bodies to be constituted according to paragraph 8.2 of the Report of the Working Group will have to consider cases on an individual basis, the process will be expedited as much as possible.

It is hoped that this process will be completed within six months, but the latest date envi-



F W de Klerk ... the Government's view was that police should act even-handedly.

saged for the completion of the total task in terms of the Report of the Working Group is not later than 30 April 1991.

This programme will be implemented on the basis of the Report of the Working Group.

3. In the interest of moving as speedily as possible towards a negotiated peaceful political settlement, and in the context of the agreements reached, the ANC announced that it was now suspending all armed actions

with immediate effect. As a result of this, no further armed actions and related activities by the ANC and its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe will take place.

It was agreed that a working group will be established to resolve all outstanding questions arising out of this decision to report by September 15 1990. Both sides once more committed themselves to do everything in their power to bring about a



Nelson Mandela ... no mechanisms for black people to address their grievances.

peaceful solution as quickly as possible.

4. Both delegations expressed serious concern about the general level of violence, intimidation and unrest in the country, especially in Natal.

They agreed that in the context of the common search for peace and stability, it was vital that understanding should grow among all sections of the South African population that problems can and should be solved

through negotiations.

Both parties committed themselves to undertake steps and measures to promote and expedite the normalisation and stabilisation of the situation in line with the spirit of mutual trust obtaining among the leaders involved.

5. With due cognizance of the interest, role and involvement of other parties, the delegations consider it necessary that whatever additional mechanisms of

communication are needed should be developed at local, regional and national levels. This should enable public grievances to be addressed peacefully and in good time, avoiding conflict.

6. The Government has undertaken to consider the lifting of the state of emergency in Natal as early as possible in the light of positive consequences that should result from this accord.

7. In view of the new circumstances now emerging, there will be an ongoing review of security legislation.

The Government will give immediate consideration to repealing all provisions of the Internal Security Act that (a) refer to communism or the furthering thereof; (b) provide for a consolidated list; (c) provide for a prohibition on the publication of statements or writings of certain persons; (d) provide for an amount to be deposited before a newspaper may be registered.

## Convinced

The Government will continue reviewing security legislation and its application in order to ensure free political activity and with the view to introducing amending legislation at the next session of Parliament. The Minister of Justice will issue a statement in this regard, inter alia, calling for comments and proposals.

8. We are convinced that what we have agreed upon today can become a milestone on the road to true peace and prosperity for our country.

In this we do not pretend to be the only parties involved in the process of shaping the new South Africa. We know there are other parties committed to peaceful progress.

All of us henceforth walk that road in consultation and co-operation with each other. We call upon all those who have not yet committed themselves to peaceful negotiations to do so now.

9. Against this background, the way is now open to proceed towards negotiations on a new constitution. Exploratory talks in this regard will be held before the next meeting which will be held soon.

## Nelson has answer ready

### Political Staff

Fifteen hours of hard negotiating with his opponents at the Presidensie meeting did not blunt Nelson Mandela's sense of humour at a 1 am news conference today.

First question, as usual, went to SABC-TV's political correspondent, Clarence Keyter:

"What kind of actions will you and the SABC be taking ..."

Guffaws erupted at the slip by Keyter whose eyes, red from exhaustion after an 18-hour day, now matched his face.

"Mr Keyter," said Mr Mandela with a grin, "I'm not a member of the SABC."

Star 7/8/90  
11A

## Bid to defuse stayaways, boycotts fails

Political Staff

The Pretoria Minute contains an effort to defuse mass actions such as boycotts, stayaways, strikes and defiance campaigns.

It said the Government and African National Congress considered it necessary, in viewing the roles and involvement of other parties, that whatever channels of communication were necessary should be established at local, regional and national levels:

"This would enable public grievances to be addressed peacefully and in good time, avoiding conflict," the document said.

Commenting on the ANC's "mass action" campaign, Nelson Mandela said the fact was that there were no mechanisms for black people to address their grievances in South Africa.

### Strategies

"Therefore it is to be expected that in the absence of mechanisms, mass action should be resorted to by the mass of the people. As long as that mechanism is not available, it is natural that people will have such strategies as are available to them," he told a news conference.

Nobody should expect an end to mass actions until those mechanisms were in place. They would reduce their number, Mr Mandela said.

Mass mobilisations have been increasingly worrying the Government, which feels they are a "disguised" form of violence, intimidation and instability.

The Government wanted a clear commitment yesterday from the ANC against campaigns such as rent boycotts, schools defiance, strikes and stayaways.

Mr Mandela's words, however, fell far short of that, and there was no specific mention in the Pretoria Minute denouncing mass action.



# Govt must tame police - ANC

7/31/90 Political Staff

At the news conference President de Klerk and Nelson Mandela clashed over alleged police violence.

"Until the Government has tamed the police, we will continue to be dissatisfied," Mr Mandela said.

Mr de Klerk responded that the Government and ANC had had long discussions on the police.

He said the Government's view was that police should act even-handedly. The Government would take firm steps, as it had in the past, against transgressors of this policy if evidence or proof was submitted.

"We are not satisfied with the reply just given by the State President," Mr Mandela retorted.

"Actions of the police indicate to us that the Government has not succeeded in restraining police activity. The Government has either lost control of the police, or the police are doing what the Government wants."

# Mashinini's

## body due today

11A  
8/7/8/90  
By Musa Mapisa

The body of former student leader Tsietsi Mashinini is due to arrive today at Jan Smuts Airport from Zimbabwe for burial on Saturday, Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) national organiser Lusiba Nhloko said in Johannesburg yesterday.

Mr Mashinini, known for his role in the 1976 Soweto student uprising, died in hospital in Guinea two weeks ago, allegedly while suffering a nervous breakdown.

Azapo plans to ask the South African Government for permission to conduct a post-mortem to determine the cause of Mr Mashinini's death.

The body was scheduled to arrive in South Africa yesterday but was delayed because of transportation arrangements which involved obtaining permission from three governments: Guinea, Zimbabwe and South Africa.

Mr Mashinini is to be buried on Saturday at Avalon Cemetery, Soweto.

A short service will be held at 9 am at Mr Mashinini's home at Central Western Jabavu. The procession will then proceed to the Methodist church.

A rally is also being planned to take place at the Jabulani Amphitheatre.

# Education is Sowetan 1/8/90 new weapon - Mrs Tambo

EDUCATION must be the new weapon in the liberation struggle in South Africa, Mrs Adelaide Tambo, wife of ANC president Oliver Tambo, said yesterday.

Speaking at ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela's house in Orlando West, Soweto, Tambo, who arrived earlier in the day after 30 years in exile, said generations of oppressed people had waited for the day which was about to dawn.

## Right track

"For decades we have tried to bring this Government to the table for talks. Now at last South Africa is on the right track."

She said the future was in the hands of the children.

"If they are not educated, the years of struggle will be jeopardised. Education is the new weapon in the liberation struggle and our youth must arm themselves with books."

Speaking of the women's role in the struggle, Tambo said without women the defiance campaign would never have got off the ground.

## Comrades

Sitting around her were former comrades who had taken risks when they launched the first consumer boycotts in the Vaal area and burnt their passes.

"Each phase of the struggle needs a different strategy. Today there are the talks, tomorrow we will construct a new non-racial and democratic South Africa for all the people." - *Sapa*.

**G**OVERNMENT and the ANC will face their sternest test yet in the negotiation process as they move towards ensuring that the positive sentiments and undertakings made in the Pretoria Minute are translated into reality on the ground.

There is little doubt that the proposed "exploratory talks" on methods of negotiating a new constitution will be easier to resolve than bringing to fruition the undertaking of "steps and measures to promote and expedite the normalisation and stabilisation of the situation in line with the spirit of mutual trust obtaining among the leaders involved".

A perception was already emerging yesterday among some middle-level ANC members that in the Pretoria Minute the organisation had conceded rather more than it had gained.

**T**he ANC sees the immediate suspension (if not the ending) of armed struggle as a major concession. Some ANC members may argue that, given the conditional nature of many of government's undertakings, the concession amounts to the unilateral cessation of hostilities which the organisation had repeatedly said it would not undertake.

Certainly the Pretoria Minute falls some way short of the standpoint taken in the Harare Declaration on which the ANC's negotiating strategy has been based.

From the ANC's perspective, the agreement means that only three of the Harare Declaration's five pre-conditions for the creation of a climate for negotiations have been, or will be, met — the release of political prisoners, the ending of political trials and executions and the lifting of bans and restrictions on organisations.

The demands for the removal of troops from townships and, more importantly, the repeal of all security legislation and ending of the state of emergency have only been partly met.

# Now for the hard part: transforming words into reality

ALAN FINE

Government has undertaken to give "immediate consideration" to repealing certain sections of the Internal Security Act — those dealing with furthering the aims of communism, the "listing" of people, prohibitions on quoting individuals, and the provision of deposits for the registration of newspapers.

However, there is, for example, no direct reference to Section 29 of the Act which provides for detention without trial. The closest reference to it is an undertaking by government that it would "continue reviewing security legislation and its application in order to ensure free political activity and with a view to introducing amending legislation" next year.

At a media conference yesterday ANC delegation member Joe Slovo argued convincingly that the ANC was willing to make concessions in an effort to break the logjam; that it did not see the talks as a rugby match where the goal was points-scoring.

(He also emphasised the ANC had told government it wanted Section 29 repealed — the organisation did not

think it should be used against any political opponents whether on the left or right.)

ANC secretary general Alfred Nzo said he saw government undertakings to review security legislation and to consider lifting the state of emergency in Natal as firm commitments. Not all would agree.

But that is not the point. As ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela pointed out recently, negotiation invariably implies compromise.

**M**iddle-level ANC officials who believe their leaders have gone too far are not going to revolt against the agreement. The problem could arise among followers — particularly those whose links with the organisation are emotional rather than formal — who were brought up on a diet of "no compromise", an inevitable rallying cry in the pre-1990 era.

In this respect, the ANC leadership has probably moved ahead into the "new South Africa" a lot faster than some of its followers, to whom little would appear to have changed since February 2.

Leaders relate events, for example, where they have been confronted by Natal-based members demanding arms to "defend themselves" and where refusal was met with a great deal of bitterness.

In committing itself to doing no less than reformulate the forms of political activity in SA, the ANC has undertaken a mammoth task.

It is not just the ANC, however, that faces the problem of eliminating pre-1990 political behaviour. It is now conceded privately by a range of government leaders and senior officials that the behaviour of the police has not been unblemished.

The ANC brought allegations — some documented — to the Pretoria meeting, and these matters are going to be the subject of intense discussion at various levels.

Slovo yesterday deliberately absolved President de Klerk of direct responsibility for such actions, and said De Klerk appeared worried about police indiscipline.

He emphasised, however, it was government's responsibility to deal with this problem.

Many people are awaiting with interest the publication of the report of the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry

into the Sebokeng violence as a case study of a police/community confrontation.

A critical factor in resolving these problems is going to be how effectively the mechanisms referred to in section four of the Pretoria Minute operate.

The section states the delegations "consider it necessary that whatever additional mechanisms of communication are needed (to address 'violence, intimidation and unrest') should be developed at local, regional and national levels. This should enable public grievances to be addressed peacefully and in good time, avoiding conflict".

ANC sources envisage that these mechanisms will deal with a wide variety of areas of socio-economic conflict — including housing, squatting, electricity supply, health care and education.

The enormity of these issues has come to overshadow questions around the nature of the forum to be established for negotiating a new constitution.

Both government and ANC sources seem certain that the ANC demand for a constituent assembly will not develop into a serious obstacle to progress.

**T**he feeling is that there is a great deal of room for manoeuvre. Obviously the final product would have to be adopted by a representative assembly.

Meanwhile, a great deal of preparatory work could and, to be efficiently conducted would probably have to, be done through smaller committees. "Perhaps we can begin not by negotiating but by drafting, in consultation, a set of constitutional guidelines," was one suggestion.

In addition, government sources say they understand the ANC's fear that unelected, unrepresentative "leaders" could attempt to block progress. However, one added, everyone knew who had support and who did not, and neither side would permit such elements to hijack negotiations.



Home to rest . . . One of Tsietsi Mashinini's brothers watches as his coffin is driven away yesterday. The family had not seen him since 1976, when he went into exile during the school uprisings.

●Picture by Herbert Mabuza.

## Mashinini's body arrives

By Zingisa Mkhuma

The body of former Soweto Student Representative Council (SSRC) leader Tsietsi Mashinini arrived in South Africa yesterday.

About 200 youths, singing revolutionary songs and toyi-toying, gathered at the airport to meet the body.

Police told the organisers that banners and flags were not allowed at the airport, and the youths were ordered to move off the road and stay on the pavement.

Mr Mashinini (33) died about three weeks ago in Conakry, Guinea, after being into exile since the 1976 Soweto school up-

risings.

His body was brought back to South Africa by his brother, Lebakeng, who was also in exile after funds were raised.

As Mr Mashinini's wooden coffin was carried to the hearse, youths hoisted Azapo flags and sang Nkosi Sikelel' Afrika.

The group then proceeded to the Mashinini family home in Soweto for a short prayer. School children gathered around the house and sang songs.

Another of Mr Mashinini's brothers, Mpho, said an autopsy would be held today to establish the cause of death.

A funeral service will be held on Saturday.

## PAC launches student branch

Star 8/8/90

Political Staff

(11)

The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) will launch a branch of its student wing, the Pan Africanist Students Organisation (Paso) at Madadeni, Newcastle this weekend, according to PAC organiser in Newcastle, Victor Thwala.

Paso would be launched at Madadeni Hall on Sunday. Students in and around Newcastle and the neighbouring Dannhauser had been invited to the launch.

# Two more bodies found in Sebokeng

Star  
8/8/90

Sapa and Staff Reporter

Police found the bodies of two men in the troubled Sebokeng township in the Vaal Triangle early yesterday.

In an interim unrest report released yesterday afternoon, the SAP's public relations division in Pretoria said both bodies were found at separate hostels in the early hours of the morning.

One body, found at Hostel 4 shortly after midnight on Monday, had "numerous gunshot

wounds in the chest".

The other body, found at Hostel 2, had a gunshot wound in the right eye. A number of spent AK-47 cartridges were found near the body, the report said, without giving any further details.

Sebokeng has been the scene of violent clashes between supporters of Inkatha and the ANC. On July 22 19 people were killed in clashes at a hostel in the Vaal Triangle township after Inkatha members had attended a rally.

# Stompie killer: Verdict today on extenuation

JOHANNESBURG. — Judgment will be delivered in the Rand Supreme Court today which could determine whether or not the death sentence is passed on Jerry Richardson, the Mandela Football Club coach found guilty of murdering child anti-apartheid activist Stompie Seipei.

Mr Justice B O'Donovan, after hearing final argument yesterday, said he would pass judgment today on whether there are extenuating circumstances in the case against Richardson, convicted in May this year of murdering 14-year-old Stompie, as well as other crimes, including kidnap and assault.

If no extenuation is found, the court is empowered to pass the death sentence on Richardson despite the suspension of executions in South Africa pending a new political dispensation.

Mr H Joubert, Richardson's attorney, yesterday argued that Richardson had been unable to leave the room in Mrs Winnie Mandela's house where Stompie and three other young boys were assaulted, for fear of falling from Mrs Mandela's favour.

Richardson's "terrible qualities" — his lack of empathy and inability to control his emotions — were "easily exploited by people involved in the struggle, people like Mrs Mandela", Mr Joubert said.

There could be no doubt that Mrs Mandela was involved in the assaults on the four youths, he said.

The state yesterday called on a psychiatrist, Dr Meryl Vorster, to contest evidence that Richardson was "mildly retarded" and "possibly suffering from brain damage".

Dr Vorster said tests conducted on Richardson were invalid because they had been standardised for white people only. It was hard to believe a man who had coped with society was mentally retarded.

— Sapa



111 200 250

Cape Times, Wednesday, August 8 1990 5

# Stompie killer: Verdict today on extenuation

JOHANNESBURG. — Judgment will be delivered in the Rand Supreme Court today which could determine whether or not the death sentence is passed on Jerry Richardson, the Mandela Football Club coach found guilty of murdering child anti-apartheid activist Stompie Seipei.

Mr Justice B O'Donovan, after hearing final argument yesterday, said he would pass judgment today on whether there are extenuating circumstances in the case against Richardson, convicted in May this year of murdering 14-year-old Stompie, as well as other crimes, including kidnap and assault.

If no extenuation is found, the court is empowered to pass the death sentence on Richardson despite the suspension of executions in South Africa pending a new political dispensation.

Mr H Joubert, Richardson's attorney, yesterday argued that Richardson had been unable to leave the room in Mrs Winnie Mandela's house where Stompie and three other young boys were assaulted, for fear of falling from Mrs Mandela's favour.

Richardson's "terrible qualities" — his lack of empathy and inability to control his emotions — were "easily exploited by people involved in the struggle, people like Mrs Mandela", Mr Joubert said.

There could be no doubt that Mrs Mandela was involved in the assaults on the four youths, he said.

The state yesterday called on a psychiatrist, Dr Meryl Vorster, to contest evidence that Richardson was "mildly retarded" and "possibly suffering from brain damage".

Dr Vorster said tests conducted on Richardson were invalid because they had been standardised for white people only. It was hard to believe a man who had coped with society was mentally retarded.

— Sapa

# Business applauds outcome of talks

BUSINESS has applauded the outcome of the latest talks between the ANC and government, in particular the ANC's suspension of its armed struggle.

Almost all businessmen canvassed yesterday welcomed the move as a step towards peace and stability, with the SA Chamber of Business (Sacob) and the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut (AHI) predicting improved business confidence.

JSE president Tony Norton said the outcome of the talks represented "an important step on the road towards a new SA".

"The suspension of violence, plus government's concessions, were necessary steps and it was important that they were dealt with at this stage. I think the whole thing has been managed sensibly."

SA Breweries chairman Meyer Kahn said he was "absolutely delighted" with the progress being made.

## Rubicon

An Anglo American spokesman described the outcome as "heartening" and said it boded well for a peaceful negotiated settlement. But everyone would be seeking concrete expressions of the commitment to peace, from not only the ANC and government but all other political bodies.

Castrol SA CE Deryck Spence said SA had "finally crossed the Rubicon towards a peaceful, prosperous future for all". However, it would be a pity if the battleground simply moved to heightened industrial action.

A Barlow Rand spokesman said the outcome would lead to a more peaceful environment, while the Chamber of Mines said it was "a very encouraging development" which should have the support of all SA.

Sacob said improved prospects for peaceful solutions to conflict in SA could have a positive impact on business confi-

### Business Day Reporters

dence. However, it was important in terms of future constitutional negotiations that the process be broadened to include other major participants in the political arena.

"Sacob also believes the suspension of violence by the ANC will have a favourable influence on overseas business and political perceptions of SA, but overseas investor interest will also depend on what kind of economic system will emerge from the political bargaining process."

The AHI said the ANC's undertaking to cease the armed struggle was "especially encouraging", and this commitment to a process of peaceful negotiation could only lead to business confidence in SA's future.

United Municipalities of SA (Umsa) director general Siphso Zwane said a bold step had been taken by both parties.

However, the CP, the PAC and the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) criticised the outcome of the talks.

Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday "rejoiced" at the ANC's suspension of violence and committed his party to renewed peace talks.

He said he too wanted the state of emergency to be lifted in Natal, but said a prerequisite for this was a reduction in violence and the ANC and Inkatha needed to act together to end the violence.

The SACC, Archbishop Desmond Tutu and the Rev Stanley Magoba of the Methodist Church all welcomed the agreement to remove the outstanding obstacles to a negotiated settlement but said a grave responsibility rested on government to stop all forms of state violence.

The ANC had made more concessions than government, Max Coleman of the Human Rights Commission said yesterday, adding that he was disappointed that several contentious aspects of the Internal Security Act had not been addressed.



The ANC gave its views on the Pretoria Minute at a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday. Leading the delegation were, from left, ANC NEC member Aziz Pahad, the SA Council of Churches' Sakie Macozoma, ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo and SACP secretary-general Joe Slovo.

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

CAPT.  
Tay  
8/8/80  
MK  
~~MA~~  
~~MA~~

# Govt, ANC cannot come to 'terms'

Political Correspondent

THE government did not favour the use of the term "ceasefire" to describe the historic accord reached between the government and the ANC this week, a source close to the talks said yesterday.

"We do not like the term ceasefire because of what it implies — it gives the ANC a status that it does not deserve," the source said.

The government favoured the term "suspension of all armed action" which is contained in the Pretoria Minute agreed to by the two sides.

The source said the terms "ceasefire" or "truce" implied a conflict between two governments or parties of similar military capabilities and was accordingly not an accurate characterisation of the latest peace moves.

## US and European govts hail accord

11A

KIN BENTLEY and PETER DELMAR

20/11/90

THE peace accord reached between the ANC and government was widely welcomed by the US and European governments yesterday.

But the US and Dutch governments said they would not be lifting sanctions until further changes had been made.

A Dutch Foreign Office spokesman said the lifting of sanctions was likely to be considered only once "real progress in negotiations" had been made.

A US embassy spokesman said US sanctions against SA were unlikely to be lifted until concrete steps had been taken to meet the requirements of the 1986 Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act (CAAA).

The CAAA also prescribes the repeal of the Group Areas and Population Registration Acts. 8/10/90 8/8/90

But the spokesman said the US viewed the agreement as important progress.

On the Act's stipulation that government negotiate in good faith with "truly representative members of the black majority without preconditions", there was some room for legal dispute, the spokesman said.

In Europe, the first occasion at which progress with the scrapping of apartheid will be assessed with a view to the phased relaxation of sanctions is when EC foreign ministers meet in Brussels next month.

An EC spokesman said they would not

To Page 2

## Accord hailed <sup>8/10/90</sup>

11A

20/11/90

From Page 1

issue a statement until after a decision was taken at the meeting.

The Pretoria accord was also welcomed yesterday by the British Anti-Apartheid Movement.

The British Foreign Office yesterday also welcomed the "progress made between the SA government and the ANC in opening the way to peaceful negotiations on SA's future".

On whether the accord would boost in-

vestor confidence, a Foreign Office spokesman said investors were likely to "wait and see how things stand up".

But he said the suspension of the armed struggle would boost the confidence of whites as to their future security.

A West German Foreign Ministry spokesman said they welcomed the accord, while spokesman for the French and Italian Foreign Ministries declined to comment yesterday.

APL Times 8/8/90

# ew talks soon

gives sign of rapid move to 'real negotiations'

Political Staff

WHILE Western governments acclaimed the peace accord between the government and the ANC yesterday, plans for a new round of talks were already under way.

The two parties are expected to begin discussing the structure of negotiations on a new constitution for South Africa within weeks and another major meeting may be held before the end of the year.

An indication of the ANC's confidence in rapid progress towards real negotiations was given yesterday by Communist Party chief Mr Joe Slovo, who said at a press conference in Johannesburg that Mr Nelson Mandela had told the government on Monday that "if we continue in the spirit of this meeting the armed struggle will become an irrelevancy altogether".

And on the touchy issue of the ANC demand for an interim government, government spokesman said in turn: "I think there is room for give and take on both sides to achieve a mutually acceptable solution."

According to government spokesmen, a steering committee will soon

## Govt fears cracks in ANC unity

Political Staff

THE government fears the ANC will have difficulty selling this week's accord to the militant "hotheads" of their youth affiliates.

Yesterday the South African Youth Congress gave an indication of potential problems when it disclosed that it would form units "to defend our communities from apartheid violence and to combat the increasing crime rate".

"It is against the background of

violence against the people by forces of apartheid like Inkatha warlords, vigilantes and right-wing terror groups that we wish to reiterate the fact that the suspension of armed actions does not remove from us and the people the right to defend our communities against aggressors," Sayco said in a statement.

Sayco welcomed the signing of the Pretoria Minute and said it supported the ANC's decision to suspend the armed struggle.

begin exploring various possibilities for structuring negotiations.

Talks will also continue with other parties in an effort to ensure that the broadest possible spectrum will be represented at the negotiating table.

The spokesman was convinced that actual negotiations could get under way early next year.

Despite the optimism on both sides there are several serious impediments.

● The ANC faces a real difficulty in getting its supporters, especially

young militants, to accept the decision to suspend the armed struggle.

ANC secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo at the press conference dismissed suggestions that the ANC had conceded more than it had gained at the Pretoria talks.

He stressed in particular that the government had now supplied the dates for the early release of prisoners and return of exiles.

But the ANC was already at pains yesterday to persuade members and associated organisations that the Pretoria agreement was not a surrender.

Cracks in the ANC unity seem due to appear among rank-and-file supporters following the accord with the government.

There were also rumblings in other closely allied organisations, such as Azapo and Cosatu, about Mr Nelson Mandela and his negotiating team "going too far".

The ANC has apparently acknowledged that it is not always in a position to "instruct" and then "discipline" its own supporters.

ANC NEC member Mr Aziz Pahad announced a campaign of information meetings and newspaper advertisements for the coming weeks.

● The government is increasingly concerned over the threat to productivity and the possibility of confrontation and violence caused by the ANC's mass mobilisation campaigns, including school boycotts and stayaways.

● Allegations of police acting outside the law is the most serious bone of contention between the ANC and the government.

A government spokesman said the allegations were being taken very seriously.

Mr Slovo said yesterday that the viability of agreements reached in Pretoria, especially the suspension of the armed struggle, would depend on a reciprocal response from the "armed forces on the other side". The approach taken by the police would in future have to alter fundamentally, he said.

A number of structures are to be set up to address issues such as allegations of police violence, squatting, education and health.

Once the structures were in place, a government spokesman said, it would make unnecessary "disruptive activity by ongoing violence and boycotts".

Mr Slovo, however, said the ANC had no intention of abandoning mass mobilisation tactics.

Mr Nzo said ANC monitoring groups set up all over the country would positively establish whether the government was conniving with the police to undermine the ANC, or whether the government had in fact lost control of the police force.

Mr Slovo, who is also the general secretary of the SA Communist Party, said he attended the Pretoria meeting only as an ANC member. "The SACP had no independent presence at the talks," he said.

Cops on rampage

ANC, TPA hold  
talks in Witbank

WITBANK — In a landmark meeting yesterday, about 30 members of the ANC and Eastern Transvaal Civic Association sat down to talk with the Transvaal Provincial Administration and representatives of white town councils.

The ANC's Eastern Transvaal secretary general, Joe Nkuna, said the three-hour meeting had been "very progressive".

"We now have a channel of communication between the two parties". — Highveld Bureau.



# ANC gears up to sell accord to supporters

JOHANNESBURG. — The African National Congress will soon send senior members around the country to explain the Pretoria Minute to supporters and give reasons for suspending the armed struggle.

ANC national executive committee member Mr Aziz Pahad yesterday told a news conference here the organisation's information department would ensure the agreement was understood by rank and file members.

Advertisements would also be placed in newspapers explaining the accord.

The ANC's Ms Jill Marcus said today the process of reporting back to supporters inside and outside the country was a continuing one.

"Our concern is to talk to the people and make sure they are fully aware of the decisions taken."

The South African Youth Congress will also help in this. Its president, Mr Peter Mokaba, said yesterday his organisation would ensure the agreement was thoroughly explained to all regional committees, which would pass on the message countrywide.

The ANC is giving the issue top priority because of accusations by black radicals and even some of its own people that it had conceded more than the government had.

ANC national executive committee member and South African Communist Party leader Mr Joe Slovo yes-

terday warned that the ANC would not hesitate to revert to the armed struggle if the government did not stick to the terms of the accord.

The youth congress yesterday also warned that the suspension of armed action did not remove the people's right to defend themselves.

While it welcomed the ceasefire, it also regarded itself bound to "defend the people more than ever from any form of aggression".

This was in line with its call to members to build defence structures "to defend our communities from apartheid violence and to combat the increasing crime rate".

The congress said it believed the government's desire for a peaceful settlement did not spring from a sudden change of heart, but from the intensification of the struggle that had plunged the country into an irreversible political and economic crisis.

## Concern over man

### Staff Reporter

A CAPE Town family is anxiously awaiting news of the whereabouts of South African international soccer manager Mr Eddie Firmani, who is in strife-torn Kuwait on an American passport.

Mr Firmani's brother, Mr Reginald Firmani, lives in Tokai. According to Reginald's wife Mrs Lorraine Firmani, they last heard from Eddie on July 30. This was the day before he was due to fly from the United States to Kuwait to start a year's

ty into a battleground of the  
against Israel. - Sapa-Reuter

# Mandela to visit <sup>Soweto</sup> Brazil (1A) ~~(1A)~~

SAO PAULO - ANC  
deputy leader Nelson  
Mandela will arrive in  
Sao Paulo on September  
21 for a 10-day visit to  
Brazil, organisers said on  
Monday.

Mandela, following  
stops in the Brazilian  
cities of Sao Paulo,  
Brasilia, Salvador and Rio  
de Janeiro, will also visit  
Cuba, Jamaica and  
Venezuela, the organisers  
said.

Mandela is expected to  
meet President Fernando  
Collor de Mello in  
Brasilia on September 25.

In Sao Paulo, Mandela  
will meet with labour,  
business and religious  
leaders, including a leader  
of the local Jewish com-  
munity. - Sapa-Reuter.



# Ceasefire:



JOE SLOVO

# ANC serious

Sovetan  
8/8/90

11A

## ... but movement warns Government

### SA Press Association

THE ANC yesterday rejected any suggestion that the organisation was not serious about its promise to suspend the armed struggle, but warned it would resume military activity if the Government reneged on any of the agreements documented in Monday's Pretoria Minute.

ANC National Executive Committee member Mr Joe Slovo said at a Johannesburg Press conference the armed struggle would resume the moment it became clear the Government was not honouring agreements struck during the marathon 15-hour ANC/Government meeting in Pretoria aimed at clearing obstacles in the way of constitutional negotiations.

Slovo, however, immediately made it clear the African National Congress remained confident of the Government's sincerity in the now fast-developing negotiation process and its commitment to a peaceful settlement.

The Press conference was called by the ANC at its Johannesburg headquarters to provide greater detail of the Pretoria Minute, but journalists were asked not to seek specifics on particular issues.

ANC secretary general Mr Alfred Nzo, the other ANC executive member present, said although economic sanctions were not mentioned in the Pretoria Minute, the issue was briefly discussed at the meeting.

He emphasised that no ANC promise was made during the talks to support any call for the cessation of sanctions, and Slovo said while the armed struggle had been suspended, pressure applied on the Government to push the process of reform to the point of irreversibility would be maintained.

The Natal violence, in which the ANC affiliates and Inkatha have been locked in bloody battle for longer than five years and which has claimed the lives of at least 4 000 people, was also discussed "in depth" at the Pretoria meeting, Slovo said.

He said the issue of police siding with "Inkatha thugs" against the ANC was brought up, but again expressed confidence in State President FW de Klerk's commitment to peace.

"I personally do not believe De Klerk is using the police in this insidious way.

"I think he's not happy with the way the police have conducted themselves," Slovo said.

This did not mean De Klerk was not responsible for police misconduct, particularly in view of the fact that the people perceived the State President to be the ultimate culprit when innocents were killed.



**BECOME A QUALIFIED STOREMAN - EARN MORE MONEY.**

The Damelin course in Storekeeping and Stock Control makes it easy for you to move up to a better job.

LET DAMELIN'S HIGHLY TRAINED LECTURERS HELP YOU EARN THE OFFICIAL DIPLOMA IN JUST 3 MONTHS.

Never before has there been such a big need for trained and qualified warehousemen and stock controllers. If you're already working in stock control or warehousing, or you want to get into the field, then the Damelin Diploma in Storekeeping and Stock Control is just what you need to get to the top — quickly!

**What you will learn:**

- How to give instructions and manage people.
- To understand stores documents and how to complete them.
- How to do a stores layout.
- How to do stocktaking and stock reconciliations.
- About materials handling equipment.
- How to start and implement security and safety procedures.
- To understand stores terminology and vocabulary.
- How to identify and code stock items.

The course is officially recognised by IPISA (Institute of Purchasing of South Africa). Successful students will earn the DMS Diploma in Storekeeping and Stock Control, and may use the letters (DMS) Dip SK after their names.

**Class Times:** You have the choice of attending Saturday mornings from 8.15 - 12.30 p.m. OR two evenings per week from 5.45 - 7.45 p.m.

**Duration:** 3 Months.

| STARTING DATES: | SATURDAY COURSE | EVENING COURSE |
|-----------------|-----------------|----------------|
| Johannesburg    | 1 September     | 30 August      |
| Pretoria        | 1 September     |                |
| Vereeniging     | 1 September     |                |
| Mmabatho        | January 1991    |                |

**ENROL NOW TO REACH THE TOP!**

For further information about Damelin Courses and how you can afford them enquire at 1st Floor, Damelin Centre, Corner Hoek & Plein Streets, Johannesburg or phone Johannesburg: (011) 337-6600 Pretoria: (012) 322-5710, Vereeniging: (016) 31-1770, Mmabatho: (0140) 84-2970 After hours 6.00 - 9.00 p.m. (011) 795-3929



The centre for achievers  
**Damelin**



FELICIA MABUZA-SUTTLE

FORMER South African Felicia Mabuza-Suttle delivered a personal perspective which brought Atlanta viewers closer to what was happening in South Africa during Mr Nelson Mandela's visit to America.

Throughout the day-long visit by the Mandelas in Atlanta, she related her memories as a little girl growing up in Sophiatown, watching African National Congress meetings.

The Atlanta television commentator recalled her grandfather Ben Mabuza, one of the first black men in South Africa to have a

# Felicia tells Yanks all about life in SA

business in downtown Johannesburg, tell her that "the ANC would mean our freedom one day".

Mabuza-Suttle clarified controversial issues such as Mandela's stance on nationalising the South African economy stating that "Mr Mandela is promising to have a mixed economy that will bring equity to the

present unbalanced system created during the six decades of apartheid".

She called Mandela a man of integrity, who is not swayed by public opinion.

Mabuza-Suttle was a reporter for the banned *World* newspaper in the early 1970s.

She was briefly with the *Sunday Times* in 1974 and

in 1982 worked for Radio Bop and served on Bop-TV's committee.

She is presently a freelance journalist and television commentator.

About her professional career in America she said:

"The climb up the corporate ladder has been a tough one. But I have on the whole done a good job

representing my people. My goal has been to eradicate the ill-founded stereotypes the West world has about us."

She expects to visit South Africa this month "to assess the climate the possibility of conducting training seminars and hosting shows on radio and television".

(1A) Sowetan 8/8/90

# Crossroads factions on road to peace?

By CHRIS BATEMAN

CONCERTED moves to get the Old Crossroads peace talks back on track were yesterday made by the Western Cape United Squatters' Association (WCUSA), the UDF and DP local black affairs spokesman, Mr Jan van Eck.

According to Mr Gladstone Ntamo, publicity secretary for WCUSA, his organisation yesterday received undertakings from breakaway headman Mr Jeffry Nongwe and Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana's committee that they would be at reconvened peace talks tomorrow.

They are being assisted by Mr Johnson Mpukumpa, the chief mediator, who on Monday angrily announced his intention of pulling out of his role unless both parties to the violence showed a "significant change of attitude". He is known to be under pressure to pull out from the Western Cape Hostel Dwellers' Association (of which he is chairman).

At least four people have been mur-

dered and some 16 homes burnt out since the truce was first broken last week. Police have arrested three people for murder, possession of illegal firearms and arson.

Yesterday, relative peace returned to Old Crossroads with unconfirmed reports of three shacks burnt out.

Mr Ntamo said the WCUSA was determined to continue in its role of mediation and would not pull out "under any circumstances".

Mr Van Eck said the peace process was in dire jeopardy unless both sides returned to the table as soon as possible.

"What happened was no fault of Mr Mpukumpa who has thrown all his energy into defusing tensions. The two opposing communities were simply not taking the peace process seriously," he said.

● Mr Ngxobongwana is believed to be away in Transkei and will probably be represented at the talks by Mr Ponde Wet.

# ANC to explain its stance (11A)

Star 8/8/90

## Political Staff

The African National Congress will soon send senior members to explain the historic Pretoria Minute to its supporters throughout the country and give reasons for the suspension of the armed struggle.

Announcing this at a news conference in Johannesburg yesterday, ANC national executive committee member Aziz Pahad said the message would also be conveyed in newspaper advertisements.

The South African Youth Congress (Sayco) would also help in this regard.

The ANC is giving the issue top priority in view of accusations by radical organisations and some people within its own structures that it made more concessions than the Government.

Although Monday's Pretoria accord has been widely hailed, it is already apparent that settlement of South Africa's political problems remains heavily dependent on further rapid progress.

The Government and the ANC are aware of this and have set their sights on an early start to full-scale negotiations for a new constitution.

The Pretoria Minute provides for exploratory talks to be held and Government sources indicate these



Senior ANC leader Alfred Nzo (left) and SACP general secretary Joe Slovo at a press conference yesterday after the Pretoria talks.

are expected to start within weeks.

In this phase of "talks about talks", the Government, the ANC and perhaps others will tackle the tough problem of deciding who should frame a new constitution.

Senior Government sources said the breakthrough in Monday's talks had brought this phase forward significantly. It was now likely the constitutional negotiations themselves could start next year.

The new phase is, however, likely to be as tough as the first. The ANC wants a universal franchise election for a constituent assembly,

which would then draw up the new constitution, but the Government wants all political groupings with proven support at the negotiations.

ANC executive member and South African Communist Party leader Joe Slovo said in Johannesburg yesterday the ANC would not hesitate to resume the armed struggle if it felt the Government and its security forces were not living up to the Pretoria Minute. But he said the ANC remained confident of the Government's commitment to a peaceful settlement.

New talks soon — Page 7

# Crossroads peacemaker: 'I'll quit'

By EDWARD MOLOINYANE  
Staff Reporter

PEACE could come to Crossroads only if two rival squatter leaders resigned and community organisations took over the running of the shanty town, says "peacemaker" Mr Johnson Mpukumpa.

He has threatened to resign as mediator in the dispute between Crossroads mayor Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana and his chief rival Mr Jeffrey Nongwe.

Mr Mpukumpa said yesterday he had got the two parties to three meetings since the truce was declared.

A former trade unionist and now

chairman of the Western Cape Hostel Dwellers Association, he said his impressions were that the two men were "not interested in peace, but are power hungry".

He felt long-lasting peace could only be restored if both men were removed and the the Crossroads community, including community organisations took over the township's affairs.

His decision to step down would be discussed at a meeting of representatives of the African National Congress, Western Cape United Squatters Association — under which Mr Nongwe's faction falls — and the Western Cape Civic Association tomorrow.

Senior ANC member Mr Christ-mas Tinto — who is also regional president of the United Democratic Front — said Mr Ngxobongwana had "indicated he had no problem" in stepping down.

Mr Tinto said: "Our attempts at bringing peace to the area are continuing relentlessly and we believe we shall overcome."

"Both men must go because they have supporters who may feel offended if only one is removed."

"Mr Ngxobongwana has no problem stepping down and rejoining the ANC because he was a member of the Port Elizabeth branch of the movement in the sixties."

A church leader at Boys' Town, Crossroads, has also called for the removal of both men, saying this move "would save many lives".

Meanwhile the situation was still tense in the township with one shack reported torched yesterday.

Mr Nongwe and Mr Ngxobongwana who claimed to have "deep divisions" declared a truce at a meeting chaired by Provincial Affairs and Planning Minister, Mr Hernus Kriel, on July 10.

The violence, which has claimed scores of lives since last December, has raged continuously even after the truce. At least four people have been killed.



Mr Johnson Mpukumpa

ANC, TPA hold  
talks in Witbank

8/18/90  
WITBANK — In a landmark meeting yesterday, about 30 members of the ANC and Eastern Transvaal Civic Association sat down to talk with the Transvaal Provincial Administration and representatives of white town councils.

The ANC's Eastern Transvaal secretary general, Joe Nkuna, said the three-hour meeting had been "very progressive".

"We now have a channel of communication between the two parties". — Highveld Bureau.

# New talks phase soon —

By Peter Fabricius,  
Political Correspondent

The Government is confident that exploratory talks aimed at launching the next phase of negotiations will start within weeks. This follows the ANC's dramatic decision this week to suspend its armed struggle.

In this phase of "talks about talks", the Government, the ANC and perhaps other parties will tackle the tough problem of deciding who to select to frame a new constitution.

Senior Government sources said the breakthrough in Monday's talks had brought this forward significantly.

Previously it had forecast that "talks about talks" would only start early next year.

But it was now likely they could start this year and the constitutional negotiations themselves could start next year.

Although it is in a hurry to move on, the Government regards it as a high priority to draw other movements — notably the PAC and Azapo — into discussions about removing what they regard as obstacles to negotiation.

## Proven support

The ANC's policy — enshrined in the Harare Declaration — is that the next step should be a one-man, one-vote election for a constituent assembly which would draw up a constitution.

The Government dismisses this, as it says it will rule out — before negotiations start — any chance of a constitution protecting minorities.

It wants instead the negotiating forum to consist of representatives of all political groupings with significant proven support.

Doubtful cases should be included, not excluded, to make the talks as inclusive as possible.

But the Government, at least, is optimistic that the differences can be ironed out.

Its optimism is partly based on the "flexibility" which the ANC showed in this week's talks about removing the obstacles to negotiation.

The Government is pleased that the ANC backed down from its Harare Declaration position — that it would not call off the armed struggle before all its identified obstacles had been removed and negotiations had begun.

In the end, two major obstacles — the continuing state of emergency in Natal and the security legislation — had not been removed, although the Government gave undertakings.

Government claims to be satisfied with the wording of the ANC's commitment — "suspending all armed actions with immediate effect".

Although it would obviously have preferred the ANC to "end" or "cease" the armed struggle, it is pleased it did not insist on its original demand for a "mutual cessation of hostilities".

This would have implied a conflict between states, conferring an unwarranted status on the ANC.

It is also important to the Government that the ANC's commitment to ceasing armed activities is "not just theoretical".

The ANC had stated explicitly that "no further armed actions and related activities by the ANC and its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe will take place". And a joint working group is to be established to monitor ANC military activity — clearly to prevent repetitions of the embarrassing Operation Vula episode.

## Underground structures

Among this working group's tasks will be to keep an eye on the unspecified "related activities" which the ANC has now committed itself to end.

It is understood that "related activities" refers to underground structures along the lines of Operation Vula.

But despite its obvious pleasure at the agreement, the Government insists there was no loser.

The Government gave the ANC a definite time-table for the pardon of political prisoners and indemnity against arrest of exiles who returned.

However it is reported that the ANC grassroots support is upset because the agreement is perceived as unilateral surrender by the ANC.

It was known before the meeting that the Government intended urging the ANC to suspend not only the armed struggle but also mass action such as consumer and rent boycotts, political strikes, school stayaways and illegal occupation of land.

Government sources point out that at the press conference after Monday's talks, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela had sharply rejected suggestions that the ANC should call off its mass action campaigns.

He said that in the absence of mechanisms for blacks to express their grievances, it was natural they would resort to mass action.

# Govt

# Ali Bacher meets ANC over cricket

By Guy Jepson

South African Cricket Union (Sacu) officials were tight-lipped last night about yesterday's discussions at a six-hour meeting in Johannesburg between leading representatives of the ANC, the Government and Idasa on the future of cricket in the country.

All Sacu managing director Ali Bacher would say was that delegates left the gathering "certain that there is light at the end of the tunnel for the future".

## Think-tank

The meeting, attended by a 24-man Sacu delegation, was addressed by ANC national executive member Steve Tshwete, Constitutional Development Deputy Minister Roelf Meyer, and Idasa leader Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert.

Dr Bacher stressed that the meeting was only a think-tank, organised by

Sacu to discuss the game's future and "to give certain people advice and guidelines".

"Although we had no mandate to take any decisions, what came across very strongly was the flexibility and pragmatism of the speakers," he said.

## Appropriate

Referring to Monday's talks between the Government and the ANC, Dr Bacher said that although the Sacu meeting had been scheduled "some time ago", its timing "couldn't have been more appropriate".

In another watershed meeting, Sacu president Geoff Dakin and two officials met South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee chief Sam Ramsamy at a conference in Port Elizabeth last night.

"We were terribly encouraged by Mr Ramsamy's warm attitude," said Dakin.



# ANC, Inkatha in Kagiso peace deal

By Stan Hlophe

Inkatha and UDF/ANC leaders reached a ceasefire in strife torn Kagiso yesterday at a meeting with West Rand police officials at the Kagiso Town Council.

Inkatha and ANC/UDF leaders said the peace treaty would be observed pending a meeting to be held at the Krugersdorp Police headquarters today.

Kagiso, where at least 11 people have died and 16 have been injured since violence broke out on Sunday, was quiet but tense yesterday.

Many township residents stayed at home. Inkatha members alleged that local taxis refused to transport them to work.

A heavy police presence was still conspicuous in the hostel and other areas in the township late yesterday afternoon.

Some streets were barricaded with burnt tyres and huge rocks. Hundreds of ANC supporters who moved out of the hostel

were temporarily accommodated at local St Peter's Catholic and Lutheran Churches.

The ANC/UDF delegation was led by Popo Molefe, the UDF secretary general and ANC member of the interim leadership, Kgalema Montlanthe, ANC convener of the Witwatersrand Region, and Sydney Mufamadi, Cosatu assistant general secretary. Inkatha's delegation was led by its West Rand Regional secretary general, Humphrey Ndlovu, and chairman of the Youth Brigade, Themba Khoza, and police were represented by a Captain Du Plooy.

## Agreement

The meeting agreed that:

- Police will remain in the area to restore peace and stability.
- ANC/UDF/Cosatu/Sayco members would refrain from harassing Inkatha members residing in the township.
- Inkatha members would remain at the hostel and those

who had moved out would stay out pending the meeting today.

- Police would disarm ANC supporters and Inkatha members.

Mr Molefe said both parties were concerned about normalising the situation.

He said they would discuss how to attain peace today.

Mr Molefe expressed dissatisfaction over the role of the police in combating the violence in the area.

"We have information that police have disarmed ANC supporters and left Inkatha supporters fully armed in spite of the assurance that they would not do so. Police today gave an undertaking to investigate these claims."

Mr Khoza said Inkatha members were no longer armed. They would remain in the hostel and not attack anybody.

Inkatha was committed to peace and would go all out to restore stability and reconciliation in the area, he said.

# ANC men detained during talks

8/8/90

By Shehnaaz Bulbulia

ANC activists were detained in Bophuthatswana on the night of talks between the Government and the ANC, a lawyer revealed yesterday.

The detention of seven ANC members followed the weekend launch of

the ANC branch in Modderspruit, Bophuthatswana, the lawyer said.

Those detained include the ANC chairman in Modderspruit, Obed Nyundu, treasurer Florence Phiri and secretary Simon Bhebe who were responsible for the launch of the ANC in the

area. The seven are being held at Ga-Rankuwa police station under the territory's emergency regulations.

A Bophuthatswana police spokesman has confirmed the detentions but refused to give further details.

# ANC move is praised

11A  
2/2/90



MOTHOPENG

THE predominant reaction to the outcome of Monday's talks between the Government and the ANC was, at most, cautious.

There was explicit concern about the Government's lack of commitment over the question of police action.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu said in terms of violence, the ball was now squarely in the State's court.

The most severe criticism of the Pretoria Minute, as the official paper is known, came from the Pan Africanist Congress, Azanian People's Organisation and the Conservative Party.

Azapo's Mr Strini Moodley said the meeting had "entrenched Presi-

## Pretoria Minute hailed as a great step to peace but others cautious

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN, NKOPANE MAKOBANE and SAPA

including the ceasefire by the ANC.

He reiterated that they (PAC) were still committed to intensifying their armed struggle "on all fronts".

### Victory

The CP's chief secretary, Mr AS Beyers, said it was quite clear that the Government had betrayed the South African Police. This, he said, constituted a victory for the ANC.

The business sector was mostly impressed, while organisations like the Five Freedoms Forum and Idasa (Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa) were

sober in their reaction. The South African Chamber of Business welcomed the agreement between the State and the ANC and said it would boost business confidence.

Idasa said the ANC had embarked upon the armed struggle "when every avenue was closed for them." and the FFF said the Government had now conceded to most of the demands of the Harare Declaration.

The FFF said although the present spate of violence was not generally connected to the armed struggle, the symbolic effect of the

ceasefire was significant.

In their response, Lawyers for Human Rights expressed grave concern over continued police actions and labelled them "intimidatory tactics".

"In our view it is this which constitutes the gravest threat to the prospects of a peaceful and negotiated settlement in South Africa," Mr SP Mothle of the LHR said yesterday.

Inkatha leader Chiel Mangosuthu Buthelezi said more was demanded of the ANC/South African Communist Party than a commitment to "no new violence".

### Violence

The Zulu leader said the ANC should also hold itself responsible for the consequences of violence already committed in its name and to take on the responsibility of doing whatever can be done to halt the spread of violence in the KwaZulu/Natal region.

"It is therefore, I think, right and proper for all of us to demand more

than a formal ceasefire or a formal cessation of acts of armed violence," he said in a statement.

The Azanian National Youth Unity said the Pretoria Minute did not come as a shock "but was something that we expected because all negotiations entail compromise".

The organisation said

any peaceful solution should not be reached at the expense of the aspirations of the people.

Chief Enos Mabuza's Inyandza National Movement of KaNgwane added its support to the positive atmosphere in which the ANC-Government talks ended and welcomed the suspension of the armed struggle.



BUTHELEZI



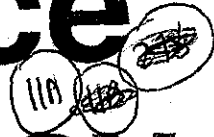
MOODLEY

dent De Klerk's position rather than take powers away from him".

PAC president Mr Zeph Mothopeng said his organisation was not party to the talks and was, therefore, not bound by the agreement reached -

# Kagiso peace talks on today

Sowetan 8/8/90



**THE Mass Demoratic Movement, Inkatha and senior Security Police in the West Rand meet today to resolve the feud which has claimed more than 10 lives in Kagiso.**

The meeting takes place at the Krugersdorp police station and follows

By MATSHUBE MFOLOE

a partial collapse of yesterday's talks between Inkatha, police and MDM officials. It was postponed to today after the Inkatha delegation arrived late.

The three parties agreed to resume talks "as a matter of urgency for the sake of peace" in the West Rand township.

The MDM delegation would include representatives from Cosatu, the UDF, ANC, Krugersdorp Residents Organisation, South African Youth Congress and local churches.

Inkatha's delegation would be headed by the organisation's West Rand

secretary Mr Humphrey Ndlovu. Youth Brigade chairman Mr Themba Khoza and two members of the Inkatha committee at the local hostel.

The MDM delegation said the agenda for the talks would include discussions on how the situation could return to normal at the hostel and in the township.

KRO spokesmen said proposals would be made to the police about "the need for a mechanism to facilitate peace processes" in the area.

Hundreds of dwellers have since fled the hostel.

The delegation said it would challenge the police to "come out with a clear policy" on the question of weapons.

Meanwhile, the area was tense yesterday with rumours of an imminent attack sweeping the township.

Police patrolled the area and kept a high profile at the hostel.



# Judgment today on Stompie murderer

*NEWS 8/8/90*  
 The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Judgment begins today in the trial of Jerry Vusi Muzi Richardson, former coach of the Mandela Football club who was convicted in May of having murdered Stompie Seipei, 14.

Richardson, 41, was found guilty on 10 other counts, including kidnapping, assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm and attempted murder.

Mr Justice B O'Donovan is expected to give judgment in the Rand Supreme Court today on whether or not there are extenuating or aggravating circumstances present in five crimes which could result in death penalties.

## Discretion

The application of the amendment to the Criminal Procedure Act, which means the death penalty is no longer mandatory, was mentioned several times during argument yesterday.

The judge has a discretion to impose the death penalty for four kidnappings and the murder of Stompie.

Yesterday Mr H Joubert, appearing for Richardson, argued that Richardson could not have walked away from Mrs Winnie Mandela, in whose house he lived.

She had taken two trained terrorists to Richardson's house for safety but they were killed in a shoot-out with police and Richardson's house was damaged. Richardson then went to live at Mrs Mandela's Diepkloof home, Mr Joubert said.

Richardson's role as coach and as part of the struggle as well as being close to Mrs Mandela, were all regarded as status symbols, Mr Joubert said.

When Mrs Mandela told the four youths they were not fit to be alive and began to assault them, Richardson could not have refused to take part or have gone to the police, Mr Joubert said. He argued that violence was the norm in Soweto.

Mr C van Vuren for the State, disputed that violence was a norm in townships. Many people grew up with violence around them but did not regard it as normal, he said.

He disagreed that Richardson moved to Mrs Mandela's house because he had no where else to go. His wife and two daughters lived elsewhere.

Mr Van Vuren said the psychological profile of Richardson, presented by a clinical psychologist called by the defence, was based on invalid tests and conflicted with the facts.

# PAC, CP reject truce

By BARRY STREEK

BOTH the Conservative Party and the PAC yesterday strongly rejected the Pretoria Minute agreement between the government and the ANC, but elsewhere it was widely welcomed, both inside and outside South Africa.

However, church leaders and civil liberties groups warned the government that it would have to exercise greater control over the police.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht described the agreement as "untenable and illegal" and PAC leader Mr Zeph Mothopeng vowed to intensify his organisation's conflict with Pretoria.

"As the PAC was not party to the talks we are not bound by its decisions," a defiant Mr Mothopeng said in Johannesburg.

Dr Treurnicht said: "The ANC is not an alternative or sovereign power that

can make agreements with the legitimate power in the country."

He said the ANC was interested only in the surrender of power and not in its sharing.

KwaZulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said more was demanded of the ANC and the SA Communist Party than a commitment to "no new violence".

Democratic Party co-leader Dr Denis Worrall said the suspension of the armed struggle was "a big psychological step from the ANC's point of view and is bound to impact on other organisations".

In Holland, a spokesman for the ruling Christian Democratic Party said the Dutch government could soon introduce measures to relax sanctions against South Africa in the light of recent developments and would open discussions with the other 11 members of the European Community with a view to a gradual phasing-out of EC sanctions.

In the United States, the Bush

administration welcomed the ceasefire agreement and added: "The US has urged dialogue for bringing an end to apartheid. We hope this step facilitates this process."

In London, Mrs Margaret Thatcher also welcomed the announcement and said it was something she had been advocating for some time.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu yesterday commended the ANC "very warmly" for suspending the armed struggle and said the agreement was "tremendous news".

"But at the same time, we must warn the government very sharply that if it does not act very firmly indeed to bring the police under control, then it will wreck the prospects of a negotiated settlement."

The president of the Methodist Conference, Dr Stanley Mogoba, said the talks were "living proof that negotiation and mediation remain the only sane route which peace-loving South Africans can follow in their quest for a stable future". The only negative as-

pect was that only two sides have been involved, he said.

The general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, the Rev Frank Chikane, commented: "We thank God for this outcome.

"A grave responsibility lies on the De Klerk government now to stop all forms of state violence, particularly that of the police and army."

The Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA (Idasa) said: "It is fitting that as opportunities for political participation open up, the armed struggle should once and for all be ended."

The SA Chamber of Business said the agreement represented a further step towards the normalisation of political activity in the country and that improved prospects for peaceful solutions could have a positive impact on business confidence.

The Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut welcomed the agreement and said the ANC's undertaking to cease the armed struggle was "encouraging".

Cap Treurnicht 8/8/90

11A

3/2/90

3/2/90

# Police say why Gunn was held

PRETORIA — The police public relations division said here yesterday that ANC activist Ms Shirley Gunn had been detained because of information that she had, among others, been involved in the Khotso House bomb blast.

The division issued the statement after the African National Congress demanded a public apology from Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok over allegations that she had been linked to the blast.

The division added that other reasons for her detention

were information that she had "received training as a terrorist outside the Republic, (and had been) involved in various acts of terror in the Republic, inter alia the storage of terrorist weapons".

The division added: "Miss Gunn made a confession to the effect that she had received foreign training as a member of the ANC."

Because Miss Gunn had an 18-month-old baby in her care, and the investigation so far indicated that some time might pass before it would be completed, it had been decided to charge her with illegal

possession of a firearm — "a Makarov which is normally used by terrorists" — and ammunition, and to provisionally release her.

Miss Gunn would appear in court on this charge on October 24.

"The investigation against her is continuing and everything possible will be done to finalise it as soon as possible," the division said.

Ms Gunn was released from detention on Sunday and said on Monday that she was not responsible for the Khotso House explosion. — Sapa



Ms Shirley Gunn

# ANC spy chief lifts lid off secret meeting

Sowetan 9/8/90

11A



RONNIE KASRILS

**SACP central committee member and a pivotal figure in the ANC's Operational Vula, Ronnie Kasrils, comes out of hiding to talk about the SACP meeting at Tongaat in May.**

## Sowetan Correspondent

Nkobi, the ANC treasurer, supervised operations from the outside, while Kasrils, Maharaj and Nyanda, were selected to oversee operations from inside South Africa.

By the end of 1989 the trio mandated to return to South Africa were fulfilling their task from within, Kasrils said.

After the Groote Schuur talks between the Government and the ANC from May 2 to 4, indemnity was granted to the ANC national executive by President FW de Klerk.

Kasrils and Maharaj are on the ANC executive. Nyanda is not.

## Legally

Kasrils recalled remarking jokingly to Nyanda: "We are legal but you are not." But, Kasrils said, he and Maharaj had to leave South Africa secretly so that they could return legally.

Kasrils went on to talk about the secret meeting of the SACP at Tongaat, emphatically denying that it was called to plan for the seizure of power.

The meeting, attended by 18 delegates, including the trio of leaders who directed Operation Vula from within, was held in secret as a precautionary measure, not to conspire.

The SACP, still uncertain of De Klerk's sincerity and fearful of a possible rightwing coup, had decided to be prudent, Kasrils said.

He named key items

on the agenda. They included: discussion on the general political situation; lessons of Eastern Europe; establishment of a more democratic SACP; public launching of SACP as a legal party; fund-raising; and review of the SACP programme 14 The Path to Power 12, adopted in Havana in April 1989.

The Tongaat meeting was not mandated to take binding decisions.

## Discussions

It could, only to make recommendations. Thus whatever hard-line statements might have been made during discussions were "nothing more than rhetoric".

Minutes of the meeting ran to 350 pages but the police, in their public disclosures, had concentrated on three statements and taken them "out of context," Kasrils said.

The three statements, with Kasrils's comments, are listed below:

\* The chairman's remarks that the meeting was a closed one and that the names of those present could therefore not be disclosed. There was nothing intrinsically sinister about that.

\* A pronouncement by "Comrade Joe" that a ceasefire was not binding on people who had to defend themselves.

His remark was made about a possible ceasefire in the Natal civil war, not a ceasefire between the Government and the

ANC.

It applied to people who might find themselves under attack by "warlords" in the Natal conflict.

\* A discourse of the seizure of power by "Comrade Gene" alias Kasrils. But Comrade Gene was not advocating the seizure of power: he was outlining the "insurrectionary thesis" set forth in the 14 The Path to Power 12, which was drawn up when there appeared to be little or no prospect of a negotiated settlement.

## Programme

He had to do so to facilitate discussion of the programme and the need to reconsider it in light of the changed situation.

Kasrils contended that the police had fused two separate events: Operation Vula, launched by the ANC in 1987 and still in process because no ceasefire had been yet agreed, and the Tongaat meeting called by SACP to discuss the changed situation since the lifting of the ban on the party.

He offered two explanations for what he considered to a major police blunder, as epitomised by their erroneous identification of "Comrade Joe" as Joe Slovo.

Either the police had deliberately and "treacherously manipulated information against their own president" or they were "victims of their own propaganda" who, prompted by the word "Joe" forgot or ignored the facts and rushed to Mr de Klerk, boasting that they had the "SACP

on the hook".

Kasrils inclined to the second explanation, commenting: "It is a disease suffered by facists."

He elaborated: "Their professionalism as police is undermined by their political ignorance and paranoia about 'Reds'.

They make a break thorough by uncovering an ANC underground structure, largely because of mistakes by our comrades. Then they cock it up because of their political mythology."

Sowetan can now disclose the identity of "Comrade Joe," the man referred to in the minutes of the South African Communist Party meeting at Tongaat and mistakenly named by the police as Joe Slovo.

He is Siphwe Nyanda, a high-ranking officer in the ANC's underground army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, who directed its operations in the PWV in the 1980s.

His identity was divulged by Ronnie Kasrils, a member of the SACP central committee who attended the controversial May 19-20 meeting at Tongaat.

Nyanda is in detention, having been arrested by police early in July, Kasrils said in the first interview he has given since he went into hiding after the detention of "Mac" Maharaj, another top SACP man on July 25.

Kasrils, Umkhonto we Sizwe's intelligence chief until 1988, gave further and, if true, startling details about Operation Vula, the ANC's 1987 campaign to build up its underground structures and the closed SACP meeting at Tongaat.

## Launched

Operation Vula was launched by an ANC presidential committee headed by Oliver Tambo in 1987 with two objectives:

\* To strengthen underground structures and, more important; and

\* To establish an internally based leadership to direct ANC operations from inside South Africa.

Operation Vula was directed by seven men. Tambo, Slovo, Alfred Nzo, the ANC general secretary, and Thomas



# ANC to explain all to its supporters

11A

Sowetan 9/18/90

**THE ANC will soon be sending some of its senior members throughout the country to explain the historic Pretoria Minute to its supporters and give reasons for the suspension of the armed struggle.**

ANC national executive committee member Mr Aziz Pahad told a news conference in Johannesburg that the organisation's department of information and publicity (DIP) would ensure that the Minute was understood by rank and file ANC members.

To this end senior

## **SOWETAN Correspondent**

ANC members would be sent throughout the country to explain it and its full implications.

Pahad said it was the DIP's standard practice to make sure that momentous decisions such as Monday's accord between the Government and the ANC were communicated to rank and file members.

Advertisements would also be placed in newspapers throughout the country explaining the Minute and giving reasons for the decision taken.

ANC spokeswoman Jill Marcus said yesterday the process of reporting back to supporters was an on-going one which had already begun inside and outside the country.

## **Concern**

"Our concern is to talk to the people and making sure they are fully aware of the decisions taken," said Marcus.

The South African Youth Congress will also be assisting in this regard.

Sayco president Peter Mokaba said yesterday his organisation would ensure the Minute was thoroughly explained to all Sayco regional execu-

tive committees which would in turn convey the message to the organisation's grassroots supporters countrywide.

The ANC is giving the issue top priority in the light of accusations by black radical organisations and some people within its structures that it had given more than the Government.

ANC national executive committee member and South African Communist Party leader Mr Joe Slovo this week warned that the ANC would not hesitate to revert to the armed-struggle if the Government reneged on the Minute.

# Govt and ANC campaign set up to explain Minute

610 a7 918/90  
GOVERNMENT and the ANC have begun a campaign to explain the Pretoria Minute through newspaper advertisements, pamphlets and meetings, spokesmen said yesterday.

A Pretoria police spokesman said a meeting between Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and high-ranking policemen shortly after the minute was signed on Monday night had taken place.

ANC Information officer Pallo Jordan said yesterday that meetings between the ANC and the UDF, Cosatu, Sayco and Sansco, among others, were in the pipeline.

Regional ANC meetings would be held to explain the leadership's decision to suspend the armed struggle, he said.

In addition, meetings with members of the ANC's 15 regions would

TIM COHEN

also take place to explain that decision.

He said it remained to be seen whether there would be any resistance to the ANC leadership's decision.

However, he conceded that there might be some "apprehension" among members who did not understand the contents of the agreement.

## Initiative

A newspaper advertisement explaining the ANC's position would appear in English in the weekend Press, he said.

The advertisement would also be translated from English into nine other languages and thousands of copies made and distributed, he said.

Under the heading Armed Strug-

gle, the advertisement says: "In view of the priority the ANC gives to the peaceful solution of the country's problems, we have taken the initiative to suspend the armed struggle.

"This means that the ANC will not carry out any further armed action and related activities such as the infiltration of armed cadres and weaponry".

It notes that the armed struggle has not been abandoned, nor has Umkhonto we Sizwe been disbanded, and that "we have not forfeited our right to self-defence".

It also says "mass struggles have to continue in all spheres of our lives. The government must listen to the demands of the people".

Jordan said he expected the police to be briefed on the Pretoria Minute, and especially on the use of force and on people's rights.

Frontline states meet  
over ANC's decision

*Constitution*  
9/8/90  
DAR ES SALAAM -  
Leaders of Africa's seven  
Frontline states were due  
to meet yesterday to  
review the political situa-  
tion in the region and the  
state of talks between the  
ANC and Pretoria.

The one-day meeting  
in the Zambian capital,  
Lusaka, was chaired by  
Zambian President Ken-  
neth Kaunda, a Tanzanian  
government spokesman  
said.

Government sources  
said the meeting dis-  
cussed the ANC's an-

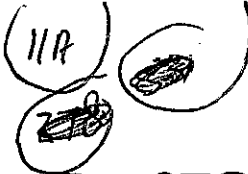
nouncement this week  
that it is suspending its  
29-year armed struggle  
against white-minority  
rule in South Africa, a  
prelude to formal negotia-  
tions on ending apartheid.

The Frontline states -  
Angola, Botswana,  
Mozambique, Namibia,  
Tanzania, Zambia and  
Zimbabwe - are strong al-  
lies of the ANC.

They have maintained  
its military camps and  
trained cadres of its mili-  
tary wing Umkhonto we  
Sizwe. - Sapa-Reuter.

Aussie court rules

CAPE TOWN 9/8/90



# Inkatha warning by Stompie killer

## Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — "Watch out for Inkatha," a smiling Jerry Richardson warned members of the public gallery on his way to the cells minutes after being sentenced in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday to death for the murder of teenage activist Stompie Seipei.

The 42-year-old former coach of Mrs Winnie Mandela's soccer team was also sentenced to 18 years' imprisonment for kidnapping, assault and attempted murder.

Mr Justice B O'Donovan said the murder of Stompie on January 1 last year was a particularly brutal one carried out on a victim who was hardly more than a child.

Richardson was found guilty of kidnapping Stompie and three other youths from the Soweto manse of Methodist minister Mr Paul Verryn on December 28, 1988.

The four were taken to the home of Mrs Mandela where they were assaulted while being questioned about alleged sexual misconduct with Mr Verryn.

Stompie was accused of being a police informer.

Mr Justice O'Donovan said the psychologist's report submitted to the court by the defence created the impression that Richardson was a sick man subject to a number of mental disabilities, including mental retardation, and signs of psychopathy.

The report, the judge said, placed Richardson's intellectual

functioning at a low level.

"In cross-examination however a rather different picture emerged," said the judge.

The psychologist, Ms Midge Doepel, had considerably modified the conclusions in her report under cross-examination.

"She was compelled to concede that any retardation of the accused's faculties was of a mild nature just below normal, and that the accused was responsible for his actions and was fit to stand trial."

Referring to a submission by defence counsel Mr H Joubert that Richardson was motivated by a desire to win Mrs Mandela's approval, the judge said it was difficult to see how the commission of offences like kidnapping and murder could be mitigated by a desire to please anybody.

# Structuring of talks begins as govt meets leaders from other groupings

FIRST talks on structuring negotiations for a new SA constitution get under way tomorrow when government meets homeland leaders and coloured and Indian Ministers.

Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said in a statement yesterday that the meeting, which was expected to last all day, would discuss:

- Proposals regarding the constitutional negotiation process;
  - The status and future of self-governing territories; and
  - The future of local government.
- Viljoen did not specify which homeland leaders would attend, but it is understood

KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Lebowa's Nelson Ramodike, KwaNdebele's Prince James Mahlangu and Gazankulu's Hudson Ntsenwesi have confirmed they will attend.

The chief ministers of KaNgwane and QwaQwa, Enos Mabuza and T K Mopeli, are apparently unable to attend, but will be sending delegations.

The meeting will be chaired by President F W de Klerk.

Cabinet Ministers expected to attend are: Viljoen, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, Planning and Provincial Affairs Minister Hernus Kriel, Finance Minister Barend du Plessis, Education and De-

**MIKE ROBERTSON  
and EDYTH BULBRING**

velopment Aid Minister Stoffel van der Merwe and Public Enterprises Minister Dawie de Villiers.

The chairmen of the Coloured and Indian Ministers' Councils Allan Hendrickse and J N Reddy, or Baldeo Dhookie if Reddy had not recovered from surgery on Tuesday, some of their Ministers and the four provincial administrators will be present.

Government will attempt to win support for its suggestion that all political organisations with a proven support base be granted a place at the negotiating table

without any form of election being held.

The ANC which has publicly committed itself to holding a constituent assembly election to decide who should be present in the drawing up of a new constitution. However, because of government's strong opposition to this proposal, ANC members are beginning to consider alternatives.

An ANC team led by deputy president Nelson Mandela met homeland leaders recently and the ANC publication Mayibuye has reported that all homeland leaders have committed themselves to a unitary SA.

Mahlangu said in an interview this week that KwaNdebele's leaders would back the

ANC in negotiations.

Mopeli and Ramodike said they foresaw their homelands retaining some form of regional government in a new SA.

In his budget speech earlier this year Van der Merwe indicated that the NP favoured the homelands being regarded as separate provinces with a form of regional government in a new SA.

In a follow up to agreements reached between government and the ANC in Pretoria on Monday, Coetsee yesterday invited interested parties to submit suggestions to amend security legislation to ensure free political activity.

● See Page 3

● Comment: Page 6

# World reaction to the Minute

From KIN BENTLEY

LONDON. — There was widespread approval in the editorial columns of British newspapers yesterday for the ANC's decision to suspend violence.

However, the Daily Telegraph said it seemed unlikely the agreement would end "what amounts to a struggle for power in Natal".

The Times said: "President De Klerk has at last been given some return for his concessions to offer his recalcitrant right-wing opponents."

The Evening Standard said the outcome of the talks "suggests that the future will be decided by intelligent pragmatists rather than hardened ideologues".

● The rector of the Peninsula Technikon in Bellville, Mr Franklin Sonn, has praised Mr Nelson Mandela and the ANC for emerging from decades of suffering with an overriding willingness to find peace rather than revenge.

Elsewhere in Africa:

● The Organisation of African Unity (OAU) said: "Africa supports whatever steps the ANC takes, provided that the major objectives were to dismantle apartheid."

● Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, chairman of the frontline states, praised the ANC's suspension of violence.

● Black Consciousness Movement of Azania leader Mr Mosibudi Mangena said in Harare that the BCMA and its military wing, the Azanian National Liberation Army, would continue with its programmes as decided earlier because nothing had changed. — Sapa-Reuter

# Row flares in DP after Leon attack

CPA Files 9/8/90

114

~~2/1/91~~

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

A ROW has flared up in the Democratic Party following the attack by the MP for Houghton, Mr Tony Leon, on the ANC and the SA Communist Party.

Mr Leon, in remarks prepared for his annual constituency report-back meeting last night, slammed the ANC for having "vague and inconsistent" policies and accused SACP boss Mr Joe Slovo of "economic illiteracy".

In the text of his speech, prematurely broadcast on SATV and reported in a number of newspapers yesterday, Mr Leon said there was an urgent need for the ANC to "stop relying on a victim psychosis".

The MP for Simon's Town, Mr Jannie Momberg, has repudiated Mr Leon for

engaging in "a slanging match with our opponents".

Speaking at a meeting in Somerset West last night, Mr Momberg said: "I believe that it is a futile exercise to call members of the ANC economic illiterates and all sorts of bad names, which at this stage will not help to set a climate of real negotiation."

Mr Momberg said he believed that issues on which the DP differed from the ANC, the National Party or any other party should be resolved around the negotiation table.

He said it was important that white voters in particular should understand "the tremendous Catch 22 position" that the ANC found itself in at the moment.

"Over the years of the 'struggle' the ANC was perceived by the masses as the only organisation who would negotiate their freedom and also their moving away from poverty ...

"If the ANC is perceived to be too 'soft' on certain issues it is quite possible that many of the youngsters will abandon it to join the PAC," Mr Momberg said.

An unrepentant Mr Leon said yesterday that he stood by his reported criticism of the ANC and the SACP and would repeat "the whole thing and much more" when he addressed his constituency.

Mr Leon said: "Certain things need to be said by people proclaiming a liberal position."

He said he had received both positive and negative feedback from his DP colleagues since his remarks were reported.

But he would not pull his punches when criticising the ANC because applying a different standard to the organisation, particularly now that it was unbanned, would amount to racism.



# Women protesters look back to historic march

Flashback: Women's march to protest against rape and jackrolling in Soweto.

By PEARL MAJOLA

This year, 34 years since that historic march by 20 000 women to the Union Buildings in Pretoria

to protest the extension of pass laws to women, the situation in this country has changed.

A few oppressive laws have been scrapped and we seem to be moving forward.

The role of women in this change cannot be ignored. They have maintained their strong opposition to apartheid and other forms of oppression.

After the banning of political organisations, like the PAC and the

ANC, women continued to be very active, especially in the 1980s, through organisations like the African Organisation of Women, the Natal Organisation of Women, the Black Sash and many others.

When their husbands were jailed, they found work and took care of the families.

They tackled important issues on their own; from calling for an end to the violence that is tearing our country apart, to calling for legislation for

domestic and farm workers.

They also fought for women workers' rights, like maternity leave and, indeed, they have scored many victories.

Many others have successfully stood up and taken important positions in politics, business and professions, despite the odds against them.

This year, August 9, falls on the same day as it did in 1956 and different women's organisations will observe the historical day from today through

the weekend.

The University of Witwatersrand SRC will host a mass lunch hour meeting at the Great Hall at 1pm today. One of the speakers will be former exile Amina Cachalia and singer Jennifer Ferguson will provide entertainment.

The African Women's Organisation, the women's section of the Pan Africanist Congress, will observe National Women's Day on Sunday at the Memorial Chapel in Dube at 1pm.

In Durban, the ANC's Women's League will be launched as part of the commemorations.

The Imbeleko Women's Club will celebrate at the Vosloorus Civic Centre at 1pm on Sunday, and there will be two other celebrations on Saturday - at the Seshego Lutheran Church in Zone 3 and another at the University of Qwaqwa.

The theme of their celebrations will be unity among women and the end to inter-organisational hostilities.





# Six killed, 50 injured in PE

ARCE  
9/8/70

11A

From PAT CANDIDO, Argus Bureau

PORT ELIZABETH. — Looting, arson and stoning hit several suburbs here again last night after four days of unrest which left six people dead and more than 50 injured.

Emergency medical stations were set up in the riot-torn suburbs of Arcadia, Schauderville, Windvogel, Helenvale and Chatty to deal with the injured.

About 50 people were treated for gunshot wounds yesterday at the Livingstone Hospital.

Police spokesman Major Bill Dennis said there was sporadic stone-throwing early today but generally things appeared quieter.

He confirmed that five people had died as a result of police action and said a sixth was killed when a shop was looted. The owner had fired in to a crowd.

## MANDELA ROLE

TOS WENTZEL of the Political Staff reports that an urgent representation from the Labour Party has been made to President De Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela to intervene in the northern areas of Port Elizabeth.

An urgent letter has been faxed to Mr Mandela asking for his help in restoring order.

Labour's leader, Mr Allan Hendrickse, saw Mr De Klerk in Pretoria yesterday and asked him to take further steps to restore order.

Mr Peter Hendrickse, MP, the party's liaison officer, said the Port Elizabeth disturbances arose from ANC actions against the Labour Party, campaigns against rent increases and action at some schools.

Mr Hendrickse said the situation got out of control when criminals joined in. The looting was indiscriminate, with shop-owners not connected to the party also having their premises ransacked.

Major industries, meantime, resumed work. Work stopped yesterday because workers could not negotiate sealed streets and barricades.

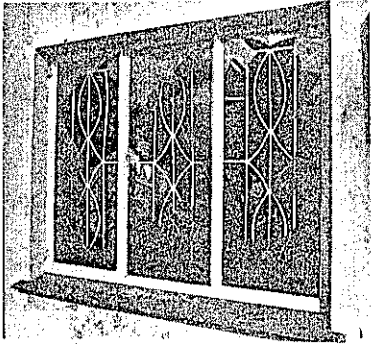
Police were kept busy throughout the night. As incidents died down in one area, they flared in another.

Barricades were set alight to attract police attention, then mobs would disperse quickly, gathering elsewhere.

In many areas tyres, concrete blocks, bricks, rocks, metal piping and car wrecks littered the streets.

The Mayor, Mr John Veira, called for an end to the violence.

The Northern Areas Co-ordinating Committee and the Gelvandale branch of the African National Congress have called a meeting for today.



Picture: BRENTON GEACH, The Argus

**SMASHED:** A security official surveys damage to the Worcester management committee offices which were attacked with stones and bricks and set alight in two places during unrest this week.

## Lull after the storm

Staff Reporter

AFTER three days of violence in the Breede River Valley, towns such as Worcester, Ashton and Bonnievale were quiet early today, a police spokesman said.

He said there could be more unrest later in the day, but incidents were becoming sporadic and security forces expected the trouble to die down completely by tomorrow.

• More pictures, page 2.

# ANC to spell out its views on Minute

By Kaizer Nyatumba,  
Political Staff

The African National Congress publicity machinery went into top gear yesterday in an attempt to publicise and explain the accord signed between the Government and the ANC in Pretoria on Monday.

In a "report-back to the people of South Africa", to be advertised in newspapers country-wide shortly, the ANC Department of Information and Publicity has tried to put the Pretoria Minute into perspective from its point of view, pointing out that the ANC had also made "major advances" in Monday's meeting.

In a preamble to the report, the ANC said its all-round offensive against apartheid had led South Africa to the beginning of a new and democratic era, noting that there was still some distance to cover before apartheid was replaced by a democratic constitution.

Although substantial advances had been made, some stumbling blocks still remained in place.

The ANC said in view of the priority it gave to the peaceful solution of the country's problems, it had taken the initiative to suspend the armed struggle.

"This means that the ANC will not carry out any further armed actions and related activities such as the infiltration of armed cadres and weaponry. The ANC will participate in monitoring the activity of the SAP and SADF," it said.

The organisation was quick to point out, however, that the armed struggle had not been abandoned, Umkhonto weSizwe was not dissolved and the ANC had not forfeited its right to self-defence. Continued suspension of the armed struggle depended on the behaviour of the SAP and the SADF.

## Gains made

Mass struggles, according to the ANC, would continue "in all spheres of our lives" and the Government would have to heed the people's demands.

The ANC said before Monday's meeting political prisoners and detainees had not been released, political trials were still continuing, security legislation was used against the people and the state of emergency in Natal was still in place.

Gains made in Monday's meeting at the Presidensie in Pretoria were that:

- A time-table for the release of political prisoners and the re-

turn of exiles had been agreed upon.

The release of political prisoners will begin on September 1 and is expected to end by December 31. During that period all political trials would have ceased, political detainees released and most exiles will have returned home indemnified from prosecution.

- The Government has committed itself to amending existing security legislation at the next session of Parliament.

It would also give immediate consideration to repealing all provisions of the Internal Security Act which prohibited the furtherance of communism, provided for the listing of banning of people and required newspapers to pay a deposit before registering.

- Although the state of emergency in Natal was still in place, both the ANC and the Government had committed themselves "to search for peace and stability in the spirit of mutual trust".

- The South African Youth Congress (Sayco) has warned that the suspension of armed actions by the ANC did not remove the people's right to defend themselves against aggressors.

ARG 611 9/8/90 (11A) (S) (S)

## Charge decision on Winnie 'soon'

JOHANNESBURG. — A decision on whether or not to charge Mrs Winnie Mandela, who has been implicated by State witnesses in the murder trial of Jerry Richardson, will be made within the next week or two, Transvaal Attorney-General Mr Klaus von Lieres has said.

Mr Von Lieres said last night he had been waiting for the outcome of the Richardson trial before making a decision.

"I've not taken a decision yet. The matter is being studied and a decision will be taken in a week or two," he said.

### "DESIRE TO PLEASE"

Richardson, the Mandela Football Club coach who murdered child anti-apartheid activist Stompie Seipei, was sentenced to death yesterday by a Rand Supreme Court judge.

Mr Justice B O'Donovan said the court rejected evidence submitted in extenuation that Richardson was mentally retarded. Richardson's view that Stompie was a traitor and a police informer was also not a mitigating factor.

He said Richardson's perceived need to seek Mrs Winnie Mandela's approval had not been considered for purposes of sentencing.

"It is difficult to see how kidnap and murder can be mitigated by the desire to please anybody," Mr Justice O'Donovan said. — Sapa.

# We're not <sup>Star 9/8/90</sup> siding with <sup>(15A)</sup> Govt - Inkatha

By Kaizer Nyatumba, Political Staff

The Inkatha Women's Brigade yesterday denied Winnie Mandela's allegations last week that Inkatha was conniving with the Government against progressive black organisations.

A member of the Inkatha central committee and the Inkatha Women's Brigade R R Mashiyane said in a statement that Mrs Mandela's accusations against Inkatha, both during the recent international tour with her husband and during the launch of the ANC Women's League in Vereeniging last week, were unfounded.



Winnie Mandela.

Inkatha had steadfastly refused to negotiate with the Government until Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners were released, and the ANC deputy president had been released "because of the campaign the leader of Inkatha (Mangosuthu Buthelezi) has waged for decades".

Mrs Mashiyane said when the Mass Democratic Movement disowned Mrs Mandela last year in the wake of the controversy sur-

rounding the Mandela Football Club and Stompie Seipei's death, Inkatha was "the only organisation that stood by her". That was no connivance with the Government.

Mrs Mashiyane said Inkatha had never been engaged in the "People's War" and had been at the receiving end of violence.

"All actions of Inkatha members have been defensive and Inkatha members reserve the right to defend themselves," she said.

c

9/21 8/8/90

~~11~~ ~~11~~ 11 ~~11~~

# Police, troops seal township

By Therese Anders,  
Highveld Bureau

ERMELO — Police and the army sealed off Wesselton township last night during a major swoop after three weeks of serious unrest.

At least four people have been killed, scores injured and many homes and businesses damaged during continued fighting between ANC supporters and supposed Inkatha sympathisers.

Police report that five people were arrested during last night's swoop and a large number of weapons, including firearms, was confiscated.

Eastern Transvaal police liai-

son officer, Captain Ogies van Straaten, said the police were searching only for identified criminals and suspects for whom warrants of arrest had been issued.

He said thousands of pamphlets had been distributed throughout Wesselton early yesterday warning residents of the coming police action.

The SAP's regional commissioner had written a personal letter to residents recently warning that law-abiding citizens might get caught up in the police dragnet.

Police were still in the area this morning.

# ANC to sell new stance to masses

*Cape Times 9/8/90*  
*11A*

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

THE ANC today launches a nationwide campaign to explain its contentious decision unilaterally to suspend the armed struggle after 29 years.

With Mr Mandela's decision being interpreted in some circles as surrender rather than an act of statesmanship, a senior ANC official yesterday admitted; "There is a lot of misunderstanding and the ANC will have its time cut out explaining this."

But the ANC emphasised yesterday that it had no intention of acceding to the government's call to cancel or tone down its campaign of mass protests.

"To do this would be like laying down your gun and then laying down your knife as well," a senior ANC source said yesterday.

The campaign to sell the major shift in the armed struggle strategy to the masses and explain the background to the ANC's decision to sign the Pretoria Minute this week, kicks off today with advertisements in a number of commercial newspapers countrywide.

The ANC also plans to market its

new stance via a series of pamphlets in vernacular languages and in a series of meetings with members of the ANC and sympathetic organisations like Cosatu and Sayco.

A major thrust of the advertisement is that the decision to suspend the armed struggle is conditional on the behaviour of the SA Police and the SA Defence Force.

The advertisement, headed "ANC Report Back to the People of South Africa", notes that the armed struggle has not been "abandoned", that Umkhonto we Sizwe has not been dissolved and that "we have not forfeited the right to self-defence."

It adds: "The ANC will participate in monitoring the activity of the SAP and the SADF."

However, ANC sources acknowledged yesterday that the "agonising decision" to suspend armed actions had not gone down well in Umkhonto we Sizwe and among some of the ANC's rank-and-file supporters.

ANC members in Natal, where there has been talk of stepping up the

To page 2

From page 1

## ANC campaign

*Cape Times 9/8/90*  
*11A*

armed struggle, were "not happy" with the decision. Opposition to the move had also come from "townships in the Transvaal where there has been Inkatha-related violence", one ANC source said.

However, the decision had been necessary to "break the logjam" and "give us back the high moral ground".

An ANC source disclosed yesterday that one of main reasons why the Presidensie talks lasted for 15 hours was the government's determination to get the ANC to abandon its campaign of civil protest.

As one source put it: "They wanted us to agree that there would be no more mass action and that problems would be sorted out with chats with them (rather than through protest action)."

But as the ANC advertisement today notes: "Mass (action) struggles have to continue in all spheres of our lives to achieve our objective of a united, non-racial, democratic and non-sexist society."

"The government must listen to the demands of the people."

# Slovo heckled at chat show

Star 9/8/90  
By Guy Jepson

Assemble a group of about 150 white-collar middle-class South Africans for a political discussion with a leading official of the South African Communist Party and you have a recipe for high drama.

And that was what is was at O'Hagan's Wine Bar in Dunkeld, Johannesburg, last night when SACP chief Joe Slovo made a guest appearance at a chat show chaired by radio and TV personality Tony Sanderson.

There was a short power-cut at the start, but Sanderson said: "There is no truth in the rumour that it is a right-wing plot."

Things got serious as Mr Sanderson

11A  
10  
heckled Mr Slovo on Communism, its failure in Eastern Bloc countries, crimes committed in the name of Communism, the SACP's response to business fears of its economic policies, and its attitude to religion.

Heckling broke out as Mr Slovo was questioned over his public statement that Jesus Christ could have joined the ANC's armed wing.

But the man once regarded as South Africa's Enemy No 1 stuck to his guns.

"I believe Christ was a liberal and a revolutionary," he said.

The SACP was in favour of a Bill of Rights enshrining freedom of religion, speech and political affiliation, he added.

SA 9/8/90

(16A)

(S)

(S)

VS

By Kaizer Nyatumba,  
Political Staff

## Leon lashes out at ANC, NP and SACP

The African National Congress (ANC) should stop relying on a victim psychosis and start being creative in the market-place of ideas and policies, according to Democratic Party MP for Houghton Tony Leon.

In a hard-hitting speech at his report-back meeting in his constituency last night, he accused the South African Communist Party (SACP) leader Joe Slovo of economic illiteracy, took the ANC to task for its "declared policy of 'popular frontism'", and its consequent lack of clear-cut policies, and criticised the Government for not repealing

all vestiges of discriminatory legislation during the last parliamentary session.

Mr Leon said much of what passed for the ANC's policy for reconstruction was "nothing more, or less, than tired, old anti-apartheid slogans and rhetoric dressed up in new garb".

### Easy to win

"Repeating cliched paragraphs of the Freedom Charter is no substitute for analysis and coherence," he said.

It would be easy for the ANC to win power "on a minimal

programme of meaningless populism", just as it would be equally easy for "hard men of the left" in the ANC-SACP alliance to implement the second stage of the revolution through the imposition of socialism.

Mr Leon warned "Mr Slovo and his fellow travellers" that if they attempted to implement state-sponsored socialism in the new South Africa, those who possessed wealth and created jobs and opportunities would "simply relocate themselves, their children and their assets".

Turning to the NP, Mr Leon said it too was as vague and in-

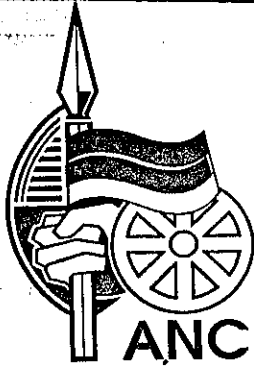
coherent about its policies as the ANC.

"It has certainly reformed our politics and, haltingly and imperfectly, begun to dismantle apartheid. However, the fact that the NP has begun negotiations has not transformed it into a party of good government," he said.

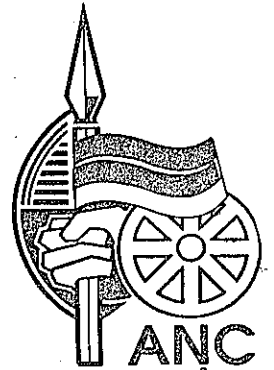
While the DP was smaller, it was powerful in ideas and unambiguous in its commitment. The party had to engage in dialogue and win converts to its cause "in the new constituency of black South Africa" before it was too late.



(11A)



# ANC REPORT BACK TO THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA



Our all-round offensive against apartheid has led South Africa to the beginning of a new and democratic era. We still have some distance to cover before apartheid is replaced by a democratic Constitution. Although we have made substantial advances, certain stumbling blocks remain in our way. Below is a report and assessment of the second meeting held between the ANC and the government in Pretoria on 6 August 1990.

## THE OBSTACLES

Before the Pretoria meeting the following obstacles stood in the way of the peaceful resolution of the problems in our country:

1. all political prisoners and detainees had not been released;
2. political trials were still continuing
3. security legislation was still on the law books and was being used against our people
4. the State of Emergency in Natal was still in place

The ANC had also noted the steady deterioration of the situation in Natal and other parts of the country. In addition to police violence against the people, it is quite clear that the state has connived with vigilante forces in their criminal actions.

## THE GAINS

The Pretoria meeting achieved the following major advances for the people of our country:

1. a time-table for the release of all political prisoners and the return of exiles. The release of political prisoners will start from 1 September 1990. It is expected that most political prisoners will be released by 31 December 1990. Within the same period all political trials should cease and all political detainees released. We also expect most exiles to return during this period – indemnified from prosecution.

However, a few disputed cases will be examined on an individual basis by a Working Group consisting of the ANC, other political organisations and the government.

2. the government has committed itself to amending the existing security legislation at the next session of parliament. In addition it will give immediate consideration to repealing all provisions of the Internal Security Act that:

- prohibit the furtherance of Communism;
- list or ban activists
- require newspapers to pay a deposit before registering

## THE NATAL SITUATION

While the State of Emergency continues to exist in Natal both parties committed themselves to search for peace and stability in the spirit of mutual trust.

The demands made by the ANC still stand. They are:

- \* the arrest and prosecution of warlords and perpetrators of violence;
- \* lifting of the state of emergency
- \* disbanding of the Kwazulu Police;
- \* dissolution of the Kwazulu bantustan

## THE ARMED STRUGGLE

In view of the priority the ANC gives to the peaceful solution of the country's problems we have taken the initiative to suspend the armed struggle. This means the ANC will not carry out any further armed actions and related activities such as the infiltration of armed cadres and weaponry. The ANC will participate in monitoring the activity of the SAP and SADF.

The following points must be noted:

- \* the armed struggle has not been abandoned;
- \* the People's Army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, has not been dissolved;
- \* we have not forfeited our right to self-defence

Therefore, continued suspension is conditional on the behaviour of the South African Police and the Defence Force.

## MASS ACTION CONTINUES

Mass struggles have to continue in all spheres of our lives to achieve our objective of a united, non-racial, democratic and non-sexist society. The government must listen to the demands of the people.

## A DEMOCRATIC CONSTITUTION

Whilst the obstacles are being removed exploratory talks on the drawing up of a democratic constitution may begin. The ANC's position is that there must be an Interim Government to supervise the transitional process. A Constituent Assembly, elected on the basis of one-person-one-vote and on a common voters' roll, must be responsible for the drawing up of the new Constitution.

The African National Congress is committed to the achievement of a united, non-racial, democratic South Africa. We have initiated the process of talks to realise this objective. In this regard we have taken, and will continue to take certain measures which will facilitate the success of this process.

**For further information contact ANC, PO Box 61884 Johannesburg 2000**

*Against the grain*

**Freedom or death — funding is certain**

I WANTED to find out about grassroots democracy, so I took up gardening. Was it one root, one vote or one grass, one smoke?

When a friend mentioned I might be on the wrong track, that I should belong to a mass-based organisation, I joined the Catholic Church.

Many masses later, I asked the man in the funny clothes about democracy from below. He said he didn't know; his mandate came from above.

Then my friend told me that democracy was about listening to the voice of the people. So I listened.

And I heard the people say: "Viva!" "Vlokkie!" "Vrystaat!" One people, three voices? Which was I to listen to?

"Ah" said my friend, "That depends on who the people are!"

She led me past poles burdened with posters, past walls chanting slogan graffiti, to a church hall whose doors were as welcoming as a mortuary drawer.

"Here is a meeting of a people's organisation" she triumphantly announced.

**Cool comrades**

I peered inside. There was a haze of smoke — more potent than teargas. It was a mixture of Winstons and Gunston.

Through the haze, I made out the shapes of seven people. The masses had gathered! Everyone was cool, no laughter, no smiles.

And all their names were "Com". The discussion was intense, earnest. The question on the floor was ... when should the next meeting be held?

"This is the third time we've tried to have this meeting, and each time we get fewer people," said Com. "I propose we forget it."

"No," said Com. "I'm sure the people want this meeting. Let's postpone it till Tuesday."

"But that's when the people watch Dallas," said Com. "Why not Saturday?"

"Isn't this fantastic?" coughed my friend through the Gunston smoke. "Grassroots democracy — where everyone has the right to say something."

So for the next three hours, the mass-based meeting of seven proceeded to exercise their democratic right to say whether the meeting should be on Saturday at 3pm or Saturday at 3.30pm.

**Adjourned**

The meeting was divided. Then a Com whose second name was "Chair" said: "We have to decide. Will it be by consensus or majority?"

Which led to a further two-hour discussion. Finally the meeting to decide on when the next meeting should be, was adjourned to the next day as a few Coms had to attend another meeting.

My friend was excited. She told me that even in the old days, people who refused to be accountable were given a democratic choice: they could either have Dunlop or Firestone.

"Why not Kelly?" I asked. "Because Kelly tyres are tough", she said.

Just in case the bad old days came back again, I decided to be accountable and join a mass-based organisation.

So now I go to lots of meetings. I don't do very much (I don't have to — I'm supported by foreign funding) and I'm dying of lung cancer, but at least, I'm accountable.



**Accountability: theory or practice?**

THE second round of talks between the government and the ANC took place this week.

However, very few ANC members received a report-back on the first round of talks held in May.

And after the Pretoria meeting, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela said the organisation had decided to suspend the armed struggle before they entered the talks with the government.

What he did not explain is at what level the decision had been taken — whether the rank and file membership had been consulted or whether the national executive committee had decided on this step unilaterally.

**Corrupt**

February 2 and the unbanning of the political organisations fundamentally altered the terrain of struggle in South Africa.

This was preceded by the collapse of socialism in Eastern Europe and the exposure of corrupt dictatorships by millions clamouring for democracy.

Commented Jay Naidoo, general secretary of Cosatu: "Leadership must be earned, not imposed."

"To avoid the Stalinist distortions of Eastern Europe, the answer is to build democratic practices at every level of our organisations."

"Our organisations must adopt a code of conduct, mandates, meticulous report-backs and accountability."

However, the promise of a new, demo-

*"The people shall govern", "Forward to a non-racial, democratic South Africa" — political practice or empty slogans? In recent months, questions have arisen over the lack of accountability of leadership of the democratic movement. REHANA ROSSOUW explores this problem:*

cratic South Africa offset the negative implications of the lack of democracy in socialist Europe.

The ANC, SACP and PAC emerged from the shadows of the underground and announced their intentions to recruit members and work openly inside South Africa.

At a NEC meeting in Lusaka, the ANC appointed people to serve on regional structures.

Democratic consultation was hampered by the absence of democratic organs of the ANC — the branches, regional congresses and the ultimate decision-making body, the annual congress.

**Secrecy**

The organisations which had been banned also needed to adapt to working above ground, operating without secrecy and allowed to consult members openly.

For a while, the gap between the leadership and the members on the ground hampered effective work of the organisation.

Members felt out of touch with the decision-making of the ANC. The only forums created for report-backs to membership were mass rallies and reports in newspapers.

in the Western Cape was cause for concern.

There had been very little discussion among workers in the factories around the campaign — and therefore little response on July 2.

But a recent campaign organised by the South African Clothing and Textile Workers Union (Sactu) in support of the Workers' Charter campaign drew massive support after workers were consulted about their protest actions.

**Rubberstamp**

The way Numsa formulated its political policy through a thorough process of open shop/floor discussion is in sharp contrast to a tradition in several organisations where decisions are taken by enclaves and then presented to rallies for a rubberstamp.

The lack of accountability in organisations was cause for indepth debate at the Tongaat consultative conference of the South African Communist Party.

The Party recommended that all levels of its leadership must be directly elected by the membership and there should also be accountability directly to the members.

"Public accountability is the principle which we should strive to uphold. We cannot continue to rely only on our own noble intentions," the Tongaat minutes read.

The Party conceded that holding mass rallies and mass meetings was not sufficient to make the organisation accountable to the people of South Africa.

It questioned its ability to "always do the right thing" and said it must strive to demonstrate they were servants of the people.



**JAY NAIDOO: Leadership must be earned**

Despite Naidoo's cautioning against repeating the mistakes made by the leadership in Eastern Europe, these mistakes kept occurring in South Africa.

A recent example of the lack of consultation between leadership and rank-and-file members of organisations was the national stayaway on July 2 in protest against the war in Natal.

While the response of three million workers to the call by Cosatu, the UDF and the ANC to stay away from work was hailed as a huge success, the poor response of only 20 percent of workers

The launch of the African National Congress Women's League on Saturday marks the re-birth of South African women's struggle for recognition as equals in society. The launch will highlight the plight of women. Women will begin discussing their oppression and the way to end it. In this special focus SOUTH reporters CHIARA CARTER and MONO BADELA speak to women in the forefront of the battle against sexual oppression:



# League heralds a new era

South 9/8-15/8/90

THE launch of the African National Congress Women's League on Saturday would herald a new era of women's rights in South Africa, said the league's task force member, Frenc Ginwala.

Ginwala, a lawyer, historian and long-

By MONO BADELA

time exile who was based in the ANC's London office, is home after 30 years to help organise the launch.

More than 400 delegates from women's organisations in the democratic movement will meet in Durban for the launch.

WOMEN'S issues must become a central focus of organisations rather than trail as an after-thought at the end of an agenda.

This is the view of Connie September, the newly-elected treasurer of the South African Clothing and Textile Workers' Union (Sactwu).

September regards the election of two women to the union's national executive committee as a "move in the right direction" for Sactwu, of which women form the vast majority.

"It is a move towards reflecting the composition of our membership, but more women must become actively involved in the union's structures and assume leadership," she said.

**Responsibilities**

September is employed as a warehouse clerk at the Rex Trueform clothing factory in Salt River, the heart of Cape Town's clothing industry.

As national treasurer she is in charge of the finance department and must check the union's financial records.

She is also the chairperson of Sactwu's Salt River local committee and regional vice-chairperson.

Her public involvement is not limited to the union.

She is the branch secretary of the ANC in Grassy Park/Lotus River, is a former secretary of the Advice Office Forum and was previously active in civic and youth organisations.

September's involvement in the union has spanned a period during which, for the first time, a largely female workforce in the Western Cape was organised into

# Women's champion on the factory floor

South 9/8-15/8/90

By CHIARA CARTER

a progressive industrial union capable of winning gains from employers.

There are special problems in having a mostly female membership.

"Women often can't come to meetings, especially if there's no transport. They can often stay for only a limited time because they have a whole range of household duties as well as their jobs," September said.

"Many women who are shopstewards are married to men who aren't even unionised. This leads to fights at home and even divorce — as the Sactwu legal department can tell you."

September herself has to juggle being the mother of an 11-year-old daughter with her organisational responsibilities.

"Often you want to spend more time with your child, like at exam time, but you have meetings or you have to travel."

She says she has tried to be "open" with her daughter, explaining why she has to attend meetings and be away from the house.

September feels that, while women's issues are starting to be examined in Sactwu, they need to be looked at more seriously.

"There's no real buzz about these issues. Women's issues are often seen as separate and placed at the tail-end of the agenda where they often are not dis-



Connie September

cussed."

The complexity of the problem can be seen in the fact that even though Sactwu's membership is largely female, the union has tended to be male-dominated — with women lacking confidence in themselves and other women.

September has no doubt about the innate strength of women.

However, this is not evident in the role played by women at a leadership level and within the union's structures.

"Although women make up the vast majority of Sactwu, one is not really aware of the strength of women," said September.

"In elections you often see women pushing men for the positions. In discussions, women listen to the men rather than participate in the debates.

"The big question is how to build the confidence of women in our union. The whole question of women in the union needs serious examination.

"It is not enough to say there must be women in leadership. The issue is more complex. There is sexism in the broader society and there is sexism in our organisations.

"Women must be accepted in organisations as equals and they must accept themselves as such.

"They need to be given confidence through an education process. But education must not be for women only. It involves men and women."

September says that even when women accept the responsibilities of leadership, they face extra burdens as opposed to their male counterparts.

One of these problems is loneliness.

"As the only woman on a structure, there are often times when you are lonely. You want the company of another woman. For example, you don't want to sit in a hotel room, talking to one of the men."

**Acceptance**

Another is winning acceptance as a leader.

"Many people find it difficult to accept you can be a leader. They are more comfortable with a man in the position.

"Other women find it easier to criticise you rather than one of the men. You also become a target for gossip and have to watch your step all the time."

Despite these problems, she is confident that more women will follow the path of other women leaders in the union and in other walks of life and that this will help place women on the centre stage beside their male counterparts.

# Speak is no ordinary mag

By CHIARA CARTER

THE term "women's magazine" conjures up the image of one of those glossy publications with a model smiling seductively from the front cover that are sold in corner shops and newsagents.

But "Speak" is a different kind of women's magazine.

Run by an all-woman collective, "Speak" aims at raising awareness among men and women of the battle to win basic human rights for women.

The name comes from the magazine's intention to provide a forum for women to speak and be heard.

Shamim Meer, a founder member of the collective said: "'Speak' gives women a chance to speak without interruption and men have to listen. It starts getting people to take women more seriously."

Karen Hurt, another member of the collective, is more emphatic: "Sometimes I want to call it 'Shout Out'".

The first issue of "Speak" appeared as a four-page newsletter in Durban in 1982 and arose directly out of a

workshop of women.

From volunteers working from home, the magazine moved towards employing a fulltime editorial staff.

Today, the "Speak collective", which meets every six weeks, includes two full-time employees in Durban and three in Johannesburg.

The magazine, which appears six times a year, has a distribution of 10 000 — primarily in Natal and Johannesburg.

The magazine is written in a conversational tone and the articles are short, with extensive use of quotes.

"Even if someone is illiterate, we hope the images of strong fighting women on the cover and inside will stay with them," Hurt said.

"Using slogans means that, even if someone does not open the magazine, the message is still heard," said Meer.

Over the years, the magazine has become closely linked with the trade union movement in input and distribution.

Unexpectedly, the magazine has a high

male readership. In fact, more men than women buy "Speak" — a cause for some concern to the collective.

"Speak" sees itself as aimed at both men and women. This is because the collective defines the oppression of women as a "people's problem", not just a women's issue.

"Men must be part of the discussion. Women need to build confidence and strength. Therefore they need women's forums. But men must accept that this is a people's problem," Meer said.

However, the collective is made up of women only as the editorial feels men don't bring the same understanding to the project and because the project is committed to developing women's skills.

The magazine covers health, interviews with women leaders, developments in the struggle in South Africa and moves by women to organise.

It also often covers issues that many regard as "sensitive".

These have included topics closely tied to attitudes, culture and tradition such as rape in marriage, wife beating and lobola.

**The Southern African Literature Society**

(Botswana)

MAKABONGWE AMAKOSIKAZI



SALS commemorates South African Women's Day  
Some books on South African women:

- Lives of Courage - Diana Russell (ed.) R31.00 + R1.50 p&p
- South African Women on the Move - Vukani Makhosikazi R36.50 + R1.50 p&p
- We Make Freedom - Beata Lipman R21.50 + R1.00 p&p
- My Spirit is not Banned - Frances Baard R6.50 + R1.00 p&p
- Side by Side - Helen Joseph R28.50 + R1.50 p&p
- No Childs Play - Caesarina Makhoele R19.00 + R1.00 p&p
- Strikes Have Followed Me All My Life - Emma Mashinini R32.00 + R1.00 p&p
- 117 Days - Ruth First R24.50 + 1.00 p&p
- One Never Knows - Linidiwe Mabuza (ed) R12.50 + R1.00 p&p
- Sometimes When It Rains - Ann Oosthuizen (ed) R19.50 + R1.00 p&p
- Women in South Africa - S. Tsikang & D. Lefakane (eds) R18.50 + R1.00 p&p

All of these titles are available from: SALS - BOX 20923, GABORONE, BOTSWANA. Please send crossed Postal Orders payable to SALS.

Complete list of Women's issues is available on request.

# Heralds a in SA



Frene Ginwala: "There're some men who are politically backward"

The league will be an autonomous body within the ANC. Its decisions will not be referred to the national executive committee for approval, Ginwala explained.

August 9 had been chosen as a date for the launch as it symbolised the women's struggle against oppressive laws.

On that day in 1956, 20 000 women filled the amphitheatre at the Union Buildings in Pretoria to demand the withdrawal of passes for women and the repeal of the pass laws.

The day was declared National Women's Day by the ANC to honour women's role in the struggle against apartheid.

Ginwala said the league would initiate a campaign for a Charter for Women's Rights.

"We will go around the country listening to women, hearing what their problems are and seeing how many of these problems are directly attributed to apartheid and how many are gender-related," she said.

"There are men who are politically backward. The league will help to enlighten them and advance their politics so they see oppression for what it is.

"They must realise they should concern themselves with the oppression not only

of blacks, but of all people — including women."

Ginwala said the Women's Charter would eventually be a constitutional instrument.

The ANC was against the exploitation of women, especially African women who were the most oppressed and exploited group in the population presently.

"The ANC says women are not going to be liberated as a by-product of the liberation struggle. It acknowledges that the question of women would have to be addressed in its own right."

Gender oppression had a material base, economic factors and was propped up by the cultures of all groups in South Africa.

"The ANC has therefore committed itself to taking affirmative action to ensure women's participation in its structures," Ginwala said.

"It is also giving consideration to the establishment of a national commission which will monitor policies of women and enforce affirmative action within the ANC.

"The commission will embark on an education programme to promote an understanding of the origin and effects of gender oppression.

"The ANC will formulate a national policy on the emancipation of women and the promotion of women's development," she said.

The Women's League aims to unite women in all progressive organisations into one structure, with national, regional and branch levels.

Despite the ANC's policy on women, women still battle for position and recognition in the organisation.

A survey conducted by the ANC in

December found there were 10 times more men than women members.

The emphasis of the league's work will be to train women and build confidence so they can participate fully in other ANC structures.

The Women's Section of the ANC — soon to be dissolved — has suggested that 30 percent of ANC leadership should be women and stressed there be no token representation.

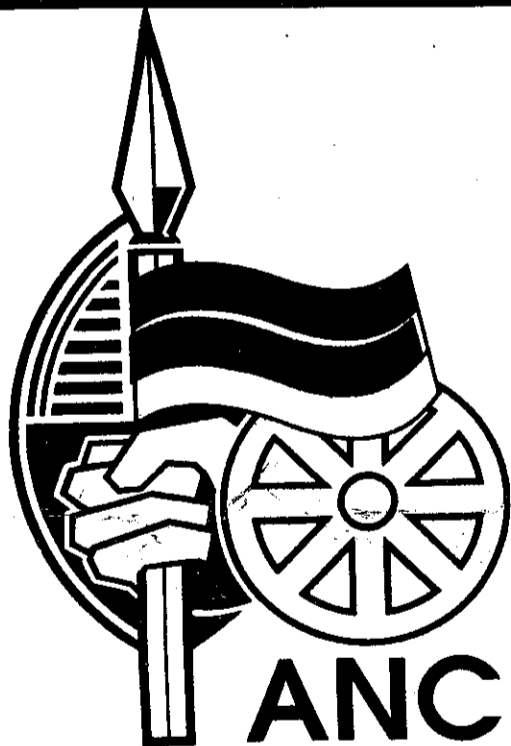
Ginwala was one of the few ANC

members who left South Africa in early 1960 before Sharpeville.

Convinced that a ban on the organisation was imminent, the ANC decided in 1959 to establish an external mission.

ANC president Oliver Tambo was asked to leave the country as soon as possible to serve as a foreign spokesperson.

As Ginwala was the only person with a passport, she was asked to leave the country as well. She arranged for Tambo to be based in Tanzania.



# ANC WOMEN'S LEAGUE

## MASS RALLY

**Date:** Sunday August 12

**Time:** 9.00 am - 16.00 pm

**Venue:** Curries Fountain  
Stadium, Durban

**Speakers:**

Nelson Mandela  
Gertrude Shope  
Harry Gwala  
Albertina Sisulu  
Lindiwe Mabuza

LET THE VOICE OF WOMEN BE HEARD

South 918-1518190

11A

## Against the grain

### Freedom or death — funding is certain

I WANTED to find out about grassroots democracy, so I took up gardening. Was it one root, one vote or one grass, one smoke?

When a friend mentioned I might be on the wrong track, that I should belong to a mass-based organisation, I joined the Catholic Church.

Many masses later, I asked the man in the funny clothes about democracy from below. He said he didn't know; his mandate came from above.

Then my friend told me that democracy was about listening to the voice of the people. So I listened.

And I heard the people say: "Viva!" "Vlokkie!" "Vrystaat!" One people, three voices? Which was I to listen to?

"Ah" said my friend, "That depends on who the people are!"

She led me past poles burdened with posters, past walls chanting slogan graffiti, to a church hall whose doors were as welcoming as a mortuary drawer.

"Here is a meeting of a people's organisation" she triumphantly announced.

#### Cool comrades

I peered inside. There was a haze of smoke — more potent than teargas. It was a mixture of Winstons and Gunston.

Through the haze, I made out the shapes of seven people. The masses had gathered! Everyone was cool, no laughter, no smiles.

And all their names were "Com".

The discussion was intense, earnest. The question on the floor was ... when should the next meeting be held?

"This is the third time we've tried to have this meeting, and each time we get fewer people," said Com. "I propose we forget it."

"No," said Com. "I'm sure the people want this meeting. Let's postpone it till Tuesday."

"But that's when the people watch Dallas," said Com. "Why not Saturday?"

"Isn't this fantastic?" coughed my friend through the Gunston smoke. "Grassroots democracy — where everyone has the right to say something."

So for the next three hours, the mass-based meeting of seven proceeded to exercise their democratic right to say whether the meeting should be on Saturday at 3pm or Saturday at 3.30pm.

#### Adjourned

The meeting was divided.

Then a Com whose second name was "Chair" said: "We have to decide. Will it be by consensus or majority?"

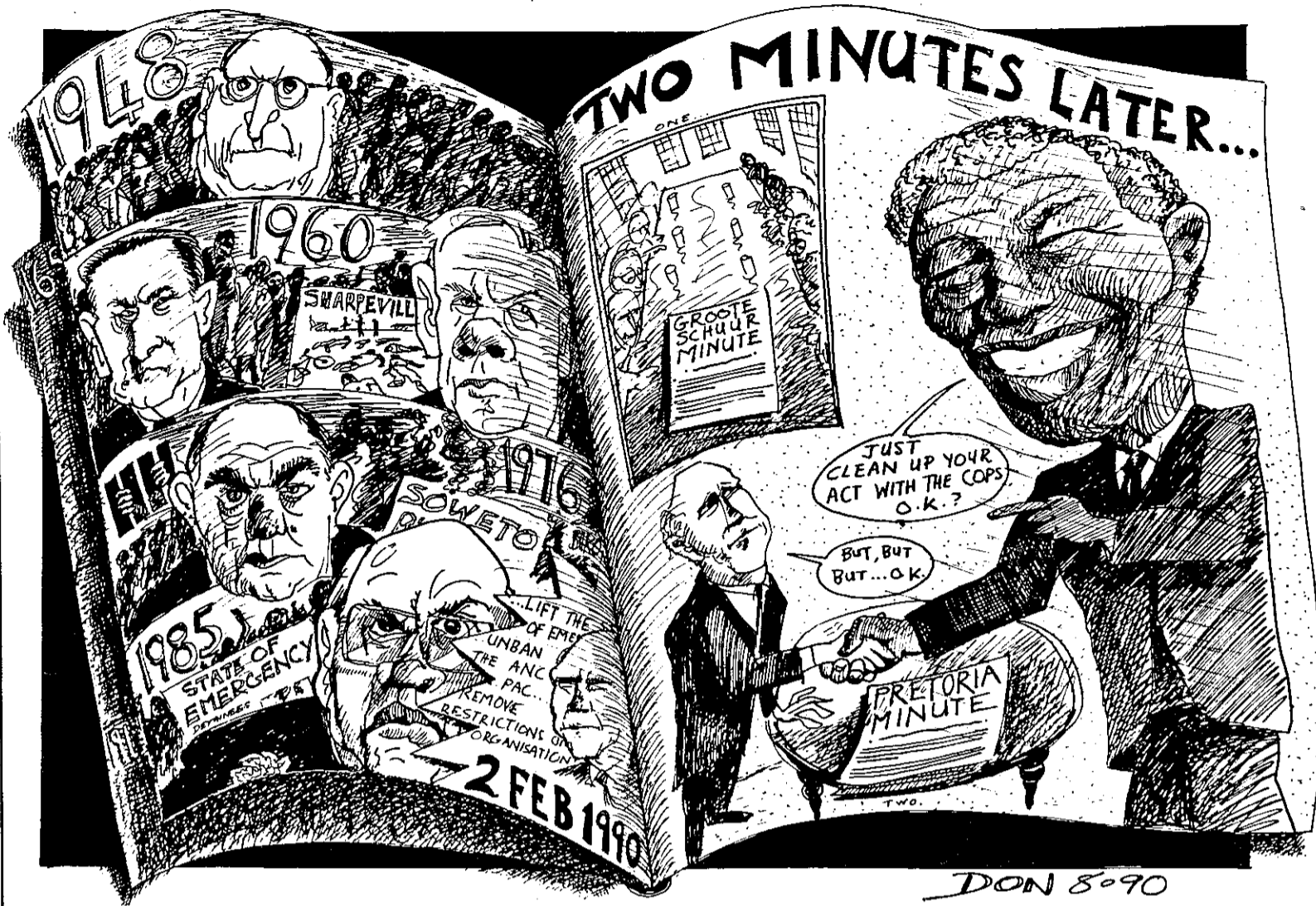
Which led to a further two-hour discussion. Finally the meeting to decide on when the next meeting should be, was adjourned to the next day as a few Coms had to attend another meeting.

My friend was excited. She told me that even in the old days, people who refused to be accountable were given a democratic choice: they could either have Dunlop or Firestone.

"Why not Kelly?" I asked. "Because Kelly tyres are tough", she said.

Just in case the bad old days came back again, I decided to be accountable and join a mass-based organisation.

So now I go to lots of meetings. I don't do very much (I don't have to — I'm supported by foreign funding) and I'm dying of lung cancer, but at least, I'm accountable.



# Accountability: theory or practice?

THE second round of talks between the government and the ANC took place this week.

However, very few ANC members received a report-back on the first round of talks held in May.

And after the Pretoria meeting, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela said the organisation had decided to suspend the armed struggle before they entered the talks with the government.

What he did not explain is at what level the decision had been taken — whether the rank and file membership had been consulted or whether the national executive committee had decided on this step unilaterally.

#### Corrupt

February 2 and the unbanning of the political organisations fundamentally altered the terrain of struggle in South Africa.

This was preceded by the collapse of socialism in Eastern Europe and the exposure of corrupt dictatorships by millions clamouring for democracy.

Commented Jay Naidoo, general secretary of Cosatu: "Leadership must be earned, not imposed."

"To avoid the Stalinist distortions of Eastern Europe, the answer is to build democratic practices at every level of our organisations."

"Our organisations must adopt a code of conduct, mandates, meticulous report-backs and accountability."

However, the promise of a new, demo-

**"The people shall govern", "Forward to a non-racial, democratic South Africa" — political practice or empty slogans? In recent months, questions have arisen over the lack of accountability of leadership of the democratic movement. REHANA ROSSOUW explores this problem:**

cratic South Africa offset the negative implications of the lack of democracy in socialist Europe.

The ANC, SACP and PAC emerged from the shadows of the underground and announced their intentions to recruit members and work openly inside South Africa.

At a NEC meeting in Lusaka, the ANC appointed people to serve on regional structures.

Democratic consultation was hampered by the absence of democratic organs of the ANC — the branches, regional congresses and the ultimate decision-making body, the annual congress.

#### Secrecy

The organisations which had been banned also needed to adapt to working above ground, operating without secrecy and allowed to consult members openly.

For a while, the gap between the leadership and the members on the ground hampered effective work of the organisation.

Members felt out of touch with the decision-making of the ANC. The only forums created for report-backs to membership were mass rallies and reports in newspapers.



**JAY NAIDOO: Leadership must be earned**

Despite Naidoo's cautioning against repeating the mistakes made by the leadership in Eastern Europe, these mistakes kept occurring in South Africa.

A recent example of the lack of consultation between leadership and rank-and-file members of organisations was the national stayaway on July 2 in protest against the war in Natal.

While the response of three million workers to the call by Cosatu, the UDF and the ANC to stay away from work was hailed as a huge success, the poor response of only 20 percent of workers

in the Western Cape was cause for concern.

There had been very little discussion among workers in the factories around the campaign — and therefore little response on July 2.

But a recent campaign organised by the South African Clothing and Textile Workers Union (Sactu) in support of the Workers' Charter campaign drew massive support after workers were consulted about their protest actions.

#### Rubberstamp

The way Numsa formulated its political policy through a thorough process of open shopfloor discussion is in sharp contrast to a tradition in several organisations where decisions are taken by caucuses and then presented to rallies for a rubberstamp.

The lack of accountability in organisations was cause for indepth debate at the Tongaat consultative conference of the South African Communist Party.

The Party recommended that all levels of its leadership must be directly elected by the membership and there should also be accountability directly to the members.

"Public accountability is the principle which we should strive to uphold. We cannot continue to rely only on our own noble intentions," the Tongaat minutes read.

The Party conceded that holding mass rallies and mass meetings was not sufficient to make the organisation accountable to the people of South Africa.

It questioned its ability to "always do the right thing" and said it must strive to demonstrate they were servants of the people.



# Vigilante terror spreads

South 9/8 - 15/8/90

**Vigilante attacks — for which Natal has become infamous — are prevalent also in other parts of South Africa, as CHIARA CARTER reports:**

THE spectre of Natal's bloody civil war is haunting towns as far apart as the remote Eastern Cape hamlet of Aberdeen and the right-wing stronghold of Ermelo in the Eastern Transvaal.

More than 50 people have died and scores have been injured in violent clashes in a range of townships in the Transvaal and Cape over the past fortnight.

## Terrorising

In De Aar in the Northern Cape, civic association president and South African Railway and Harbour Workers' Union (Sarhuw) member, Mr Embrose Hleliqinga Mpephetho, was killed — allegedly by the husband of a leading member of the community.

Community leaders claim he and his wife are linked to a vigilante group which has this year been terrorising the township with arson attacks and violence.

In the conflict-riddled Cape Town townships of Crossroads and Khayelitsha, internecine fighting has reached such proportions that children from rival factions are said to be attacking

one another in schools.

In the Transvaal, the clashes are occurring between supporters of Inkatha and "comrades" who support the ANC and Cosatu.

The tensions between the two parties seem linked to attempts by Inkatha, which has recently become a political party, to broaden its base and move away from being a regional force.

The organisation has embarked on an active recruitment drive in the Transvaal.

Hostels, where there are a high percentage of Zulus, are a focus for this recruitment and seem to be the epicentre of the tensions.

## Hostel dwellers

In the most recent outbreak of warfare between the two sides, at least 11 people died this week in clashes at a hostel in Kagiso in Krugersdorp.

The clashes come less than two weeks after violence devastated the Vaal Triangle township of Sebokeng.

Hostel dwellers there had reported that they were visited by Inkatha and told they must resign from the ANC and Cosatu and join Inkatha and its United Workers Union of South Africa, Uwusa.

Two days after peace returned to Sebokeng, the township still resembled a war zone with debris strewn and barricades littering the side of the road.

For anyone who has covered the Natal war, the scenario was familiar: an endless spiral of accusation and counter-accusation.

What is undisputed is that running battles which took the lives of about 30 people occurred between Inkatha and ANC/Cosatu supporters after an Inkatha rally in the area.

Cosatu claims the battle was planned in advance and that the police acted in cahoots with Inkatha.

The police version is that "anti-Inkatha elements" provoked the fighting by confronting Inkatha members after the rally.

Inkatha's Wit-watersrand organiser, Mr Themba Khoza, claims ANC supporters tried to stop the rally.

Although Inkatha had given an assurance that it would not attack residents, people did not believe this and fear caused widespread panic in the township.

The violence seems to have been triggered by a stabbing outside the stadium, after which houses were set alight, armed impis chased people through the streets, a bus which brought Inkatha supporters from outside the area to the rally was set alight and barricades were erected.

## Springboard

The ANC has claimed that police have armed Inkatha members in the Jeppe hostel for attacks on Sebokeng.

Police have dismissed this as "nonsense".

It was a hostel in Soweto which was the springboard for an attack on commuters in the area shortly after the Sebokeng war.

According to police, about 300 armed men attacked commuters at Inhlazane station.

One person was killed and 29 injured before the men fled to a nearby hostel.

Commuters said the assailants had said they were looking for the "mzabalazo dancers" (people who toyi-toyi).

Earlier last month, vigilantes killed five Numsa members in a similar attack at Wadeville station in Germiston.

Following the train attack, the Soweto Civic Association moved swiftly to appeal to people to reach an understanding with one other and to foster understanding with the hostel dwellers.

Inkatha has been linked to the emergence of vigilantes in the Eastern Transvaal town of Ermelo, halfway between Johannesburg and Swaziland.

Ermelo is one of a handful of towns singled out by the United Democratic Front for an indefinite consumer boycott because of its rightwing character.

Ermelo's townships of Wesselson and Breyton have recently been the scene of bitter fighting between vigilante groups and comrades.

At least two people died and 12 people were injured following clashes between vigilantes and comrades in the townships at the end of last month.

The spokesperson claimed that police and another gang called the Karratakas, were assisting a gang called Black Cats.

Squad members were shot dead.

Now there is a truce between the two groups as they muster their forces against a new vigilante grouping.

According to the KCA spokesperson, the vigilante group is a splinter from the KYC, supports Inkatha and acts against anyone who opposes the government.

Vigilantes are usually drawn from the more marginal and traditional elements



After the gang attacks, armed comrades took to the streets to revenge themselves on the gang which went into hiding, some say at the local police station.

Meanwhile, the houses and shops of residents viewed as sympathetic to the Cats were set alight and the office of a MDM lawyer in the town was fire-bombed.

The Cats are allegedly linked to Inkatha which recently had a rally in the area, following which the Cats distributed Inkatha literature in the townships.

Residents suspect their weapons come from a crime prevention operation in which the group took part earlier this year.

Inkatha has denied that it is linked to the group.

## Youth

As is the case in Ermelo, it is often the youth of the community who are the centre of clashes.

A soccer team linked by researchers to vigilante attacks, recruits its members from the youth.

The Eagles Youth Club, originally reported to be involved in vigilante attacks in the Free State, is now recruiting youths in small Karoo towns.

The club is also recruiting in Cape Town.

A daily newspaper recently had a photograph of club members cleaning litter in Crossroads, Cape Town.

In Khutsong near Carltonville where rival youth groups clashed ferociously earlier this year, the civic association says a "third force" has emerged.

Earlier this year, warfare between two rival factions, the Gadaffi Squad and the Khutsong Youth Congress, resulted in eight KYC members being mutilated with razor blades, while at least four G

ments in the townships. Either they are recruited in terms of traditional tribal links or their very marginality makes them vulnerable to recruitment.

Vigilantes came to the fore following the outbreak of widespread revolt in 1984.

They have proved remarkably resilient.

In Natal, groups using vigilante tactics have reduced the province to a "mini-Beirut".

In an essay entitled "Sub-contracting the Dirty Work" in a recently-published book, "Policing and the Law", attorney Clive Plasket examined the phenomenon.

## Links

Plasket argues that there are clear links between the state and the vigilantes.

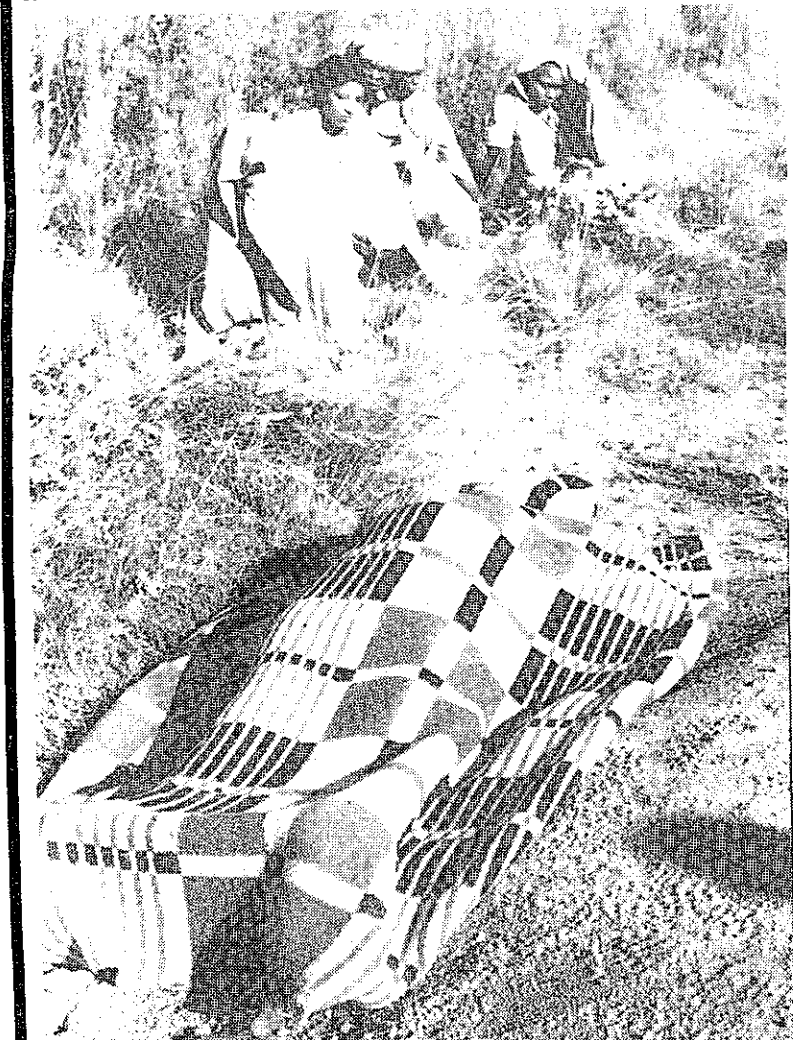
He found that vigilante activity has been "institutionalised" with the state deriving benefits from vigilante activity.

These benefits include destabilising communities, the use of a level of violence the state cannot use and the reinforcement of the "black-on-black violence" stereotype.

Plasket argues the vigilante violence in Natal could not be sustained without some form of state intervention.

It is still unclear whether the new outbreak of vigilantism throughout the country has the tacit approval of those at the top or whether it is linked to the rise of the right — particularly within the security forces.

Should this be the case, South Africa faces the chilling prospect of a link-up between the rightwing, Inkatha and a virulent vigilantism which has gained a life of its own.



**FLASHBACK:** The corpse of a victim of a vigilante attack upon a bus in Natal in 1989  
PIC: CLINT ZASMAN

# ANC launches process to sell ceasefire to members

Soweto 918-1518190

By REHANA ROSSOUW

WITH the ink hardly dry on the "Pretoria Minute", both the ANC and the government face immediate and severe tests to make the agreement stick.

With rumblings clearly evident among its rank-and-file membership on the declaration of a ceasefire, the ANC adopted special measures this week to effect a process of consultation and report backs.

The government, in terms of the "Pretoria Minute", is compelled to rein in its security forces.

## Crucial

The crucial issue is whether police can prevent — rather than encourage as they have done in the past — Inkatha and vigilante elements from taking advantage of the situation.

ANC officials acknowledge they have a tough job in selling the settlement to the rank-and-file.

"It was an agonising decision," said ANC legal expert Penuel Maduna.

"But it was worthwhile in terms of breaking the logjam and giving De Klerk space to remove the remaining obstacles."

## Intensive

The national executive committee admitted it took the decision without consulting its members but committed itself to an intensive process of consultation and report-backs on further talks with the government.

"In fact, all the leaders of the movement have committed themselves to go throughout the country to explain the decision to supporters and give reasons for the suspension of the armed struggle," said ANC Department of Information spokesperson, Jill Marcus.

● Talks nearly collapsed  
— See page 2

EM  
Mrs  
exil  
Su

**VIGILAN**

# ANC branches off the ground

South 918-1518190  
THE establishment of ANC branches is gaining momentum in the Western Cape with launches in five areas this weekend.

In the past week, branches were launched in Athlone, Kraaifontein, Ravensmead and Westridge.

This weekend branches will be launched in Strandfontein, Rocklands, Millers Camp, Kensington and Belhar.

The formal election of office bearers in these areas brings a permanence to the ANC's structures in the Western Cape which is being run by an interim committee.

It also paves the way for the regional congress on September 29 and 30.



South 918-1578190

# Fawu: Join SACP-ANC

From XOLA SIGONYELA (USA)  
PORT ELIZABETH. — The Food  
and Allied Workers Union (Fawu)  
with its long history of Congress  
tradition has called on all its mem-  
bers to join the South African Com-  
munist Party (SACP) and the Afri-  
can National Congress (ANC). (11A)

The "Join SACP-ANC Campaign" was  
discussed at Fawu's annual general  
meeting, held at the Great Centenary  
hall in Port Elizabeth last Sunday.

Fawu is believed to be the first union  
to make such a call. — PEN

South 9/8-15/8/90

11A ~~205A~~

# Talks 'nearly collapsed'

JOHANNESBURG. —There was drama behind closed doors during the Pretoria talks this week when ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela threatened a walk-out.

While there were smiles and a firm handshake at the joint press conference on Tuesday morning, the talks almost collapsed about two hours earlier when a dispute arose over the release of prisoners.

According to the ANC's Penuel Maduna, a member of the Joint Working Group, the dispute centred on the government's refusal to

**By MONO BADELA**

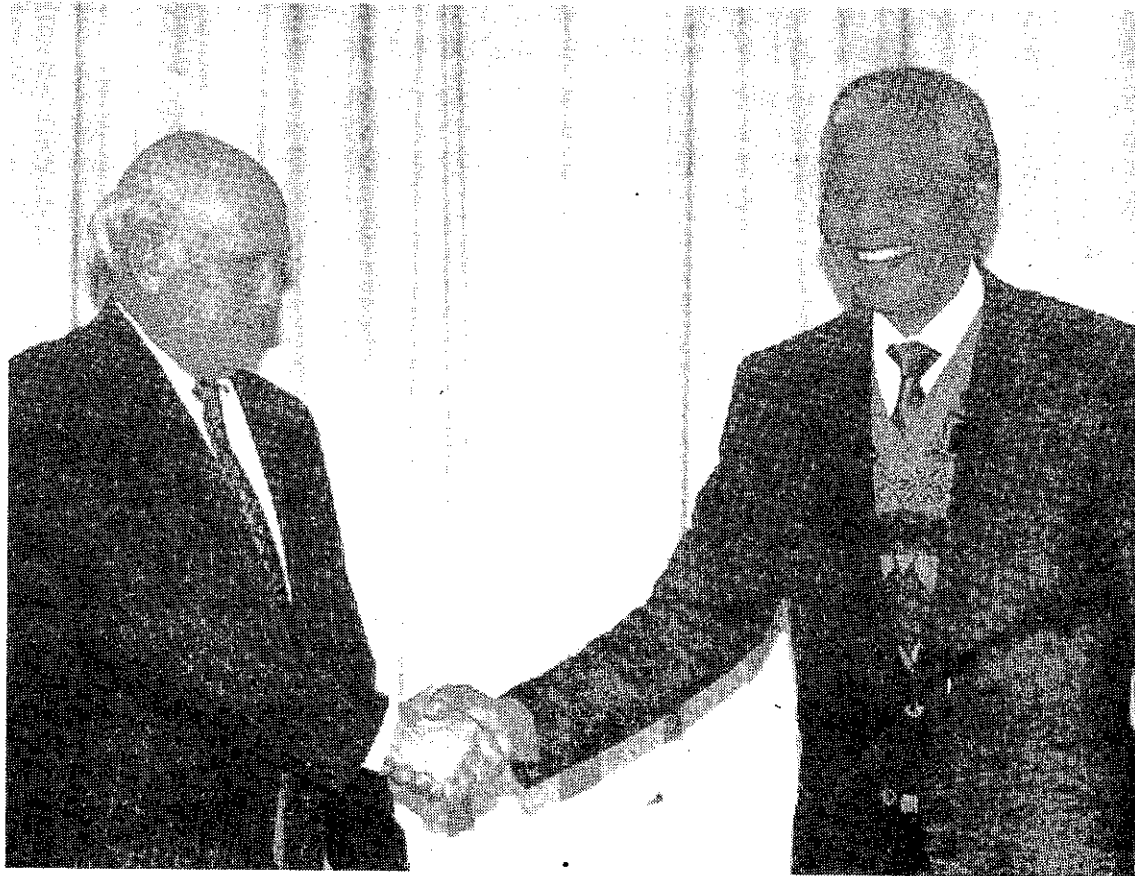
be specific on a date for the release of political prisoners.

The ANC was reportedly also concerned at the government's refusal to carry out some of the agreements in the Pretoria Minute.

Maduna said at about 11pm, Mandela informed De Klerk that if he did not provide a date for the releases, the ANC could not suspend the armed struggle.

He threatened to withdraw from the talks if the government refused to budge.

Maduna said the talks were adjourned and De Klerk and his colleagues returned 90 minutes later and committed themselves to releasing the prisoners from September 1.



**TAKE FIVE:** A firm handshake between President FW de Klerk and Nelson Mandela concluded talks that were nearly aborted

# Getting ready for the returnees

South 9/8-15/8/90

11A

THE return of the exiles is one of the cornerstone demands of liberation movements in South Africa.

After February's unbannings, the first returnees began to trickle home.

Now, nearly six months later, those who have returned remain only a handful.

Most exiles are still outside the country, waiting for the go-ahead to return.

The key issue holding up their return is the security situation in SA and liberation movements have advised their members to stay put until their safety is guaranteed.

In preparation for large scale repatriation, the wheels have begun to be set in motion for a massive "operation homecoming".

Following a national consultation meeting attended by a wide range of organisations and religious groupings in Johannesburg in May this year, a national coordinating committee (NCC) was established to oversee the return of the exiles.

## Consensus

The NCC includes representatives of the major denominations as well as the ANC, PAC and BCM.

While the movements hold different positions on negotiations with the government and the return of their members in exile, there is general consensus that all groups will cooperate with the NCC.

The NCC convener is the general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, the Reverend Frank Chikane.

The NCC is anxious not to be caught on the wrong foot, should SA's diaspora flood back.

Already the NCC has begun to establish task forces drawing in specialist service organisations to begin preparations for the return.

The NCC is about to set up an office in Johannesburg with a fulltime coordinator and administrative staff.

"We are preparing for the return of the exiles as if they will be arriving tomorrow," Chikane said.

"We do not want to find ourselves in a situation in which they arrive and we are not prepared".

The logistics involved in the repatria-

**Most exiles outside the country are still waiting for the green light to return, once their safety has been guaranteed. In the meantime, the wheels have been set in motion to facilitate their return. CHIARA CARTER reports:**

tion scheme are enormous.

Chikane said that the NCC is presently redrafting a budget which is likely to run into billions for the project.

The NCC has approached governments throughout the world as well as the international religious community for funding.

The United Nations Commission on Refugees has been asked to assess the extent to which it can render assistance.

The South African business community will also be challenged to come up with funding.

According to Chikane, this will be done in consultation with the trade union movement.

The NCC has not yet decided on the involvement of the SA government in the project, a matter which Chikane described as a "thorny issue".

At present all are agreed however that the government will be expected to provide services like pensions, health and education for the exiles.

The breakdown of expenditure per person will depend on how many exiles there are.

At present no one knows the exact numbers involved. Estimates range from 20 000 to 400 000.

This haziness is partly because many people who went into exile simply became invisible.

Some went into self-imposed exile for reasons not directly related to politics. These people do not have any contact with the liberation movements and have had no reason to declare themselves.

Others joined the external forces of the liberation movements, changed their names and "vanished".

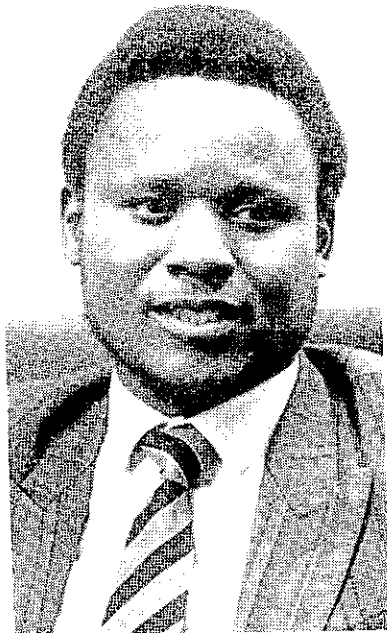
## Census

For security reasons they have not declared themselves.

The ANC is conducting a census into



**ACROSS THE OCEAN:** ANC exiles in New York welcome Nelson Mandela with a song during his recent visit there



**Reverend Frank Chikane**

its membership abroad but the number of exiles is expected to far exceed ANC figures.

Commented Chikane: "We don't have a classical refugee situation. The vast majority of exiles never officially declared themselves refugees or went through the process of applying for refugee status. It is only after a general amnesty is declared that we will start getting a more accurate idea of the exact figures involved."

For the interim, the NCC is working on an estimate of 100 000 exiles.

The NCC has categorised exiles into seven different groups: members of the liberation movements, trained and armed soldiers of the liberation movements, non-aligned groups, defectors from the liberation movements, internal defectors, prisoners on both sides, conscientious objectors and those who left for other reasons.

## Amnesty

For most of these categories protective guarantees are needed. These would include a general amnesty, the SA government becoming a signatory to the Geneva Convention and Protocols on Refugees, special protection for combatants and a protective monitoring group.

According to Chikane, no South African who wants to return will be refused assistance.

The key, he said, would be "need".

While some exiles will return on their own steam because they have the means to do so, others will need assistance all the way.

"We anticipate most of the exiles will be refugees in the sense that they left SA because of political reasons and harassment. However as churches we hold the view that we assist any South African living outside the country who wants to return," Chikane said.

The question of whether there will be a staggered return with armed forces waiting until last is, Chikane said, a matter for the liberation movements to decide.

The NCC envisages a series of pri-

mary and secondary reception points where staff will meet exiles and begin assisting them in what is likely to be a lengthy re-orientation process.

The primary reception areas will be entry points, including airports and border posts.

Secondary reception areas will cater for those who do not know where their relatives are or can't immediately return to their families.

Exiles will be sent to the reception areas nearest their homes. For example, someone whose family comes from Port Elizabeth will be housed in a reception area in PE.

For exiles living in far away countries it is likely that church groups or the UN will set up points where exiles can go to begin the long journey home.

## Adjustments

Chikane said the NCC was presently investigating accommodation for the exiles but faced problems with the Land and Group Areas acts.

The massive adjustment which repatriation involves cannot be estimated.

The NCC is investigating questions like medical checkups, employment, counseling and helping build systems of support for exiles, some of whom have been out of the country for decades.

Just simple geography lessons will be essential for exiles to find their bearings in cities and towns which have changed face dramatically.

The committee anticipates immense cultural difficulties, including language, for the children born in exile.

## Students

The NCC is presently advising high school, college and university students to finish their education abroad rather than return to the apartheid education crisis.

Said Chikane: "We will have to introduce people systematically to a new reality".

A major problem is the question of documentation and how people will prove that they are indeed South Africans.

Many exiles have changed their names and there are no records of them being South African. Others are children born abroad or the spouses of South African exiles.

Chikane described these as the "grey areas" which the committee will have to sort out.

## POLICE AND ANC GET TOGETHER

(11A)

FIM 10/8/90

The joint monitoring of violence by regional entities composed of ANC and SA Police officers should be in operation "within days."

According to ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo, speaking to the *FM* hours after the government-ANC talks in Pretoria on Monday, government "reported to us that they have identified no less than 96 of their officers who would be engaged" in this exercise. The ANC had yet to "identify certain people who must be employed in this," he added.

But they would not be from Umkhonto we Sizwe (the ANC's armed wing) as the operation was "not military to military," but involved "police officers who are spread all over the country. That will be the beginning," says Nzo.

Nzo was speaking about alleged "connivance" of certain State organs, such as the police, in what he described as "an aspect of State violence." He says: "We are working out mechanisms through which, hopefully, it is going to be possible for incidents of this type to be reported

instantly and instant action taken. For instance, joint monitoring mechanisms, where our side of the monitoring will say, look, this is happening and why is nothing done to stop it?"



Nzo

Asked when these joint monitoring groups will come into effect, Nzo replied: "A day or two. In areas where they are already in place, there's no reason why they should not be operating already."

The Pretoria Minute does not spell out the joint ANC-SAP monitoring process. But a clue is to be found in Point 5 of the minute: "With due cognizance of the interest, role and involvement of other parties, the delegations consider it necessary that whatever additional mechanisms of communication are needed should be developed at all levels ..."

*Amarnath Singh*

## League seeks to organise women

THE ANC Women's League is considering appointing a national commission to consider the emancipation of women. (11A) (2/8/90)

This was disclosed in Durban yesterday at a "relaunch" meeting of the league.

The purpose of the commission would be "to sensitise, monitor, stimulate and report" on the position of women in South Africa.

The league's priorities were also to "maintain the clarity of our goals, prepare and strengthen our national liberation movement, the ANC, so that it is equipped for the tasks ahead - whether they be on the battlefield or at the negotiating table". Sowetan 16/8/90

The league promised to be "the organised voice" of women in the liberation struggle.

"After a period of 30 years, women who left the country to continue our liberation struggle in new ways are being reunited with those who remained and resisted under the daily burden of repression." - Sapa.

NEGOTIATIONS FIM 10/8/90

# Focus on Vlok

~~2~~ ~~3~~ 11A

The verbal skirmish on police brutality between President FW de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela surprised most people at the joint press conference which followed the otherwise successful 15-hour talks that led to the Pretoria Minute.

It did more than cloud the jovial atmosphere — it underlined Mandela's stance that Law & Order Minister Adriaan Vlok needs to control his generals with an iron hand. While the ANC has in the past made it known that Vlok was a respected member of the government delegation, Mandela regarded the police issue as serious enough to challenge De Klerk in public.

Vlok and his department, already under scrutiny because of the Harms Commission, will be under the spotlight in the next few months as the talks enter the pre-negotiation (on a constitution) phase. A senior government spokesman expects real negotiations on the shape of a future SA to begin early next year — well in advance of the expected schedule. If Vlok fails to deliver what amounts to his side of a bargain (in effect wrecking the promising start to a cessation of hostilities) he could see himself out of the Cabinet or with lesser responsibilities at the next reshuffle.

Government faces difficulties in getting at

the truth of some of the allegations against the police. More than 100 policemen are serving jail sentences for acting outside the law while many are awaiting trial — these figures were given to the ANC delegation.

According to the government spokesman: "On the one hand Mr Mandela talks of State violence when someone from the ANC gets hurt in police action, while on the other he calls for President De Klerk to use the full might of the State when the ANC is on the other side." He adds — referring to the problem of communicating a ceasefire down the line — that the ANC would have to "realise that it is easier to motivate crowds than to control them."

The spokesman agrees that the same argument applies to government. Since February 2, De Klerk has personally been at great pains to transform the SAP virtually from a political arm of the National Party to a strictly law-enforcing agency. There is a lot of mistrust to be overcome on both sides.

Nonetheless, Tuesday morning's accord was historic.

The Pretoria spokesman feels there is greater subtlety and realism within the ANC delegation: "Where in the past the ANC had strictly grasped at the Harare Declaration, which they regarded almost as a pontifical

authority, their offer to suspend the armed action came at a stage where some of the obstacles raised by them earlier had still not been overcome."

The change in vocabulary used by the ANC serves as further proof of honourable intentions.

Government is also optimistic that mass actions — stayaways, school boycotts, the illegal occupation of land by squatters — will be foreign to the spirit of the agreement. It feels that the creation of "additional mechanisms of communication," as agreed on (see box), will limit instability.

Government now places a high priority on the start of multilateral discussions between all parties with an interest in constitutional negotiations — including the PAC, Azapo and rightwing groups. The spokesman comments: "Some organisations have still to take the first steps of phase one, while I think we and the ANC have already moved into the second phase, the talks-about-talks situation. While the going will be tough, I expect us to move into the pre-conference stage at the end of this year."

Eddie Botha

TOWNSHIP VIOLENCE

Matal fever spreads

AFTER THE CEASEFIRE FIM 10/8/90

# Making reason work

The next step in the peace process is for all sides to ensure that there is a general subsidence of violence (see next page). This will involve practical matters such as monitoring the ceasefire, surrendering arms caches and curbing the activities of those who believe negotiations are a sell-out.

The two sides involved in the historic pact on which hands were shaken in Pretoria this week appear to trust each other that these things will be done.

For the ANC, which went to the meeting prepared to announce a ceasefire, there is the exciting prospect of repatriating 20 000-odd exiles and bringing them into a legitimate political process at home. The leadership corps of the ANC has settled down to the work of expanding membership and defining positions in advance of the crucial congress it plans in Bloemfontein in December.

It appears to be adapting well to the dizzying pace of legitimacy.

Government has gained the great prize of a positive step towards reconciliation — and one which will be recognised in tangible terms by the world. Abolition of the last pillars of apartheid and restoration to the world community should come about within the foreseeable future.

But, as most realise, it won't be easy to proceed further without involving others who also have legitimate claims to representation at constitutional talks. The ceasefire applies exclusively to the ANC; the exiles who will return and the political detainees to be released will be ANC men and women — no one else at this stage. Talks so far have been between the major, but not the sole, players.

What of Inkatha, the PAC and Africanists generally?

And, perhaps even more important, of the Conservative Party and white diehards? It is difficult at this stage to envisage the shape of the negotiating table. There are many claimants for a position.

If the PAC accepts that constitutional talks — a second national convention — have the agreed outcome of a democratic nonracial SA, it is possible that it could enter into an alliance with the ANC at those talks. That remains to be seen. The ANC-SACP-union alliance, as it stands at present, adheres to policies which the PAC has consistently rejected for three decades.

A PAC "armed struggle" — however futile — would be an ugly and brutal episode.

Inkatha, which for a time had a legitimate claim to represent the internal mission of the ANC, is on everyone's mind. A rapprochement between Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi could, perhaps, be facilitated by F W de Klerk. Inkatha is not a movement which can be left out in the cold if genuine peace is to be secured.

But it is hard to see the CP participating in constitutional talks — not when the tricameral system was precisely the issue on which it chose to break with the Nationalists. Still, it has members in parliament who were actually voted into office and is certainly sensitive to white fears. It cannot be wished away.

For the moment, however, it may be enough that De Klerk and the ANC can point to substantial gains from the negotiating process. The ceasefire is a remarkable triumph of reason which few could reasonably have foreseen even six months ago. ■

HARARE - Five African National Congress guerillas who said they were detained and tortured by the organisation are expected to return to South Africa in the next few days.

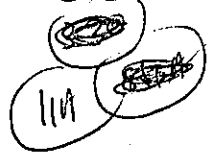
They decided to return home after the South African Government agreed in its negotiations with the ANC to indemnify exiles against prosecution for alleged political offences.

Their return has been negotiated by the Rev. Frank Chikane, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, and the United Nations High Commission for Refugees.

Chikane was in Nairobi to discuss the

# More ANC dissidents expected to return

Sowetan 10/8/90



Sowetan Africa  
News Service

men's repatriation in June but the move was at that time regarded as unwise in the absence of an amnesty.

The men, who have been stranded in Nairobi since they fled from ANC camps in Morogoro, Tanzania, in February, welcomed the announcement in Pretoria on Tuesday that the ANC has suspended its armed struggle and that amnesty

has been granted to exiles.

However, the men stressed that they would not abandon their calls for a commission of inquiry within the ANC into their allegations of human

rights abuses at the hands of senior members of the organisation.

They claim they were imprisoned and tortured for four years following a large-scale mutiny by members of the ANC's

military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, who were calling for more democracy in the ANC in 1984.

"We're very glad we can return home," said one of the men, Mr Jacky Molefe.



**W**HAT does freedom of speech mean to the man in the street? It means:

- \* He has the right to have opinions and beliefs without interference from anybody else, including the government;
- \* He has the right to express these opinions and beliefs without fear.
- \* He has the right to seek and receive information and ideas from whatever source and he can also impart his own information and ideas through any medium - word of mouth, printed matter, radio, television, demonstrations or rallies; and
- \* He has the right to choose whatever newspaper, magazine, book, pamphlet, radio or television station he prefers.

It means he has access to the body of information and ideas in society. With this information he can make the right choices about his life and the direction that his country should take.

There should be nothing to frighten him from exercising his right to free speech.

We are struggling out of an era of fear when information and ideas were suppressed by the Government.

Some political opinions have landed thousands in prison. The old Suppression of Communism Act outlawed the Communist Party and it became an offence to advocate communism.

People listed as communists by the Government became the walking dead because it was an offence to publish anything they said, even if it had nothing to do with communism.

### **Banned**

Later the Pan-Africanist Congress, the African National Congress, the Black People's Convention and scores of other organisations were banned.

In fact, the present Internal Security Act is a sad monument to suppression of freedom of speech in this country.

The Publications Act set up a machinery for censorship of publications and objects other than newspapers.

"Big Brother" decided, and still does, what magazines and books you could read, what films and theatre you could view, and what objects are "undesirable".

There is a host of other laws that the Government uses to suppress freedom of speech.

But as the Government intensified its repression, the more the banned material was circulated underground. The ANC and the PAC grew among the people against all the attempts to wipe them off the people's minds.

Thousands of people ended up in jail because they were found to hold the wrong ideas: they were promoting the aims of banned organisations.

For decades black politics has been a game of not getting found out.

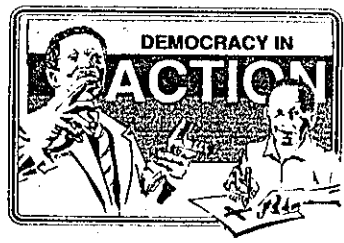
There is a thawing now in Government circles. It started when the South African Law Commission said that a bill of rights is essential for this country.

Article 8 of the bill of rights the Commission proposed in their report for the Government was:

# The irony of our struggle

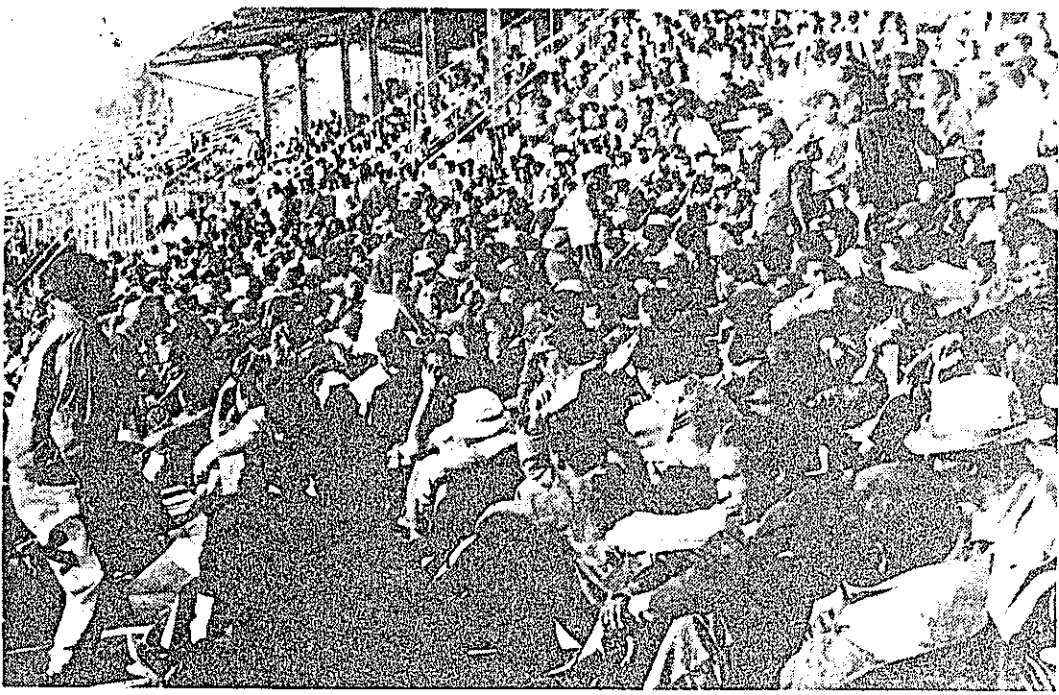
*Sowetan 10/8/90*

11A  
*[Handwritten scribble]*



**DEMOCRACY IN ACTION**

This is the fourth article in our series on freedom of speech and the need for independent media. Today we focus on Press freedom and the man in the street.



Individuals have the right to seek and receive information and ideas from whatever source and he can also impart his own information and ideas through any medium - word of mouth, printed matter, radio, television, demonstrations or rallies.

"The right to freedom of speech and to obtain and disseminate information."

Since the commission's report there have been other developments that show this thawing. Since February 2 when State President FW de Klerk made his historic speech in Cape Town, large chunks of the Internal Security Act are no longer being used.

Banned organisations are now free to operate again; listed people are now quoted by the media; and people are no longer being charged with furthering the aims of banned organisations.

Also, the Government has asked the Media Council to investigate restrictions on the media, and to

make recommendations on them.

It is tragic irony that when the Government is relenting, the people who were fighting it are now the ones who disregard freedom of speech.

The headlines in the newspapers these days tell the same stories: Cops recover burnt bodies of comrades; Vaal feud claims two more lives; and Marchers threatened - all from yesterday's *Sowetan*.

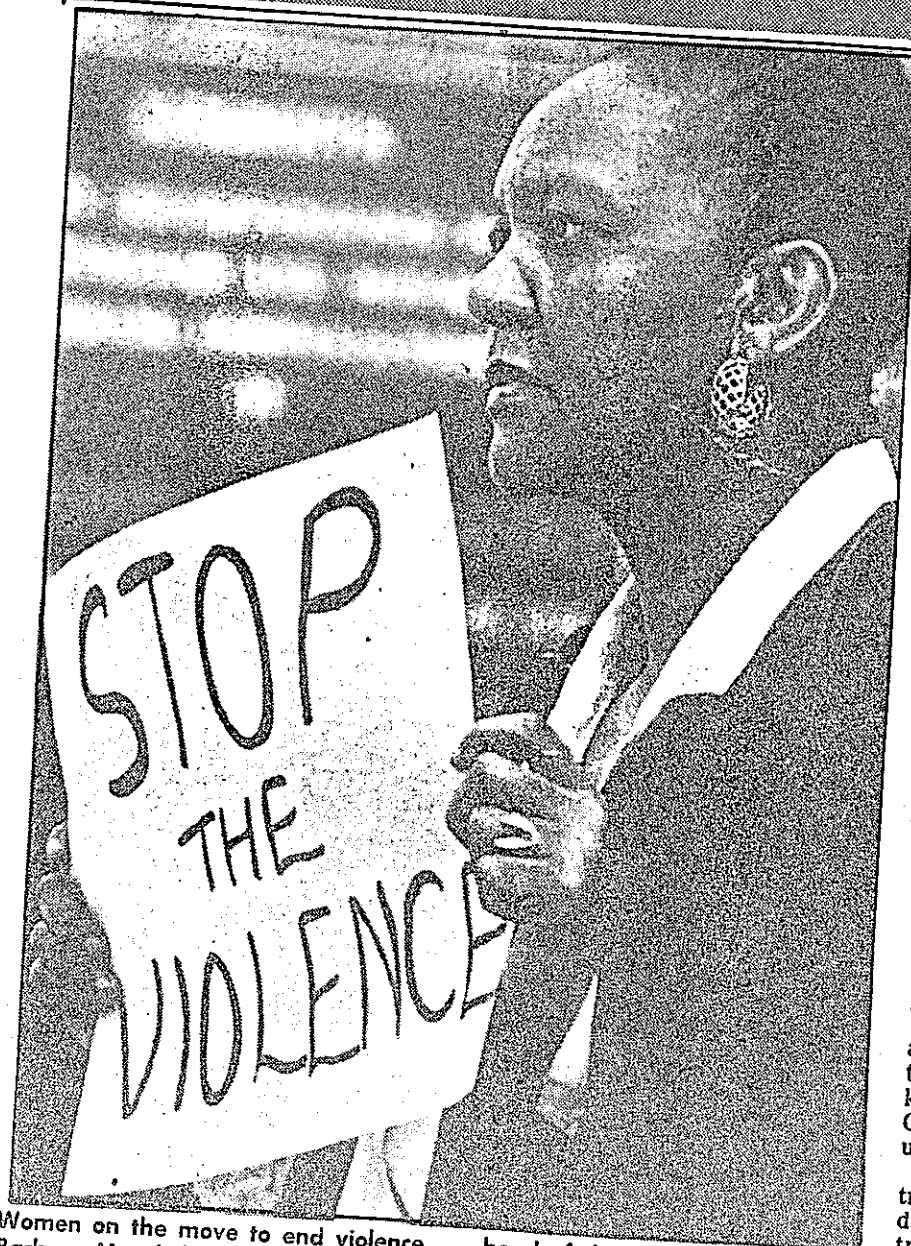
The leaders of the various political organisations always say their organisations believe in freedom of speech and in tolerance, but their followers simply ignore this as they slaughter one another.

Monday: How the *Sowetan* and the other media contribute to freedom of speech in this country.

**Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948)**

"The advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people ...

"Article 19: Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers."



Women on the move to end violence ... head of the ANC's cultural desk, Barbara Masekela joins the Federation of Transvaal Women's picket along the streets of Johannesburg yesterday.

© Picture by John Hogg.

## Inkatha against peace - Fedtraw

By Shehnaaz Bulbulia

The Federation of Transvaal Women (Fedtraw) yesterday accused Inkatha of attempting to derail the peace initiatives between the Government and the ANC.

Speaking at a press conference on violence, Fedtraw's executive member Jessie Dwarte announced that a campaign to end the violence was under way.

Fedtraw called on all those who were armed to lay down their machinery so that peace could be restored in the townships.

### End to violence

An hour before the press conference 50 Fedtraw members, including the head of the ANC cultural desk, Barbara Masekela, staged a peaceful picket.

The women called for an end to violence and the resignation of Inkatha leader KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Feroza Adam of Fedtraw said August 9 was a day when women countrywide paid tribute to the 50 000 women who marched to the Union Buildings in Pretoria 34 years ago to protest

against women carrying passes.

This year women were carrying the message of peace, she said.

The peace initiatives on the part of the ANC and its allies appeared to have been met with violence by the right wing, Inkatha and the uncontrolled police force, she said.

Fedtraw demanded the Government disarm Inkatha, that warlords in Natal be brought to trial and that Chief Buthelezi be stripped of his power as Commissioner of Police in KwaZulu.

The organisation also called on the Government to abolish the Internal Security Act, control members of its security force and disarm right wing groups.

If the demands were met, the violence that was spreading in other areas of the country would be halted, Ms Adam said.

A resident of Sebokeng, Martha Marobi recalled the violence which had erupted in the area after an Inkatha meeting last month.

She claimed that Inkatha members went on a rampage.

# Matching the ceasefire card

The ANC's unilateral suspension of armed actions removes a major stumbling block to negotiations and an ultimate settlement. It will do much to erase the mistrust and suspicion about an ANC-SACP double agenda which has assumed serious proportions in Government circles over the past few months.

At the same time it puts pressure on President de Klerk to take an equally important symbolic step in bringing the police under much firmer control.

There exists a tendency among whites to scoff at the ANC's armed struggle as an amateurish guerilla operation which did virtually no harm to the mighty South African State. One can therefore expect that in many quarters there will be the temptation to dismiss the significance of this step by the ANC.

In fact, suspending the armed struggle is just about the gravest risk any liberation organisation can take.

To give one example: the Provisional Irish Republican Army nearly disintegrated as a result of internal feuding in the 1970s after it had agreed to cease hostilities.

## Wheel's hub

For me the the Dakar conference of 1987 was particularly revealing for showing how seriously the ANC took the armed struggle. As one of the internal South Africans at the meeting, Riaan de Villiers, expressed in a report, the armed campaign was the hub of the entire struggle of the ANC. Without it, the other spokes of the wheel such as township mobilisation and isolating South Africa internationally, would not come off.

Indeed, without the ANC the armed struggle would never have attracted to its ranks the thousands of black students who fled the country after the Soweto rebellion of 1976. Without it, too, the ANC could never have capitalised so well on

**HERMANN GILIONE**, head of the Department of Political Studies at the University of Cape Town, looks at the significance of the African National Congress's bold decision to halt the armed struggle as well as other important consequences that could flow from the Pretoria Minute.

(11A) ~~SP~~ ~~SP~~ Stev 10/8/90  
the township revolt of 1984-86.

Nevertheless most of the ANC leadership remained ambivalent about the armed struggle, particularly the terrorist part of it. Bombings were morale boosters to many blacks and attracted them to the ANC; however, it repelled in equal measure whites whose support the ANC needed. Hence the leadership's awkward silence when out of control operatives launched attacks at soft targets, such as restaurants.

In the words of the authoritative study by Steven Davies, "Apartheid's Rebels", the ANC feared that outright condemnation would risk repelling new enlistees.

But as a legalised political movement the ANC would have experienced unbearable tension if it continued to mix war talk with peace talk. As a political party the ANC proper — as distinct from the ANC-SACP alliance — cannot rely purely on the immense personal appeal of Mr Mandela.

To compensate for the defections of those who feel the ANC has gone soft, the movement needs to project its commitment to peaceful, manageable reconstruction. It must not only become the majority party, but also secure the confidence of bankers and investors after the election.

The ANC's commitment to a multiparty democracy was given substance by the Pretoria Minute which declares that there are also other parties that need to be drawn into the negotiation process.

Also important is the undertaking given by Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota, ANC southern Natal convenor, not to attack Inkatha and to defend its right to open offices in Durban — since it is for the masses to decide on a party of their choice. Yet the

ANC's suspension of armed actions will not automatically bring peace.

The political upheaval of the latter half of the 1980s was never really a civil war as some would have it. It was, in fact, a profusion of local conflicts in which the masses were up against a police force which at some places was highly partisan.

Mr Mandela will undoubtedly expect Mr de Klerk to take a much firmer hold on the police as a quid

---

**'Without the ANC the armed struggle would never have attracted to its ranks the thousands of black students who fled the country after the Soweto rebellion of 1976. Without it, too, the ANC could never have capitalised so well on the township revolt of 1984-86.'**

---

pro quo for his movement's suspension of armed actions.

A look at other divided societies such as Northern Ireland and Israel show that the professionalisation of the police ethos is a slow and laborious process. And even if a police force succeeds in transforming itself — as many argue the Royal Ulster Constabulary has done in recent times in Northern Ireland — the oppressed continue to feel alienated from it.

Only a minor transgression by a

junior officer rapidly revitalises all the old mistrust and hatred.

Still, President de Klerk needs to do something much bolder than issue the now standard invitation to those who feel wronged by the police to bring their complaints to the police which then proceeds to investigate itself. Something that can be looked at are the monitor centres which were established in Northern Ireland during the 1970s when the IRA observed a ceasefire.

These centres managed to acquire a non-partisan image and Catholics who felt themselves wronged at the hands of the police availed themselves of this facility in considerable numbers. Ultimately, however, measures such as these never go far enough.

The only real alternative is for the politically excluded to be drawn into government — and into the senior ranks of the police force.

The Pretoria Minute brings the NP and the ANC one step forward to the unstated goal of forming the new governing coalition. There can hardly be any doubt that in such a coalition, the ministry of the police will go to the ANC and that of defence to the NP.

## Key question

The key question is a simple one: Would enough political trust develop in the process of negotiating and subsequently governing the country together that a black-led police force and white-led army can co-exist?

If not, there is a dire danger that they could turn into well-armed antagonistic forces which could trigger a real civil war in South Africa.

This gloomy thought notwithstanding, the fact remains that with the Pretoria Minute South Africa has come much nearer to peace than anyone could dare hope for at the beginning of this year.

For once, the major political leaders on both sides of the great divide are taking political risks in order to make peace.

That in itself is a singular occurrence in the last hundred years of our country's history.

# First meeting of ANC police

CHM-Times 10/8/90

THE first of a possible series of regional talks between police, the African National Congress and community organisations was held in the city yesterday, police confirmed.

The police delegation was led by the regional commissioner of police, Major-General Flip Fourie, while the ANC delegation included Mr Reggie September and Mr Trevor Manuel.

The meeting identified problems experienced by all parties and it was agreed that working groups should be formed to sort out these problems.

Attention was given to the requirements by law to apply for permission for marches, the discretion which could be exercised by the police and the use of minimum force by police.

Specific attention was given to the unrest in the Boland and more specifically the Langeberg region. A police spokesman said the talks would have contributed to the easing of tension in these regions.

"The meeting served to break down the possible barriers of distrust between the different groups. If you do not talk and air your differences the distrust will not abate and all parties were given a chance to express their views, and to communicate with one another. This could be the forerunner of more meetings," he said. — Sapa

CALL TIMES 10/18/90

# No Crossroads peace talks

By CHRIS BATEMAN

PEACE talks between the two warring Old Crossroads factions failed to materialise yesterday when the ruling committee stayed away.

Yesterday marked the third relatively peaceful day in succession after a chaotic previous week which saw at least four people die and some 20 homes burnt out. Four homes were burnt out over the past 36 hours.

Old Crossroads mayor Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana was in Ciskei making funeral arrangements for a committee member who recently died in a car crash. However, fellow committee members had indicated that they would attend.

Old Crossroads Town Secretary Mr Ricky Schelhase said earlier that he believed the committee had been "fully briefed" by Mr Ngxobongwana.

Chief mediator Mr Johnson Mpu-kumpa yesterday addressed an assembled crowd including opposing headman Mr Jeffrey Nongwe and squatter leaders of nearby camps.

He said attempts would be made to establish a basis of "forgiveness" between both sides at a future meeting.

Previous meetings between the warring factions had produced a readiness to "step down" and allow an interim committee consisting of acknowledged and respected community organisations to take over the running of Old Crossroads.

# ANC qualifies for millions from US

CHIT TALE 10/8/90 Own Correspondent 119 27

WASHINGTON. — Having agreed to "suspend all armed actions" as part of the Pretoria Minute, the ANC now stands to receive millions of dollars from the US government, a State Department official has confirmed.

However, the US administration had "not yet determined" whether the SACP would also qualify for such support, even though SACP members formed a majority of the ANC delegation at Monday's talks.

Congress earlier this year passed a bill setting aside R26 million to "help formerly banned organisations develop their infrastructure" on the proviso that such organisations were "committed to a suspension of violence in the context of negotiations to establish a democratic system".

The State Department now views the ANC as having fulfilled this requirement. The PAC remains ineligible. Also, since it was not "previously banned", Inkatha's eligibility is not clear.

Some US officials hope that at least some of the money could be used to help "mobilise" what is viewed as "the silent majority" of non-white opinion, and not simply existing organisations.

Ads 'a dare  
to the Zulus'

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Advertisements which will be appearing in South African newspapers at the weekend calling, inter alia, for the dissolution of the "KwaZulu bantustan" were a visible manifestation of the way in which the ANC was "throwing down the gauntlet" to the Zulu king and the Zulu nation, the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said yesterday in response to an ANC article.

Chief Buthelezi said the campaign was "ghastly in its consequences".

Cape Times, Friday, August 10 1990

# Boesak plans comeback

DR Allan Boesak, who resigned from his church after newspaper reports about an extramarital affair, said yesterday he would begin his new political career early next month.

In his first news interview since he resigned from the NG Sendingkerk early last month, Dr Boesak said the public appearance would probably be in a small rural town in the Western Cape.

"I have been doing two things for the last 10 to 15 years

of my life," Boesak said. "One was being a full-time member of the church and the second was being really involved in politics in all kinds of ways."

During the 1986-90 state of emergency, Dr Boesak and other clergymen such as Archbishop Desmond Tutu became political spokesmen because many black organisations were banned.

"The things that we have worked for so hard, for so long, the things that we were beaten up for, the things we went to jail for, the things that so many people have been killed for,

those ideals of democracy and peace are the things that one must pursue politically," Dr Boesak said.

He said he had received 15 invitations from towns and organisations asking him to speak or work on their behalf. He said the first appearance would probably be either to launch a consumer boycott or negotiate with a town council on behalf of residents.

"All of us have certain gifts that one receives from God. I can only offer that and say whatever it is that I have, I give," Dr Boesak said.

However, he said, he had no intention of joining any political organisation "at this stage".

He believed he could contribute to national reconciliation, and said he was committed to non-violence.

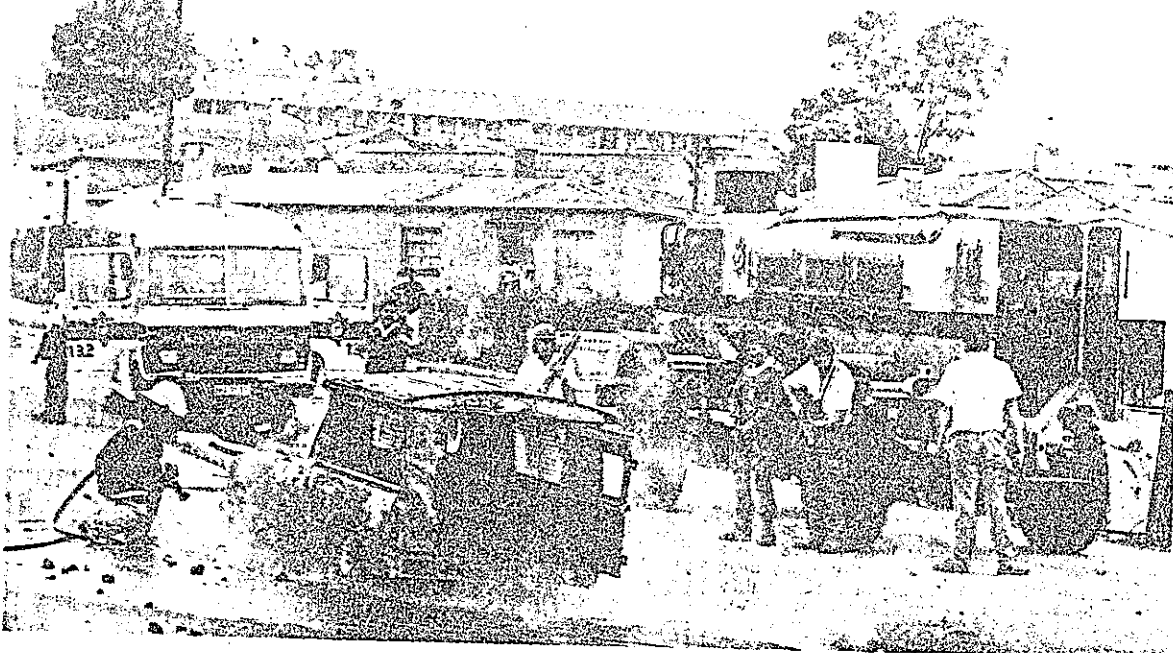
Dr Boesak made no comment on his relationship with Ms Elna Botha, a married woman who is a producer for the SABC. He previously said he had done nothing wrong and that he and Ms Botha would maintain contact.

Dr Boesak's wife Dorothy has filed for divorce. — Sapa-AP.



Dr Boesak





VIOLENCE ... The aftermath of violence in Port Elizabeth's northern suburbs this week

# ANC appeals for halt to violence

9/11/90 10/5/90

PORT ELIZABETH. — As the death toll here rose to 33 yesterday, ANC and community leaders appealed for a stop to the looting and burning.

And in further developments last night:

• Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok announced that police reinforcements, more army troops and additional air support would be deployed in the troubled areas.

• The ANC called off a march planned for Monday until "the time is right".

At a mass meeting in Gelvandale stadium yesterday, a call for a return to normality in the northern suburbs was made by all four speakers — Cosatu vice-president Mr John Gomomo, top ANC and SACP official Mr Raymond Mhlaba, president of the ANC Gelvandale branch Mr Danny Jordaan and Sayco official Mr Jerry Aldridge.

Addressing a crowd of 8 000, Mr Gomomo said: "The people of the northern areas have raised their grievances — the whole world

has heard you. But now the burning and looting must stop."

He said the leadership would take grievances further when the situation was calm.

Calls were made at the meeting for the Northern Areas Management Committee to resign immediately and for one city council to be formed, for the situation in schools to be normalised and for the housing crisis to be addressed.

Mr Mhlaba appealed to residents to "act reasonably under the circumstances".

In a statement Mr Govan Mbeki, ANC and SACP executive leader, said: "Our people are there handling the situation."

"We hope that, with the co-operation of the police, the situation should be under control."

He said he expected the ANC to have stabilised the townships by late yesterday when

# ANC 'truce' is just a strategy, says Winnie

ARGUS  
10/8/90

1102

## The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Mrs Winnie Mandela said the suspension of armed action by the African National Congress was nothing more than "a strategy."

Speaking at the launch of the ANC Women's League in Durban last night the wife of ANC Deputy President Mr Nelson Mandela said that Monday's Pretoria Minute agreement between the government and the ANC did not mean the cessation of violence.

"I want it to be clear that Umkhonto (the ANC's military wing) has not been disbanded. The suspension of military action on the part of the ANC is a strategy," she said. "It does not mean the cessation of violence."

Her remarks were broadcast by SABC-TV.

ANC spokeswoman Miss Gill Marcus said today that Mrs Mandela was right in pointing out that armed struggle has not been abandoned.

## ANC INFLUENCE

The ANC had made it clear that armed action was suspended. Continuing that policy is dependent on the government's adherence to the Pretoria Minute as well as the SAP and the SADF's behaviour.

However, Miss Marcus emphasised the ANC was committed to a peaceful settlement. She said the organisation was trying to use its influence to lessen the amount of violence around the country.

Miss Marcus said the ANC was not to blame for the current violence in areas such as Port Elizabeth.

President De Klerk must assert his control of police to ensure the violence is curbed, she added.

A senior government source said that if Mrs Mandela had been reported correctly — and it appeared from television broadcasts that she had — her view was not a true reflection of the Pretoria Minute agreed to by the ANC and the government on Monday.

"But I don't think we need make too much fuss about it. After all she has become more the ANC's problem than ours," the source said.



**BURNT OUT** . . . Amandla, port and burning tyres in the streets of Gelvandale in Port Elizabeth's northern suburbs yesterday.



**HOLDING ON** . . . A looter clings to a pole as a policeman grabs hold of him in a confrontation in Port Elizabeth's Highfield Road yesterday. (114) (875)

From page 1

marshals were to have been deployed to talk to people in the area.

He stressed the importance of the police holding their fire. "The police have got to desist from shooting."

"On Wednesday night the people were beginning to listen to the ANC, but with the police shooting, it was difficult to control them."

"If only the police would hold back their fire," he said.

Mr Vlok said police would "seek out criminals and act relentlessly against them and all perpetrators of violence".

Police confirmed that an officer shot dead an infant on Wednesday and said the incident would be investigated.

The Regional Commissioner of the Eastern Province, Major-General Johan Rust, has already held talks with the ANC and other organisations, including the Northern Areas Co-ordinating Committee (NACC), in a bid to stop the violence.

Meanwhile, more deaths are expected in the northern coloured suburbs.

A spokesman for the Lutheran Church's field hospital said: "We're

seeing birdshot, buckshot and injuries from live ammunition.

"The situation is bad. There's virtual anarchy in the townships."

No ambulances are being allowed into the area where at least 33 people have died since Monday.

A police spokesman said 32 shops, six houses, two factories, a church and three schools had been looted and gutted. Damage is estimated at millions of rand.

Ninety arrests were made — all on charges of arson, public violence, plundering and looting. He said vehicles of

policemen trying to restore law and order in the townships were attacked with petrol bombs and stones on 60 occasions. A total of 41 police vehicles were seriously damaged and seven private vehicles were totally destroyed.

"A lot of businessmen guarded their property during Wednesday night and fired like mad at looters throughout the night."

"It is not known yet how many people were killed in this manner, and how many were wounded," he said. — Own Correspondent, Sapa and UPI

Star 19870 (11A)

# Pretoria Minute under fire

By Kaizer Nyatumba  
Black Consciousness organisations inside the country yesterday rejected the accord signed by the Government and the African National Congress (ANC) on Monday, and called on blacks to intensify their fight against apartheid.

At a joint press conference in Johannesburg, the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), the Azan-

ian Students Movement (Azasm) and the Azanian Youth Organisation (Azayo) said the time was not yet ripe for negotiations with the Government to take place.

Azapo president Professor Jerry Mosala said although his organisation did not expect anything from the Pretoria meeting, the meeting's outcome was disappointing.

While the ANC had sus-

ended its armed struggle, the Government had "not conceded a single point" apart from committing itself to releasing political prisoners and allowing exiles to return home indemnified from prosecution.

Professor Mosala said a consultative conference of the leadership of all components of the liberation movement was now even more urgent.

**Talks with PAC are a 'first' for SA business**

A 20-member Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) delegation will meet the American Chamber of Commerce in South Africa in Harare at the weekend. They will discuss a wide

range of economic issues, it was announced yesterday. The meeting on will be the first between organised business in South Africa and the PAC. — Political Staff.

(11A) STW 10/3/90

# Winnie's remarks stir controversy

Star 10/8/90 (11A) (SSA)  
Political Staff

The ANC refused to comment today on a controversial statement by Mrs Winnie Mandela that the suspension of the armed struggle did not mean the end of violence.

At the launch of the ANC Women's League in Durban last night, Mrs Mandela, wife of ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, said: "I want it to be clear that Umkhonto (the ANC's military wing) has not been disbanded. The suspension of military action on the part of the ANC is a strategy. It does not mean the cessation of violence."

Her words were clearly heard on TV news.

A senior Government

source said today that if Mrs Mandela had been reported correctly her view was not a true reflection of the Pretoria Minute which the ANC and Government had agreed to on Monday.

"But I don't think we need make too much fuss about it. After all, she has become more the ANC's problem than ours."

## Contradicted

Since the news broadcast The Star has received a number of phone calls from people concerned about Mrs Mandela's remark which, they said, contradicted the spirit of conciliation.

United Democratic Front co-president Archie Gumede said Mrs

Mandela had been misunderstood: what she was saying was that Umkhonto we Sizwe had not surrendered, and that the armed struggle had only been suspended and not abandoned.

ANC spokesman Ahmed Kathrada said he did not comment on statements made by individuals.

The ANC, Mr Kathrada said, stood by the Pretoria Minute and it had consequently taken the trouble to publicise the accord for the benefit of its followers.

At the time of going to press, neither Mr Mandela nor internal ANC chairman Walter Sisulu could be reached for comment.

W/Mant 10/8 - 12/8/90 (11A)

## Women to have own Freedom Charter soon

By GLENDA DANIELS

A WOMEN'S charter — "to be our own Freedom Charter" — uniting all women under the banner of the African National Congress Women's League will be drawn up soon, veteran activist Amina Cachalia said yesterday.

Cachalia, former Federation of South African Women member, was speaking at a National Women's Day meeting attended by more than 1 000 students in the Great Hall at the University of the Witwatersrand.

The Women's Charter will be drawn up after wide consultation, in a similar process to that of the Freedom Charter and will list the demands of women.

One of the guest speakers, ANC exile Sankie Nkondo, could not attend due to complications regarding the clearance of her documents by the government.

Cachalia said all women should "join the ANC Women's League to strengthen our base", adding that if the violence could not be stopped "then we can intervene".

Lindiwe Mabuso, who had been the ANC representative in Sweden and the United States, said women had to use their power to change attitudes, adding that negative aspects of tradition and culture had to be challenged.

# Bless his red socks, Joe is a cool Party one-liner

W/Avigail Uzi - 12/8/90

*The Party was on at restaurant O'Hagan's when Joe Slovo faced a kingklip and some rather fishy questions. CHARLOTTE BAUER witnessed the whining and dining*

WE reserve the electric chair for communists," quipped chat show host Tony Sanderson as Joe Slovo was wired up to a button microphone and an armchair in preparation for an after-dinner interrogation session with diners at a northern suburbs restaurant O'Hagan's.

Not to be outdone, Slovo told a communist joke about a man who, in the middle of being beaten up by a policeman, shouts: "Stop! Stop! I'm an anti-communist." The policeman carries on hitting him: "I don't care what kind of bloody communist you are."

But, as Slovo added, "to be a communist in this country takes more than a sense of humour ... it takes a sense of survival".

The general secretary of the South African Communist Party has survived. There he sat, very much the man of the moment in his trademark red socks, smiling, avuncular and doubtless waiting for the inevitable question: "Why do you people want to nationalise everything?"

When it came, he was ready: "We must shatter the myth that we want to create an economy that will nationalise places like this restaurant. After eating the kingklip here, I'll leave it to O'Hagan's."

He was no less quick on the draw when someone wanted to know how the party had managed to finance its existence all these years: "We've had a lot of raffle sales ..."

Joe Slovo was on a roll of one-liners, seemingly eager to do justice to his top-billing as that evening's after-dinner mint. "Dine in style and witness the leader of the SACP bare his soul on the Party's future!"

Slovo was Sanderson's third guest on the "No Holds Barred" show, a show that has brought new meaning to the word "entertainment". Most nights of the week, O'Hagan's plays host to a variety of more conventional artistes: sexy dancers, stand-up comics and rock 'n' roll singers. On Wednesdays, however, a public figure — preferably a provocative one — takes centre stage.

On this particular evening, the mostly white audience seemed less anxious about the Communist Party's policy on nationalisation than about Slovo's recently reported remarks about Jesus Christ. What he had said was that, if Christ were around today, he would probably be a member of Umkhonto we-Sizwe, the armed wing of the African National Congress.

"Mr Slovo, are you saying you could really imagine Jesus on a donkey with an AK-47 slung over his shoulder?"

"Yes. It would be good for him because Jesus stood for the poor against tyranny."

During this exchange, a man in an electric blue jumper had become more and more agitated. By the time it was his turn to ask a question, his face had come to assume the same colour as his sweater.

"Just tell me one thing — are you or are you not an atheist?"

"Ja," said Slovo laconically.

"I believe man made God in the image of his own perfection. That's what I think is positive about religion. I also believe that Christ was a revolutionary."

The electric blue jumper fairly crackled: "How can you say that? You don't even believe in Christ?"

The man had a point. After all, Joe Slovo is not any old atheist. He's a Jewish atheist.

Eventually wearying of trying to save the soul of a Godless communist, the audience turned instead to a bit of timeless red-baiting.

It doesn't seem to matter how many times Joe Slovo tells people he never was, still isn't and never will be a colonel in the KGB — because the popular



Armchair socialist ... Joe Slovo, with host Tony Sanderson on his right, fields a question from diners at O'Hagan's restaurant. Picture: AVIGAIL UZI

memory wants to believe it.

It doesn't seem to matter how many times he reminds people that the "freedom-loving West" has given birth to such free-thinkers as Hitler, Mussolini and Pinochet because the popular memory prefers to remember Stalin and Ceausescu.

"Of course crimes have been committed in the name of socialism," Slovo magnanimously conceded. "Crimes have also been committed in the name of capitalism and religion. Look at the crusades, Spanish fascism, Catholic Church support for Hitler ... all that doesn't necessarily lead people to abandon the basic content of a given doctrine."

"Well I'd rather go to the gas chamber than get a necklace," shouted one man who seemed to think that style brochures detailing Different Ways To Die should be on offer to potential victims. With the satisfaction of knowing his remarks had withered even the strongest appetite, he sat down again.

Freely admitting the failure of corrupted forms of socialism as practised in Eastern Europe, Slovo warmed up to his biggest laugh of the show.

"I don't believe there was communism in Russia," he ventured.

"Is this show supposed to be serious?" someone hooted as all around him peo-

ple slid weakly down their chairs with tears of mirth in their eyes.

But Slovo was serious: "No society has ever claimed they've reached the point where they could call themselves a truly communist society — and I'm not talking about the distorted forms of socialism as practised in countries like Russia."

"Mr Slovo ... are you a communist or a socialist?"

"Mr Slovo ... what is communism?"

Questions like these were proof that 40-odd years of God-fearing, red-hating, black-baiting nationalism and censorship have worked like opium on our brains. People who didn't do politics

III

University genuinely don't know what communism is.

He pressed to define it in a mere phrase. Slovo chose his words carefully: "True communism projects a society in which no person can't live of the labour of another. It is a society without economic exploitation."

Examining my dinner bill at the end of the evening, communism suddenly seemed a perfectly reasonable way to go.

Next week at O'Hagan's Tony Sanderson will be talking to marathon man Bruce Fordyce about being a long-distance runner, which isn't nearly as long as being a long-distance communist.

III

University genuinely don't know what communism is.

He pressed to define it in a mere phrase. Slovo chose his words carefully: "True communism projects a society in which no person can't live of the labour of another. It is a society without economic exploitation."

Examining my dinner bill at the end of the evening, communism suddenly seemed a perfectly reasonable way to go.

Next week at O'Hagan's Tony Sanderson will be talking to marathon man Bruce Fordyce about being a long-distance runner, which isn't nearly as long as being a long-distance communist.



**The ceasefire is mere strategy, says Winnie** (11A)

DURBAN: The suspension of armed action by the African National Congress is mere strategy and it does not mean the cessation of violence, Winnie Mandela, said last night.

The wife of African National Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela Mandela was speaking at a National Women's Day commemoration meeting in Durban.

She said Umkhonto weSizwe, the military wing of the ANC, had not been disbanded. *with ANC 10/8 - 12/8/90*

United Democratic Front leader Archie Gumede last night said — if correctly reported — Mandela's comments were not in keeping with the spirit of the Pretoria Minute. — Sapa

---

# ANC REPORT BACK TO THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA

Our all-round offensive against apartheid has led South Africa to the beginning of a new and democratic era. We still have some distance to cover before apartheid is replaced by a democratic Constitution. Although we have made substantial advances, certain stumbling blocks remain in our way. Below is a report and assessment of the second meeting held between the ANC and the government in Pretoria on 6 August 1990.

## THE OBSTACLES

Before the Pretoria meeting the following obstacles stood in the way of the peaceful resolution of the problems of our country:

1. all political prisoners and detainees had not been released;
2. political trials were still continuing;
3. security legislation was still on the law books and was being used against our people;
4. the State of Emergency in Natal was still in place.

The ANC had also noted the steady deterioration of the situation in Natal and other parts of the country. In addition to police violence against the people, we believe that the state has connived with vigilante forces in their criminal actions.

## THE GAINS

The Pretoria meeting achieved the following major advances for the people of our country:

1. a time-table for the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles. The release of political prisoners will start from the 1 September 1990. It is expected that most political prisoners will be released by 31 December 1990. Within the same period all political trials should cease and all political detainees be released. We also expect most exiles to return during this period - indemnified from prosecution.

However, a few disputed cases will be examined on an individual basis by a Working Group consisting of the ANC, other political organisations and the government.

2. the government has committed itself to amending existing security legislation at the next session of parliament. In addition it will give immediate consideration to repealing all provisions of the Internal Security Act that:
  - prohibit the furtherance of Communism;
  - list or ban activists;
  - require newspapers to pay a deposit before registering.

## THE NATAL SITUATION

While the State of Emergency continues to exist in Natal both parties committed themselves to search for peace and stability in the spirit of mutual trust.

The demands made by the ANC still stand. They are:

- the arrest and prosecution of warlords and perpetrators of violence;
- lifting of the State of Emergency;
- disbanding of the KwaZulu Police;
- dissolution of the KwaZulu bantustan.

## THE ARMED STRUGGLE

In view of the priority the ANC gives to the peaceful solution of the country's problems we have taken the initiative to suspend the armed struggle. This means that the ANC will not carry out any further armed actions and related activities such as the infiltration of armed cadres and weaponry. The ANC will participate in monitoring the activity of the SAP and the SADF.

The following points must be noted:

- the armed struggle has not been abandoned;
  - the People's Army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, has not been dissolved;
  - we have not forfeited our right to self-defence;
- Therefore, continued suspension is conditional on the behaviour of the South African Police and Defence Force.

## MASS ACTION CONTINUES

Mass struggles have to continue in all spheres of our lives to achieve our objective of a united, non-racial, democratic and non-sexist society. The government must listen to the demands of the people.

## A DEMOCRATIC CONSTITUTION

Whilst the obstacles are being removed exploratory talks on the drawing up of a democratic constitution may begin. The ANC's position is that there must be an Interim Government to supervise the transitional process. A Constituent Assembly, elected on the basis of one-person-one-vote and on a common voters roll, must be responsible for the drawing up of the new Constitution.

The African National Congress is committed to the achievement of a united, non-racial, democratic South Africa. We have initiated the process of talks to realise this objective. In this regard we have taken, and will continue to take, certain measures which will facilitate the success of this process.

**For further information contact African National Congress,  
P O Box 61884, Marshalltown 2307, Johannesburg. Fax 834-1019.**

# ANC needs strength in more than unity

W/ Mail 10/8-12/8/90

(11A)

**U**NITY is strength — most of the time. But, as the African National Congress might find, it can also be a weakness.

And, the weaker the ANC is, the less our chances of a smooth transition to democracy.

Monday's Pretoria meeting signalled another step towards transition — for the ANC as well as the country.

Until now, the ANC's power has been its ability to say "no".

Its wide symbolic support, abroad as well as here, has given it the power to block any settlement in which it is not included.

Now it will have to develop the power to say "yes" as well.

Mobilising people against apartheid won't be enough: it will also have to mobilise them for a negotiated transition to democracy. In part, that means showing it has the power to persuade its supporters to avoid actions which threaten transition.

By suspending "armed struggle", the ANC confirmed it has an interest in helping transition rather than simply mobilising against the government. But, to do that, it will have to do more than suspend guerrilla operations — which have done little to threaten stability.

It will also have to show that it can curb township violence which is a far greater threat to both stability and transition.

Government spokesmen also want it to curb "disguised violence" — mass actions which, although they are not violent in themselves, can prompt violence when they are undisciplined.

The ANC has signalled that it won't halt mass mobilisation. This is not necessarily a threat to transition — the process may, at some points, be speeded up by mass shows of support.

But, if the ANC is now committed to transition, it will have an interest in making sure that mobilisation is disciplined.

So it will now need subtler strategies: it will have to continue to show its power to say "no" while also showing it can persuade its followers to say "yes" to strategies which reduce the risk of violence.

It may not be equal to the task. And so the months ahead may be as — or more — turbulent than those which have passed.

Can this change? And what would be needed to change it?

The usual answer is that the ANC will only be able to ensure that its supporters change strategies if it becomes far stronger.

Ironically, that view is now backed by people in the government. They accept that the ANC has not had time to develop strong structures and they hope, privately, that it will develop them.

But a stronger ANC may not be more disciplined — or effective.

For a long time now, the ANC has assumed that its strength lies in bring-

see mobilising more subtly as a "sell-out".

It keeps very different constituencies within the fold by downplaying differences, discouraging debates which might divide them and stressing the need for "unity" against apartheid.

As long as all the groups in its camp share an interest in ending apartheid, it assumes, there is no need to introduce divisions which might weaken the anti-apartheid front.

That might have strengthened the ANC when it was only required to denounce apartheid and mobilise against it. But now it needs a strategy — and a different sort of unity.

People and groups with different ideologies can work together in the same movement — but only if they agree on strategies.

The important differences in the ANC camp now are not over ideologies but strategies. As events force it to choose strategies, it will be more difficult to paper over the cracks.

The more it tries that, the more it will continue to follow events, not shape them.

There are already signs that it is having trouble keeping hostile groups within the same alliance.

In Venda, kaNgwane and Lebowa, for example, it is courting homeland leaders who are locked in conflict with its own activists. This has prompted some tensions which it has managed to control, but they could surface again.

A more serious problem, as transition continues, is that parts of its constituency will act as if nothing has changed — and that its concern for unity will prevent it doing anything about this.

Recent events in black schools, particularly in Soweto, show the problems this might cause.

There are several ANC education groups. The ANC criticises school disruptions and some of these groups agree. But others act as if the "struggle" will be lost if schools are not disrupted. So ANC calls for a return to schooling were followed by teacher strikes, pupil boycotts — and the virtual end of any schooling at all.

The stress on unity prevents wither the ANC or some of its education groups from criticising disruptions.

The result? The most uncompromising parts of the movement have free rein to dictate its agenda while their "leaders" appear weak and ineffectual because they cannot influence their own members.

This is only one example. But, as transition continues, there may be many others — which may be even more damaging to the ANC, and to negotiated change.

If the ANC is to become strong enough to carry its constituency into a transition, it may have to aim for unity over agreed strategies, not simply over the iniquity of apartheid.

And, if parts of its constituency won't accept the agreed strategy, it may have to risk losing them.

It needs a different strength: one



**WORMS  
EYE**  
Steven  
Friedman

# The SACP's en route to democracy ... and beyond

w/Manif  
19/8-12/8/90

11A

**T**HE worm enjoys some notable advantages. Chopped in half it happily proceeds off on its now two separate ways.

Steven Friedman's Worm's Eye View often provides a canny perspective on South African politics. But when he deals with the SACP, as he did in his column last Friday, he gets to work not with one worm's eye but with four little eyes, two pairs, two contradictory worms emerging from a well disguised chop in half.

The main drift of Friedman's argument is that there is an "intriguing possibility" that the SACP could be an important factor in the democratisation of South Africa. We have never doubted it. But for Friedman this real possibility is full of paradoxes — just think of it, a party that has been "for decades the most Stalinist communist party in the West" etc!

This is a wormy paradox — not a real one. (In the first place we are not in the West, nor even in the East as some of our detractors have also alleged. Geopolitically our party and our country are south.

Why does Friedman believe our party can play a role in the democratisation process? "The fate of democracy here will depend partly on whether an economic compromise is achieved between the majority's demand for redistribution and the need for economic growth."

Friedman concedes the SACP has significant legitimacy and support among this majority that is demanding redistribution. On the other hand, the SACP's leaders "may well be enthusiastic compromisers". And so, Bob's your aunt, believe it or not, the SACP could play a crucial role in securing the fate of democracy in South Africa. (Presumably by dampening the majority's enthusiasm for redis-

---

*The SA Communist Party is accused of being an undemocratic conspiracy. Of course the party conspired — it was banned — but it was done for democracy, argues SACP leader*

**JEREMY CRONIN**  
*in this reply to a Weekly Mail column last week*

---



**Jeremy Cronin ... We conspired against the apartheid regime**

tribution. Hmm?)

In our imperfect world it is, perhaps, ungrateful not to accept a compliment, no matter how grudging and back-handed it might be. But Friedman's column is so buttressed with distortions that some rejoinder is required, lest these harden even further into unquestioned common wisdom.

What substantial evidence does Friedman offer for labelling us a thoroughly undemocratic organisation? It seems to come down to the fact that we have been party to secret conspiracies. Of course we've conspired. Between 1950 and February 2 1990 the circulation of a dozen *Umsebensizi*, or the holding of three person unit meetings have required deep conspiratorial techniques. Yes, we've conspired ... against the apartheid regime. No apologies offered.

But we have not conspired against or within fraternal organisations. And if individual party members or collectives have done so they have broken with one of our party's most basic principles.

There are two worms' voices speaking, not one. One worm, the shorter, is an ultra-leftish. It calls the SACP leadership "compromisers", we are

cy are indeed strange bed-fellows.

It is out of this contradictory, partly ultra-left, mostly right-wing liberal appraisal that the SACP emerges, in Friedman's article, as a potential factor for democracy. But are there not more coherent (and more generously democratic) explanations for the potential role of the SACP?

The SACP continues to propagate the desirability of socialism — that is, the social ownership and control over the major means of production. But we have long argued that the most direct line of advance to socialism in South Africa lies down the path of a national democratic transformation.

This is not to defer socialism but to advance by the most rapid (and we believe democratic) route. The opening up of this national democratic transformation will now most likely occur through some negotiations mechanism. There will be compromises. But such compromises can only be justified if they lay the basis for real democratisation.

In our view the deepening and consolidation of this process will depend on a democratic transition to socialism in the medium term. Democracy, after all, is a limited thing when a handful of private individuals continues to own and control the commanding economic heights.

The SACP and democracy are not strange bed-fellows. It is precisely because of our 69 years of struggle for a democratic South Africa that we have been persecuted. And it is precisely because of both our struggle and our persecution that we enjoy the respect of large numbers of oppressed South Africans.

As we build a renewed mass party, the SACP will reflect the views of its communist membership and of the wider working class from which most of our membership will be drawn. Whether legitimate worker demands and aspirations are deferred in the interests of their longer term realisation will be determined democratically.

We emphatically decline Friedman's invitation to deliver, like a sack of mealies, and in the name of securing democracy, any constituency whatsoever. Thanks but no thanks.

"abandoning socialism", in the recent past we have tried to get trade unionists to "defer demands for socialism".

The other worm, and it is the larger half, is a right-wing liberal. It nibbles away at us for our "vanguardism", for our Marxist "orthodoxy". Above all, this particular worm has a highly cynical view of democracy.

It rejects the vision of democracy as a process of empowering the people at all levels and in all sectors of their lives. Instead, at least by strong implication, democracy is reduced simply to multi-party wheeling and dealing, to compromises struck between apparatuses that are capable of delivering their respective constituencies.

To the government and to business this worm says quite explicitly: deal with the SACP, they can deliver the workers and the youth.

If this is the "democratic" role envisaged for us, then we are happy to admit that our party and this democra-

# Weekend Mail

**SCIENCE**

**Selling space: Hype into science won't go**

An adventure is grounded by the enthusiasm of those who wanted it most **Page 5**

**THE ARTS**

**A sense of movement: The door's open**

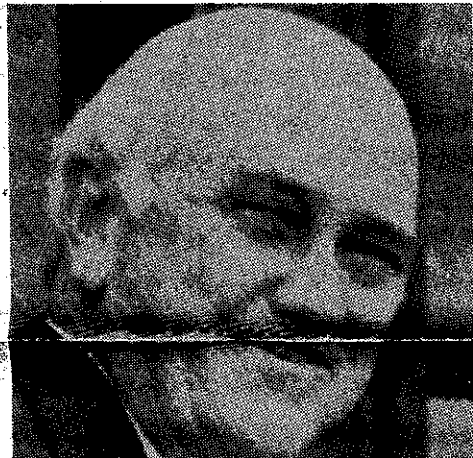
Chris Pretorius comes out of the statement theatre closet with his existential new play **Page 10**

**FEATURES**

**Miracles no longer drop from the sky**

They have lived in Israel for 23 years. But their village will never be home **Pages 8 and 9**

*w/ε Mat 10/8 - 12/8/90.*  
**From war to peace in 29 years**



De Klerk and Mandela ... They neither submitted nor fought. They negotiated

By SHAUN JOHNSON

**E**ARLY in the morning on December 17 1961, meeting in an underground hideout and in fear of a police raid, African National Congress leaders drafted an historic statement. Its effect was to declare a war.

In the early hours of the morning on August 7 1990, at the seat of government in Pretoria and with the help of the state president's aides, African National Congress leaders issued another statement which takes its place in South African history. This time, its effect was to declare peace.

Twenty-nine years ago, Umkhonto weSizwe's armed struggle was launched with these words: "The time comes in the life of

●To PAGE 2



More good things, maybe, but maybe not, as a hostel resident with spear and shield (right, behind the concrete wall) unconsciously mirrors the posture of security force members atop a Casspir on Monday in Kagiso, near Krugersdorp — a day after clashes between Inkatha supporters and migrant workers left 15 dead.

From PAGE 1

any nation when there remain only two choices — submit or fight. That time has now come in South Africa. We shall not submit, and we have no choice but to hit back by all means in our power, in defence of our people, our future, and our freedom."

On Tuesday, the guerrilla war that had simmered and snarled through the intervening years was stopped dead in its tracks by means of an even more terse paragraph. "The African National Congress is now suspending all armed actions with immediate effect," it read. "No further armed actions and related activities by the ANC and its military wing will take place."

The original question faced by the ANC — to "submit or fight" — had come up again, nearly three decades later, and it was found that it could be fundamentally reframed. So dramatically had times changed that the organisation's leaders concluded that there was indeed a third option, an alternative to the stark choice of 1961.

It did not have to submit, and it did not have to fight. It could negotiate.

The throngs of reporters who had waited up to 16 hours for the conclusion of the meeting that produced the Pretoria Minute had little time or inclination to reflect on the political gravity of the occasion, let alone its strange

# Two historic documents in 29 years. One declared war, the other peace

W/E Mail 10/8 - 12/8/90

symmetry. But both elements were present in abundance, and this began to emerge once the immediate drama was over.

It is worth pausing to take in the significance of what has taken place this week.

There is no hyperbole involved in saying that the world's media was present at one of the most remarkable, bizarre, and least expected events of modern times. The Pretoria Minute was thrashed out and agreed to by a white South African state president and the very man who, three decades before, had in large part conceived and implemented the armed struggle. The Minute was signed by sides which the world had long written off as being irrevocably deadlocked.

The 16-hour meeting was long by any standards, but it was as a blink of the eye compared to what went before: for better or worse, this week's historical instant changed the course of South African history.

Nelson Mandela, on the run, had been Umkhonto's commander-in-

chief in absentia in 1961 — the spirit behind the secretly issued declaration of war. As the peripatetic 43-year-old "Black Pimpernel", dressed more often than not in overalls and evading the clutches of the police, he had issued "letters from the underground" and declared: "We plan to make government impossible." He was the most renowned — and, as far as whites were concerned, feared — black man in the country.

At that time FW de Klerk, an up and coming 25-year-old attorney in Vereeniging, would certainly have known of Mandela. De Klerk was pursuing the opposite goal (stable white government) in his own, more modest way. He was active on behalf of the National Party at constituency level, soon to become chairman of the local divisional council, and as yet undecided about whether his future lay in full-time politics. Had his name been mentioned to Mandela then, it would have meant nothing.

But on Tuesday, the tremendous leadership powers of these two very

different men allowed for the signing of a peace pact which runs diametrically against what both were fighting for in 1961. It makes government possible, but not the sort of government that the young De Klerk had in mind.

Among the many other weighty lessons that the signing of the Pretoria Minute offers is that history has a way of re-reading itself.

De Klerk would have followed with interest Mandela's statement from the dock in Pretoria's Palace of Justice on April 20 1964, prior to his sentencing to life imprisonment. And the future state president would have dismissed and condemned it out of hand — as the rantings of a "terrorist".

It would be interesting to hear his reaction to reading it again now, with the benefit of hindsight, and the knowledge of how many graves have been dug on both sides since then.

On that day in 1964 Mandela said: "What were we, the leaders of our people, to do? Were we to give in to

the (government's) ... force, or were we to fight it, and if so, how?

"We had no doubt that we had to continue the fight ... we shrank from any action which might drive the races further apart than they already were ... But the hard facts were that 50 years of non violence had brought the African people nothing but more and more repressive legislation, and fewer and fewer rights ...

"It may be difficult for this court to understand, but ... Already small groups had risen in the urban areas and were spontaneously making plans for violent forms of political struggle. There now arose a danger that these groups would adopt terrorism ... if not properly directed ...

"After a long and anxious assessment of the South African situation, I and some colleagues came to the conclusion that as violence in this country was inevitable, it would be unrealistic and wrong for African leaders to continue preaching peace and non-violence at a time when the government met our peaceful demands with force ...

"When we took the decision to form Umkhonto weSizwe, and subsequently formulated our plans, the ANC heritage of non-violence and racial harmony was very much with us. We felt that the country was drifting towards a civil war in which blacks and whites would fight each other. We viewed the situation with alarm.

"Civil war could mean the destruction of what the ANC stood for; with civil war, racial peace would be more difficult than ever to achieve ... Four forms of violence are possible ... sabotage ... guerrilla warfare ... terrorism and ... open revolution. We chose to adopt the first method and to exhaust it before taking any other decision ... Sabotage did not involve a loss of life, and it offered the best hope for future race relations ...

"Attacks on the economic lifelines of the country were to be linked with sabotage on government buildings and other symbols of apartheid ...

Mandela's response to this, his reply to the court, was, finally, violent ...

The whites failed to respond by suggesting change; they responded to our call by executing the leader ... In ...

the white response with anxiety ... The whites and blacks were moving into separate camps and the prospects of avoiding a civil war were made less. The white newspapers carried reports that sabotage would be punished by death. If this was so, how could we continue to keep Africans away from terrorism?

"The fight which held out the best prospects for us and the least risk of life to both sides was guerrilla warfare ... I made arrangements for our recruits to undergo military training ..."

The leap from this reality to Tuesday's — declared by Mandela and De Klerk to be "a milestone on the road to true peace and prosperity for our country"; one which ensures that "all of us can henceforth walk the road (to the new South Africa) in consultation and co-operation with each other" is so staggering that it does not need to be laboured.

Suffice to say that it is a sobering fact that no historians, observers, journalists, politicians, fortune tellers or whatever dared, a year ago today, to put forward the scenario which unfolded at the Union Buildings this week. They would, quite understandably, have been denounced as wild dreamers.

Such has been the pace of progress in 1990 that it has obscured the fact of the fundamental unpredictability of what has happened: would not De Klerk and Mandela themselves have laughed out loud if the future had been described to them then?

This week's is an unprecedented cautionary tale to anyone who rushes to pronounce anything "impossible" in the coming months.



A head above the rest ... Nelson Mandela sings with supporters and accused at the Treason Trial in 1956

Picture: DRUM

## De Klerk and Mandela: A great double act

W/E Mail 10/8 - 12/8/90

IF it had not been such a serious occasion, the finale of a long Monday's talking about negotiations for The New South Africa in Pretoria could have established President FW de Klerk and Nelson Mandela as a potentially amusing double act.

They appeared before the press hours later than expected — after all they were setting "milestones" for the nation rather than pandering to our deadlines, as we were reminded. The amusement was kicked off by the man from the SABC whose first question to Mandela confused his own organisation with the dreaded SACP (South African Communist Party).

Amid laughter, the ANC deputy president denied ever having been a member of the SABC.

Mandela had other one-liners, like when he was asked what concessions the government had made to match the ANC's suspension of "armed actions with immediate effect". Ask the state president, he suggested. De Klerk responded by saying his government would, among its other intentions, "take steps" to deal with policemen and others who inflicted violence on blacks — if the ANC could provide evidence of the alleged wrongdoing.

Mandela replied, "We are not satisfied with the answer just given" because that evidence had already been provided in particular instances. State organs were involved in the violence

It was a long wait but it was worth it, writes **ARTHUR MAIMANE**, after the greatest double act South Africa has seen

and either the government had "lost control" over the police or they were doing what the government wanted, he said.

Harsh words, but De Klerk was still able to bring the packed house down at the end. The ANC deputy president said he didn't wish for a public debate on evidence about state violence, and the state president told his audience of hacks (and the bleary-eyed viewers of SABC/SACP) that "I don't want to have the last word, but ..."

It is said the two most powerful men in the country get on well together and understand each other better than they do some of the members of their organisations. Their hours of haggling inside the Ou Presidensie, a kilometre away from where we waited all day and evening at the Union Buildings, must have been tough; but if they pull it off despite discordant noises from the wings of their newly-fashioned state theatre, they could change political gatherings from a necessary chore for journalists into amusing theatre.

The ANC entourage led by Mandela (but apparently top-heavy with

SACP members) arrived at the Ou Presidensie in eastern Pretoria just before nine in the morning. There was no public fanfare and the five-car convoy was led to the venue by a discreet escort — one unmarked police car.

They disappeared behind the parade of jacaranda trees and assorted bushes which protect the hilltop estate that was once the residence of governors-generals (whose time has passed) to discuss how to wipe out the racist system to which those representatives of British monarchy had given credence.

Hours later as the sun set over the capital, there was still no information about the progress of the talks: an official news blackout was reinforcing the bushes and trees which totally obscure the colonial residence. Just before the lunch hour I staked out the entrance with a vain hope — shared by a few other intrepid hacks — that some of the ANC entourage might have to come out past the guard of six policemen to find food elsewhere like the rest of us.

They could, with luck, be pumped for titbits while the two five-man delegations had a working lunch in solitary splendour behind the security screen of vegetation, wires, cops and Alsatian dogs. That there was such a lunch was of course only speculation within the press corps since our official guardians at the media centre re-

mained close-mouthed. (11A)

Until the evening when their assurance was that the press conference at which the day's "milestones" would be unveiled was due to start "between 11pm and midnight" — way past the most convenient deadlines. At 11.25pm a woman civil servant (didn't catch your last name, Lorraine) asked "What's the latest, latest deadline for SA morning newspapers?" There was another groan of despair and she hurried out with a promise the press conference would start before midnight.

And at 11.57pm a bearded civil servant appealed, "Please don't shoot me, I'm only a messenger." The great unveiling, he told us, would start "within the hour". More groans from parched throats and rumbles from stomachs hungry for hard news as well as food. Only the North American correspondents were unruffled because their deadlines were still hours away.

It was after 12.30am that the statesmen filed into the pretty but overcrowded circular chamber to give us the news about the breakthrough to proper negotiations for The New South Africa that has remained below the horizon six months and five days after the state president made that speech before parliament in Cape Town.

# THE WEEK

## Months of tension - then a spark

By FRANS KRÜGER

11A

THE violence in Port Elizabeth's townships comes after months of rising tensions in the city's Northern Areas, where a range of issues have pitted the communities against bodies associated with the Labour Party.

First there was conflict over an order to homeowners to demolish shacks in their backyards. There is a massive housing crisis in the areas, and many people live in shacks in the backyards of relatives. *W/Man. 10/8-12/8/90*

More recently, there has been conflict over the failure of the coloured education authorities to appoint a popular

teacher as principal of Uitenhage High School, allegedly because of his opposition to the Labour Party.

The issue brought education in the areas to a halt for weeks, as pupils and teachers boycotted classes in protest.

The immediate spark to the riots was an incident on Monday, when police broke up a rent protest by some 3 000 people. Eye-witnesses said the protesters had gathered on a soccer field after handing a petition to a housing official.

The police allegedly sealed off three of four exits, and then fired teargas at the crowd without giving them adequate time to disperse.

Police have defended their action, claiming that teargas was only used after several requests to disperse were ignored.



Allan Hendrickse

Labour Party leader Allan Hendrickse last night blamed the ANC for the violence. Hendrickse said the ANC had been responsible "initially", and the looting and arson had followed afterwards. The violence had increased since the formation of ANC branches, and that it was "an attempt to oppose and discredit the Labour Party".

EASTERN CAPE Despite ANC ...

# Leon's 'anti-ANC' words spark more DP infighting

By ELSABÉ WESSELS

SENIOR MP Jan van Eck yesterday demanded that fellow Democratic Party MP Tony Leon retract negative statements he made about the African National Congress during a report back meeting in Houghton on Wednesday night.

In a sharp statement Van Eck also accused Leon of attempting to arrest moves in the DP to interact more closely with the ANC.

Van Eck said Leon's comments amounted not merely to criticism but an "unbridled attack" on the ANC.

"The attack could only be construed as an attempt to scuttle the scheduled talks between the DP and the ANC on September 1 and 2," Van Eck said, referring to the first official contact scheduled between the two parties.

Van Eck was not the only MP to attack Leon for his "strident" approach to the ANC. Simon's Town MP Jannie Momberg also took a dim view of Leon's utterances.

In his speech Leon said the ANC's policy consisted largely of "old anti-apartheid slogans and rhetoric dressed up in new garb." He also accused SA Communist Party general secretary and

w/ Mail 10/8 - 12/8/90  
ANC NEC member Joe Slovo of "economic illiteracy".

Momberg yesterday said Leon's statements were detrimental to the work he was doing in squatter communities in his constituency and to the relationship he had built up with black leaders in the area.

Momberg said it was important for white voters to understand that they had to differentiate between the rhetoric of the ANC and its real deeds. He said that differences between the DP and the ANC, and those between the DP and the NP, should be resolved around the negotiation table. "It will not be solved by having a slinging match with our opponents," Momberg said.

The infighting is indicative of the sharp dissension within Democratic Party ranks. Differences run so deep that it is threatening party unity on the eve of its second National Congress, scheduled for next month.

Leon yesterday defended his position, saying that the remarks he made were on the minds of many people.

The attack on Leon is the latest in a series of crises which the party has faced since its formation last year.

The party, which has suffered a leadership crisis since its launch, has been entangled in an identity crisis following State President FW de Klerk's February 2 reforms.

This week's infighting, which broadly represent the "liberal" and "progressive" poles of the party — the anti- and pro-ANC camps — will be battled out in the run-up to the party's second National Congress on September 7 and 8.

Leon's scathing references to the ANC are also regarded as detrimental to DP-ANC relations, especially in the light of scheduled talks between the DP and the ANC on September 1 and 2.

The meeting is regarded as critical and party leaders, including Zach de Beer, Denis Worrall and Tian van der Merwe, have been meeting ANC officials in preparation for the two-day talks.

The election of a single leader at next month's party congress will be crucial in determining the line the party will take in future.

It now seems that pro-ANC DP-members are advancing Green Point MP Tian van der Merwe as their candidate. Van der Merwe has not yet indicated whether he will stand.



# No agreement for cadres to give up weapons — ANC

By JO-ANNE COLLINGE

THERE is no specific agreement by the African National Congress for its cadres inside South Africa to hand over their weapons to the authorities, says ANC National Executive Committee member Aziz Pahad.

Pahad, who was also a member of the first joint ANC/government Working Group, said this "was not discussed in detail" during the 15-hour talks between the liberation movement and the government in Pretoria on Monday.

He added that item three of the Pretoria Minute, which recorded the ANC's announcement that it was "suspending all armed actions with immediate effect", had brought the question into "sharp focus".

It would be one of the issues that a new working group would have to take into account in fulfilling its brief of resolving "all outstanding questions arising out of this decision (to suspend all ANC armed actions)" and reporting to the two principle parties by September 15.

In terms of the Pretoria Minute, the ANC undertook that "no further armed actions and related activities by the ANC and its military wing Umkhonto weSizwe will take place".

The catch-all term, "related activities", has raised questions about how broad the undertaking is.

At a press conference on the day after the talks, two in the ANC team — Secretary-General Alfred Nzo and NEC member Joe Slovo — made it clear that this meant that bringing combat formations and weapons across the border would end.

But it did not, at this stage, mean underground structures would be abandoned, said Slovo.

It was not made clear whether these underground formations would include ~~armed units, restricted to inactivity until further notice~~.

What is clear from the first Working Group report on amnesty and indemnity for political offenders, is that Umkhonto weSizwe members who continue to store and bear arms after the cut-off date will be vulnerable to prosecution and will be liable for their sentences.

## Labour will ask FW to scrap Areas Act

Wimant 10/8 - 12/8/90  
By ELSABE WESSELS

THE Labour Party will demand the immediate scrapping of the Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act when they meet State President FW de Klerk and Constitutional Minister Gerrit Viljoen today, Labour Party spokesman Peter Hendrickse said yesterday.

Hendrickse said the Labour Party delegation would be led by its leader Allan Hendrickse, who yesterday met with De Klerk to discuss the violent conflict between LP and ANC factions in Port Elizabeth.

# US democrats meet PAC over govt grant

Carl Enfs. 11/8/90 (11A)

TWO members of America's Democratic Party met representatives of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) in the city on Monday to discuss a R26-million US government grant to formerly-banned organisations.

Democrats Dr Patrick O'Mally and Ms Patricia Keefer were received at the PAC's Salt River offices by the organisation's foreign affairs secretary, Ms Patricia de Lille, and Western Cape co-ordinator Mr Barney Desai.

According to Ms De Lille, the ANC's recent qualification for access to the funds would be discussed.

A US Congress bill released \$10m (about R26m) to assist formerly banned organisations develop their infrastructures, on condition they were committed to a suspension of violence "in the context of negotiations to establish a democratic system".

With its suspension of the armed struggle, the ANC qualifies for access to the money, but the PAC does not. — Sapa



Mrs Mandela

# ANC slaps down Winnie

ANC Times 11/8/90

114

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC yesterday slapped down Mrs Winnie Mandela for her statement that suspension of the armed struggle was a mere strategy.

Mrs Mandela had also added that "it did not mean the cessation of violence".

In a statement issued by Mr Walter Sisulu, internal leader of the ANC, he said the decision had been well considered and not "a mere strategy".

"The national executive (of the ANC) and subsequently the delegation to Pretoria decided that as of now the armed struggle — meaning actual shooting — will stop," Mr Sisulu said in a statement.

Mrs Mandela sparked controversy on Thursday when she told a meeting that violence would not cease. It was mere strategy, she said.

In answer to a question from a SABC TV reporter on Friday night, Mr Sisulu said no action would be taken against Mrs Mandela, wife of ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela.

"Many people make mistakes and sometimes misinterpret issues. We will take no further steps," he said.

A member of the NEC, Mr Steve Tshwete, said last night that Mrs Mandela was quoted out of context.

"There is a big difference between suspending the armed struggle and terminating the armed struggle," he said.

Mr Tshwete said Mrs Mandela was not referring to violence coming from the military actions of MK. She was alluding to the violence in Natal, Transvaal and the Eastern Cape, he said. — Sapa-AP

# Amcham and PAC meet in historic talks on 'new SA'

**KAIZER NYATSUMBA**

A 20-MEMBER Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) delegation will meet the American Chamber of Commerce SA (Amcham) in Harare, Zimbabwe, today and tomorrow to discuss a wide range of economic issues, it was announced this week.

This historic meeting — the first between organised business operating in South Africa and the PAC — will be held in Harare because several key PAC leaders were not yet indemnified to return to South Africa, according to Amcham executive director Wayne Mitchell, who will lead the 11-member Amcham delegation.

In a media statement, Mr Mitchell said Amcham had re-focused its attention from the anti-sanctions lobby towards putting its views across to the various contending political organisations in the country in an "attempt to come to terms with the rapidly changing socio-political and economic environment".

## Enlightened message

This process was beneficial to Amcham "in that an enlightened message can be sent to the business community in the United States".

The talks with the PAC, whose delegation will be led by the organisation's Transkei-based vice-president Clarence Makwetu and externally-based chairman Johnson Mlambo, were no exception.

The meeting, which was Amcham's initiative, will discuss the PAC's economic policy, foreign investment needs in South Africa, protection of local industries, workers' rights, education support and support for entrepreneurial development.

In a separate statement, PAC administrative secretary Joe Mkwanazi said his organisation regarded the two-day meeting as significant since PAC leaders would for the first time directly communicate the organisation's economic policy, its programmes and other principles and issues.

"It has happened in the past that the PAC's position on several issues had been distorted, misrepresented or misinterpreted.

"The PAC, therefore, is happy to have the opportunity to inform the different chambers of commerce on our policies, programmes and objectives rather than have these chambers assuming what we stand for or getting distorted versions from third parties or writers who purport to express PAC policies."

The Harare talks are hosted by the Zimbabwean Institute for Southern Africa under the auspices of the Cold Comfort Farm Trust whose patron is President Mugabe.

## Report

Mr Mitchell said on their return Amcham delegates will report to other Bi-National Chambers of Commerce operating in South Africa.

Some of the people in the PAC delegation will be Mr Makwetu, Mr Mlambo, internal secretary-general Benny Alexander, foreign affairs secretary Gora Ebrahim, University of Zimbabwe economics lecturer Siphoshe Shabalala, economist Mosebanye Malatsi, University of Swaziland lecturer Nomthetho Simelane and University of Transkei rector Professor Wiseman Nkuhlu.

## Judicial inquiry into handling of psychopaths

MARITZBURG — Dangerous psychopaths convicted of serious crimes will possibly be detained indefinitely, even after serving their jail sentences.

The matter is receiving the attention of a commission of inquiry in Maritzburg that is investigating the handling of psychopathic and other violent offenders.

The chairman, Mr Justice Booysen, said the commission had been established to review sentencing, handling and release of criminals convicted for violent and sexual offences.

He said the commission was also considering the desirability of establishing a register of people with deviant behaviour who might endanger others.

People who wish to submit written evidence or make representations on the subject should contact the Directorate of Justice before the end of October. — Sapa.

# For the sake of

## FW and Nelson's example show the way

PATRICK LAURENCE

**T**HE African National Congress finds itself in an anomalous position. Having led the armed resistance against apartheid for three decades, it now stands accused by its rivals of — in their terminology — compromising with the regime.

The accusation, voiced by the Pan Africanist Congress and the Azanian People's Organisation, is a sequel to the ANC's decision to suspend its armed struggle after the August 6 talks in Pretoria with the Government.

PAC president Zephania Mothopeng, reflecting his organisation's anti-negotiation stance, rejects the Pretoria Minute, as the ANC-Government agreement is called. He pledges to intensify military action by the PAC's underground army, the Azanian People's Liberation Army.

Azapo president Itumeleng Mosala similarly dismisses the Pretoria Minute. He sees it as confirmation of Azapo's view that nothing meaningful will emerge from negotiations at present.

Arguing that the ANC won only one major concession from the regime — the release of political prisoners — he asserts that the Government has not committed itself to lifting the state of emergency in Natal.

"No commitment," he declares, "has been given by the Government that its armed forces will not invade and occupy the black townships as a sign of their commitment to peace."

Matching Mr Mothopeng's call for increased guerrilla action, Professor Mosala exhorts black consciousness organisations to intensify the struggle on all fronts.

His call is presumably meant for the ears of fighters in the Azanian National Liberation Army, the armed wing of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania.

ANC leaders respond scornfully, clearly irritated by what they regard as a cacophony of verbal militancy.

"The point was made over and over again in our discussions that the purpose was not to have victors or losers, but to look at how to shape the future of South Africa," responds ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo.

He refers to "very specific commitments with dates recorded" for the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles, with the freeing of prisoners starting on September 1 and the coming home of exiles beginning on October 1.

He labels the Government's commitment to review security legislation as "very firm" and cites a point in the Pretoria Mi-



nute under which Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee invites proposals for amendments to security laws.

"How those who know how to read English, as I know how to read English, think that what happened in Pretoria was a one-sided process, I just do not know?" he avers.

**S**outh African Communist Party general secretary Joe Slovo — who attended the talks as a member of the ANC rather than as a SACP leader — says the ANC has one purpose only at the talks: to "break the logjam" in the peace process.

"Right at the beginning of the meeting our deputy president (Nelson Mandela) made the point that time was not on our side, that the longer the process stretched out, the more time would be given to those who would like to sabotage the process.

"We came there to break the logjam in the peace process and I

believe we walked away with complete success."

Mr Nzo scoffs at the threat by the PAC to ensure that the Pretoria accord is not fulfilled. He wants to know whether the PAC plans to patrol jails and borders to prevent the return to freedom of prisoners and exiles.

Mr Slovo dismisses PAC talk about escalating its armed struggle as the breaking of its "30-year ceasefire".

On the contentious issue of security laws, Mr Slovo insists the ANC took a strong stand against them. He predicts that Section 29 of the Internal Security Act — the indefinite detention clause, under which ANC and SACP leader "Mac" Maharaj is detained — is going to become a major issue.

Its application against ANC and SACP members has been raised and so has the "torture of detainees", Mr Slovo says. The ANC, he adds, plans to obtain access to prisons to ensure that all political prisoners are freed. He puts the number of ANC-related

prisoners on an "incomplete list" at 1 500.

The ANC's moratorium on "armed struggle" is conditional and dependent on reciprocity from the Government, particularly its police force, which Mr de Klerk seems to find difficult to control, Mr Slovo avows.

**A**n ANC advertisement, prepared as part of its plan to explain its decisions to its huge constituency, makes essentially the same point. The armed struggle has been suspended but not abandoned, it assures its followers. "The people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, has not been dissolved. We have not forfeited our right to self-defence. Therefore continued suspension is conditional on the South African Police and Defence Force."

But, taking account of the ANC's trenchant defence of its decision at the Pretoria talks, there is no doubt that — to paraphrase Mr Nzo — if words mean what they say, the ANC has not insisted on absolute fulfilment

of the conditions laid down in the Harare Declaration.

The Harare Declaration, drafted by the ANC and adopted by the OAU a year ago, lists a series of pre-conditions which have to be realised before substantive negotiations can start.

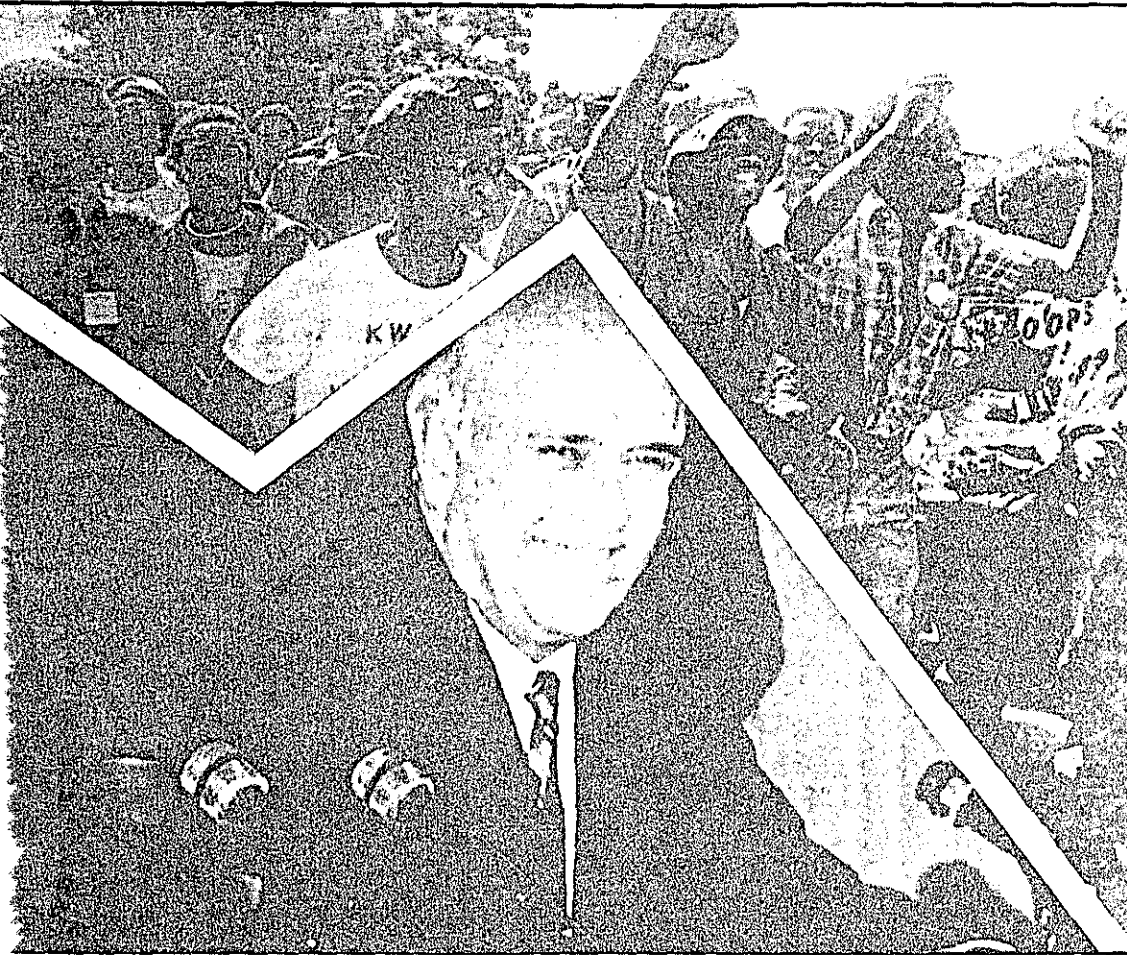
They include complete lifting of the state of emergency and repeal of all legislation — including the omnibus Internal Security Act — "designed to circumscribe political activity" and cessation of all political trials.

The mere promise — to quote clause 6 of the Pretoria Minute — "to consider lifting the state of emergency in Natal as early as possible" does not meet the requirements of the Harare Declaration.

Nor does the Government's pledge to continue its "on-going review of security legislation" and to "give immediate consideration" to possible repeal of clauses in the Internal Security Act relating to repression of communism, the gagging of people and control of newspapers.

# sake of peace

examples show the way for lesser leaders



grant an amnesty first would "mean granting amnesty to armed guerillas who might then feel free to pursue violence".

The ANC's decision will unquestionably help Mr de Klerk secure the approval of the white electorate for whatever constitutional proposals emerge from the substantive negotiations.

It has given him his first real gain since he started on the perilous — for his party — road to a negotiated settlement on February 2. He now has a powerful argument to use against his opponents on the Right who accuse him of making repeated concessions to the ANC without gaining anything in return.

The ANC adduces another reason for its decision: the priority it gives to "the peaceful solution of the country's problems".

Its self-initiated moratorium on the armed struggle contributes to a peaceful climate in two ways: by removing the actions of its guerillas from the violence equation and by depriving the township comrades of a rationale for their own war-like actions against the "enemy".

**R**Real peace, however, remains a long way off. The ANC's armed struggle is a relatively small component of the seemingly endless waves of violence sweeping across the country. Sectarian strife, primarily between the ANC and Inkatha, is a more important element.

It is symptomatic rather than coincidental that signing of the Pretoria Minute was preceded and followed by township violence: on the day of the talks, fighting between ANC-aligned forces and Inkatha loyalists left 12 people dead in Kagiso; a few days later rioting in Ppriet Elizabeth's coloured township, fuelled in part by hostility towards the Rev Allan Hendrickse's Labour Party, claimed 33 lives.

Violence will not end until the hostility which underlies sectarian conflict is replaced by a spirit of fraternity.

The tolerance and willingness to solve problems by discussion and compromise which appear to characterise relations between Mr Mandela and Mr de Klerk must percolate outwards to leaders who have been declared "enemies" by the comrades — Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthe-lesi and Mr Hendrickse come to mind — and downwards to the common people who are the main victims of the growing violence.

The statesmanship and tactical flexibility that brought Mr Mandela and Mr de Klerk to the negotiating table are required across a wider front.

**GREENPIECE:** James Clarke is on leave. His column will resume when he returns.

with prisoners on an "incomplete list" at 1500.

The ANC's moratorium on "armed struggle" is conditional and dependent on reciprocity from the Government, particularly its police force, which Mr de Klerk seems to find difficult to control, Mr Slovo avows.

**A**n ANC advertisement, prepared as part of its plan to explain its decisions to its huge constituency, makes essentially the same point. The armed struggle has been suspended but not abandoned, it assures its followers. "The people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, has not been dissolved. We have not forfeited our right to self-defence. Therefore continued suspension is conditional on the South African Police and Defence Force."

But, taking account of the ANC's trenchant defence of its decision at the Pretoria talks, there is no doubt that — to paraphrase Mr Nzo — if words mean what they say, the ANC has not insisted on absolute fulfilment

of the conditions laid down in the Harare Declaration.

The Harare Declaration, drafted by the ANC and adopted by the OAU a year ago, lists a series of pre-conditions which have to be realised before substantive negotiations can start.

They include complete lifting of the state of emergency and repeal of all legislation — including the omnibus Internal Security Act — "designed to circumscribe political activity" and cessation of all political trials.

The mere promise — to quote clause 6 of the Pretoria Minute — "to consider lifting the state of emergency in Natal as early as possible" does not meet the requirements of the Harare Declaration.

Nor does the Government's pledge to continue its "on-going review of security legislation" and to "give immediate consideration" to possible repeal of clauses in the Internal Security Act relating to repression of communism, the gagging of people and control of newspapers.

The ANC, however, is a co-signatory to the Pretoria Minute which ends with the declaration that "the way is now open to proceed towards negotiations on a new constitution". The Minute adds that "exploratory talks" and the first full meeting of the new constitution are imminent.

**A**gainst that, the Harare Declaration envisages discussions to "achieve the suspension of hostilities on both sides by agreeing to a mutually binding ceasefire" before substantive discussions on a new constitution.

Here again the ANC has not adhered strictly to the Harare Declaration. There are two counts: its decision to unilaterally suspend its armed struggle instead of holding out for a joint ceasefire and its agreement to proceed to substantive negotiations before a joint ceasefire.

But adjustment of its priorities a year after the Harare Declaration was adopted by the

OAU does not necessarily mean that the ANC is compromising or sacrificing the interests of the black people who have gathered under its banners, or reneged on its own ideological commitments.

Its decision to impose a moratorium on its guerilla war may be a sign of tactical flexibility, a great asset in tough negotiations, as in war. It may signify appreciation of Lenin's dictum about sometimes having to take two steps backward before advancing.

Andries Treurnicht, leader of the Conservative Party, certainly thinks so. He sees the ANC's decision to leash its guerilla fighters as a tactical move, not a compromise.

The ANC may have recognised, as the August edition of Front File points out, that President de Klerk cannot grant the general amnesty which it seeks for its fighters until it calls a halt to its guerilla war.

To expect Mr de Klerk to

## Half can't praat an official taal

FORTY-three percent of South Africans cannot speak either English or Afrikaans, according to Human Sciences Research Council researcher Dr Gerard Schuring.

Although English and Afrikaans were the most popular spoken languages, he said, they would not be sufficient to solve the communication problem.

He said in 1980 only 7,5 percent of all Asians, whites and coloured people could speak an African language. Dr Schuring said African languages should therefore have a place in a new language policy. Star 11/8/90 (11A) (82)

### Preferences

Dr Schuring said a countrywide investigation into preferences for the different languages as an official language had still not been done, but certain conclusions could be drawn from the census results.

Drawing from available statistics, he said, between 37 and 50 percent of the population preferred English, 18 to 27 percent preferred Afrikaans and between 23 and 45 percent of the population preferred an African language.

Dr Schuring said it appeared that official policy would have to cater for all languages, while the country's population groups should be encouraged to learn other languages.

— Sapa.



# Plea for tolerance at Soweto burial of firebrand Mashinini

Star 11/8/90 (11A)

FORMER Soweto student firebrand Tsiet-si Mashinini — who died about three weeks ago in Conakry, Guinea, after going into exile during the 1976 Soweto school uprisings — will be buried in Soweto today.

The cause of Mashinini's death is not clear. After his death it was announced that he had died after suffering a bout of nervous exhaustion. However, the Mashinini Funeral Committee said it appeared that he had died from natural causes.

The president of the South African Youth Revolutionary Council (Sayrco), Khotso Seatlholo, said Mashinini had marks on his face and seemed to have been bleeding behind the left ear.

Mashinini (33), founding president of the Soweto Students' Representative Council (SSRC) and southern Transvaal president of the South African Student Movement, was chairman of the action committee which planned and led the student rebellion over the use of Afrikaans as a teaching medium which began on June 16 1976.

## JOVIAL RANTAO

His body was this week brought back to South Africa by his brother Lebakeng, who was also in exile, after funds were raised.

The funeral committee — comprising the Mashinini family, Sayrco and the Azanian People's Organisation — has called on all organisations to conduct themselves in a manner befitting Mashinini's spirit of tolerance and unity of purpose.

The committee also appealed to the youth not to hijack cars or force people to attend the funeral.

The funeral will start at the Mashinini home at 934 Central Western Jabavu at 7.30 am and a church service will follow from 8 am to 10 am at the Methodist Church in White City Jabavu.

Another service will be held at the Jabulani Amphitheatre an hour later, and the funeral procession will leave the amphitheatre for the Avalon Cemetery at 2.30 pm.



**TSIETSI MASHININI:**  
Died in exile.

# Sayco slates *CAPL-Trans 11/8/90* 'minority *(11A)* ~~3000~~ veto' stand

## Political Staff

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk's insistence that the government would not implement any constitution before it was approved by Parliament and the white electorate amounted to a veto by the white minority, the South African Youth Congress (Sayco) said yesterday.

It condemned this insistence as "destructive", it said in response to President De Klerk's speech at Pretoria University on Thursday.

"We view this as a suggestion that whatever agreement that can be arrived at in the process of negotiations is subject to a veto by the white minority and its parliament," it said in a statement, issued by its publicity secretary, Mr Parks Mankahlana.

"To arrogate to a minority of the people the right to stifle the will of the majority can only be viewed as a commitment by the De Klerk regime to continue white domination.

"The government's adherence to the concept of group rights and the continued police violence in the Eastern Cape and Ermelo despite the initiatives that are taken by the people, led by the ANC to achieve a peaceful settlement are a breach of trust that may have developed in the talks between the ANC and the Government."

It also condemned "in the strongest possible terms" the government's decision to send more troops to the Eastern Cape.

"We wish to repeat our demand that the police be disarmed of lethal weapons and that action be taken against those involved in excessive violence against the people."

The police was unfit to maintain peace during this transition period and could not this task without breaking down the negotiating process, Sayco said.

# Sayco slates 'minority veto' stand

CAP-Trans 11/8/90  
114  
2074

## Political Staff

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk's insistence that the government would not implement any constitution before it was approved by Parliament and the white electorate amounted to a veto by the white minority, the South African Youth Congress (Sayco) said yesterday.

It condemned this insistence as "destructive", it said in response to President De Klerk's speech at Pretoria University on Thursday.

"We view this as a suggestion that whatever agreement that can be arrived at in the process of negotiations is subject to a veto by the white minority and its parliament," it said in a statement, issued by its publicity secretary, Mr Parks Mankahlana.

"To arrogate to a minority of the people the right to stifle the will of the majority can only be viewed as a commitment by the De Klerk regime to continue white domination.

"The government's adherence to the concept of group rights and the continued police violence in the Eastern Cape and Ermelo despite the initiatives that are taken by the people, led by the ANC to achieve a peaceful settlement are a breach of trust that may have developed in the talks between the ANC and the Government."

It also condemned "in the strongest possible terms" the government's decision to send more troops to the Eastern Cape.

"We wish to repeat our demand that the police be disarmed of lethal weapons and that action be taken against those involved in excessive violence against the people."

The police was unfit to maintain peace during this transition period and could not this task without breaking down the negotiating process, Sayco said.

# WIMAIL

The paper for  
a changing  
South Africa  
**Friday to Sunday**  
August 10 to 12  
Volume 6, Number 30

WIMAIL 1018 - 12/8/90

## A tough test for Pretoria's peace deal

THE Port Elizabeth violence, which erupted only hours after the ANC and the government clinched an agreement to jointly promote peace, poses a major test for the Pretoria Minute.

Raymond Mhlaba, high ranking member of the ANC's internal executive, yesterday told a rally in Port Elizabeth that the organisation had approached Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok to demand that he prevent police in the area from shooting people indiscriminately.

But Vlok last night issued a toughly-worded statement saying that police would "strictly enforce law and order".

"They will seek out criminals and act relentlessly against them and all perpetrators of violence. I have informed (African National Congress internal corps leader) Mr Walter Sisulu as such," he said.

Govan Mbeki, ANC executive leader, yesterday blamed police for the loss of life. "The police have got to desist from shooting," he said.

"On Wednesday night the people were beginning to listen to the ANC, but with the police shooting, it was difficult to control them. If only the police would hold back their fire."

Mbeki said the ANC was sending

scores of marshalls into the riot-torn townships and he expected them to assert control over the residents by last night. "We hope that, with the co-operation of the police, the situation should be under control."

Vlok called on the warring parties to end the violence and said he believed the situation should and could be resolved through negotiations.

Police reinforcements, additional SA Defence Force members and additional air support will be deployed in the troubled areas of Port Elizabeth in an attempt to curb the violence, the minister added.



he members goes on

ANC

(11A)  


could *cf/ren*

drop

12/8/90

sanctions

Special Correspondent  
and Sapa

**N**OTHING is preventing the ANC from dropping its policy on sanctions now that it has suspended the armed struggle after nearly 30 years.

This opinion was expressed in government circles after the ANC/government meeting in Pretoria on Monday.

At a Press conference after the meeting, ANC secretary general Alfred Nzo said the ANC did not promise to support any call for an end to sanctions. And national executive committee member Joe Slovo said while the armed struggle had been suspended, pressure applied on the government to push the process of reform to the point of irreversibility would be maintained.

Senior government circles also expressed the possibility that the real negotiation process, which would involve all parties, could begin up to four months earlier than expected.

The two aspects are being seen as important results of the talks which took place on Monday in the old Presidency and led to the acceptance of the Pretoria Minute.

# Who's to rule during talks?

## White control not elegant, but practical - academic

By Professor ALBERT VENTER of Rand Afrikaans University's Department of Political Studies

**T**HE Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes - as part of a historic process of political accommodation between the NP government and the ANC - are behind us.

Speculation about the next phase of negotiations about South Africa's political future is rife.

The question is, what should the bargaining forum look like? The ANC's position is that serious negotiations should only be held after a constituent assembly is elected.

In their view a new constitution cannot be negotiated between the contending parties if the present government enjoys all the privileges of an incumbent power; political and financial patronage, the armed forces, the police, the information systems of the bureaucracy and so on. It would give the government unfair advantage of being "referee as well as player".

The government's position is that it is the legally elected government until September 1994 with a mandate to negotiate a new constitution on behalf of its electorate. It also argues an experienced administration is needed to govern during negotiations.

The point of view of the ANC is understandable, but not practical. South Africa is in a precarious political position. The present white political order needs some stability and assurances that, while negotiations are going on, a technically competent and experienced government should rule. In the unlikely event of negotiations failing, the one security whites would have is that "their" government is still in control. This is not elegant, but practical. Something similar to the process in Namibia a year ago.

The government's view of an all-party constitutional convention of "proven party leaders" is not without some objections. It would be a formidable task to determine who should be excluded and who included. The ANC could argue the government is trying to "pack" the conference with "homeland stooges" and other system players, thereby creating an artificial conservative majority.

In this way the outcome can be manipulated by government. Should the AWB be excluded? Should the PAC be included? Azapo? What do we do with the UDF and MDM? Do they come as separate entities or do they come with the ANC? The debates on these issues could be endless. We cannot afford to lose valuable time on such matters.

One way out is compromise. Call an all-party conference on an inclusive-as-possible basis. The ANC, UDF and MDM comes as one alliance. Homeland leaders and their oppositions are

invited. No votes are taken, but maximum agreement is sought. This conference appoints a commission of recognised experts in the constitutional field under the chairmanship of the Chief Justice.

People - including the all-party conference - are invited to make recommendations to the constitutional commission. The all-party conference can then deliberate without taking the final responsibility for their decisions. But their decisions should have a big influence on the constitutional commission.

This would de-politicise the proceedings and take away some of the ANC's objections that the government is referee and player. The constitutional commission would have the practical advantage and its members would feel a tremendous sense of responsibility to make a success of the negotiations and the constitution. Its members can either go down in history as the ones who facilitated a peaceful accommodation in South Africa, or they can be branded failures. One takes it for granted the latter option would not be seriously contemplated.

Once a final constitution has been drawn up, the present Parliament would enact it into law. To give the constitution popular legitimacy, a referendum should be held. This vote should still be on a separate voters' roll, for the simple reason the government would have to demonstrate to the CP and the AWB a majority of white people accept the new constitution.

Regarding the ANC's feeling that the government has an unfair advantage with the security forces and police, a monitoring commission could be set up. Members of the government and other parties, under chairmanship of an Appeal judge, would hear complaints regarding the behaviour of the police and army. The Attorney-General could then be instructed to prosecute members who willfully break the law. It is not perfect, but would assure the transition period is as fair as is practicable.

There is another possibility to create a new constitution, but this would not be entirely democratic. The NP government and the ANC can form a government of National Unity as a transitional government to draw up a new constitution. The problem is it would deligitimise the new constitution from the start, since it would exclude too many players. The interim government would probably be unstable, creating difficult conditions in which to write a new constitution.

My vote is for a constitutional commission of experts, like the Nigerian example, rather than an interim government or an elected constituent assembly.

Next week: A different view by ANC constitutional expert Albie Sachs.

# ANC, government focus on violence

Special Correspondent and Sapa

C/Pres 12/8/90

**T**HE violence which has hit the country and how to end it was a central topic in the 15-hour talks between the ANC and government in Pretoria this week.

Both parties resolved to take steps to stop the violence as well as to curb protest marches and boycott actions which reached a climax with the July 2 national stayaway.

The ANC's support of the stayaway apparently caused the government delegation to discuss the issue at length with the ANC, according to *City Press* sources.

The talks identified a power struggle as the main cause of violence in Natal, and agreed the violence would not stop until a political solution was found.

Sources said KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi appeared prepared to talk, but the political mood among ANC supporters in Natal made it impossible for the ANC to talk to him at this stage.

After the meeting, South African Communist Party chief Joe Slovo said the issue of police siding with "Inkatha thugs" against the ANC was brought up, but expressed confidence in State President FW de Klerk's commitment to peace.

"I personally do not believe De Klerk is using the police in this insidious way. I think he's not happy with the way the police have conducted themselves."

Slovo described the police as an over-powerful "Frankenstein" created by South Africa's racist system, and said one of President De Klerk's most urgent tasks was to take control of the police force.

According to sources the government is taking the ANC's allegations about alleged police actions seriously.

However, the government delegation said the ANC accused the government of using state authority unlawfully against ANC supporters. At the same time the ANC took the government to task for not using the full powers of the police and the SADF to suppress unrest.

The government allegedly pointed out to the ANC that more than 100 policemen had been detained for alleged unlawful police actions, while others were awaiting trial.

Alfred Nzo said ANC monitoring groups set up all over the country would establish whether the government was conniving with the police to undermine the ANC, or whether the government had in fact lost control of the police force.

The government also promised to consider the proposal that De Klerk meet members of the ANC, UDF and Cosatu before the end of August to discuss ways of ending the Natal war.



Alfred Nzo . . . role of police under scrutiny.



FW De Klerk and Nelson Mandela share a joke at a Press conference after the historic Pretoria Minute. ■ Pic: AP

*c/pres 12/8/90 (11A) (2001)*

# Mandela in the dock – again

**S**OUTH AFRICA was this week questioning whether ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela's decision to suspend the 29-year-old guerrilla war was an act of statesmanship or surrender.

The jury was still out as ANC officials moved into townships to explain Mandela's decision.

A senior government source who was at the 15-hour talks between the government and the ANC on Monday said Mandela's decision was an act of statesmanship, but some blacks said this view was not shared by all "young radicals".

A black political analyst who refused to be named said: "The armed struggle was Mandela's main bargaining chip and he got nothing in return."

Black and white political analysts said suspension of the ANC's guerrilla war would cost Mandela support from the Left within his organisation.

Wits University political scientist Lawrence Schlemmer said the move would pay dividends in the long run because it would consolidate Mandela's support among moderate blacks.

"The ANC may very well lose some of the youth to the PAC, but it will be ... balanced by gains in the middle ground of black politics."

Government analysts estimate privately that the PAC has about half as much support as the ANC, which they believe is backed by more than 50 percent of the 26-million blacks.

Wits University analyst Gary van Staden said many young blacks would see Mandela's decision as capitulation.

He said: "Mandela is going to need something at least as big from the government to shore him up."

*Southern Africa Report* editor Raymond Louw said Mandela's decision would trigger a drift towards the PAC, which opposes the negotiations.

He said: "It would be advisable to keep an eye on what goes on this weekend. That's when the ANC gets its playback from the people."

The militant South African Youth Congress, which supports ANC policy, gave Mandela lukewarm approval.

Hinting at a mood of dissent, the youth group said: "We are calling upon the masses of young people and the people in general to intensify the struggle on all fronts."

At a Press conference after the Pretoria meeting, ANC secretary general Alfred Nzo scoffed at the suggestion that the ANC had apparently conceded more than it had gained in the Pretoria Minute.

And senior ANC official Ahmed Kathrada said the Pretoria Minute was not capitulation in the fight for democracy, but represented the ANC's 78-year-old quest for peace in South Africa.

He said: "Since the ANC was formed in 1912 we have always sought negotiations."

"During the Congress of the People in 1955, where the Freedom Charter was adopted, one of the first groups invited to the meeting was the National Party."

He did not see the Pretoria Minute as an abrogation of the Harare Declaration – the ANC's blueprint of "pre-conditions to be met before a climate for negotiations could be created."

He said although not all the declaration's pre-conditions had been met, the ANC had decided on the suspension of hostilities as it had received firm undertakings from the government to deal with outstanding issues.

"We want peace – that is why we accepted their undertakings," said Kathrada. – Sapa-Reuter



# Huge crowd honours their hero

By SOPHIE TEMA

UNITY and solidarity set the tone at activist Tsietsi Mashinini's funeral yesterday.

More than 10 000 people packed the Jabulani amphitheatre to pay last respects to "our gallant hero".

Speakers said Mashinini's death had brought many organisations together and he sacrificed his life for unity among his people.

However, proceedings were interrupted when ANC speaker Murphy Morobe was heckled as he attempted to paint a picture of Mashinini as independent of any ideological tendency within the country.

After angry Azapo supporters called him to order, Morobe finally conceded Mashinini was a firm believer in the Black Consciousness philosophy.

Morobe also said: "When Tsietsi went into exile, he was not a member of the ANC or the PAC, but a student, and it was his democratic right to choose his part in the struggle. We must recognise him for what he was and not for what we may have wanted him to be.

"Tsietsi was a soldier who had completed his journey. He ran the straight race and he now had to hand the baton to those who would carry on the struggle.

"It is the law of God and the law of nature that life is followed by death, but when death results from the acts of human beings who decide whether one is to live or die, then we cannot say his death was unavoidable. Therefore we all have to be angry, as we now see him lying in his coffin.

"The history of our country has changed and this is because of the deeds of men like Tsietsi."



Guard of honour ... 10 000 people attended Tsietsi Mashinini's funeral

1850 1950  
One Hundred Years of Progress

## London's famous Consulate cigarettes IN TINS\*

WHO'S

# o's to rule during talks?

COLBA  
chess  
11A  
12/8/90

## White control not elegant, but practical – academic

By Professor ALBERT VENTER of Rand Afrikaans University's Department of Political Studies

**T**HE Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes – as part of a historic process of political accommodation between the NP government and the ANC – are behind us.

Speculation about the next phase of negotiations about South Africa's political future is rife.

The question is, what should the bargaining forum look like? The ANC's position is that serious negotiations should only be held after a constituent assembly is elected.

In their view a new constitution cannot be negotiated between the contending parties if the present government enjoys all the privileges of an incumbent power; political and financial patronage, the armed forces, the police, the information systems of the bureaucracy and so on. It would give the government unfair advantage of being "referee as well as player".

The government's position is that it is the legally elected government until September 1994 with a mandate to negotiate a new constitution on behalf of its electorate. It also argues an experienced administration is needed to govern during negotiations.

The point of view of the ANC is understandable, but not practical. South Africa is in a precarious political position. The present white political order needs some stability and assurances that, while negotiations are going on, a technically competent and experienced government should rule. In the unlikely event of negotiations failing, the one security whites would have is that "their" government is still in control. This is not elegant, but practical. Something similar to the process in Namibia a year ago.

The government's view of an all-party constitutional convention of "proven party leaders" is not without some objections. It would be a formidable task to determine who should be excluded and who included. The ANC could argue the government is trying to "pack" the conference with "homeland stooges" and other system players, thereby creating an artificial conservative majority.

In this way the outcome can be manipulated by government. Should the AWB be excluded? Should the PAC be included? Azapo? What do we do with the UDF and MDM? Do they come as separate entities or do they come with the ANC? The debates on these issues could be endless. We cannot afford to lose valuable time on such matters.

One way out is compromise. Call an all-party conference on an inclusive-as-possible basis. The ANC, UDF and MDM comes as one alliance. Homeland leaders and their oppositions are

invited. No votes are taken, but maximum agreement is sought. This conference appoints a commission of recognised experts in the constitutional field under the chairmanship of the Chief Justice.

People – including the all-party conference – are invited to make recommendations to the constitutional commission. The all-party conference can then deliberate without taking the final responsibility for their decisions. But their decisions should have a big influence on the constitutional commission.

This would de-politicise the proceedings and take away some of the ANC's objections that the government is referee and player. The constitutional commission would have the practical advantage and its members would feel a tremendous sense of responsibility to make a success of the negotiations and the constitution. Its members can either go down in history as the ones who facilitated a peaceful accommodation in South Africa, or they can be branded failures. One takes it for granted the latter option would not be seriously contemplated.

Once a final constitution has been drawn up, the present Parliament would enact it into law. To give the constitution popular legitimacy, a referendum should be held. This vote should still be on a separate voters' roll, for the simple reason the government would have to demonstrate to the CP and the AWB a majority of white people accept the new constitution.

Regarding the ANC's feeling that the government has an unfair advantage with the security forces and police, a monitoring commission could be set up. Members of the government and other parties, under chairmanship of an Appeal judge, would hear complaints regarding the behaviour of the police and army. The Attorney-General could then be instructed to prosecute members who willfully break the law. It is not perfect, but would assure the transition period is as fair as is practicable.

There is another possibility to create a new constitution, but this would not be entirely democratic. The NP government and the ANC can form a government of National Unity as a transitional government to draw up a new constitution. The problem is it would deligitimise the new constitution from the start, since it would exclude too many players. The interim government would probably be unstable, creating difficult conditions in which to write a new constitution.

My vote is for a constitutional commission of experts, like the Nigerian example, rather than an interim government or an elected constituent assembly.

Next week: A different view by ANC constitutional expert Albie Sachs.

# ANC-PAC gulf getting wider

(11A) C/Pres 12/8/90

**T**HE 31-year-old gulf between the ANC and the PAC widened last week when the PAC unequivocally rejected the ANC's suspension of armed struggle.

The PAC instead vowed to intensify its conflict with Pretoria.

"As the PAC was not party to yesterday's talks, we are not bound by its decisions," said a defiant PAC president Zeph Mothopeng at a Press conference in Johannesburg.

"The PAC position for talks remains a firm, principled commitment by the government to the following: majority rule, redistribution of the country's resources and a constituent assembly based on one-person, one-vote on a common voters' roll."

The PAC president said all meetings between State President FW de Klerk and the ANC were initiated by Nelson Mandela.

He accused the ANC of reneging on its own Harare Declaration - a document laying down conditions for talks on a new constitution.

"Even if one takes the explanation of obstacles that must be overcome before full negotiations take place according to the Harare Declaration - which we have strong reservations about - the government is still far off the track.

"The only pre-condition of the Harare Declaration which the government met fully is the unbanning of banned organisations," said Mothopeng.

He added one of the obstacles was the removal of security legislation.

"But the government yesterday insisted the Internal Security Act would remain intact. No amendment to the following aspects of the Acts was agreed upon: Section 29, which deals with detentions without trial; Section 30, which deals with the refusal of bail; Section 31, which deals with the detention of witnesses; and Section 33, which disqualifies people convicted under the act from being legal practitioners or Members of Parliament."

Mothopeng said the only amendment was an end to the requirement of a deposit for a newspaper to register.

He said he knew PAC prisoners would be at a disadvantage as the Pretoria Minute would grant indemnity only to ANC prisoners and exiles.

Yet, Mothopeng said, his followers were prepared to pay the ultimate sacrifice for what they believed was morally right, even if it meant going to the gallows while ANC supporters were set free.

The PAC was formed in 1959 after acrimonious debate among ANC members that the organisation was going soft on the question of land redistribution.

Disaffected ANC members, under the leadership of Robert Sobukwe, broke ranks and formed the PAC, emphasising black reliance. - Sapa.



Zeph Mothopeng ... not bound by the Pretoria Minute.

**W**HEN Nelson Mandela goes, what next?

This question keeps cropping up among people who claim Mandela has extended himself to the fullest and cannot stay much longer in active politics.

They maintain the longest he can hang on is three years when he turns 75.

The critics point to heads of states in other countries, who they say bow out gracefully from active politics in their mid-70s.

What seems important to millions of Mandela followers and admirers is that while his leadership qualities are unquestionable, and his contribution to the struggle admirable, there must be somebody ready to take over.

The ANC has many departments, each with qualified people, but who is ready to jump into Mandela's boots?

Clearly Mandela is still as fit as a fiddle and mentally alert. Some say he can go on for another 10 years.

Mandela himself likes to joke about his busy schedule by saying he had enough rest in prison and now is the time to work.

His name alone is a symbol of resistance and hope for millions of black people. Many of the changes that have taken place in South Africa today can be attributed to him.

His tours all over the

## MY WAY

With Khulu Sibiba

C/Pres 12/8/90 (11A)

# Nelson: hard act to follow?



world put the ANC and South Africa back into the international arena.

He set the ball rolling towards majority rule in a country where this seemed inconceivable a few years ago.

He has brought political awareness, not only to his people – especially

in the rural areas – but to whites as well, who now seem to be comfortable with the idea of a black president.

When a person like him goes ... what next? We cannot pretend Mandela will be politically active for too long, or believe we can cross that bridge when

we reach it.

Most political parties groom successors. Has the ANC considered this?

I hope they have, especially as they make preparations for their first congress inside the country after 30 years in exile.

I will not speculate about the outcome of the

congress, but the ANC must consider themselves lucky to have many potential leaders at their disposal.

We think here of people like Thabo Mbeki, Pallo Jordan, Tito Mboweni, Cyril Ramaphosa, Popo Molefe, Terror Lekota, Murphy Morobe and many others.

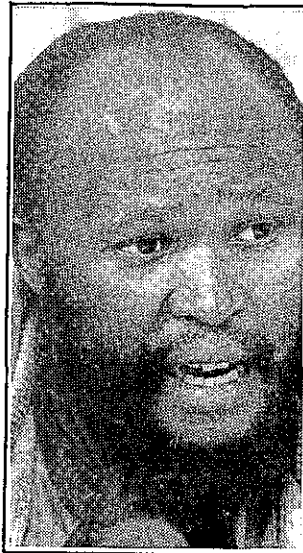
It is at this congress that the ANC will be expected to select not only a potential successor to Mandela, but a formidable team that will hold its own as a government.

Mandela, Oliver Tambo, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Archie Gumede and many other ANC veterans must be honoured for their contribution to the struggle and be offered positions as advisers.

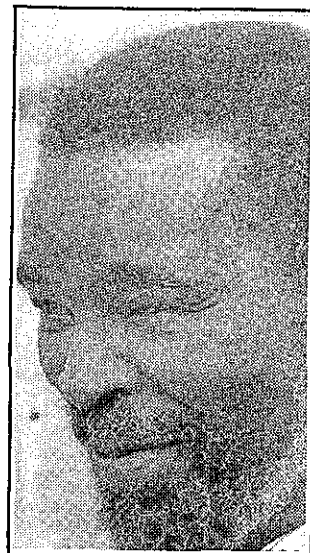
We cannot begin to doubt Sisulu's present position as the internal leader of the ANC. He deserves it. But is he ready to give way to a younger person when the need arises?

The violence sweeping the country is at ground level – and who is in a better position to resolve it than the young leaders.

These are burning issues the ANC and other political movements should be addressing as we move into a new era in our struggle. The old have paid their dues. Is it not time for them to give way to the young?



**Thabo Mbeki ... can he fill Mandela's shoes?**



**Will veterans stand back for Cyril Ramaphosa?**



**Is it time for younger men like Murphy Morobe?**

By BILL KRIGE and NORMAN WEST  
COLOURED townships in Port Elizabeth this weekend had all the hallmarks of Beirut after a routine weekend's shelling.

With the death toll in the "Friendly City" and nearby Uitenhage at 47 and rising, stunned community leaders are battling to come to terms with a revolt which no-one predicted.

By yesterday, with tensions easing as police and army patrols moved to break up mobs before they gained direction and purpose, no clear picture of the causes had emerged.

But the effects are devastating.

Among the visible consequences of five days of mayhem in PE were 78 shops burnt and looted, streets pocked with rubble and petrol bombed wrecks, seven schools damaged, three filling stations, a post office and library destroyed and lawlessness and thugery on a daunting scale.

In Durban Road, on the fringe of motor-town, the city's old industrial heart, a car moved slowly through the shambles while the driver pleaded over a loudhailer for peace and an end to looting in the name of the ANC. It sounded futile.

The ANC — one of the chief factors in the unrest equation — has not emerged from the violence unscathed.

But then neither has the Labour Party of the Rev Alan Hendrickse — whose elected members deserted in droves the moment the violence began. All 18 Labour Party members of the Northern Areas Coloured Management Committee are to resign and the entire Labour Party branch of 120 members in the devastated Chatty area have walked out.

Labour Party leader Mr Hendrickse has meanwhile been fiercely criticised by members of his party for his handling of the issue. His church has also been burnt down by rioters.

Nor have the police escaped criticism for their ham-handed handling of a rental protest which provided the spark.

The coloured community in Port Elizabeth, numbering some 200 000 people or 20 percent of the total population, has substantial political and social grievances but nothing hinted at an explosion of this magnitude.

Within a broad range the community was prospering.

While home building in white areas has virtually stopped, some 800 new houses have gone up recently in plush new suburbs in what is loosely termed the Northern Areas. New shopping malls and training colleges give flavour to the boom.

But there is a catch — widespread unemployment and poverty.

It has left a distinct pattern on the trail of havoc.

On the 20km drive from the city to Bethelsdorp it is the poorest areas which show the rage. Sullen kids sit hunched alongside burnt wrecks, and behind them dreary rows of sub-economic houses crawl uphill amid a litter of plastic and paper.

The growing pockets of affluence are like islands — visibly free of trouble and protected by residents terrified lest "skollies" move in and lawlessness takes root.

Many have put up roadblocks of their own to keep the mobs out.

Class distinctions and not racial attitudes or national questions are at issue here — as is a concern for law and order.

Hospital doctors report that 90 percent of

the casualties they have treated bore signs of alcohol intake.

The miracle of hindsight may reveal the full length of the powder trail but at least part of it is visible in a fundamental shift in political allegiances, a process which has accelerated dramatically this year.

A survey conducted by Rory Riordan of the Human Rights Trust shows that the Labour Party has virtually collapsed, enjoying the support of only 8,6 percent of the community compared to 18 percent a year ago and 48 percent in 1970.

By contrast, the ANC, which enjoyed only peripheral support in 1986, now has 41 percent backing.

The Government too has made significant gains — up from 17,5 percent to 31 percent in a year — as has the Democratic Party, backed by 19 percent compared to 11,5 percent.

The political shifts are reflected in local issues with supporters of both the ANC and LP locked in struggles which have created more heat than light.

Of these none has riled more than the battle of Joe Slingers, an old political foe of Mr Hendrickse, to win immediate appointment as a school principal in Uitenhage.

The post has been vacant for five years, Mr Slingers is qualified for the job and Mr Hendrickse has grudgingly approved the appointment — but only from next year and only after prolonged pupil boycotts and sympathy action by Mr Slingers' peers.

It is one of two peripheral issues to have a bearing on the tragedy.

The other came on Monday with a rental protest — ironically a non issue in that municipal rentals are not, in fact, to go up.

But it was here, at a legitimate gathering on a school sports field, that the police stepped in with what one outraged resident

described as a "campaign to win hearts and minds with teargas".

Another called it "a kick-and-charge approach".

Police allegedly sealed off two of three exits from the field, gave the protesters five minutes to disperse and, while negotiations were taking place, allegedly fired teargas into the crowd.

People were hurt in the stampede and the riot was on.

Significantly, shops and taxis owned by known supporters of the Labour Party were early targets of thugs with petrol bombs — although the ANC was quick to denounce this.

Indian traders took a hammering with militant Moslem vigilantes keeping looting mobs at bay at gunpoint. The Alabama Hotel, a popular haven whose owner Bill Allie has pioneered non-racialism, was destroyed in the orgy.

Stocks of liquor which were not looted were smashed as mobs, emboldened by drink, lost all restraint. By the weekend the physical destruction was staggering.

Despite a powerful police and military presence sporadic looting was still taking place — at times within sight of those sent to restore law and order.

In Durban Road on Friday two barefoot youngsters didn't pause as they pushed supermarket trolleys loaded with looted cartons of steri-milk and potatoes past a patrolling police Casspir.

They even gave the cops a black power salute.

## SA'S OWN Beirut erupts without warning

S/Times 12/8/90

The growing pockets of affluence are like islands — visibly free of trouble and protected by residents terrified lest "skollies" move in and lawlessness takes root.

Many have put up roadblocks of their own to keep the mobs out.

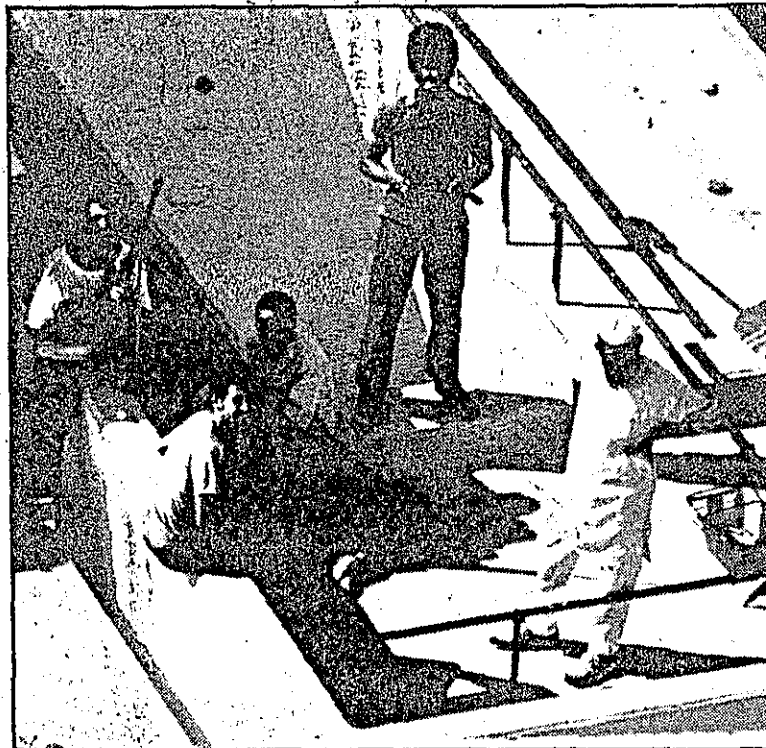
Class distinctions and not racial attitudes or national questions are at issue here — as is a concern for law and order.

Hospital doctors report that 90 percent of

presence sporadic looting was still taking place — at times within sight of those sent to restore law and order.

In Durban Road on Friday two barefoot youngsters didn't pause as they pushed supermarket trolleys loaded with looted cartons of steri-milk and potatoes past a patrolling police Casspir.

They even gave the cops a black power salute.



ON GUARD... shopkeepers keep a rooftop vigil over their stores

# Rambo wages war on gangs of looters

HEAVILY armed Muslim vigilantes, led by a fighter nicknamed Rambo who fought in Afghanistan, claim to have killed at least 12 looters in riot-torn Port Elizabeth.

Tall and bearded Abdul Desai peers out from under a loose bandanna, clutching a 12-bore, single-barrel shotgun and vows that looters will break into the family shop over his dead body.

He is one of eight armed men guarding Desai's Cash and Carry, a safe haven in a wilderness of wrecked cars, burnt and looted shops, glass and rubble.

## Bombs

The entire block of shops and homes off Durban Road is protected by Muslim vigilantes with a fierce faith in Allah — and the deadly weapons they pack.

On the concrete roof above the shop lookouts armed with rifles, pistols and shotguns keep watch for trouble-makers — and they don't hesitate to shoot.

To one side in a cardboard box are 12 crude petrol bombs, confiscated from people cut down by gunfire.

"We have killed 12 people from here," said one vigilan-

By BILL KRIGE

te who refused to be named.

"We won't allow them to destroy us. There's a guy in Highfield Road who has been there for 40 years — and they burnt him out on Friday. That won't happen here."

East Cape police liaison officer Major Bill Dennis, confirmed that rooftop sniping had claimed a number of casualties.

From the rooftop the view of burnt shops and rubble-filled streets resembles Beirut.

Downstairs in Cash and Carry huge steel doors were slammed shut and a barricade of 5kg packets of sugar was hastily erected to protect the owner, Sallem Desai, and his Rambo cousin Abdul, as another angry mob gathered nearby.

Abdul Desai's own shop

was burnt the previous night and he is determined it won't happen to anyone else in the family or the tight-knit Muslim community.

He returned to Port Elizabeth eight weeks ago after four months as a machine-gunner for the Mujahedeen, the guerrilla force which frequently humiliated the Russians in the eight-year Afghanistan war.

An organised security network links the Desai vigilantes with other beleaguered Muslim groups. When help is needed they "saddle up" in cars and ride shotgun to help out.

"Yesterday we blasted our way through a mob of 300 people and no one dared touch us," claimed one man.

"We fear nothing. This is a Jihad (Holy War). Allah has been with me for 42 years and I am ready to die if I have to."

## INFLATION BEATER

Become the recipient of a steady income of R5 000 per month by participating on a profit sharing basis with R40 000 in a project expanding into overseas operations with enormous potential benefits.

Phone Canbury Holdings Inc at (011) 28-2270 157924

## EXECUTIVE AND EDUCATIONAL SERVICES

American University offers home study degree programmes. Advanced credits awarded for prior learning and experience. Entry at any time. Catalogue:

EES (SA), 14a Stamford Walk, Stamford, PE9 2JE, England. Tel: (UK) (0) 780-65665 PWR10130

# Uneasy truce at funeral

By MANDLA TYALA

A RARE display of reluctant tolerance was witnessed in Soweto yesterday when speakers from the ANC and the Black Consciousness Movement shared the same platform and the flags of the two organisations fluttered side by side.

The occasion was the funeral of a former student leader who led the Soweto uprising of June 16, 1976.

Tsietsi Mashinini, 33, died two weeks ago in West Africa after 14 years in exile. His body was flown home for burial.

Yesterday's ceremony was striking in that it caused the rival forces to revisit their common origins.

During Mashinini's era, the dominant political force was the Black Consciousness Movement. Years later, with the advent of such new play-

ers as the UDF, black youth parted ways.

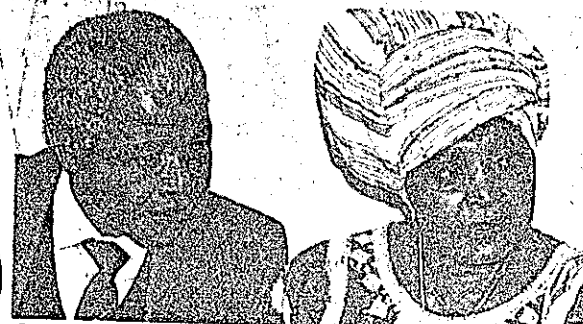
Some remained with the more militant BCM while others joined the ranks of the then banned ANC through surrogate organisations.

It was an uneasy moment of unity, and tensions were evident when the time came for the inevitable chants of loyalty to either Nelson Mandela or the PAC's Zeph Mothopeng.

11/9  
06/12/76  
G.M.

# Double dilemma over politics — and court case

# WINNIE: WHAT NOW?



DILEMMA ... Nelson Mandela and tempestuous Winnie

SI Times 12/8/90

Actress  
Dorothy  
Ann's  
amazing  
fall  
and rise



By LESTER VENTER  
and MARK STANSFIELD

THE Government is facing a double dilemma over the conduct of Winnie Mandela, stormy wife of the ANC's deputy president.

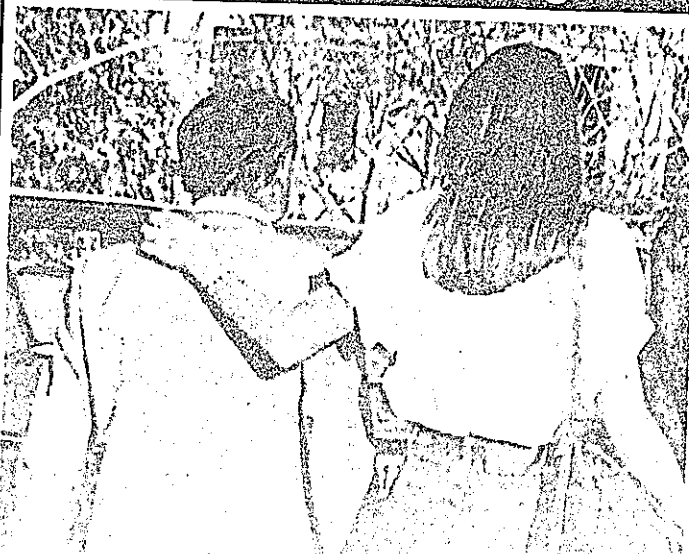
The controversial behaviour of the tenaciously high profile and tempestuous wife of Mr Nelson Mandela was this week thrust to the fore on two grounds:

● After weeks of waiting for the outcome of the Stompie Moeketsi Seipei trial, an Attorney-General must now decide whether to prosecute Mrs Mandela for her alleged presence during assaults that preceded the young activist's murder.

● On Thursday, she became the centre of new political controversy that clouded the fragile Pretoria peace pact when she claimed that the ANC's suspension of the armed struggle was merely "a strategy" — and that it did "not mean the cessation of violence".

This drew a rebuttal from the ANC's internal leader, Walter Sisulu, and a stinging rebuke from the Minister of

## Strolling in the Sun: the model and the magnate



## Arms-find hunt for Canadian teacher

By MARK STANSFIELD

A MYSTERY Canadian woman has been linked to an arms cache discovered by police in a trendy Johannesburg suburb.

Miss S J Grabek apparently led a double life behind the walls of her 12th Street home in Parkhurst.

During the day, say her neighbours, she was a schoolteacher; at night, she was possibly stockpiling weapons for Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Miss Grabek disappeared at the end of last month shortly before security police swooped on her home and seized an arsenal of weapons.

Miss Grabek fled leaving most of her belongings in the rented house.



"not mean the cessation of violence".

This drew a rebuttal from the ANC's internal leader, Walter Sisulu, and a stinging rebuke from the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen.

Mrs Mandela, who became a forceful figure in her own right during her husband's 27-year imprisonment, attracts controversy like a magnet.

In Government, as well as in senior ANC circles, there are fears that her frequent involvement in sensitive affairs could upset — or at least delay — the fragile negotiation process.

## Reputation

Her husband is known to be very protective of her. In May he challenged the State to prosecute her in connection with the Stompie affair.

"They don't want to charge her and give her the opportunity of proving she is innocent," said Mr Mandela.

"My wife's whole reputation is being smashed without her having the opportunity to reply."

The State's dilemma is that whatever it decides to do in the Stompie case, it could face criticism.

A decision to prosecute could lead to an outcry about persecution from ANC sympathisers. Her trial would also become a focal point of intense public attention.

A decision not to prosecute could lead to accusations of political expediency and charges that the wives of political leaders are above the law.

This week, a spokeswoman for the Department of Justice said the decision to prosecute rested entirely in the hands of Attorney-General Klaus von Lieres und Wilkau and would be based solely on legal considerations.

A fresh storm burst over Mrs Mandela's head this week when a prime-time television audience heard her declare that Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC's military wing, was not being disbanded and that the ANC's suspension of the armed struggle was a "strategy" which did not mean the cessation of violence.

Shortly afterwards, Mr Sisulu said the suspension of the armed struggle was "well considered" and not a "mere strategy".

## Tensions

Yesterday, an angry Dr Viljoen entered the row.

"This statement of Mrs Mandela's is a flagrant flouting of both the letter and the spirit of the Pretoria Accord," he said.

As tensions built up round Mrs Mandela, government officials said a decision by Mr Von Lieres was expected "shortly".

Jerry Richardson, 41-year-old leader of the "Mandela United Football Club" was sentenced to death on Wednesday.

Evidence accepted by the trial judge was that Mrs Mandela was present for at least part of the time when Stompie was assaulted in her home before his death in December 1989.

In February 1989 the Sowetan community was ordered by the MDM to ostracise Mrs Mandela because they were "outraged by the reign of terror carried out by the Mandela United Football Club".

age  
ER

was  
Com-  
2.

each  
rs: 4;

in

bin  
ect,  
red  
d a

two  
—  
and  
who  
lith  
lay.

S  
use  
to  
ted

-16  
eir  
eat  
rg.

SA  
SI  
CO

BITTE  
JENNI  
WHY



See P

PNIA  
FENS  
on J  
BISH  
Page

Tear  
miss  
girl

# DP clash over ANC

5/17/90  
12/5/90

(257) (11A)

## FUCHS JOINS THE FRAY

By LESTER VENTER  
Political Correspondent

**THE row in the Democratic Party over its relations with the African National Congress has deepened, with another MP joining the fray.**

Hillbrow MP Lester Fuchs yesterday leapt to the defence of Houghton MP Tony Leon, who has been slammed by caucus members for his criticism of the ANC.

At a report back meeting this week, Mr Leon said the ANC's policy comprised "old anti-apartheid slogans and rhetoric dressed up in new garb".

He also accused SA Communist Party general-secretary Joe Slovo of "economic illiteracy".

The DP's MP for Claremont Jan van Eck then accused Mr Leon of spoiling moves in the DP to interact more closely with the ANC. He was joined in his criticism by fellow MP Jannie Momberg.

Yesterday Mr Fuchs said: "It is patent that the DP is a political opponent of the ANC and the SACP."

All the DP's opponents should be judged by the same "stringent criteria".

He said: "We believe that the views of the ANC, economic and otherwise, could have disastrous consequences for this country."

Mr Fuchs said the public disparagement of Mr Leon by Mr Van Eck and Mr Momberg implied they did not regard the ANC and the SACP as political opponents of the DP.

The new spat in DP ranks has again highlighted the split in the party between its progressives and conservatives.

The battling can be expected to hot up as the party approaches its national congress in Johannesburg next month.

Both groups are pitching in to capture the leadership of the party.

At this stage it looks as if Dr Zach de Beer, at present a joint leader of the party, will be the candidate of the conservatives.

There are moves among the progressives to get Mr Tian van der Merwe, MP for Green Point, to stand as their candidate.

Mr Van der Merwe has not yet announced his availability.

# AFTER 16 HOURS OF TALKS AND TWO HOURS OF SLEEP, ANOTHER HECTIC DAY DAWNS FOR NELSON MANDELA



THE DAY HAS BEGUN... old friends Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu have a cup of tea



IN FULL SWING... this is the first ever picture of an NEC meeting in progress



WINDING DOWN... Mandela at dinner with Wits University staff

I AM agonising over how to address the man. Madiba, Comrade Nelson, Baba (Father), Chief, Com (short for comrade) — there is such a plethora of salutations in use here that plain Mr Mandela sounds out of place.

I am sitting in what looks like a boardroom-cum-reception area in the mansion-on-the-hill, overlooking Orlando West, Soweto. A huge oblong table is in the centre, with about 20 chic black leather chairs around it.

This must be where the ANC leader consults with his people when they have to put their heads together away from the office.

A lifesize portrait of Robert Mugabe, President of Zimbabwe, is on one wall, along with an assortment of ANC paraphernalia.

# MADIBA on the MOVE

JOE SEFALE TOOK THE PICTURES

Back to business. Consultation with Interim Leadership Group leader and friend for 50 years Walter Sisulu. The latter has just come out of a lengthy TV interview in his office.

The two are discussing the aftermath of the Pretoria Minute and the rest of the day's business. Mr Sisulu worries that Mr Mandela, who has hardly slept in the past 24 hours, has to deliver a major speech to a gathering of lawyers this evening.

"Madiba, must you really do it?" Mr Mandela says it is too late to cancel.

Above all — this much he does not say — Wits University, where the meeting is going to be held, is his alma mater and Human Rights, the organisers, are not the kind of people he can bring himself to drop in the last minute.

I am courteously ushered out of the office by security personnel before the two leaders delve into more sensitive business.

At 12.30pm the two men emerge from Mr Mandela's office and make their way to the boardroom for a post-talks briefing of the ANC's national executive committee as well as representatives of allied organisations.

The ANC office now looks like what it is — the nerve centre of anti-apartheid politics. All the names you read about in newspapers and faces you see on TV come to life here.

Jay Naidoo of Cosatu is here. Cyril Ramaphosa of the National Union of Mineworkers, Peter Mokaba of the South African Youth Congress, and many others.

speech and is ready to leave again. It's around 6pm now, my 11th hour on Mr Mandela's heels. He must have noticed some signs of wear on my face.

He smiles and inquires:

"Aren't you tired?" "I'm thinking the same about you," I reply. Mr Mandela seems to get a kick out of the fact that men less than half his age find his routine punishing.

We are at the Great Hall at

Wits by 6.15pm. The place is crawling with security personnel. A standing ovation from the capacity invitation-only crowd as Mr Mandela enters.

Mr Mandela launches into a 45-minute address, largely

bemoaning the shortcomings of South Africa's judicial system and giving the ANC's view of a legal and constitutional future.

Midway through, Winnie Mandela, Mrs Tambo and Ms Mabuza make their entrance.

After the formal part of the proceedings, Mr Mandela's pop star status comes to the fore again. His bodyguards have to flex muscles to extricate him from a mob of frenzied autograph-seekers. Shortly after 8pm,

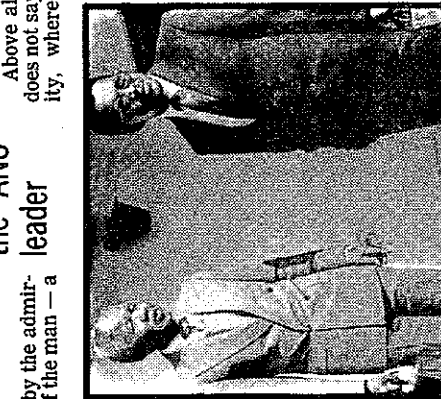
Mr Mandela and his party manage to leave the hall for dinner with academics.

Two hours later it's off to Soweto.

Back at his stately residence, Mr Mandela takes a

few calls, poses for pictures and decides to leave the women to apply their minds to the business of the women's league.

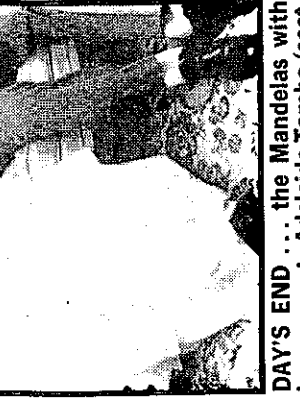
It's been a 17-hour day. Better than yesterday, but still a killer.



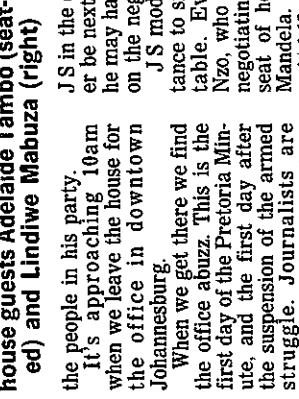
It's almost 10 am in Orlando West and Sunday Times writer MANDLA TYALA, below, prepares to hit the road with the ANC leader



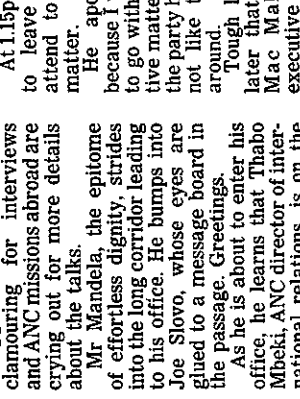
DAY'S END... the Mandelas with house guests Adelaide Tambo (seated) and Lindiwe Mabuza (right) the people in his party. It's approaching 10am when we leave the house for the office in downtown Johannesburg.



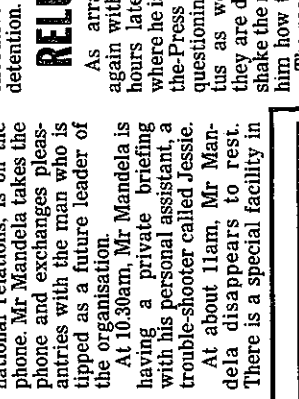
When we get there we find the office abuzz. This is the first day of the Pretoria Minute, and the first day after the suspension of the armed struggle. Journalists are clamouring for interviews and ANC missions abroad are crying out for more details about the talks.



Mr Mandela, the epitome of effortless dignity, strides into the long corridor leading to his office. He bumps into Joe Slovo, whose eyes are glued to a message board in the passage. Greetings.



As he is about to enter his office, he learns that Thabo Mbeki, ANC director of international relations, is on the phone. Mr Mandela takes the phone and exchanges pleasantries with the man who is tipped as a future leader of the organisation.



At 10.30am, Mr Mandela is having a private briefing with his personal assistant, a trouble-shooter called Jessie. At about 11am, Mr Mandela disappears to rest. There is a special facility in

## RELUCTANCE

As arranged, I link up again with Mr Mandela two hours later at a TV studio where he is recording a Meet-the-Press show. There is no questioning his pop star status as workers drop what they are doing and line up to shake the man's hand and tell him how they adore him.

The recording runs late. It is now after 5pm and Mr Mandela's next engagement is scheduled for 6pm. He had hoped to be able to dash home to freshen up and pick up his wife and the two visiting women for the post-lecture dinner.

That seems impossible now. Aides arrange for the women to join Mr Mandela at Wits. In the meantime he rushes to the office in Sauer Street to pick up his speech. He makes it to the office at 5.45pm. In less than 15 minutes Mr Mandela has gone over the

## ATMOSPHERE

The house is a hive of activity. The phone rings ceaselessly, there are at least 14 cars in the long driveway and a group of men and women — including UDF president Albertina Sisulu — is chatting about the logistics of relaunching the ANC Women's League.

The atmosphere is suddenly charged as His Eminence steps down from an upper floor to face the world yet again. He looks remarkably fresh and jovial for a man who has only managed a two-hour nap in 24 hours.

He is immediately besieged by the admirers. Everybody wants a piece of the man — a handshake, a hug, a peck on the cheek, a squeeze — and Mr Mandela obliges them all graciously. His smile is indelible.

Has he recovered from last night? The day before had been a watershed in Mr Mandela's life. After a gruelling 16 hours of negotiations with President F.W. de Klerk and his men, he had announced a cessation of hostilities between the ANC and the security forces.

## NODDING

This was particularly significant because Mr Mandela is one of the founding forces of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe. Now, 30 years later, he has just buried the hatchet.

After addressing a press conference in Pretoria in the early hours of the morning, he only got to bed at 3am. He jokes that he was hardly awake while journalists were trying to fire all sorts of questions at him.

"I was going like this," he says, making the gesture of a dozing man nodding his head. After less than two hours of sleep Mr Mandela was up again before 5am to catch the early news bulletin on radio.

He says it's his force of habit — obviously a prison habit, although he doesn't put it in those words — but whatever time he goes to bed, he's up by 5am.

## ANXIOUS

He's usually at the office by 8am, but today he has a leisurely breakfast with family and special guests — Lindiwe Mabuza, ANC representative in the US, and Adelaide Tambo, wife of ANC president Oliver, who is having her first breakfast in South Africa in 30 years.

After the meal, Mr Mandela holds a private and brief conference with Mrs Tambo, who most probably has messages to pass on from her husband who is recuperating in London after suffering a stroke last year.

Downstairs, in between phone calls, Mr Mandela recomms — in instalments — a quip President de Klerk shared with him during the lighter moments of the Pretoria encounter.

The President, apparently anxious that Mr Mandela needed a break, was sharing ideas about the ideal getaway. F.W. was apparently watching animals at the Kruger National Park when a tourist came over to him, and said: "Aren't you President de Klerk?"

The answer was in the affirmative and the inquirer chuckled: "At least today I have seen something better than a leopard."

I don't get the moral of the story. Maybe it's something like you can't get far away enough.

Before we can pursue that one any further, Mr Mandela announces that he is going on holiday within the next 48 hours — somewhere where he hopefully won't see another human face other than

IMPORT/EXPORT OPPORTUNITY BE YOUR OWN BOSS Start your own lucrative IMPORT/EXPORT business in your spare time. No capital or experience needed. With over 45 years experience, we'll show you how to become a successful international trader in only a few months and give you valuable contacts to get you going. We'll also help you choose the right products and teach you the right techniques and procedures; even how to write to overseas manufacturers. Be Independent. Write for our FREE booklet NOW.

WADE WORLD TRADE, P.O. BOX 2884, RANDSBURG, 2125. Or phone (011) 886-1139

Carlar & Coyle 6017

# Viljoen warns over Winnie's statement

Sowetan 13/8/90



**CONSTITUTIONAL Development Minister, Mr Gerrit Viljoen, has warned that "great care should be taken not to impair the confidence and optimism raised about the way ahead leading towards a new constitution."**

He has also called on ANC leaders "to refrain from statements casting doubt on the validity or the meaning of the

Pretoria Accord."

Viljoen was reacting on Saturday to a statement by Mrs Winnie Mandela in Durban on August 9, that the suspension of military action on the part of the ANC was a strategy and did not mean the cessation of violence.

He said the Government had taken note of the statement by ANC's Internal Leader, Mr Walter Sisulu, that the ANC was committed to the details of the Pretoria

Minute and his "virtual repudiation of Mrs Mandela's interpretation of the ANC's position."

He said Mrs Mandela's statement had been a "flagrant flouting of both the letter and the spirit of the Pretoria Accord as well as the Groote Schuur Minute", and possible doubt about the correctness of the report had been dispelled by a television recording of the event.

"In the Pretoria Accord the ANC undertook with immediate effect that no further armed action and related activities by the ANC ... and Umkhonto we Sizwe will take place.

"The phrase 'related activities' must surely include violence."

"Already in the Groote Schuur Minute the ANC committed itself to resolving violence and intimidation from whatever quarter.

"There can be no doubt about the correct meaning and intention of the words used in these documents", he said.

The Government had also noted with concern that Mr Joe Slovo on August 7, had threatened the ANC would resume the armed struggle the moment it became clear that the Government was not honouring its agreement, he said. - Sapa

# Squatting fees go to ANC - claim

*Sowetan 13/8/90*

*119*

**SQUATTERS** at Lesilo Park camp in Thabong, Welkom, claim the local crisis committee demands that they pay R26,50 for ANC membership to qualify for stands on which they can build shacks.

The squatter camp which was started last month by the Lesilo Park Crisis Committee accommodates about 1 500 squatters.

Mr Fannie Skwere, a

**By KENOSI MODISANE**

spokesman of Kenalematla Advice Centre accused the committee of charging residents an "exorbitant R80 for the provision of water and toilets".

However, a Thabong Advice Office spokesman, Mr Vuyani Jabuza, denied the claims.

"It has never been our policy to force people to join the ANC. Those residents who joined did so

voluntarily," said Jabuza.

He said the R80 fee was agreed upon by the residents for the hiring of portable toilets. The fee covers the first two months and is payable when a resident is given a stand for a shack.

The fee is later reduced to R40 which is for the maintenance of the toilets.

## Claims

Jabuza however acknowledged claims of a man collecting money for ANC membership. He said the advice centre had delegated a commission of inquiry to investigate.

Mrs Lydia Mafisa, a camp resident, said she was forced to pay the money by a man only known as Kholekile.

She said she was told that R2,50 was for a membership card, R2 for joining fee, R10 for a video film on the plight of the squatters at the camp and R10 for officials travelling between Welkom and Johannesburg.

Regarding the video fee, Jabuza said residents engaged the services of a private firm to film a video of the area.

"It was used to expose the 'bad conditions' under which people are living while the council is in charge of the area".

Mr Freddy Vanga, regional co-ordinator of the ANC in Thabong dismissed the allegations as "petty issues which are only meant to discredit our movement."

He said: "It is quite obvious that Kenalematla is a BCM initiative and we call upon the movement to discuss such issues with us before running to the newspapers".

BCM regional co-ordinator in the area, Jethro Dlalisa could not be reached for comment yesterday.

would be established at various  
address public grievances includ-  
ing and squatting, education and  
violence.

### Ceasefire

Committee to resolve "all outstanding" arising from the ANC's suspension of the armed struggle has to report to both parties by September 15. It said details of precisely how the ceasefire would be implemented and monitored should be decided by this group. The committee estimates there were between 20 and 30 active Umkhonto we Sizwe cells in the country at the time they decided to suspend armed activities. The ANC has committed itself to demilitarisation, it is expected security forces will continue to detain those operating in SA.

## Viljoen criticises Winnie

Business Day Reporter

violence".

11A

CONSTITUTIONAL Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen at the weekend criticised ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela's wife Winnie for her "flagrant flouting of both the letter and the spirit of the Pretoria Minute and the Grootes Schuur Minute".

Viljoen expressed grave concern over Winnie Mandela's statement in Durban on Thursday night that "the suspension of military action on the part of the ANC is a strategy. It does not mean the cessation of

He noted that ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu had repudiated Mandela's interpretation of the ANC's commitment to the accords and said: "There can be no doubt about the correct meaning and intention of the words used in these documents (the Pretoria and Grootes Schuur minutes)."

He said the ANC had last week undertaken to end armed action and related activities. "The phrase 'related activities' must surely include violence. In the Grootes Schuur Minute the ANC committed itself to resolving violence and intimidation from whatever quarter," Viljoen said.

He appealed to all responsible ANC leaders to refrain from statements casting doubt on the validity or the meaning of the Pretoria Minute.

## Vlakplaas unit 'made about 20 arrests in eight years'

81004 1318190  
ABOUT 20 people were arrested in eight years of operations by the security branch's Vlakplaas members, a study of evidence given to the Harms Commission of Inquiry into Po-

LINDEN BIRNS

the commission the unit had arrested about 20 people during his five years at the base.

Former Security Branch Section (ANC/PAC desk)

# Amnesty 'cut-off date' envisaged

6/Day 13/8/90

THE working group on political offences which resumes this week will have as top priority the setting of a "cut-off date" beyond which political offences will no longer be covered by the provisions of the Pretoria Minute.

Any perpetrator of an offence committed after this hypothetical date would not be entitled to the pardon or amnesty for which the minute provides.

ANC and government officials disclosed at the weekend that the Pretoria Minute had deliberately been silent on the matter.

## Risk

This was because while government accepted the ANC argument that it required time to spread the contents of the agreement among its supporters, government did not wish there to be any implication that potential political offenders would have carte blanche during the interim period.

"It could be said government is taking a bit of a risk in this respect. They are relying on our good faith," an ANC source said.

It is understood the ANC has already informally suggested retired judge Mr Justice Ray Leon, formerly of the Natal Bench, as a possible candidate to adjudicate on the agreement.

Meanwhile, it appears the section of the agreement providing that only "ANC-related" persons are covered could have the effect of drawing into the negotiating process those groups which have so far chosen to remain outside.

The ANC had a specific motive for wanting to keep the agreement narrow — in that it covered only members of it and its allies, the source said. Given the broad nature of the definition of "political offence", the ANC did not wish to be party to an agreement that government could conceivably use to free people that the ANC did not wish to see released — like right-

ALAN FINE, PETER DELMAR  
and LINDEN BIRNS

wing terrorists, he said.

According to Constitutional Development spokesman Marius Kleynhans, government also wanted the agreement limited to cover only ANC-related personnel because it did not want to release people not committed to a peace process.

A joint government/ANC committee will also be set up later this week to look into the practical implementation of the ANC's suspension of hostilities, both sides predicted at the weekend.

The government side is expected to push for details of the location of an alleged eight or more weapons caches left inside SA by Umkhonto we Sizwe operatives taking part in Operation Vula.

Sources on both sides predicted that this week's working group meeting would address itself to setting up a number of mechanisms agreed to in the Pretoria Minute at the Presidensie meeting.

It was decided last week that a number of "additional mechanisms for communication" would be established at various levels to address public grievances including housing and squatting, education and political violence.

## Ceasefire

The committee to resolve "all outstanding questions" arising from the ANC's suspension of the armed struggle has to report back to both parties by September 15.

Sources said details of precisely how the ceasefire would be implemented and monitored would be decided by this group.

Government estimates there were between 12 and 20 active Umkhonto we Sizwe guerrillas in the country at the time the ANC agreed to suspend armed activities. While the ANC has committed itself to ending infiltration, it is expected security forces will continue to detain those operatives still in SA.

minists. I have stated the communist system in South Africa. I know at one stage we will have to fight for our own survival and we will use any means to survive."

## Mabe home burgled

THE house of former Sowetan assistant editor, Mr Sam Mabe, who was

gunned down in Jabulani on July 4, was broken into on Friday morning.

Clothes, a telephone receiver and three leather suitcases were stolen.

During the time of the burglary, Mabe's widow, Latisa, was attending a tree-planting ceremony held in honour of her late husband at Immaculata High School in Diepkloof, Soweto.

Eye-witnesses said they saw three men carrying suitcases leave the house between 10am and 2pm.

The matter has been reported to the police. - Sapa

### 'PAC is not dogmatic'

*13/8/90*  
*Sowetan*  
HARARE - PAC chairman Johnson Mlambo, confirming the PAC's commitment to socialism for South Africa, has told a meeting in Harare the country should not be socialised for socialism's sake.

Mlambo said the PAC realised a period of transition was required in the redistribution of wealth in South Africa.



# 10 000 heed Tsietsi's unity call

*11A*

*Sowetan  
13/8/90*

A SPIRIT of unity prevailed when at least 10 000 supporters of different organisations came to pay their last respects at the weekend to former Soweto Student Representative Council president, Tsietsi Mashinini.

Jabulani Amphitheatre, where the service was held, reverberated to cries of "Amandla" and "Viva" as Tsietsi's lieutenant Mr Kgotsa Seatholo told the crowd that the enemy was not the "comrade sitting next to you; the enemy is sitting comfortably at home in Pretoria".

In a message directed to the youth, Seatholo said Tsietsi was a youth when he confronted the system, but his leadership had discipline which was not evident among comrades today.

Seatholo told mourners that Tsietsi

**By DON SEOKANE**

could not have died of natural causes. He said a young man in his thirties did not die of a nervous breakdown.

"His left ear was bleeding. The left eye was swollen and he had marks on his face, but we could not press the family for a post-mortem to establish the cause of his death," said Seatholo.

Mr Murphy Morobe of the UDF said: "If we let Tsietsi's death pass unchallenged, then we will be committing more atrocities than the Civil Cooperation Bureau.

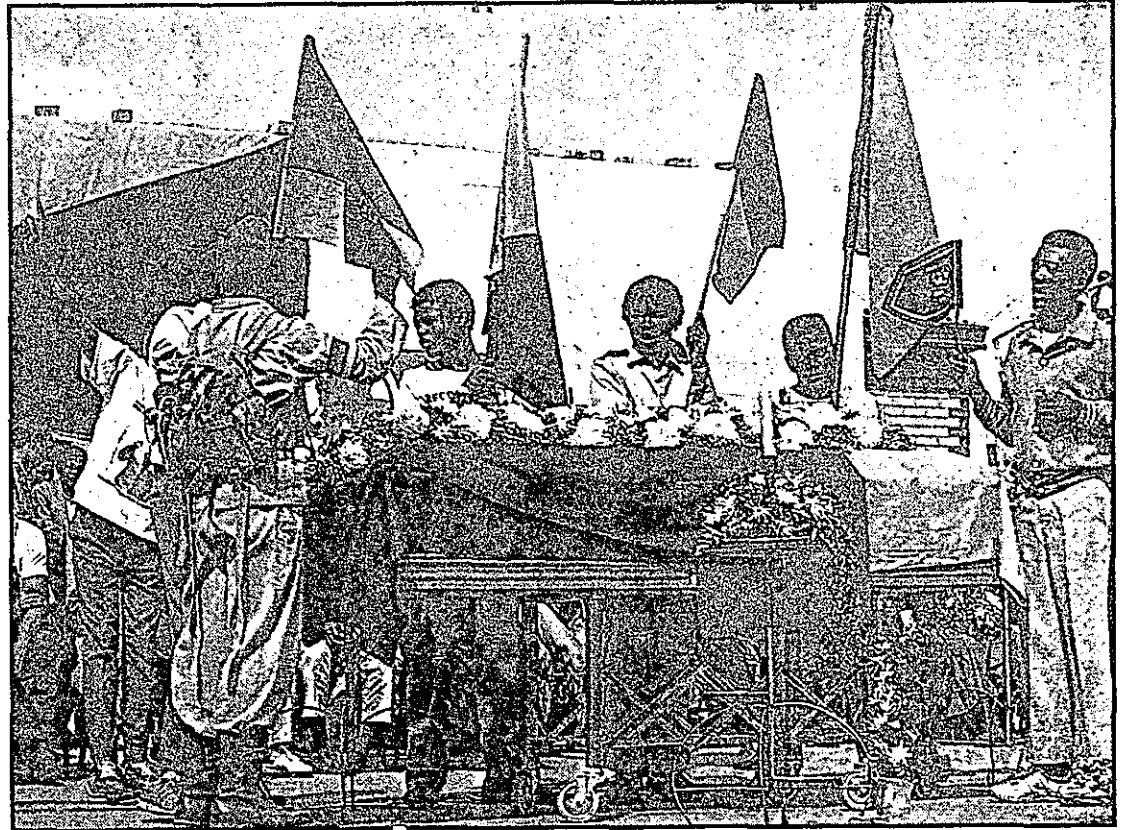
"We have every reason to be angry because Tsietsi, lying here and not able to raise his fist, compels us to take the baton and complete the work that he has done.

"This day will be remembered for the message we always preach - 'unity in action' has

achieved something," said Morobe.

The day was filled with protest poetry and songs from the harmonious Township Fever cast led by director Mr Mbongeni Ngema.

A boy, Fancy Seale (11), had the crowd gasping in amazement when he ululated freedom slogans and shouted the PAC's 'One bullet, one settler' chant.



Unity at Tsietsi's funeral, with ANC, SACP, Azapo and Azanla flags flying side-by-side above the coffin.

**Discover the distinctive taste of Zorba Ouzo**

CAP Times 13/8/90

## SACP approves 'believers'

JOHANNESBURG. — The SACP said at the weekend it would continue to enrol religious members who subscribe to the party's basic programme.

After a meeting with Institute of Contextual Theology (ICT) delegates, an SACP spokesman said the party was critical of the "dogmatic intolerance of religion that has existed in its ranks".

The ICT delegation, led by Father Smangaliso Mkhathshwa, said socialism and economic issues would have to be put on the theological agenda of the churches. — Sapa

## No show for peace rally

KRUGERSDORP A joint ANC-Inkatha peace rally scheduled for Saturday in Kagiso township failed to materialize. *CHL-TLW 13/8/90*

The rally was arranged to seal Wednesday's tentative peace agreement after fierce fighting left at least 13 people dead.

An Inkatha spokesman said the ANC had "not turned up", but an ANC spokesman blamed the Kagiso Residents' Association, which was meant to organise the meeting. Inkatha said they remained "committed to the peace agreement". — Sapa

Call Times 13/8/90

11A

# PAC re-affirms goal of socialism

**HARARE.** — In a matter of months the struggle in South Africa would be between the government and the Pan Africanist Congress, PAC vice-president Mr Clarence Makwethu said on Saturday.

He was addressing a meeting between the PAC and the American Chamber of Commerce in South Africa (Amcham).

The meeting marked the first formal talks the PAC has held with business leaders in South Africa.

Mr Makwethu said it had been proved "beyond doubt" that the PAC was a major force in South Africa.

Despite talks with some sections of the liberation movement there had been no move from the government to speak to the PAC which, he stressed, was not against the principle of a democratic transfer of power.

However, he said the PAC was not going to accept a two-tier system which would give whites a veto.

Mr Makwethu said the PAC wanted a transfer of economic power, as it had no desire to rule over starving people.

PAC chairman, Mr Johnson Mlambo, confirming the PAC's commitment to socialism for South Africa, told the meeting the country should not be socialised for socialism's sake.

He said the PAC realised a

period of transition was required for the redistribution of wealth in South Africa.

"Changes from capitalism to socialism cannot suddenly emerge of themselves. We should not socialise for the sake of socialisation.

He said the most acute and urgent problem in South Africa was how the wealth could be redistributed in such a way that the quality of life of the majority could be improved.

"Logistically, this involves the socialisation of the "commanding heights of the economy" which in our country is in the hands of the seven giant corporations which control 80% of all the companies listed

on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange," Mr Mlambo said.

There would also have to be socialisation of "medium-size private enterprises via the various forms of state enterprises, for example, by means of transforming capitalism enterprises into mixed ones — that is, private and public ones".

In his conclusion, Mr Mlambo said: "Thus, while PAC has opted for socialism, nevertheless, we will have to tread carefully lest we cut off our nose to spite our face.

"But change must come and come soon in a period of transition, and be seen to be effective to be believed." — Sapa and Political Staff

Picture: JOHAN SCHRÖNEN, The Argus.

car burns fiercely after it was flung more than 25m in an weekend. The driver lost control and hit three parked cars in seriously injured but eight people died in other road accidents

# Government, ANC in 'sort of alliance'

By MICHAEL MORRIS  
Political Correspondent

THE GOVERNMENT has acknowledged that it was in "a sort of alliance" with the ANC — and other parties — to the extent that they agreed on the ground-rules of politics, according to sources.

But there was no question of the ANC "co-determining government policy", one senior source said.

He was reacting to a comment on television last night by ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela that the ANC was already "in a sort of alliance" with the government.

The source acknowledged that there was a level of co-operation with the ANC but pointed out that there was a similar relationship with other parties. He defined this co-operation as "an agreement on the ground-rules of the game".

This was seen as a positive development in a country where for too long there had been no such agreement between the main black and white parties.

"So, even though one has very serious problems with the policies of the ANC — or the AWB or CP — there is a certain level up to which one has co-operation. But it is certainly not as if the ANC is co-determining government policy."

The source admitted that the notion of co-operation between the government and the ANC was the kind of thing the white right would seek to exploit to its own advantage.

The CP has often accused the government of treating the ANC as an arm of government, but without having tested the will of the people.

● See page 2.

# Four hacked to death

By DALE KNEEM  
Crime Reporter

FOUR people were hacked to death with pangas in two separate incidents at the weekend.

In the first incident, three men allegedly attacked and killed two men and sexually assaulted a woman before hacking her to death with pangas.

The names of the dead have not yet been established but it is believed they are residents of a squatter area called Creamix, near Brackenfell.

Police said a man and a woman who were walking along a path through a bushy area were the first victims.

The three attackers allegedly robbed the men and sexually assaulted the woman before hacking them to death with pangas at 7pm on Saturday.

Later the three attackers argued with a man at a discotheque in the area and then allegedly hacked him to death.

The bodies of the first three victims were discovered by passers-by yesterday.

Police were called and two men arrested. Detectives were still searching for the third suspect.

M6u-3  
13/8/90



# Boesak, church part ways

CPL  
Tina B  
13/8/90  
(11)

Staff Reporter

DR Allan Boesak's status as minister of the NG Sendingkerk has been formally terminated, his former Bellville South congregation was told yesterday morning.

And, according to a report yesterday, his alleged lover, SABC producer Ms Elna Botha, has moved "lock, stock and barrel" to Cape Town.

Dr Boesak was not available for comment yesterday as he was in Port Elizabeth.

The Sendingkerk's announcement was made by Rev A J van Wyk, the chairman of the Presbytery of the SA Gestlg which had found that since Dr Boesak had "wilfully and without reason" resigned in terms of Section 13 of the church Ordinance, he had become apostatised (abandoned of his office).

His desertion of office had been referred to the Bellville Church Council for further discipline, should there be

To page 2

From page 1

need for it, Mr Van Wyk said.

As far as Dr Boesak's relationship with Ms Botha was concerned, the Presbytery felt it was not "required or authorised to take the matter further" as Dr Boesak had resigned before an investigation had been started.

After the announcement, the congregation pledged its support of Dr

Boesak's wife Dorothy and their children who were present at the service.

Rapport said Ms Botha and her toddler grandson, John, had moved to Cape Town "for good".

The paper also claimed that Ms Botha would not appear on television again, although her position at the SABC was not in danger. Ms Botha is on leave until the end of the month.

# DP row over ANC escalates

Cart 71475  
13/8/80  
111  
~~111~~

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

Now it's Worrall vs Leon

THE Democratic Party row escalated last night with co-leader Dr Denis Worrall criticising Houghton MP Mr Tony Leon for the manner of his attack on the ANC.

He called on party MPs to end their "public slanging match" and said the row over the ANC was harmful to morale and showed lack of consideration for rank-and-file DP supporters.

Mr Leon had accused the ANC of suffering from a "victim psychosis" and dismissed the organisation's policies as "old anti-apartheid slogans and rhetoric dressed up in new garb". He labelled SACP boss Mr Joe Slovo an "economic illiterate".

Mr Leon's hard-hitting remarks sparked an outcry among some DP MPs, including Mr Jannie Momberg and Mr Jan van Eck, but others, like Hillbrow MP Mr Lester Fuchs, sprang to his defence.

Significantly, DP par-



Mr Leon



Dr Worrall

liamentary leader Dr Zach de Beer backed his Johannesburg colleague, saying Mr Leon's criticism of the ANC "seem to me to contain substance".

However, Dr Worrall yesterday criticised the manner in which Mr Leon attacked the ANC and expressed concern about what it might do to the DP's "essential" inter-action programme with other political groupings.

Approached for comment yesterday, Dr Worrall said that while there

clearly were "uncertainties and ambiguities" in the ANC's policy positions which gave rise to concern and required clarity, he did not believe the type of attack Mr Leon had directed against the ANC served a constructive purpose.

Dr Worrall said that if the DP hoped to play a valuable catalytic role through its inter-action programmes, the party should follow a style which was creative, constructive and conciliatory rather than confrontational.

sta 13/8/90

# Tutu under fire at ANC launch rally

LOUIS TRICHARDT — Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu came under fire yesterday at an African National Congress rally near Louis Trichardt over his recent remarks that priests should not take part in party politics.

Venda Lutheran priest Dean Tshenuwani Farisani — in a speech to about 20 000 people who had braved ice-cold weather to launch an ANC branch at the Muima Hlanganani — emphasised priests should take part in politics.

Mr Farisani returned recently from self-imposed exile in America.

He told the crowd: "Student structures will not be joined by locusts but by you (the crowd). MK (Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC military wing) will not be joined by angels but by you."

He likened the call by the archbishop that priests should not take part in politics to "telling Moses or Joshua to leave their flock in the desert". — Sapa.

made  
less.



Ste 13/8/90

# Leon's attack on ANC was badly timed, say DP sources

Political Correspondent Democratic Party sources said yesterday that Houghton MP Tony Leon's strong attack on the ANC last week was "badly timed", because the DP would be holding an important weekend-long "indaba" with the ANC soon.

This was the latest salvo in the simmering row over Mr Leon's tough speech during a report-back meeting to his constituency last week.

"We will be meeting the ANC soon to discuss our relationship. After that would have been the

time to come out with guns blazing, if we needed to," one source said.

Mr Leon accused the ANC of having no clear policy and was backed by Hillbrow MP Lester Fuchs, who said it was clear the views of the ANC economically and otherwise would be disastrous.

These views have annoyed leftwingers in the party, including Claremont MP Jan van Eck who said it had harmed the DP's job of active involvement with "progressive" organisations at grassroots level.

# Tutu's plea is for SA peace, Canadian justice

TORONTO. — Archbishop Desmond Tutu has begun a ten-day tour of Canada with a plea to end violence in South Africa and for justice for Canadian Indians.

Tutu said he was deeply concerned about the recent outbreaks of violence in South Africa.

"A lot of the violence is violence due to the inequalities of apartheid," he said, adding that Canadians should be as quick to deplore violence against blacks as they are to deplore violence by the African National Congress.

The theologian told Canadians that the country's native peoples must not be treated as an invisible minority.

## TRUE JUSTICE

Tutu said the armed barricades in Quebec, where Indian demands for land led to a shootout that killed a police officer last month, have brought the problems of natives to national attention.

"It is not in Canada's interest to push it under the carpet. What we say in a situation like this is what we say in South Africa. There cannot be true peace unless you have true justice," the winner of the 1984 Nobel peace prize told reporters.

"We understood when people said we have reached the end of our tether ... now we will take dramatic action," said Tutu, who left the room with the aid of a carved cane.

In a sermon before a packed Anglican church, the Archbishop later spoke again of the Canadian Indians again, asking "will you hear the legitimate cries of these people? Will you



Archbishop Tutu

help them enter into their heritage as children of God?"

He said he hoped negotiations would bring about a peaceful end to the dispute at the two reservations.

Mohawks and the Canadian and Quebec governments signed an agreement yesterday which will bring in international observers ahead of negotiations over ways to bring down the armed barricades.

● Archbishop Tutu came under fire at an ANC rally near Louis Trichardt yesterday following his recent remarks that priests should not take part in party politics.

Venda Lutheran priest Dean Tshenuwani Farisani — in a speech at the launch of an ANC branch at Muima Hlanganani, emphasised priests should take part in politics.

He likened the Archbishop's call to "telling Moses or Joshua to leave their flock in the desert.

"I respect Bishop Tutu for his past contribution and his future contribution but this time I differ. This is not the time for dividing priests." — Sapa-Reuter.

# Tutu's plea is for SA peace, Canadian justice

TORONTO. — Archbishop Desmond Tutu has begun a ten-day tour of Canada with a plea to end violence in South Africa and for justice for Canadian Indians.

Tutu said he was deeply concerned about the recent outbreaks of violence in South Africa.

"A lot of the violence is violence due to the inequalities of apartheid," he said, adding that Canadians should be as quick to deplore violence against blacks as they are to deplore violence by the African National Congress.

The theologian told Canadians that the country's native peoples must not be treated as an invisible minority.

## TRUE JUSTICE

Tutu said the armed barricades in Quebec, where Indian demands for land led to a shootout that killed a police officer last month, have brought the problems of natives to national attention.

"It is not in Canada's interest to push it under the carpet. What we say in a situation like this is what we say in South Africa. There cannot be true peace unless you have true justice," the winner of the 1984 Nobel peace prize told reporters.

"We understood when people said we have reached the end of our tether ... now we will take dramatic action," said Tutu, who left the room with the aid of a carved cane.

In a sermon before a packed Anglican church, the Archbishop later spoke again of the Canadian Indians again, asking "will you hear the legitimate cries of these people? Will you



Archbishop Tutu

help them enter into their heritage as children of God?"

He said he hoped negotiations would bring about a peaceful end to the dispute at the two reservations.

Mohawks and the Canadian and Quebec governments signed an agreement yesterday which will bring in international observers ahead of negotiations over ways to bring down the armed barricades.

● Archbishop Tutu came under fire at an ANC rally near Louis Trichardt yesterday following his recent remarks that priests should not take part in party politics.

Venda Lutheran priest Dean Tshenuwani Farisani — in a speech at the launch of an ANC branch at Muima Hlanganani, emphasised priests should take part in politics.

He likened the Archbishop's call to "telling Moses or Joshua to leave their flock in the desert.

"I respect Bishop Tutu for his past contribution and his future contribution but this time I differ. This is not the time for dividing priests." — Sapa-Reuters.

# Mandela hints at end to sanctions

ARGUS  
13/8/90  
11A

**The Argus Correspondent**  
JOHANNESBURG. — ANC deputy-president Mr Nelson Mandela has hinted his organisation may soon agree to the lifting of sanctions.

In a SABC television panel interview with South African newspaper editors last night he said he was as worried about South Africa's economy as everyone else.

"I hope that as we progress with negotiations we will soon be able to review the continued application of sanctions, as we have done with the armed struggle."

Sunday Times editor Mr Tertius Myburgh asked Mr Mandela what he felt the prospects were for the return of peace and stability in the black townships.

## PROSPECTS GOOD

Mr Mandela: "As long as the masses have no right to determine their destiny we will have instability. But the prospects for peace are good because the ANC and the government have made good progress."

Asked about nationalisation, he said State nationalisation in industry was part of South Africa's economic history. The ANC was examining nationalisation as one of the options of rectifying the unfair distribution of resources in the country.

"I have asked businessmen for alternatives. If they can produce an alternative the ANC will not worry about nationalisation."

Asked whether he were a religious man, Mr Mandela said the question of religion was a private affair.

"But I have always appreciated the key role religion has played in the liberation struggle. Not only Christians but also Muslims, Hindus and other religions have played a part."

On the crisis in black education he said pupils had responded to the ANC's call to go back to school but had found that there were not enough schools to accommodate them.

Mr Mandela said the violence in South Africa was a source of concern to "all of us". The ANC's greatest problem was not Inkatha but State violence.

# PAC gives views on economic reform (114)

HARARE — The Pan-Africanist Congress said yesterday that it wanted to establish a planned socialist economy in South Africa.

But PAC chairman Johnson Mlambo also said after two days of talks in Harare with South African businessmen: "We should not socialise for the sake of socialisation. We should not be dogmatic nor intolerably authoritarian."

The PAC and representatives of American and west European chambers of commerce in South Africa discussed such issues as foreign investment needs, import and export policy, workers' rights and training.

Wayne Mitchell, executive director of the American Chamber of Commerce in SA, said the PAC suggested ways other nationalisation of redistributing wealth.

These included offering workers shares in companies, and increasing technical training for blacks.

"We noticed a far more pragmatic approach to economic issues than we have heard emanating from...the ANC," Mr Mitchell said. — Reuter.

# WHO'S no's to rule during talks?

## White control not elegant, but practical - academic

By Professor ALBERT VENTER of Rand Afrikaans University's Department of Political Studies

**T**HE Grootes Schuur and Pretoria Minutes - as part of a historic process of political accommodation between the NP government and the ANC - are behind us.

Speculation about the next phase of negotiations about South Africa's political future is rife.

The question is, what should the bargaining forum look like? The ANC's position is that serious negotiations should only be held after a constituent assembly is elected.

In their view a new constitution cannot be negotiated between the contending parties if the present government enjoys all the privileges of an incumbent power; political and financial patronage, the armed forces, the police, the information systems of the bureaucracy and so on. It would give the government unfair advantage of being "referee as well as player".

The government's position is that it is the legally elected government until September 1994 with a mandate to negotiate a new constitution on behalf of its electorate. It also argues an experienced administration is needed to govern during negotiations.

The point of view of the ANC is understandable, but not practical. South Africa is in a precarious political position. The present white political order needs some stability and assurances that, while negotiations are going on, a technically competent and experienced government should rule. In the unlikely event of negotiations failing, the one security whites would have is that "their" government is still in control. This is not elegant, but practical. Something similar to the process in Namibia a year ago.

The government's view of an all-party constitutional convention of "proven party leaders" is not without some objections. It would be a formidable task to determine who should be excluded and who included. The ANC could argue the government is trying to "pack" the conference with "homeland stooges" and other system players, thereby creating an artificial conservative majority.

In this way the outcome can be manipulated by government. Should the AWB be excluded? Should the PAC be included? Azapo? What do we do with the UDF and MDM? Do they come as separate entities or do they come with the ANC? The debates on these issues could be endless. We cannot afford to lose valuable time on such matters.

One way out is compromise. Call an all-party conference on an inclusive-as-possible basis. The ANC, UDF and MDM comes as one alliance. Homeland leaders and their oppositions are

invited. No votes are taken, but maximum agreement is sought. This conference appoints a commission of recognised experts in the constitutional field under the chairmanship of the Chief Justice.

People - including the all-party conference - are invited to make recommendations to the constitutional commission. The all-party conference can then deliberate without taking the final responsibility for their decisions. But their decisions should have a big influence on the constitutional commission.

This would de-politicise the proceedings and take away some of the ANC's objections that the government is referee and player. The constitutional commission would have the practical advantage and its members would feel a tremendous sense of responsibility to make a success of the negotiations and the constitution. Its members can either go down in history as the ones who facilitated a peaceful accommodation in South Africa, or they can be branded failures. One takes it for granted the latter option would not be seriously contemplated.

Once a final constitution has been drawn up, the present Parliament would enact it into law. To give the constitution popular legitimacy, a referendum should be held. This vote should still be on a separate voters' roll, for the simple reason the government would have to demonstrate to the CP and the AWB a majority of white people accept the new constitution.

Regarding the ANC's feeling that the government has an unfair advantage with the security forces and police, a monitoring commission could be set up. Members of the government and other parties, under chairmanship of an Appeal judge, would hear complaints regarding the behaviour of the police and army. The Attorney-General could then be instructed to prosecute members who willfully break the law. It is not perfect, but would assure the transition period is as fair as is practicable.

There is another possibility to create a new constitution, but this would not be entirely democratic. The NP government and the ANC can form a government of National Unity as a transitional government to draw up a new constitution. The problem is it would delegitimise the new constitution from the start, since it would exclude too many players. The interim government would probably be unstable, creating difficult conditions in which to write a new constitution.

My vote is for a constitutional commission of experts, like the Nigerian example, rather than an interim government or an elected constituent assembly.

Next week: A different view by ANC constitutional expert Albie Sachs.

Exile Titana <sup>3/8/80</sup>  
buried in Paarl

EXILED Umkhonto we Sizwe member Mr Themba Titana, who died of pneumonia in Zimbabwe last month, was buried in Paarl at the weekend.

Some 5 000 mourners at the funeral service were addressed by representatives of the ANC, SA Youth Congress and the Paarl Civic Association.

Khaki-uniformed marshalls formed a guard of honour for the coffin, which was draped in an ANC flag.

Mr Titana, 33, fled SA in 1985 and is survived by his wife Phumla and two children.

ANC's armed  
struggle goes

on, says Hani

Political Staff

As the Government and the African National Congress battle to win popular acceptance of their historic agreement on ending violence, two more controversial statements have come from senior ANC members.

Addressing a gathering at Umtata in the Transkei at the weekend, Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani said the ANC was suspending armed operations but not the armed struggle.

The suspension meant members would remain in their trenches waiting for orders from the ANC. Training and recruiting would intensify and their numbers would increase.

In Durban, ANC Natal representative Harry Gwala said the time for "clapping people on the cheek" was past and that the ANC would now fight with the AK-47 if necessary.

This follows Winnie Mandela's statement last week that the suspension of the armed struggle was merely a strategy and did not entail the end of violence. The ANC subsequently reaffirmed its commitment to the Pretoria Minute.



Staff Reporters

Killers armed with AK-47 rifles murdered nine people and wounded 10 at the weekend in an attack on a hostel in Evaton's Sebokeng township.

Police said the killings took place on Saturday at 9.30 pm when men armed with AK-47s sneaked up to rooms in Hostel 1 and opened fire through the windows without warning.

The injured are in a stable condition at the Sebokeng Hospital. A matron at the hospital said 12

# 9 murdered in AK-47 attack on Sebokeng hostel

patients with gunshot wounds were admitted on Saturday night.

Frans Thupa, a hostel dweller who escaped uninjured, said more than 20 people were taken to hospital with bullet wounds.

"I still cannot believe I escaped the carnage," he said.

Four panel vans were used to ferry the injured.

Another hostel dweller, Nelson Qibinyaka, said: "Bodies were piled

on top of each other. It was difficult to tell who was dead and who was not."

One of the bodies was found in a cabinet under the sink.

Both men said the attackers shot through the kitchen windows from the back of the room. There were pools of blood everywhere.

In a strongly worded statement last night, Cosatu called on President de Klerk to intervene and end

the recent spate of shootings against hostel dwellers.

Cosatu spokesman Neil Coleman said "De Klerk must intervene to end this reign of terror and bring those responsible to book.

"This should include elements of the police who may have collaborated or who have failed to act to end it."

Cosatu said all that was known about the attack was that one or

more whites were allegedly spotted by residents at the time of the shooting.

"Pamphlets were found at the scene issued in the name of the AWB insulting blacks," Coleman said.

Witwatersrand police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman said the killers had apparently fled on foot. Intensive investigations have not yet resulted in any arrests.

whether the killings were linked to last month's bloody ANC-Inkatha feuding which left 24 dead.

● Another four people died and 18 were arrested in unrest incidents in other parts of the country at the weekend, police said.

Two men were shot dead and another two injured in Wesselton near Ermelo after gunmen fired on mourners on their way to a funeral.

In KwaMashu, near Durban, gunmen shot dead a passenger in a passing vehicle, and in Umlazi a man was shot dead when gunmen opened fire on a group.

# Hero's burial for Tsietsi Mashinini

SOWETO. — Glowing tribute was paid to the late Tsietsi Mashinini — the leader of the June 16, 1976, student rebellion — when more than 8 000 people attended his funeral at the Jabulani Amphitheatre here on Saturday.

Mr Mashinini died in exile in Guinea, West Africa, two weeks ago. The cause of his death has not yet been officially established.

Thousands of mourners sang, danced and chanted political slogans of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) — whose members occupied most of the arena — as speaker after speaker lauded the young man for his input into black politics.

His coffin, draped in the black, gold and red colours of Azapo, had a constant guard

of honour made up of BCM supporters clad in jet black outfits with caps bearing a red star — the Azanian National Liberation Army's code of dress.

Addressing the huge throng, Azapo president Professor Itumeleng Mosala urged them to put their "ideological spectacles on to examine the student struggle within Azania".

After heatedly stressing the futility of classroom boycotts, the Azapo president issued an impassioned plea for students and pupils to return to their institutions.

Among the host of dignitaries at the ceremony was Mr Khotso Seatlholo, the head of the SA Youth Revolutionary Council, and together with Mr Mashinini, the leader of the student rebellion. There

were also representatives from foreign embassies.

However, the dignified proceedings were interrupted at one stage when ANC speaker Mr Murphy Morobe was heckled when he attempted to paint a picture of Mr Mashinini as independent of any ideological tendency within the country.

With angry Azapo supporters calling him to order from the arena stands, Mr Morobe finally conceded that Mr Mashinini was a firm believer in the Black Consciousness philosophy, as propounded by the late Steve Biko.

After the ceremony thousands of youths, led by a guard of honour, marched down Soweto's streets following the coffin. — Sapa



# 'War talk' bedevils moves to curb violence

AR 64 13/8/90

By PETER FABRICIUS  
Political Staff

THE government and the ANC are battling to get popular acceptance of their historic agreement to bring an end to violence.

Since their commitment to the Pretoria Minute, there has been a wave of violence — the worst in the coloured townships of Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage. There has also been violence at Welkom, a bomb blast in Pretoria and a hostel massacre in Sebokeng.

On top of that, Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of ANC deputy leader Mr Nelson Mandela, resorted to war talk at an ANC women's conference in Natal.

## Armed struggle

She said the suspension of the armed struggle was merely "a strategy" and did not entail "the cessation of violence".

And although her statement was virtually repudiated by ANC internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu, her speech was followed by another militant outburst from ANC representative Mr Harry Gwala, and an aggressive speech by Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Mr Chris Hani.

Addressing a Congress of South African Students meeting, Mr Hani said the ANC was suspending armed operations, but not the armed struggle.

The suspension meant members would remain in their trenches waiting for orders from the ANC.

Training and recruiting would intensify and their numbers would increase.

In a repudiation of Mrs Mandela's earlier statements, Mr Sisulu said that although he could not speak for others, the ceasefire was the product of a reasoned decision and was not a mere strategy.

In the present violent atmosphere, police say they are having difficulty obtaining the ANC's full co-operation in setting up joint efforts, agreed to by the ANC and the government in two rounds of peace talks, to curb the violence and intimidation raging around the country.

Police sources said last night they had appointed 96 police officers around the country to co-ordinate with the ANC in quelling violence.

But so far the ANC had come forward with only 29 names, instead of 96 to liaise with the police side.

They said the joint ANC/government steering committee which has done much of the behind-the-scenes legwork for the ANC/government talks, would probably meet again this week to urge the ANC once again to provide a full list of contacts.

One area where police say they are having difficulty in getting ANC co-operation is Natal, where representative Mr Gwala yesterday told an ANC women's league rally that the organisation would "take freedom by force if necessary".

# Gwala urges Umkhonto 'defence'

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Blacks would take freedom by force if necessary, Mr Harry Gwala, executive member of the ANC, told an ANC Women's Rally here yesterday.

Speaking to about 8 000 people at the rally at Durban's Curries Fountain, he urged ANC members to "continue to defend our people".

He said the time for "clapping people on the cheek is past . . . now we will fight with the AK-47 if necessary", adding that the armed struggle had only been suspended. Mr Gwala also called for the redistribution of wealth in South Africa.

The wealth of the country was not enjoyed by the people, but by people outside it — and he referred to land that was owned by US, British and West German business concerns.

Many children had died in South Africa and malnutrition had been a main cause. Paying tribute to the mothers who had experienced these losses, he called on them to join the ANC struggle for improved conditions for all in South Africa.

The ANC needed to revive the women, he said.

"The lioness is the one who stays to protect the cubs when there is danger. It is the lion who runs away when they are threatened."

This was why women were as much soldiers of ANC arm wing Umkhonto we Sizwe, as men.

Mr Govan Mbeki, another executive member of the ANC, said called on black women to assure white women that there was nothing to fear.

Mrs Albertina Sisulu, co-convenor of the League and wife of Mr Walter Sisulu, said the League aimed to liberate women from "class suppression".

She noted that as women totalled more than half SA's population and most women worked, they had added responsibilities over and above those of raising families and bringing up the youth of the country.

# Fighting talk hampers bid to end the violence

Sowetan 14/8/90

11A

THE Government and the ANC are battling to get popular acceptance of their historic agreement to bring an end to violence.

Since their commitment to the Pretoria Minute, there has been a wave of violence - the worst in the coloured townships of Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage, but also at Welkom, the bomb blast in Pretoria and a hostel massacre in Sebokeng.

On top of that, Mrs Winnie Mandela resorted to war talk at an ANC women's conference in Natal.

She said the suspension of the armed struggle was merely "a strategy" and did not entail "the cessation of violence".

And although she was virtually repudiated by ANC internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu, her speech was followed by another militant outburst from ANC representative Mr Harry Gwala and an aggressive speech by Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Mr Chris Hani.

Addressing a Cosas meeting, Hani said the ANC was suspending armed operations but not the armed struggle.

Sowetan Correspondent

In the present violent atmosphere, police say they are having difficulty obtaining the ANC's full co-operation in setting up joint efforts, agreed to by the ANC and the Government in two rounds of peace talks, to curb the violence and intimidation raging around the country.

Police sources said at the weekend they had appointed 96 police officers around the country to co-ordinate with the ANC in quelling violence.

But so far the ANC had come forward with only 29 names, instead of 96 to liaise with the police side.

They said the joint ANC/Government steering committee, which has done much of the behind-the-scenes legwork for the ANC/Government talks, would probably meet again this week to urge the ANC once again to provide a full list of contacts.

# State has 'sort of pact with ANC'

3  
NY

Sowetan 14/8/90

THE Government has acknowledged that it was in "a sort of alliance" with the ANC - and other parties - to the extent that they agreed on the ground rules of politics, according to sources.

But there was no question of the ANC "co-determining Government policy", one senior source said.

He was reacting to ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela's com-

## SOWETAN Correspondent

ment on television on Sunday night that the ANC was already "in a sort of alliance" with the Government.

The source acknowledged that there was a level of co-operation with the ANC but pointed out that there was a similar relationship with other parties.

He defined this co-operation as "an agree-

ment on the ground rules of the game".

This was seen as a positive development in a country where for too long there had been no such agreement on the ground rules between the main black and white parties.

"So, even though one has very serious problems with the policies of the ANC - or the AWB or CP - there is a certain level up to which one has co-operation. But it is certainly not as if the

ANC is co-determining Government policy," said the source.

The source admitted that the notion of co-operation between the Government and the ANC was the kind of thing the white right would seek to exploit to its own advantage.

The Conservative Party has often accused the Government of treating the ANC as an arm of Government but without having tested the will of the people.

# Unrealistic hopes raised, says Motlana

Sowetan Correspondent

THE best hope for a new South Africa was under a system which encouraged and rewarded personal initiative and which allowed individuals the freedom to develop their own talents, Soweto community leader Dr Nthatho Motlana said yesterday.

Motlana, chairman of the Get Ahead Foundation, was speaking at the second annual general meeting of the International Executive Service Corps, South Africa, in Johannesburg. *Sowetan 14/8/90*

## New dispensation

He said it was regrettable that unrealistic expectations had been raised about a new political dispensation. Many people believed a post-apartheid government would come into being in a very short time and would deliver homes and well-paying jobs as if by magic.

To counter these expectations, much effort should be put into developing and assisting the self-employed, motivated and trained entrepreneurs who would help themselves when the formal sector failed to create new jobs.

It was essential that a work ethic be encouraged to help people to help themselves, Motlana said.

# Peace pact quells Kagiso hostel strife

By SANDILE MEMELA

A PRECEDENT was set last week when Inkatha and the ANC alliance resolved the Kagiso conflict by signing a peace pact after clashes left at least 15 people dead.

In a dramatic bid to avoid renewed violence, members of both parties addressed packed gatherings of rival organisations to explain the agreement.

Both Inkatha and the ANC alliance committed themselves to establishing a joint committee to bring about peace in the trouble-torn Lewisham hostel.

Inkatha and ANC alliance sources told *City Press* they rea-

lised the urgent need to normalise the situation in the hostel.

They also hoped the "internal refugees" who were forced to flee the hostel will have returned by today.

The peace pact is historic as people feared the Transvaal might become like Natal if violence between Inkatha and non-Inkatha supporters persisted.

Krugersdorp Residents Organisation (KRO) executive member, Ben "Zara" Ntsimane, told *City Press* the agreement was the most positive step to happen in the area.

"The recent violence disrupted the harmony that existed among residents and hostel in-

mates. The hostel people have always been part of the local community initiative and we welcome the return to normality," he said.

"This shows local communities should not wait for Mandela and Buthelezi to shake hands before peace can exist among their followers. We have to show our leadership we can take initiatives that bring peace to our communities."

Inkatha secretary for the West Rand, Evans Sosibo, welcomed the peace initiative.

Ntsimane and Sosibo stressed the peace pact would only halt violence between warring fac-

tions if people were involved at grassroots level.

In the past three weeks almost 50 people have died in clashes between Inkatha and ANC alliance supporters in the Transvaal.

Cosatu spokesman Neil Coleman said violence in the Transvaal had largely occurred in hostel complexes.

"There is an Inkatha presence in these complexes and this resulted in tensions that generally exploded into violence," he said.

Tensions at Sebokeng's Vaal hostel complex also exploded into violence recently, leaving 29 people dead after clashes between Inkatha and ANC alliance supporters.



# Reports of Texan aid to set up ANC bank

A US bank, said to be from Texas, was planning to set up an operation in SA for the ANC, a Johannesburg banking source, quoting European connections, said yesterday.

The operation would be, essentially, a development bank handling the ANC's foreign funding and raising local and offshore finance for development projects.

He told Business Day the bank could create enormous investment potential because it would not have the stigma — real or imagined — of being tied to existing SA banks or the SA government.

ROBERT GENTLE

Senior figures from major local banks who were canvassed for reaction had not heard about the reported operation, but said it would come as no surprise.

Registrar of Banks at the Reserve Bank, Hennie van Greuning, said he had not received any application for the setting up of such an operation.

Although the broad thrust of US anti-apartheid legislation prevents investment in SA by US companies, there are exemptions.

A US embassy spokesman said new private sector investment was allowed in firms owned by SA blacks.

Estimates of how much Nelson Mandela raised for the ANC during his recent tour range from \$10m to as much \$50m.

An Andersen Consulting banking spokesman said such an operation could be quite lucrative, because start-up capital would enter the country in financial rands while interest and dividends would accrue in commercial rands.

An ANC spokesman declined last night to comment.

B/Pew 14/8/90

11A

# ANC move a test for NP, says Gwala

Sowetan  
14/8/90

11A

**IF black South Africans do not achieve liberation through the negotiations which are about to take place with the Government, they will take it by force, ANC Natal Midlands convener Mr Harry Gwala said at the weekend.**

Speaking at the relaunch of the ANC Women's League at Currie's Fountain in Durban on Sunday, Gwala took a hard line when explaining

to the 10 000-strong crowd the ANC leaders' decision to suspend the armed struggle.

"The leaders' decision to suspend the armed struggle is a big test for the National Party Government," he said. "But we are not going to compromise ourselves. We are not going to ask for liberation, we are going to fight for it."

Gwala said the power of white South Africans was their army. It was soldiers in the South Afri-

can Defence Force who had kept apartheid going.

The ANC had tried every peaceful means to end apartheid before it had decided to form its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The fact that the Government was now talking to the ANC was entirely due to MK's struggles, he said.

"Today the Government is asking us not to continue the armed struggle. They say we must create a climate where there is no war. But what are they actually doing themselves?" he asked.

"Even as we stand here, outside this stadium there are fully armed policemen waiting. Our townships are surrounded by soldiers, vigilantes and the KwaZulu police and hit squads."

Gwala said the ANC leadership had decided to suspend the armed struggle because the Government had said the armed struggle was hindering negotiations.

"Now we want to test their sincerity. And we have suspended military action but when we are ourselves. - Sowetan Correspondent.

# Take up the cudgels

11A



# women urged

Sowetan 14/8/90

## Exiles address Wits meeting

WOMEN were urged to step into troubled areas like Sebokeng, Port Elizabeth and Natal to act as buffers to counteract the violence.

The plea was made by returned exile Amina Cachalia at a meeting to mark National Woman's Day in Johannesburg.

She told about 1 000 people at Wits University that since men were unable to bring stability and peace to these strife-torn areas women should take action.

Also sharing the platform with Cachalia was Lindiwe Mabusa who has been in exile for the past 26 years.

Mabusa, amid loud hails of applause and a standing ovation, told the crowd of a message addressed to women by the president of the ANC, Oliver Tambo, when he spoke at a conference on the emancipation of women in 1981.

"The emancipation of

### WOMAN Reporters

women should not only be the responsibility of women, but of men as well to ensure unity and comradeship.

"While it is true that the task of women is to teach and educate men to get rid of sexist and biased attitudes, only by working together can racism be eradicated," he said.

"The formation of the ANC Women's League will once again prove to South Africans that the women in the country will not be suppressed but will rise to victory," said Mabusa, who will also be attending the launch of the ANC Women's League in Durban.

Well known singer Jennifer Ferguson also

addressed the crowd and entertained them with her songs against the exploitation and suppression of women.

Meanwhile, the Federation of Transvaal Women (Fedtraw) picketed in the centre of town calling for the end to the violence in Natal, Sebokeng, Kagiso and Soweto.

In a statement they demanded that Inkatha be disarmed, police power be removed from KwaZulu, warlords who have murdered and maimed people be brought to trial and that Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi be stripped of his power as Commissioner of Police in KwaZulu.

### Concern

The statement further read that: "We are deeply concerned about the right wing's outright attempts to stop the peace process.

"We have yet to see open and clear proof that the Government shares our concern.

"We demand that the white right wing be disarmed and the Government stop treating this insane lot with kid gloves.

"The Internal Security Act and its major pillar, Section 29, is the most dehumanising and repressive law that exists in the world.

"While our leaders talk to President de Klerk, members of the

ANC and MDM are tortured in detention cells.

"These acts smack of double talk. We demand the immediate abolition of the Internal Security Act and the release of all detainees.

"We say to all women: Unite now in action and voice your protest against all obstacles to a peaceful, non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and united South Africa."



**ARIES: March 21 - April 21**  
A fine spell for all forms of comm up those interviews and meetings who are on the same mental greatly from these exchanges.

**TAURUS: April 21 - May 21**  
You'll probably have to devote a and time to professional interests You'll be working harder yet will results materialise.

**GEMINI: May 21 - June 22**  
Anticipate a pretty bumpy start improve very much either. You v over your finances yet even th badly dented by extra outlay.

**CANCER: June 22 - July 23**  
You cannot settle down until you the work zone. You must be obsi troublemaker in your midst. Star you will get a bad deal.

**LEO: July 23 - August 24**  
Your fiery nature will be much l odds with many people yet your l be rewarded with quick results. choose your course wisely.

**VIRGO: August 24 - September**  
Be punctual for work, on time f your jobs by due date. Be effie make terrific headway in the bus habits, then eliminate them.

## NEWS NEWS NEWS CLASSIFIED

The Sowetan Classified pages are your daily helpmate.

Look at today's offerings and you will find something of interest. For example, in today's Classified you will find:

- Dresses for sale at R5 each
- a R2 000 deposit secures your own house in Marimba Gardens
- a Cressida LS for only R14 880
- a Vacancy for an Area Sales Manager in Johannesburg

... and many more

S 6341

# Give Indians a better deal, Tutu tells Canadians

TORONTO - South African Archbishop Desmond Tutu began a 10-day tour of Canada on Sunday with a plea to end violence in South Africa and for justice for Canadian Indians. *South Africa 14/18/90*

Tutu said he was deeply concerned about the recent outbreaks of violence in South Africa.

"A lot of the violence is violence due to the inequalities of apartheid," he said, adding that Canadians should be as quick to deplore violence against blacks as they are to deplore violence by the ANC.

He told Canadians that the country's Indians must not be treated as an invisible minority.

Tutu said the armed barricades in Quebec, where Indian demands for land led to a shootout that killed a police officer in July, have brought the problems of the Indians to national attention.

## True justice

"It is not in Canada's interest to push it under the carpet. What we say in a situation like this is what we say in South Africa. There cannot be true peace unless you have true justice," the winner of the 1984 Nobel peace prize told reporters.

"We understood when people said we have reached the end of our tether. Now we will take dramatic action," said Tutu.

In a sermon before a packed Anglican church, Tutu later again spoke of Canadian Indians, asking: "Will you hear the legitimate cries of these people? Will you help them enter into their heritage as children of God?"

Tutu said he was willing to go to Oka, Quebec, the scene of a month-long standoff between police and armed Mohawk Indians.

He said Canadian Indians have had a raw deal but that, unlike South African blacks, they have the constitutional right to vote. - *Sapa-Reuter.*



BISHOP TUTU



## Mayor may run again

WASHINGTON - The mayor of the nation's capital, convicted on a charge of possessing charge and acquitted on another, may run for another city office, aides said yesterday.

But, some of Marion Barry's advisers believe he should not draw attention to himself with a campaign when he is facing sentencing and perhaps renewed scrutiny from prosecutors. - *Sapa-AP.*

507-141 8/190

# Govt, ANC to make Pretoria Minute work

By Peter Fabricius,  
Political Correspondent

The logistics of implementing the historic Pretoria Minute will be tackled in earnest this week when ANC and Government officials meet on several committees.

The working group on political offences meets again this week to set a cut-off date beyond which political offences will no longer be indemnified by the Pretoria Minute.

Government sources said that no date had been specified as the ANC and Government wanted to discuss this further.

Apparently the idea was also to give the ANC time to get

word of the "ceasefire" to its cadres in the field.

But there is some risk in this strategy: ANC cadres may take advantage, knowing that violent action will be exonerated.

However, a new working group to monitor the ANC's suspension of armed actions would be established this week, senior police sources said.

One of its main tasks would be to check out the existence of several ANC arms caches alluded to in the Operation Vula documents seized by police.

The joint ANC/Government steering committee also meets early this week.

Among its tasks will be to

clarify channels of communication between police and the ANC around the country to deal with violence and other problems.

Other organs could be set up this week to deal with the violence sweeping the country.

Both Government and ANC sources have indicated that these mechanisms will be relied on to deal with ANC mass action.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela has made it clear that he considers the mass mobilisation campaign justified as long as blacks do not have mechanisms through which to air grievances.

● The Ministry of Law and Order said in a statement yesterday that it was incorrect to assume members of the SAP and the ANC would work together physically to maintain law and order, SABC radio news has reported.

The ministry said in a statement that reports on Sunday could be misinterpreted to mean the police and the ANC would combine forces to maintain law and order by means of a so-called peace force.

The maintenance of law and order remained the duty of the police and would not be delegated to any other organisation or person. — Sapa.

# ANC, UDF in homeland boost

By Esmaré van der Merwe,  
Political Reporter

The African National Congress, United Democratic Front and representatives of the democratic movement in all 10 independent and self-governing states held an indaba in Lanseria at the weekend.

According to the UDF this was to map out strategies to broaden the social base of the democratic movement in the bantustans.

The conference, attended by about 150 delegates, resulted from a UDF decision in April to step up activities in the homelands and draw their leaders closer to the ANC.

"Our principled rejection of the bantustans and the need to dismantle them featured prominently throughout the conference," said the UDF in a statement after the conference.

Among those who attended the conference at St Alban's School, Lanseria were ANC executive members Thabo Mbeki, Steve Tshwete and Aziz Pahad, UDF executive member Titus Mafolo and representatives of the governments of Transkei and KaNgwane. Government officials of the other black states did not attend, Mr Mafolo said.

## Land struggle

The conference resolved to:

- Speed up the building of ANC structures and embark on political education programmes in all the homelands.
- "Intensify the land struggle" by, for example, looking into the possibility of occupying unoccupied land.
- Increase the drive for proper and adequate houses.

● Embark on an anti-repression programme to facilitate free political activity.

● Give special attention to the state of emergency in Bophuthatswana and vigilante activities in all the areas.

● Bring to a halt all forced removals and incorporations into homelands.

● Support moves to hold referenda in all the "independent" homelands, the first of which would be held in Transkei next year.

● Increase the battle against illiteracy, unemployment and pension problems.

Known to be "sympathetic" are the governments of kaNgwane and Transkei — which both sent representatives to the meeting — while the governments of Bophuthatswana and KwaZulu are regarded by observers as "hostile".

*One Time*  
**Worcester launch** *14/8/60*

A CIVIC Association is to be launched in Worcester this week to press for a single, non-racial municipality. *11A*

A spokesman for the Worcester Housing Crisis Committee said about 2 000 residents resolved at a meeting yesterday to start a membership drive in a bid to oust the present coloured management committee. *20*

# Nats come out tops in survey

CMT Times 14/8/90 (111) (2024)

## Political Staff

**MORE** coloured and Indian leaders — 26% — believed the National Party would best represent their demands at the negotiating tables than any other political grouping, a new survey has found.

It also found that 36% wanted to see President F W de Klerk as the future president of South Africa, as opposed to five percent each for Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr Pik Botha and 36% who said "the best, most capable person" should be the future president.

While 68% thought Mr De Klerk was leader of the South African community as a whole, only 21% saw him as leader of only one race.

Asked how the present government was paving the way for negotiations, 47% replied "excellent and very well", 47% "reasonable and fairly well" and only five percent said "not well".

The survey, published in the latest issue of Barometer, confirmed the trend established in the Human Rights Trust survey in Port Elizabeth that the Labour Party, the ruling party in the House of Representatives, has dramatically lost support.

Only five percent of respondents believed the LP would best represent their demands in the negotiations, while double this, 10%, believed the Democratic Party would best do so.

## Coalition

Solidarity, the ruling party in the House of Delegates, received absolutely no support, but 21% felt the ANC and five percent felt Inkatha would best represent their demands.

A further 31% were unsure or said "no one yet" and 10% said a coalition of parties would best represent their demands.

The survey found that 63% felt all parties should sit at the

negotiation tables, while 36% felt the NP, 36% the ANC, 21% Inkatha, 21% the Conservative Party, 21% the Labour Party, 10% the PAC, 26% the DP, 15% Solidarity and 10% Cosatu should also sit at the tables.

Asked what they would demand at the negotiations, 47% replied the elimination of apartheid/discrimination, 31% freedom of worship, choice and expression, 31% improved, equal education, 31% equality, 26% protection of minority rights, 26% human rights, 21% universal franchise, 21% improved economy, 15% employment, 15% independent judiciary and 15% improved socio-economic life.

It also found that 47% rejected nationalisation, while 47% conditionally supported nationalisation.

The survey was conducted in June among coloured and Indian community leaders.



# 'It's up to PAC' to come forward for peace talks

12645  
14/8/90  
11A

By MICHAEL MORRIS  
Political Correspondent

PAN Africanist Congress exiles and political prisoners will languish abroad or in jail for as long as their leadership refuses to negotiate and compromise, the government has made clear.

A senior government source said today: "It is up to them. If they want their people freed or their exiles to be given the chance to come home they must come and talk and be prepared to commit themselves to peaceful negotiations."

The Pretoria Minute signed by the government and the ANC did not cover political prisoners or exiles of any other organisations.

## DESAI STATEMENT

The source added, however, that the guidelines established by agreement between these two parties and laid down in their working group report, could — and, in all probability, would — be used as the basis for talks with other parties or organisations.

The source was reacting to a statement yesterday by the senior PAC spokesman in the Western Cape, Mr Barney De-

sai, who accused the ANC of taking a "sectarian" line by failing to insist that the Pretoria Minute should cover all political prisoners and exiles.

Mr Desai claimed the government was exerting "blatant and unacceptable pressure" on other parties to come to the negotiating table.

The source said the Pretoria Minute did convey the government's and the ANC's acknowledgement that they were "not the only parties involved in the process of shaping the new South Africa".

The government was willing to talk to any party or organisation which was prepared to commit itself to peaceful negotiations and it was therefore up to the PAC and other groups to come forward.

"The working group report makes clear that the guidelines it contains can be followed in discussions with other groups. "But the government's position is also clear: no organisation or its members can expect to fall into the category for indemnity without committing itself or themselves to the same conditions the government set for the ANC — a commitment to peace and a suspension of armed struggle."

# Mandela lying about talks with Right - Treurnicht

Political Reporter

Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht has rejected Nelson Mandela's revelation of ANC negotiations with right-wing organisations as "mischievous and untruthful propaganda".

He reacted in a statement yesterday to the ANC deputy president's remarks on television on Sunday that the ANC was involving a range of politi-

cal organisations in discussions, including the political Right. Mr Mandela did not name the parties.

However, it has been reported that the ANC has held talks with Afrikaner Volkswag leader Carel Boshoff and former Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging executive Chris Jooste. Both men have denied this.

Dr Treurnicht said he knew of no right-wing leader who would speak to the ANC.

# PAC 'not the AWB of the left wing'

By Dawn Barkhuizen

The Pan African Congress has been misrepresented in South Africa and was not the AWB of the left wing, American Chamber of Commerce executive director Wayne Mitchell said in Johannesburg yesterday.

He was speaking on his return from a consultative meeting in Harare at the weekend between representatives of American big business in South Africa and top level PAC members from both the internal and

Star 14/8/90  
external wings.

The meeting was significant in that it was the first formal meeting between the PAC and a recognised organisation, Mr Mitchell said. It signalled the PAC's wish to move out of relative political obscurity into a more visual position.

"We found the PAC to be flexible and articulate with a clearly defined economic and political agenda.

"They have advanced views

on subjects such as labour, affirmative action programmes and creating a favourable environment for foreign investment."

He noted the term "nationalisation" was not part of PAC terminology, but said the organisation rather adhered to a policy of socialisation — a mix of private and public ownership in which workers would have access to shares.

Among the topics discussed

were the utilisation of human resources, taxation and economic structures.

Mr Mitchell believes the PAC has been misrepresented on the South African political stage.

"During the meeting many of the myths surrounding the PAC were exploded — specifically their anti-white stance.

"They have a genuine non-racial policy with a clear definition of "African", which embraces all people regardless of their skin colour," he said.

612 5  
9/17/70  
118

# Treurnicht refutes Mandela's statement

JOHANNESBURG. —

The leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, on Monday slammed as false deputy African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela's statement that he had met rightwing leaders.

Mr Mandela said in an interview with SABC-TV on Sunday night he had held talks with various parties, including the right wing. He did not name any leaders.

Dr Treurnicht said he knew of no recognised rightwing leader who would talk to the ANC with any recognition of the ANC's power struggle, their alleged right to an armed struggle or their claim to "white" land.

He had confirmed this telephonically with the leader of the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP), Mr Jaap Marais, and other rightwing leaders, he said. — Sapa

# Boesak to stay in political arena

AGG  
14/8/70  
11A  


By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN  
Political Staff and  
ESANN VAN RENSBURG  
Staff Reporter

DR ALLAN BOESAK said today he would continue to remain in the political arena doing what he had been doing in the past.

But he said that he had not yet decided whether he would join the African National Congress and he ruled out any possibility of starting his own party.

Speaking at his first press conference since his resignation as moderator of the Ned Geref Sendingkerk and from all positions within the church, he said the World Alliance of Reformed Churches had asked him to remain involved. He resigned as president of the alliance at the weekend.

He would continue to do in the political arena what he had been doing for the last number of years, he said.

He was scheduled to meet the Western Cape region of the ANC this week.

"I don't know what the agenda is, but I suppose we'll talk about a number of things.

## UDF PATRON

"I suppose at some stage I might be approached (to join) and I'll have to make up my mind."

He said it must have been clear that as patron of the UDF he had been associated with the organisation and the ANC.

Asked if he would launch his own political party, he said that he had declared as long ago as 1986 that the time for ethnic politics in South Africa was a thing of the past.

"I'm not thinking of starting my own party."

The World Alliance of Reformed Churches would be holding consultations in Berlin in November.

"It will be about the church and government and changing societies such as in Eastern Europe and South Africa."

He would be involved with this and other projects of the alliance he said.

# Mandela at his alma mater

ARG 4/14/8/90

① ② ③ ④

**S**OME impressions of Nelson Mandela at Wits this week, his first visit to the alma mater where he began his LLB studies over 40 years ago.

The occasion is organised by Lawyers for Human Rights. The Great Hall is filled to overflowing with human rights lawyers, non-human-rights lawyers, human rights non-lawyers, assorted dignitaries including an Appeal Court judge, academics, students, media.

Many have been queueing for an hour outside locked doors to get a seat. Someone mutters: "It's not security, it's a test to see if they can turn 1 000 lawyers into a riotous assembly."

□□□□

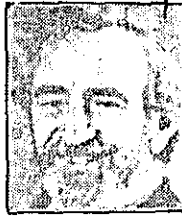
There are a few minor surprises. Some were half expecting Mandela to send a deputy to read his speech, since he'd just spent a hard 14-hour day negotiating in Pretoria and only finished up in the small hours of that same day.

But show up he eventually does, albeit some 40 minutes late. As the tall, lean figure strides briskly on to the stage and raises his arms to the crowd with that familiar infectious grin, he brings the audience to its feet.

The young acting head of the Law Faculty, Etienne Mureinik, quotes a description by Oliver Tambo from the days of Mandela and Tambo, attorneys.

Queues of deprived blacks often spilled over from their waiting-room down the corridor.

He also recounts the hassles both men had with magistrates, the Law Society and higher courts when they



SO IT GOES

Arnold Benjamin

defied the rules on separate seating in court.

Mandela turns to give a special greeting to an elderly man, Lazar Sidelsky, the attorney who articulated him when virtually no other Johannesburg lawyer would take on a black clerk. They embrace.

A further surprise is Mandela's speech. It might have been expected he'd repeat what he said to the Democratic Lawyers in Durban a few days earlier; but this talk covers new legal ground, including the ANC's commitment to human rights and its constitutional thinking.

□□□□

Yet another surprise is that after the speech he is ready to take some questions from the audience. And during this stage comes the unheralded appearance on the platform of Winnie Mandela, along with the newly returned Mrs Adelaide Tambo and a Mrs Lindiwe Mabuza.

The two are resplendent in ethnic outfits and headgear; all three are the essence of Afro chic, creating a startling splash of colour amid the legal grey.

Final surprise is the sharp tone Mandela takes with some of the questioners.

To a visiting black Kenyan professor who asked about leaders' accountability to the people he launches off:

"It is quite clear you did not listen to my address..."

To someone who asks about "murders" in Natal he recounts his own peace overtures to Chief Buthelezi and says the real responsibility for the violence lies with the government; but he then goes on to suggest the questioner is a believer in white supremacy "who lives in the past".

There is similar treatment for the young man who asks about Mandela's gestures to Gaddafi, Arafat and Castro. The first part of his answer is familiar and makes sense enough. They are comrades in arms; Cuba helped the ANC with its armed struggle when nobody else would; "your enemies are not my enemies", and so on.

□□□□

But then he goes on to question the questioner's motives: "Apparently you want the status quo to remain."

Why such overkill, one was left wondering.

Maybe he felt he was being got at; he's been asked those same questions over and over in recent months. Or maybe it was just tetchiness from fatigue.

Because of a microphone problem he had to trudge across the platform to give each answer, complaining good-naturedly: "I'm an old man of 72."

More worrying, if one wanted to worry, was the chairperson of the Law Structure of the Black Students' Society, who also made a short speech of welcome and talked of problems in black education.

The problem with Wits, said this young man, was that it was still a liberal institution. It would only become a true university once it became a "people's university".

Sta 14/8/90

## **2 held after ambush at ANC funeral**

parently from bushes, about 500m from the township cemetery. He said two pallbearers were shot dead instantly and several others injured.

The ambush was the latest incident during three weeks of fighting in the area between ANC and alleged Inkatha groups. At least eight people have died, scores have been hurt and homes and businesses have been attacked.

After the ambush police swooped on the Black Cats' headquarters and arrested 30 people in connection with murder, attempted murder and terrorism. Several firearms were confiscated, including a home-made shotgun. Those arrested will appear in court today.

CAC Times  
14/8/90 (11A)

## LP leader speaks of 'bumper' role

### Political Staff

THE Labour Party could act as a bumper between white fears and black aspirations at the negotiation tables, according to the party's leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse.

He also said the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and those who believed violence was the only solution to South Africa's problems would reach a stage when they had no choice other than to join in the negotiating phase.

The ANC had committed itself to freeing the South African masses and could depend on the majority of black support.

"Since the LP, as a consequence of its participation in the present political dispensation, could pressurise the NP to start communicating with the blacks in South Africa, and, at the same time maintain good relations with the ANC, the LP can play a part at the negotiation table."

---



# PAC exiles 'still out in the cold'

Sowetan  
15/8/90

11A

**SOWETAN  
Correspondent**

PAC exiles and political prisoners will languish abroad or in jails for as long as their leadership refused to engage in negotiations and compromise, the Government has made clear.

"It is up to them. If they want their people freed or their exiles to be given the chance to come home, they must come and talk and be prepared to commit themselves to peaceful negotiations," a senior Government source said yesterday.

The Pretoria Minute signed by the Government and the ANC did not cover political prisoners or exiles of other organisations.

## Guidelines

The source added, however, that the guidelines established by agreement between these two parties and laid down in their Working Group report, could - and, in all probability, would - be used as the basis for talks with other parties or organisations.

He said the Pretoria Minute did convey the Government's and the ANC's acknowledgement that they were "not the only parties involved in the process of shaping the new South Africa".

The Government was willing to talk to any party or organisation which was prepared to commit itself to peaceful negotiations and it was, therefore, up to the PAC and other groups to come forward.

It had been waiting since February 2 for the PAC to make an approach

to "talk about their perceived obstacles to negotiations to enable us to start on the same basis as with the ANC".

He added: "It appears to us that the problem with the PAC is a lack of coherence on policy and the absence of a clearly identifiable leadership. The leadership issue is the main difficulty."

# Boesak back, looks for new career in politics

CP Correspondent

DR ALLAN Boesak bounced back into the public eye last week, confidently facing the media and scoffing at rumours he was about to launch his own political party.

In his first press conference since the break up of his marriage and his resignation as moderator of the Dutch Reformed Mission Church, the UDF patron said he was looking for a career in politics.

Boesak, who also resigned as president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches recently, said he had not decided about joining the ANC.

"I suppose at some stage I might be approached and I'll have to make up my mind."

He said he would continue to do in the political arena what he had been doing for the last number of years, adding he was definitely not thinking of starting his own political party.

He would still be involved with the WARC, which will be holding consultations in Berlin in November.

"We are going to discuss the Church and government in changing societies such as in Eastern Europe and South Africa."

Boesak said he would remain an ordinary member of the Mission Church and could possibly apply to be a minister in the church again. "Anything is possible."

Speaking on the recent violence in Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage, which claimed the lives of 47 people, he said the reasons for the violence lay very deep. The role of the police in the area reminded



Boesak ... undecided about joining the ANC.

him of the unrest period between 1984 and 1986.

Boesak said it was very suspect that until now the media had been giving the views of the police on the unrest while the views of community leaders were not sufficiently reported on.

"It is clear the reasons for unrest and violence do not only lie in the social circumstances of the people, but in anger resulting from ground structures which still exist and frustrate people."

On the question of a chambermaid making phone calls to his office and to various newspapers disclosing his relationship with television personality Elna Botha, Boesak said he had always wondered about a chambermaid who could get through to his office which had an unlisted telephone number and who could phone his mother's house on her unlisted telephone number:

"This chambermaid had a very distinctive male voice and the note which 'she' sent to me was written in a bold masculine handwriting," he said.

# Students aim to build new South Africa

Sowetan 15/8/90

11A

~~3/11~~

NEW YORK - About 400 black and white South African students who are studying at United States and Canadian universities met at Michigan State University yesterday to discuss the contributions they can make towards creating "true democracy" in South Africa when they return home.

The students, most of whom are studying abroad on special educational grants and fellowships awarded by the US and Canadian governments, agreed that the major challenge facing all South African students was to "forge an ideology that will force a transformation in the society of South Africa".

The phrase was used by Mr Robert Norfolk (32), who heads the Metro Detroit Pan-African Students Union.

## Sowetan Foreign Service

"There is a lot of pressure inside South Africa calling for these people to return home and lead the change for democracy," he said.

"At the same time, there is a tremendous need for more skilled doctors, engineers and teachers.

## Scientists

"We need computer scientists, engineers who can build bridges, urban planners and architects, because many of the black townships will have to be torn down," said Mr Roger Jardine (24) who is studying medical physics.

The meeting was co-sponsored by Michigan State University's African Studies Centre and the youth committee of the African National Congress.

15  
Markets  
Finance  
computer-chip technology  
cards that use damage-proof  
banks are conducting trials of

11A

## Buthelezi says he's ready to meet Mandela any time

DURBAN — KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday said he had given ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela several dates on which they could meet, but these had not been followed up.

Buthelezi was responding to Mandela's claim in an SABC-TV interview that he had tried to get hold of Buthelezi by telephone several times, but had failed.

In a statement yesterday, Buthelezi said he was repeating his position that he was prepared to meet Mandela at any time for talks if it would help to resolve the KwaZulu/Natal conflict. 810am 15/8/90

He said Mandela had admitted the appearance by the two at a joint peace rally in Maritzburg earlier this year was cancelled due to pressure from UDF leaders.

"Dr Mandela later re-affirmed that was the case when he spoke in Umtata about accompanying me to trouble spots in a bid to end the violence."

Buthelezi said he had called for the resuscitation of the five-a-side joint Inkatha/UDF/Cosatu committee. He had sent five delegates only to find that UDF/Cosatu delegates did not turn up for the meeting.

There were accusations against the police from all sides, he said. "Undoubtedly the police have been drawn into political strife, but to elevate that to the prime cause of violence is totally unfounded. There have been convictions in court against policemen acting against Inkatha."

Buthelezi said he would like the state of emergency in Natal lifted as soon as possible.

Our Durban correspondent reports that former inkatha secretary-general Oscar Dhlomo yesterday predicted a meeting between Buthelezi and Mandela soon, provided relations were not further strained.

He told about 50 leading businessmen at a Natal Chamber of Industries meeting in Durban yesterday that the meeting should be seen as a vital element in any Natal peace plan. — Sapa.

## elays township cut-off

# Boesak undecided

**DR Alan Boesak said yesterday he had not yet decided about joining the ANC, but he ruled out any possibility of starting his**

**own political party.**

In his first Press conference since his resignation as moderator of the Ned Geref Sendingkerk and from all positions within the church, he said

*Sowetan 15/8/90*

the World Alliance of Reformed Churches had asked him to remain involved with it.

He resigned as president of the alliance at the weekend.

He said he was due to meet the Western Cape region of the ANC this week.

"I don't know what the agenda is, but I suppose we'll talk about a number of things."

He said he would continue to do in the political arena what he had been doing for the past number of years.

Asked about joining


the ANC, he replied: "I suppose at some stage I might be approached and I'll have to make up my mind."

He said it must have been clear that as patron of the UDF he had been associated with the

organisation and the ANC.

Asked if he would launch his own political party, he said that he had declared as long ago as 1986 that ethnic politics in South Africa was a thing of the past.

*(I/A)*



## Buthelezi says he's ready to meet Mandela any time

DURBAN — KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday said he had given ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela several dates on which they could meet, but these had not been followed up.

Buthelezi was responding to Mandela's claim in an SABC-TV interview that he had tried to get hold of Buthelezi by telephone several times, but had failed.

In a statement yesterday, Buthelezi said he was repeating his position that he was prepared to meet Mandela at any time for talks if it would help to resolve the KwaZulu/Natal conflict. 810am 15/8/90

He said Mandela had admitted the appearance by the two at a joint peace rally in Maritzburg earlier this year was cancelled due to pressure from UDF leaders.

"Dr Mandela later re-affirmed that was the case when he spoke in Umtata about accompanying me to trouble spots in a bid to end the violence."

Buthelezi said he had called for the resuscitation of the five-a-side joint Inkatha/UDF/Cosatu committee. He had sent five delegates only to find that UDF/Cosatu delegates did not turn up for the meeting.

There were accusations against the police from all sides, he said. "Undoubtedly the police have been drawn into political strife, but to elevate that to the prime cause of violence is totally unfounded. There have been convictions in court against policemen acting against Inkatha."

Buthelezi said he would like the state of emergency in Natal lifted as soon as possible.

Our Durban correspondent reports that former Inkatha secretary-general Oscar Dhlomo yesterday predicted a meeting between Buthelezi and Mandela soon, provided relations were not further strained.

He told about 50 leading businessmen at a Natal Chamber of Industries meeting in Durban yesterday that the meeting should be seen as a vital element in any Natal peace plan. — Sapa.

11A 202



**ANC FUNERAL . . .** A mourner carrying the ANC and SACP flags brandishes a mock AK47 rifle at the funeral of Mr Trevor Vilakazi, the ANC's former co-ordinator of internal projects in Lusaka. Before his return to South Africa in May, he had spent 14 years in exile. Thousands of mourners packed the Guguletu Stadium, where he was given a full ANC military funeral, complete with toyi-toying crowds and mock AK47 rifles. Mr Vilakazi, 43, died of stab wounds after intervening in a quarrel in Guguletu last week, on his way home from a performance of "My Children! My Africa!" at the Baxter Theatre.

Picture: OBED ZILWA

CAPT 7/15  
15/8/90

Pretoria  
Minute  
progress  
'on track'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The joint ANC-government steering committee met yesterday for the first time since last week's Pretoria summit which culminated in the ANC's suspension of hostilities.

Sources on both sides said last night that the process of implementing decisions embodied in the Pretoria Minute remained firmly on track although it is believed no major decisions were taken at yesterday's meeting.

It is understood the two sides swapped proposals on setting up a number of joint structures emanating from the Pretoria Minute and that these will be discussed with their organisations before the next meeting, to be held "in the very near future".

Committees to be established will concern themselves with the release of political prisoners, the implications of the ANC's suspension of hostilities and additional "channels of communications" to deal with violence.



11A

15/8/90

Cape Times, Wednesday,

# Dhlomo predicts Buthelezi-Mandela meeting



Chief Buthelezi

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Former Inkatha secretary-general Dr Oscar Dhlomo has predicted a meeting between Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela soon, provided nothing happens to further strain relations between the two camps.

Speaking to about 50 leading businessmen at a meeting at the offices of the Natal Chamber of Industries in Durban yesterday, Dr Dhlomo said the meeting should be seen as a vital element in any peace plan to end the fighting in Natal.

The prospect of a meeting between the two leaders has been raised afresh following an interview with Mr Mandela on TV1 on Sunday night.

In answer to this, Chief Buthelezi yesterday said: "My position remains, as I have stated repeatedly, that I am prepared to meet Mr Mandela at any time for talks if it will help to resolve the conflict.

"I have actually given Mr Mandela dates on which I was available to meet," Chief Buthelezi said, adding: "I have repeatedly called for him to meet with me and then for us to go forth together to act against violence."

Dr Dhlomo said he was grateful that Cosatu, the UDF and the ANC appeared to be exploring seriously the feasibility of a meeting between Chief Buthelezi and Mr Mandela.

At the same time, a meeting between the business community and the warring factions was essential, he warned.

Dr Dhlomo said the fact that the violence was still continuing could not be blamed on the business community.

He also paid tribute to the business community for having played a significant role in trying to resolve the violence and not taking sides.

Dr Dhlomo said the stayaways, which had been intended to draw attention to the violence, had affected the economy. Business could not afford to stand on the sidelines, praying that people would come to its rescue in a new socio-political order.

Dr Dhlomo said that although the new constitution would involve the political process, this did not mean that groups such as businessmen would not be in a position to make inputs.

They had a tremendous potential to influence the process of constitutional change in a way which would result in democracy, he said. — Sapa

# PAC slams ANC for 'capitulating'

## Political Correspondent

THE ANC had "ditched the oppressed" and was now a party of "former radical upwardly mobile" individuals, PAC executive committee member in the Western Cape, Mr Barney Desai, said last night.

"In a mad rush to share power with imperialism and white supremacy, the SACP/ANC has ditched all its liberation baggage," Mr Desai told the Islamic Political Forum at the University of Cape Town.

He said recent developments showed that the ANC/SACP alliance was no longer fighting on high moral ground "but rather on the low swamps of compromise, collaboration and capitulation".

The process of the capitulation started when, with the collapse of the "Russian Empire", their external aid was cut off.

Mr Desai criticised the ANC for entering negotiations with the government "as the weaker partner, and therefore reluctantly or otherwise, having to bow to every dictate of the government".

Following the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes, the ANC had assumed the role of auxiliary

policemen and was now working on joint committees with police in a bid to "monitor" violence.

"Without even having a sniff of power they have decided to put themselves between the police and the people."

## 'Democratic apartheid'

The ANC and SACP, in responding to white fears, had agreed to let whites have their own schools and language "and perhaps they could add the right to maintain the character of their own areas. To the PAC this smacks of some form of democratic apartheid", Mr Desai said.

"They do not even hide the fact that they are in a de facto alliance with the National Party," he said.

Mr Desai accused the ANC/SACP alliance of warring "with the oppressed of every persuasion" — including the PAC, Azapo, Inkatha, the Pan Africanist Student Organisation (Paso) and followers of the Church of Zion — "in order to secure their hegemony of the liberation movement".

He added: "The only people they are now prepared to collaborate with are the South African Police and the SADF."

Mr Desai also accused the ANC

of revising the condition in the Harare Declaration which stipulates the release of all political prisoners and unconditional return of exiles "to include only ANC prisoners and ANC exiles" following last week's talks with the government.

"This manoeuvre is directly related to forcing the PAC and others to negotiate," he said.

The SACP/ANC had also backed down on another pre-condition of the Harare Declaration — the removal of the Internal Security Act.

Following the accord reached in Pretoria, detention without trial and "undeterminable" interrogation remained untouched and detention of witnesses remained on the statute books. Terrorism and subversion had also not been redefined.

Mr Desai reiterated the PAC's call for the release and unconditional return of all political prisoners, the redistribution of wealth and the calling of elections based on one person one vote for a constituent assembly.

"This government is illegitimate and its constitution is the gun. Unless our demands are met for government by consent, there can be no stability," Mr Desai said.

# Can the PAC hold out?

MICHAEL MORRIS, The Argus Political Correspondent, looks at the PAC's stand against negotiations and the options facing it.

ARGUS  
15/8/90  
114

PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS exiles and political prisoners are out on a limb, if not cast there, then certainly kept there, by their own organisation's resolute abstention from dialogue with President De Klerk and his government.

## NEGOTIATION

This, anyway, is the government's view. And presumably the ANC's.

The Africanists' view is naturally rather different.

They argue that the obstacles to negotiation have yet to be removed and that the ANC is therefore selling out too willingly, too soon.

The PAC has perceived the government's smug assertion that only ANC prisoners and exiles will be covered by the Pretoria Minute as a means to force it to the talks table.

The ANC, says senior PAC spokesman in the Western Cape, Mr Barney Desai, adopted a sectarian line in not insisting at the Pretoria talks that all political prisoners be released and all exiles granted indemnity.

Negotiations so far, the PAC suggests, have amounted simply to a steady capitulation by the ANC.

Not so, says the government.

Guidelines are in place to plot future talks with other groups on matters such as indemnifying exiles and defining and freeing political prisoners, according to a senior source, but the process must involve negotiation and compromise.

One of the most significant principles of the bipartite Pretoria Minute is that it conveys the government's and the ANC's acknowledgement that they are "not ... the only parties involved in the process of shaping the new South Africa".

But in return for changing the rules of play, the government wants at the

very least — as it won from the ANC — a commitment to peace and a suspension of armed struggle. The PAC has yet to indicate a willingness to make such a commitment.

On the contrary, the PAC has vowed to intensify its campaign. The likely dimensions of it are by no means overwhelming, but it's the spirit of it, the imagery, the rhetoric that counts.

## Misrepresented

Interestingly, the American Chamber of Commerce (Amcham) — which represents US companies operating in South Africa — has just come away from a consultative conference with top PAC figures in Harare believing that the organisation has been misrepresented in South Africa as the AWB of the left.

Amcham executive director Wayne Mitchell believed the meeting signalled the PAC's wish to move out of relative political obscurity into a more visual position.

"We found the PAC to be flexible and articulate with a clearly defined economic and political agenda. They have advanced views on subjects such as labour, affirmative action programmes and creating a favourable environment for foreign investment."

Mitchell noted "nationalisation" was not part of PAC terminology. The organisation pursued a policy of socialisation — a mix of private and public ownership in which workers would have access to shares.

"The PAC has clearly done its homework and have not just been sitting about mobilising mass support."

Furthermore, Mitchell said, many myths surrounding the PAC were exploded in the course of the conference ... specifically the anti-white stance they were reputed to have.

"They have a genuine non-racial

policy with a clear definition of 'African', which embraces all people regardless of their skin colour."

It is clear the PAC will need to do more than impress a group of businessmen from Amcham to shed whatever myths in which it might unwittingly have become enshrined. Perhaps, for the moment, some of those myths might even be profitable.

Like the Conservative Party, the PAC's voluntary exclusion from the naturally undulant, compromise-strewn path of negotiation might stand it in good stead in the short-term: it will be perceived to have a high credibility rating as an organisation unswerving in ideal and policy, willing to and capable of withstanding the coercive influences of the bigger players.

Perhaps, in the townships, it will be seen as the strong man.

But, in the long run, the beguilingly compelling factor of self interest must become decisive in shaping the PAC's response.

It is the plight of political prisoners and exiles that becomes increasingly cogent because, for the ANC, this is an area where it has earned one of the first key rewards for having engaged the government in negotiation.

Getting their people home and out of jail is a gain they can sell in a market where their chief competitor has no goods.

What probably makes it harder for the PAC to swallow its pride and get down to such a deal is that it knows the government and the ANC need it to as well.

They might resist it effectively in the short-term, but how long can they stick it out? More to the point, perhaps, is the question: how long will they wish to stick it out?

# SACP 'can never be custodian of democracy'

AKGUS  
15/8/90

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN  
Political Staff

11A

THE Communist Party could never be the custodian of democracy in this country, the Pan Africanist Congress's Mr Barney Desai said last night.

In a scathing attack he said the SACP had emerged from the shadows.

"Since last month it has become clear beyond speculation that the African National Congress leadership is now in the absolute control of the Communist Party."

## TACIT SUPPORT

The SACP had given tacit support to every Soviet outrage. These included their "murderous" killing of more than a million Afghans, their forcible conversion of Bulgarian Muslims and their "diabolical treatment" of dissent, he said in an address to the Islamic Forum at the University of Cape Town.

"The world's No 1 Stalinist Communist Party outside of the empire can never be the custodian of democracy."

He said the SACP/ANC had ditched all its liberation struggle in its mad

rush to share power with imperialism and white supremacy.

"It is now the party of former radical upwardly mobile people. The PAC is not party to these agreements nor is it a fellow-traveller in ditching the oppressed."

The PAC stood by its demands: the immediate release of all political prisoners and the return of exiles without conditions, the redistribution of wealth and elections based on the principle of one-person, one-vote for an assembly to draw up a new constitution.

"The government is illegitimate and its constitution is the gun. For the PAC the struggle continues. We will not capitulate or collaborate."

He said the movement was being labelled as snipers on the left with a hidden agenda because it was sticking to its demand for a constituent assembly.

"We are not dissuaded by the apologists of successive regimes who have maintained their rule over us by the barrel of a gun in the name of Christian values."

# Hani gave arms-cache orders, court told

Two members of an ANC unit poised to launch an armed offensive if negotiations between the Government and the ANC failed had received "instructions" personally from Chris Hani, chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), the Pretoria Supreme Court was told yesterday.

The court was hearing an application by two women for the release of their husbands, Isaac Ditshego and Johannes Makitla, who are being detained under the Internal Security Act.

In court papers, police said arms caches consisting of RPG 7 rocket launchers, missiles, limpet mines and machine guns had been discovered. Some of these were found near Hoedspruit Air Force Base in Pietersburg, Warmbaths, and Soweto.

The police said that the Nchabaleng unit — a military structure within MK — existed and operated in the northern Transvaal.

In an affidavit Captain Charles Alfred Zeelie of the Security Branch said that on June 26 a

MK cadre, Kenny Sello Ramalekana, was arrested.

"Ramalekana left the RSA in April 1985 and had undergone military training as a MK cadre in Angola. He also received training in Yugoslavia," Captain Zeelie said.

He said Mr Ramalekana divulged information about a certain Phago, also a MK cadre, who was arrested the following day.

From the two men's questioning facts relevant to the Nchabaleng unit came to light.

It was revealed that before Mr Ramalekana and Mr Phago infiltrated South Africa in January and February this year, they received direct instructions from Mr Hani.

Their aim, in conjunction with the Nchabaleng unit under command of Mr Isaac Ditshego, was to establish underground military MK structures in the northern Transvaal, including "safe houses", arms caches and communications networks.

Mr Justice Mynhardt postponed the hearing to August 22.

# A foretaste of the real talks

Stz 15/8/90 (11A) (11A)

The ANC and the Government appear headed for hard bargaining when real negotiations — as opposed to “talks about talks” — begin in the near future.

In views expressed by senior representatives of the ANC and the Government, it is clear that the latter will insist on inclusive negotiations wherein all parties, regardless of size, will take part.

The ANC, on the other hand, will insist on a transitional government and the election of a constituent assembly which will then draw up the new constitution.

Presenting views typical of the Government's thinking, Deputy Minister of Provincial Affairs Tertius Delport said he accepted as a point of departure that everybody now accepted the need for negotiations and the need to arrive at a peaceful settlement. He then proceeded to explain the Government's understanding of negotiations and to spell out its policies regarding minority rights and the economic system to be adopted.

Negotiations, Mr Delport said, were not to be merely a process of bargaining between representatives of political groupings, nor were they to be a process of give-and-take with the object of taking as much as possible and giving as little as possible.

The ANC's view, as expressed by the head of its legal department, Zola Skweyiya, is that the negotiation process had at least two aspects: its objectives as contained in the Freedom Charter and the ANC's approach to it, as spelt out in the Harare Declaration.

Mr Delport said the kind of constitution the Government was looking for was one which would bring an end to internal strife and unrest. It must also create a framework for optimal economic growth and provide for socio-economic upliftment and development programmes. The idea was to improve the quality of life of all South Africans and to create a just, fair society.

The ANC, on the other hand, wanted a constitution which would

A major conference on the topic “South Africa at a turning point — negotiations and the future”, organised by the Five Freedoms Forum, takes place in Johannesburg from August 24 to 26. Leading political groups — the NP, ANC, Labour Party, DP, SACP and Inkatha — will take part. KAIZER NYATSUMBA of The Star's Political Staff assesses the type of debate likely to take place by looking at the views of the National Party as expressed by Tertius Delport, Deputy Minister of Provincial Affairs, and at those of the ANC as expressed by the head of its legal department, Zola Skweyiya.

make South Africa a united, democratic and nonracial country in which all people would enjoy a common and equal citizenship regardless of race, colour, sex or creed.

The new constitution, according to the ANC, should guarantee that:

- All South Africans would have the right to participate in the government of the country on the basis of a universal suffrage and a common voters roll.
- All people would enjoy human rights, freedoms and civil liberties protected under an entrenched Bill of Rights.
- All people would have the right to form and join any political party of their choice, provided “that it is not in furtherance of racism”.

## Promote

- There was equality of all before the law.
- South Africa would have an independent and nonracial judiciary.
- The economic order would promote and advance the well-being of all South Africans.

Mr Skweyiya said the ANC believed that agreement on these goals could serve as a basis for finding an internationally acceptable solution which would enable South Africa to take its “rightful place as an equal partner among the African states and the world”.

The ANC, Mr Skweyiya said, had identified two mechanisms for negotiations, and these were a constituent assembly and an interim government. All South Africans, white

and black, should take part in the process of restructuring their country by electing a constituent assembly — on the basis of one person, one vote under a common voters roll — to draw up the new constitution.

“These are serious constitutional matters which cannot be dealt with without the maximum participation of the people. It will therefore be necessary for the parties to go to the people with their vision of the new society and canvass support.

“The outcome of elections for the constituent assembly would determine the majority view within society and form the basis of the policies which will prevail in the constituent assembly,” Mr Skweyiya said.

This is where a clash with the Government appears inevitable.

Mr Delport appealed for the Government's sincerity to negotiate to be recognised and accepted, pointing to President de Klerk's announcements in Parliament on February 2 this year. Moreover, the Separate Amenities Act had already been scrapped and the Group Areas Act was destined for the scrapbooks of history next year. Failure to acknowledge the Government's commitment to bring about a just society “would be a stumbling block”.

Mr Delport said violence as a political instrument had to be abandoned if a climate in which peace and stability could be accepted by South Africans as a common goal were to be created. He argued that

sanctions could not be reconciled with creating a climate conducive to economic growth and prosperity for all South Africans.

He also warned against the use of economic measures such as strikes and boycotts to achieve political aims, saying such actions could “have a very detrimental effect on the economy and could cause serious setbacks in upliftment and development programmes.”

Mr Delport said: “I want to appeal urgently to all parties concerned — let us divorce the political debate from the socio-economic goals. A new constitution will be of no use to anyone if our economy collapses.”

The Government also maintained it could not be ignored that South Africa was “a heterogeneous society with great diversity”, hence the need for the protection of minority rights.

## Illegitimate

The ANC's Mr Skweyiya, however, argued that the South African Government and its State structures were illegitimate and were not qualified to effect the transition from apartheid to a post-apartheid order.

To effect such a transition it was necessary to set up a transitional government and charge it with supervising the process of drawing up and adopting a new constitution by the constituent assembly, to administer the country and to effect the transition to a democratic order including the holding of elections.

Supporting his thesis that the Government was illegitimate, Mr Skweyiya said the South Africa Act of 1909 which led to the formation of the Union of South Africa the following year constituted a violation of the self-determination of the majority of the people in the country, blacks.

Also illegitimate for the same reason, therefore, was the subsequent formation of the Republic of South Africa in 1961 and the introduction of the tricameral parliamentary system in 1983.

# Cosatu to protest over

Sto 15/8/90 (15) (11A) (19) (20)

# growing 'reign of terror'

By Shareen Singh

Cosatu will present a memorandum to President de Klerk later this week listing attacks on its members country-wide and calling on the President to intervene in accordance with the Pretoria Minute in stopping the "reign of terror".

Cosatu spokesman Neil Coleman said the situation was critical, with at least 13 people killed and more than 40 injured in Sebokeng alone in the past two weeks. The clash between Inkatha and the ANC/Cosatu brought to 40 the number recently killed in the township.

Both the ANC and the Government expressed concern over the increasing violence in the country last week.

The Pretoria Minute declared a commitment from both parties to undertake measures to promote peace and normalise the situation.

Residents in the area and hostel-dwellers claimed municipal police, kitskonstabels and the some members of the SAP were behind the attacks.

The following incidents will be included in the memorandum to the President:

## Ambush

● August 1 — Two people killed in an ambush by unknown people on Sebokeng hostel dwellers at a station in the township.

The same evening police raided the hostel, confiscating weapons which hostel-dwellers were keeping for protection.

● August 2 — Shots fired through hostel windows killed two people. Eleven needed hospital treatment.

● August 3 — Unknown gunman fired on a taxi from Se-

ence. Louw Alberts. sected State-appointed Dr lay the chairmanship of rell-being organised under about conference which is withdrawn from this P. Mr de Klerk has since also full South Africa. and input on a future peace-ious Government to give Con-ers to meet with the



Running for safety . . . Two Tokoza children flee from an advancing band of armed men. The latest outbreak of violence between Zulus and Xhosas has left at least 39 dead and 65 injured in the East Rand townships of Tokoza, Katlehong and Vosloorus.

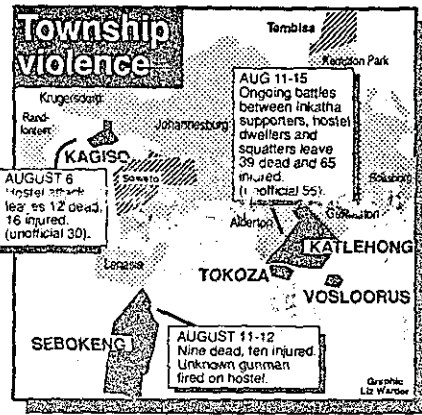
● Pictures by Ken Oosterbroek.

Summons . . . A leader calls other Phola Park residents to a meeting.

# Zulus and Xhosas in East Rand battles

Star 15/8/90

# Troops move in to stop the slaughter



Troops were rushed to violence-racked East Rand townships today after continuing running battles between Zulus and Xhosas left at least 39 dead and 65 injured in Tokoza, Katlehong and Vosloorus.

Unofficial estimates are that up to 55 people may have been killed in the spreading violence, but police could not confirm this.

Much of the fighting has been characterized by clashes between Zulus and Xhosas.

Fighting erupted early today at Vosloorus hostels when Inkatha members allegedly attacked residents.

The East Rand violence started in Tokoza on Sunday when a hostel dweller was killed. The incident escalated into full-blown clashes between hostel dwellers and squatters in nearby Phola Park.

Last night, violence spread to nearby Katlehong and Vosloorus, leaving a Tokoza peace pact in tatters as Zulus from various

Reports by Craig Kotze, Abel Mabelane, Musa Mapisa and Guy Jepson.

townships joined forces to attack Xhosas, putting them to flight.

The fighting has primarily been centred at hostels and squatter camps and is a continuation of the "hostel trend" in Transvaal township fighting recently. Sebokeng in the Vaal Triangle and Kagiso on the West Rand experienced the same pattern.

Vosloorus hostel dwellers said a large impi of Zulus attacked their hostel early today. "There were too many. They came with sticks and assegais," hostel dweller Themba Mahlangu (22) told The Star this morning.

He said hostel inmates were asleep when the group attacked. "We heard them singing and the next thing they were in the



P.T.O



# Tokoza: where violence



Off to war ... a young Phola Park resident (above) brandishes homemade weapons at a meeting of Inkatha opponents.  
 © Pictures by Ken Oosterbroek.

● From Page 1  
 hostel attacking residents.  
 "I ran away and am now hiding in a friend's house in the township," said Mr Mahlangu, who recently arrived from Natal to work for Gencor. "I am too scared to go back, but if the police come I will go to collect my things and leave the hostel. I don't want to live there any more."

A Kattlehong resident, who did not want to be named for fear of reprisal, said a group of Zulus attacked the "Crossroads" squatter camp in the township this morning.

He said the group of "more than 2 000" carried guns, assegais, butcher's knives, pangas and hatchets.

"I saw mothers with babies on their backs running past my house early this morning, into the veld across the road. I didn't know what was happening and then I saw the Zulus chasing them.

"The Zulus came to the camp yesterday looking for Xhosas and promised they would be back. The Xhosas tried to arm themselves in preparation for the attack but the Zulus were stronger," he said.

"The Zulus were wearing red scarves on their heads. Police came but they didn't do anything," the frightened man said.

Residents are also reported to have heard gunfire in the township throughout the night and again this morning.

Township residents said the main road into Vosloorus was barricaded this morning and fighting had spread from the hostel onto the road. Commuters were left stranded as no transport was able to get through the barricade.

Early today a strong band of Zulus were seen chasing a group of Xhosas through the streets of Kattlehong. The Xhosas took refuge on a hill at the entrance to the township and a stand-off situation developed. The Zulus later left peacefully.

A pall of smoke was seen coming from the Crossroads squatter camp in Kattlehong, raising suspicions that some of the shacks could have been set alight. Intermittent gunfire could be heard.

Zulus from Tokoza and Kattlehong have apparently joined forces against the Xhosas in both townships.

After 8 pm last night, flames were seen shooting from one of the Tokoza hostel's rooms. The



Hold my hand, I'm dying ... a man near death in Phola Park is helped by residents after being attacked.

room, stockpiled with boxes of beer, was gutted.

A policeman said Zulus had driven Xhosas out of the hostel.

Groups of squatters were seen leaving the area with their belongings to seek refuge at the Roman Catholic Church.

Several other people who tried to fetch their belongings from the hostel were brutally assaulted by groups of men inside.

The injured were transferred to Tembisa Hospital, to Hillbrow Hospital and to Natal-spruit Hospital.

Police spokesman Colonel Frans Malherbe said the battles had taken place despite earlier assurances by representatives of the two groups, in the presence of General Gerrit Erasmus of the SAP, that peace would be maintained until next Monday's talks between police, hostel dwellers, Inkatha and the ANC.

"We are trying to set up another meeting for Monday where we will carry out a further round of talks in the hope of doing something positive about the situation," Colonel Malherbe added.

In growing concern over repeated clashes between Inkatha and ANC factions in townships in various parts of the country, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of KwaZulu said in a television interview last night that the violence would not be addressed properly until he and ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela were seen addressing joint rallies.

Captain Eugene Opperman, police liaison officer, summed up the horror of it all when he told journalists covering the carnage: "We just keep on finding bodies."

© ANC to blame © Inkatha; Political intolerance must go - Buthelezi -- Page 5

Stat 15/8/90

11A

# Mandela must stand beside me – Buthelezi

Staff Reporter

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said last night in a TV panel discussion that violence in South Africa would not be properly addressed until he and Nelson Mandela were seen addressing joint rallies together.

The KwaZulu Chief Minister denied that Inkatha was responsible for the violence which was mushrooming on the Reef.

He said the initial outbreaks of township violence in 1985 had begun on the Reef, after which the Government introduced the state of emergency.

"It is not Inkatha which espouses violence; it is not Inkatha which brings messages from Lusaka saying black town

councillors must be killed. It is false to say the violence mushrooming in the Transvaal is imported here by the Zulu people," he said.

## Free

When asked if the UDF and ANC areas which had sprung up in Natal meant that he was losing support in the province, Chief Buthelezi said he believed it was healthy for people to be free to support whatever political organisation they wanted to support.

"Therefore I don't think it is unhealthy if people support the UDF or ANC or PAC.

"What is unhealthy is the extent of political intolerance

which has resulted in violence."

He said KwaZulu was not created by the homelands policy as the Zulu nation was a sovereign state before colonialism.

Asked whether he felt he was at the end of his political career because he had been deliberately left out by Mr Mandela who had spoken to all other homeland leaders, Chief Buthelezi replied: "That would imply Dr Mandela was God and that I was a protégé of Dr Mandela.

"While I have a lot of respect for him I don't regard him as God."

Chief Buthelezi said he believed in one man, one vote but said a constitution for South Africa needed to consider the cultural roots of all people.

ST  
el  
to  
C  
welfe  
comr  
he c  
"T  
inst  
or  
figl  
ni  
Dr  
Cl  
"A

# Cosatu to protest over growing 'reign of terror'

Stc 15/8/90

By Shareen Singh

Cosatu will present a memorandum to President de Klerk later this week listing attacks on its members country-wide and calling on the President to intervene in accordance with the Pretoria Minute in stopping the "reign of terror".

Cosatu spokesman Neil Coleman said the situation was critical, with at least 13 people killed and more than 40 injured in Sebokeng alone in the past two weeks. The clash between Inkatha and the ANC/Cosatu brought to 40 the number recently killed in the township.

Both the ANC and the Government expressed concern over the increasing violence in the country last week.

The Pretoria Minute declared a commitment from both parties to undertake measures to promote peace and normalise the situation.

Residents in the area and hostel-dwellers claimed municipal police, kitskonstabels and the some members of the SAP were behind the attacks.

The following incidents will be included in the memorandum to the President:

## Ambush

● August 1 — Two people killed in an ambush by unknown people on Sebokeng hostel dwellers at a station in the township.

The same evening police raided the hostel, confiscating weapons which hostel-dwellers were keeping for protection.

● August 2 — Shots fired through hostel windows killed two people. Eleven needed hospital treatment.

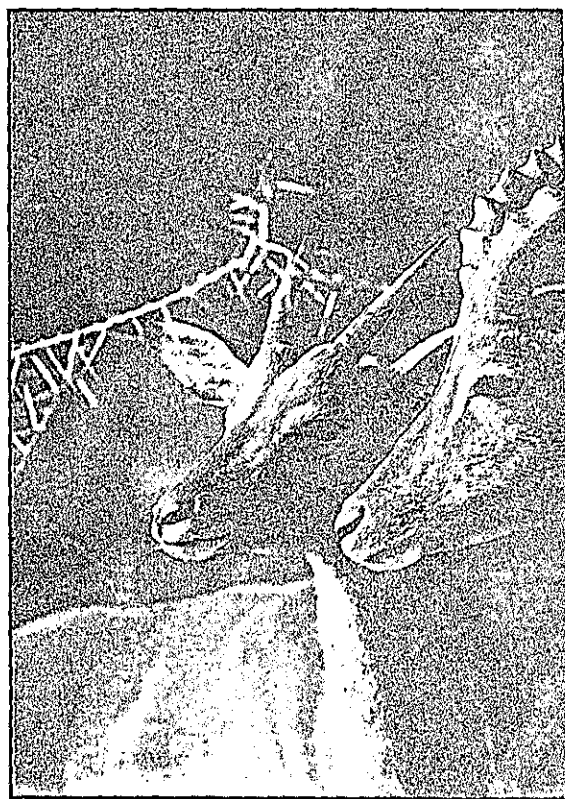
● August 3 — Unknown gunmen fired on a taxi from Sebokeng hostel. Four passengers were seriously wounded.

● August 4 — Vigilantes accompanied by municipal police fired through hostel windows, leaving 20 injured.

● August 5 — Commuters from a train were shot at next to a station in Zone 10. Several were injured. Two police vans and a private car were seen nearby.

● August 6 — One person was killed and two injured in an attack on hostel dwellers by unknown people. Another person was shot dead outside the hostel. The following day, a blast outside the hostel injured one person.

● August 9 — Two hostel dwellers were abducted by six whites in police uniforms in a raid on the hostel.



Sunbathing . . . These impala were caught enjoying the wi Lower Sabie in the Kruger National Park on Monday.

By Julienne du Toit

The Bafokeng tribe, who bitterly fought their inclusion into Bophuthatswana last year, have become shareholders in Impala Platinum Holdings in the homeland, and can subscribe to shares worth over R300 million.

According to the company's annual report, 72 Bafokeng councillors and headmen unanimously accepted

## Bafokeng tribe worth millions

Impala's lease of a rich ore body in the Bafokeng's tribal land, called "The Deeps", on January 10 this year.

Under the agreement, the tribe will be entitled to subscribe for up to 7 percent of the country's shares. The

## Pollution in Buffa

By Jacqueline Myburgh

The Buffalo River in Natal, which for the past 100 years has been polluted by coal mines in the north of the province, may now be threatened by other industries operating on its banks.

Despite a campaign launched by the Department of Water Affairs in Dundee to clean up the river, the local water board has been discharging chemicals into the stream of water, a water affairs spokesman confirmed.

The owner of a farm about 50 km south of the waterworks, David Rattray, reported the pollution to the Department of Water Affairs

when he noticed piles of brown and white foam drifting down the river last week.

A spokesman for the Department said the foam was "backwash" from the waterworks' pump station, but the chemicals contained in it were non-toxic.

The foam — and the long-term pollution of the Buffalo River — had not affected the ecology of the river, the spokesman said.

Keith Cooper, conservation director of the Wildlife Society, said he was very distressed by news of the pollution since the Buffalo River had exceptional qualities in terms of the environment.

# ANC plea to police:

IT WAS critically important that the security forces begin to promote the democratic process rather than to frustrate it, the ANC's director of foreign affairs, Thabo Mbeki, said last night.

Mr Mbeki and former Inkatha secretary-general Oscar Dhlomo delivered keynote addresses at a Five Freedoms Forum weekend conference in Johannesburg. It was their first public encounter in South Africa.

About 400 delegates, representing the broadest range of political interests brought together in the country, attended.

Mr Mbeki said the Government should take very seriously the observations of the ANC and other organisations that the security forces were guilty of misconduct in situations of conflict.

However, the ANC had no intention of carrying out acts of vengeance against anybody.

"There is therefore no reason for anybody within the present security forces to oppose change in the belief

## Promote the democratic process, not frustrate it'

**ESMARE VAN DER MERWE, Political Reporter**

that such change will create a situation in which their lives and livelihood will be threatened.

"Rather, they should look forward to the situation when, perhaps for the first time, they would be accepted by all our people as part of a truly national security force, voluntarily supported and accepted by the people as real defenders of law and order and the security of a democratic and independent South Africa."

Mr Mbeki also had some praise for Afrikaner Volkswag leader Carel Boshoff for being willing to put his proposal of an Afrikaner volkstaat on the negotiating table.

No organised formation should be left out of the process of developing the national consensus necessary to

reach a lasting, just and peaceful solution.

In this context, the ANC appreciated Professor Boshoff's stand on participating in negotiations.

"Though we may not agree with their views about a boerestaat, we are convinced that they, like all other formations, have a right and a duty to present their views in any such negotiating forum as will be agreed."

However, Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht's attitude was "at best unhelpful and at worst destructive", for "nothing but the whirlwind can be gained from a policy which continues to pretend that the future of our country can be decided by a coterie of white politicians who believe they should ap-

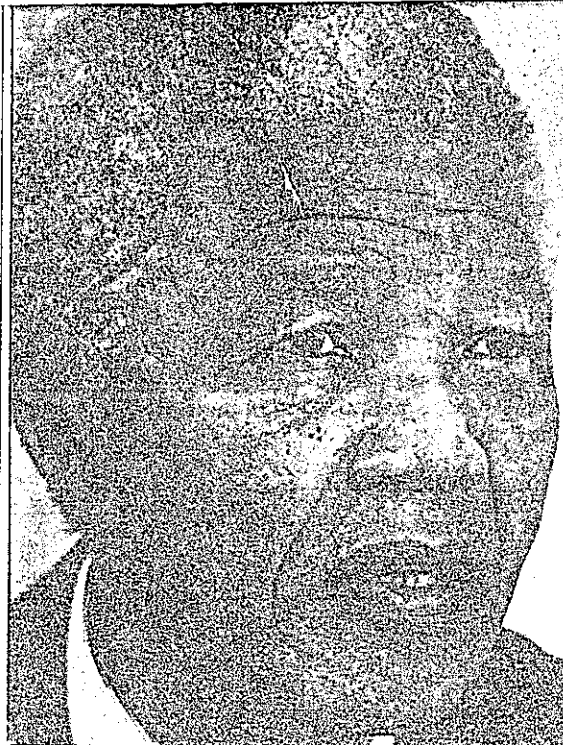
propriate to themselves the exclusive right to determine the future of our country".

Speaking on negotiations between the Government and the ANC, Mr Mbeki said the process of the implementation of the agreements reached thus far should not be used as an excuse to delay the beginning of negotiations on a new constitution.

"There should not arise any new obstacles to this process. Rather, if there are problems, they should be solved simultaneously as progress is being made on the constitutional front."

Dr Dhlomo stressed the need for national reconciliation and mutual trust, and the need to involve all people in the constitution-making process.

Asked to give his analysis on the current township carnage, he said many factors complicated the issue. Among them were political parties vying for power, appalling socio-economic conditions and apartheid, a lack of political tolerance and freedom of speech, and a criminal element "cashing in" on the confusion.



Nelson Mandela ... There is optimism that the ANC will suspend its armed struggle and its campaign of boycotts, strikes and stayaways.



Joe Slovo



Pik Botha



Joe Modise



Gerrit Viljoen



Alfred Nzo



Kobie Coetsee



Thabo Mbeki



Adriaan Vlok



F.W. de Klerk ... Government seems ready to release most ANC political prisoners and allow thousands of ANC exiles to return.

# Crucial talks are underway

By Peter Fabricius,  
Political Correspondent

...ial talks between the Gov-  
ent and the African Na-  
Congress began in Pre-  
today amid wide opti-  
the ANC will suspend its  
ign of boycotts, strikes  
stayaways, in addition to  
med struggle.

...change, the Government  
... to release most ANC  
... prisoners and to allow  
... the thousands of ANC  
... return to South Africa.

...ould open the road to full ne-  
... on a new constitution.

...t de Klerk and ANC depu-  
...nt Nelson Mandela faced  
...r across the table at the  
... government guest house,  
...ed by four top men.

...Mandela was supported by SA

## Our aim to end hostilities, Mandela tells BBC

LONDON — Nelson Mandela says he can see no reason why hostilities between the South African Government and the African National Congress should not be suspended following the talks between the two parties which begin today.

Speaking in an interview on the BBC World Service early this

Communist Party chief Joe Slovo, Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Joe Modise, ANC general secretary Alfred Nzo and head of foreign affairs Thabo Mbeki.

Mr de Klerk had at his side Foreign Minister Pik Botha, Constitution Minister Gerrit Viljoen, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok.

The talks — aimed at removing the remaining obstacles to full negotia-

...orning, Mr Mandela was in a broadly optimistic mood.

But he warned that the failure to dismantle apartheid, to introduce one person one vote, and to stop attacks on the ANC by "the police, vigilantes and right-wingers" could force the ANC to revert to the armed struggle.

Mr Mandela insisted several

...tions — are expected to last for just one day, although follow-up talks have not been ruled out.

Government sources said they were expecting a clear ANC commitment not only to stop open physical violence, but also what the Government calls "disguised violence".

By this they mean various stratagems "to make the country ungovernable", such as intimidation, rent boy-

...times that the ANC's paramount aim was to achieve virtually an immediate end to hostilities.

He said: "If the Government is prepared to move forward by way of removing these obstacles, we are prepared to make a declaration at this meeting that we are suspending the armed struggle."  
— The Star Bureau.

...cotts, school defiance campaigns, strikes and stayaways.

Both sides have expressed confidence that agreement can be reached — mostly because much of the difficult work has already been done by joint official groups behind the scenes.

It is known that the joint ANC/Government working group, which was asked to produce guidelines for the release of political prisoners and return of exiles, has reached basic

agreement.

The ANC and Government are expected to agree on guidelines for a definition of a political offence which would cover most prisoners and exiles, but not the most extreme cases such as those who have been responsible for indiscriminate killing or injuring civilians or damaging purely civilian property.

One concern of the ANC is the continuing state of emergency in Natal. Although some weekend reports suggest that the Government might agree today to lift it, Government sources said last night they thought this unlikely.

It seems likely that the ANC will accept that the Natal emergency cannot be lifted until the widespread violence on the ground ends.

Police allegations of an ANC campaign, code-named Operation Vula to intensify insurrection efforts, especially in Natal, will also be discussed. Government expected to act on exiles

— Page 5.

# Homeland govt hints at ANC talks

11A

GPH 7/1/90  
15/8/90

JOHANNESBURG. — The Bophuthatswana government yesterday hinted at the possibility of a meeting with the ANC, saying such a meeting would be both logical and helpful.

The government had appointed a cabinet committee to talk to all shades of political opinion in South Africa, the Bophuthatswana government news agency Bopana quoted the Minister of State Affairs, Mr R Cronje, as saying.

"In terms of the appointment at the committee, a meeting with the ANC would be both logical and helpful," he said.

Mr Cronje's statement follows this week's statement by the UDF spokesman, Mr Titus Mafolo, who said the ANC's strategy in the homelands would depend on whether the territories had been categorised as sympathetic, ambivalent or hostile.

# Nyanga agrees to rename high school 'Oscar Mpetha'

12/6/80  
15/1/80

114  


By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN  
Staff Reporter

PARENTS, pupils and staff of Sizamile Public Senior Secondary have resolved to rename the Nyanga school Oscar Mpetha High School in honour of the veteran African National Congress member.

A teacher said the decision was taken at a recent meeting, adding that the renaming ceremony would be held this weekend.

Trade unionist Mr Mpetha turned 80 recently.

"This is not just a birthday present. We wanted to record our appreciation of his role in the struggle and work he has done in Nyanga. We have not received permission from the Department of Education and Training to rename the school, but we have the community's approval."

## Customary

A programme for this weekend was still being drawn up.

Among those who have agreed to pay tribute to Mr Mpetha is another veteran ANC member, Mr Christmas Tinto, the Western Cape president of the United Democratic Front.

Mr W A Staude, the department's regional chief director, said in a statement it was customary that schools were named by communities they served.

"It follows that should a community wish to name its school there could be no objection to that provided that the whole community is in favour of the new name."

# ANC calls for August 23 protests

ANC 15/8/90

## Political Staff

THE African National Congress today called on all South Africans to demonstrate their opposition to security laws and detention without trial by taking part in mass demonstrations on August 23.

A statement issued by the ANC's information and publicity department said "democratic movement activists" were affected by detention without trial.

Yesterday the families of Section 29 detainees converged

on police headquarters in Durban to demonstrate against the continued detention of their sons and daughters in terms of Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

The statement said a memorandum the demonstrators had submitted to the authorities had demanded that:

- They be immediately informed of the whereabouts of their family members.
- They be granted immediate access to detainees.

● Family doctors, lawyers and religious ministers be given access to the detainees.

● The security police refrain from physically or psychologically torturing or assaulting the detainees.

● The detainees be granted access to reading and study materials.

● All detainees be released unconditionally.

● All security legislation, especially Section 29 and detention without trial be dropped immediately.



728 111A 111B

*Start*  
**By Therese Anders,  
Highveld Bureau**

**ERMELO** — Police have arrested two men in connection with the shooting and killing of two pallbearers during an ambush on an African National Congress funeral procession in unrest-torn Wesselton township on Saturday.

ANC Eastern Transvaal executive member Jackson Mthembu, who was at the funeral of student David Sibonyani (16), alleged the murderers belonged to an Inkatha-supporting faction called the Black Cats, who had held a funeral only hours before the ANC.

Mr Mthembu hit out at police for not maintaining a peace-keeping force on the funeral route when it was known that two rival factions were burying their dead that day. The police replied that they were present in the township but it was impossible for them to be stationed along the whole route.

The Rev Thabang Tshenase said the procession of about 3 000 had been fired on, ap-

# ANC, Inkatha indaba soon, says Dhlomo

11A  
Sowetan 16/8/90

**FORMER KwaZulu Cabinet Minister Dr Oscar Dhlomo says the ANC appears to be "seriously considering the feasibility" of a meeting between Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in an effort to bring peace to Natal.**

Dhlomo, who was also Inkatha secretary-general before his resignation, told a meeting of the Natal Chamber of Industries in Durban on Tuesday that he was optimistic a meeting would take place provided nothing further

## SOWETAN Correspondent

happened to strain relations between the ANC and Inkatha.

In a wide-ranging speech in which he called for financial support from industry for his proposed Institute for Multi-Party Democracy in Southern Africa, he urged business to "join all of us who are quietly encouraging the ANC-UDF-Cosatu alliance to see such a meeting as part of a peace plan".

The institute would aim to promote democracy in the sub-continent and to encourage "tolerance and respect" for opposing political

viewpoints. It proposed to use "non-political, non-ideological mass education" to spread its views.

Asked what truth there might be in reports that either Inkatha or the ANC could align with the National Party, he said: "I cannot say which parties will unite because I'm not qualified to do so.

"What I can say with confidence is that politics will no longer be practised on the basis of skin pigmentation. Ideological commonality will come to the fore; multi-party democrats will align with each other - they will realise that there are major advantages in sticking together to promote their commonality in ideological terms."

## Bop hints at meeting with ANC and others

THE Bophuthatswana government has hinted at the possibility of a meeting with the African National Congress, saying such a meeting would be both logical and helpful. *Sowetan 16/8/90*

The government had appointed a Cabinet committee to talk to all shades of political opinion in South Africa, the Bophuthatswana government news agency Bopana quoted the Minister of State Affairs, Mr R Cronje, as saying.

"In terms of the appointment of the committee, a meeting with the ANC would be both logical and helpful," he said.

### Key to strategy

Cronje's statement follows one on Monday by the United Democratic Front's executive committee member, Mr Titus Mafolo, who said the ANC's strategy in the homelands would depend on whether the territories had been categorised as sympathetic, ambivalent or hostile.

"The government is seeking out the attitudes of all political groupings in South Africa for their views and to put their own. Both sides should be able to put their views in a spirit of negotiation," Cronje said. - *Sapa*.

# Ideologies to blame for violence - sociologist

Sowetan 16/8/80

11A

THE political transformation in black communities contributed to the breakdown in family life, the acting head of the department of social work at the University of the North, Professor Dorothy

Malaka, said this week. She said much of the black-on-black violence in South Africa was the result of the non-acceptance of other people's ideological standpoints.

Affiliation to different political organisations created strife within the family and ultimately resulted in violence and killings.

Malaka said most parents had limited ideas about prevailing political

groupings and as a result could not guide family members on politics.

Other people's political ideologies were often regarded as opposition which needed to be stamped out.

South Africa's migratory labour system forced fathers to be away from their families and they attached no importance to property ownership or sense of responsibility towards the family. - Sapa.

# Civics: More than street committees

South  
16/8 - 2 2/8/90

11A

WHILE the liberation movements concentrate on transforming themselves into political parties to include youth and women, the tradition of area-based mass activity is being promoted by hundreds of civic organisations around the country.

Civic activists argue that the civics can organise people around day-to-day issues which affect their lives — something that lies outside the scope of a political party.

This is born out by the experience of the Alexandra Civic Organisation (Aco).

In Alexandra, a densely-populated Johannesburg township which neighbours on the luxury suburb of Sandton, more people carry Aco membership cards than ANC cards.

Says Aco president Moses Mayekiso: "The issues that civics deal with affect everybody in the community. Civics provide an opportunity for ordinary people to take control of the area where they live".

## Shebeens

These issues range from noisy shebeens, the use of washing lines and garbage disposal to rents, services and the provision of housing in Alexandra.

This week Aco is having a clean-up campaign and tree planting in the township.

According to Mayekiso, the clean-up follows the failure of a similar campaign by the council.

Alexandra publicity secretary Obed Bapela says, by discussing these issues, people begin to make the links with the broader situation and see their problems are political.

It is this link that alarmed the government, which identified the street committees of Alexandra as the cornerstone of an attempt to develop a people's government in the mid-80s.

But Aco operates at a more fundamental level than the 22 avenues and seven streets that crisscross the township.

The basic building block of Aco are the yards which lie at the heart of Alexandra.

Neighbours come together for yard

**Area committees of civic organisations are mushrooming, promoting community issues which political parties cannot.**

**Civics should be the watchdogs of democracy, says one proponent.**

**CHIARA CARTER reports:**

meetings, coordinated by a yard committee.

The 24 yards, which form a block, each send two representatives to block meetings.

There are six blocks in all, and each in turn sends four representatives to the street committees.

Each street committee elects two representatives to form the central committee.

There are three huge hostels in Alexandra, two for men and one for women, housing about 15 000 people.

In many townships, hostel dwellers are cut off from the rest of the community. This is not the case in Alexandra, where hostels form an integral part of the civic.

Similarly, the more than 100 000 squatters who have poured into the area over the past five years are also organised by Aco.

## Legendary

Obed says that the emphasis on building democratic structures in Alexandra was strongly influenced by the trade union movement and the legendary Cradock Residents' Association (Cradora) which inspired activists in the area in the mid-80s.

The early 1980s saw two weak and divided civic organisations in the area.

The turning point came when activists went from street to street consulting with residents and holding meetings at venues ranging from churches to open fields.

From two organisations involving few people, a mass-based civic emerged.

The state of emergency hit Aco hard; most of the leaders were jailed. In the yards, people were afraid and resigned to avoid police harassment.

According to Bapela, the lesson this



**MOSES MAYEKISO (front right):** People must take control of the areas in which they live

period held was that it is important to develop layers of leadership.

This time round Aco has structured itself to allow a broader range of residents to leadership positions and a chance to develop skills ranging from finance to publicity.

The state employed a dual strategy in the township: while it cracked down on activists, it launched a massive upgrade programme in the area.

From 1912 to the mid-80s, residents had lived without any basic infrastructure.

## Undermine

Now R120m has been invested in the provision of tarred roads, electricity and sewerage.

Bapela admits the Aco leadership was concerned that the upgrade programme would undermine residents' support for the civic.

Fears that this would depoliticise the residents were unfounded — as an almost 100 percent response to stayaway calls and the absence of any candidate for the 1988 municipal elections showed.

Instead, Aco has continued to grow. It is now about to launch a newspaper and

employ civic organisers.

Aco has introduced a membership card system. Each member pays R5, which goes towards covering administrative costs.

## Novel

In a novel move, R1 of the fee is put aside for a benevolent fund which will cover residents in case of disasters, like fire.

Aco believes civics have a vital role to play and face immense challenges, including developing a vision of the future for South Africa's cities.

The importance of civics is already being acknowledged by the state, local municipalities and private enterprise and developers.

But Aco thinks civics must look beyond protest, towards the future.

Says Bapela: "We need thorough research on the problems of civics. It is not just a question of rents and services. It's not enough to say we reject the present system.

"We need to update ourselves and acquire skills in a range of areas, including administration and civil engineering."

Already civics in the Eastern Cape and Southern Transvaal are forming regional structures.

A national structure will mean civics can move beyond a localised approach to issues and coordinate policy, strategy and funding throughout the country.

This does not mean civics will become the local government of the future.

## Transcend

Mayekiso does not believe such a transformation is desirable.

The civics should transcend political parties and provide a vehicle for organising all residents — irrespective of political persuasions, he says.

"Civics must be independent of political parties. This does not rule out the possibility of disciplined alliances — like Cosatu with the ANC and SACP.

"Civics are an organ of the people. Like Cosatu, they are another leg of the civil society.

"Civics are not a local government structure but instead a mass formation which will safeguard democracy.

"They are the watchdogs of democracy," he says.

# ANC get branches off the ground

11A

Southern 16/8 - 22/8/90

THE African National Congress PWV region is swinging its membership drive into top gear with 25 branches being launched this weekend.

Another 17 branches are to be launched next weekend and thousands of prospective members will be sworn in.

"We can now say that, after August 26, we will have an organised ANC presence in this region," said Barbara Hogan, an ANC official in the Transvaal.

"I think we have reached a turning point for the ANC in the PWV region. We are on the ground now and are going to get moving."

## Alexandra

Branches to be launched this weekend include Kathlehong, Duduza, Vosloorus, Thokoza and Tembisa on the east Rand, and Naledi, Chiawelo, Moroka, Tladi, Phiri, Zola, Meadowlands, Central Jabavu, Orlando West Extension, Protea north, Dlamini and Mzimhlope in Soweto.

Other branches to be launched this weekend are Alexandra, Yeoville and Mayfair.

Hogan said a consultative conference for all branches in the region would be held on September 2.

In the Western Cape, the regional interim committee reports 15 branches have been formally launched this year.

## Guarantee

Interim committee spokesperson Mr Trevor Manuel said they expected a further 63 branches to launch before September 2.

"According to a programme worked out by ANC members, we can guarantee that these branches will have 100 members each by then," he said.

"We still have seven branches which are in an embryonic stage."

RELAXED and confident, Dr Allan Boesak fielded personal questions during his first press conference since the events which set his life on a new course.

Dismissing rumours that he was forming a new political party, he asserted he was now at the disposal of the democratic movement to perform tasks they believe he would be useful for.

Boesak has taken off his clerical white tie and is ready to take up a political role, but is unsure how long his services will be available and in what capacity.

"It is always possible that I will return to the ministry; you never know.

"But I have just barely had to make the decision to change the direction of my life and do something other than the ministry which I thought would occupy the rest of my life.

**Consider**

"I am still coming to terms with this spiritually and psychologically, and it is far too early to say where my future lies."

Although he is a patron of the United Democratic Front and has always openly supported the Mass Democratic Movement, Boesak has not yet joined a political party or pledged his fulltime services to any organisation.

He says he will consider requests from organisations to do work for them, whether on a public level, in political education or in a think tank to determine direction.

However, he was only making himself available to do work for organisa-

# Boesak: Ready to be useful

*South 16/81 - 27/8/90*

**AFTER resigning from his posts in the ministry in the NG Sendingkerk when the press exposed his relationship with television producer Elna Botha, Dr Allan Boesak has begun carving out a new political role for himself.**

**REHANA ROSSOUW reports:**

tions in the democratic movement.

Boesak said requests from abroad had also not stopped. People were interested in what was happening in South Africa and still interested in his analysis of events.

His analysis was that the process of negotiations was still not irreversible and people needed information to accept the democratic movement's definition of irreversibility.

**Irreversible**

"FW de Klerk says the process is irreversible for the government. But no politician can be taken at his word.

"We must decide for ourselves when it is irreversible.

"The process will be irreversible only when we have elections to determine



**Allan Boesak: May return to the ministry**

**PIC: YUNUS MOHAMED**

who has the right to sit around a table and determine a new constitution."

Boesak said democratic organisations needed to work hard "right now" to ensure their people understood and accepted their definition of negotiations.

In terms of his understanding of the political climate, he might be needed to assist with the process of political education to bring home the message of the democratic movement.

"By now everyone knows where I will be most useful. But I must stress I want to be useful and not used and discarded," Boesak said.

"So much needs to be done in terms of political education, trying to make people understand what we mean by a multiparty democracy.

Boesak said during a recent visit to strife-torn Port Elizabeth he realised how tenuous the link was between the leaders in the negotiation process and the "people on the ground".

The situation in the Eastern Cape was a symptom of something on the boil everywhere in the country, he said.

It could not be resolved while the government continued with negotiations but retained structures like the tricameral

system which determined people's lives through unpopular rule on the ground.

Negotiations could only proceed with the people's consent if the unpopular structures, which were a source of frustration and provocation, were dissolved.

"These structures might become stumbling blocks to negotiations and the path to peace we are all looking for."

Boesak has sent a report of the situation to the ANC for their information.

He said while he was not saying the exposure of his relationship with Elna Botha was a plot to discredit him, he questioned the method in which it was brought to light.

**Chambermaid**

A Cape Town newspaper photographed him leaving a Sea Point hotel where Miss Botha was living after being allegedly tipped off by a chambermaid.

"I will always wonder about that chambermaid. She sent me a note with bold male handwriting, called me and my mother at our unlisted numbers, speaks in a deep tone of voice and knows how to call all the newspapers.

"It's a funny chambermaid; that's all I can say."

Boesak said he decided not to attend the World Alliance of Reformed Churches annual meeting last weekend, when his resignation was accepted.

"I heard the executive committee had received hundreds of letters asking them not to accept my resignation.

"I don't want to use the church as a political platform. I came into my position as a minister of a church and I offered my resignation when I left the ministry.

"It was the right thing to do.

"If I return to the church as a lay member and get a position, it will be a different matter."

# When patience bites the dust!

SOUTH 1618-2218190  
SOUTH CORRESPONDENT

THE residents were mad as hell and they weren't going to take it anymore.

That may well be the most concise, albeit crude, explanation for last week's devastation in Port Elizabeth's 'coloured' community.

It was almost fitting (but of no consequence) that the turmoil began the same day the ANC made headlines by suspending its armed struggle,

Ironically, the conservative character which has largely prevailed among the country's second largest coloured community in recent decades probably disagreed with many ANC policies.

This tradition, which translated into support for the Labour Party and its members on the local management committee, may have loosened pent up frustrations in a fury of lootings and burnings.

We will never know all the reasons behind the worst violence in the history of Port Elizabeth's Northern Areas, but all contributing factors can find their rotten seed in apartheid policies.

Driving through the most north-

ern suburbs of Bloemendal and Chatty last Tuesday, I came across scattered stand-offs between police and residents. (11A) (del)

The day before about 3 000 people had marched to the local rent office to protest recent increases. In a manner reminiscent of the pre-Pretoria strike days, the police moved in on the post-march rally, and gave the all-too-familiar and never-too-long order to disperse.

In the ensuing stampede, mayhem reigned supreme. Tearsmoke and ashes from burning barricades filled the air and formed the catalyst for the week's events.

In some aspects, the continued police presence seemed only to heighten tensions. As I spoke with victims of birdshot and rubber bullets who flooded into ad hoc emergency centres, defiance not defeat shone in their eyes.

However, while the police were the prime targets of anger on Monday, symbols of the Labour Party became the victims the following day.

Taxis and shops owned by members,

as well as "agents of the state," were attacked. The ANC and the Northern Areas Co-ordinating Committee (NACC) appealed for calm as early as Tuesday morning.

Police requested a meeting with community leaders to defuse the tension and two rallies were held that night in an attempt to restore stability.

By Wednesday, all observers were reporting that criminals had hijacked and were exploiting the turmoil. The community has traditionally felt a strong gangster presence created and fostered out of poverty, high unemployment and poor living conditions.

"Unemployed people just take what they want," an NACC member explained, by the week's end, 42 people were dead and more than R100 million in damage was wreaked on shops, schools, houses and scores of vehicles.

The political damage included the resignations of several high-profile Labour Party members.

However, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, whose home in Uitenhage is about a half hour away from the Northern Areas, absolved any blame of the Labour Party or the management committee.



# Critical mirror for loyal members

South  
16/6 - 27/1/90

WHILE freedom of speech is an ideal that most political leaders claim to support, there continues to exist in South Africa what can best be described as a "culture of silence".

Dissent has always been frowned on by the South African state.

But it is not only the government which has fostered conformity.

There is a reluctance also within progressive circles to openly criticise policy or leaders — perhaps understandable in the context of the repressive circumstances under which organisations operated.

### Shunned

Often those who voiced criticism were labelled divisive and shunned as out of step with the accepted political line.

The result has been a reluctance by many to speak their minds openly.

Another factor hampering open debate is the scarcity of information on the activities of many organisations.

There appears to be a reluctance to provide information, however innocuous, for the broader public.

With a curiously naive approach to the mass media, these organisations tend to expect the press to be sympathetic to their views and silent on their problems, even when these problems are public knowledge.

This stifling of information and de-

*Dissent is a mirror in which an organisation can see itself, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela said in a television interview this week. Last week, however, when the Democratic Party's Tony Leon dared to criticise the ANC, he drew a storm of protest within his party's ranks. How tolerant are South Africans of dissenting views and the right to criticise?*



**ALBIE SACHS:** Past the time of tight discipline

bate is largely the result of living in a society which has never known a free press or democratic procedures.

But many people are now calling for glasnost to filter through all strata of the democratic movement.

A starting point could be accepting that criticism is healthy, and a critical membership and press are essential for democracy.

Recently, ANC legal expert Albie



**NELSON MANDELA:** in favour of constructive criticism

Sachs urged that a "culture of debate" be encouraged for discussion on a future constitution for South Africa.

He said groups like the PAC should be allowed the "right to be wrong" and had to be drawn into the debate.

He believed in open discussion.

"Ideas don't just go away because we suppress them. There is often a germ of truth in an idea that is false," he said.

"We have passed through the phase where tight discipline was the most important factor and are entering a phase where we need initiative, extensive commitment, involvement, imagination and self-confidence."

On the question of criticism and open debate within organisations, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela said this week dissent was a "mirror" in which the organisation could be reflected.

Presently, there are few channels for criticism in progressive organisations.

Major decisions are often taken without membership being given a chance to debate or criticise the direction of the organisation.

### Write

Two recent examples were the United Democratic Front's decision to participate in Jan Steyn's R2b housing scheme and the ANC's decision to suspend the armed struggle.

Whether or not members have criticisms to raise about these decisions, the deeds were already done.

A Western Cape ANC regional interim committee member said recently that if members had problems with decisions taken by the national executive committee, they could write to the organisation expressing their concern.

However, it is not known whether the letters will be acted on and decisions changed.

Perhaps by the end of the year the ANC would have to employ fulltime staff to sift through all the letters of criticism from members!

# ANC parley with Bantustans

By LANCE NAWA <sup>South Africa 16/18-22/18/90</sup>  
HISTORY was made last weekend in Johannesburg when an "independent" homeland cabinet minister and other Bantustan representatives met with UDF/ANC officials to thrash out a common political approach.

At least 10 homelands were repre-

sented at the conference held at the St Alban's School near Lanseria.

The conference was opened by veteran ANC leader Govan Mbeki and attended by senior UDF and ANC executive members. About 150 delegates attended.

But while ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela told a TV audience that the ANC was forging black unity by also talking to homeland governments, UDF

spokesperson Titus Mafolo said the "meeting should not be read as a shift of policy by the UDF and ANC with regard to co-operation with homelands".

Mr. Steve Mabona, a Kwandebele cabinet minister and members of the Transkei military council were among those present.

Significant decisions adopted at the conference were that ANC structures be

allowed to function freely in the homelands and that referendums be held regarding re-incorporation into South Africa. (11A) (11A)

The ANC has not been allowed to operate in some of the homelands.

The ANC has, however, forged close links with homelands like Transkei.

Bophuthatswana is the only homeland which is seemingly remaining aloof.



## MANDELA TV INTERVIEW LEAVES MORE QUESTIONS THAN ANSWERS

# Right in tizz over ANC 'contact'

By HARALD PAKENDORF

RIGHTWING factions were in a tizz this week when ANC deputy president confirmed in a TV interview that the movement had held discussions with elements on the right.

Mandela did not specify which organisation or which persons the ANC had spoken to.

Yet earlier news reports in the same vein had led to hot denials from the right — except from Dr Carel Boshoff

*In a revealing TV interview on the SABC's Network programme last Sunday, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela made startling statements, without elaboration, on the movement's contact with the white rightwing and black homeland leaders. SOUTH's special correspondents probed for some of the answers: South 16/8-22/8/90*

of the Afrikaner-Volkswag who evaded the question.

It is known, however, that he realises that his dream of a white state can best come about as a result of talks with as wide a range of political groupings as possible — and certainly with the ANC.

The Conservative Party, as the parliamentary representative of the right, is strongly opposed to negotiations and its position remains that it will not talk to the ANC.

However, one of its prominent MPs, Koos van der Merwe, has twice attended

meetings in Bermuda where the ANC was also present.

Mandela's TV statement has again highlighted the dilemma of the right — if it refuses to participate in negotiations it may find that the process simply passes it by while participation would lead to alienation of a great many rightwingers on the fringes of the CP and beyond it.

It is clear that the CP has almost imperceptibly begun to shift its position on negotiation, and thus talking to, inter alia the ANC.

From a flat rejection it is now at the



Carel Boshoff

stage where it is hedging its bets.

In the next weeks the CP will hold its provincial congresses and the issue will undoubtedly be raised.

It is expected that strong voices will be raised against participation while the party leadership will do its best to keep at least some options open on the issue open.

Some preconditions might be attached, for example, that it only will talk once the ANC's commitment to the cessation of violence has become irreversible.

There are strong elements in the CP leadership who feel that participation in negotiations is inevitable if the party were to remain meaningful and have the opportunity of putting the position of its supporters in a forum where the future constitution of the country is to be written. Yet the Right is fragmented, with some 60 organisations.



CELEBRATION: Delegates at the Women's League launch at Curries Fountain

# 10 000 launch Women's league

Soult 16/8 - 22/8/90

By ZUBEIDA JAFFER

STALWARTS of the women's struggle filed into the stands to a rousing welcome from the 10 000-strong crowd which had gathered to celebrate the relaunch of the African National Congress Women's League in Durban last weekend.

A wave of emotion swept the stadium at Curries Fountain when Adelaide Tambo, Albertina Sisulu, Winnie Mandela, Francis Baard, Gertrude Shope, Barbara Glinwala, Thandi Modise, Barbara Masekela and Nokukhanya Luthuli, wife of Chief Albert Luthuli, rose to greet the crowd. The launch of the League will make it possible to coordinate na-

tional efforts of women and ensure their emancipation is placed high on the agenda of the liberation movement.

Despite the fact that thousands of women have played a decisive role in fighting against apartheid, very few women occupy important positions at decisionmaking levels of the ANC.

The rally at the weekend did not in a significant way break with this prevailing situation.

Many women had travelled thousands of kilometres to listen to Adelaide Tambo but instead had to hear her husband, ANC president Oliver Tambo.

White Tambo made a strong call

for action to ensure the future of the country matched the aspirations for which women had struggled so long, he made little mention of the sexist practices confronting women daily.

And generally no other speakers spoke about the specific pain only women experience.

Natal Midlands ANC convenor Harry Gwala spoke of the violence of Natal, praised the resilience of women facing that situation and spelled out the movement's commitment to continue defending the people.

Executive member Govan Mbeki appealed to ANC women to befriend both Inkatha and white women.

11A

# Kliptown under threat



**CELEBRATION:** Delegates at the Women's League launch at Curries Fountain

## 10 000 launch Women's league

By ZUBEIDA JAFFER

STALWARTS of the women's struggle filed into the stands to a rousing welcome from the 10 000-strong crowd which had gathered to celebrate the relaunch of the African National Congress Women's League in Durban last weekend.

A wave of emotion swept the stadium at Curries Fountain when Adelaide Tambo, Albertina Sisulu, Winnie Mandela, Francis Baard, Gertrude Shope, Frene Ginwala, Thandi Modise, Barbara Masekela and Nokukhanya Luthuli, wife of Chief Albert Luthuli, rose to greet the crowd.

The launch of the League will make it possible to coordinate na-

tional efforts of women and ensure their emancipation is placed high on the agenda of the liberation movement.

Despite the fact that thousands of women have played a decisive role in fighting against apartheid, very few women occupy important positions at decisionmaking levels of the ANC.

The rally at the weekend did not in a significant way break with this prevailing situation.

Many women had travelled thousands of kilometres to listen to Adelaide Tambo but instead had to hear her reading out a message from her husband, ANC president Oliver Tambo.

While Tambo made a strong call

for action to ensure the future of the country matched the aspirations for which women had struggled so long, he made little mention of the sexist practices confronting women daily.

And generally no other speakers spoke about the specific pain only women experience.

Natal Midlands ANC convenor Harry Gwala spoke of the violence of Natal, praised the resilience of women facing that situation and spelled out the movement's commitment to continue defending the people.

Executive member Govan Mbeki appealed to ANC women to be friend both Inkatha and white women.

11A south 16/8 - 22/8/90

## Road to be built on historic site

By MONO BADELA  
KLIPTOWN, site of the signing of the Freedom Charter and a landmark in the South African struggle, is being demolished to make way for a road.

Part of the small settlement on the edge of Soweto will be bulldozed in the next few months for a new road linking the suburb to the K43 provincial road.

Community resistance is already building up, however, and is expected to spread throughout the country because of the historic importance of the Kliptown site.

Now a new body — the Kliptown, Eldorado Park and Klipspruit West Interim Democratic Civic Association (Kekidca), headed by anti-apartheid veteran campaigner Mr Bill Jardine — has been formed to fight the issue.

The group's main grievance is the planned demolition of housing units in Kliptown to make way for the new road.

In desperation people had been forced to approach the Legal Resources Centre, Jardine said.

Urgent litigation was avoided at the 11th hour when the contractor discontinued blasting.

ANC looks  
for a <sup>11A</sup> ~~place~~  
place at  
<sup>so wetem</sup> 16/8/90  
the top

By JOSHUA  
RABOROKO

MIDDLE management have an important role to play in the liberation struggle, the publicity and information officer of the ANC, Mr Joel Netshitenzhe, said yesterday.

He said that their role in the boardrooms of managements should include creating jobs; fighting poverty and clammering for more training and education for the oppressed masses.

He was speaking at the launch of a new publication, *Just Managing*, published by the Business and Economy Forum of the Five Freedoms Forum and edited by Mike Loewe.

# Every black seen as a target Mandela

8/10am 14/8/90 Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH — Every policeman in SA continued to regard every black person as a military target, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

He said they had been told that every demonstration was "a declaration of war", and an order to open fire was given.

Mandela told a gathering at the opening of the eastern Cape offices of the ANC that either government had lost control of the police, or "the police are doing what government wants".

His attack on the police produced a strong response from Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok who last night told the annual meeting of the Southern Cross Association that "claims by certain individuals and organisations that the police were to blame for all violence are devoid of all truth and nothing but propagandistic lies to villify the police".

Policemen, he said, were not above the law and any claims made against them would be investigated.

Mandela said the primary cause of the unrest was "apartheid's brutal violence" and the injustice of "puppet structures" which sparked conflict.

He said the belief that this was violence in which blacks attacked and killed blacks was wrong. It had started with a conflict between the ANC/MDM and Inkatha, but it was no longer that simple. The real prob-

□ To Page 2

## Mandela

8/10am 16/8/90

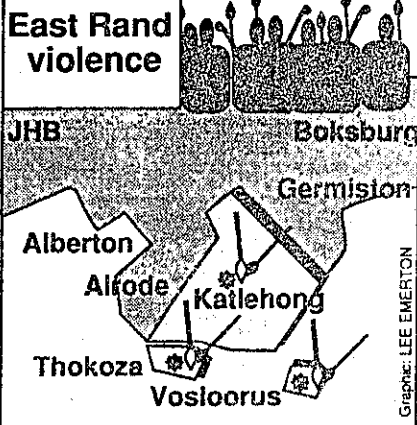
lem was the violence from the police.

PETER DELMAR reports that ANC information chief Pallo Jordan told a Johannesburg news conference yesterday the growing violence in Thokoza, Katlehong and Vosloorus was placing the peace process "under great strain".

It is believed that ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu contacted Vlok yesterday in an effort to end the violence and to discuss ANC allegations of active police collusion with Inkatha "warlords".

Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthezi said last night he was appalled by the escalation of violence in the Transvaal. "I call on all Inkatha members not to become drawn into the violence."

He said black leaders must get together to talk peace.



□ From Page 1

Graphic: LEE EMERTON

'Ditched all in a mad rush to share power'

# PAC leader slams ANC over talks

11A  
S. Desai  
16/8/90

The SACP and the ANC had "ditched all its liberation luggage in a mad rush to share power with imperialism and white supremacy," according to Mr Barney Desai of the Western Cape executive committee of the PAC.

Speaking to the Islamic Political Forum at the University of Cape Town on Tuesday, Desai castigated the ANC for entering negotiations with

the Government "as the weaker partner and therefore, reluctantly or otherwise, having to bow down to every dictate of the Government".

## Language

The ANC and the SA Communist Party, in responding to white fears, had agreed to let whites have their own schools and language "and perhaps they could add the right to maintain the character of their own areas. To the PAC this smacks of some form of

democratic apartheid," Desai said.

"They do not even hide the fact that they are in a *de facto* alliance with the Nationalist Party," he added, pointing out that they warred "with the oppressed of every persuasion in order to secure their hegemony of the liberation movement".

"Is it not ironic that the only people they are now prepared to collaborate with is the SAP and the SADF?" he asked.

He accused the ANC of revising a condition of the Harare Declaration - the condition which stipulates the release of all political prisoners and unconditional return of exiles - "to include only ANC prisoners and ANC exiles" following the Pretoria Minute.

"This manoeuvre is directly related to forcing the PAC and others to negotiate," he said, adding that the SACP/ANC had also compromised on the removal of the Internal Security Act.

Desai also hit out at the SACP, saying that "since last month it has become clear beyond speculation that the ANC leadership is now in the absolute control of the Communist Party", and the PAC had noted "how the SACP has given tacit support to every Soviet outrage".

## Custodian

"The world's number one Stalinist Communist Party outside of the Empire can never be the custodian of democracy in Azania," he said.

He reiterated the PAC's call for the release and unconditional return of all political prisoners, the redistribution of wealth and the calling of elections based on one person one vote for a constituent assembly.

"This Government is illegitimate and its constitution is the gun. Unless our demands are met for government by consent, there can be no stability.

"For the PAC the struggle continues. We will not capitulate or collaborate," said Desai. - Sapa.



# Mandela attacks SA police

Political Staff

*Mr. Timp 16/8/90 (11A)*  
PORT ELIZABETH. — Every policeman in South Africa continued to regard every black person as a military target, deputy president of the ANC Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

The government had either lost control of the police, or "the police are doing what the government wants", he told a gathering at the opening of the Eastern Cape offices of the ANC.

Mr Mandela's attack on the police

produced a strong response from Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok, who last night told the annual meeting of the Southern Cross Association that "claims by certain individuals and organisations that the police are to blame for all violence, are devoid of all truth and nothing but propagandistic lies to vilify the police".

Mr Mandela said the primary cause of the unrest was apartheid's "brutal violence" and the injustice of "puppet structures" which sparked conflict.

Star 16/8/90

11A

11A

11A

NEWS

# Violence caused by 'police, apartheid'

PORT ELIZABETH — ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela yesterday blamed police, puppet organisations and apartheid for last week's violence in Port Elizabeth's "coloured" northern areas.

Officially opening the ANC regional offices at Standard House in Main Street, Port Elizabeth, he told hundreds of supporters the ANC had never condoned violence.

He said the criminal ele-

ment who destroyed and looted properties in the areas had taken advantage of the grievances of the people.

He said the general violence in the country was the fault of the police, discredited puppet organisations and apartheid. He blamed Inkatha and vigilantes for events in Natal.

Mr Mandela said: "Our battle for democracy still faces many obstacles. Apartheid has devastated our econ-

omy and plunged our country into escalating violence.

"The message of our people in both the urban and rural areas is that the masses are locked into brutal poverty. The human and social costs are incalculable."

He said the Eastern Cape had been in the forefront of the fight for democracy and praised Govan Mbeki, Raymond Mhlaba and Matthew Goniwe for their work in the region. — Sapa.

Star 16/8/90

11A

# Disarmed and trapped

TOKOZA — Our car drove through the entrance to the hostel unchallenged. We were watched suspiciously by migrant workers. We had entered a stronghold of the dreaded "Zulus."

Their reputation as fearless and pitiless fighters had been enhanced by the fierce fighting which had swept through Tokoza and the neighbouring townships of Katlehong and Vosloorus during the past three days, claiming the lives of at least 105 people.

With the savage war between pro-Inkatha Zulus and pro-ANC Xhosas very much on our minds, we drove to the top end of the rows of army-like barracks.

They had been built to accommodate migrant workers as cheaply as possible.

Within minutes our car was surrounded by a group of men. My heartbeat quickened.

An enormous chasm lay between us. They were desperately poor. I was, in their eyes, fabulously rich. They were black. I was white. They spoke Zulu and broken English. I spoke English and a few badly pronounced phrases in Zulu.

I hoped they would understand that I was there as a journalist. I feared they might not.

## Trap

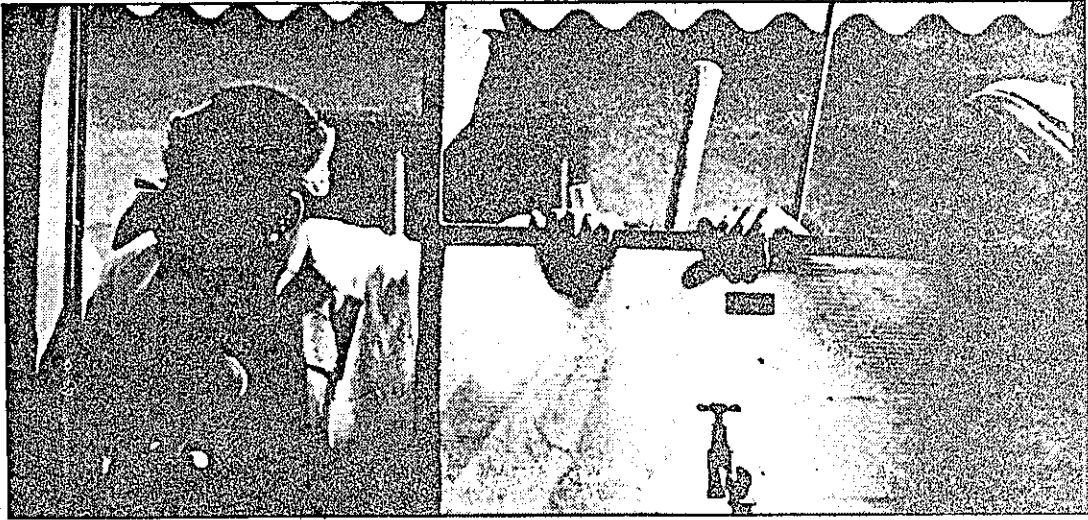
I got out of the car, solemnly introducing myself to each of the men, offering my hand and explaining my purpose. They understood my role.

What struck me immediately was that they were frightened. The intrepid "Zulus" were nervous.

Earlier, in the nearby squatter settlement of Phola Park, inhabited by pro-ANC Xhosas, grown men had fled at the first unsubstantiated hint that pro-Inkatha Zulus were mobilising for another attack.

It was like, I thought in retrospect, meeting an anxious Viking. But the Zulu men surrounding us were unquestionably scared. They had been disarmed by the police only minutes before. They felt very vulnerable.

The Zulu men's hostel, with its single entrance, was enclosed within walls. But for them it was no longer a fortress from which to mount attacks against the enemy outside. It was a trap, a ready-



Window assault . . . Inkatha supporters attack a hostel room at the Nguni hostel in Vosloorus. A man who had locked himself in the room was killed.

Picture by Ken Oosterbroek.

made tomb. Gradually, haltingly, he explained their fear. They were locked inside the hostel compound and had nowhere to hide their weapons. But the Xhosas outside had ample space in which to disperse and hide their weapons.

The tall man said: "We need transport, so that we can get out to safety. That is the only favour we ask you. Please do your best." His companions nodded. I said goodbye in Zulu.

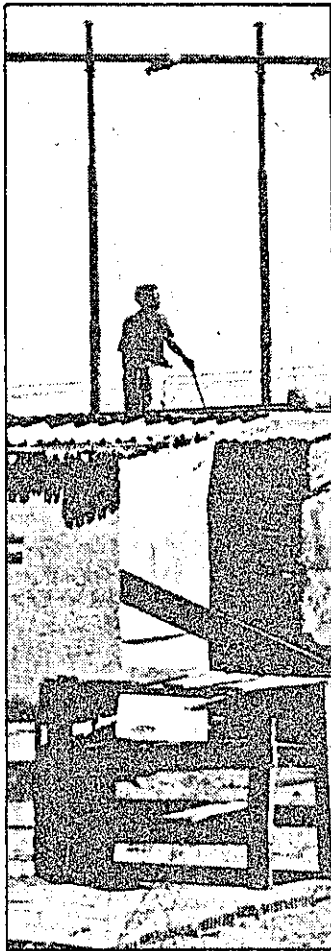
We drove out to the squatter camp hardly more than a kilometre away. The sordid barracks were separated from the shanty town by a wasteland filled with the litter of the poor: plastic containers, paper packets and polythene bags.

Earlier, before going to the hostel, we spoke to a group of Xhosa men in the squatter camp. They had just been disarmed by the police. They, too, were fearful.

## Distrust

Reflecting the distrust of the police which permeated the squatter settlement, another young man had said: "They (the police) took away our weapons. They are going to take our weapons to the hostels and give them to Zulus."

Fighting to keep control of his fear, he had added: "Many of us are going to die today." Some of his comrades had armed themselves with puny saplings to replace the stout sticks, metal pipes and homemade spears which had been confiscated.



Lone sentry . . . Alertness is the key to survival.



Death in the street . . . Police examining the body.

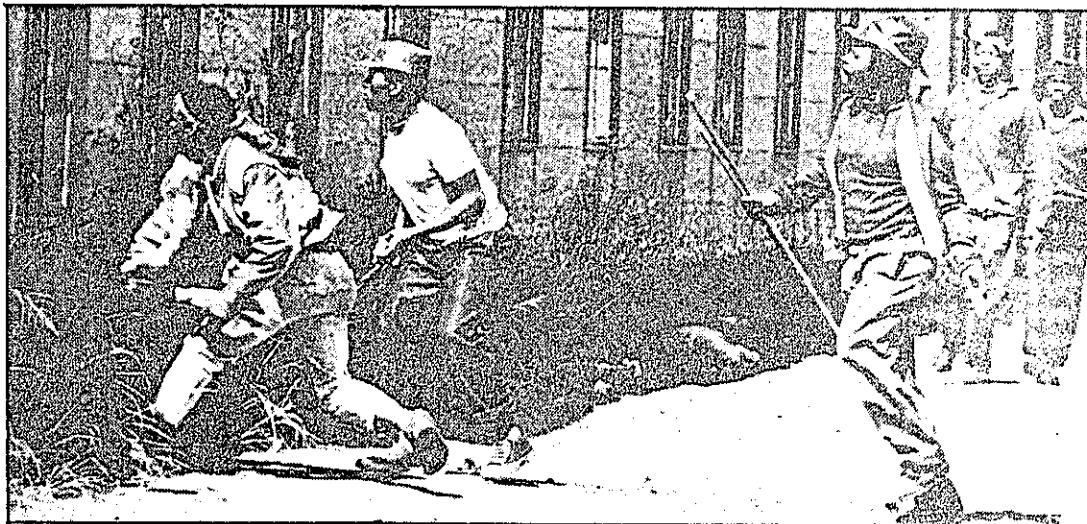
Some of the men that had encircled me on our first trip through the squatter camp were Xhosa migrant workers who had been driven out of the hostel by the Zulus after the start of the trouble. One of the migrant workers had said: "The

Zulus say they won't be ruled by a Xhosa." They had been certain the police would not disarm the Zulus. I had replied that we were about to check for ourselves if the disarming process was even-handed. I then pro-

In the and pro-Park unmi as b fell p vuln even proc carri PAT both

# d - nowhere to hide

In the eyes of the 'dreaded and pitiless' Zulus and the pro-ANC squatters in Phola Park was a similar and unmistakable look of terror, as both the warring factions fell prey to a sense of vulnerability following the even-handed disarming process which the police carried out yesterday. **PATRICK LAURENCE** caught both sides of the story.



Seeking conflict . . . Inkatha impis besiege another room in the Vosloorus hostel. The occupant was murdered. Picture by Ken Oosterbroek.

orus. A  
rbroek.



Police examine the bodies of three victims who died in the Crossroads inter-tribal violence, before loading them into a truck.

© Picture by Mbuzeni Zulu.

e ruled  
ain the  
rm the  
hat we  
or our  
process  
an pro-

mised to return and tell them what we saw, feeling that it would not harm my professional integrity to warn them if the Zulu-migrant workers had not been disarmed and to reassure them if they had been. Now we were back at the

same spot on the edge of the squatter camp where we first met the Xhosas. They had been reinforced by fresh arrivals of men. Their mood was tougher. I told them the Zulus at the hostel we had visited had been disarmed and that the Zulus,

fearful for their lives, wanted to leave. A well spoken man replied: "They must be driven back to Natal. We want peace and harmony. They must go." A police armoured vehicle parked on the nearby road. We drove out through the

heart of the largely deserted squatter camp. The tiny shacks were boarded up. Dogs lazed in the sun, oblivious, it seemed, of the fear of men. A Christian entrepreneur left his message: "Jesus is the Lord. Shoe shine. Same day service."

# SAP liaises with ANC

By Peter Fabricius,  
Political Correspondent

The Ministry of Law and Order has appointed a colonel whose special task will be to communicate with the ANC in an effort to stop violence and intimidation.

Colonel Steve van Rooyen's first task is to try to help put an end to the East Rand violence which has already claimed scores of black lives.

Police sources noted today that although police had drawn up a list of 96 police officers nationwide to liaise with the ANC, the ANC had so far come up with only 29 names.

Star 16/8/90  
The ANC and its aligned organisations yesterday placed the blame for the fighting in East Rand townships squarely at the door of Inkatha.

At a Johannesburg news conference Cosatu first vice-president Chris Dlamini claimed the fighting was an orchestrated campaign to spread Natal violence to Transvaal townships to establish Inkatha as a credible political party with significant community support.

He pointed out that hostels in the affected townships were not tribally segregated. — Sapa.

# Plea to lay down arms

# each other

Law 16/8/90  
By Kaizer Nyatumba,  
Political Staff

The Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and the ANC have condemned the violence which has claimed at least 140 lives in townships on the East Rand.

IFP central committee chairman Frank Mdlalose yesterday told The Star the loss of life by so many people aggrieved him deeply, regardless of their political affiliation.

Dr Mdlalose, who described the latest round of violence as most unfortunate, said he was concerned that the conflict had assumed tribal connotations, with Zulus and Xhosas reportedly clashing against each other.

"I want to urge all the people concerned to lay down arms, tolerate each other and resolve the problems by talking. My appeal to the local leadership is that they identify themselves and seek out venues where they can talk to each other," Dr Mdlalose said.

IFP president and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu

Buthelezi was reported to be away until next week.

Internal ANC spokesman Ahmed Kathrada said everything possible was being done to end the violence on the East Rand townships of Katlehong, Vosloorus and Tokoza.

However, he referred questions to the ANC's Witwatersrand regional office, where spokesman Barbara Hogan said attempts were made yesterday to defuse the situation.

Ms Hogan said an ANC delegation on the East Rand had met the police at Vosloorus Police Station yesterday afternoon, and a meeting between IFP and ANC leaders in the area was scheduled for today.

She added: "The people in the township are strongly convinced that the police are assisting Inkatha. Our regional office has compiled data and asked (ANC internal leader) Walter Sisulu to take the matter up with (Law and Order Minister) Adriaan Vlok."

Although the situation was "still in flames", everything possible was being done to get "effective intervention" in the area, Ms Hogan said.



Inkatha supporters chase an injured man whom they cornered and attacked at Nguni Hostel in Vosloorus yesterday. The unidentified, badly bleeding man was saved from almost certain death when the occupants of a passing car fired on his attackers.

Picture by Ken Oosterbroek.

012-5700  
PREF 254  
PAGE

CM Tru's 24/8/90 11A

# Gerwel: UWC to redefine its role

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

THE University of the Western Cape had defended the ANC's cause during the national oppression of democratic forces over the past four years, but it now had to declare its autonomy from the state, both present and future, its principal, Professor Jakes Gerwel, said yesterday.

The university's rethink of its role was not a dramatic change, but "we will no longer be a kind of substitute standard bearer for the liberation and democratic movement", he said in an interview.

"We will certainly, I hope, remain a democratic and progressive institution, as we are composed in that way, but in a formal way that relationship will obviously have to change."

He had said at a University of Cape Town graduation ceremony back in 1984 that universities had to protect their autonomy from

## Taking a stand on autonomy

the state and from future states, but then a period of repression came and UWC felt it was necessary for a university to take a stand in the best ideals of the purveyors of freedom.

"Where freedom was so assailed, we felt universities should come out clearly in defence of that freedom even if it meant coming out side by side with the liberation movement," Professor Gerwel said.

UWC's political connectedness would have to be rethought as all progressive institutions of civil society would have to do "because we think in the building of a democratic society one of the prerequisites is the institutions

of civil society should have an autonomy from the state.

"If the ANC and other democratic movements represent the state, a future state or part of a future state, then now in the time they are being unbanned and they have greater freedom to operate and defend themselves is also the time for preparation for governing, and from our side we must define the relationship between a democratic state and our institution.

"In that sense we are redefining our position."

UWC took very seriously how the university was democratised and everyone in the university constituency was equal in it, whether they were academics, students, administrative officials or workers.

The institution was also bound to the service community, the organised formations of the community, and responded to the people.

"As an institution we have seriously taken the heavy burden of the title of the 'peoples' university'," Professor Gerwel said.

Star 16/8/90

11A

5/10

## ANC, SACP accused of allying with NP

CAPE TOWN — The SA Communist Party and the African National Congress had "ditched all their liberation luggage in a mad rush to share power with imperialism and white supremacy," Mr Barney Desai of the Western Cape executive committee of the Pan Africanist Congress said yesterday.

Speaking to the Islamic Political Forum at the University of Cape Town, Mr Desai castigated the ANC for entering negotiations "as the weaker partner, and therefore, reluctantly or otherwise, having to bow down to every dictate of the Government".

The ANC and SACP, in responding to white fears, had agreed to let whites have their own schools and language, "and perhaps they could add the right to maintain the character of their own areas. To the PAC this smacks of some form of democratic apartheid.

"They do not even hide the fact that they are in a de facto alliance with the Nationalist Party," he added, pointing out that they warred "with the op-

pressed of every persuasion in order to secure their hegemony of the liberation movement".

"Is it not ironic that the only people they are now prepared to collaborate with are the South African Police and the SADF?" he asked.

He accused the ANC of revising a condition of the Harare Declaration — the condition which stipulates the release of all political prisoners and unconditional return of exiles — "to include only ANC prisoners and ANC exiles".

"This manoeuvre is directly related to forcing the PAC and others to negotiate," he said, adding that the SACP and ANC had also compromised on removal of the Internal Security Act.

Mr Desai also hit out at the SACP, saying: "Since last month it has become clear beyond speculation that the ANC leadership is now in absolute control of the SACP."

"For the PAC the struggle continues. We will not capitulate or collaborate," said Mr Desai. — Sapa.



Star 16/8/90

11A



## ANC, SACP accused of allying with NP

CAPE TOWN — The SA Communist Party and the African National Congress had "ditched all their liberation luggage in a mad rush to share power with imperialism and white supremacy," Mr Barney Desai of the Western Cape executive committee of the Pan Africanist Congress said yesterday.

Speaking to the Islamic Political Forum at the University of Cape Town, Mr Desai castigated the ANC for entering negotiations "as the weaker partner, and therefore, reluctantly or otherwise, having to bow down to every dictate of the Government".

The ANC and SACP, in responding to white fears, had agreed to let whites have their own schools and language, "and perhaps they could add the right to maintain the character of their own areas. To the PAC this smacks of some form of democratic apartheid.

"They do not even hide the fact that they are in a de facto alliance with the Nationalist Party," he added, pointing out that they warred "with the op-

pressed of every persuasion in order to secure their hegemony of the liberation movement".

"Is it not ironic that the only people they are now prepared to collaborate with are the South African Police and the SADF?" he asked.

He accused the ANC of revising a condition of the Harare Declaration — the condition which stipulates the release of all political prisoners and unconditional return of exiles — "to include only ANC prisoners and ANC exiles".

"This manoeuvre is directly related to forcing the PAC and others to negotiate," he said, adding that the SACP and ANC had also compromised on removal of the Internal Security Act.

Mr Desai also hit out at the SACP, saying: "Since last month it has become clear beyond speculation that the ANC leadership is now in absolute control of the SACP."

"For the PAC the struggle continues. We will not capitulate or collaborate," said Mr Desai. — Sapa.



# Sachs warns of 'Mickey Mouse' apartheid ploys

By CLIVE SAWYER  
Tygerberg Bureau

ENTRENCHING group rights in a new South African constitution would be a "Mickey Mouse attempt to maintain disguised apartheid", says African National Congress constitutional consultant Mr Albie Sachs.

Speaking at the University of Stellenbosch yesterday at a conference on the future role of

Afrikaners, Mr Sachs said the ANC had "no policy on Afrikaners, unlike the way there once was a Native policy".

"It is time to stop using these simplistic categories. One of the greatest crimes of apartheid was attributing roles to people," Mr Sachs said.

It was tragic some people felt anger and shame at being Afrikaners because of what had been done in the name of Afrikaner nationalism.

A new constitution should provide common political rights while allowing diversity of cultural and religious expression, he said.

Emphasising that he was speaking in his personal capacity, Mr Sachs said there should be "one language of record" in the new South Africa, with all others having equal status.

Professor Johan van der Westhuizen of Pretoria Univer-

sity said the most important minority who had to be protected was the individual.

Mr Glenn Babb MP said he agreed with a reported statement by Mr Sachs that group rights should not be the focus of a new constitution, but rather social interests that deserved protection.

It was a major failing of the Freedom Charter and ANC guidelines that they provided for centralised government.

ARbu 16/5/90

114

2007

# Are urban blacks being retribalised?

NOTHING could be more calculated to reinforce the simplistic white illusion that black political loyalties can be unfailingly defined along tribal lines, than reports that the bloodbath in the townships of the East Rand this week was between "Xhosas" and "Zulus".

So devoutly do some whites believe this illusion that one of the most wizened arguments in the repertoire of white pundits is that "if the blacks take over there will be a war to the death between the tribes and the country will go down the drain."

In fact, all the evidence suggests that this week's reports notwithstanding, black political loyalties do not follow tribal lines and that what we are witnessing might be an attempt to stir up precisely those tribal animosities which some white fantasies, and nightmares, are made of — and which some black dreams of power are made of, too.

The most recent opinion survey, by Market Research Africa in April, May and June among 2 281 black adults across the country (but excluding Kwazulu and Natal), show that the ANC is by far the most popular political movement, and that its popularity cuts across all ethnic, tribal and sociological lines, embracing Zulus and Xhosas and all other groups quite irrespective of their proportion in the overall population.

By interesting contrast, Inkatha was the least popular, scoring support which was only slightly greater among blacks than that for the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

Ah, will say the believers in illusion, but what about Natal and Kwazulu? A survey conducted in April by Markinor and which included the greater Durban metropolitan area showed much the same trend — rising support for the ANC, dwindling support for Inkatha.

## Testimony

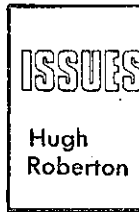
Furthermore, a Research Surveys poll conducted door-to-door among blacks across the country in February, showed that Mr Nelson Mandela enjoyed 67 percent support as "first choice" for president, while Inkatha's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi scored only 2 percent — less than several other ANC luminaries, including Oliver Tambo and Thabo Mbeki.

Earlier this year, when the ANC and Cosatu called for a nation-wide stayaway to "isolate" Chief Buthelezi and to express anger at the ongoing violence in Natal — a call which was vigorously campaigned against by Inkatha and the PAC (and SABC television and radio) — some 50 percent of all workers in Natal and Kwazulu heeded the ANC call, according to the estimates made by commerce and industry in the Zulu heartland.

And, of course, the very fact of the violence in Natal is testimony to the divergent political loyalties of Zulus and to the fact that they cannot be lumped into a political camp simply because of their tribal origins.

So how does all this square with the appalling "Xhosa" and "Zulu" bloodshed on the East Rand this week?

Was the fighting simply between recent arrivals from rural areas who identify strongly with



Hugh Robertson

4x665  
16/8/90  
11A

their tribal backgrounds and who lack the political sophistication of the mass of urban blacks; a sort of War of the Yanks? Perhaps, but the evidence points to the violence being not only more endemic than that, but also far more thoroughly planned.

Many accounts suggest that the aggressors were organised Zulu impi bent upon arson, death and destruction, and that their targets did not have so much a political identity as a tribal "Xhosa" identity. Their spokesmen on the television news last night implied as much.

The impression created was of a tribal conflagration, deliberately devised and executed.

Thus we have a significant distinction beginning to emerge between the violence in Natal, which is between Zulus of differing political views, and the violence in the industrial heartland, which would seem to be between people of different tribes.

## Provoking

Why is it that in Natal "Zulus" differ politically, but on the East Rand we are led to believe they are a homogenous political group, united against the "Xhosa"?

Are we, perhaps, witnessing a process which will have the effect of retribalising South Africa's detribalised black townships by provoking massive violence along tribal lines?

Are we witnessing a process which will break down the cross-tribal support of non-tribal political movements like the ANC and establish tribal fiefdoms instead?

And are we seeing an attempt to cleave black society along old fault lines so as to introduce the familiar strategy of divide and rule?

It is very difficult for non-tribal organisations to flourish in an atmosphere where tribal violence predominates and is kept alive by constant emphasis on division.

If "Xhosas" are set against "Zulus" often enough and with sufficient intensity, political movements which seek to bring "Xhosa" and "Zulu" together are bound to suffer — movements like the ANC (and, for that matter, the PAC).

What is it which suddenly has brought about inter-tribal clashes when no tribal clashes on this scale have occurred before? What was the flame which ignited tribal tinder when the whole focus of black politics was on far weightier, non-tribal national issues?

## Affiliations

If South African politics were to disintegrate into a tribally-based morass it would be a tragedy, perhaps an irreparable tragedy, for the towering problems which face the country can only be tackled by a united country which has at its head a leadership commanding respect and support for its political views and agenda rather than its tribal affiliations.

The largely conflict-ridden, tribally divided, non-urbanised Africa to the North of us, surely, is grim testimony to that fact.

What makes us almost unique on the continent, indeed, is the very fact of our detribalised metropolitan masses who view politics with the pragmatism and sophistication of urban dwellers the world over.

# Police, ANC to meet regularly

Crime Reporter

POLICE, the African National Congress and other organisations are to form "working groups" which will meet regularly to resolve problems.

This was announced after the first talks, led by regional police commissioner Major-General Flip Fourie, in Cape Town yesterday.

The ANC delegation included the co-ordinator for the ANC in the Western Cape, Mr Reggie September, and deputy co-ordinator Mr Trevor Manuel and Mrs Amy Thornton. A police spokesman said the crux of the discussions was the unrest in the Boland.

"Barriers of distrust" had been broken, said Major Calitz.

# Vosloorus grim, volatile

Apr 16/8/90

Montshiwa Morocac

The situation at Vosloorus was volatile late yesterday with about 14 bodies strewn around the Nguni hostel.

Other bodies had already been removed by police from the hostel and the veld next to the police station.

They were apparently victims of an attack by heavily-armed Zulu impis, who, in their hundreds, moved into the Nguni hostel singing war songs.

Residents said yesterday three more youths had been shot dead by hostel inmates who alleged they had tried to set the hostel alight.

It was against this grim backdrop last night that civic leaders, including Vosloorus mayor Morrison Senokela, police and elected leaders from Zulu and Xhosa-speaking factions met in a desperate effort to bring about peace.

The Star photographer Ken Oosterbroek was shown at least eight bodies, which lay in different parts of the hostel, and another of a youth in the nearby township.

Oosterbroek said he saw hostel inmates break down a door and enter the hostel where they started assaulting a man who had apparently

been hiding there.

He heard the man screaming until he became silent.

He also saw the men smashing lockers and looting.

Meanwhile scores of non-Zulu-speaking hostel inmates, who had fled from their rooms on Tuesday night, were still stranded outside the local police station, terrified to go back to their sleeping places.

Those who fled the hostels left with only the clothing on their backs.

Buses were not entering the township last night and commuters had to alight on the outskirts and walk the rest of the way home.

## Detentions:

Star 16/8/90

## ANC calls

(11A) (12) (22)

## for demos

By Kaizer Nyatumba,  
Political Staff

The ANC today called on all South Africans to throw their weight behind a campaign against detention without trial and participate in mass demonstrations on August 23.

The ANC said that it fully supported the demonstration in Durban yesterday by families of people detained under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act, demanding the unconditional release of the detainees if they were not charged.

The demonstrators also demanded to know the whereabouts of their detained relatives, immediate access to the detainees by family members, doctors, lawyers and religious ministers, and that the police refrain from torturing the detainees.

Star 16/8/90

# We will fight Mandela - CP

BLOEMFONTEIN — The freedom of the white was a God-given right and was not negotiable, said Conservative Party spokesman on constitutional development, Ferdi Hartzenberg.

"Our fatherland is a gift from God and we won't ask Mandela if we can live here or have any rights," he told the Free State CP congress yesterday.

"We say to Mandela, if he is going to fight, we will beat him ... We will lay everything on the altar to prevent the ANC ruling over us."

President de Klerk knew in his heart the CP was the true representative of whites, he said.

The Government was mistaken when it said the negotiation process was irrevocable, because the urge for freedom could never be suppressed. — Sapa.

# ANC has key to sanctions lifting

11A  
Sowetan  
16/8/90

The ANC holds the key for the lifting of sanctions, according to *The Innes Labour Brief*.

The document is prepared by Professor Duncan Innes, industrial sociology professor at the University of the Witwatersrand.

Innes interviewed prominent people in the United States, including Themba Vilakazi, Boston representative of the ANC. Presidential candidate George Dukakis, was also interviewed.

The general feeling from the people interviewed is that the US is not likely to consider lifting sanctions until there is full democracy in the country.

## Democracy

It is also assumed that should the ANC express satisfaction with the progress to democracy, there is a likelihood that sanction will be eased.

The US presently has the most comprehensive anti-apartheid legislation of all Western countries. Most companies to disinvest from this country are US firms.

Inne's brief also looks at pertinent arguments surrounding the sanctions debate and some of the question asked are: Have sanctions influenced the debate in South Africa and what must SA do to have sanctions lifted?

To get a copy of *The Innes Labour Brief* phone 482-3580. The postal address is PO Box 91070 Auckland Park, 2006.



THE violence in South Africa has reached a stage where it is just not enough to condemn and apportion blame.

We have a right to ask our leaders: what are you doing about it?

Some of our fellow South Africans may be tempted to dismiss the recent carnage between Inkatha and ANC supporters as black-on-black violence, but a great many universal interests are in jeopardy here, not least of which is the peace process.

We can't have forgotten the factional conflict that plunged this country into chaos in 1985 and caused the Government to declare a state of emergency.

### Hostile

It is also simplistic to see these battles as tribal feuding between the Zulus and Xhosas.

There are ethnic undertones, certainly, but this is a political war between Inkatha and the ANC.

This is a battle over turf that pits Zulu against Zulu in Natal, and Zulu against 'the Rest' in the Transvaal and elsewhere.

I spent a night last week with Inkatha members in one of the violence-riven hostels. I came away with the impression that they view themselves as a minority group in hostile, largely pro-ANC communities.

## Mandla Tyala surveys this week's appalling carnage and appeals for all South Africans to cool their passions and learn some basic tolerance



They say they are being taunted, especially by the "comrades", as the bad guys who must be driven out of town.

We all know what a siege, backs-to-the-wall mentality can do to any group. Among Inkatha supporters, it appears to have given rise to a frightening preparedness to fight for the right of their organisation to exist.

As one hostel dweller put it: "There will be no peace in the hostels or anywhere else in the country where there are Zulus until ANC supporters learn to live with Inkatha."

This is a bizarre situation in which Inkatha support-

ers believe the Rest are trying to wipe them out, while the Rest view Inkatha as a terror force that has the tendency to descend on innocent communities at the slightest provocation.

### Urgency

Here are some suggested steps to defuse the situation:

- Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi must meet as a matter of extreme urgency, preferably in Natal. Their followers must be able to see an absence of hostility between their leaders.

- ANC leaders should stop calling for Inkatha to be isolated, as these exhor-

tations take on a physical — and often deadly — interpretation on the ground. The comrades take them literally.

- To defuse the war mentality that has taken root among their followers, Messrs Mandela and Buthelezi need to send clear signals down to the grassroots operatives that Inkatha and the ANC may be political adversaries but they are not enemies.

It worked in Zimbabwe, and I am willing to bet my assegaif it will work here.

It may be instructive to note what happened in the large-scale maiming and taking of life in Matabeleland after Joshua Nkomo

stopped making public claims that Robert Mugabe was trying to have him eliminated.

Mr Nkomo is now deputy president of the country, and political (some will prefer to say ethnic) tensions between the Ndebele and the Shona have eased remarkably.

Mr Mandela's early view was noble. As in the case of apartheid, he realised that you don't end a conflict without getting the protagonists together. He wanted to meet Chief Buthelezi publicly in violence-riven Zululand.

But many in Mr Mandela's camp would not let the meeting take place because, among other reasons:

- Chief Buthelezi is held politically responsible by ANC supporters for the killings that have taken place.

They portray Inkatha as the aggressor, and killings by some of their own have

been in self-defence against the impis, they say. How can we make peace with those who have killed so many of our brothers and sisters?

- They argue that Chief Buthelezi therefore does not deserve to share a public platform with a man like Mr Mandela. Holding a joint rally is tantamount to accepting him as a political force, and he does not deserve that capital.

- Chief Buthelezi is now also categorised with President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana as a hostile leader. Popular perception within "the people's alliance" is that when blacks in South Africa, including other homeland leaders, are closing ranks against apartheid, Chief Buthelezi resembles, in the old fable, the goat that pulled the other way.

Too many lives have been lost at the hands of

Inkatha and vice versa, but will sustained anger ameliorate the pain already suffered? If anything, the wrath will only lead to further loss of life.

It's now time to live and let live.

Granted, black South Africans, much as most Africans elsewhere on the continent, have not experienced the luxury of friendly political opponents. In black politics, being in opposition to the popular line has always meant being perceived as collaborating with the enemy (read apartheid) in one way or another.

### Deadly

But now we are moving from the politics of protest and confrontation to the politics (hopefully) of the ballot box. If we cannot learn to disagree politically now, it does not say much

about our future ability to tolerate political opposition.

The politics of apartheid has been a matter of life and death, but the politics we are now moving into should be a less deadly game. It's time to learn, as the Americans would say, to lighten up a little.

### Resentment

It is true that groups like the ANC have for decades been unable to sell their ideas because of state repression and there is resentment that Inkatha has always been able to hold meetings and propagate its ideas with the blessing of the State.

But things have changed. If the ANC now has the right to recruit Afrikaner members shouldn't Inkatha be able to continue to organise among its own?

And then there's what Mr Mandela calls a major stumbling block to peace — police partiality in the conflict.

By many accounts the hands of the police are not entirely clean in this mess, although they plead not guilty. But the point is, should the fact that the police tend to agree more with the conservatives than with people considered radical be a major obstacle?

The ANC should not let alleged pro-Inkatha machinations by certain elements make the possibility for peace even more remote. It has already forgiven worse in the interest of accelerating the democratisation process.

Further, those very same partial elements within the security forces will be severely undercut if the leaders move even faster to end the mutual hostility between Inkatha and the ANC. Extinguish the fires and the stoker will be out of a job.

### Allegiance

Finally, all black South Africa should swallow the pill and let Inkatha be. The contest for mass allegiance should be in the marketplace of ideas, not on the battlefield.

Unless this happens there might just be no-one left to cast a vote when the New SA finally becomes a reality.

# The contest for allegiance should be in the marketplace of ideas, not on the battlefield

# Stop the carnage

WHEN it started in Natal, we thought it was a continuation of the long-standing Msinga feuds which had resulted in many deaths.

The statistics then were usually one killed and two injured. But the condemnation came swiftly from the political organisations of the time. This must stop, we all said.

Sociologists came with sophisticated explanations why it was happening. Poverty and landlessness were the twin engines driving the Natal killing machine, they told us.

Now and then there would be an outburst in the Transvaal with maybe a gun used. Then came the UDF and the Natal fight took a major turn.

This piece is not interested in who is or who was wrong or right.

The fact is that the Natal fighting, as the killings down there came to be known, intensified and the statistics changed. Until the recent horror when a bus load of passengers was ambushed in Inanda.

Survivors crawling from the wreck were stoned and shot. The savagery had taken a new turn.

And now Katlehong, Tokoza, Vosloorus and Eldorado Park. Before them Sebokeng and Kagiso. Where next?

## Gruesome

I write this piece numbed by the gruesome pictures that stared at me from the TV screen on Wednesday night. Pictures that stare at me from all newspapers today. Pictures of children running away from men they are suppose to call *nta'e* and *baba*.

Pictures of black men armed to the teeth with all sorts of armaments, ready to kill other black men and women. Forty-two killed, 105 killed, the figure has gone up since yesterday and will continue to do so.

And I feel very sorry, no ashamed, at being a black man in this country today. Ashamed because whether I like it or not, I am a part of this people who are doing this to our people.

I am angry. Angry at my organisation, Azapo, for not being able to step in and say 'stop'.

I am angry at the ANC, PAC, Inkatha and which ever other

*Sowetan 17/5/90*

It doesn't matter any more  
who's right or wrong....  
Black leaders must act to  
stem on-going slaughter

black organisation for letting this happen to us.

And I am angry at we black people. For, out of all the millions of us filling this beautiful land, we cannot produce a Messiah who can stand up and call on the killers to stop and be obeyed.

## Humanity

I am angry at all the black leadership, Mandela, Mothopeng, Mosala and even Buthelezi, for dodging the point as each one tries to side step and avoid being seen as the one who tried and failed. Instead they all try, like the sociologists, to find scapegoats. So the police are blamed.

Buthelezi said the killings will go on until Mandela meets him. If this is indeed true, is it too naive

to expect Mandela, in the interest of all of black humanity, to pay the price and meet Buthelezi and give him the publicity that he so desperately wants.

The struggle for liberation calls for maximum unity of the oppressed.

The happenings of the past weeks will stand out as the deepest abyss to which we have sunk in the confused state and in this phase of our revolution.

It no longer matters what the fighting is all about; what matters is how to stop the carnage that is besmirching the image of black people all over the world.

When Charles Taylor of Liberia fights Samuel Doe and in the process more than 200 refugees huddled in churches are butchered to death, it is not only

the Liberians that stand accused of savagery. It is the whole of black humanity.

Hence the attempts by the OAU to send a peace-keeping force to stop the carnage.

Who will save black South Africans/Azansians. Should the OAU send a peace-keeping force? Are we ready, as a people, to rule ourselves if we cannot even manage disputes without resorting to such killings as witnessed in the East Rand?

Shall our leaders stop blaming the police and accept that the problem is with black people. Is there a hope at all for us as a people? I want to know. I want to know from Buthelezi, Mosala, Mandela and Mothopeng. And I want to know from all of us black people.

11A

FOCUS

By MATHATHA TSEDU

# Homeless have little to cheer, says Boesak

Sowetan 17/8/90

(123)

(11A)

**SOWETAN  
Correspondent**

WHILE President de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela were talking change and negotiation, people without homes and jobs had little to feel cheerful about, said Dr Alan Boesak, former dominee turned politician.

Speaking at a Press conference in the northern areas where 65 people died in recent unrest, he said the country was sitting on a powder keg. What had happened in Port Elizabeth and was happening in other parts of the country was a serious threat to the peace initiative.

While police officers and community leaders came to certain agreements it had taken far too long for these orders to filter down to the rank and file.

Besides the socio-economic problems of



**ALAN BOESAK**

poverty and unemployment and frustration, there is another very serious problem. People here on the ground cannot find any direct link between the negotiations at Government level and what they are experiencing.

He said apartheid was still being felt and administered by the same people who showed scant respect for people's self respect and need.

He said all the elements of the worst days

of the state of emergency were prevalent in the northern areas last week with police ready to admit that they had lost control.

He said he had heard that there was no immediate police response to the call for protection and police had tried to divide residents by calling on certain sections to wear white armbands, reminiscent of the witdoeke in Cape Town.

If the Government did not do something about controlling the police then there was going to be less and less support for negotiation.

He condemned the "excessive use of live ammunition".

Commenting on the allegations against the police, Major Bill Dennis, police liaison officer for the Eastern cape, said the police were continually being accused of either acting too forcefully or not forcefully enough.

# No broad concensus on settlement, says PAC

11A  
however  
17/8/90

THE PAC accepted a negotiated settlement, but only if it led to a "complete transfer of power". PAC general secretary Benny Alexander said in Grahamstown on Wednesday.

Addressing a gathering at Rhodes University, Alexander added the only mechanism to transfer power was a "democratic Constituent Assembly", which was broadly con-

tested by political parties and not by individuals.

Alexander said there was broad consensus by the ANC, PAC and Azapo on a democratic settlement based upon the idea of a Constituent Assembly.

"We must not waste our energy by distorting past history and the history to come. We should rather pool our resources now so that one day our people will be able to de-

cide for themselves in a democratic election."

"While we reject President F W de Klerk's current reforms, we are willing to meet anyone to discuss why we are not talking to the Government," said Alexander.

## System

Alexander said De Klerk's model allowed for a two-tier parliamentary system with a "House of Majority Rule" and a "House of Races", the latter having veto rights for the protection of whites.

"No self-respecting liberation movement or political party would take part in elections they could not win," he added.

The PAC regarded race classification as

"mythical nonsense" and stood for the creation of a single nation, comprising "one race, the human race".

He said the PAC recognised two categories of Africans, indigenous Africans, whose history did not lie outside the continent, and those Africans, whose history could be traced elsewhere but whose allegiance was totally to "the African people and to the development of Africa". - Sapa

SOVEREIGNTY

11A

## Back to the future

The ANC should get its first test at the polls next year when the Transkei, and possibly two other so-called independent homelands, hold referendums to determine whether they should be reincorporated into SA. The ANC issued a call for such a referendum early this week, after a meeting with most homeland leaders and the United Democratic Front.

Transkei started the ball rolling earlier this year when it issued a draft decree on a referendum.

The decree calls for comment from interested parties, including the SA government (which has not yet responded); calls for suggestions on who is eligible to vote and from what age; what sort of identity document should be used (there is still massive resistance to Transkeian ID documents); and how to upgrade the existing voters rolls.

Gen Bantu Holomisa, Transkei's ruler, tells the *FM* that the existing voters rolls have the names of only a fraction of Transkeians of voting age, because of widespread resistance to the independence of Transkei in 1976. *FIM 1718190*

"A referendum is the only fair and democratic way. The present governments in SA and the national states and non-independent states were elected when a number of organisations were banned. Even if they say they are elected as homeland leaders, deep in our hearts we know those elections were unfair."



**Holomisa**

Holomisa says one of the most critical decisions is what sort of ID document should be used at polling stations — which will also be placed in SA

for migrant workers. He says the various political parties in Transkei, as well as the ANC, PAC and a variety of other parties, will have time to lobby for support.

The running of campaigns could give a sneak preview of voter tastes and the electoral abilities of the various groups. It will also give homeland residents an early taste of democratic procedures and options.

Venda and Ciskei are considering the pro-

*FIM 1718190*

11A

posal, while Bophuthatswana says it has no intention of holding such a referendum.

Charlene Smith

University of Transkei, stated that the PAC does not regard the question of making a choice between capitalism and socialism as relevant. "What is important is the meaningful identification of a package of policies and pragmatic strategies that will promote a rapid improvement in the quality of life."

Key aspects of that package involve:

- Ensuring that disadvantaged groups get access to all economic resources on acceptable terms; FIM 1718190 (11A)
- Effectively addressing the "unhealthy concentration" of economic power and ownership in white hands; and
- Empowering Africans through education and training.

Nkuhlu stresses the importance of State planning to achieve these ends but adds that this "does not imply economic dominance by the State."

PAC chairman Johnson Mlambo outlined a four-point plan for the new "Azania." Initially, he stated, there will have to be fundamental political change so that blacks have the decisive voice.

The PAC's position is that there can be no political movement until the remaining conditions laid down in the Harare Declaration are met.

After that, the PAC wants removed what it describes as the five pillars of apartheid — the Population Registration Act; Land Acts; Bantu Education Act; the tricameral parliament; and the bantustans.

With those conditions met, the PAC wants a constituent assembly elected on the basis of one-man, one-vote on a common roll. The assembly — based on proportional representation — will draw up the new constitution.

Mlambo's second point revolves around a series of massive five-year educational programmes to compensate for the severe lack of skills in the black population.

His third point is that there is a need for an interim relief programme for the disadvan-

OPPOSITION FIM 1718190

### Spot the difference

In two days and nearly 20 hours of talks between the Pan Africanist Congress and American Chamber of Commerce in SA (Amcham) the word "nationalisation" was not mentioned. (11A)

Prof Wiseman Nkuhlu, principal of the

FIM 1718190  
taged, which will have to be funded by those who control "the commanding heights of the economy," on the grounds that they and foreign investors have benefited and are still benefiting from apartheid policies. (11A)

The final point concerns the need for economic experts to be called in to draw up plans for the redistribution of wealth in a way which will be least disruptive. ■

ies

# FW de Klerk and Mandela meet

11A  
CMT Times 17/1/90

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — President FW de Klerk and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela held an urgent, unscheduled meeting in Pretoria yesterday to discuss ways to end the East Rand violence which had so far claimed more than 150 lives.

And last night Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok and the regional divisional commander of police, Maj-Gen Johan Swart, met Mr Mandela and a delegation of Sowetans in the tense township.

It is understood the De Klerk-Mandela meeting, which lasted for almost two hours, was called by the ANC primarily to register their alarm at the violence and the police's handling of the situation.

Both sides apparently agreed that joint structures such as those operating in Kagiso township on the West Rand should be implemented in as many areas as soon as possible.

In Kagiso the ANC and Inkatha last week agreed to establish a joint committee to co-operate with the SAP on implementing a ceasefire.

Mr De Klerk's office confirmed in a brief statement that he, Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee and Mr Vlok had met Mr Mandela and senior ANC members Mr Pallo Jordan and Mr Aziz Pahad and that steps to curb the violence were discussed.

A police source said yesterday that although the SAP had already nominated 96 senior officers to liaise with the ANC in

various parts of the country, the response from the other side had been disappointing and the nominated SAP officers were often unable to contact their ANC counterparts.

Further developments last night:

- More policemen are to be sent to Soweto.
- In Durban, Inkatha said the fighting between Thokoza hostel inmates and Phola Park squatters in the Transvaal was not between its followers and those of the ANC, but that it was ethnic-based.
- Azapo has initiated a multi-party meeting of extra-parliamentary organisations in a bid to end the continuing fighting.

● Violence hits Soweto — Page 2

tal  
dy  
n-  
50  
o-  
ff  
ad  
d.  
or  
in  
n-

8

Deceptionist dead

Cut in bank

# DP leader slams ANC protest call

Political Correspondent

DEMOCRATIC PARTY co-leader Dr Denis Worrall has criticised the ANC's call for nationwide demonstrations against security laws next Thursday.

Speaking at the opening of the DP's new office in Durban last night, Dr Worrall said that both President F W de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela had "noted with satisfaction" after last week's talks in Pretoria that progress was being made in revising security legislation.

"Against this background, and against the background of wide-scale violence in South Africa, the DP fails to see what justification there can be for a nationwide demonstration of this kind.

"From past experience we know that such demonstrations disrupt the lives of ordinary people; they put enormous strain on the police; and they disrupt the economy and weaken business confidence," he said.

Liberalisation and democracy were not possible in South Africa if the economy was destroyed.



# Mandela calls

for peace

Cap 744  
17/8/90

PORT ELIZABETH

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela has called on all democratic forces to join the search for peace.

Speaking at the opening of the Eastern Cape ANC offices here on Wednesday, he said: "We need to build mutual trust amongst all our people.

"A non-racial and democratic constitution must be drawn up by representatives elected on the basis of universal suffrage. This remains our only guarantee for permanent peace and stability." — Sapa

PRETORIA. — The United Democratic Front agreed to reconsider its campaign for the occupation of unused land by squatters after a meeting here yesterday with Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs Mr Hernus Kriel.

The co-president of the UDF, Mrs Albertina Sisulu, said after the meeting she would return to her organisation and discuss the possibility of reconsidering the squatting campaign.

She said yesterday's meeting had been historic in that the land question was being addressed at last.

At the meeting the

# UDF to *Chit Tants 17/8/90* 'rethink' *11A* its land struggle

government gave the assurance squatter shacks would not be demolished and the forced removal of communities would not take place without prior consultation with the communities concerned.

The talks were called after the UDF a few weeks ago proposed a campaign for the occupation of unused land.

Mr Kriel suggested that a joint working group be formed to look into the exchange of information between the department and the UDF. Ways of community participation in the identification and allocation of land could also be explored, he said.

Both delegations agreed that the meeting took place in a friendly and positive manner. Regular future meetings were envisaged. — Sapa

# FW's 'tough talk' with Mandela

11A  
ARBUS 17/8/90



Street war:  
Nine killed,  
113 injured  
in Soweto

ARBUS 17/8/90

From STAN HLOPHE, GUY JEPSON, MONTSHIWA MOROKE and CRAIG KOTZE  
Argus Correspondents

JOHANNESBURG. — Nine people have died and 113 injured in clashes between Inkatha supporters and Soweto residents.

Yesterday's violence followed two days of all-out war between Inkatha-Zulu and ANC-Xhosa factions at Tokoza on the East Rand this week.

At least 144 people have died and more than 1 000 injured.

Three more bodies were found by police in Zondi yesterday afternoon and another man died in hospital, bringing the Soweto death toll to nine.

Last night police patrols fired teargas and rubber bullets in many parts of Soweto to disperse crowds attacking police vehicles, said police spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Tienie Halgryn.

Last night police fired teargas into several houses in central Western Jabavu and Molapo near Inhlazane station — the scene of earlier vicious clashes which claimed four lives.

Political Staff  
PRESIDENT De Klerk and African National Congress deputy-president Mr Nelson Mandela have met urgently to try and end the massive wave of violence sweeping the country, especially in black Transvaal townships.

And last night Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok and the ANC's internal leader, Mr Walter Sisulu, met in Pretoria to discuss the escalation of violence.

After a meeting at Mr De Klerk's Union Buildings' office yesterday morning, government sources said Mr De Klerk forcefully urged Mr Mandela to meet Kwazulu leader Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi to try and resolve the ANC/Inkatha faction fighting which is believed to lie at the heart of much of the killing.

### ANC concerned

They said there had been "tough talk" from Mr De Klerk to Mr Mandela about his refusal so far to meet Dr Buthelezi.

The ANC is believed to have expressed grave concern about the bloody conflict, loss of life and potential further escalation of faction fighting. It proposed

## R1-m radio equipment stolen in raid on navy

ARBUS 17/8/90

By MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent, HENRI du PLESSIS, Defence Reporter and DALE KNEEN, Crime Reporter

SOPHISTICATED radio equipment understood to be worth about R1 million has been stolen in a night-time raid on the South African Navy's signal school at Red Hill in Simon's Town.

The equipment, described as ideal for combat use, was stolen from a classroom at the signal school on Sunday night.

The thieves entered through a perimeter security fence and broke into the classroom.

### "WELL SELECTED"

Sources say the selection of stolen equipment indicates that the thieves had an extensive knowledge of communications equipment.

One source said: "The thieves had to have known what they wanted, because their loot was well selected."

In a brief, carefully worded statement — which took more than a day to prepare for clearance at senior level — South African Naval headquarters in Pretoria confirmed the "break-in" during the night of August 12-13.

The statement said: "The intruders apparently entered through the security perimeter fence and then broke into one of the radio classrooms where they removed radio equipment.

"The matter is being investigated by the Military Police in conjunction with the South African Police and a board of inquiry has been convened."

# Mandela

## Political Staff

PRESIDENT De Klerk and African National Congress deputy-president Mr Nelson Mandela have met urgently to try and end the massive wave of violence sweeping the country, especially in black Transvaal townships.

And last night Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok and the ANC's internal leader, Mr Walter Sisulu, met in Pretoria to discuss the escalation of violence.

After a meeting at Mr De Klerk's Union Buildings' office yesterday morning, government sources said Mr De Klerk forcefully urged Mr Mandela to meet Kwazulu leader Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi to try and resolve the ANC/Inkatha faction fighting which is believed to lie at the heart of much of the killing.

## ANC concerned

They said there had been "tough talk" from Mr De Klerk to Mr Mandela about his refusal so far to meet Dr Buthelezi.

The ANC is believed to have expressed grave concern about the bloody conflict, loss of life and potential further escalation of faction fighting. It proposed firm, impartial police action to end the conflict.

ANC sources indicated last night that Inkatha, which they believe is instigating the fighting, could not carry out such widespread, co-ordinated attacks on its own.

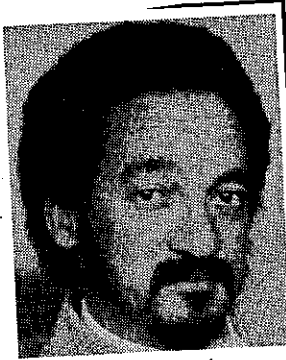
The government is said to have accused the ANC of fueling tension by the repeated utterances by militarists on the continuation of the armed struggle and negatively affecting police morale by continuous statements that the police could resolve the crisis if they wanted to.

## To take action

In a statement released by his office Mr De Klerk indicated his intention of holding further discussions in the wider context and of taking action.

"A statement in this regard will be issued in due course. The discussions covered various aspects of the state of unrest and violence in certain areas as well as steps to curb it."

Mr Mandela was accompanied by ANC executive members Mr Pallo Jordan and Mr Aziz Pahad, while Mr De Klerk was assisted by Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee and Mr Vlok.



Prof Gerwel

# SA 'must learn from Africa's <sup>Cape Times</sup> mistakes'

11/18/90

Political Correspondent

**THE** most urgent task on the agenda of democrats was the task of nation-building, Professor Jakes Gerwel, the Rector of the University of the Western Cape, said last night.

Opening a symposium at the university entitled "The Teaching of Afrikaans in a Democratic SA", Professor Gerwel said the major challenge ahead was the creation of the foundation on which a non-racial unity could be built.

Professor Gerwel said it was "wonderfully paradoxical" that in a country that had been systematically torn and divided for so long, national unity could be established only by acknowledging the country's diversity, understanding it and trying to harness it.

# 17 die in Soweto

O.H. Star 17/8/90

## tribal clashes

Staff Reporters

Tribal violence in Soweto claimed 17 lives yesterday and last night, leaving up to 150 people injured as security forces geared up to prevent further outbreaks today.

The violence erupted as the death toll in war-ravaged East Rand townships rose to 152, police said.

It was quiet in a tense Soweto this morning and residents reported a massive stayaway from work for fear of Zulu attacks.

Potential conflict in Alexandra township near Johannesburg was averted last night as police moved to swiftly intercept a large group, apparently made up of Xhosas, armed with pangas, spears, knobkerries and other weapons. The group was allegedly on its way to attack Zulus.

The group was surrounded by police and disarmed, said a police spokesman.

### Guarding

Security forces in Soweto today again launched a massive operation to protect train commuters, with soldiers guarding train drivers and police guarding stations and manning passenger coaches.

A similar operation late yesterday afternoon was described as "highly successful" by Soweto spokesman Captain Joseph Ngobeni, who added that such operations would be conducted for as long as was necessary.

Sporadic fighting broke out in the township last night and the number of deaths mounted steadily from six yesterday afternoon to the 17 reported at the time of going to press.

Four bodies were found in Dobsonville last night.

The violence follows two days of all-out warfare between Zulus and Xhosas in Vosloorus, Tokoza and Katlehong this week, leaving 152 dead and more than 1 000 injured.

As on the East Rand, hostels were the main conflict point, with attacks being launched from mainly Zulu-occupied hostels.

● Township violence — Pages 3 and 13

# 17 die in Soweto

O. J. Star 17/8/90

## tribal clashes

Staff Reporters

Tribal violence in Soweto claimed 17 lives yesterday and last night, leaving up to 150 people injured as security forces geared up to prevent further outbreaks today.

The violence erupted as the death toll in war-ravaged East Rand townships rose to 152, police said.

It was quiet in a tense Soweto this morning and residents reported a massive stayaway from work for fear of Zulu attacks.

Potential conflict in Alexandra township near Johannesburg was averted last night as police moved to swiftly intercept a large group, apparently made up of Xhosas, armed with pangas, spears, knobkerries and other weapons. The group was allegedly on its way to attack Zulus.

The group was surrounded by police and disarmed, said a police spokesman.

### Guarding

Security forces in Soweto today again launched a massive operation to protect train commuters, with soldiers guarding train drivers and police guarding stations and manning passenger coaches.

A similar operation late yesterday afternoon was described as "highly successful" by Soweto spokesman Captain Joseph Ngobeni, who added that such operations would be conducted for as long as was necessary.

Sporadic fighting broke out in the township last night and the number of deaths mounted steadily from six yesterday afternoon to the 17 reported at the time of going to press.

Four bodies were found in Dobsonville last night.

The violence follows two days of all-out warfare between Zulus and Xhosas in Vosloorus, Tokoza and Katlehong this week, leaving 152 dead and more than 1 000 injured.

As on the East Rand, hostels were the main conflict point, with attacks being launched from mainly Zulu-occupied hostels.

● Township violence — Pages 3 and 13

# NP has admitted it had no right to unban ANC, says CP

Political Correspondent

The Conservative Party claims that the National Party has admitted it did not receive a mandate in last year's general election to unban the ANC, South African Communist Party and other organisations.

The CP claims are based on an NP bulletin sent by Dr Stoffel van der Merwe — head of the NP's information service —

to Ministers, MPs and President's councillors in June. The bulletin was leaked to the CP mouthpiece Die Patriot which splashed it across the front page of this week's edition.

In the bulletin Dr van der Merwe discusses ways of countering the CP assertion that the NP did not have a mandate to unban the organisations.

Die Patriot quotes him say-

ing: "The Government did not get an express mandate to lift the ban on the ANC, the SACP and other organisations."

Die Patriot describes this statement as a "stunning admission".

Yesterday Dr van der Merwe said the CP was "trying to make something out of nothing".

He said the quote had not

been put in the correct context. He explained: "One does not seek an express mandate to build a road or to do this or that; one asks for a mandate for broad policy."

"The broad policy we sought approval for was to negotiate."

"When the Government banned the ANC it did not ask for a mandate. So why ask for a mandate to unban it?"

## CP meets to debate 'resistance'

By Peter Fabricius,  
Political Correspondent

A key theme of debate at the party's Transvaal congress in Pretoria's city hall tomorrow will be whether the Conservative Party should resort to resistance politics and extra-parliamentary action in the face of negotiations.

The central motion to be debated is what the CP's role should be in the coming negotiations and how it should react if negotiations lead to a state governed by a black majority.

These concerns also show the CP's misgivings about the scrapping of the Separate Amenities Act, the erosion of social apartheid in group areas, education, hospitals and other spheres, and the explosion of violence around the country.

Almost every one of the 83 motions is concerned with race.

### Resistance

The main resolution to be proposed by deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg is that the "ANC/SACP alliance shall not take over political power and that its threat to do so with violence will be answered with determined resistance by the Conservative Party".

Among other motions to be debated is the proposed reintroduction of influx control, a request to the police to act against ANC "economic sabo-

tage", to reject the Government's proposal to allow white State schools to go multiracial and to condemn the SABC for giving the ANC, the SACP and especially Nelson Mandela so much coverage.

Krugersdorp constituency proposes that the CP investigate the possibility that Aids infection could somehow be aggravated by mixed hospitals and blood transfusion services.





# Mandela, Winnie slammed by UK writer

Sowetan 23/8/90

11A

Sowetan  
Correspondent

LONDON - Outspoken Fleet Street columnist Jean Rook has launched a bitter attack on Mr Nelson Mandela, describing him as having "the small, grasping mind of an increasingly wealthy tribal headman in a Rolls-Royce".

She said in her *Daily Express* column yesterday that the years of "Mandela-worshipping" have given the world a "prideful, awkward old man of 72 who, with his shrieking shrew of a wife, Winnie, has, in a mere six months' freedom, brought South Africa to the brink of a bloody black war".

## 'Puffed up'

Rook, whose byline bears the description "The First Lady of Fleet Street", says the ANC deputy president is "obsessed with being the only big black man".

Apart from making "mountainous money" from his lecture tours, he is "so puffed up with the too much importance we handed him, he refuses to see himself as just part of what should be the great careful plan to rid South Africa of apartheid".

She adds that Mandela's "foot-stamping jealousy of more stable and far-seeing Zulu Chief (Mangosuthu) Buthelezi is threatening to tear apart President de Klerk's fragile reconstruction of a new South Africa".

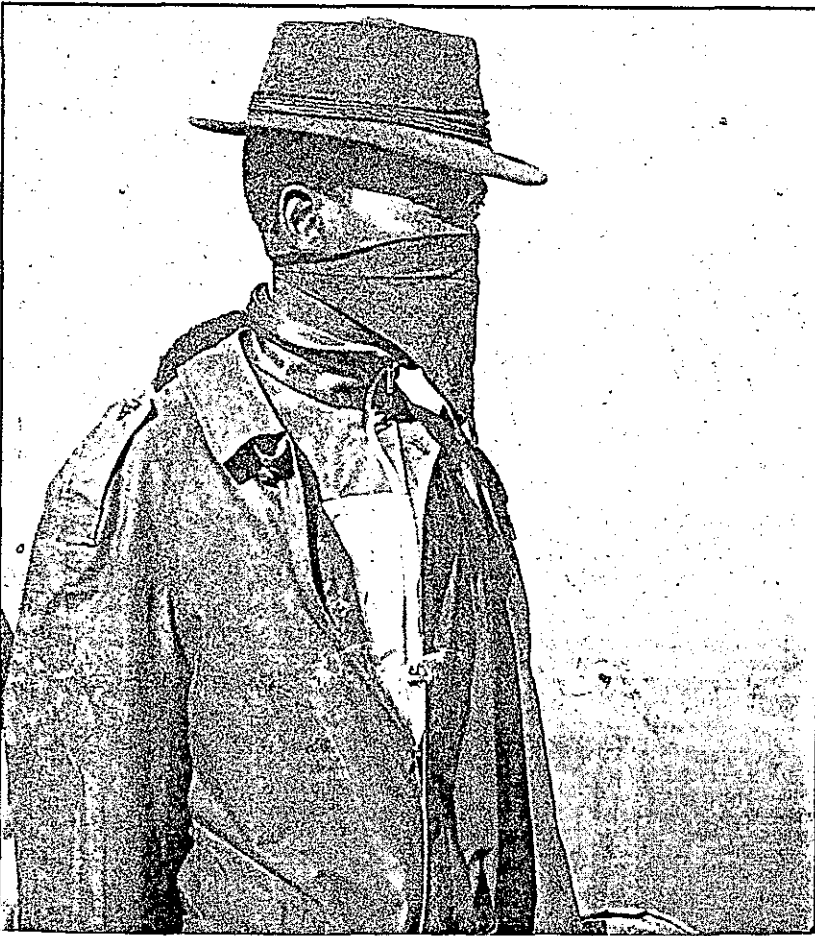
She concludes that "he looked much better as a jailed martyr".

THREE

# 'Strong pressure' on Mandela to meet Buthelezi

11A  
17/3/90

# Peace talks: FW cracks whip



By Peter Fabricius,  
Political Correspondent

A major effort is underway to involve Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha party in the peace initiative started by President de Klerk yesterday in an attempt to end the vicious fighting in Reef townships.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, and Law and Order Minister Adrian Vlok agreed last night to set up an all-parties peace forum to try to halt the spiralling violence.

Police said today that feelers had been put out to Chief Buthelezi and other Inkatha representatives to try to include them in the peace initiative. Inkatha is believed to be closely involved in the bloody faction fighting.

The decision to establish the peace forum was reached late last night at a meeting of Mr Mandela, Mr Vlok, senior police officers and ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu at the Soweto police station.

It followed an urgent meeting yesterday morning at the Union Buildings between President de Klerk and Mr Mandela, called to find solutions for the wave of killing nationwide.

Government sources said Mr de Klerk had forcefully urged



Police outside the Tokoza stadium searched every one of the estimated 15 000 crowd.

Picture by Ken Oosterbroek.

Mr Mandela to meet Chief Buthelezi to try to reach a truce in the bloody Inkatha/ANC power struggle.

Colonel Steve van Rooyen, Mr Vlok's ANC contact man, said today that the peace forum would be set up as soon as possible. He was not sure it would be today, as reports suggested.

The police representative would be Soweto regional commissioner General Johan "Blackie" Swart. Mr Mandela had also provided the name of the ANC representative.

Colonel van Rooyen said that

Mr Vlok had told Mr Mandela that "in all fairness" an Inkatha representative would also have to be appointed and Mr Mandela had no objection to this.

The police had already provided 96 names of police officers to form communication channels, but the ANC had not yet responded with a full list. Inkatha had also been approached for representatives.

Colonel van Rooyen added that the ANC was not convinced that it was just an ANC/Inkatha power struggle. They believed some of the

grievances between hostel dwellers and permanent residents were neither political nor ethnic.

More than 150 people have been killed, more than 1 000 injured and hundreds have been left homeless because of the violence this week alone.

Police are at present harder pressed to control the upsurge of violence on the Reef — where the state of emergency has been lifted for some months — than in Natal, where the emergency is still in force because of the ongoing warfare.

Government sources said there had been "tough talk" from Mr de Klerk to Mr Mandela about his evident refusal to meet Chief Buthelezi.

In a statement released by his office, Mr de Klerk indicated his intention of holding further discussions in the wider context and of taking action.

ANC sources indicated last night that Inkatha, which the ANC believes is instigating the faction fighting, could not carry out such widespread and co-ordinated attacks on its own.

The Government is said to have accused the ANC of fuelling tension by the repeated utterances by militarists on the continuation of the armed struggle, and negatively affecting the morale of the police by continuous statements that the police could resolve the crisis if they wanted to.

# Attacks on all Zulus 'not fair'

Star 17/8/90 (114)

The Star's Africa News Service

HARARE — The Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA) has accused the African National Congress of unleashing its members against other black organisations and certain sections of the black community now that it has announced the suspension of its armed struggle against the government in Pretoria.

In a statement issued in Harare the BCMA said political feuding in South Africa had taken diabolical and frightening proportions.

The statement said: "Inkatha is not a progressive organisation but the racist regime is far worse. What justification exists in declaring peace with the regime and escalating war against Inkatha? Is it fair to attack all and every Zulu-speaking migrant worker in the hostels simply because Gatsha Buthelezi and the majority of Inkatha members are Zulus?"

## Zach de Beer opposes ANC scheme

Star 17/8/90 (11A)  
Democratic Party co-leader Zach de Beer has come out against the African National Congress idea that a new constitution be drawn up by an elected constituent assembly.

He has also opposed the ANC policy of an interim government to run the country while a new constitution is negotiated.

Speaking at a Roodepoort DP meeting, he said he believed the constitution should be drawn up by representatives of all the "obvious" political groups, including the National Party, ANC, Conservative Party, DP, Labour, Solidarity, Inkatha and the Pan Africanist Congress. — Political Correspondent.

## NEWS

# Walk-out ends Tokoza peace rally

By Musa Mapisa and Abel Mabelane

A Tokoza Civic Association (TCA) rally aimed at ending the five-day-old violence in Tokoza ended abruptly yesterday afternoon, when about half of an estimated 15 000 strong crowd walked out in protest while the chairman of the TCA, Sam Ntuli, was speaking.

The dissatisfaction was caused by Mr Ntuli's suggestion that police help be sought to retrieve belongings of hostel dwellers who left during the fighting.

Previous speakers had called on police to remove Inkatha supporters so that other inmates could take their belongings in peace or at least be allowed to arm themselves for their safety when entering the hostel.

## Sacrificial lambs

The idea of being accompanied by police was rejected by most at the rally.

"We cannot be led like sacrificial lambs, by the police, into the hands of armed men in the hostels," a hostel dweller said.

As some of the people left the stadium, TCA members and ANC regional leaders appealed for restraint and discipline.

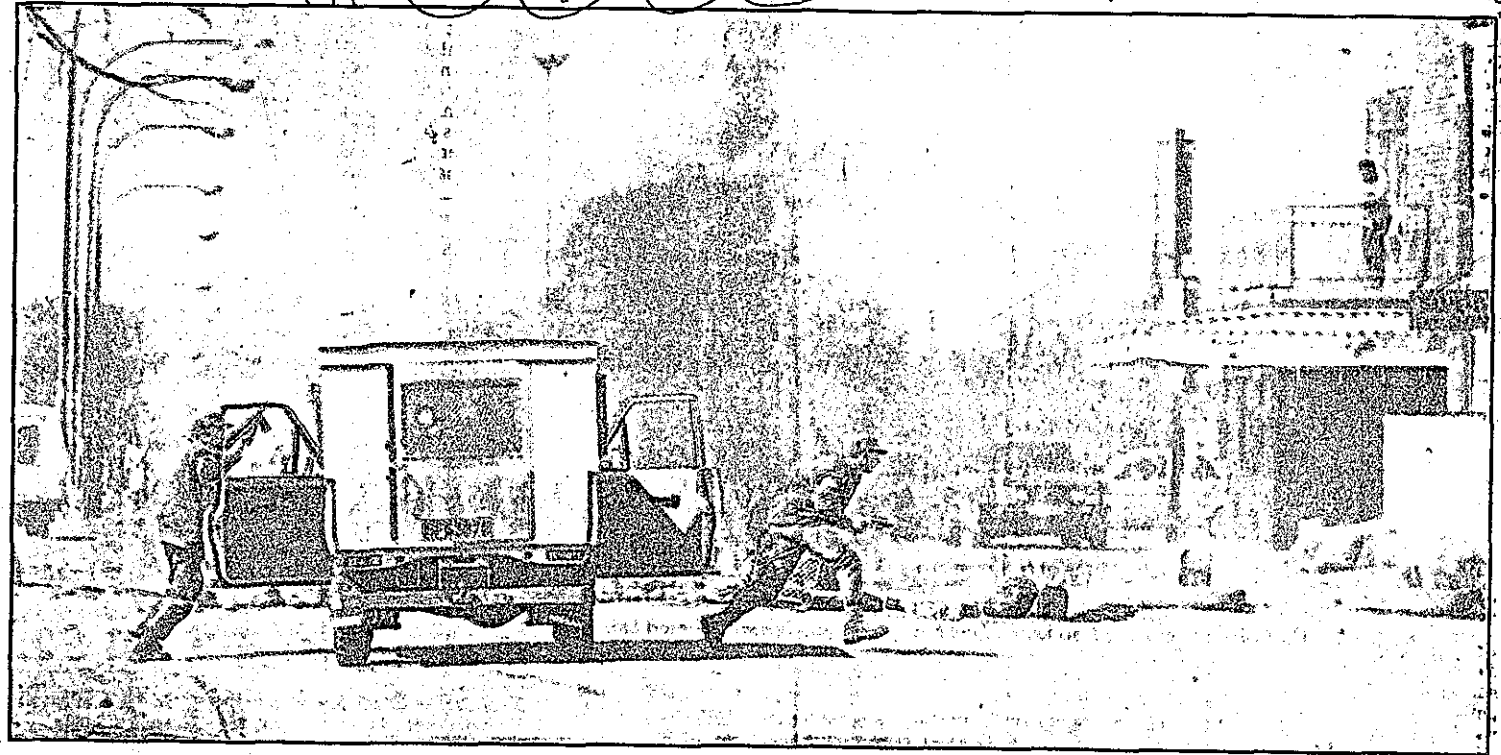
The rally had earlier started with people streaming into the stadium carrying ANC and South African Communist Party flags.

Police cordoned off all entrances and searched all people entering the stadium.

Police spokesman Colonel Frans Malherbe said a policeman was attacked by a panga-wielding man during the exercise.

He said a petrol bomb and a pistol were confiscated by police.

When police confronted the man carrying the pistol, he dropped it and ran away. The panga-wielding man was arrested.



Police action ... leaping from a van (above), police fire tear-gas and rubber bullets at residents who placed tyres in the road and lit them at Soweto's Jabulani hostel yesterday. In the activity, (right) police accidentally teargassed themselves, to the amusement of onlookers.

© Pictures by Sean Woods.

Stop <sup>Steer 17/8/90</sup> butchering each other  
like beasts, urges the ANC

The African National Congress last night made a strong plea for violence across the country to end, saying people were butchering each other "like beasts".

A statement by the organisation blamed "misguided individuals" who had infiltrated the communities and hostels for urging people to fight.

"They spread rumours that one section of the community is planning to attack another. They have taken it upon themselves to divide us along ethnic lines. They urge one language group to

fight another. Within the hostels, hatred is being sown everywhere," the ANC said.

● The president of the South African Institute of Race Relations and presiding bishop of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa, the Rev Stanley Mogoba, has strongly deplored the current violence.

Dr Mogoba called on all political organisations to "stop wasting time blaming each other for the atrocities" and to redouble their efforts to bring about reconciliation. — Sapa.

# Division on Natal campus 'potentially explosive'

17/8/90

The Argus Correspondent

11A

and was lent a kombi which took a few students to Newcastle.

DURBAN. — Divisions between contending groups at the University of Durban-Westville are deepening into a "potentially very explosive" situation, according to the university's monthly magazine Varsity Voice.

Writing in the latest edition of Voice, editor Mr Graeme Addison cites the differences between Pan Africanists and the majority of students who are aligned with the mass democratic movement as the cause of conflict on the campus.

This week a student was assaulted and a brick was hurled at the SRC's offices after a mass meeting at which the SRC was called upon to disband.

According to Voice reporters, the trouble started when the SRC arranged bus transport for about 100 students to attend the funeral of a dead "comrade" in Newcastle.

When the buses failed to arrive, the SRC vice-president, Mr Dennis Nkosi, appealed to the administration for

"On Monday, posters appeared demanding that the SRC disband and on Tuesday at lunchtime there was a mass meeting in the Joosub Hall called by a group of 'concerned students', understood to belong to Azasm (Azanian Students' Movement)," the report said.

After the meeting a student was assaulted and a window at the SRC offices was smashed. No charges were laid.

## UNITY ON CAMPUS

Meanwhile, Professor Jairam Reddy, vice-chancellor and rector condemned the incident and said such behaviour would not be tolerated.

In a statement circulated to staff, Professor Reddy said this kind of violence was condemned in the strongest terms and had no place on a campus of a university. He said disciplinary measures were being processed against the culprits concerned.

# Govt in pledge on shack demolitions

81 Day 17/8/90

11A

EDYTH BULBRING

PROVINCIAL Planning Minister HERNUS KRIEL gave an undertaking yesterday that forced removals of communities or the demolitions of shacks would not take place without prior consultation with the communities concerned.

And a proposal by the UDF to create a democratically elected National Land Commission with powers to begin drafting new land policies for the release and development of land for low income housing would also be considered, Kriel said.

The announcements followed a meeting in Pretoria yesterday between Kriel, senior department officials and a delegation led by UDF co-president Albertina Sisulu to discuss the UDF's proposed campaign to occupy unused land.

At a news conference Kriel said both parties were in favour of orderly urbanisation and the provision of land for people as soon as possible.

They were also concerned about the squatter problem and the lack of available land. They agreed more land should be made available, but were aware



● KRIEL

that this could only be done according to the financial means of the country.

Kriel warned that he could not approve squatting on land that was not allocated for this purpose. Nor could a blanket undertaking be given that no action would be taken against illegal squatters.

A member of the UDF delegation said after the conference that Kriel had undertaken to consult not only local authorities, but the civic structures representing those communities.

In reply to a question whether the campaign to occupy land would go ahead in the light of yesterday's discussions, Sisulu said this would be discussed with the communities and a decision taken.

Kriel suggested that a

joint working group be formed to facilitate exchange of information between government and the UDF regarding the provision of land.

The UDF delegation presented a memorandum on urban land and housing policies to which, Kriel said, he would respond in writing. This response would form a basis for discussion for the proposed working group.

The memorandum calls on government:

- To take immediate steps to stop all demolition of shacks and all forced removals;
- To ensure the release of land for low income housing and development in urban areas throughout the country;
- To establish a National Land Commission, and to release information on the availability of urban land, including geological conditions and ownership patterns.

Kriel said the working group would make recommendations on land issues and the question of the UDF's proposal of a National Land Commission.

The UDF delegation undertook to go back to its constituency to discuss the idea of a working group.



available, but were aware

Kriel suggested that a

idea of a working group.

## UDF to cede some functions to ANC

THE UDF would relinquish to the ANC some structures and functions it handled, now that the organisation had been unbanned, UDF publicity secretary Murphy Morobe said in an interview this week.

He saw the groups complementing each other, with the UDF phasing out its national political role and concentrating more on local level structures.

"We have been debating, working at formulating a position which would not undermine the advances made, but enhance our struggle.

"With the ANC unbanned, the UDF cannot continue in its present form. We have to arrive at a structural formation. There is no need for duplication, but only

THEO RAWANA

for rationalisation," Morobe said. **HA**  
"The ANC is still setting up structures. The UDF will relinquish some of the roles it played. We will continue to work hand-in-hand; it's only a question of the old giving way to the new," he added.

Morobe said the street committees would continue. These structures, which had been misunderstood, had succeeded where local councils had failed in that they could serve as forums where people could air their views.

They had also succeeded in bringing down the crime rate, he said.

8/02/77 15/90

I  
A  
N  
N  
I  
W  
V  
U  
I  
C  
E  
1  
2  
3

Joint plan to monitor ceasefire

# FW, Mandela meet in bid to halt violence

61 Day 17/8/90 11A

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela held an urgent, unscheduled meeting in Pretoria yesterday to discuss ways to end the wave of township violence which had claimed more than 159 lives by last night.

And ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu was due to lead an ANC deputation for talks on the violence with Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok last night.

It is understood the De Klerk/Mandela meeting, which lasted for almost two hours, was called by the ANC primarily to register alarm at the violence and the way police were handling the situation.

It was apparently agreed that joint "ceasefire monitoring groups", such as those operating in Kagiso township on the West Rand, should be set up in as many areas as soon as possible. In Kagiso the ANC and Inkatha last week agreed to establish a joint committee to co-operate with police in implementing the ceasefire negotiated after clashes which left at least 14 dead earlier this month.

In a brief statement, De Klerk's office confirmed that he, Justice Minister Koble Coetsee and Vlok had met Mandela and senior ANC members Pallo Jordan and Aziz Pahad, and that steps to curb the violence had been discussed.

It said De Klerk intended holding further discussions on the matter and that another statement would be issued in due course.

Earlier this week, ANC leaders warned that the situation in the townships was placing a severe strain on the government/ANC peace process. The ANC slated the police for failing to quell the violence.

PETER DELMAR

It was expected that last night's meeting between Sisulu and Vlok would address the question of setting up a national mechanism which police and the ANC could use to curb township violence.

A police source said yesterday that although the SAP had already nominated 96 senior officers to liaise with the ANC in various parts of the country, the response from the other side had been disappointing and the nominated SAP officers were often unable to contact their ANC counterparts.

It is believed the ANC has not yet given the police details of more than 29 local members with whom the SAP can liaise.

No further details of the Soweto meeting between Vlok and Sisulu, which was scheduled to begin at 6pm, were available at the time of going to press last night.

Rejecting allegations against the SAP, Law and Order spokesman Brig Leon Mellet said in an SABC TV interview that the way to curb the violence was to get more policemen on the ground and to bring the warring parties together.

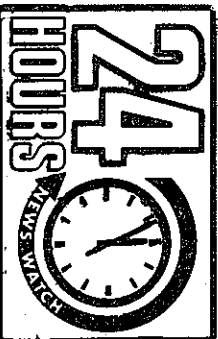
Meanwhile, the ANC and Cosatu yesterday issued an impassioned appeal for an end to the "senseless carnage".

A joint statement said: "The ANC and Cosatu appeal for peace among the people; no matter what language you speak, no matter what area of the country you come from. There is no reason for us to murder one another."

The statement said a few misguided individuals were attempting to divide blacks along ethnic lines and violence had reached alarming proportions.

# Fighting over the political pie

By JOHN VILJOEN  
Staff Reporter



THE fearsome sight of Zulu impiis moving through the streets of East Rand townships as this week's scenes of horrifying violence unfolded has provoked comparisons with the tribal conflict leading to the *Mfecane* — forced migration of the 1800's.

In the early years of last century the military machine of the Zulu king Shaka sowed death and destruction, crushing tribes far and wide. The forced migration — *mfe-cane* — resulting from these attacks led to the refugees, in their turn, going on the rampage against others.

## Simplistic

But academics say it is simplistic to describe this week's bloodbath as "Zulu on Xhosa".

Since Tuesday, more than 150 people have died in the townships of Kaitleng, Vosloorus and Tokoza, in what has been described as "the bloodiest outbreak of mass violence in the country for years".

Although the background to the carnage has been depicted in tribal terms, academics have cited a number of contributory causes.

Dr Patrick Harries of the Department of History at the University of Cape Town said the conflict had a lot to do with competition for resources and the need for "community security".

The ethnic nature of the conflict was a manifestation of these factors, he said.

Previous outbreaks of township violence have shown that areas of squalor and poverty are the most volatile. This has been demonstrated again this week in confrontations between East Rand host-dwellers and squatters, both living in meagre circumstances.

"The primary cause of conflict is the heightened nature of the political struggle in

South Africa among contending ideological positions," said a Cape Town academic.

"It is simplistic to label it Zulu on Xhosa, but I don't think we can rule out the ethnic element in the conflict."

"At the heart of the matter is the struggle for political power. Inkatha fear that they are being marginalised because President De Klerk is talking to the ANC which is gaining a much higher profile."

"Inkatha are feeling vulnerable — a group in that situation will try to project themselves into power."

"So they are mobilising whatever resources are available to them, and the migrant labourers are a source of loyal support," he said.

Rural Zulus, who make up a large number of the migrant workers on the East Rand have a strong traditional loyalty to the Zulu royal house stemming from the days of Shaka and the great Zulu kings.

## Ideological

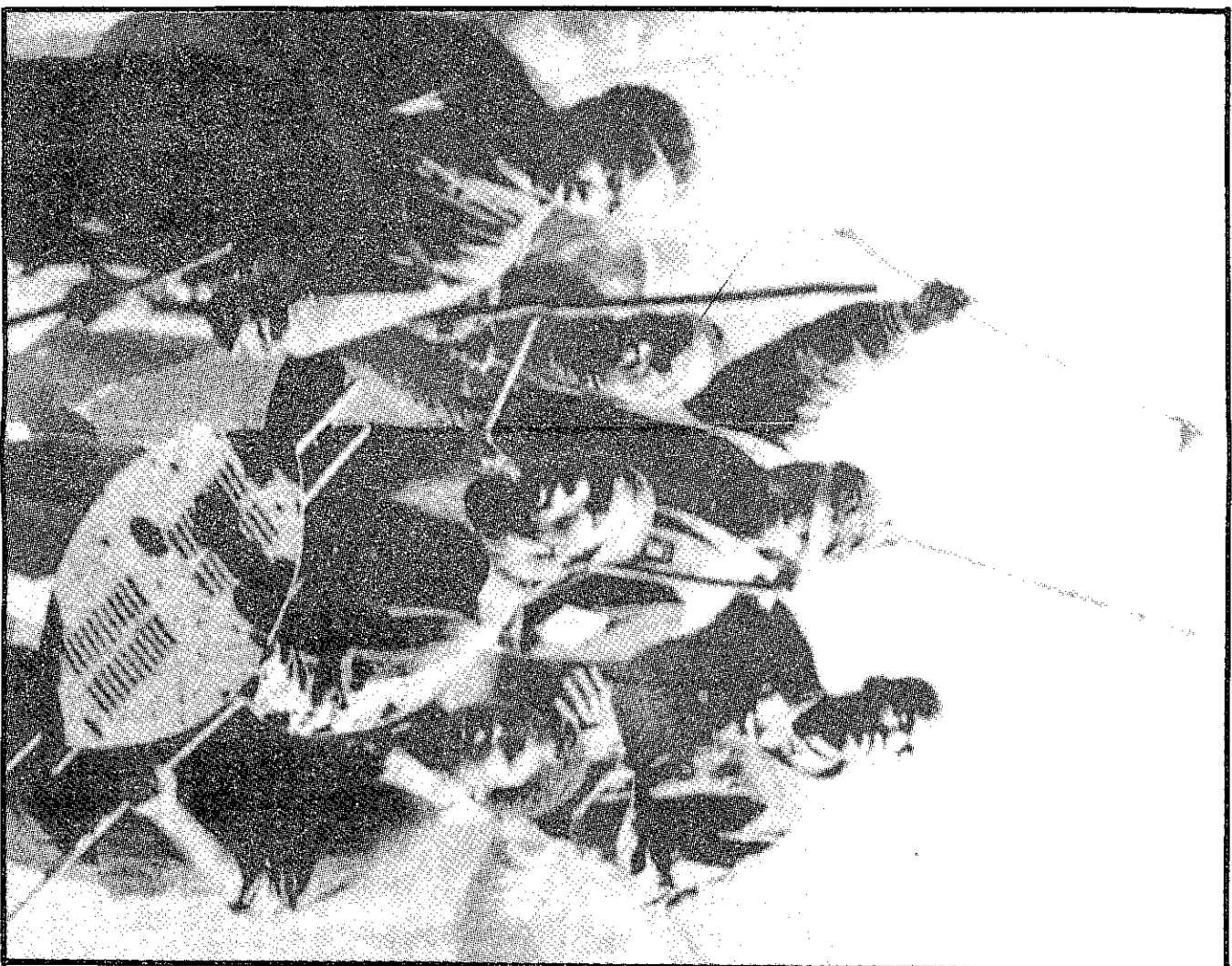
Against them stand the "ANC adherents", who are not exclusively Xhosas. "They have a more modernist perception of what is going on in South Africa," he said.

These two groups were fighting over the political pie — an ideological conflict manifesting itself in ethnic confrontation.

The division of people on the basis of ethnic groupings under apartheid increased the likelihood of conflict, he said.

Although it was a factor, this was not purely a fight over resources, he said.

Wits University historian, Dr Phil Bonner, agreed that the Zulu on Xhosa analysis was simplistic.



**READY FOR WAR:** Armed Inkatha supporters chant and wave the weapons as tension rose in Soweto after a mob had attacked train passengers yesterday.

"The conflict between Zulu and Xhosa is not a traditional one — the Zulu-Sotho conflict is more traditional in this area. The violence may be the result of efforts to mobi-

lize political constituencies in the hostels.

"Inkatha may be attempting to develop organisation on a national level — this may be a factor. But I don't be-

## Refuge from war

From Jonathon Rees  
in Johannesburg

A puppy picks enthusiastically at the rotting carcass of a dog on the outskirts of Phola Park squatter camp. A burned out truck and 10 temporary toilets stand like sentinels amid the litter.

A foul smell from sewage, the toilets and heaps of festering rubbish fills the air around the camp.

This home to 35 000 people was this week the scene of some of the fiercest fighting yet seen in South African townships.

Squatters live in fear of another attack from aggressors they identify as "Zulus" or "Inkatha" from the adjoining large hostel complex.

A group of men sit on a rocky outcrop at the base of electricity pylons that stretch overpoweringly across the length of the squalid camp.

### Weapons taken

Jumpy and nervous, they said they had stayed back at the camp while others went to an ANC rally nearby, in order to protect the area from further attacks.

One young man said the Zulus had attacked them. He said he was a Xhosa and the police had taken all their weapons away.

"We're not sure if they took the Zulu's weapons ..."  
Old, brightly coloured Kung Fu movie posters — "Fist of Fury" and "Secret Rivals" — adorn the makeshift wooden exterior of one shack.

An ambulance comes racing along a dirt road next to the camp.

They had come for an old Sotho man in overalls who was attacked and stabbed while walking past Phola Park with some possessions late Thursday afternoon.

Bleeding heavily from stab wounds in his head and back he resignedly said his at-

tackers probably went for him because he had come from the hostels.

Shacks in the camp are made up of wooden panneling, corrugated iron, plastic and assorted improvised materials — all covered with a fine layer of dust stirred up every now and then by armoured police patrols.

Mangy dogs move freely around the filthy settlement and scores of people slowly leave the camp, many carrying their scant possessions on their heads.

But one group of women said they would stay — whatever happens. "We've been here since 1987 — we're staying."

One man's worldly goods, wrapped in old grain bags, were passed to him out of the nearby hostel window.

He was on his way into Tokoza, for fear of renewed fighting.

A lone elderly woman paused from pushing an old shopping trolley full of her possessions along a dusty track to echo his sentiments. She was moving away from the fighting.

Two men hitch-hiked into Johannesburg, where they planned to sleep at work instead of home in Phola Park. Their wives were sleeping at employers' homes and they didn't know when they would see them again.

About two kilometres away, 1 200 women and several hundred children are huddled around a community hall, having fled the violence on Tuesday and Wednesday.

At night they sleep sitting up on the floor, and rely on social workers and volunteers for food.

Police and the army have established a temporary base between the hostels and squatter camp, and as the sun sets, the puppy finishes his carrion meal and wanders contentedly off into the long grass and rubble around the settlement. — Sapa

# 'If negotiation is real... let's get on with it'

Plus 17/8/90

119

BY ESANN van RENSBURG  
and HANS-PETER BAKKER  
Staff Reporters

**SOUTH** Africans had to be careful that leaders did not make decisions about the future over their heads, self-exiled Afrikaans poet Breyten Breytenbach told a 1 500 strong audience at the University of Stellenbosch last night.

## VIEW

He addressed the students at a conference of the Stellenbosse Aktele Aangeleenthedskring (Saak) on the topic of the role of Afrikaners in a future South Africa.

The government and the ANC were doing a lambada and the people of South Africa needed to decide if these leaders did, in fact, have a mandate for this, he said.

"If the struggle between the government and the ANC is simply about power sharing, I say we must struggle further. If it is about the destruction of an evil system and the building of a new nation, then let's get a move on," he said. He said the people them-

selves had to grow a democratic culture in the country and should not allow leaders at the top to make decisions for them.

"Let's not allow decisions and negotiations to be made over our heads by people who's mandate has not been tested."

Change was unavoidable, yet Afrikaners would be arrogant if they thought that they were a "special basket case" in the process of change, he said.

"Afrikaners must stop feeling sorry for themselves.

"Of course they played an important part in the history of the country, but today's situation and the future of South Africa was certainly not about the fears and expectations of Afrikaners," he said.

He urged white South Africans to take part in the historical process of change, because only through participation could they be brought to know reality.

"There is no reason why every single one of you could not absolutely participate in the process of change. It is whether or not you are a part of the process that is going to



make a difference in the end," he said.

Mr Breytenbach announced his retirement as a public figure, but said he would continue writing and painting — thereby contributing towards the joint goods of South Africa.

If approached to participate more actively in the future, he would certainly con-



sider it, he said.

Young Afrikaners need not apologise to anyone about what happened in the past and should take the lead in a new "great trek" into the arms of other South Africans, Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota said.

In a conciliatory message to the large gathering of students and lecturers, the



ANC's co-ordinator in southern Natal, spoke about the role of Afrikaner in the building of a future South Africa.

He said Afrikaners was a unique language, and that "we as South Africans are very proud of it".

Mr Lekota said that in the past Afrikaners stubbornly resisted close association with blacks and that the



apartheid government had left them with a very sour taste.

According to Mr Lekota, "Bantu education created a situation in which only whites had access to any meaningful education". And that the people who have had the chance should make themselves available to "uplift those who did not have it".

**BREYTEN'S RETURN:** The earnest faces of ANC co-ordinator Mr Patrick Lekota, exiled Afrikaners author and poet Mr Breyten Breytenbach, his wife Yolande, and author Dr Andre Brink at last night's Stellenbosch meeting.

Pictures: HANNES THIAART, The Argus

# Azapo unveils plan to stop conflict

By CARMEL RICKARD

(11A)

DETAILS of an Azapo plan to end the conflict on the East Rand were released in Durban yesterday.

Publicity secretary Srimo Moodley said the president of his organisation was in communication with the president of the Pan Africanist Congress and the deputy president of the African National Congress.

The aim of the communication was to set up an urgent consultation between sectors of what was the "broad liberation movement".

He said during the consultation Azapo hoped a programme would be worked out for bringing the continuing violence to an end.

Moodley said he hoped the consulta-

tion would take place before the end of the week, but if there was no success in organising such a meeting, Azapo would begin work on its own to end the conflict.

Since Inkatha was defined by Azapo and the "broad liberation movement" as not part of this movement, Inkatha would not be invited to the consultation planned by Azapo. However, Moodley said should the consultation decide there was a need to approach Inkatha, "Azapo would not stand in the way".

He said the police ought to disarm anyone with weapons, regardless whether these were so-called traditional weapons or not. Their failure to do so fuelled claims they were destabilising the community.

# ANC enters political battlefield

As the ANC rushes to launch branches across the country in order to meet a deadline later this month, it is finding things are more difficult than expected — not least of all this week's township violence.

By MARK GEVISSER

**O**N Sunday, the African National Congress is planning to launch itself in 12 places in Soweto and at 11 other places across the Witwatersrand, including the battle-torn East Rand townships of Thokoza, Kathlehong and

Vosloorus. Regional branch committees will be elected and the congress will begin to organise formally, gearing up for a national congress in early September that will elect representatives to the national conference on December 16.

And in the week preceding this major ANC organisational drive, some of the very areas where these launches are to take place this Sunday "factional" fighting between Zulu hostel-dwellers, who may or may not be Inkatha imps, and local residents.

What's the connection? Perhaps, now that an above-ground organised ANC is becoming a reality, the level of political activity in the townships has increased and has spread to the hostels, which are often characterised as apolitical. In Thokoza, for example, the quarrel seems to have started in Khatanyoni Hostel between Zulus loyal to Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthezi and Xhosa loyal to Mandela.



Picture: ANGAL UZI

## Now that it is legal the ANC faces the tough task of recruiting members — sometimes in battle-torn areas

Xhosa squatters, suddenly turn on them, if not for the fact that some of the Xhosa were getting quite excited about becoming new ANC members? Thokoza has been preparing for quite some time now for this weekend's launch, and the anticipation certainly seeped into the hostels and squatter camp on the township's periphery.

For each launch, a counterlaunch. In its most recent study of the Natal conflict, the Black Sash illustrates, with numerous case studies, how the congress have tried particularly hard to undermine the ANC in regions where the congress has opened offices and assisted with the formation of civic structures. This has resulted in an ANC Southern Natal regional policy not to launch branches in areas where the safety of new ANC members cannot be guaranteed.

The ANC is planning to launch branches mainly in and around Durban — there is already one in Lamontville, and by the end of September there will be 25 each in Umhlanga and KwaMashu. Outside Durban, there will be branches in Port Shepstone, Grahamstown, and two kwaziulu areas.

Even though we have enough members to form branches in other rural parts," says Southern Natal secretary Sibusiso Ndebele, "we just cannot launch in areas where to be an ANC member is to put your life in danger." In the Natal Midlands, a membership drive has begun, and 20 regions have been targeted, including Greytown, where a branch will be launched tomorrow.

"We are aware of the risks of going public in this particular region," says convenor Harry Gwala, "but we will hold all our launches publicly, and we'll take necessary security precautions." But, as in Southern Natal, the Midlands recruiters are treading very delicately around areas where Inkatha support is known to be strong.

Of course, the forces which might be interested in undermining local ANC organisations are not limited only to Inkatha heavies. Northern Transvaal convenor Thabo Makunye notes that one of the major organisational problems in his 90-percent rural area is the perception that it is still illegal to belong to the ANC.

"And this perception," he says, "is definitely aided in the Northern Transvaal by a strong police presence every time we gather, particularly in Vanda or Gazankulu."

Even though there are enough ANC members in Bophuthatswana to form several branches, only one more is being publicly planned: that of gaRankuwa, which will launch at Medunsa next weekend.

Medunsa is on South African territory, even though it is only two kilometres from the Bophuthatswana border. By holding the launch there, the organisers hope to evade a clampdown.

"Of course," says an ANC representative from gaRankuwa, "the Bop authorities will try to stop us from crossing over. But there will be thousands of us, we already have over a thousand signed up members in gaRankuwa."

The organising in gaRankuwa and the sign-up of members has been quiet, for the Modderspruit clampdown has made local activists wary.

The irony of it means the ANC, despite its proclaimed policy of ignoring homeland boundaries, has to acknowledge that the law — and its application — is different on one side of the Mangosope Line than on the other. It cannot, thus, organise across the border as it had once

hoped to do. Strangely enough, an entirely different problem faces ANC organisation in Transkei: the effort is being met with resistance not from the homeland authorities, but from already-existing United Democratic Front-affiliated structures.

Even though the local recruiters had target of 20 000 members by August there are only 7 000 at present.

"We've had problems," says ANC secretary Nzwardile Mfoete, "with local organisers who feel that ANC under ground people have come in and taken over, and that they haven't been consulted enough."

In Butterworth, some UDF people stood outside and boycotted the launch and police were called in to protect the ANC members within. There do, however, appear to be steps toward reconciliation: ANC military chief Chris Hani and national organiser Steve Tshwete have both spent time in Transkei addressing the issue, and the sides are talking. In both areas, the ANC launch was threatened by Sayco activists outside the meeting was stopped, talks between the two groups began, "and now," says Mfoete, "we are working hand-in-hand."

The problem the ANC is having Transkei points to one of the organisation's most difficult tasks: structure into already-existing structures, receiving official branch launches, receiving official who are often recently-released and currently returned, are sent from the regional office to preside over the meeting. The purpose of this is to make sure ANC's constitution is upheld, but have the effect of looking like down directive from head office.

At the Brits launch last weekend 100 people attended, even though the industrial town with a particularly strong union movement, and the township of Oukasie is politicised and its fight against forced removal poor attendance seemed to be a combination of two reasons: contact between the ANC and roots organisations (the Oukasie, for example, was not there), and violence attributed to gangs at the launch has made people wary of political activity.

In organising, the ANC has to win over opponents who are sworn to mine it and potential allies. Times feel alienated from it. They be to strengthen ties with the different to buttress itself against the current bloodshed in Soweto. The East Rand makes the even more urgent.

Why, otherwise, would they be? Why, otherwise, would they be? Why, otherwise, would they be?

11/11/90  
17/8-19/8/90

# Tamboville or Verwoerdburg?

One delicate issue which is not on the agenda for negotiations on a post-apartheid society is the renaming of the country's place names.

**ARTHUR MAIMANE** focuses on some of the place names which may have to be changed to reflect the changing society

ONE delicate issue that's not on the agenda for the negotiations on a post-apartheid South Africa (PASA) and unlikely to be considered until agreement has been reached on the New South Africa (NSA) is the weight of sectarian politics behind the country's place names.

The first question on this agenda will be what to call the country — and definitely not PASA, though NSA has its appeal simply because it is not political. While the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) are refusing to sup with the devil they suspect in the upcoming negotiations because they involve political compromise, the latter has already decided on this name: Azania.

It's a name whose historical provenance is unclear, but there is a suspicion that it goes no further back than Evelyn Waugh's novel about a fictional, and very comic-opera African republic. Comic in an unfunny sort of way for black readers. There are already exiles who vow that if this name is adopted for the NSA, they would not return.

Renaming liberated countries is not new. It has been a common occurrence since Kwame Nkrumah replaced the Gold Coast (which indicated the greedy expectations of the British) with Ghana. The idea of a resurgent Africa with its own, true, identity was taken up when the French Sudan (not to be confused with the British Sudan at the other end of the Sahara Desert) achieved independence and was in due cause renamed Mali.

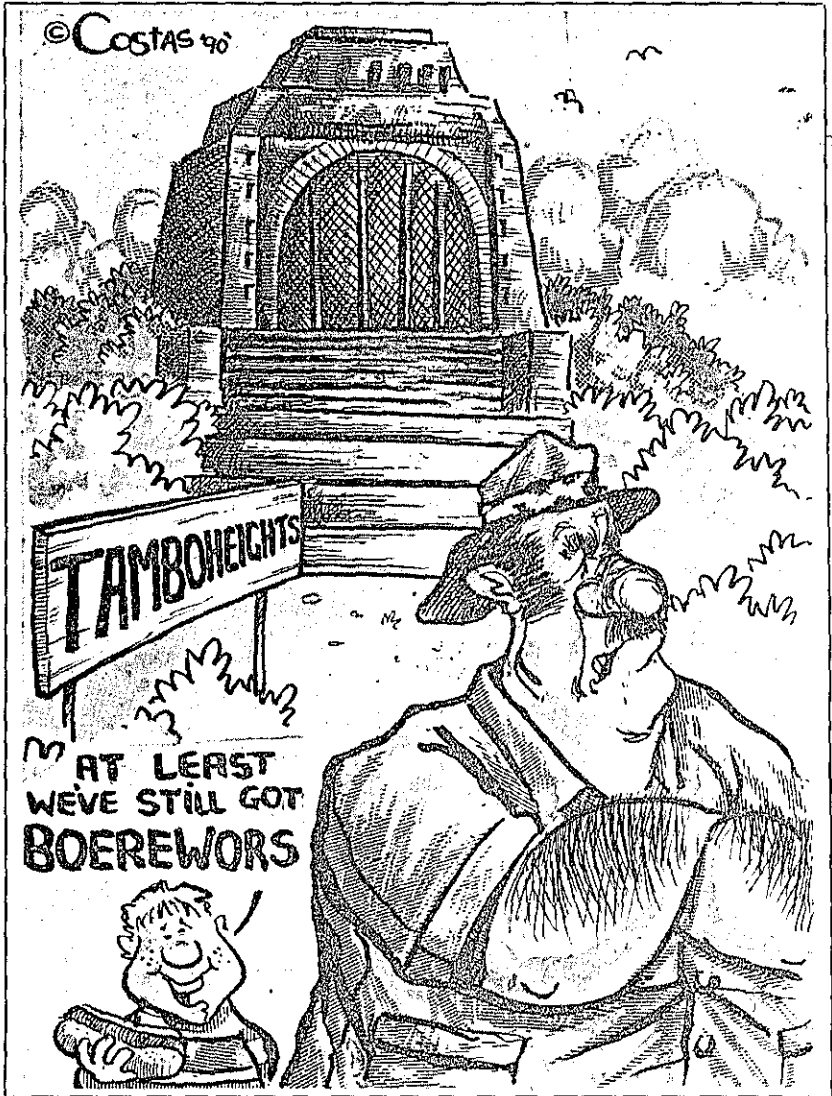
These were the first place names redolent with a black historical pride that was not taught in schools anywhere in Africa by colonial governments.

The ancient kingdoms of Ghana and Mali were, as black historians point out, civilised at a time when most of Europe was still trapped in the Dark Ages. The university in Timbuctoo (in Mali) was teaching philosophy and other academic disciplines at a time when the only groves of academe in Europe were memories of the glory that were ancient Greece, centuries earlier, when Plato and such-like were its egg-head luminaries.

This article, though, is not meant to be an argument in favour of an aggressive nostalgia or re-writing history to correct the misrepresentations and disinformation of our past by whites. It is intended to consider the renamings that will become necessary, or desirable, come PASA.

But first further reminders of the renamings that have already occurred. The Belgian Congo has become Zaire, Nyasaland was reborn as Malawi and even Dahomey — a historically correct name — was turned into the Republic of Benin: which must cause confusion since one of the federal states in its neighbour, Nigeria, is also called Benin. That, incidentally, was the kingdom which amazed white explorers, and then "civilised" Europe, with the magnificence of its bronze sculptures and artefacts.

And so to a consideration of South African place names, especially after



the National Party won the 1948 "general" elections.

In their fervour to imprint an Afrikaner identity on the land, the Nats started a wholesale renaming to create memorials to their heroes and domination of their "fatherland" as well as to wipe out memories of their humiliation by the British.

The Voortrekker Monument, built on a hill outside Pretoria, was known as Roberts' Heights. The Nats renamed it Voortrekkerhoogte because the former name was a bitter reminder of General Roberts, a British hero of the Boer War. What to call the hill, come PASA?

And will the monument itself be allowed to loom over the capital when it is, after all, a painful reminder to Zulus of the Voortrekker slaughter of Dingaan's impis at the Battle of Blood River?

Nearby is Verwoerdburg which flaunts the name of the architect of apartheid, who remains as bitter a memory to Africans as Roberts does to Afrikaners. There is also outside Cape Town the airport named after the first Nat prime minister, DF Malan. And the political schizophrenia of the motorway between Johannesburg and Pretoria: two names that might have to go as well, like Salisbury

gave way to Harare.

This very convenient road is named after different white politicians: the De Villiers Graaff Highway in liberal Johannesburg and Ben Schoeman Highway all the way to the rightwing national capital.

The historical significance of the "Orange Free State" appears to have been lost in the mists of Voortrekker history, but perhaps pre-Nat names should be allowed to stay in place. South Africans need to be reminded of a past that has fashioned the society which the National Party and African National Congress intend to dismantle.

There can't be any serious objection to being reminded of Oom Paul by allowing Krugersdorp to retain that name; of Pietermaritzburg to mark the passage through Natal of Piet Retief (without whom there'd be no "day of the covenant") and Gert Maritz; of Potgietersrust to denote where another Voortrekker leader came to rest.

And one I hope will stay is Vergeenog, where some trekkers must have decided to unspan their oxwagons in the western Transvaal because they'd come far enough into the dark interior from the Cape. The same applies to Weenen, even if few still remember what they wept about.

The second delicate question is what the new names will be for the many places with bitter, as opposed to resented, memories. Inevitably many will have to reflect the history of the struggle for a post-apartheid country. There is already an informally-named Tamboville, but a squatter camp is obviously not good enough to honour the memory of the ANC president (and my housemaster at boarding school). Should he replace Verwoerd in the new town that should properly have remained Lyttellon, except that, to the Nats, it was a British name?

And perhaps the PAC can be mollified by naming some place — his hometown, Kimberley — after its first leader, Robert Sobukwe. And not only because if ever the PAC win power in a subsequent election they might want to rename everything all over again.

That's been the Soviet experience after the Russian Czars were eliminated by the October revolution: St Petersburg was named Leningrad after the saint of socialism and then in the post-Stalinist rewriting of history Stalingrad reverted to Volgograd.

An endless game that could keep map-makers in business into the distant future — if, that is, the New South Africa doesn't end up as a one-party state.

## MARCH ON SABC



- The people
- Democratis
- Stop Nat pr

Time: 10 am • Date: Saturday 25 August • Starting point: Corner Wanderers & Plein Streets, Johannesburg (near

# FW to Mandela: <sup>with Mand 17/8-19/8/90</sup> **'Make peace with Buthelezi'** 11A ~~SECRET~~

By ELSABE WESSELS

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk yesterday put pressure on ANC Deputy President Nelson Mandela to meet Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi during an emergency meeting called to address bloody fighting raging on the Reef.

And, according to sources close to the African National Congress, Mandela used the talks to increase pressure on De Klerk to contain police for allegedly siding with Inkatha.

De Klerk, assisted by Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, met Mandela and ANC executive committee members Azis Pahad and Pallo Jordan yesterday morning, in the wake of bloody battles in Katlehong on the East Rand.

In a separate meeting last night, Mandela and fellow ANC leader Walter Sisulu met Vlok and Major-General Johan Swart, Soweto's regional Commissioner of Police, at the Mandela household in Soweto.

A top government source yesterday confirmed the government was putting pressure on Mandela to meet Buthelezi in an effort to stop the violence.

In an attempt to act as broker between

the warring sides De Klerk is expected to issue a similar peace appeal to Buthelezi.

Mandela has so far rejected pressure to meet the Inkatha leader and also said third parties should not interfere in the conflict between him and Buthelezi.

His relationship with Buthelezi deteriorated rapidly after attempts to bring them together failed earlier this year.

In ANC circles a meeting between Mandela and Buthelezi is regarded as extremely sensitive and should be treated with extreme caution in order to prevent Buthelezi from hijacking any contact to boost his sagging political profile.

Top ANC sources have stated categorically that a meeting with Buthelezi will take place at some stage — but that such a meeting will be called on ANC terms.

In recent weeks, following the ANC's ceasefire agreement, the organisation has increased pressure on Buthelezi by calling on the government to clamp down on alleged Inkatha aggression. It says the ceasefire leaves their supporters defenceless against Inkatha violence.

A failure to curb Inkatha attacks could cause a breakdown of the suspension of violence, a top ANC source said earlier this week.



## FW, Mandela discuss state of unrest

STATE President FW de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela yesterday morning held discussions on the state of unrest and violence in the country.

"The discussions covered various aspects of the present state of unrest and violence in certain areas, as well as steps to curb it," according to a statement from the State President's office.

De Klerk was assisted by Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee and Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok; while Mandela was accompanied by Mr Pallo Jordan and Mr Aziz Pahad.



BREYTENBACH . . . Addressing the Cape Town Press Club yesterday.

# Myths over new SA 'rampant'

Political Staff

EUPHORIC perceptions about the new South Africa were rampant and overloaded with myths, exiled poet Mr Breyten Breytenbach told the Cape Town Press Club yesterday.

He also said it was clear to him that if the Communist Party were to become a dominant force in the country "it will be goodbye to democracy in South Africa".

Although he identified with the broad goals of the ANC, the organisation was being driven by indecent haste to make compromises.

Despite the best efforts of the ANC and the government the revolution had started and the country was mov-

ing on a course of regression and redressing historic imbalances and "those on the top are best trying to ride the rapids".

There could be no victory in the conflicts playing themselves out at present, just partial control.

"I shudder to think about our security police in a new South Africa."

Mr Breytenbach said among the many myths were that:

- The ANC represented the majority of South Africans in an organised fashion;
- Magnus Malan, Adriaan Vlok, Joe Slovo and Chris Hani were democrats;
- Nelson Mandela was a messiah;

● The police were at the service of the people;

● The armed struggled had succeeded;

● Exiles would be welcome once they returned to South Africa;

● Doing away with apartheid would solve the country's problems;

● The white churches in South Africa were Christian;

● The DP had a policy;

● Craig Williamson was a bona fide politician;

● The South African government had told the US to "get off" and the CIA was interested in supporting progress in South Africa;

● The Soviet Union supported the nationalisation of De Beers;

● Stellenbosch University was not a laboratory for national and military intelligence;

● Journalists and political lawyers were not moral fat cats, and;

● Socialism was now possible.

Mr Breytenbach said that although he admired President FW de Klerk, he feared he was being dangerously isolated from his base and he did not trust the National Party "at work, at prayer or in their underground interrogation pits".

He also criticised journalists, saying they tried to be all things to all men and did not have the means, the interests, the training or perhaps the inclination to report objectively.

ANC has  
talks with  
Boesak

Staff Reporter

THE ANC is remaining tight-lipped after meeting Dr Allan Boesak yesterday.

ANC official Mr Trevor Manuel said the intention was "clearly not" to offer Dr Boesak a leadership position in the ANC, but would not disclose the subject of their discussions.

Dr Boesak could not be contacted for comment after the meeting.

The former president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, who gave up his clerical career following an affair with television journalist Ms Elna Botha, has gone on record as saying that he hopes to pursue a career in politics.

Meanwhile, police are investigating the possibility of arson after a mystery fire damaged the interior of the hall of Dr Boesak's former church late on Thursday.

# In the wings ... ANC's Young Turks



Jay Naidoo



Zwelakhe Sisulu



Enos Mabuza



Trevor Manuel



Patrick Lekota



Cyril Ramaphosa

W/ARGUS 18/8/90 IIA

Six ANC members stand out as likely princes of power, Weekend Argus Correspondent DEON DELPORT reports.

**A**FRICAN National Congress veterans Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu may be laying the foundation now, but the long-term future will be crafted by a second generation of "very able" Young Turks who sense the time to exercise real power is finally at hand.

This is the view of British Broadcasting Corporation radio producer Barney Mthombothi, writing in the BBC magazine *Focus on Africa*.

He singles out six men in the African National Congress/United Democratic Front alliance in their 30s and early 40s who made their names in community organisations and the trade union movement at the time when most of the senior leaders were in exile or serving long sentences on Robben Island.

They are the National Union of Mineworkers' general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa, ANC convenor in southern Natal Patrick "Terror" Lekota, *New Nation* editor Zwelakhe Sisulu, Congress of SA Trade Unions general secretary Jay Naidoo, Kangwane homeland chief minister Enos Mabuza and the UDF's official spokesman in the Western Cape, Trevor Manuel.

**T**HESSE men have an advantage over their exiled contemporaries, Mr Mthombothi writes. "They know the political terrain like the backs of their hands. They have been involved in negotiations

with employers and gained invaluable experience. Most importantly, unlike those in exile, they have an identifiable constituency in the country."

As chairman of the National Reception Committee Cyril Ramaphosa, 38, is closely involved in the arrangement of Mandela's trips and speaking engagements. "Nobody could be closer to real power."

He is much respected in political circles because of the political clout of the NUM and has earned the respect of his negotiating opponents in the Chamber of Mines.

**"B**ECAUSE of his skill and the lack of trade union activity in the mining industry the union quickly grew into a powerful force.

"He is not without enemies. After he had stamped his authority on the union, Ramaphosa left Cusa, defecting to the rival Congress of SA Trade Unions. Former colleagues in Cusa, now known as the National Union of Trade Unions (Nactu), still speak bitterly of what they see as an act of betrayal."

Another who has changed his political colours is Mosioua Patrick Lekota, 42, who cut his political teeth as permanent organiser in the BC-orientated South African Students' Organisation (Saso). He joined the UDF in 1983 as publicity secretary after serving nine years on Robben Island for endangering the security of the state.

In appointing him convenor of the ANC in southern Natal "the ANC has recognised his usefulness. It is a critical area for the ANC, as it is involved in a battle for supremacy with Gatsha Buthelezi's Inkatha."

A man with impeccable family connections, *New Nation* editor Zwelakhe Sisulu, 40, "is an accomplished politician in his own right."

**H**IS father Walter heads the internal ANC and was previously general secretary, a Rivonia treason trialist and Robben Island lifer. His mother is Albertina, one of the UDF's three presidents.

"Zwelakhe Sisulu made his name as leader of the black journalists' union, the Media Workers' Association of South Africa (Mwasa) during a strike in 1982. Employers refused to deal with the union because they said it was a blacks-only body and was also not registered. Sisulu called his members out. Employers relented after a three-month war of nerves."

Since Mr Mandela's release he has been acting as his information officer while continuing to edit his paper.

Jay Naidoo, 35, is described as taking "a much more radical position than his colleagues on many important issues but his main achievement has been his ability to bring together the main strands of views within the Congress of South Afri-

can Trade Unions (Cosatu) into one effective whole."

Plucked from the obscurity of a small union to head Cosatu, he helped turn it within four years into a very strong political movement.

**H**OMELAND leader Enos Mabuza, 51, "is not easy to characterise. Although he is a leader of a homeland and therefore a collaborator, he has managed to straddle the great political divide. He is held in high esteem by the leaders of the anti-apartheid movement."

Trevor Manuel, 34, was formerly active in the Labour Party but left after the party decided to co-operate with the government.

"He came into the anti-apartheid movement through local associations involved in housing matters that formed themselves into the Cape Areas Housing Action Committee (Cahac), with Manuel as its general secretary."

A campaigner against the Koornhof Bills which sought to tighten influx control, he helped form the UDF and served as Western Cape secretary, and on the national executive.

Manuel has spent much of his time in hiding or in detention and was also banned, but unbanned himself and is now forming ANC branches in the Western Cape.

# ANC told its actions may lead to orgy of violence

Argus Africa 1/14  
News Service

HARARE. — The Black Consciousness Movement of Azania has accused the African National Congress of whipping up tensions, warning it could lead to an "intolerable orgy of violence".

It accused the ANC of pitting its members against other black organisations and groups following the decision to suspend the armed struggle.

In a statement from Harare, the movement said political feuding had taken diabolical and frightening proportions.

"What justification exists in declaring peace with the regime and escalating war against Inkatha? Is it fair to attack every Zulu-speaking migrant worker in the hostels simply because Gatsha Buthelezi and the majority of Inkatha members are Zulus?"

The ANC was attacking its members and supporters in the black areas of Kimberley simply because the movement was among organisations that support efforts to bring order in schools.

# 'My endless journey' — poet Breytenbach

W/E ARGUS 18/8/90  
By JOHN VILJOEN  
Weekend Argus Reporter

EXILED author, poet and artist Breyten Breytenbach has said he is "on an endless journey" and will not return to play a major political role.

He told the Cape Town Press Club he had returned "to lance the boil of expectation that I will play the role of a moral magistrate in local politics".

An exile never really returned, he said. "They seem like well-informed tourists, with a hole in their past and without much to offer."

## Closing a chapter

He had returned "to close a chapter in his life and to open a new one".

"I can't keep away from this place. Like a dog I always return to the bone of contention."

He welcomed the "talks about

talks about talks about talks". But did not welcome the "pretence of virginity" by both parties who had obviously negotiated "with full carnal knowledge of each other" long before the release of Mr Nelson Mandela.

He sensed an "air of unreality" evident in the "euphoria rampant in the country", as if everything would be solved "tomorrow morning".

A "false sense of consensus" had been created by the belief in several "myths", among them that:

- There had been a war of liberation and an armed struggle.
- Doing away with apartheid would do away with the country's misery; and
- That the ANC represented the majority of South Africans in any organised fashion.

The country was in danger of being "sold and resold" by the National Party and the ANC, he said.

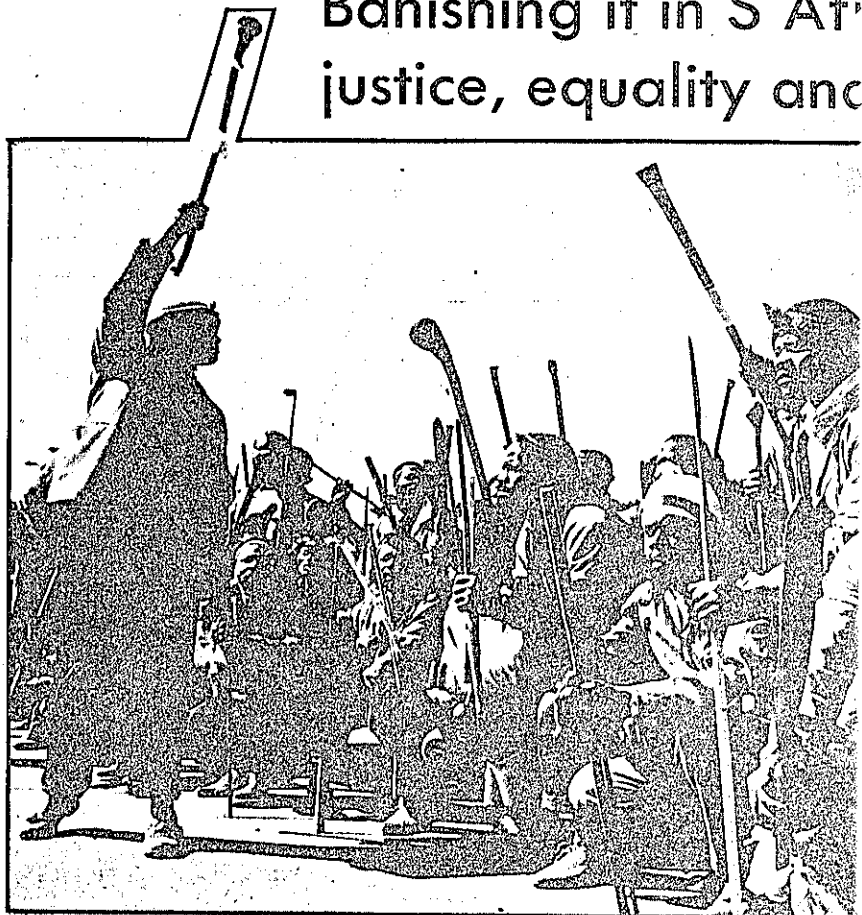
T  
o  
a  
I  
7  
I  
f  
C

# Tribalism: taboo re

Much of the violence sweeping South Africa at the moment is being ascribed to tribalism. To what extent is tribalism still a fact of African life? Does it continue to play an essential role in moulding communities or is it, as certain political groupings claim, a mere fiction invented to enable governments to divide and rule? Dr ERICH LEISTNER examines the issue.

'Anyone who denies this pluralism implicitly asserts that all men are effectively identical — regardless of the geographical, cultural and family environment into which they were born or in which they grew up.'

'The centuries of conflict and bloodshed which preceded the unification into national states of Britain, France, Italy or Germany must be called to mind in order to obtain a more balanced understanding of the issues surrounding the ethnic factor in Africa.'



Banishing it in S Af  
justice, equality and

ACCORDING to Sekou Touré, former president of Guinea, "Tribalism is even more criminal than imperialism". The very word is generally taboo in polite society — Western no less than African.

The reason is obvious: "tribe" is associated with "primitive" and "backward" and is perceived as the antithesis of modern, civilised society. The term also reeks of colonial domination and white racism.

Some view references to tribe as degrading human beings to the level of a species of animals, and a step on the road which led to the Holocaust.

Black Africa's loathing of the word "tribalism" is altogether understandable. However, the reality to which it refers and the problems bound up with it do not go away simply by denying their existence.

## An alternative

Once we use "ethnicity" instead of "tribalism", it becomes easier to examine the underlying issues dispassionately and to treat them as manifestations of universal human conduct in response to the post-colonial African environment.

Take, for example, the United States of America, which used to be viewed as the "melting pot" in which English, German, Italian, Russian and other ethnic groups were fused into a new national identity. Since the 1970s, however, Americans have become increasingly conscious of the ethnic pluralism pervading their society.

As American scholars Howard Stein and Robert Hill write: "Basic group identity governs our lives and is the taproot of our authen-

tic identities. This ethnic bond is primordial, moulding us from our earliest hours ... selfhood is finally inseparable from group ... ethnic pluralism ... is intrinsic to the human condition."

Anyone who denies this pluralism implicitly asserts that all men are effectively identical — regardless of the geographical, cultural and family environment into which they were born or in which they grew up.

Leopold Senghor, the Senegalese statesman-poet, frankly acknowledges the formative reality of man's "roots":

"The homeland is the heritage which our ancestors have passed down to us; land, blood, language or at least dialect, manners and customs, folklore, art, in a word a culture rooted in the locality and expressed by a race."

Given the comprehensive manner in which this heritage fashions a particular group and the individuals of which it is comprised, and given also the great and often striking differences between these groups, it is only natural if difficulties arise between groups when they are thrown closely together.

In sub-Saharan Africa, where dozens or even hundreds of ethnic groups are often joined together in the new states, this is indeed a serious issue.

Historical accident and administrative convenience have been responsible for the boundaries bequeathed to these states by the colonial powers. Boundary lines frequently dissect the homeland of a particular group while traditionally antagonistic groups have been expected to consider themselves a nation.

As Chief Obafermi Awolowo, a leading Oruba politician, described his country in 1947: "Nigeria is not a nation. It is a mere geographical expression. There are no 'Nigerians' in the same sense as there are 'English', 'Welsh' or

'French'. The word 'Nigerian' is merely a distinctive appellation to distinguish those who live within the boundaries of Nigeria and those who do not." Or, as another Nigerian leader, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, put it, "Nigerian unity is only a British invention." By all indications, the situation is basically still the same today.

The current conflicts in Liberia, Ethiopia and Sudan have distinct ethnic connotations, as had the earlier bloodbaths in Zaire, Uganda, Chad, Nigeria, Zimbabwe and Burundi. These conflicts between major ethnic groups, and the genocide practised against recalcitrant weaker groups by the dominant ones, underline the absence of a unifying sentiment bonding the constituent groups together in these (and most other African) states.

No wonder the slogans "nation-building" and "national unity" feature prominently in the vocabularies of African politicians.

## Europe's example

The centuries of conflict and bloodshed which preceded the unification into national states of Britain, France, Italy or Germany must be called to mind in order to obtain a more balanced understanding of the issues surrounding the ethnic factor in Africa. Hecatombs of blood were spilled in these and other Western countries today considered paragons of democracy and civilisation.

Africa obviously has started much later on the road towards the building of nations and functioning democracies. The underdeveloped state of Africans economies — and the consequent scarcity of skills and disposable resources — is a crucial obstacle on that road. What is more: economic underdevelopment and the absence of democratic government

reinforce each other.

Ethnic sentiments are kept alive by a host of factors deeply embedded in political and economic structure of Africa. To name the more important:

- ① The absence of effective state apparatus to protect the individual rights and chances for advancement
- ② The absence of a national system of security.
- ③ Economic conditions which lead to intense competition for gainful employment and resources in general.
- ④ The social disruption caused by tribalism and inter-group competition.
- ⑤ The close interaction into which rule and modern development have verse ethnic groups.

Under these conditions it is not the individual looks to his native security and help. If those striving for power mobilise their own group, members of that group will support his expectation of rewards if their can. While those holding political power inveigh against tribalism, in practice most invariably fill the strategic, government, the security services administration with people from their own group.

Despite official protestations that has departed with the colonial policies of "divide and rule" tend to mirror the ethnic composition of the country at large.

It has been aptly observed that both a fact and a state of mind are subject to change — the latter by the former.

As indicated above, exclusive sentiments are kept alive if identifi-

# lism: taboo reality

## Banishing it in S Africa requires justice, equality and prosperity



ng  
s  
o what  
of  
to  
ding  
n  
ere  
le? Dr  
e  
ism  
are  
ss of  
d  
they  
ew  
e  
of  
ny  
to  
in

entities. This ethnic bond is primordial, linking us from our earliest hours ... itself finally inseparable from group ... ethnocentrism ... is intrinsic to the human condition.

one who denies this pluralism implicitly states that all men are effectively identical regardless of the geographical, cultural and environmental into which they were born and in which they grew up.

ould Senghor, the Senegalese statesman, frankly acknowledges the formative role of man's "roots": "The homeland is the heritage which our ancestors have passed down to us; land, blood, language or at least dialect, manners and customs, folklore, art, in a word a culture rooted in locality and expressed by a race."

en the comprehensive manner in which heritage fashions a particular group and individuals of which it is comprised, and also the great and often striking differences between these groups, it is only natural that cults arise between groups when they do not join closely together.

ub-Saharan Africa, where dozens or hundreds of ethnic groups are often found together in the new states, this is indeed a complex issue.

tribal accident and administrative convenience have been responsible for the boundaries bequeathed to these states by the colonisers. Boundary lines frequently dissect the homeland of a particular group while traditionally antagonistic groups have been expected to consider themselves a nation.

Chief Obafemi Awolowo, a leading Oruba leader, described his country in 1947: "Not a nation. It is a mere geographical union. There are no 'Nigerians' in the sense as there are 'English', 'Welsh' or

'French'. The word 'Nigerian' is merely a distinctive appellation to distinguish those who live within the boundaries of Nigeria and those who do not." Or, as another Nigerian leader, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, put it, "Nigerian unity is only a British invention." By all indications, the situation is basically still the same today.

The current conflicts in Liberia, Ethiopia and Sudan have distinct ethnic connotations, as had the earlier bloodbaths in Zaire, Uganda, Chad, Nigeria, Zimbabwe and Burundi. These conflicts between major ethnic groups, and the genocide practised against recalcitrant weaker groups by the dominant ones, underline the absence of a unifying sentiment bonding the constituent groups together in these (and most other African) states.

No wonder the slogans "nation-building" and "national unity" feature prominently in the vocabularies of African politicians.

### Europe's example

The centuries of conflict and bloodshed which preceded the unification into national states of Britain, France, Italy or Germany must be called to mind in order to obtain a more balanced understanding of the issues surrounding the ethnic factor in Africa. Hecatombs of blood were spilled in these and other Western countries today considered paragons of democracy and civilisation.

Africa obviously has started much later on the road towards the building of nations and functioning democracies. The underdeveloped state of Africans economies — and the consequent scarcity of skills and disposable resources — is a crucial obstacle on that road. What is more: economic underdevelopment and the absence of democratic government

reinforce each other.

Ethnic sentiments are kept alive by a whole host of factors deeply embedded in the social, political and economic structure of present-day Africa. To name the more important ones:

- The absence of effective states which can dependably protect the individual's life, property and chances for advancement.
- The absence of a national system of social security.
- Economic conditions which lead to an intense competition for gainful employment and resources in general.
- The social disruption caused by urbanisation and inter-group competition.
- The close interaction into which colonial rule and modern development have forced diverse ethnic groups.

Under these conditions it is only logical if the individual looks to his native group for security and help; if those striving for political power mobilise their own group, while members of that group will support him in the expectation of rewards if their candidate wins. While those holding political power commonly inveigh against tribalism, in practice they almost invariably fill the strategic posts in government, the security services and public administration with people from their own ethnic group.

Despite official protestations that tribalism has departed with the colonial masters and their policies of "divide and rule", cabinets tend to mirror the ethnic composition of the country at large.

It has been aptly observed that tribalism is both a fact and a state of mind. Both aspects are subject to change — the latter more readily than the former.

As indicated above, exclusive ethnic sentiments are kept alive if identification with the

group is seen as a vital for survival and advancement in a basically antagonistic environment. However, the functional importance of the ethnic group will decrease significantly, and tribal sentiments with it, once jobs and opportunities for legal gain are plentiful; appointments and promotions are unimpeachable; and governments can be removed through the ballot box.

Apartheid must be seen as essentially a manifestation of tribalism, that is, the Afrikaner tribe's striving to secure survival and the greatest possible share of resources in competition with the black tribes claiming the same fatherland.

The lessons for the South Africa of the future are obvious:

- Create conditions where private initiative will generate maximum economic wealth which can be applied to eliminating the vast backlogs in education, health, housing and so forth.

### No quick solution

- Build a stable democratic system where freedom and justice for all are guaranteed. But don't expect these objectives to be realised overnight, and don't pile new injustices on old by adopting rash measures to create instant social justice and political equality. This is easier said than done. But if tribalism, and notably its racist black-white variant, is to be banished from South Africa for good, then justice, equality and prosperity must prevail.
- The author is the director of The Africa Institute of South Africa which studies African affairs with a particular emphasis on politics and economics.



# Bitter fighting pushes up township death toll

35 killed in bloody clashes in Soweto

STAFF REPORTERS and SAPA

AT LEAST 35 people died during bloody clashes — allegedly sparked by differences between pro-Inkatha hostel dwellers and townships residents — in strife-torn Soweto yesterday.

This brings this week's total number of dead — in Soweto and the East Rand to a total of 101. Thokoza, Vosloorus and Katlehong — 60:91.

The carnage in Soweto, South Africa's largest and most densely populated township, has left close to 220 people injured since the outbreak of violence three days ago. More than 1 000 people have been injured and thousands left homeless in clashes on the East Rand.

Details of yesterday's Soweto deaths were sketchy but police liaison officer for the area, Colonel Tienie Halgryn, said the majority of the dead — mostly men — had been "hacked to death".

## Stand-off

Two people, one only 13-years-old, were said to have died after a stand-off between hostel inmates and township residents in Central Western Jabavu (CWJ) yesterday afternoon. One of the dead men has been identified as Mr Richard Lebona Mosia (29).

They were allegedly killed by gunfire from a AK-47 rifle, with angry residents claiming the shots had



ICA  
Star 18/8/90

STAFF REPORTERS and SAPA

AT LEAST 35 people died during bloody clashes — allegedly sparked by differences between pro-Inkatha hostel dwellers and townships residents — in strife-torn Soweto yesterday.

This brings this week's total number of dead — in Soweto and the East Rand to 291. Thokoza, Vosloorus and Katlehong — to 291.

The carnage in Soweto, South Africa's largest and most densely populated township, has left close to 220 people injured since the outbreak of violence three days ago. More than 1 000 people have been injured and thousands left homeless in clashes on the East Rand.

Details of yesterday's Soweto deaths were sketchy but police liaison officer for the area, Colonel Tienie Halgryn, said the majority of the dead — mostly men — had been "hacked to death".

Stand-off

Two people, one only 13-years-old, were said to have died after a stand-off between hostel inmates and township residents in Central Western Jabavu (CWJ) yesterday afternoon. One of the dead men has been identified as Mr Richard Lebona Mosia (29).

They were allegedly killed by gunfire from a AK-47 rifle, with angry residents claiming the shots had come from a nearby ridge where Inkatha supporters were "huddled together in a warlike spirit".

Colonel Halgryn, however, said no shootings occurred in CWJ yesterday.

"I can assure you nobody has been shot with an AK-47 rifle in CWJ," he said.

The situation was very tense late last night. Soweto's Mapetla suburb and nearby Merafe Hostel became the latest flashpoints with hundreds of hostel dwellers and youths in a tense stand-off.

A resident, who asked not to be named, reported that a youth had been shot, and all teenagers summoned from nearby homes to fight the hostel dwellers.

Hundreds of hostel dwellers had earlier been driven back by Mapetla youths, and were presently camped between their hostel and the Soweto suburb, according to the resident.

Shopping centre

Another trouble spot was around the Maponya Shopping Centre in Dube, where police were reported to have closed off access to the centre and the nearby Dube hostel.

During another incident earlier in the day, a 16-year-old Std 8 pupil, Siboneni Masina, was killed when a policeman allegedly fired shots to disperse residents.

Soweto resident Mr Peter Tau was allegedly shot and hacked by Inkatha hostel dwellers near the Inhlazane railway station, and another resident was killed when Inkatha supporters allegedly attacked a taxi in Zone 1 Meadowlands.

Colonel Halgryn said one man was shot dead by

● TO PAGE 2.



DEFIANT: As township comrades flee under attack from pro-Inkatha Jabulani Hostel dwellers, one man turns back to vent his anger. TOP: A heavily armed special unit policeman at the scene of a grenade and machine-gun fight. Photographs: Ken Oosterbroek.

Whites warn of violence at today's Welkom march

Sta. 18/8/90

SUE OLSWANG

THE potential for conflict during today's march through the centre of Welkom has been addressed by the South African Police in a stern warning issued soon after the Conservative Party threatened to resort to violence if one white person dies at the march.

Major Johan Beukes of the Welkom police has said the SAP will not tolerate any interference and are determined to ensure the maintenance of law and order during the march by about 5 000 black residents of Brosville township.

Permission for the march has been granted by the Welkom Town Council, but it will take place in a delicate climate of racial conflict which has the potential of turning bloody if the right-wing tries to intervene.

Koos van der Merwe, CP MP for

Overvaal, has warned that today's march is an invitation to bloodshed.

"If one white person dies it will be on the Government's conscience. We will mobilise our people and stop them with violence," Mr van der Merwe said during a stormy CP meeting held in the Free State mining town on Monday night.

At its annual Free State congress held in Bloemfontein earlier this week, the CP passed a unanimous resolution to demand an immediate end to protest marches through white areas. The party also stated the Government would be directly responsible for loss of lives or damage to property caused during black political protest.

● TO PAGE 2.

Townships want F W to stay a leader — research

Sta. 18/8/90

CHRIS MOERDYK

RESEARCH data just released shows that President F W de Klerk has not only gained considerable support in black townships, but an increasing number of blacks now want him as one of their leaders in the new South Africa.

But, while the independent research project indicates that Mr de Klerk's star is rapidly rising in the townships, it also shows that blacks remain suspicious of the National Party, still regarded as the "creator of apartheid", which it is relinquishing as slowly as possible and only because of international pressure.

The Rubicon 2 project was undertaken by the Johannesburg advertising agency McCann in May

this year as a sequel to Rubicon 1, conducted shortly after Mr de Klerk's watershed speech on February 2.

At the time, research showed that blacks generally welcomed the State President's reforms and the release of Nelson Mandela, but that two widely divergent points of view still existed in the townships — a feeling of continuing black resentment and a new spirit of reconciliation.

Latest research shows black middle and upper-income residents of Transvaal townships believe the National Party is not to

be trusted, that it still maintains double standards and that it is only President de Klerk who is committed to change, and not his party.

The majority view Inkatha "with loathing" and see it as a narrow tribal party that is not as much representative of Zulu interests as it is of its leader's political ambitions.

The planning director of the McCann Group, Sue Lerena, who co-ordinated both Rubicon research projects, said it was "impossible" to conduct research in Natal because of intimidation.

"While it was expected that a

● TO PAGE 2.

## Clashes

FROM PAGE 1

police at lunchtime yesterday, after he allegedly threw a petrol-bomb at them.

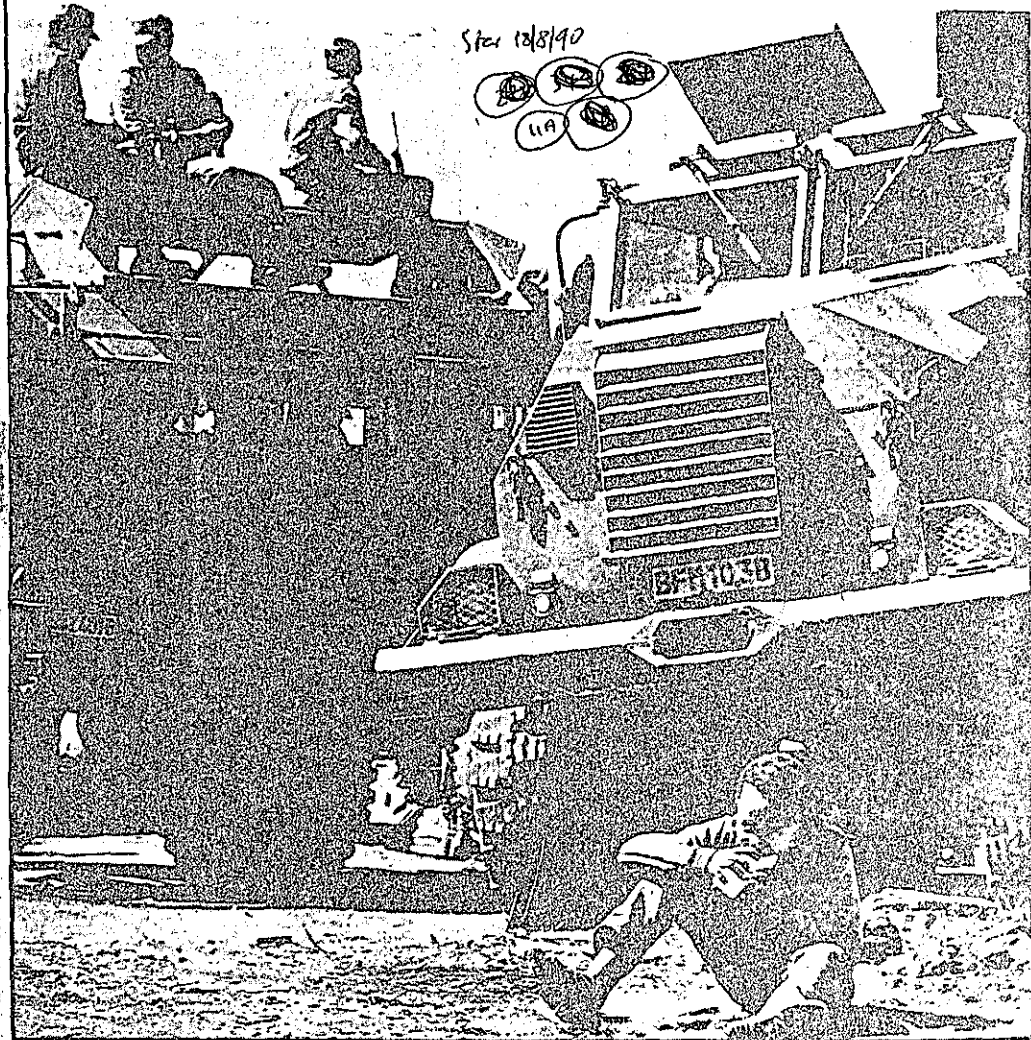
Colonel Halgryn claimed police were attacked with stones and petrol-bombs throughout the day, and he alleged they had been shot at by clashing parties.

A potential spread of the conflict which has claimed at least 191 lives in Witwatersrand townships this

week was averted on Thursday night when police quickly intercepted a large group of suspected Xhosas — armed with pangas, spears, knobkerries and other weapons — allegedly on their way to attack Zulus.

A police spokesman said the group was surrounded by police and disarmed.

The East Rand, flashpoint of this week's Reef conflict, was reportedly relatively quiet yesterday even though two Xhosa men were reportedly shot dead at close range while attempting to retrieve their belongings from a Thokoza hostel.



RAVENOUS REFUGEE: Hundreds of squatters fled from the Phola Park squatter camp in Thokoza during bloody battles in East Rand townships this week. One hungry little refugee managed to fill his stomach partially with police leftovers outside the Thokoza police station. © Picture: KEN OOSTERBROEK.

## Township youths 'kill with impunity'

THE foundations for politicisation and militancy among South Africa's urban black youth have been laid by the realities they face during their growing years — poverty, unemployment, high levels of violence, a breakdown of family structures and a discredited education system.

This was revealed during the screening of "The Lost Generation" on Thursday night, an investigation by SABC's "Network" programme of what South Africa's problems have done to the country's urban black youth.

### Toddlers

Researched and compiled by SABC TV journalist Barbara Folscher, the programme revealed that the present violence and killing are accepted as a part of everyday township life — even by toddlers.

Paul Zulu, of Natal University's Centre for Social and Development Studies, said shooting and killing have become norms in a society moulded by violence. "Today youths carry coffins on their shoulders," he said. "They kill with impunity."

Folscher told viewers that research by the

### SUE OLSWANG

Inkatha Institute has shown the majority of township youths feel a strong degree of alienation, hopelessness and boredom. She added that the majority of urban black children feel worthless and uncared for.

The usual daily activities of the "lost generation" of about 3 million urban black youth consist of doing nothing, playing soccer, organising political meetings, smoking dagga, fighting and visiting shebeens, she said.

Absent from the list, however, was education. Folscher told viewers black pupils attend school only when they want to, and then do whatever they like when they do report to school.

"Education is listed by youths as the most important reason for their anger and frustration," Folscher said.

Manuel Ntuli, of the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) in Alexandra, said the present education system has "taught hostilities" between the races. "Education should be in the hands of the people. There

should be one system for all."

Existing anger and frustration, fuelled by a discredited education system, have long provided the ideal circumstances for political organisations, Folscher said.

Eugene Motati, of the Pan Africanist Student Organisation (Paso), said: "The negotiation process is aimed at establishing a peace settlement but the youth want total revolution. These two don't go hand in glove."

Mbulelo Ketye, of the Azanian Youth Organisation (Azayo), said they believe the country belongs to blacks. "Whites settled here through the barrel of the gun," he said.

### Regain

"They killed blacks, took our land and now they run our country. We believe blacks cannot regain the country at the negotiation table. We can only regain our country at the battlefield."

In her conclusion, Folscher said black youth are impatient for change. They were confident that changes would come, but blindly believed their problems would end when that moment arrived.

# ANC exiles face

By TOM HOOD  
Business Editor

**SOUTH** Africa's huge housing shortage is likely to come under immense pressure from rising immigration and the return of thousands of ANC exiles.

The number of immigrants has started to outstrip the numbers leaving the country and the country is gaining at least 1 000 families a month, according to official figures.

Many of the immigrants are returning South Africans trying to capitalise on the low rand by selling their property in Britain or Australia and buying houses here at a fraction of overseas prices.

Agents report many inquiries from people in Britain who want to retire to South Africa, buying property cheaply and receiving their pensions at the

bargain rate of about R5 to the pound.

"Television scenes of violence from Natal or the Transvaal seem to have little effect on people overseas. They are so accustomed to seeing violence everywhere," said Mr Scott McRae, managing director of a country-wide property company.

"The country has received enormous publicity from Mr Mandela and President De Klerk and people in Hong Kong who had never heard of South Africa a year ago are now inquiring about coming here."

Vacant flats and houses to rent are so few that rents have started to rise even in the deepening economic recession, say Cape estate agents.

"There is a big demand for anything below R1 000 a month in the Peninsula," said a spokesman for Steer and Co,

one of the largest letting agents.

The millions of homeless black families will soon have their numbers increased by the return of ANC exiles — estimated to number between 20 000 and 40 000.

Their return involves planning and logistics on the scale of a military invasion, including a huge airlift by the United Nations mooted.

Most of the blacks returning may be able to find accommodation in the "extended family" tradition but thousands of others — including wives and children who have never set foot in South Africa — will need to be found homes.

The possibility of taking over a 54 storey Johannesburg skyscraper, the Ponte City block of flats in Berea, to house up to 2 000 ANC exiles, has been disclosed by the South African South African Council of Churches general secretary Frank Chikane.

Johannesburg property brokers said today they knew of no agreement to rent or buy the building and any purchase might require government funds — help which the ANC might be reluctant to accept.

The building could be used as a staging post or temporary hostel if the exiles returned in small groups.

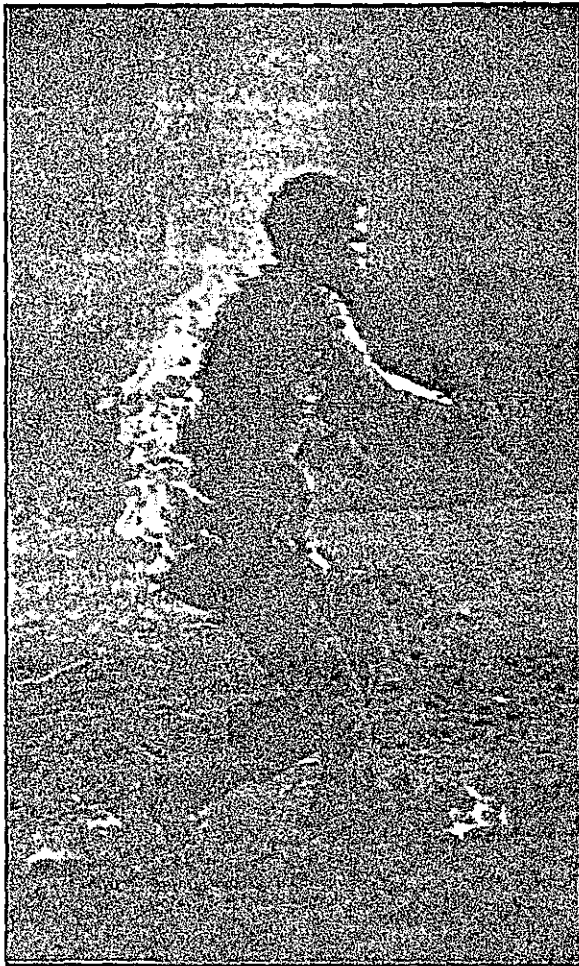
A report from Weekend Argus correspondent in Johannesburg indicated that thousands of exiled members of the ANC may be brought back in a huge airlift operated with United Nations help.

A property economist suggested that immense problems faced those returning. While many had been living rough, others had become accustomed to schools and housing standards that could not be satisfied by living in the equivalent of squatter settlements.

# housing crisis

☐ **THOKOZA: ANARCHY AND CARNAGE**

C/News 19/8/90 (23) (11A) (23)



**To his death . . . Terror victim Stanford Chiya is set alight by youths, but he still tries to flee.**

**Horror  
of man's  
death  
by fire**

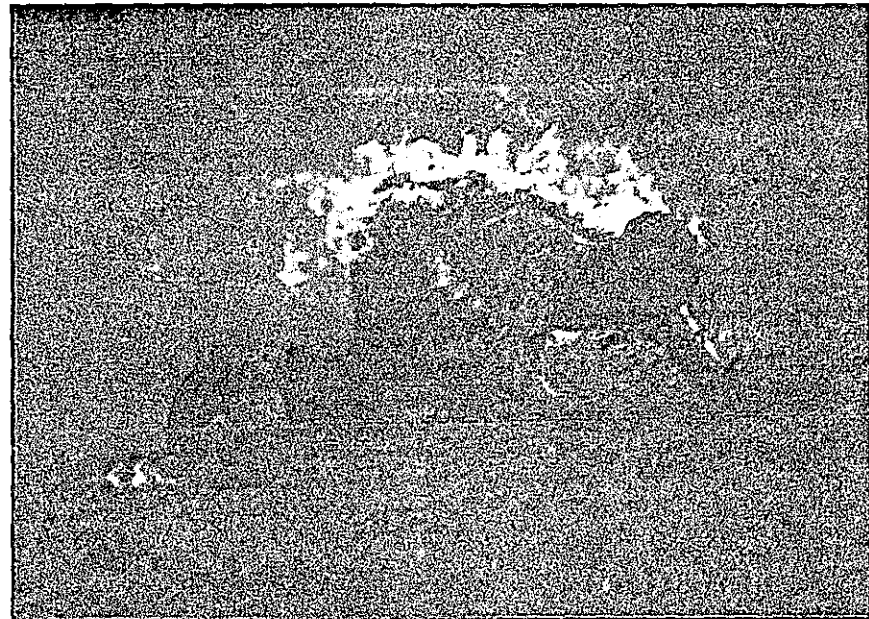
**HORRIFIED** journalists saw a group of youths douse Stanford Chiya, of Umzimkhulu in the Transkei, with petrol and set him alight in Thokoza this week.

Newsmen rushed to Chiya and extinguished the fire. Bleeding, he writhed on the ground, his clothes burnt off his body, skin peeling away.

A journalist described the incident as "horrific and barbaric".

Scores of policemen arrived and took up combat positions facing a nearby house while others helped the man into a police van and took him to hospital.

He died on Thursday. — Sapa



**A blazing Stanford Chiya stumbles (above) and makes a last bid to rise to his feet. But his strength has been sapped. Resigned to his fate, he sinks to the ground (right), groaning as the devouring flames spread across his clothing and to most parts of his torso.**



# Tribute to Mpetha



**Veteran unionist Oscar Mpetha.**

## CP Correspondent

OSCAR Mpetha, regarded by many as the father of trade unionism in South Africa, is to have a school named after him at a ceremony today.

Parents, pupils and staff of the Sizamile Senior Secondary in Nyanga, Cape Town, have resolved to name the school after the veteran ANC and SACP member.

Former trade unionist Mpetha, who was released from prison last October, turned 80 recently.

## Nyanga school is renamed after him

"This is not just a birthday present," said a teacher. "We wanted to record our appreciation of his role in the struggle and the work he has done in Nyanga. We have not received permission from the Department of Education and Training to rename the school, but we have the community's approval."

Among those who have agreed to pay tribute to Mpetha is an-

other veteran ANC member Christmas Tinto, the Western Cape president of the UDF.

DET regional chief director WA Staude said in a statement it was customary for schools to be named by the communities they served.

"It follows that should a community wish to name its school there can be no objection, provided the whole community is in favour of the new name."

It was also customary to obtain the permission of the person after whom the school was to be named, he said.

Once this was done the "initiators" should inform the department's local office so that departmental records could be adjusted.

cl/ress 19/8/90

(11A) (11B) (11C)

# THE RED PERIL COMES TO SOWETO

## Face to face with rampaging 'red' menace

By NAT DISEKO

A RED peril with a difference came to Soweto this week.

Early on Thursday morning, people on their way to work were set upon by vicious hordes of Zulu-speaking



A man wields an axe during the fighting between hostel dwellers and nearby residents.

migrant workers who live in hostels in the townships.

The attackers wore red headbands and other red clothing.

At the end of the day, the police confirmed that 14 people had been killed and 129 injured.

Commuting by train between the city and the township has become perilous.

I came face to face with this red menace at the Merafe hostel on Thursday morning. With horrified fascination I watched a big body of Zulu tribesmen, armed to the teeth with knobkerries, pangas, pickaxe handles, spears and guns.

They were doing a fearsome, frenzied war dance, chanting, jumping and stamping. I heard one utter a bloodcurdling shriek in Zulu "Igazi lam Iiyabilla" (my blood is on the boil).

It was now mid-morning and the bloodcurdling chanting and slinging was to go on until lunch hour.

Earlier in the morning, most Soweto schools were deserted after word had gone around that an attack by Zulu Impis was imminent.

As the morning wore on, the tension increased.

On one side, grim-faced residents of Central Western Jabavu were massed, facing the hostel Zulus. The battelines were drawn.

In the middle were the police, keeping the two sides apart. The residents, unlike the impi, were not displaying weapons.

The SAP had thrown razor-wire around a section of the hostel perimeter, while on the southern side smoke billowed from a section of the hostel that had been set alight. At one stage, the Zulus started to move. Police lobbed teargas canisters at them and they retreated to continue with their war dance inside the hostel perimeter. Then the residents were teargassed.

Youths and all able-bodied men were to be mustered later in the day to keep a night-long vigil to defend the township against possible attack and to escort workers to the railway station in the morning.



Police bar the way of "red peril" Zulus as they keep fighting factions apart in Soweto.

Photo by Evans Mboweni



# Cops are criminals looking for targets, says Winnie

By ELIAS MALULEKE

11A  
19/8/90

confirms what Nelson Mandela told Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok about police brutalities.

A DEFIANT Winnie Mandela made a dramatic appearance on Friday in violence-torn Zondi near the Jabulani Hostel, Soweto, causing a stir when she accused police of siding with Inkatha and killing people.

Mandela, wife of ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, told the media and a large group of people who gathered around her, police were not out to keep peace between warring factions.

She said police were "criminals" running around Soweto looking for targets.

Mandela was reacting to allegations that police shot and killed a 16-year-old Zondi youth.

The body of Daniel Ntsibande was found in the backyard of a house in Zone One after police allegedly opened fire on a mob in the street overlooking the hostel.

Police confirmed a body was found, but said circumstances leading to his death would be investigated.

Mandela said: "Police are Inkatha and the shooting of this boy

"Inkatha is far away from here and there is no fighting. Inkatha is only a strategy. The police force is Inkatha and they are killing our people.

"The question by youths is why not suspend talks with the government and continue with the armed struggle?" she said.

Meanwhile, violence continued to rock Soweto on Friday as Inkatha members and residents took to the streets around the hostels.

Several people were killed, mostly in and around the hostels in Jabulani and Mapetla.

Inkatha members stood guard at the hostels while youths taunted them from a distance.

Sporadic gunshots were exchanged between the two factions throughout the day and in Central Western Jabavu, a youth with an AK-47 opened fire on Inkatha members on a hillside near the rail line. Minutes later, a powerful hand-grenade from the hillside shattered nearby windows.



Winnie: Police are Inkatha and they are killing our people. ■ Pic: ANDRIES MCINEKA

# Govt must drop race laws

THE government should remove all instances of "statutory violence", *Rapport* said in an editorial last week.

The paper lauded the ANC's dropping of the armed struggle as an "enormous concession", saying the government should now drop the emergency restrictions and laws which for years have suppressed black aspirations.

It added the ANC should also honour the spirit of the Pretoria Minute by making peace with all opponents like Inkatha.

Mandela and Buthelezi should get together and talk "before much hap-

## ■ PRESS WATCH

What the Afrikaans papers are saying

pens that would make it very difficult", said *Beeld* political columnist Willie Kuhn.

This should be followed up by the two getting together with FW de Klerk to form a triangle of power, said Kuhn.

*Vrye Weekblad*, in its latest edition, said the blame for the East Rand violence lay with all leaders: the government, the ANC, Inkatha and the churches.

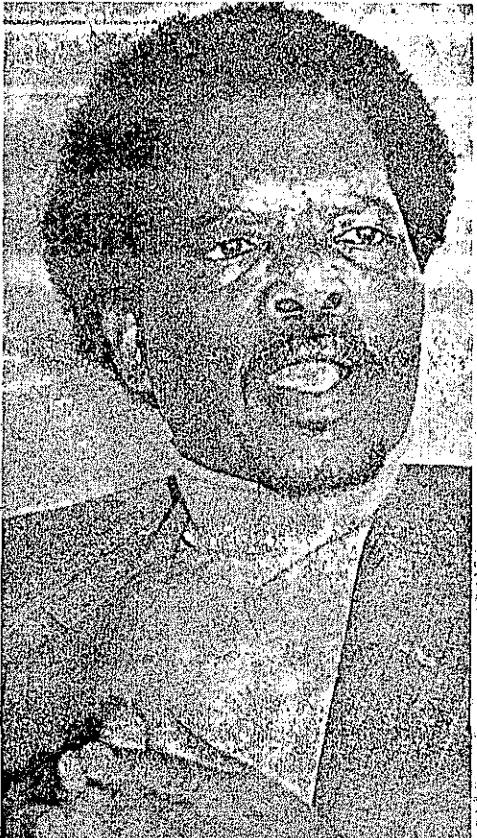
But "there is little doubt it is Chief Mango-

suthu Buthelezi's Inkatha movement which is primarily behind the violence". *C/11/19/8/90*

The paper said Buthelezi had long maintained he was a man of peace, but had also added the rider he had the ability to cause a lot of bloodshed.

"We can only pray that what is happening now is not this strategy put into practice," it said.

*Beeld* columnist Lood said the NP would probably decide this year whether to open their membership to all races.



Rev Sizwe Mbabane ... life is more precious than politics and organisations.

# Patterns in the latest violence point to a solution

By the Rev **SIZWE MBABANE**  
vice-bishop of the Methodist Church of South Africa

THE current violence taking the lives of many people in the PWV area follows certain patterns. These patterns are the clue to the possible solution.

As long as people hedge around and speak in tongues about the conflict, there will be no way of ending the violence.

There is violence after every Inkatha rally. This was the case in Sebokeng and also at Kagiso.

For some strange reason, the police not only allow members of Inkatha to carry dangerous weapons, they actually escort their armed impis. This is another pattern in the conflict.

Now the question is, who is organising members of Inkatha in the hostels?

It would help if our Press found out what is really happening in the hostels.

We are aware most people who stay in the hostels understand the ethnic language, and that is being exploited by organisers of the impis. This raises suspicions that some police may be involved in the organisation of impis.

If this is true, it is no small wonder that police allow Inkatha impis to roam the streets with their dangerous weapons.

Another pattern that has emerged is that whenever Inkatha members are in conflict with any group, that group is teargassed, under the guise of maintaining peace and order.

It is likely in this case that teargas is not used to maintain peace and order, but is used to render the other party powerless and therefore an easy target.

The third pattern is that after conflict and murder, there are no significant arrests. The question is, what has happened to the long arm of the law? Has it suddenly become short or amputated in the case of this organisation's

violence?  
We agree with Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok that there may be criminal elements involved in the current violence. But why allow criminal elements to be armed, and go further to justify this murderous behaviour as Zulu culture?

It is not true the culture of Nguni groups is to carry axes, bushknives, pangas and guns when they attend peaceful meetings. It is insulting.

The pattern of violence and the attitude of the police could point to the root cause of violence in the PWV area. The present violence directed at residents in the townships should be as baffling to Inkatha leaders as it is to everybody.

Ironically, the criminal element may include those who are supposed to maintain peace and order.

There has been a way of talking in tongues and clouding the issues. Reports from witnesses in Thokoza make it clear the conflict was not actually between Zulus and Xhosas. Yet this perception was deliberately portrayed by the reporting of the police who are promoting ethnic conflict which may serve their interest.

Not all Zulus are members of Inkatha, nor are all Xhosas members of the ANC. In fact thousands of Zulus are members of the ANC. It is a distortion to identify all Zulus with Inkatha. These distortions should stop as they don't help resolve the violence.

I appeal to blacks who reside in hostels not to allow themselves to be used to kill fellow black people. Life is more precious than politics and organisations.



The scene is Jabulani hostel this week. Heavily armed police stand in front of the Zulu residents.

PI: EVANS MBOWENI

# 'A game of dice sparked violence'

By ELIAS MALULEKE

THIS week's war on the East Rand had its roots in a game of dice in the Crossroads squatter camp of Katlehong on the East Rand two weeks ago.

During a gambling argument a Zulu-speaking man was stabbed to death by a Xhosa, *City Press* was told by residents this week.

This led to retaliations, which eventually exploded into widespread violence on the East Rand in which more than 140 people died.

While some see it as a faction fight between

Zulus and Xhosas, others see it as a political war between Inkatha and ANC supporters. Many simply don't understand the senseless violence.

This week the violence exploded at the Thokoza hostels and spread to the nearby Phola Park squatter camp and hostels in the townships of Katlehong, and Vosloorus.

Zulus holed up in hostels virtually under their control, this week refused to discuss the gambling incident.

They said: "Tell the Xhosas to ask Mandela for help because we are going to drive them back to the Cape."

Residents in an overcrowded refugee camp near Katlehong railway station told *City Press* the background to the violence.

Velaphi Mathanda, 38, leader of a Crossroads Xhosa clan, said the trouble was started by a Xhosa who stabbed a Zulu to death during a gambling session in Crossroads two weeks ago.

"That Sunday several Zulus attacked and killed the Xhosa man who allegedly killed their man," said Mathanda.

By Friday last week, there were skirmishes between Zulus and Xhosas in Crossroads over the two killings and tension was rising as rumours spread that Zulus were planning to attack the Xhosas in the camp.

"We met the Zulus on Saturday and arranged a meeting for Sunday in a bid to bury the hatchet. We agreed on a truce that day."

"However, the following day Zulus held a meeting at the railway station. When we attended Zulus said Xhosas

should return to the Cape Colony and started shooting at us, killing three."

He said the two groups clashed, but the Zulus were forced to retreat, taking the battle into hostels and Phola Park near Alberton.

Said Xhosa leader Ntuli Jeff: "The fighting worsened in Phola Park but there was a lull at Crossroads and at the hostels on Monday."

Jeff briefed an ANC delegation led by Cyril Jantjies, co-ordinator of the ANC on the East Rand, in the refugee camp on Wednesday morning.

Jeff said on Tuesday morning there were rumours that Zulus were going to attack Crossroads and Xhosas prepared themselves for the attack.

He said Xhosas later decided to attack the Lindelani hostel in Mot-samayi Section on the border of Katlehong and killed nine Zulus.

The fleeing Zulus went to the Qwesini hostel in Katlehong for reinforcements.

Jeff said at 5am on Wednesday they heard Inkatha members chanting "Mandela suka endleleni" (Mandela get off the road).

"They caught us off guard and we were overpowered. Most came by train and some in trucks."

Jeff said the attackers used an assortment of weapons, including shotguns and rifles.

Jantjies said the ANC would launch an investigation to determine why it took police a long time to intervene.

Sapa reports that the ANC and its allies denied the fighting was a

tribal conflict.

The blame was placed squarely at the door of Inkatha.

However, residents at Thokoza hostel told *City Press* relations between Zulu-dominated Thokoza hostel inmates and Xhosa-speaking squatters in nearby Phola Park became strained after several corpses were discovered in a nearby park over the past two weeks.

In Crossroads residents said Zulus had grown tired of being ridiculed and called stupid because of Inkatha's follies.

For many, being Zulu-speaking has become synonymous with being a member of Inkatha.

Heavily armed factions had evolved and were formed along tribal lines, residents said.

Khalanyoni hostel was declared Zulu territory, and Phola Park Xhosa territory, they said.

An inmate at Khalanyoni hostel, Wilson Ndawonde, 27, from Natal, said he had no idea why people were fighting in the area.

"All I know is that Xhosas are attacking Zulus for being Inkatha members. I find this surprising because although I am Zulu, I do not even know what Inkatha is all about."

Jabulani Ngobese, 42, from Nquthu said rumours had been circulating that Zulus were to be attacked because they were unwilling to join the ANC.

"I do not understand all this as I am an ordinary person who has come to earn a living to support my family who are at home. I do not like being labelled an Inkatha member just because I am Zulu."

# The hunger for land

11A 20 20  
10 10  
Office 19/8/90

**A**ZAPO sees land as a commodity available to all Azanians. It belongs to all the people and not to individuals.

Personal ownership is only acceptable where it is used for building homes, not for profiteering.

Land distribution as an economic strategy must be given new meaning and placed in the right context.

This "meaning" lies outside the capitalist notion of land being an exploitable commodity at the expense of human needs and life itself.

If it is used for exploitative purposes, it shall be expropriated and returned to the State.

People who contribute to the economy of the country must be allowed to build their homes without having to pay for land.

When it is used for the creation of wealth, certain conditions will have to be met. For instance, persons may have access to a site for business reasons, but will have to pay rent to a national treasury.

It is clear that because land is the primary means of production, it belongs to the people and cannot become the property of individuals.

The obvious question is: what happens to land, which is presently occupied? Leadership will have to work out a mechanism by which redistribution and appropriation can be executed in an orderly fashion.

Above all, black people have become alienated from the land. For black people, land is no more than a hovel in which you sleep or a place at which you work for starvation wages.

Many people have argued that blacks did not use their initiative and that wealth created in this society was a result of white efforts.

The argument is fallacious. Whites used the labour of black people to earn their security, privilege and power. They convinced themselves blacks were inferior, lazy and came to this country at the same time as they did.

But whites realise that if they confront historical reality, they will have no legitimate claim to the land.

Legislation on the statute books today is testimony to the notion of racism, or apartheid.

Some people argue about democracy. White society has no right to talk about democracy. It has never understood or respected democracy. It practices racism with a fervour akin to the Nazis under Hitler.

Today no person can debate democracy without calling for the total redistribution of the land and wealth of this country.

White society controls 87 percent of

Black political organisations have made it abundantly clear that land will be the central issue in post-apartheid South Africa. The National Land Committee has fired the debate's first salvo at the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce's annual conference in Durban recently by stating blacks will not have enough money to buy land unless there is a programme to redress historical wrongs which have led to this state of affairs. At the meeting, Azanian People's Organisation publicity secretary STRINI MOODLEY pointed to the anomaly of white control over a massive 87 percent of the land in this hard-hitting speech.

the land. If we are to talk about its redistribution as an economic strategy for the future, then we must first come to terms with the reality that 87 percent of South Africa must be included in this redistribution.

Racism has led blacks to believe they have an inferior claim to the land. They see themselves as searching for unoccupied areas while, in their heart of hearts, they desire to occupy the land on which white people live and work.

In other words, they see the mansions and secretly believe they have a right to them.

Consequently, racism has distorted the value of land. It has made it a private thing - a thing which can be exploited for profit. This country bears all the scars of colonialism.

Black people are landless and have been forced to accept a culture of labour - producing the wealth of this

country.

Land did not bear wealth automatically. Somebody had to work it and white people needed to create reasons to turn blacks into a faceless labour force.

The process of colonisation came in three phases. First, the defeat of black people and therefore conquest of the land.

Second, the creation of justifications for exploiting blacks as cheap labour. Third, the introduction of legislation which made blacks landless.

The blood, sweat and tears of black people labouring on their own land for the profit of white society over the last 320 years is a vital factor in appreciating the struggle.

A major element of the struggle is the fight to free land from the clutches of white society and place it back in the hands of the oppressed and exploited majority.

We are not only talking about returning land to an indigenous people. We are talking about freeing it from a society that has taken it illegally. We are talking about ensuring it does not become the basis for exploitation.

Land must become what it is - a resource which ensures the equal development of the whole society.

What centuries of oppression and exploitation have done to black people is to deny them the ability to see themselves as complete human beings. They have been dehumanised violently and psychologically.

Black people are made to feel like foreigners in the land of their birth. Politically, economically, socially and culturally they have been turned into slaves through racist policies.

There are certain realities we have to come to terms with. Land distribution will have to be radical if it is to constructively and adequately address the problems facing the vast majority.

We regard the liberation of black people as a priority. In that context, the liberation of land is a primary objective.

Technical details of how the distribution of land shall be implemented will have to be worked out in finer detail by the government in power at the time.

Land must be returned to its original function. It must provide shelter and a base for productivity.

# PAC impresses Yanks

By PATRICK MAFAFO

A SENIOR representative of American businesses in South Africa is impressed with the PAC's economic policy.

Returning from a consultative conference in Harare last weekend, American Chamber of Commerce director Wayne Mitchell said he believed the PAC was misunderstood in South Africa. The PAC delegation included internal and external leadership.

So impressed was Mitchell that he told *City Press* Amcham would encourage the the South African government to grant indemnity to the organisation's leaders to create better understanding,

through consultation with the business community and other political organisations inside South Africa.

Mitchell said his delegation found the PAC advanced in its planning of the future economy of South Africa.

The talks were in-depth, frank and informative and covered investors' needs in a future South Africa. Issues discussed included the protection of local industry, import and export policy formulation, technical and professional training, worker rights, advancement of black managers and African entrepreneurial development.

Mitchell said common ground was reached on economic matters.

**B**Y the time you read this column, I hope peace and tranquility will have prevailed in our fatherland.

This comes from the bottom of my heart and I hope it applies to millions of our people throughout the country as well.

However, this does not preclude me from highlighting the events of the past week – with the sadness and numbness it brought.

Even now, as I'm writing this piece – looking at all these gruesome photographs – I keep asking myself: How are the families of the victims of these dastardly acts coping now?

You may ask, as I do, what actually goes through the minds of the mob as they go on the rampage, destroying soul and limb?

What goes through the culprit's mind as he pours petrol and sets another human being alight?

We probably may never know the answers, but at least we know some people must take a portion of the blame.

These are our leaders, who seem to be fighting for their political lives – using

**MY WAY**

c/Press 19/8/90

With Khulu Sibiyi

11A

## We now need strong leaders



their followers as pawns.

Apartheid has wreaked havoc, we all know that. We also know that the hostels, the scene of the bloodbath lately, are the creation of this system. People had to be divided on ethnic grounds to perpetuate this system – which is divide and rule.

Today we begin to see the fruits of apartheid.

But when our leaders fail to convey this simple message to our people, we get disturbed.

What started this carnage was tribalism and nothing else. The Zulus against the Xhosas.

And we cannot pretend ANC leader Nelson Mandela is not of Xhosa extraction and Inkatha leader, Chief Buthelezi, of Zulu extraction. This could not have come at a worse time – when there is so much tension between them.

That is why last week – in this column – I called for Mandela to meet Buthelezi.

Those of you who watched a panel discussion on SABC-TV with Buthelezi will recall how he justified the carrying of weapons by his Zulu people.

It was tradition, Buthe-

lezi said, adding that personally he was against any lethal weapons being used by his people.

But the pictures in front of me of people carrying all sorts of weapons shows little resemblance to the traditional weapons Buthelezi was talking about.

Also, as a follow-up to that panel discussion, Buthelezi mentioned that I was a Zulu just like him. But he should have known that inasmuch as I am a Zulu, I am a detribalised one, who looks at himself as a black person under oppression from the whites.

Buthelezi should have

also known that, like him, I don't walk the streets of Johannesburg or go to a political rally armed with an assegai and a knobkierie, or a panga for that matter, simply because I am a Zulu.

As a leader of Inkatha, whose membership is predominantly Zulu, Buthelezi should know his task includes educating his people about the basic principles of democracy.

That applies to the ANC leader Mandela as well.

If Mandela can sit around the table with the Pretoria regime, the very system responsible for his many years of incarceration, what stops him from meeting Buthelezi to put an end to this senseless violence?

The time for political point scoring is over. Mandela and Buthelezi should know this. The time to apportion blame to the system all the time is also over.

We want leaders who will sort out their petty differences like adults, but above all, leaders who are able to give proper direction to their followers.

Says Mavis Peter, who wants to go back to the Transkei soon and start a business of her own: "I have twins to



# Do not blame Inkatha

By MUSA ZONDI of Inkatha Youth Brigade.

THE violence in the Transvaal is no doubt a tragedy. It can only be costly and threatens to derail the negotiation process.

However, most commentators on the violence have so far tended not to be constructive. They have tended to blame Inkatha. The fact is that once people are preoccupied with who is right and who is wrong they are unlikely to generate creative ideas as to how the tragedy could be resolved.

The Rev Sizwe Mbabane's observations are no different from a babble of commentaries we have had so far. Quite rightly he calls for an end to speaking in tongues as regards the violence, but I would have expected him as a man of the cloth to have gone further.

The Inkatha rally in Sebokeng did not precede the violence as he claims. The fact is that supporters of the ANC and the UDF violently assaulted members of Inkatha before the rally in an effort to stop them from attending.

I would say the conflict in the Transvaal is much more complicated than it is made out to be. It is well known that throughout the country Inkatha is being attacked by ANC/UDF and Cosatu supporters. Yet people try to look for other reasons as to why there is violence.

Inkatha does not condone violence. What

In the shocking violence which began in the East Rand this week and spread to Soweto, at least 191 people died and more than 1 000 were injured. On this page a variety of organisations and individuals probe the reasons for the carnage.

is important now is for us all to stop the violence from spreading.

One other fact which has not been addressed by the leaders of various organisations is the issue of ethnicity in the Transvaal conflict.

There is ample evidence that a lot of the violence emanates from the Xhosa/Zulu feud. Anti-Zulu pamphlets have been distributed and anti-Zulu statements made by the ANC, calling for the dismantling of the so-called KwaZulu bantustan. The implications of this sort of statement are ominous.

In my view there is nothing wrong with ethnicity as long as people do not abuse it. Throughout the world Germans are proud to be Germans, the British are proud to be British. Nobody has accused these people of "tribalism" even though the South African government has abused ethnicity in its efforts to divide and rule blacks.

At the same time it is wrong to pretend ethnicity does not exist. It is understandable to me how Zulus feel when ANC leaders call KwaZulu a "bantustan" as though KwaZulu was a construct of the homelands policy. KwaZulu was established as a sovereign kingdom long before the advent of what is

now called the Republic of South Africa.

Secondly, it must anger Zulus to see the hypocrisy of ANC leadership calling for the dismantling of KwaZulu on the one hand when on the other they are served with tea and afforded the best of Xhosa hospitality from within the Chambers of the "Bunga" in the Transkei and the Ciskei.

It is inaccurate to refer to the Zulu people as Inkatha because Inkatha is a political party which people join on a voluntary basis.

However people must understand that Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi is not suddenly going to cease to be senior traditional adviser to the Zulu King.

When will people learn that to insult symbols of Zulu unity and Zulu pride, which both the Zulu King and Buthelezi are, amounts to insulting the Zulu people?

Stop insulting Zulus and Zulus will not fight anybody. On the other hand, unless Inkatha and the ANC are reconciled, violence will always be ominously present. That is why it is so important for Mandela to meet Buthelezi because these are the only people who can bring sanity back.



# Butchering must stop

C/Press 19/8/90



## The ANC says:

THE ANC this week made an plea for violence across the country to halt, saying people were butchering each other "like beasts".

A formal statement by the organisation blamed "misguided individuals" who had infiltrated the communities and hostels for urging people to fight.

"They spread rumours that one section of the

community is planning to attack another. They have taken it upon themselves to divide us along ethnic lines. They urge one language group to fight another."

The ANC statement came hours after State President FW de Klerk met ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela in Pretoria to discuss the violence which claimed more than 191 lives this week.

The ANC statement

said people had political differences "but this should be the basis for our unity, not for violent conflict among the people".

## Buthelezi says:

I AM concerned at the violence taking place in the Transvaal.

The investigations authorised by me have revealed the following:

Most of the squatters at Phola Park are members or supporters of the ANC. Most hostel dwellers are members or supporters of Inkatha.

Approximately two months ago Cosatu called for a consumer boycott at Alberton. Inkatha was not involved in the boycott. This resulted in members or supporters of Cosatu accusing Inkatha members of delaying the struggle and tension began to develop.

On Sunday August 12, 1990, an Inkatha meeting was held at the George Goch Stadium in Johannesburg. At midday, some of the squatters at Phola Park insulted and attacked members of Inkatha at Thokoza hostel who were not at the meeting.

The attacks were repulsed by Inkatha members, but squatters again attacked the hostel on August 13, 14 and 15, despite a peace meeting on the afternoon of August 14 at which it was decided the violence would stop.

I wish to reiterate that Inkatha has always been committed to peaceful and democratic principles. We have always opposed the use of violence.

**TSOTETSI**  
**CEILINGS**  
**& HOME IMPROVEMENTS cc**

**TELEPHONE : 909-2504 & 909-7214**  
Unit 13 Moshoeshoe Industrial Park, Kattlehong

**BUILDING MATERIAL SUPPLIES**

• E.G. BRICKS, CEMENT,  
CORRUGATED IRON, CEILING, 55824  
RAFTERS, GUTTERS etc

**NO DEPOSIT**  
• EASY MONTHLY TERMS

**PHONE US NOW OR PAY US A VISIT**

**IBN** THE MARK OF EXCELLENCE  
COMPUTER SCHOOLS

★ **COMPLIMENTARY STUDENT PASS** ★  
*Bringing in this advert entitles you to one*

**FREE COMPUTER LESSON**

and to an **INTERVIEW** to be a student at the **FAMOUS IBN COMPUTER SCHOOLS** with **SPECIAL STUDENT** enrolment rates.

The lower level, **TONY FACTOR INTOWN CENTRE**,  
cor Pritchard and Rissik Sts. Tel: 23-4441

**THIS ADVERT EXPIRES ON**  
**MONDAY 20th AUGUST 1990**

C/P/1000 11/8/90



6

THOKOZA: ANARCHY AND CARNAGE



The aftermath... Residents help remove bodies found near Phola Park. Pic: ANDRIES MCINEKA

# East Rand fighting cools

By SANDILE MEMELA

FIGHTING on the East Rand has abated after leaving more than 140 dead - but the fear remains.

A large contingent of police and military personnel poured into the strife-torn area late this week to disarm members of Zulu and Xhosa factions after heavy battles in Thokoza, Katlehong and Vosloorus.

But hundreds of residents still fear for their lives and have little hope peace and normality will return to the area.

This is despite the fact police and army patrols have been intensified. A large contingent could be seen monitoring the situation from a distance.

A truck-load of assegais, knives, pangas, sharpened pipes, pistols, AK-47 assault rifles and explosives was confiscated during the raid.

Police PRO Capt Eugene Opperman said police would be in the area as long as was necessary.

Residents, some bearing fresh wounds and scars after bloody battles, told *City Press* they had no future after their arms were confiscated.

Sipho Nzuzo from Mahlabathini, in Natal, insists he is not an Inkatha member, although he speaks Zulu. He has head injuries inflicted during skirmishes in the Thokoza hostel on Wednesday morning.

## Cops confiscate arms, but residents have little hope the matter is settled

"There is no future for me here. I have become vulnerable to attack by Xhosas after I was disarmed. We now live in fear and suspect Xhosas can do as they please with us because our weapons have all been confiscated," Nzuzo said.

Scores of hosteldwellers in the Zulu-dominated Thokoza hostel suffered from insufficient sleep. They have not been to work since the fighting started and children have not been to school.

Groups of youths could be seen milling around in the streets while others helped their parents move their belongings to safety in nearby townships.

Many hosteldwellers said staying in Thokoza hostel would be like signing their death certificates.

Mphumuzo Tshabalala, 20, from Natal, bitterly complained about the confiscation of his weapons.

"I now consider myself a dead man. What am I expected to do if I get attacked?" he asked. Opperman told reporters the police had em-

barked on a campaign to disarm all warring forces. "It is not true that we only disarm members of a particular faction. This accusation has always been levelled against the police.

"We have embarked on a campaign to disarm all warring factions in the area," he said.

In the veld outside Phola Park more than 300 armed Xhosa-speaking men were surrounded by police and soldiers who confiscated their weapons.

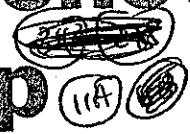
The men had gathered to discuss how they could get into Thokoza hostel to retrieve their belongings.

Themba Mpumlwana, from Cala in the Transkei, told *City Press* it would be hard for him to get back his belongings.

"This area is a war zone. How are we expected to retrieve our possessions when we have been disarmed? The police should have left us alone to settle the matter in our own way," said Mpumlwana.

# During a war one does not sleep

City Press 19/8/90



By SANDILE MEMELA

EAST Rand residents dare not sleep in order to stay alive.

Such is the intensity of the war on the East Rand where, in just three days, South Africa counted the dead bodies of over 140 people in the fiercest black on black conflict to date.

Hundreds of people were left homeless as their houses went up in flames in the past week.

Hostel inmates and squatters in Thokoza, Katlehong and Vosloorus were awakened to the sound of gunfire and screams as Zulu and Xhosa factions battled it out in the early hours of the morning.

The areas resembled battle zones as thousands of residents fought to save their possessions from burning shacks and houses.

A hostel inmate remarked that those who still had blankets and beds were very fortunate.

Residents told *City Press* they had hardly slept since last Sunday when squabbles over political allegiances flared up into tribal war.

Ntombekhaya Makhaya, 28, of Crossroads squatter camp in Katlehong, said as she was preparing to go to work on Monday she had heard the sound of gunfire.

"I instantly knew there was trouble as the area had been tense since Sunday. Throughout the week I have

had very little sleep and this is taking its toll."

Makhaya said she could not go to work as she had to protect her possessions.

Bigman Ndlazi, 40, of Block 6 in Thokoza hostel, said since the violence erupted he dozed off with his clothes on because he had to guard his spaza shop in the hostel complex.

"There is war and one cannot even close one's eyes for a moment. The sound of gunfire and screams has become a way of life," said Ndlazi.

Wilson Ndawonde, 27, of Natal said people were not sure what had caused the violence.

"We have formed ourselves into units who guard throughout the night," said Ndawonde.

Not so lucky were his room-mates Siphon Nzuza, 22, and Mphumuzo Tshabalala, 20, both from Mahlabathini. They were attacked shortly after 6am when an alleged Xhosa faction attacked the hostel.

"We were woken from our sleep by gunfire. As we dashed for safety a heavily armed group of Xhosa men attacked us," said Nzuza.

Nzuza suffered a gash on his head from a knobkierie and his friend Tshabalala was stabbed in a shoulder.

"This experience has taught us not to spend too many hours sleeping while this war is going on," said Tshabalala.



Tragic end to another life . . . police drag the body of another victim of the East Rand conflict towards their waiting van.

# Mocking marchers taunt AWB

S/Times 19/8/90

By MARK STANSFIELD  
and MANDLA TYALA

IT was one of the closest confrontations yet — AWB leader Eugene Terre Blanche and an army of 700 khaki-clad, weapon-bristling followers eyeball-to-eyeball with 3 000 chanting, mocking ANC and SACP marchers.

The place was Welkom, the time 10.45am and hundreds of onlookers speculated on what would happen as the 3 000 black and coloured marchers began streaming past a street lined with armed boers who have never minced words over their hatred for communists and the ANC.

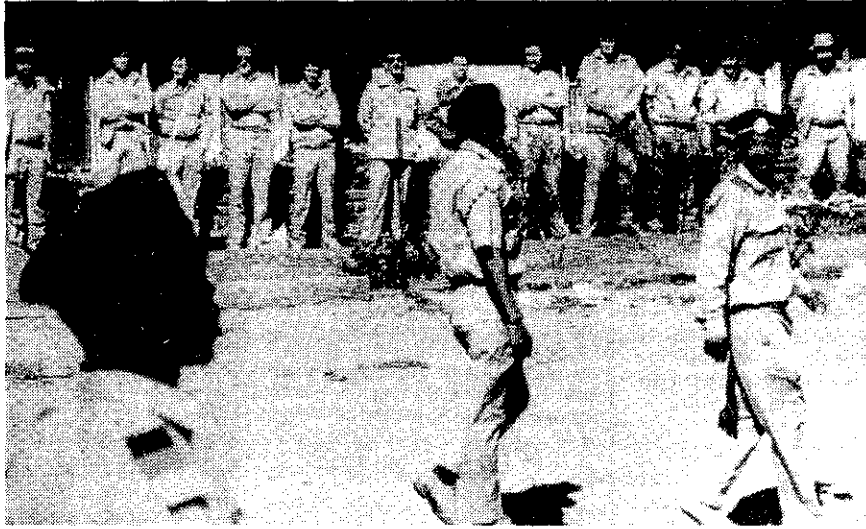
There were predictions of a violent struggle — even a massacre should a simple incident ignite the fire growing in the massed groups.

## Wary

ANC members carrying banners reading "To hell with AWB, BV and CP" did not help matters.

But, instead of the predicted flow of blood, both sides managed to remain orderly and calm as they came face to face in Constantia Street — probably for the first time ever in such numbers.

Then, outside number 35 — the house Eugene Terre Blanche had chosen for his



**TENSE ... ANC and SACP comrades file past massed AWB commandos in Welkom yesterday, but the march proceeded with only one incident**

HQ and where he stood stony-faced watching the ANC/SACP "army" pass — someone let fly with a potentially-lethal bolt from a crossbow.

Tension mounted as a 16-year-old schoolboy, pierced through the upper arm by the arrow bedecked in the ANC colours, was rushed to hospital.

The youth, Christiaan Oosthuizen of Bronville, later

told the Sunday Times he had not even seen his assailant among the rows of khaki-clad right-wingers lining the route.

It was after this incident that the whippers began:

"Bulalani amaBhunu, Kill the boers."

But somehow the disciplinary marshals managed to get the crowd moving and suddenly the swaying, chanting group seemed happy again.

Police district commissioner Colonel Hennie Heyman, his face deathly pale as he carried the arrow away for investigation, walked past a group of AWB members and told them that someone had shot a youth.

"Huh!" was the reply.

"We wouldn't waste our time only shooting arrows at them."

Then, two kilometres from their destination, the rumour spread that the "boers" had placed a bomb on a bridge, intent on killing and maiming the marchers.

But there was no bomb.

And so for about six kilometres, from Thabong township entrance to Welkom's police HQ, the ANC and the AWB kept a wary eye on each other.

Without mishap.

Police deputy district commissioner Lieutenant-Colonel Sam Kruger accepted a list of grievances from the crowd and they began their long trek home again — marshalled by their own khaki-clad "army" and a strong contingent of police and army troops. In many places quick-deploy razor-wire had been strung to ensure the group kept to their route.

## Wild

But Constantia Street, where the AWB was massed, remained the focal point:

Again on the return march, facing the AWB gauntlet, people speculated about a violent confrontation.

Again nothing happened and both AWB and ANC supporters dispersed — the AWB like troops on parade; the

ANC with the wild abandon of schoolkids let out for their summer holidays.

Terre Blanche, his face showing little emotion, said 80 families in Constantia Street had written to the AWB and requested protection.

"We were here at the request of the residents. Only three houses did not ask us to come and protect them. We did not come here for confrontation and kept a low profile, just in case we were needed.

"In these houses there are small children who cannot protect themselves and we were here for them.

## Vow

"These same marchers, the communists that you see here, are the ones who have killed our people. Only last week they killed a miner underground. They march past here and they swear at us and tell us they will kill us.

"I vow that not one inch of white land will ever be given to them," he said.

One of the main demands that Thabong and Bronville residents handed over to the police yesterday was that land be made available for housing.

Other demands included one local authority for Welkom and the immediate opening of all public and social amenities.

# From hope to leadership

S/Times 19/8/90 (11A)

TALKING out one's differences is always less spectacular than fighting.

It is therefore very important that the supporters of different groups must be prepared to temper anger and emotionalism on the one hand and fear on the other.

There must also be a willingness to sacrifice and to give the process of peace a fair chance.

It does not seem proper for the leaders to pursue one course of action while the various parts which make up both sides follow different or previous strategies.

The Government cannot condemn the pronouncements and actions of Umkhonto we Sizwe while police continue with the mode of conduct for which they have become infamous.

At the same time a moratorium must be placed on the defiance campaign and other popular actions.

It is also necessary that every sector of the community should engage institutions in genuine negotiations and to prepare people for the inevitability of change.

Student groups must talk to student groups; businessmen should talk to labour; the churches must continue



## Educationist Franklin Sonn urges South African leaders pursuing peace and a new nationhood to take ordinary people along with them

to define the moral parameters of the new South Africa; sportsmen should talk to sportsmen and all professional organisations should be engaged in fundamental discussions of how to remodel themselves as well as the South Africa of the future.

These talks should no longer merely be sessions where the oppressed bemoan their suffering under apartheid or where the real intended motives of apartheid are explained from the other side.

They must occur from the premise that apartheid is on its way out. There must be no compromise on that. It should be the meeting of minds for the establishment of a South African nationhood. After all, a nation is not created in a laboratory or in a factory and neither can a nation be built around a negotiating table alone.

A nation consists of

people and the people must build the new society. The negotiators will set the framework, but the real work must be done at all levels between people.

Understanding, acceptance of one another, reconciliation, willingness to share and a restatement of values as well as the institution of actions which will be consistent with our values must be built by all of us.

In the process, we as leaders on the lower echelons must take courage to embark on actions that will gain the confidence of our people, will ameliorate their anger and satisfy short-term needs. These actions must always have the greater objective in mind — working towards a meeting of hearts and minds.

The negotiating leaders must, as it were, be able to look through their confer-

ence windows and see their constituencies equalling their negotiating efforts. That, more than anything else, will make the process of change irreversible.

The world is demanding signs that the process of change cannot be reversed. We, the people, must ensure that the process is not reversed.

Whites and blacks must be so consumed by the process and hope of reconciliation and change that a return to apartheid will be unthinkable for both sides. Again, Mandela and De Klerk showed us the way but they rely on us, the people, to carry the process through.

□ Franklin Sonn is rector of the Peninsula Technikon. This is an extract from a recent address to the SA Institute of International Affairs.

# Childish petulance lacerating society

11A  
20/5/90

Soweto  
20/5/90

**T**HE saddest thing about what is happening in South Africa today is the attitude that people have about each other.

It is a combination of the contempt whites hold for blacks ("we are trying to give them freedom and this what is happening"), guilt and anger that is lacerating blacks from the different contending sectors, a despairing fear from many, and a desperation from the women of this country that the killing of their sons must stop.

I am hearing more and more white people expressing, not just sadness and fear, but a deep and plainly unacceptable horror and contempt for the perceived savagery displayed by blacks.

There is a smugness that smirkingly says to itself, and to any black person within earshot, "we told you about what you must expect from THEM. We told you that what has happened in other parts of Africa will happen here. We told you that blacks, even if we believe they are somewhat human like us, cannot measure up to the dictates of decency and democracy."

These sentiments do not come only from the rabid right, they are shared by liberal whites at cocktail parties and in their homes. They are loudly expressed by people who are uncomfortable about the possibility of having people like Mr Nelson Mandela, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Mr Zeph Mothopeng and Dr Jerry Mosala running the country with or without them.

This piece is in fact a defence, a rationalisation of the curse that seems to hang like a cloak over blacks.

I lived on a gold mine as a little boy. My father was a clerk at the Rand Leases Mine, Florida, on the West Rand. I might not have had an awareness of it then, but the impact of the passing contact

## FOCUS

By AGGREY KLAASTE

with men called "mineboys", was powerful and lasting.

My father being a clerk, we were a cut socially above the so-called "mineboys". We looked down on them as strangers from far-off, perhaps faintly, exotic and uncivilised lands.

There were Mozambicans, Sothos, people we called Chopis, Shangaans, Vendas, Zulus, Xhosas, all strong silent men who flowered into magnificent choreographic spectacle at the Sunday mine dances.

They were men living like animals, sometimes 20 to a steamy, grimy room, with concrete slabs for beds. I occasionally went into these frightening holes - a crazy admixture of filth and erotica.

They lived like animals, but bore the wealth of this country on their sturdy shoulders.

We moved from Florida and my family of six lived in one room in Sophiatown.

Then we were moved to Meadowlands when the government destroyed Sophiatown.

There life was a Kaskaque hell of look-alike grey matchbox houses. Many is the night we roamed around Meadowlands looking for our homes.

While in Meadowlands I re-established this weird contact I had with the men, turned by the apartheid system into boys or bachelors. The hostel dwellers at Dube perceived themselves as unloved, despised, by us urban township residents.

They had to bear the brunt of social and political insult from a hostile urban environment. There were fights even then between the

so-called hostel-dwellers and ourselves.

June 16, 1976. Among the most vivid impressions I carry with me is a group of fierce-looking Zulu hostel dwellers, kieries and pangas aloft, accompanied to attack the residents of Mzimhlophe, Soweto, by army vehicles called Caspirs.

I remember the eerie emptiness of Mzimhlophe when the hostel men had flattened the township. I remember quite clearly a number of things about the destruction of a people by the viciousness of the apartheid system.

I must apologise for trying to defend death and destruction but I believe those whites who are shaking their heads in dismay and secret delight at the way we are tearing ourselves apart, should know.

To give legitimacy to my views, to try and describe the enormity of man's injustice to man, let me tell you about another striking though totally different experience.

I was in London, the hub of the western world, during the Poll Tax riots.

I was on a train from outside the city when a report over the train's system said there was trouble in London and the train could not stop.

The chaos that hit us when the train finally stopped reminded me of Soweto!

I could not believe the destruction, the total smashing of life and property by English people, people I believe to be the paragons of democracy and civilisation.

If people in the middle of civilisation can behave with such savagery, what do you expect people who have spent most of their lives in hell, to do?

I must say something about South Africans in general and blacks in particular.

Years living under a fake sys-

tem, a system of divide and rule, a system that has tried and failed to bring hate between the people of different races, has brutalised blacks.

The worst thing about us is not race hate and intolerance. The worst thing is not political or tribal divisiveness. The worst thing about us is a petulance that expects too much from the world.

Black South Africans have been conditioned to believe the world owes them something because we have been the oppressed. And if the world does not act the way we wish it to, we rebel like adolescent louts.

As we have been denied democratic routes to express ourselves, we have become extremists.

We exercise the extreme option under almost all perceived situations of hostility.

The worst is we become violent. It is a childish, almost petulant childish reaction to problems.

White South Africans are just as brilliant in their pettiffoggery. With deep petulance, they expect to hang onto a privilege that was premised on an evil system. They moan about sanctions, about the way blacks are behaving. And if they do not moan, they run.

It is about time that we realised that grave mistakes were made in our history. It is about time we knew that we must pay for the mistakes of the past. It does not now matter who made them.

For God's sake blacks are paying, have been paying, will most likely still have to pay very heavily, for the mistakes of apartheid. We need to bear this like adults. It is not easy.

And yet the responsibility to get things right in South Africa lies heavily on us. The southern African sub-continent is dependent on what we do. Finally, the entire African continent depends on us getting things right here.

# End fighting, says BCMA

*Sowetan 20/8/90*

By SONTI  
MASEKO

THE Black Consciousness Movement of Azania has called for high-level meetings of all political and community organisations in the country to end the "ferocious blood-letting" in the townships.

A statement issued by BCMA chairman Mr Mosibudi Mangena from Zimbabwe at the weekend said the solution to the violence in black townships lay with the black community and not with the State or the police.

"The BCMA urges the black community to work together towards ending the senseless violence and establish permanent peace in our townships," he said.

The BCMA had approached the Azanian People's Organisation to seek a solution to the fighting jointly with other national and community organisations, including Inkatha.

The peace initiative should include the opening of communication be-

tween hostel dwellers and township residents.

The BCMA leader said: "To date, more than 200 people have been killed in a week of fighting in Tokoza, Vosloorus, Katlehong and Soweto. What is the violence between the two groups in aid of?"

## Violence

"There are those with reservations about meeting the leader of Inkatha, Chief Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi. If the inclusion of the Inkatha leader in broad meetings will contribute towards the saving of the black lives, let us meet him and place a higher priority on saving lives rather than nursing our reputations.

"We can stop the violence. If we do not move now with speed and determination it will become more and more uncontrollable," he said.

# ANC should talk to Inkatha, says Azapo's Solly Cheoare

AZAPO deputy president Dr Aubrey Mokoape at the weekend told more than 5 000 people attending the funeral of Azapo leader Solly Cheoare at Mohlakeng near Randfontein that the ANC and Inkatha shared the same policies and should therefore be able to resolve their differences.

Dr Mokoape said if the ANC was able to speak to the leaders of Venda, Ciskei and Transkei, it should be able to speak to KwaZulu and Inkatha

leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Chief Buthelezi was as much a homeland leader and a member of a government structure as were the leaders of the various homelands, and the blood of the nation was as much on the

hands of State President F W de Klerk as it was on the hands of homeland leaders responsible for detentions without trial and other atrocities.

Dr Mokoape said it was imperative that peace was brought to

the war torn townships - residents could not live under tyranny.

The ANC and Inkatha particularly needed to resolve their differences. This was possible because the two organisations shared the same policies. - Sapa



CMF 7-75 20/8/90 (11A) ~~20/8/90~~

# AWB face ANC crowd in Welkom

## Own Correspondent

**WELKOM.** — AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche was taunted with shouts of "ANC, ANC ..." and black-power salutes on Saturday as thousands of ANC supporters marched through a white residential area saturated with armed

## AWB members.

In the only violent incident, a 16-year-old youth was shot in the arm with a crossbow-bolt painted in the ANC colours. No arrests were made.

A crowd of between 3 000 and 3 500 protesters marched from the entrance of Thabong township to police headquarters where a memorandum demanding action on community grievances was handed to the deputy district commissioner.

The demands included one city council for Welkom, an end to evictions, affordable housing and service charges and the resignation of councillors and the management committee.

As marchers formed up, 300 to 400 heavily armed AWB members positioned themselves in white-owned residential properties along the route.

Mr Terre'Blanche cancelled his scheduled address to the HNP's annual congress in Pretoria to head "his commandos at Welkom".

Mr Terre'Blanche said his men, who had driven in from around the country, had been asked to guard 80 houses



Mr Terre'Blanche

along the street.

Police cordoned off the surrounding area with razor wire, and told the right-wingers, who were armed with rifles, shotguns, pistols and batons, they would not be allowed to venture off the properties.

Police and soldiers stood at 50m intervals along the street.

Protesters began marching at 10.30am. They stopped briefly in front of a stern-faced Mr Terre'Blanche who stood surrounded by AWB guards.

After delivering their memorandum the marchers returned through the suburb flaunting ANC colours, dancing and chanting ANC slogans.

AWB members responded with flat-handed salutes and loud shouts of "AWB, AWB ..." One dog was encouraged by its owner to bite yellow, green and black pieces of cloth, the ANC colours.

● The Conservative Party declared itself irrevocably committed to "the third freedom struggle" at the weekend.

Opening the eighth Transvaal CP Congress, leader Dr Andries Treurnicht asked if the government realised what it meant when it claimed it was "irrevocably on the way to a new, fair South Africa".

Did the government want to hand over the power or share it before they lost it, he asked the 1 500 delegates.

CMT 7175 20/8/90

11A  
~~208A~~  
~~208B~~

# AWB face ANC crowd in Welkom

## Own Correspondent

**WELKOM.** — AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche was taunted with shouts of "ANC, ANC ..." and black-power salutes on Saturday as thousands of ANC supporters marched through a white residential area saturated with armed

AWB members.

In the only violent incident, a 16-year-old youth was shot in the arm with a crossbow-bolt painted in the ANC colours. No arrests were made.

A crowd of between 3 000 and 3 500 protesters marched from the entrance of Thabong township to police headquarters where a memorandum demanding action on community grievances was handed to the deputy district commissioner.

The demands included one city council for Welkom, an end to evictions, affordable housing and service charges and the resignation of councillors and the management committee.

As marchers formed up, 300 to 400 heavily armed AWB members positioned themselves in white-owned residential properties along the route.

Mr Terre'Blanche cancelled his scheduled address to the HNP's annual congress in Pretoria to head "his commandos at Welkom".

Mr Terre'Blanche said his men, who had driven in from around the country, had been asked to guard 80 houses



Mr Terre'Blanche

along the street.

Police cordoned off the surrounding area with razor wire, and told the right-wingers, who were armed with rifles, shotguns, pistols and batons, they would not be allowed to venture off the properties.

Police and soldiers stood at 50m intervals along the street.

Protesters began marching at 10.30am. They stopped briefly in front of a stern-faced Mr Terre'Blanche who stood surrounded by AWB guards.

After delivering their memorandum the marchers returned through the suburb flaunting ANC colours, dancing and chanting ANC slogans.

AWB members responded with flat-handed salutes and loud shouts of "AWB, AWB ..." One dog was encouraged by its owner to bite yellow, green and black pieces of cloth, the ANC colours.

● The Conservative Party declared itself irrevocably committed to "the third freedom struggle" at the weekend.

Opening the eighth Transvaal CP Congress, leader Dr Andries Treurnicht asked if the government realised what it meant when it claimed it was "irrevocably on the way to a new, fair South Africa".

'Did the government want to hand over the power or share it before they lost it, he asked the 1 500 delegates.

# MK's Grosskopf 'coming home'

*CAPE TIMES 20/8/90*

119  
20

MR Hein Grosskopf, the 26-year-old Afrikaner Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) combatant whom police have named as a suspect in three separate bombings, announced in an interview published in Rapport yesterday that he is coming home soon.

Interviewed in Lusaka where he is staying, Mr Grosskopf said he was excited at the prospect of a reunion with family and friends

in Stellenbosch. His father, Professor Johan Grosskopf, is a former editor of Beeld.

"I am looking forward to 'boer-ekos', especially my mother's bean bredie," Mr Grosskopf said.

As regards the bombings, Mr Grosskopf would say only that he was a member of MK, which had accepted responsibility for the blasts in question.

A R50 000 reward offered by police for information leading to his arrest still stands.

Mr Grosskopf could not be reached in Lusaka yesterday.

His mother, Mrs Santie Grosskopf, said she had seen the article about her son's return, but that it was family policy to keep a low profile so she had no comment to make.

# Ugly scenes at big soccer clash

*Cape Times 20/8/90* (7) (10) (12)

By DALE GRANGER

INCIDENTS of bottle-throwing, crowd scuffles, theft and a stabbing marred yesterday's big National Soccer League clash between Hellenic and Kaizer Chiefs at the Hartleyvale soccer stadium.

Spectators at the match said that whenever "coloured" and white fans came into contact with "tsotsis", they were chased and some were beaten up and robbed.

Fans witnessed the Hellenic goalkeeper, Patrick Wasmuth, dodging empty beer and spirit bottles periodically thrown at him from the mountain-end stand.

"They got upset in the second half when they (Kaizer Chiefs) were losing and the crowd mainly threw beer and spirit bottles at me from behind," Wasmuth said last night.

"One or two came quite close. It was quite worrying trying to keep goal and

always looking about for flying bottles, wondering if one would hit me," he added.

He said he saw a man selling chocolates in the stand, but that spectators were grabbing at the chocolates. "Finally he just threw the chocolates away and ran."

The SAP, 200 NSL security men and 35 dog-handlers were present at the stadium.

After the match a man was stabbed in the back in an incident outside the ground.

A police spokesman said he was taken to hospital but was "too drunk to give his name or a statement".

On Friday, Hellenic chairman Mr George Hadjidakis said there would be no problems during the match and that fans would be well-behaved. He declined to comment on the incidents last night.

● Wasmuth hero in Hellenic victory —  
Back Page

# ANC exile is stabbed to death in Gugs

*Cape Times 20/8/90*

(11) (12) (13)

Staff Reporter

A RECENTLY returned ANC exile, Mr Trevor Sandile Vilakazi, 42, was stabbed to death in Guguletu at the weekend when he tried to break up a fight between two youths.

Mr Vilakazi died of stab wounds in the back and stomach. His body was found at a block of flats in NYI.

His distraught sister, Miss Nomzamo Vilakazi, said her brother was on his way home from a performance of "My Children! My Africa!" at the Baxter Theatre on Friday night when the attack occurred. He had been trying to break up a fight between two youths when they turned on him.

An ANC member said Mr Vilakazi was killed as he fled up the stairs of flats occupied by UCT students.

Mr Vilakazi went into exile in 1976.

Major Jan Calitz said the body of an NYI stabbing victim was at the Salt River Mortuary. It had not been positively identified as that of Mr Vilakazi.

# Gugs tests SA's top gby players



# 3 convicted of raping park jogger

NEW YORK. — Three teenagers have been convicted

# 'Disarm Soweto'

Church leaders tell police it's only way to stop violence

**SOWETO.** — Church leaders last night said police had the power to stop the violence on the Reef: Disarm all those involved.

The peace call came as the death toll rose to 281 in the Witwatersrand. In Soweto alone 78 people have been killed in the past few days' fighting.

The call was made by the SA Council of Churches. The SACC's general secretary, the Rev Frank Chikane, said no peace forum would be able to resolve the violence in Reef townships unless the security forces clamped down on the perpetrators.

He said: "People carrying dangerous weapons should be disarmed. The government has sophisticated security networks to do this. Until the government stops this violence it will be difficult for the church to facilitate a peace settlement."

He added that he would seek an urgent meeting with the government on resolving the violence.

"The church leaders will also meet all the political leaders for we believe that this violence is not just Inkatha against the ANC, or Zulus against Xhosas. This violence claims people's lives even if they are neither Inkatha, ANC, Xhosa nor Zulu."

The theory that the fighting was between ANC and Inkatha was a simplistic view of a complex issue, he said.

The violence was caused by the hostel system, the use of symbols by opposing groups and political intolerance.

Mr Chikane said the security forces had to intervene when two groups were coming together to fight, adding that churches could facilitate discussion. If fighting was not stopped by the security forces, "we face serious problems".

"In which country in the world would you have hundreds of armed people advancing

## Soweto taxi war

**JOHANNESBURG.** — Two people died and two were injured in a violent confrontation between two competing taxis at the Baragwanath taxi rank in Soweto last night.

Police reported that a handgrenade and an AK47 were used in the attack, which apparently came after a "foreign taxi" had used an "unauthorised route".

A Soweto police spokesman said the attack was not related to "current unrest" in the area. — Sapa

with police following them and not disarming them?" Mr Chikane asked.

He said that if President F W de Klerk took responsibility for security forces acting as peacemakers and stopping the war, there was a better chance of ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi meeting.

"It is clear the Mandela-Buthelezi meeting won't happen if the government does not act on the security forces."

The church would take care of the people who had been displaced by the violence, Mr Chikane said.

He also called for the conversion of single-sex hostels into family units, saying such hostels had created political, social and economic problems.

The situation at the Thokoza, Tembisa, Vosloorus, KwaThema and Daveyton townships on the East Rand was quiet last night, East Rand police said.

The Regional Commissioner of Police in Soweto, General Johan Swart, appealed to all Soweto residents to return to work today, saying they would be well protected.

In Harare the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania deplored the current clashes between hostel dwellers and township residents, describing them "as a shame on all black people".

Spokesman Mr Mosibudi Mangena said it was only the black community and not the government that could end the violence.

Allegations by the internal leader of the ANC, Mr Walter Sisulu, that Inkatha was orchestrating violence in South Africa, were heatedly denied by Chief Buthelezi last night.

This "war talk" by Mr Sisulu was irresponsible, he said.

DP national chairman Mr Tian van der Merwe said last night that it was "clear the government can no longer restore order on its own, and certainly not through security action alone".

"It will require political action in addition to security action to have any degree of success."

The DP had an important role to play in this action to restore stability, he said. — Sapa and Political Staff

© Uneasy calm — Page 2

# ANC 'must be forced to see realism'

20/8/90 C. Times



Own Correspondent

LONDON. — If the ANC continues to pander to calls from its embittered, radical wing to continue a policy of boycotts, sanctions and armed struggle, it will end up behaving "like an eternal opposition party rather than a future government".

But, failure to pander to this wing will mean threatening the unity of the movement and losing support to the Pan Africanist Congress.

The solution in the face of this dilemma is for ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela to "haul the movement bodily towards realism, putting his authority on the line every time".

This is the view of influential columnist R W Johnson, writing in the latest edition of the influential journal the New Statesman, following a recent visit to South Africa.

## No time to write book

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Mr Nelson Mandela is going to have to find time in his crowded schedule to finish an autobiography.

Earlier this year, New York publishers Little Brown paid an unconfirmed R25m for the rights to Mr Mandela's autobiography, which is due for publication in 1992.

A London spokesperson for the publishers said on Friday that Mr Mandela had written much of the manuscript while in jail, but since his release in February had not had time to do any further writing.

During this period Mr Mandela has undertaken several world tours and maintained a hectic schedule at home.

After outlining how Mr Mandela out-manoeuvred SA Communist Party members of the five-person negotiation team when he announced the recent ANC ceasefire, Mr Johnson says the "she-nanigans over the ending of the armed struggle are but a foretaste of what is to come.

"For if the ANC has now decided that the De Klerk government is the sort of government you can work with and negotiate with, then it will soon become very difficult to argue that boycotts and sanctions are still appropriate.

"Similarly, if the ANC wants peace in Natal there is no way it can avoid being shoehorned into open negotiations with (Chief Mangosuthu) Buthelezi before long.

"And both of these decisions will be almost impossibly difficult for its radical wing to swallow. One can see a lengthening list of such decisions ahead."

Mr Johnson said that for years the ANC had cheered on international disinvestment from South Africa.

"It is now extremely urgent for the ANC to see that it must reverse that flow if it is to have a hope of satisfying its followers' pent-up demands, indeed if it is to prevent the future from being very gloomy indeed."

He said the nub of the problem was that the "urgent priority" of both the ANC and the country was "the most rapid possible progress towards peace and prosperity.

"But to keep its radical wing happy the ANC is pushed towards a confrontational line against De Klerk, Buthelezi, on sanctions and so on — stances which hurt peace and prosperity."

While the bitterness which produced the rank-and-file call for confrontation was easy to understand, Mr Johnson said that "pandering to it now means that the ANC behaves like an eternal opposition party rather than a future government.

"On the other hand, not to pander to it means threatening the unity of the movement and losing support to the Pan African Congress."

The only way to "reconcile these choices" was for Mr Mandela to "haul the movement bodily towards realism, putting his authority on the line every time".

Death toll soars to 331 as battles spread on East Rand

11A 20/8/90

# Township war erupts again

By Craig Kotze  
and Gien Elsas

Township war again erupted on the East Rand last night and this morning, leaving at least another 36 people dead as the conflict spread to even more townships.

Renewed fighting has also been reported in Kagiso on the West Rand, where three people were killed and another four injured last night in a rampage by men armed with assegais and guns.

The latest East Rand fighting brings the weekend death toll in the area to at least 79 and pushes up known deaths in a week of fighting to 243, police said.

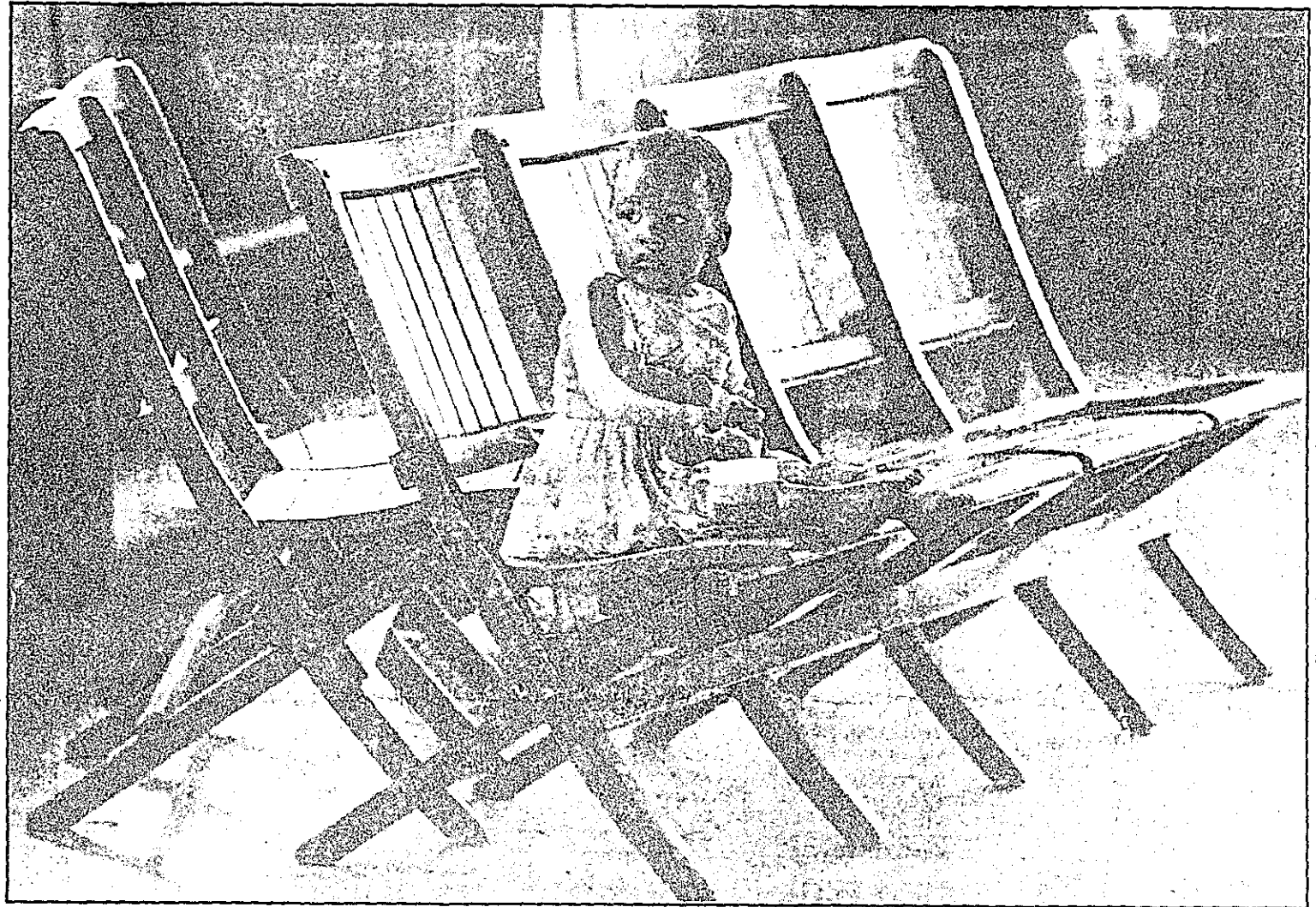
Combined with Soweto and Kagiso, total figures for a week of township war on the Reef this morning stood at at least 331.

The toll in all areas involved is expected to rise today.

Fighting also continued in Soweto over the weekend, with the toll this morning standing at 84 for the weekend — 63 killed since Friday afternoon.

The East Rand war has expanded dramatically in scope since Friday. New townships mentioned in police reports since Friday are KwaThema, Duduza, Wattville, Daveyton and Tembisa.

Last night police reported another six killings in Tembisa, three in Vosloorus, and four in Kattlehong. Fighting also spread to Duduza near Nigel, and to Wattville, both claiming one life.



## Still raging

“There is renewed fighting all over these areas. It is carrying on

As the death toll in the East Rand townships continues to rise, thousands of refugees are seeking shelter in churches and church halls. This child is one of many who, with their mothers, escaped the violence at Phola Park squatter camp at the weekend.

© Picture by John Hogg.

West Rand, where three people were killed and another four injured last night in a rampage by men armed with assegais and guns.

The latest East Rand fighting brings the weekend death toll in the area to at least 79 and pushes up known deaths in a week of fighting to 243, police said.

Combined with Soweto and Kagiso, total figures for a week of township war on the Reef this morning stood at at least 331.

The toll in all areas involved is expected to rise today.

Fighting also continued in Soweto over the weekend, with the toll this morning standing at 84 for the weekend — 63 killed since Friday afternoon.

The East Rand war has expanded dramatically in scope since Friday. New townships mentioned in police reports since Friday are KwaThema, Duduza, Wattville, Daveyton and Tembisa.

Last night police reported another six killings in Tembisa, three in Vosloorus, and four in Kattlehong. Fighting also spread to Duduza near Nigel, and to Wattville, both claiming one life.

## Still raging

"There is renewed fighting all over these areas. It is carrying on as we speak," said East Rand police spokesman Lieutenant Ida van Zweel at the time of going to press.

Fighting, apparently between Xhosas and Zulus, was still raging in KwaThema, where police said 21 people died last night and today.

In Tokhoza, where the bloody conflict began a week ago, feuding Zulus and Xhosas left 28 men dead in a major clash on Saturday night.

A West Rand police spokesman said a group of men, armed with guns and spears, attacked people in Kagiso 1 at 8.00 last night. The bodies of three men were found in Munsie and Dlomo streets.

Four people sustained gunshot and stab wounds in the attack.

In sharp contrast, it was relatively quiet in Soweto today, although police were still picking up bodies, said police spokesman Captain Joseph Ngobeni.

No incidents had been reported since about 10.00 last night.

Frantic attempts to arrange peace talks, initiated by police, have so far not borne fruit in Soweto. "Soweto is like a powder keg at the moment," said police spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Tienie Halgryn.

A "necklacing" was reported at Phiri in Soweto.

After a meeting with Soweto church people, the general secretary of the SA Council of Churches, the Rev Frank Chikane, said an urgent meeting would be requested with Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and possibly with President de Klerk.

● Soweto women to appeal to Vlok

ng shell  
Aend.

W

ts effor

it effor

Trum" of  
caveto ha  
essful.

leched by  
m of Lav  
cdeu the  
ti

Sowel  
ioner M  
had e  
ur  
nificatio  
ta  
B  
ince Fr

fo contr  
klevel

Si were  
wtownsh  
in tact.

fel

and the  
is arg  
Cin the  
dr Congre  
g said D  
re ere fit  
St en seen  
CP bel  
red no p  
le was ma  
Hias to  
M  
te of the  
ether,"  
ht

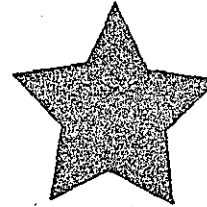


MONDAY

August 20 1990  
Johannesburg

★

# The Star



53c + 7c GST

South Africa's largest daily newspaper.  
Established 1887.

CITY LATE \* \*

## Govt withdraws indemnity from 3 ANC leaders

Political Staff

The Government has taken a sudden new tough line against the ANC, withdrawing the temporary indemnity from arrest of three top ANC militants and promising to push for a comprehensive suspension of the armed struggle — including the ANC's mass mobilisation campaign — at talks this week.

Government sources said today

that the immunity from arrest of leading communists Mac Maharaj and Ronnie Kasrils, and Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani, had been withdrawn.

They said that their conduct had "not been conducive to peace". "These guys have not been behaving in a responsible manner. You can't expect the Government to allow these people to make all sorts of nonsense," a Cabinet

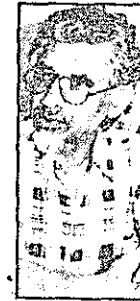
source said today.

The action was taken on the recommendation of security police who said this week that Mr Maharaj and Mr Kasrils had been acted against because of their alleged involvement in the alleged ANC insurrection plot Operation Vula.

Mr Hani's immunity had been terminated because of his remarks that the armed struggle would be

taken up if negotiations went wrong. Police confirmed that Mr Kasrils was on the run and was being sought by police in connection with Operation Vula.

ANC representatives Sakkie Macozoma and Gill Marcus said the ANC was astounded by Mr de Klerk's decision, especially as in terms of the Pretoria Minute all exiles will be allowed to return home from October 1.



No more immunity . . . Chris Hani (left), Ronnie Kasrils and Mac Maharaj.

# Pressure for peace talks grows

By Peter Fabricius,  
Political Correspondent

There is growing pressure on African National Congress deputy leader Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi to meet for peace talks as the body count in the ANC-Inkatha war continues to mount.

It now appears the ANC is resisting moves to set up a meeting.

On Thursday President de Klerk urged Mr Mandela during crisis talks about the violence to meet Mr Buthelezi.

And there have been other efforts to set up a meeting, say Inkatha sources.

But ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu appears to have poured cold water on the idea in a television interview on Saturday.

He said it would be wrong for the

ANC to meet the people responsible for the violence.

Other ANC sources have also disclosed they believe a meeting with Mr Buthelezi would be seen as sanctioning Inkatha violence.

They said it would encourage the view that "killing forces talks".

But the sources said the possibility of a meeting was being discussed by the ANC.

One obstacle is that Mr Mandela is on holiday.

In a television interview last night, Mr Buthelezi described Mr Sisulu's statement as irresponsible and stoking the fires of violence.

Inkatha believes the ANC is against a meeting because it would give Chief Buthelezi greater recognition than it feels he deserves.

The failure of the two national leaders to get together appears to

be hampering grassroots efforts to get peace talks going.

Police said last night efforts to establish a "peace forum" of the warring factions in Soweto had not yet been entirely successful.

The effort was launched by Mr Mandela and Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok when they met in Soweto on Thursday.

Police sources said Soweto regional police commissioner Major-General Johan Swart had established indirect communication between Inkatha and ANC leaders in parts of the township since Friday.

These contacts had contributed to the relatively low level of violence at the weekend.

But these contacts were not in place throughout the township, and there was no direct contact.

## Treurnicht's remarks dangerous - Stoffel

Star 20/8/90  
Political Staff

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht was skating dangerously close to the theology of revolution, Education Minister Dr Stoffel van der Merwe said today.

Responding to Dr Treurnicht's remarks about resistance and violence at the CP congress in the City Hall at the weekend, Dr van der Merwe said he was "really a master at the art of insinuation".

He said if one stated that people had a right to resist and revolt

against a government if the government acted outside certain limits, it was true enough.

You could trace that back to Calvin, who analysed the question, he said.

Dr Treurnicht had drawn strongly on theology and Calvin's writings on resistance, but Calvin had not reached a satisfactory conclusion. "So it becomes very dangerous," Dr van der Merwe said.

There was a remarkable similarity between things Dr Treurnicht

was putting forward and the theology of revolution. His arguments one could also make in the case of the African National Congress.

Dr van der Merwe said Dr Treurnicht's statements were fine when they stood alone. When seen in context - such as the CP belief that the Government had no mandate for the changes it was making - there was no doubt as to what he was saying.

"The two pieces of the jigsaw then start fitting together," he said.

Thieves steal 15

## Five ANC <sup>11/10</sup> ~~men~~ released

Staff Reporter <sup>20/8/90</sup>

FIVE African National Congress members were released from Robben Island at the weekend with sentence reductions of between one and five years.

Mr Phillip Nyongwana and Mr Jeffrey Baartman, sentenced in 1983 to 10 years in jail for murder and terrorism, were released two years early.

Also freed was Mr Alfred Ntsihlele, who was sentenced in 1988 to three years' imprisonment for sedition; Mr John Mofokeng Sekete, who served 11 years of a 16-year term for treason; and Mr Mlandenkosi Hadebe, who served 11 years of a 16-year term for high treason.

# Returned ANC man dies in stabbing

By VUYO BAVUMA  
Staff Reporter

MR Trevor Vilakazi, 43, a senior information official with the ANC, had been back in Cape Town for only a week when he was stabbed to death while trying to break up a street fight in Guguletu on Friday night.

This emerged from interviews today with his shocked family and associates.

A senior ANC spokesman, Mr Christmas Tinto, said today the ANC would call a meeting with "Guguletu gangsters and warn them that this sort of thing will not be tolerated".

Mr Vilakazi went into exile in 1978 and returned to South Africa with the first group of ANC exiles in May. He was based in Johannesburg in the national office where he was involved in arranging the repatriation of ANC exiles to South Africa.

On Saturday he was due to have a meeting with religious groups in Cape Town in connection with the return of the exiles.

On Friday night, when returning from watching a performance of *My Children! My Africa!* at the Baxter Theatre, he came across a street fight in Malunga Park, Guguletu. When he attempted to intervene, one of the men involved turned on him and stabbed him to death.

The man, who refused to be named fearing reprisals, said he witnessed the stabbing from

Mr Trevor Vilakazi . . . tried to break up a street fight.



his hiding place behind a parked car.

"I saw Trevor and about about six men near the gate to a block of flats," he said. "One of the men wearing a white lumber jacket was armed with a knife and was stabbing Trevor while others stood watching.

"Trevor tried to run towards the flats but the man pursued him and repeatedly stabbed him in the back.

"At that stage Trevor climbed the stairs but the man continued to stab him. At the first floor Trevor stumbled and fell. The man bumped into him and also fell.

"Eventually Trevor managed to get into the flats and close the door. The man and his friends tried to get in but the door appeared to be locked. I ran away."

"We did not expect that Trevor would die by stabbing in the townships," Mr Vilakazi's brother, Hector, said today.

Mr Vilakazi leaves his wife and two children.

Funeral arrangements have not yet been finalised.



# Hani shrugs off refusal on indemnity

AR645  
20/8/90

11/11 ~~22/8~~

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN  
Political Staff

UMKHONTO we Sizwe chief of staff Mr Chris Hanis says he is not worried about President De Klerk's refusal to renew his indemnity.

Mr Hanis's name as well as those of two other senior African National Congress members, Umkhonto we Sizwe intelligence head Mr Ronnie Kasrils and South African Communist Party member Mr Mac Maharaj, were omitted from a list of senior African National Congress and South African Communist Party members whose immunity from prosecution has been extended until the end of the year.

The trio's indemnity expired last night. Mr Hanis is in Transkei, Mr Maharaj is being held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act and Mr Kasrils is understood to be in hiding.

Mr Hanis said today: "Well, I would leave it to the ANC to comment, but this really doesn't worry me. It's just an attempt to intimidate me and the two other comrades."

Only a few ANC members had been given immunity from prosecution.

"How many of our people have enjoyed indemnity? The immunity given to the leadership of the movement is not the critical part because most of

our people have not been indemnified."

His stay in Transkei would depend on the leadership of the ANC, Mr Hanis said.

"I'll continue with my normal activities. The struggle continues. We continued with our struggle despite the fact that we were given temporary indemnity."

Mr Hanis said the ANC had decided to suspend its armed struggle, but he viewed with concern right-wing threats and violence emanating from Inkatha.

"We are observing the right-wing with a lot of anxiety. We are worried that the right-wingers could have openly brandished their weapons in Welkom on Saturday.

## By force

"It's strange that the police have not raided right-wing strongholds, such as Welkom, when they don't hesitate in raiding black residential areas."

● Political Correspondent Michael Morris reports that relations between the government and the ANC are strained today after the decision not to renew the temporary indemnities of the three ANC figures.

The ANC appeared to have been taken by surprise by the decision, which is widely seen as a warning from the govern-

ment that it will not tolerate war talk or hints of aggression from the organisation's leadership.

Chief ANC spokesman Mr Ahmed Kathrada said leaders were expected to discuss the issue today.

Although the government has declined today to say openly why the three men have been excluded, sources made it clear it was to do with their apparent failure to commit themselves to peaceful methods.

Mr Hanis, who is believed to be in the Transkei — and could face arrest if he returns to South Africa — has courted controversy since his statement that the ANC might have to seize power by force if negotiations broke down. When the ANC suspended the armed struggle, he advised members of Umkhonto we Sizwe to "stay in their trenches" and await orders.

The exclusion of Mr Maharaj — who is still in detention under the Internal Security Act — and Mr Kasrils is understood to be connected with their reported roles in "Operation Vula", an alleged communist plot recently uncovered.

● The African National Congress is going ahead on Thursday with nationwide protests against the detention of people under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

# WHAT THEY SAY

ACCUS  
20/8/90



● Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has strongly denied allegations by the ANC's Mr Walter Sisulu that Inkatha is orchestrating violence.

Chief Buthelezi said "war talk" was irresponsible.

It was time for leaders to work together, he said.

"We must remember people's lives have been lost and we can't afford to be posturing and scoring points."

He described allegations by the ANC that Inkatha was responsible for exporting violence from Natal to the Transvaal to fight for the organisation's existence in the political arena, as "a lot of balderdash".

● Soweto church leaders said last night it was not impossible for the government to stop Witwatersrand township violence and called on police to disarm all people involved in the conflict which has left at least 280 people dead.

Following a meeting with Soweto church people, the general secretary of the SA Council of Churches, the Rev Frank Chikane, said an urgent meeting would be requested with Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok, and possibly with President De Klerk.

He called on communities to lay down their arms and stop displaying symbols identifying themselves with a particular group.

● The ANC may be forced to "look into" the suspension of the armed struggle, Mrs Winnie Mandela said in Soweto yesterday.

Speaking at the launch of the Orlando West branch of the ANC, Mrs Mandela said this could come about if the carnage in the township did not end and if the hostel system were not abolished.

● Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok has again appealed to the leaders of the warring factions on the East Rand to use their influence to stop the "unnecessary killing and violence".

In a statement in the latest edition of the National Party mouthpiece, Die Nasionalis, Mr Vlok expresses extreme concern about the East Rand violence, pointing out that there can be no winners.

"I also urge the leaders of the respective factions of the opposing parties to use their influence to stop this unnecessary killing and violence." — Sapa and Political Staff.



ANC LAUNCH ... Children entertain the crowd yesterday at the launch of the Western Cape ANC branch. CAPT T. M. P. 20/8/90 (11A) (102) (150) Picture: BRONWYN DAVIDS

## ANC launches branch in Old Crossroads

Staff Reporter

THE ANC yesterday launched its biggest Western Cape branch — with a membership of over 3 500 — amid the squalor of the Old Crossroads squatter camp.

The festive launch outside squatter leader, Mr Jeffrey Nongwe's, shack was attended by about 5 000 people who were treated to a feast of traditional "struggle" songs, dance and poetry.

The crowd cheered wildly when speakers demanded that the controversial mayor of Old Crossroads, Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana, step down and "move out of the way of freedom".

Mr Gladstone Ntamo of the Western Cape United Squatters' Association urged the youth of Old Crossroads to join Umkhonto we Sizwe because there was "no defence force and police in SA".

"If there were a proper defence force and police, there would be

no violence taking place in Natal, Johannesburg and elsewhere," said Mr Ntamo.

Mr Ntamo also appealed to traditional leaders to reject the Transkei Association of Traditional Leaders and urged them to support the ANC-affiliated Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA.

The meeting was chaired by squatter leader Mr Christopher Toise.

# ANC, State clash over Hani likely

11A 11A  
Sowetan 21/8/90

THE Government and the ANC are headed for yet another collision course following the refusal by State President Mr FW de Klerk to renew temporary indemnity for three senior members of the organisation.

Mr Chris Hani, chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe, Mr Ronnie Kasrils, former intelligence chief of the ANC's military wing, and Mr Mac Maharaj had their names omitted in the Government Gazette which last Friday extended indemnity for 41 leading members of the ANC and the South African Communist Party until the end of the year.

Observers believe the withdrawal of Hani's indemnity stemmed from his reported remark a few weeks ago that the ANC might be forced to seize power if negotiations failed.

A few days after the signing of the Pretoria Minute, Hani was again quoted as saying the ANC had suspended armed operations, not the armed struggle.

Maharaj is presently being held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act

By SY MAKARINGE

following disclosures of an alleged plot to overthrow the Government while Kasrils is in hiding.

Hani, who is presently in Transkei, faces arrest following the expiry of indemnity from prosecution at the weekend.

The ANC has not yet released a formal response to the withdrawal of indemnity for the three men.

However, Ms Gill Marcus, a spokesperson for the ANC, said the Government should explain the grounds on which this was done.

## Statement

She said, according to the Pretoria Minute, all exiles should be indemnified from prosecution "without exception".

She said the three men had not acted contrary to the policies of the organisation.

A statement released by the Ministry of Justice said nothing prevented "the three gentlemen from making further representations to the State President in this regard".



# BCM, PAC declined invite 11A

*Sowetan 21/8/90*  
THE Five Freedoms Forum is to host a three-day conference to discuss the future of the country.

With the theme "South Africa at a turning point: Negotiations and the future", the conference will feature speakers from political, sporting, business and educational groups. It begins on Thursday.

Speakers will include Mr Thabo Mbeki, Mr Pallo Jordaan, both of the ANC, Mr Isaak Pahad of the Communist Party, Dr Frank Mdlalose of Inkatha and Dr Christopher Thornhill of

**By MATHATHA TSEDU**

the Department of Planning and Provincial Affairs.

A spokesperson for the FFF, Ms Gael Neke, said in response to an enquiry about the absence of speakers from the BCM and the PAC that both organisations had been approached but had declined to participate.

The conference is open to the public and participants can register at R75 a person.

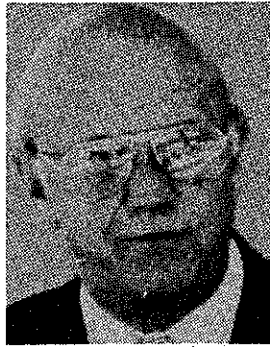
# ANC in bid to end fighting

AFRICAN National Congress deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, senior ANC members and Natal refugees will meet State President FW de Klerk next week in a bid to restore peace in the strife-torn province.

The ANC's southern Natal convener, Mr Patrick Lekota, said the continuing Natal violence was one of the major obstacles to the negotiation process.

He said De Klerk had agreed to receive the ANC's representation on the situation in Natal.

Meanwhile, the ANC's Womens' League is to stage marches countrywide at the weekend in protest against the Natal unrest.



**DE KLERK**

League spokeswoman Dr Nkosazana Zuma said Mrs Winnie Mandela and national executive members of the league would lead the march in Maritzburg.

The women are to end their march at the Maritzburg Police Station, where they will pres-

ent demands for an end to the Natal State of Emergency and the disbanding of the KwaZulu police.

Meanwhile, the ANC is going ahead with nationwide protests against the detention of people under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

ANC spokesman Mr Ahmed Kathrada said yesterday that there had been no change of plan.

"I don't know of any change. Our planned protests will take on an added significance with the Government's refusal to renew the temporary indemnity of Mr Mac Maharaj who is being held in terms of the Act," he said. - Sapa and Sowetan Correspondent.

# Report on 'armed struggle' threat

Star 21/8/90



## Political Staff

The continued carnage in the townships and the Government's failure to abolish the hostel system might force the ANC to seriously reconsider the suspension of the armed struggle, according to a newspaper report quoting Winnie Mandela.

Mrs Mandela was yesterday reported as having accused the police of collusion with Inkatha in the violence which has left more than 350 people dead in Soweto and the East Rand in a week.

She was speaking at

the launch of the ANC's Orlando West branch.

The ANC, Mrs Mandela is reported to have said, had evidence that the township hostels were full of Inkatha members bussed in to reinforce Inkatha.

Contacted by The Star at her home yesterday, Mrs Mandela refused to comment, referring questions to the ANC office in Johannesburg.

ANC spokesman Joel Netshitenzi said the ANC hoped that a situation forcing it to revert to the armed struggle would not arise.

## Pamphlet disowned

Star 21/8/90 (S) (HA)

Staff Reporter

The ANC yesterday vehemently denied distributing in Soweto a pamphlet bearing the organisation's emblem and calling for the "destruction of all Zulus".

An ANC spokesman told The Star last night the pamphlet was the work of *agents provocateur*, as many members of the ANC were Zulu.

The spokesman said it could have been inspired by Winnie Mandela's words when she said there might be a return to the armed struggle if the township killing continued.

He added that a campaign was about to be launched to incorporate migrant labourers in hostels into the community, or to turn hostels into family units.



**VIEWPOINT**  
by FARID  
ESACK

AM-  
Tina's  
21/8/90

# Armed struggle must now cease

LONDON — Chris Hani's talk of the need for soldiers of the liberation struggle to remain in the trenches and the recent rhetoric of Harry Gwala must seem quite frightening to many whites — not to speak about confusing, given Mr Nelson Mandela's suggestion that the ANC had, in fact, entered into some kind of *de facto* alliance with the government.

What's the point of it all? In spite of the immense heroism displayed by the Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres, the armed struggle has had little or no impact on the South African power equation.

In fact, in Britain IRA bombs are a far greater and more frequent threat to British Army installations and personnel than the MK has ever been in South Africa.

"What armed struggle?" one may legitimately ask, as was done — rather contemptuously — by a senior Soviet official when questioned about continuing Soviet support for MK.

Questions such as these ignore the power of symbolism. To many of our people who have been exposed to the armed — and usually brutal — might of apart-

heid the violence of the Group Areas Act and the criminalisation of dreams of freedom, there is something fascinating and joyful about a young person toyi-toying with an AK-47, albeit a wooden one, or about Hani appearing in camouflage at a rally albeit it with the permission of the De Klerk government.

For how long are we going to continue harping on the crimes of apartheid and use emotive rhetoric to resuscitate the ghosts of the past, one may ask?

For most of us it is not an unpleasant past but a painful present which is still with us. It is, admittedly, less problematic to dream or to struggle to create our future — but go into our townships, homelands and rural areas and you will see why we mistrust talk about "change".

### 'Swart gevaar'

As for the emotive contents of our speeches, what is so unemotive about being driven out of your home or having witnessed children being shot by uniformed soldiers? Whites who have not experienced the depth of suffering which blacks have must

thus go slow in expecting them to jump when the peace offerings are being made. People are not taps to be turned off and on at will.

What is it that allows Jews to comb the forests of Argentina — and the hamlets of the United Kingdom — for the nazi criminals but is horrified at Gwala's "tooth for a tooth"? The logic seems to be that the Jews belong to a "civilised" world and their murderers to an "uncivilised" one, whereas in South Africa the murderers belong to a "civilised" world whilst the victims do not. Have things really changed?

The Nationalists are discovering this truth about the inability to turn people on and off like taps. They have fed the Afrikaners on "swart gevaar" and "swart gevaar, root gevaar". And let us not forget that Terreblanche and all of his ilk are but children of apartheid.

We, too, are discovering this. Yes, the ANC is afraid of losing its people to the more adventurist and romantic freedom fighters whose absence of realism is only rivalled by a very pronounced absence from the battlefield. I am convinced that the



**TOYI-TOYING . . .** Some say it warms the blood of those who say it's fascinating, even joyful, to behold a young person toyi-toying with an AK-47, albeit a wooden one . . .

ANC has considerable difficulty in "taming" its own "young lions" — or its "middle-aged Honess".

It is, however, doing a far better job of this than the Nats have been able to do. The Gwalas and the Hanis look like lambs in comparison to the Terreblanches and the Strydoms.

### Township warmth

It is certainly demeaning to talk about people in terms of controllable taps but in a situation of intense polarisation it is inevitable that "the people" or "die volk" become bullets in a gun — for us a weapon of freedom and self-defence and for them a weapon of aggression and the preservation of an unjust status quo. Yet our taps must be turned off

now. We must do so for two reasons:

First: We cannot deny the loss of our own humanity when a child toyi-toying with a wooden gun warms our blood, when an eight-year-old dances around the burning body of an informer fills us with pride (and I know how just being born into an apartheid system means farewell to innocence). Our own existence as humans is diminished when we rejoice or are left cold by the sight of mobs going in their hundreds to slaughter the Inkatha/PAC/BC/non-us kids. (Oh, I know they did it to us first and we are only defending ourselves.)

Apartheid had — I believe — as its objective the dehumanisation of the majority of our land. It succeeded in doing

this to the minority. (Witness the fear of the average white person, the complete unawareness of the humanness of maids, the determination to build their security on the insecurity of others . . .) The majority of our people do not run the risk of being dehumanised by apartheid. (Witness the warmth of township life, the absolute absence of bitterness of the Sisulus and the Mandelas, the absence of any kind of revenge talk . . .) However, our "struggle" for humanness and freedom is threatening to destroy our humanity. This mindless glorification of an armed struggle — irrespective of its symbolic value — must cease.

The eulogisation of the taking of life, no matter how noble the objective — is far too risky a business to be dragged out.

### The 'Truth'

Second: War talk does not facilitate pluralism — and benefit as our country and its peoples are of democracy — in practice we must destroy whatever militates against it.

The "disunity" or "divisions" in ANC ranks — which is really a creative tension with which the organisation has lived — and grown through — for decades now is rather a source of hope for when tensions are accommodated within a single movement then a culture of pluralism is being fostered. This culture of pluralism must also tear at the single-mindedness of an "armed struggle" or a tooth for a tooth.

The world has witnessed the crimes of absolute truths, when Truth (never my truth or your truth but a Truth which is always on my side) and our country stand on the brink of making a remarkable contribution to the quest of humankind to live, and perhaps more important, to do so with its humanity intact.

□ (Farid Esack, a leader in the UDF, is studying abroad.)

# Chris Hani faces arrest

*ART 7415 21/8/90*

TWO ANC national executive committee members, Mr Chris Hani and Mr Ronnie Kasrils, were no longer "free to roam" and would be arrested if they "set foot in South Africa", a police spokesman said yesterday.

This follows the government's decision not to grant an amnesty extension to the two leaders and Mr Mac Maharaj.

Mr Maharaj is being held under the Internal Security Act.

Mr Hani said in Umtata yesterday that the dropping of his name from the indemnity list by the government was a tragic comedy.

"One would have expected that the provisions of the Pretoria Minute would be given a chance to become effective," said the Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff speaking from the Transkei government guest house.

At the recent Pretoria talks it was agreed that the ANC's armed struggle be suspended and that exiles be allowed to return home, he pointed out.

However, a Justice Ministry spokesman said the ANC was misreading the Pretoria Minute. Mr Hani, Mr Kasrils and Mr Maharaj were unlikely to qualify for the categories of people which

the Pretoria Minute envisaged would qualify for indemnity from October 1.

Mr Hani said that as far as he knew the ANC had not been given reasons for the government's action.

An ANC and SA Communist Party leader, Mr Raymond Mhlaba, said last night "we are not happy", and there would be mass protests.

And there was strong speculation yesterday that the three had been omitted from the list because of links with the "red plot" to establish an underground militia in case negotiations collapsed.

ANC member Mr Hein Grosskopf would "most certainly" be arrested if he made good on his promise to return to South Africa, the spokesman for the Minister of Law and Order, Brigadier Leon Mellet, said yesterday.

The 26-year-old MK member told a Sunday newspaper in Lusaka that he was excited at the prospect of a reunion with his family and friends in Stellenbosch. — Political Staff and Sapa

ANC slams govt on indemnity —  
Page 2

# News

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Leading articles yesterday in two prominent British newspapers, the Financial Times and the Daily Telegraph, called on Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to meet urgently to attempt to resolve their differences.

And, while there was much media criticism of the police for alleged pro-Inkatha bias in the Transvaal violence, one correspondent said that were it not for police intervention, the death toll would already be "in the thousands".

South Africa's chances of gaining the confidence of British investors receded further as the anarchy in the townships, which has left an estimated 280 people dead, again featured prominently in the British press yesterday.

Included were graphic descriptions of macabre brutality, such as the hacking off of limbs, castration and the parading of severed hands as "trophies".

Resolving the violence was seen by one newspaper as the "most desperate challenge" now facing the process of dismantling apartheid and creating a new democratic era.

In motivating its call for talks between Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi, the Financial Times (FT) said that until such a meet-

**UK press:**  
*Cape Times*  
**Inkatha,** 21/8/90  
**ANC must**  
*11A*  
**make peace**

ing occurred, "no one can be sanguine about the future of negotiations, or indeed, the future of South Africa itself".

This view was echoed in the Telegraph, which said it was "imperative that the two black leaders meet as soon as possible to negotiate a ceasefire.

"This will require courage and statesmanship — for Mr Mandela to stand up to ANC militants and for Mr Buthelezi to accept that he will have to play second fiddle to Mr Mandela in any combined black approach to the whites."

The FT said the ANC had "sabotaged all efforts to bring Chief Buthelezi and Mr Mandela together for a meeting.

"Mr Mandela has said he wants to meet Chief Buthelezi but his movement would 'throttle' him if he did so.

"But Mr Mandela has shown in the past that he is able to drag his supporters kicking and screaming towards peace. It is time that he exerted his will in the matter of Chief Buthelezi. Such a meeting will not stop the violence immediately — the two sides have unleashed a monster which will be difficult to tame."

The FT also questioned whether the government had full control over the police: "Police openly sided with Inkatha in incident after incident, disarming the ANC and leaving Inkatha holding spears and knobkerries, axes and shotguns.

"Pretoria's control over the deeply conservative police force — which has looked shaky for months — is now seriously in doubt, especially in view of its failure to bring prosecutions against Inkatha members accused of murders in Natal province.

"The government may want a strong Inkatha to balance the influence of the ANC; but it seriously miscalculated the cost."

The Times correspondent carried an eye-witness account of a Zulu man, found with a pistol in a paper bag, being hit with rocks and stabbed with pangas, before petrol was poured over him and he was set alight.

# Push for peace

CAPL Timp 21/8/90

119  
119  
119  
119

## Buthelezi and Holomisa meet in crisis talks

PRETORIA. — KwaZulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Transkei's General Bantu Holomisa meet here today to discuss the savage conflict on the East Rand and Soweto.

**ON PAGE 2**

- Peace summit stakes high
- FW to meet ANC leaders
- British press pleads for peace

This push for peace is being convened by the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha.

After this meeting Chief Buthelezi is to meet President F W de Klerk as the government steps up pressure to bring about a meeting between the KwaZulu leader and Mr Nelson Mandela.

It is understood that General Holomisa was invited because of the involvement of Xhosa-speaking people in the East Rand and Soweto violence.

The meetings were announced as tribal-style fighting spilled into previously unaffected black townships yesterday.

The total death toll from a week's fighting in Soweto and East Rand townships stood at 381 last night — 270 on the East Rand and 111 in Soweto, police said.

East Rand police said the latest flashpoint in the violence — previously unaffected — is KwaThema. Zulu migrant workers living in the hostel claimed they were

attacked on Sunday night by Xhosas, while Xhosas in the township accused Zulus of murdering anyone who did not share their support for Inkatha.

Police deployed in the troubled township spent the day helping "non-Zulus" remove their belongings from the hostels and trying to arrange peace talks between leaders of the warring factions.

Throughout the day there were running battles between police and non-hostel dwellers.

Unidentified attackers shot dead three people and wounded four in Kagiso, to the west, and opposing factions grouped for battle in Shoshanguve, near Pretoria, wielding axes and traditional fighting sticks.

Police said mobs clashed in Tembisa.

Townships nearer Johannesburg were relatively quiet yesterday, though the situation was tense as residents honoured an "undeclared" stayaway.

Bophuthatswana police said they had investigated rumours that Inkatha was about to march on Winterveldt and Mabopane and found this to be false. Residents in Soshanguve had claimed that "hundreds" of

armed youths had been seen chanting and toyi-toying towards the local men's hostel.

In Thokoza, where violence first broke out eight days ago, 120 people had died. In Katlehong, 40 people were killed since last Tuesday.

Fighting in Vosloorus left 14 dead and the discovery of seven bodies by police in Tembisa yesterday brought the total for to 23 for that township.

In Daveyton, near Benoni, 14 people had died.

Two people were killed in Duduza and one in Wattville in the past week, East Rand police said.

Today's meetings come amid growing pressure on Mr Mandela to meet Chief Buthelezi to discuss ways of ending violence.

Last Thursday, during crisis talks after the outbreak of the East Rand violence, Mr De Klerk urged Mr Mandela to meet Chief Buthelezi. He is expected to make the same call to the KwaZulu leader today.

The ANC is discussing a possible meeting with Chief Buthelezi. But at this stage it appears to believe the time is not right as a meeting would be seen as sanction-

ing Inkatha violence.

Indications of the kind of pressure militating against the ANC agreeing to a meeting came in a statement issued yesterday by South African Youth Congress (Sayco) publicity secretary Mr Parks Mnkahlana.

He said that none of those calling for a meeting between Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi had demonstrated that it would bring an end to Inkatha-led violence.

"By their own admission Inkatha and Gatsha Buthelezi are using violence to secure a meeting that would elevate Gatsha Buthelezi's personal stature and that of Inkatha as a political movement," Mr Mnkahlana said.

"It is our view that if the people of this country were to allow an individual or an organisation to use terror and intimidation to secure a meeting that was intended to advance the opportunistic interests of a particular organisation, they would be setting a dangerous precedent not only for the immediate resolution of the problems of the country but for the future of our people."

He added: "While we are not opposed to a meeting with Gatsha Buthelezi in principle we are saying that it would be wrong to meet Buthelezi in the current circumstances."

**ON PAGE 2**

CAPL Timp 21/8/90  
From page 1

SABC radio news reported yesterday that Mr Mandela, senior ANC members and Natal refugees would meet Mr De Klerk next week in a bid to restore peace in the strife-torn townships. Mr De Klerk is expected to receive the delegation at the recent Pretoria talks at which the ANC announced it would suspend armed actions.

ANC southern Natal convener Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota said the Natal violence was one of the major obstacles to the negotiation process.

"Meanwhile, law and order spokesman Brigadier Leon Mellet said police were making "a tremendous effort" to disarm opposing factions.

He was responding to the call by the SA Council of Churches for police to disarm those involved in the violence.

"We have already taken away truckloads of various types of arms out of these trouble spots.

"They include pangas, assegais, AK-47s, hand-grenades, limpet mines, sharpened pipes, knobkerries — you name it."

Police yesterday offered rewards for information leading to the recovery of arms.

They said in a statement that an "alarming number of unlicensed firearms" were circulating in unrest areas.

A maximum reward of R300 is offered for a pistol, R1 000 for a machinegun, R600 for a rifle, R300 for a hand-grenade, R1 per bullet and R200 per kilogram of explosives.

The Organisation of African Unity yesterday appealed for a halt to the violence between the rival black factions, calling it "senseless carnage". It called for an end to "fratricidal violence among the victims of apartheid". — Political Staff, Sapa and UPI



# Peace summit stakes high

CAPE TOWN 21/8/70 IIIA



Mr Mandela



Chief Buthelezi

By BARRY STREEK

PRESSURE is mounting on the ANC deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela, to agree to a meeting with the Inkatha leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, in an attempt to resolve the violence on the Reef and in Natal.

But Mr Mandela, who has so far rejected such a meeting, risks dividing the ANC if he does see Chief Buthelezi at this stage.

The extent of opposition within ANC ranks to a peace summit was underlined yesterday by a hard-hitting statement by the South African Youth Congress (Sayco) rejecting a meeting between the two leaders.

Sayco, which has agreed to merge with the ANC Youth League, said there had been calls from the media, some political organisations and the government for a meeting between the two to discuss the violence that was haunting the townships.

However, Sayco added: "By their own admission, Inkatha and Gatsha Buthelezi are using violence to secure a meeting that would elevate Gatsha Buthelezi's personal stature and that of Inkatha as a political movement.

"None of these voices has convincingly argued that such a meeting would bring an end to the Inkatha-led violence.

"While we are not opposed to a meeting with Gatsha Buthelezi in principle, we are saying that it would be wrong to meet Buthelezi in the current circumstances."

Chief Buthelezi had to "first demonstrate his commitment to peace by going to the different hostels and stopping his impis from attacking innocent people", Sayco said.

Informed observers point out that despite the

often bitter verbal attacks this year by Inkatha and the ANC, Chief Buthelezi has managed to gain some initiative by supporting a meeting between himself and Mr Mandela.

Mr Mandela's problem is the strong forces within the ANC, particularly in Natal, who are opposed to such a suggestion.

While some "old guard" members — among them the UDF president Mr Archie Gumede — believe a meeting is necessary, others, such as ANC co-ordinator in the Natal Midlands and former Robben Island prisoner Mr Harry Gwala, are opposed to it.

## Peaceful

Mr Gwala, who has strong grassroots support throughout Natal, particularly among the more militant youth, spearheaded the opposition which led to the cancellation of a proposed meeting between Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi in February.

Since then, the ANC line has been, as its internal leader, Mr Walter Sisulu, put it in April, that the levels of violence would have to decrease before a meeting could take place.

Mr Mandela, observers believe, will act on the advice of the ANC in Natal, where Mr Gwala's approach, based on the belief that Chief Buthelezi can be isolated and sidelined, holds sway.

They point out that the situation in the large townships of Umlazi and KwaMashu, where there had been conflict earlier, was now generally peaceful because it was largely accepted that the majority of people supported the charterist camp, but conflict had now spread to the south and north coasts where some people within the ANC believed a similar process would occur.

This has resulted in a situation where, as Maritz-

burg civil-rights lawyer Mr Pat Stilwell said recently, many people caught up in the Natal-KwaZulu violence did not want peace until they had conquered their rivals.

The culture of violence would be extremely difficult to break and had generated enormous feeling of hostility and hatred among participants, with the result that many people did not want peace, he said.

"They want victory. They want the situation to be brought to an end when they are victors," Mr Stilwell said.

He even likened this to the "victory at all costs" approach of President Saddam Hussein of Iraq.

Many ANC supporters and allies say there has been too much violence and terror at grassroots level for them to be able to explain any concession of a meeting between Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi.

Because of this and because of the strategy of isolating and marginalising the Inkatha leader; there remains strong, and potentially divisive opposition within the ANC to any leadership meeting.

Others, however, believe this will leave the ANC in a no-win situation and that it cannot win over the region this way.

Moreover, the former Inkatha secretary-general, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, warned earlier this month that Chief Buthelezi had the potential to destabilise Natal right into the era of a new South Africa, and for this reason strategies to sideline and isolate him should be abandoned.

Despite this, a significant element of the ANC, particularly in its Natal and youth wings, is emphatically opposed to peace moves with Chief Buthelezi — and Mr Mandela could pay a heavy political price if he defies them.

APR 27/8/90  
ANC claim 2  
members held

DURBAN. — The ANC's southern Natal convenor, Mr Patrick Lekota, said yesterday that two more ANC members had been arrested under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

He said Mr Yusuf Mahomed and Mr Abdul Kassim were arrested shortly after an ANC meeting in Harding.

Mr Lekota added: "If the detentions continue, it will lead to increased mass protest. They will build complications into the negotiation process."

A police spokesman in Pretoria said yesterday that he could not yet confirm the detentions.

CMR Tufs 21/5/90 (112)

# De Klerk to meet ANC leaders on Natal violence

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — President FW de Klerk has agreed to meet a delegation of ANC leaders from Natal, headed by Mr Nelson Mandela, in an attempt to address the question of the Natal violence as an obstacle to national negotiations.

This was announced by ANC Southern Natal convener Mr Patrick Lekota at a press conference yesterday.

The meeting would take place this month and would "deal specifically with the issue of the Natal violence, as an obstacle to negotiations".

Mr Lekota said the current violence in the Transvaal showed "a direct link to the war in Natal".

The Transvaal violence made the meeting "even more urgent".

Apart from Mr Mandela, the delegation would probably comprise the ANC's Natal conveners, those who had participated in talks with Inkatha, and members of the Women's League.

Political observers claim the conflict is more politically than tribally motivated, and that any attempt to address the political conflict in Natal will benefit the restoration of peace in the Transvaal.

The Transvaal conflict "is a transient event, but the Natal war has raged on for five years", Mr Lekota said.

# PE faces huge influx of exiles

CAM Times 2/18/40

114 ~~114~~ Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — This city's acute housing and unemployment crisis will deepen with the return of 15 000 people — exiles and their families — in two months' time.

Details of the influx were given to senior City Hall officials yesterday.

Altogether 20 000 men, women and children are headed for the Eastern Cape. This is 40% of the 55 000 people expected to return to South Africa.

Port Elizabeth's Anglican Bishop Bruce Evans, who is part of the regional structure formed to assist in their resettlement, met municipal officials on the topic for the first time yesterday.

Reacting to the figure, the director of the Human Rights Trust, Mr Rory Riordan, said: "Fifteen thousand is incredibly high. I have never heard of a figure higher than 25 000 exiles in total."

The director of the housing department, Mr Andrew Gibbon, said the problem of returning exiles had to be addressed by central government. Port Elizabeth had the land but not the resources for providing infrastructure for serviced plots, he said.

The national chairman of Ex-Political Prisoners, Mr Benson Fihla, said special departments had been set up to try to cope with the problems of housing and employment.

# ANC slams govt on non-indemnity

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

THE ANC plans to "strongly protest" against President FW de Klerk's decision to revoke the indemnity afforded three of its leading members.

ANC spokesman Mr Saki Macazoma said yesterday that the matter would be raised when the joint ANC-government working group met later this week, and would be taken up with Mr De Klerk if necessary.

The three whose immunity in terms of the Indemnity Act was revoked at the weekend are Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) chief Mr Chris Hani, detained SACP politburo member Mr Mac Maharaj and former MK intelligence chief Mr Ronnie Kasrils.

Mr Macazoma said the ANC was concerned at the move because it was not consistent with the discussions held in Pretoria earlier this month between the ANC and the government.

The ANC "doesn't see the point" of the government's refusal to renew the temporary indemnity of the three at this stage as they would have qualified for permanent indemnity in terms of the Pretoria Minute on October 1.

Mr Macazoma said the decision to "hunt down" Mr Hani, who is understood to be in Transkei, for "momentary satisfaction" did not make sense and appeared to be a "childish" attempt to placate the right wing.

He said the question should be asked: "Does this action help to clear the obstacles in the way of the negotiation process?"

The ANC was "most anxious" for the government to clarify its motives as an "apparent contradiction" existed.

The Democratic Party also slammed the government move, saying it could result in a setback to negotiations.

The DP's spokesman on Justice, Mr Dave Dalling, said in a statement yesterday: "President De Klerk should know that he cannot negotiate with only that section of the ANC of which he approves.

"He will have to negotiate a new dispensation for all South Africans with all of the ANC — as also with other parties and groupings.

"At very least, the temporary indemnity afforded

to other ANC leaders should be extended to Msrs Hani and Kasrils, and Mr Mac Maharaj should be released from detention or charged with whatever crime he is accused of having committed," Mr Dalling said.

The Ministry of Justice said in a statement yesterday that the three ANC members could make representations to the State President to have their immunity from prosecution restored.

However, the ministry would not say why their names had been omitted from a list published in the Government Gazette at the weekend extending immunity to other ANC members until the end of the year.

The Justice Ministry said: "It has never been customary to furnish reasons for the decisions of the State President in cases where he exercises a discretion conferred on him by law."

Sapa reports that police spokesman Colonel Steve van Rooyen said the step meant that "if police have reason to believe they are involved in any crime and wish to arrest or detain them, this can now be done".

CAP-TRANS 21/10/90 IIR (90) 500

# Winnie ANC's head of social welfare

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — Mrs Winnie Mandela has been appointed head of the ANC's social welfare department.

Spokeswoman Gill Marcus said her appointment was apparently approved by the ANC's national executive committee.

Mrs Mandela declined to comment, referring questions to the ANC office in Johannesburg. The ANC office could neither confirm nor deny the appointment.

Ms Marcus said although she was not certain of the nature of Mrs Mandela's responsibilities in her new job, she believed the maverick former "Mother of the Nation", isolated last year by the Mass Democratic Movement after the murder of child activist Stompie Seipei, would be responsible for, among other things, returning ANC exiles.

## CLOSE LIAISON

She would work closely with other bodies dealing with returning exiles, such as the South African Council of Churches' National Co-ordinating Committee on Repatriation, she said.

Ms Marcus did not know when Mrs Mandela would assume her duties in the ANC office.

Asked how the news of Mrs Mandela's appointment had been received by rank-and-file ANC members, Ms Marcus said she was not aware of a reaction.

Mrs Mandela is believed to have been nominated by ANC general secretary Alfred Nzo.

# Seeking peace between the assegais



Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi... leader of Inkatha.

As the death toll in the savage township war mounts and as the spectre of charred corpses begins to haunt the nation, people cast about anxiously for a prescription to end the brutal violence.

The most frequently voiced cry is for ANC leader Nelson Mandela and Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to meet and to chart out a joint strategy for peace.

President de Klerk, whose brave peace initiative is in danger of being wrecked by the spiralling township war, has counselled Mr Mandela to put aside whatever political reservations he has about meeting Chief Buthelezi.

Mr de Klerk finds himself in the company of black leaders who would, ironically, not be seen at the negotiating table

with him.

Weeks before ANC-Inkatha violence ignited in townships in or near the Witwatersrand, the PAC advised the ANC and its ideological allies, Cosatu and the UDF, against the policy of seeking to isolate Chief Buthelezi.

Instead, the PAC urged the ANC to talk to Inkatha, offering to mediate between them.

Now two more leaders have added their voices to the clamour for peace discussions: Mosibudi Mangena, president of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania, and Aubrey Mokoape, of the Azanian People's Organisation.

"If inclusion of the Inkatha leader in a broad meeting will contribute towards the saving of the many black lives now at risk, let us meet him," says Mr Mangena.

Pressure for peace talks between Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi is mounting. The ANC is reluctant to sanction the meeting, believing it will confer undeserved "credibility" on Chief Buthelezi. But even if the two men meet and agree on the need to call for peace, there is no guarantee that they will succeed. PATRICK LAURENCE reports.

The problem, however, is that the ANC appears to have set its teeth against meeting Chief Buthelezi for the immediate future.

The ANC's position invites two questions:

- Can it be persuaded that its diagnosis is faulty and that its prescription — isolation of Chief Buthelezi and intensified pressure for the dissolution of KwaZulu and its police force — is calculated to aggravate rather than still the malady afflicting the nation?

- Would a meeting between Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi

end the bloodshed if it culminated in a joint appeal for peace?

For the moment there does not appear to be much hope of persuading the ANC to revise its policy of blaming Chief Buthelezi. But, even if the ANC is convinced that it should talk to Chief Buthelezi, it does not follow that the violence will end.

Mr Mandela's address to the huge rally in Durban shortly after his release from jail on February 11 serves as a check against facile optimism: he

urged ANC and Inkatha zealots to throw their weapons into the sea but the war in Natal continued.

Now, of course, the conflict has spread into SA's industrial heartland along the Witwatersrand and, sadly, acquired a tribal dimension. In Natal the civil war is largely an intra-Zulu struggle, with the warring camps divided by ideology, not ethnicity. In the Transvaal it is in danger of degenerating into tribal war.

It is true, of course, that the ANC's support base and its leadership corps is supra-tribal and non-racial.

But, in the township war, many of the pro-Inkatha hostel inmates feel threatened, and are sometimes killed as Zulus by a movement many of whose pre-eminent leaders are Xhosas: Mr Mandela, Walter Si-

sulu, Oliver Tambo, Thabo Mbeki, Chris Hani and so on.

In these circumstances the task before Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi is both more difficult and more urgent.

Mr Mandela's problem is that the South African Youth Congress has declared Chief Buthelezi an "enemy of the people". The longer he waits, the more bloodshed is spilt.

Chief Buthelezi's problem is that as the number of Zulu dead grows, his simple, tough supporters in the hostels may expect him to lead them, not as a man of peace, but as a warrior-chief promising vengeance for those slain in battle.

The challenge before the leaders is immense, requiring statesmanship, vision and magnanimity. They cannot even comfort themselves with the thought that they will succeed.



Nelson Mandela... deputy president of the ANC.

# Strikes crippling economy, black leaders are told

Star 2/18/90

(B) (11A)

By Derek Tommey  
Senior Cabinet Ministers have been meeting ANC and other black political leaders to warn about the effects the current wave of strikes are having on the economy and on foreign and local confidence.

Minister of Finance Barend du Plessis is reported to have spent two hours with an ANC leader last week discussing economic matters and the effects political actions are having on business activity and hopes for future prosperity.

The meetings have come after mounting calls from commerce and industry to the Government to use its influence to avert strikes.

Some firms claim the strikes are threatening their existence, and others that they are frightening away badly needed job-creating foreign investment.

Mr du Plessis warned recently that wages and salaries had been increasing much faster than productivity.

He said employers and employees had to understand that the economy could not grow unless there was increased produc-

tivity or unless wage demands were arrested.

He urged employers and others in positions of authority to explain to workers the link between productivity and remuneration.

This should be explained because there were millions of South Africans who had not yet experienced the benefits of free enterprise and private property ownership, he said.

## Industrial unrest

An indication of the seriousness of the current wave of industrial unrest is given by Johan Louw, Sanlam's chief economist, who says that probably more than 1,2 million man-days (the number of people on strike multiplied by the number of days they are away from work) were lost through strikes in the first half of the year.

This was more than three times the figure in the same period last year.

Writing in Sanlam's latest economic survey, he says: "Particularly worrying is the sharp increase in the duration of the strikes and the growing mea-

sure of violence and loss of life."

Mr Louw says the effect of the strikes is being felt throughout the economy.

He warns that they could intensify the current downturn and lead to further unemployment and an increase in unrest.

He says the strikes are inhibiting attempts to reduce the inflation rate and are affecting the external value of the rand.

"Wage demands which have no relation to productivity reduce the country's ability to compete in international markets and curb the ability of the economy to provide jobs.

"Excessive wage demands by trade unions (which only look after the interests of their members) may enrich their members, but hamper the creation of additional jobs.

"Continued strikes could cause businesses to reduce their labour force and become more capital-intensive."

Mr Louw says one of the greatest challenges is to create jobs.

The trade unions have a great responsibility in ensuring that labour unrest is restricted to a minimum, he says.



Star 21/8/90

8/11A



# ANC man is wounded in shootout

By Craig Kotze

An ANC national executive committee bodyguard was shot and wounded by police in Johannesburg at the weekend, and the movement's chief bookkeeper was detained in Soweto on charges of possessing a handgrenade. The Star has learned.

Three Soviet-made F1 grenades, a Makarov pistol and one Skorpion machine pistol were seized after both incidents, police confirmed.

In all, seven suspects were detained in connection with both incidents.

Three people, including a black security policeman, were wounded in the shootout at the Little Roseneath Hotel in Hillbrow on Saturday night.

## Visited hotel

Although police did not identify the shot ANC man, The Star has learned he is Ralph Petersen, a bodyguard of one of the members of the ANC's NEC. He is in a satisfactory condition in hospital after the shooting, as is the policeman.

According to police, the incident happened when security police visited the hotel and came across an ANC insurgent, who was arrested. He told the policemen he was expecting four other insurgents in a car. A car arrived and when police approached the vehicle, a confrontation and scuffle ensued.

One of the occupants tried to flee and was shot. Three other men escaped. The arms were later found in the car.

Both Mr Petersen and the first insurgent detained are being held in terms of section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

# ANC rejects Harms evidence on terror acts

114  
21/8/96

## The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — The African National Congress has rejected statements made to the Harms Commission on its alleged role in terrorist activities and said they "had not been freely obtained".

In another development, a top Military Intelligence officer yesterday told Mr Justice Louis Harms that he was not fully conversant with the facts in his affidavit but believed that the ANC had been responsible for violence.

The ANC legal representative, Mr George Bizos QC, told Mr Justice Harms that General Herman Stadler, the police's top expert on the ANC, had provided "inadmissible" evidence on atrocities alleged to have been carried out by the organisation.

## "Acts of terror"

His comment came after General Stadler had handed in a 79-page affidavit with annexures totalling a further 170 pages and 20 volumes of supporting documents allegedly detailing ANC involvement in acts of terror. It was the largest amount of testimony given to the commission.

At the close of General Stadler's testimony, Mr Bizos told Mr Justice Harms that his instructions were that the ANC had decided "not to join issue with the witness, particularly because of his sources of information".

He urged the judge to consid-

er the admissibility of General Stadler's evidence as "common experience tells us that evidence obtained under interrogation in terms of Section 61 of the old Terrorism Act and Section 29 of the Internal Security Act is not the sort of evidence which is admissible".

"Some statements are not freely made... they were not freely obtained. Some of those interrogated may have changed sides and given information that may have pleased their interrogators."

In his evidence General Stadler drew attention to what he said were acts of terrorism carried out by the ANC. He also sketched the background to the organisation's decision to embark upon a "people's war" and said that this had started after an ANC delegation had visited Vietnam to study "mass mobilisation" procedures.

## Affidavit

In an affidavit, Mr Penuell Mpapa Maduma, a member of the ANC secretariat and one of its two legal advisers in South Africa, told Mr Justice Harms the ANC "never denied that people lost their lives in the armed struggle. The police and the SA Defence Force have repeatedly denied the correctness of the evidence that their hit squads killed people".

"I submit that the commission was appointed to inquire into the truth or otherwise of their denials and not into the ANC's armed struggle."

The commission is to resume its hearing tomorrow.

## Winnie gets ANC welfare job

Star 21/8/90 (11A)  
By Kaizer Nyatumba  
Political Staff

Winnie Mandela, wife of African National Congress (ANC) deputy president Nelson Mandela, has been appointed head of the organisation's social welfare department, the ANC confirmed today.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said her appoint-

ment was approved by the organisation's national executive committee (NEC) last week.

Ms Marcus said she believed Mrs Mandela's responsibilities would include returning ANC exiles.

She said she believed Mrs Mandela would be assuming her duties in the ANC office "very soon".

ANC puts  
stop to  
stayaway

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The southern Natal region of the African National Congress has announced that there will be no organised stayaway on Thursday in protest against the country's security legislation.

The decision has been welcomed by politicians and businessmen.

Last week an ANC spokesman in Johannesburg hinted that there might be a stayaway as part of a nationwide campaign of demonstrations against the security laws under which a number of activists have been detained.

● The Chatsworth recruitment committee of the ANC said yesterday that it would proceed with a placard demonstration on Thursday.

---

the movement.

*CPA-TM E 21/8/90*  
**Stompie's assault**

**JOHANNESBURG.** — Mr Thandanani Jabulani "Guyboi" Khubeka, alleged to have severely assaulted teenaged activist Stompie Seipei, appeared briefly in Protea Magistrate's Court yesterday. He was not asked to plead to a charge of assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm. The case was postponed to November 20 pending further investigation.

# PAC offers to mediate in violence

11A



MR MLAMBO

DAR ES SALAAM - Pan Africanist Congress chairman Mr Johnson Mlambo has deplored the fighting between ANC and Inkatha supporters and has offered the services of the PAC to mediate to end the violence.

The conflict was "a senseless quest for hegemony among the oppressed," he told journalists in Dar es Salaam.

It threatened to

deteriorate into ethnic conflict that would undo generations of effort to build a nation, Mlambo said.

It also favoured the divide-and-rule tactics of the Government, whose own forces were left unscathed while the "forces of African liberation" were depleted.

In addition, it weakened the demands for the withdrawal of the security forces from the

townships, he said.

According to the Africa News Organisation, Mlambo said both the ANC and Inkatha espoused negotiation with the Government but their first priority should be to negotiate with and avoid violence towards each other.

In Washington on Monday the United States Government urged all parties to end violence that hurts the chances of

negotiations succeeding to achieve racial peace in South Africa.

It said it was deeply concerned about renewed violence.

"We are deeply concerned about the continuing violence in South Africa and with the necessity for the police to call for the assistance of the South African Defence Force," he said. - Sapa-  
Reuter.

so and for 2/18/90

# Winnie to head ANC's social welfare dept

WINNIE Mandela, wife of African National Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela, has been appointed head of the organisation's social welfare department, the ANC has confirmed.

Spokesman Gill Marcus said her appointment was apparently approved by the ANC's national executive committee at its meeting last week.

Approached at home yesterday, Mrs Mandela declined to comment, referring questions to the ANC office in Johannesburg.

The ANC office could

SOWETAN  
Correspondent



WINNIE MANDELA

neither confirm nor deny the appointment.

Marcus said she was not certain of the nature of Mrs Mandela's

*Sowetan*  
responsibilities in her new job.

But she believed that Mrs Mandela, who was last year denounced and isolated by the Mass Democratic Movement in the wake of controversy surrounding the murder of child activist Stompie Seipei, would be responsible for, among other things, returning ANC exiles.

In this regard Mrs Mandela would work closely with other bodies which would deal with returning exiles, such as the South African Council of Churches' National

22/8/90  
Co-ordinating Committee on Repatriation, she said.

Marcus did not know when Mrs Mandela would assume her duties in the ANC office, but she believed it would be "very soon".

## Controversy

Asked how the news of Mrs Mandela's appointment had been received by rank-and-file ANC members, Marcus said it was still early to say. She was not aware of any reaction to it.

Mrs Mandela, who stirred a lot of controversy with her recent

remarks in Durban that the suspension of the armed struggle by the ANC was a mere strategy which did not mean the cessation of violence, is believed to have been nominated by ANC general secretary Alfred Nzo for the job.

She was yesterday reported to have warned in Orlando West, Soweto, at the weekend that the continuing carnage in the townships and the Government's failure to abolish the hostel system could force the ANC to seriously reconsider the suspension of the armed struggle.

# ANC is mum on Hani

THE ANC said yesterday it did not know the whereabouts of Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani.

With those of senior ANC officials Maharaj and Ronnie Kasrils, Hani's temporary immunity from arrest was lifted on Sunday night.

He was reported to be in Transkei earlier in the week. The police have said they could not act against

him while he was still in Transkei.

A police spokesman said if Hani returned to South Africa the Attorney-General would have to decide on whether to prosecute him.

"A charge of high treason is still being investigated against Hani," the spokesman said.

The Department of Justice also said yesterday that it did not know of any representations made by Hani, Kasrils or Maharaj to have their temporary immunity renewed. - Sapa.



# Showdown looming over new Bop ANC branch

Sowetan  
22/10/90

SA PRESS  
ASSOCIATION

A SHOWDOWN is looming between the ANC and the Bophuthatswana government.

The latest cause of tension is the secret launch of an ANC branch in Mmabatho, to be called the Mafikeng branch because of Mmabatho's association with apartheid.

In separate interviews, both the ANC and the homeland's authorities sounded uncompromising in their positions on political activity in Bophuthatswana.

## Meeting

First the Mafikeng ANC branch is planning a public meeting in the "near future", while the Bophuthatswana authorities insist any mass meeting can be held only after permission is obtained through appropriate official channels.

The ANC did not recognise Bophuthatswana and would "definitely" not register itself as a political party, let alone seek permission to hold meetings, a senior

ANC official, Gill Marcus, has said.

A Bophuthatswana police source said that in terms of the homeland's Internal Security Act, any meeting involving more than 20 people required prior permission from the Ministry of Law and Order, of which President Lucas Mangope is the Minister.

The secret launch of the Mafikeng ANC branch was attended by 110 people, according to branch secretary Paul Dephney.

Mr Dephney said "for the moment" only his name and that of chairman, Mr Job Magoro, would be made public.

He said the names of the other seven committee members would be withheld "perhaps" until the day of the planned public meeting.

Both Dephney and Magoro are lecturers at the University of Bophuthatswana.

He said the names of the other committee members were withheld because of the potential for intimidation. - Sapa.

# Azasm (IA) praises ANC 22/8/90

THE Azanian Students Movement has praised the ANC for admitting some of its members and supporters did not exercise political tolerance.

In a statement issued at Thohoyandou in Venda yesterday, Azasm spokesman Mr Nthanyeleni Netshiavha said:

"The ANC is demonstrating its commitment to peace in the black community by blaming its members. We hope that they will be called to order.

"It does not help us with anything to appear angelic while our members are slaughtering other black people," Netshiavha said.

## Mayibuye

In the latest issue of the ANC publication Mayibuye, the organisation is reported to have said some of its supporters and members had not allowed other organisations to mobilise support.

"As Azasm, we are not only worried because this catastrophic situation makes normal schooling impossible, but mainly because our black people are dying in hundreds," Netshiavha said.

"Only the black people, and particularly the forces involved, are capable of ending this bloody conflict and not the security forces.

"Police intervention will escalate the death of our people since it won't be peaceful," Netshiavha said. - *Sapa*.

## Boesak 'will not take sides'

DR Allan Boesak declined to speak at a Worcester Interim Crisis Committee rally at the weekend because he did not want to choose sides in the conflict between two rival organisations affiliated to the local ANC branch. *Sowetan 22/8/90*

A statement released by Boesak's Foundation for Peace and Justice said Boesak had good relations with the Worcester community and wanted it to remain that way.

### Reasons given (11A)

A Foundation spokesman said: "It was brought to our attention that the community of Worcester at the moment is experiencing some tension and we judged that it would not be in the interest of our struggle for Dr Boesak to be seen to be taking sides in this matter."

The spokesman said attorney Mr Essa Moosa had notified the organisers of a rally on Sunday that Boesak would not be able to speak at the rally, as he did not "wish to involve Dr Boesak in any discord".

- Sapa.

# ANC does not want

## revenge - expert

22/8/90  
HAVANA - An ANC legal expert said this week that members of the South African security forces who committed serious violations of justice under white rule should be brought to justice once a democratic government was introduced.

But Abdullah Mohamed Omar of the ANC's constitutional committee told a news conference in Havana that the ANC did not want to promote "a spirit of revenge" in South Africa.

### Issue

An issue in ongoing negotiations between the ANC and the Government of President FW de Klerk is whether security forces who had committed atrocities and other serious injustices should be punished.

"Where members of the security forces have committed gross violations (of justice) we believe that they should be brought to justice," Omar said.

But he added: "A new democratic South Africa under the ANC will be anxious to ensure that there is rapid reconciliation ... we are not anxious to encourage a spirit of revenge in our country."

### Cases

Omar mentioned cases of alleged torture and killing by South Africa police of black activists like Steve Biko and the actions of doctors and other officials who falsified documents to cover up such cases.

Omar, who is visiting Cuba as vice-president of the National Association of Democratic Lawyers of South Africa, said the country's whole justice system would have to be overhauled as part of the creation of a multiracial democracy. - Sapa-Reuter.

# Sayco against peace talks

Sowetan 22/8/90

11A

IT would be wrong for Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to meet in the current circumstances.

This was said yesterday by the South African

## Sowetan Reporters

Youth Congress following calls by certain organisations and the media that the two leaders meet to halt the carnage that is sweeping

Witwatersrand townships.

A Johannesburg morning paper quoted Government sources involved in efforts to get peace forums off the ground as saying Inkatha officials in conflict areas would not meet their ANC counter-

parts until the two leaders had met.

In a statement, Sayco's publicity secretary, Mr Parks Mankahlana, said Buthelezi should first demonstrate his commitment to peace by going to different hostels and

"stop his impis from attacking innocent people".

"It is our view that if the people of this country were to allow an individual or an organisation to use terror and intimidation to secure a meeting that was intended to advance the opportunistic interests of a particular organisation, they would be setting a dangerous precedent not only for the immediate resolution of the problems of the country but for the future of our people," Sayco said in a statement.

Meanwhile, a peace meeting which was scheduled to be attended by residents of Phola Park, Tokoza hostel dwellers and the police failed to take place.

AKG 45 22/8/90 (11A)

## ANC recruits 7 000 members in Cape

By MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent

AFRICAN National Congress branches in the Western and Southern Cape have recruited more than 7 000 paid-up members so far.

Organisers expect the figure to be much higher after the official launch of outstanding branches this weekend.

The ANC has set the end of this month as the deadline for setting up its organisation in the region. There will ultimately be about 90 branches.

The region is divided into zones of several branches each.

Figures given by the ANC are based on returns from branches reflecting the number of people who have paid their R12 annual subscription. Not all branches have sent in their returns yet.

Crossroads tops the list with a membership of 963 so far, followed by Mbekweni with 914, Guguletu Section Three — one of three branches in the township — with 364 and Athlone with 342.

As a region, Namaqualand has 215 members so far, the South Cape — at this stage there are figures only for Oudtshoorn and Mossel Bay — has 327, Boland has 1 213 and the North-West Coast has 33.

In the Peninsula, there are 463 spread among five branches in the northern suburbs, about 750 in the southern suburbs from Woodstock to Heathfield, and nearly 300 in Mitchell's Plain and Strandfontein.

There are 46 paid-up members in Blue Downs, 172 in the Strand and 169 in Kuils River.



# Peace talks: Discipline will bring ceasefire

ARCS  
22/8/90

11A

**Political Staff**

**THERE** are high hopes in government circles that the strong pleas for peace after top-level talks in Pretoria yesterday will draw a positive response from the ANC.

If the leaders of all parties in the Reef townships war pull together to stop the fighting, discipline will produce a ceasefire — and enable the underlying problems to be resolved.

The government is confident that the ANC will subscribe to the call made jointly by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of Inkatha, Transkei leader General Bantu Holomisa and the South African government.

Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha said after meeting the two homeland leaders that he was sure ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela would subscribe to the call.

**End the bloodshed**

Although the ANC has not commented on the joint statement, and General Holomisa has denied he represented the ANC at the meeting, the government believes he presented a position close to the ANC's.

The government is encouraged by the fact that despite

his coming to the meeting with an aggressive set of proposals including a threat to send armed Transkeians to defend its citizens in South Africa against attack from Inkatha and the police — he ended up endorsing the conciliatory statement.

The statement called for an end to the debate on the causes of the fighting and an end to apportioning blame.

"The need, whatever the cause, is to put an immediate end to the bloodshed."

It called for a joint effort by all leaders to work for peace and ensure their followers did the same.

General Holomisa took a strong ANC viewpoint at the meeting, accusing the SAP of aligning itself with Inkatha imps.

He also attacked the SABC for its coverage of the fighting.

The statement also makes proposals to end the fighting. Chief among these was a call for a joint monitoring committee on which Transkei would also be represented, and a commission of inquiry into the violence.

No indication was given of what concrete actions would flow from the meeting.

Mr Botha made it clear that the immediate priority was for the killing to stop.

After the meeting Chief Buthelezi made an impassioned appeal to Inkatha supporters to end the violence.

Talking to the Press after meeting President De Klerk, Chief Buthelezi also strongly denied claims that local Inkatha leaders had withdrawn from co-operation with the police and the ANC to end the killing.

He said local Inkatha leaders were talking to the ANC, and his Kwazulu cabinet ministers and officials had been into the Transvaal townships to try to end the violence.

He seemed to pin his hopes on a forum set up between Inkatha, the United Democratic Front and Cosatu last June which was scheduled to meet again on August 29.

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok emphatically denied General Holomisa's allegations that the police were taking sides in the carnage.

He said it was time to insist that such serious allegations be backed by evidence. Unless this were done, one had to accept the allegations were lies.

B  
F  
l  
p  
o  
b  
a  
f  
i  
e  
R  
fi

22/8/90

## Dump Reds, ally with Nats, Zac tells ANC

### Political Staff

THE Democratic Party has proposed that the ANC should "dump the communists" and enter an alliance with a National Party fully committed to democracy without special privileges for anyone.

The DP could support such an alliance and even form part of it, DP co-leader Dr Zac de Beer said last night at a political forum organised by the Platform student group at the University of Potchefstroom.

Because of the difficulty in maintaining law and order and stability the parties of the centre such as the DP, the Labour Party, Inkatha, Solidarity the NPP and perhaps Inyandza, would not manage alone.

They would have to look to the ANC and the NP but one without the other "would unbalance the thing entirely."

The issues between them would probably be that the ANC was wedded "in some strange way" to the communists and supported socialism while the NP was a free enterprise party.

On the other hand the NP wanted some sort of unspecified special protection for minorities, which the ANC might well reject.

"So the best way to form a government capable of running South Africa is for the ANC to accept a free enterprise system and dump the communists, while the Nats must accept a full democracy with no special privileges for anyone."



# Dump the SACP and form alliance, Zach advises ANC

SKW 22/8/90  
LCA

By Peter Fabricius,  
Political Correspondent

The Democratic Party has proposed that the ANC should "dump the communists" and enter an alliance with a National Party fully committed to democracy without special privileges for anyone.

The DP could support such an alliance and even form part of it, DP co-leader Dr Zach de Beer said last night at a political forum organised by the Platform student group at the University of Potchefstroom.

Giving the clearest picture so far of DP strategic thinking, Dr De Beer said not one party in South Africa had a balanced non-racial composition.

It was likely then that some coalition or alliance would be needed to govern the country successfully.

Because of the difficulty in maintaining law and order and stability the parties of the centre such as the DP, the Labour Party, Inkatha, Solidarity the NPP and perhaps Inyandza, would not manage alone.

They would have to look to the ANC and the NP, but one

without the other "would unbalance the thing entirely".

The question was whether the ANC and NP could find each other and how. Both would probably support universal suffrage, a bill of rights and an independent judiciary.

He was not sure of their views on federalism and proportional representation. The issues between them would probably be that the ANC was wedded "in some strange way" to the communists and supported socialism while the NP was a free enterprise party.

On the other hand the NP wanted some sort of unspecified special protection for minorities, which the ANC might well reject.

"So the best way to form a government capable of running South Africa is for the ANC to accept a free enterprise system and dump the communists, while the Nats must accept a full democracy with no special privileges for anyone."

If this deal was done it would result in a policy very close to what the DP and other centre parties stood for.

Many would be able to support the resultant government and even form part of it.

"We would add weight; but more important, we would form valuable cement to hold the ANC and the Nats together and would be able to hold the confidence of some very important though numerically small, portions of the population."



Archbishop Tutu

# 'Hype' could scuttle Inkatha, ANC meeting,

11/11/90  
22/8/90

## Tutu warns

JOHANNESBURG. — Archbishop Desmond Tutu warned today that efforts to arrange talks between ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela and Kwazulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi had to be made with extreme care because a meeting which failed could be "disastrous".

In a statement issued on his arrival in Johannesburg from London early today, the archbishop said: "I think we need to be looking very carefully at the conditions surrounding a meeting so that we don't have something that is 'hyped' and then does not produce the results. It would be worse than not holding the meeting at all."

Bishop Tutu cut short a trip to Canada and Sweden to return home.

He said he had returned home because he was a pastor and could not be away at a time like the present.

### "QUITE UNBEARABLE"

"It looked so incongruous being asked to talk about the problems of the indigenous people in Canada when the front pages of the newspapers there were describing the carnage that was happening at home. It was quite unbearable."

He said violence would stop when people realised others could have different points of view.

"This is a major problem, that we have an intolerance of diversity of opinion."

● The Secretary-General of the OAU, Mr Salim Ahmed Salim, has appealed to the warring factions in South Africa to meet and bring an end to the violence, Argus Africa News Service reports.

On his way to Gaborone for the SADCC summit, Mr Salim told reporters in Harare that the violence could only be in the interests of those who wanted to see apartheid perpetuated.

### JOINT HIGH COMMAND

He said the South African government had a duty to ensure that law and order was maintained and that its forces were used impartially.

Mr Salim, a Tanzanian, said the OAU supported the negotiations between the ANC and the government as they were "only talks about talks to create conditions conducive for negotiations."

Asked about support for the liberation movements in view of the differences between the ANC and the PAC over the armed struggle, he said: "The OAU will continue to support the struggle but the

form of assistance will be determined by the circumstances of the day."

Mr Salim said events in Liberia, which were a cause for great concern, should make Africa realise the necessity for a joint High Command and military co-operation.

● Britain's fragile confidence in South Africa's future is being eroded by the violence continuing to sweep the country's, Chris Whitfield of The Argus Foreign Service reports from London.

Business in Britain is revising its stance on South Africa's economic prospects, and political commentators are painting a considerably gloomier picture than at any time in recent years.

There is almost total agreement Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi should meet urgently to resolve the crisis.

### BAD TIMING

Businessmen who were beginning to eye South Africa favourably are now waiting to see if the conflict can be resolved.

A Confederation of British Industry spokesman said the timing of the violence was particularly bad because it came as some investors were deciding between investing in South Africa or in Eastern Europe.

The South Africa Foundation's London director, Mr John Montgomery, said the news hardly increased the enthusiasm of international investors and businessmen already absorbed by the Middle East crisis.

The United Kingdom South Africa Trade Association's Mr Nick Mitchell said "the level of violence must be a cause for concern".

### "SPIRAL OF VIOLENCE"

Newspaper editorials this week have adopted their most pessimistic tone on South Africa in several years. The Daily Telegraph, a newspaper that generally sticks to the ruling Conservative Party line, warned that a continuation of the fighting will "pull the whole country down a spiral of violence".

The Financial Times fires a broadside at the ANC, accusing it of "reprehensible" behaviour in its handling of Chief Buthelezi, particularly in sabotaging efforts to bring Mr Mandela and the Inkatha leader together.

Until such a meeting takes place, "no one can be sanguine about the future of negotiations, or indeed the future of South Africa itself".

● See page 2.



# Housing and employment needed for returning exiles

By PAT CANDIDO  
The Argus Bureau

**PORT ELIZABETH.** — Between 10 000 and 15 000 political exiles and their families are expected to descend on the city in two months' time to re-establish their lives here.

Details of the influx were given to civic leaders at the City Hall this week.

The return — the largest percentage of exiles in the country — is expected to put housing and jobs in the city under a severe strain.

Altogether 20 000 exiles and their families are heading for the Eastern Cape — 40 percent of the estimated 50 000 exiles returning to South Africa.

These figures represent a total of 400 000 people returning to the country, says the SA Council of Churches, with 160 000 people making for the Eastern Cape.

The authorities have just eight weeks to prepare for their arrival.

Port Elizabeth's Anglican Bishop Bruce Evans, a member of the regional structure formed to assist their resettlement, met municipal

officials on the topic for the first time yesterday.

Town clerk Mr Paul Botha said the city had to accept that the majority of those who left Port Elizabeth would return here.

"We will approach the technical advisory committee of the Greater Algoa Planning Authority to make land available for housing. Between 10 000 and 15 000 families are expected to settle here within a matter of months.

"This was as far as we got with our planning."

On the question of jobs, he said:

"We have no data at present on whether these people are professional or unskilled, but obviously all will be needing jobs.

Even national chairman of Ex-Political Prisoners Mr Benson Fihla could not be more precise.

He said: "Employment is going to be a big problem, as is housing.

"Special departments have been set up by the national body to try to cope with these problems."

Most of the exiles are living in other parts of Africa, while a few are in Europe. Some left South Africa as long ago as 1961.

562 22/8/90 (11) (30)

## Hani still eligible for indemnity, says Pik

The African National Congress's Chris Hani had forfeited his right to temporary indemnity but not necessarily his prospects for permanent indemnity, Foreign Minister Pik Botha said in an SABC-TV interview

last night. Mr Botha said Mr Hani had categorically repudiated even the agreement of his leader, "Now he has forfeited the right to temporary indemnity ... That doesn't mean he forfeit-

ed the right to permanent indemnity, in terms of the guidelines."

Mr Botha added the temporary ending of the immunity for the three ANC members was not expected to hamper negotiations. — Sapa.

22/8/90  
**Conference to  
focus on vital  
political issues**

**Political Staff**

As South Africa moves towards the beginning of real negotiations, issues such as an interim government and the definition of people who will take part in negotiations become even more important, according to the Five Freedoms Forum.

FFF spokesman Gael Neke says these issues will be debated at the FFF "South Africa at a Turning Point — Negotiations and the Future" conference this weekend. The conference, to be attended by about 800 people of different political viewpoints, will be held at the Johannesburg Sun hotel.

Debating these issues on Saturday will be ANC information secretary Dr Pallo Jordan, Democratic Party co-leader Dr Zach de Beer and Inkatha Freedom Party central committee chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose, among others.

# Nafcoc wants leaders to act against violence

BLACK business would welcome any moves and actions by deputy president of the ANC Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to resolve the violence in the country.

*Sowetan 23/8/90*  
By JOSHUA RABOROKO

The National African Federated Chamber of Commerce has reiterated its concern over the ongoing violence and pledged its members to

serve as a unifying factor in promoting peace and understanding among warring groups.

Nafcc's chief executive Mr Mofasi Lekota said the bloodbath in the townships was disturbing and needed serious atten-

tion by leaders of the warring groups.

"Let us stop this violence" he said, adding that the question of violence, especially in Natal, formed part of the resolution Nafcoc took at its 26th annual conference in Durban a few weeks ago.

Lekota said black business had been pledged to serve as a unifying factor in promoting peace and better understanding through the process of consultation and negotiation.

In the light of the rejection of the country's present racially-based and exploitative economic policy, Nafcoc should move forward and occupy the front seat in the socio-economic debate in searching for a viable alternative, Lekota said.

THE three ANC leaders who have been denied the temporary indemnity their colleagues enjoy have, by this very act of the state, been cast as a cut above the rest of the ANC and South African Communist Party leadership.

The government has stated that the utterances and behaviour of the three — Ronnie Kasrils, Chris Hani and Mac Maharaj — are contrary to the spirit of the historic Groote Schuur Minute and the recent Pretoria Minute

It is no coincidence that the three are key figures in the ANC's military and intelligence services.

Since arriving in the country, the three have lived the lives of fugitives.

Maharaj was detained under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act a few weeks ago.

**Moscow**

South African Communist Party sources confirmed that while Maharaj was supposedly in a Moscow hospital awaiting a kidney transplant, he had been in the country building underground structures of the ANC.

He had been engaged in this work for the past three years.

Kasrils recently emerged from "underground" to address journalists in Johannesburg.

Hani went to the Transkei, where he remains until now.

So while their once-exiled colleagues now move freely in the country, the three men have not stopped living like fugitives — a life to which they are accustomed.

Maharaj, described by colleagues as a "canny devil", was born 55 years ago in Newcastle, Natal, and has a long political history.

Having matriculated at St Oswald's School in Natal, he enrolled as a part-time student for a BA degree at the University of Natal.

**Ceremonies**

Maharaj's political activities while at university included serving in the SRC and editing a progressive campus newspaper, Student Call.

During this period he was part of the campaigns against racial segregation of students and of the boycott of separated graduation ceremonies held at that time.

After graduating, he enrolled for his LL.B in 1956, but did not further his studies because the separate faculty for blacks was closed the following year.

After most of the Congress leaders were arrested during the 1956 treason trial, Maharaj took over the running of the New Age newspaper, then a Congress mouthpiece.

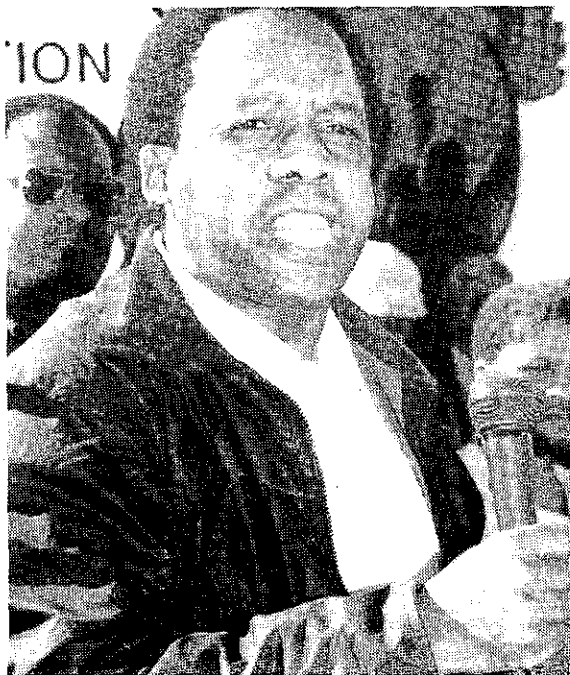
In 1957, he went to study in the United Kingdom after having been refused entry to universities in the Cape and Transvaal.

He enrolled at the London School of

# Three who are 'a cut above the rest'

South 23/8-29/8/90  
 (C) (IIA)

**The three ANC leaders whose temporary indemnity was retracted have long lived the lives of fugitives, as MONO BADELA and MUSA NDWANDWE report:**



Chris Hani



Mac Maharaj

Economics, where he had to start his LL.B from scratch, in 1959.

After the 1960 Sharpsville shootings, he was asked by the Congress to return to South Africa to work fulltime for the movement.

On his return in 1962, he worked for a firm of attorneys in Johannesburg while spending much time in politics.

He was first arrested in July 1964 and convicted with four others on charges of subversion and sabotage in what was known as the "Little Rivonia Trial".

He served the whole of his 12-year sentence on Robben Island.

Maharaj completed a B.Admin, MBA and his second year B.Sc in prison before his release in December 1976.

His release was followed by a five-year banning order confining him to his Merebank, Durban, home between 6 pm and 6 am on weekdays, Sundays and public holidays.

His wife, Ompragash, was by now living in London.

Permission to practice was refused, leaving Maharaj no means of earning a

living.

He left South Africa on ANC instructions in July 1977 and was deployed in Lusaka.

In 1985, he was elected as a senior official to the national executive committee of the ANC at its Kabwe Conference.

He is also member of the organisation's President's Committee, its political military council and the SACP's Politburo.

Maharaj is now married to Zarina and they have two children.

Thembisile "Chris" Hani hails from Cofimvaba, Transkei. One of six children of Mary and Gilbert Hani, he grew up and was educated in the Transkei.

If his migrant labour father had not discouraged him, Hani would have become a minister of religion, a dream he had at the age of 12.

Hani senior is also the man who introduced the present Chief of Staff of MK to political thought.

A few other individuals influenced young Hani's political life. These in-

clude his uncle and Communist Party of South Africa member, Milton Hani.

Also Govan Mbeki, father of his school friend Thabo (ANC's International Relations Head) was to have a great influence on Hani's political life.

Hani had an aptitude for Latin and, while at Fort Hare University, he became a avid reader of the Latin classics.

He graduated from Rhodes University with a BA in Latin and English in 1962.

This was followed by a brief spell as an articulated clerk at a Cape Town law firm.

During this time he assisted the South African Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu), an experience which gave him a perception of the workers' struggle.

Like most of his colleagues, Hani had participated in student politics while at Fort Hare in 1959, two years after he had joined the ANC Youth League.

He joined Umkhonto we Sizwe in 1962 after the ANC was banned, and became part of its leadership in the Western Cape, the "Committee of

Seven".

He was arrested later that year in a roadblock and after being found in possession of "subversive documents".

Hani was released on R500 bail just in time to attend the ANC conference in Lobatsi, Botswana.

On his way from the conference, he was arrested at the border by the South African Police and detained.

This led to an 18-month prison sentence under the Suppression of Communism Act, but he was released on bail pending appeal.

After he lost his appeal in 1963, he was instructed by the ANC not to go to prison but remained underground in Cape Town for four months.

From there he proceeded to Johannesburg, where he received instructions to leave the country and undergo military training.

**Zapu**

As Commissar of the Luthuli Detachment of MK, Hani was sent to Southern Rhodesia to fight alongside military cadres of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (Zapu).

He spent four months there.

During this time he was involved in three battles near Tjolotjo, Wankie, against the Rhodesian African Rifles.

He returned to Botswana, where he was arrested and charged with possession of weapons of war and sentenced to six years' imprisonment, two of which he served before his release on parole.

In 1974, on instructions to enter South Africa to establish a political structure for the ANC in the Cape, he moved to nearby Lesotho where he spent seven years.

He survived an attempt at his life in 1981 when explosives were placed in his car.

In 1982 he was made political commissar and deputy commander of MK.

He became a member of the NEC in 1974 at the age of 32. He is presently Chief of Staff of the MK and also a member of organisation's political and military council.

Hani enjoys jogging, and is an avid reader of English literature and Greek mythology and classics. He is married to Limpho, a journalist, and they have three daughters.

**Deployed**

Ronnie Kasrils, 52, is a former head of military intelligence for the African National Congress.

A member of Umkhonto WeSizwe since its formation in 1961, he was initially deployed with its Natal command.

Kasrils served as a head of MK military intelligence until his co-option to the ANC national executive committee in 1987.

Kasrils left the country in 1963 and lectured for a period at the London School of Economics.

At one time he was deputy commissar of MK. He became a member of the SACP central committee.

He returned to South Africa in mid-June.

# Three who are 'a cut above the rest'

(S) (IA)

South 2018 - 29/8/90

THE three ANC leaders who have been denied the temporary indemnity their colleagues enjoy have, by this very act of the state, been cast as a cut above the rest of the ANC and South African Communist Party leadership.

The government has stated that the utterances and behaviour of the three — Ronnie Kasrils, Chris Hani and Mac Maharaj — are contrary to the spirit of the historic Groote Schuur Minute and the recent Pretoria Minute.

It is no coincidence that the three are key figures in the ANC's military and intelligence services.

Since arriving in the country, the three have lived the lives of fugitives.

Maharaj was detained under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act a few weeks ago.

## Moscow

South African Communist Party sources confirmed that while Maharaj was supposedly in a Moscow hospital awaiting a kidney transplant, he had been in the country building underground structures of the ANC.

He had been engaged in this work for the past three years.

Kasrils recently emerged from "underground" to address journalists in Johannesburg.

Hani went to the Transkei, where he remains until now.

So while their once-exiled colleagues now move freely in the country, the three men have not stopped living like fugitives — a life to which they are accustomed.

Maharaj, described by colleagues as a "canny devil", was born 55 years ago in Newcastle, Natal, and has a long political history.

Having matriculated at St Oswald's School in Natal, he enrolled as a part-time student for a BA degree at the University of Natal.

## Ceremonies

Maharaj's political activities while at university included serving in the SRC and editing a progressive campus newspaper, Student Call.

During this period he was part of the campaigns against racial segregation of students and of the boycott of separated graduation ceremonies held at that time.

After graduating, he enrolled for his LL.B in 1956, but did not further his studies because the separate faculty for blacks was closed the following year.

After most of the Congress leaders were arrested during the 1956 treason trial, Maharaj took over the running of the New Age newspaper, then a Congress mouthpiece.

In 1957, he went to study in the United Kingdom after having been refused entry to universities in the Cape and Transvaal.

He enrolled at the London School of

The three ANC leaders whose temporary indemnity was retracted have long lived the lives of fugitives, as MONO BADELA and MUSA NDWANDWE report:



Chris Hani



Mac Maharaj

Economics, where he had to start his LL.B from scratch, in 1959.

After the 1960 Sharpsville shootings, he was asked by the Congress to return to South Africa to work fulltime for the movement.

On his return in 1962, he worked for a firm of attorneys in Johannesburg while spending much time in politics.

He was first arrested in July 1964 and convicted with four others on charges of subversion and sabotage in what was known as the "Little Rivonia Trial".

He served the whole of his 12-year sentence on Robben Island.

Maharaj completed a B.Admin, MBA and his second year B.Sc in prison before his release in December 1976.

His release was followed by a five-year banning order confining him to his Merebank, Durban, home between 6 pm and 6 am on weekdays, Sundays and public holidays.

His wife, Ompragash, was by now living in London.

Permission to practice was refused, leaving Maharaj no means of earning a

living.

He left South Africa on ANC instructions in July 1977 and was deployed in Lusaka.

In 1985, he was elected as a senior official to the national executive committee of the ANC at its Kabwe Conference.

He is also member of the organisation's President's Committee, its political military council and the SACP's Politburo.

Maharaj is now married to Zarina and they have two children.

Thembisile "Chris" Hani hails from Cofimvaba, Transkei. One of six children of Mary and Gilbert Hani, he grew up and was educated in the Transkei.

If his migrant labour father had not discouraged him, Hani would have become a minister of religion, a dream he had at the age of 12.

Hani senior is also the man who introduced the present Chief of Staff of MK to political thought.

A few other individuals influenced young Hani's political life. These in-

clude his uncle and Communist Party of South Africa member, Milton Hani.

Also Govan Mbeki, father of his school friend Thabo (ANC's International Relations Head) was to have a great influence on Hani's political life.

Hani had an aptitude for Latin and, while at Fort Hare University, he became an avid reader of the Latin classics.

He graduated from Rhodes University with a BA in Latin and English in 1962.

This was followed by a brief spell as an articled clerk at a Cape Town law firm.

During this time he assisted the South African Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu), an experience which gave him a perception of the workers' struggle.

Like most of his colleagues, Hani had participated in student politics while at Fort Hare in 1959, two years after he had joined the ANC Youth League.

He joined Umkhonto we Sizwe in 1962 after the ANC was banned, and became part of its leadership in the Western Cape, the "Committee of

Seven". He was arrested later that year in a roadblock and after being found in possession of "subversive documents".

Hani was released on R500 bail just in time to attend the ANC conference in Lobatse, Botswana.

On his way from the conference, he was arrested at the border by the South African Police and detained.

This led to an 18-month prison sentence under the Suppression of Communism Act, but he was released on bail pending appeal.

After he lost his appeal in 1963, he was instructed by the ANC not to go to prison but remained underground in Cape Town for four months.

From there he proceeded to Johannesburg, where he received instructions to leave the country and undergo military training.

## Zapu

As Commissar of the Luthuli Detachment of MK, Hani was sent to Southern Rhodesia to fight alongside military cadres of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (Zapu).

He spent four months there. During this time he was involved in three battles near Tjolotjo, Wankie, against the Rhodesian African Rifles.

He returned to Botswana, where he was arrested and charged with possession of weapons of war and sentenced to six years' imprisonment, two of which he served before his release on parole.

In 1974, on instructions to enter South Africa to establish a political structure for the ANC in the Cape, he moved to nearby Lesotho where he spent seven years.

He survived an attempt at his life in 1981 when explosives were placed in his car.

In 1982 he was made political commissar and deputy commander of MK.

He became a member of the NEC in 1974 at the age of 32. He is presently Chief of Staff of the MK and also a member of organisation's political and military council.

Hani enjoys jogging, and is an avid reader of English literature and Greek mythology and classics. He is married to Limpho, a journalist, and they have three daughters.

## Deployed

Ronnie Kasrils, 52, is a former head of military intelligence for the African National Congress.

A member of Umkhonto we Sizwe since its formation in 1961, he was initially deployed with its Natal command.

Kasrils served as a head of MK military intelligence until his co-option to the ANC national executive committee in 1987.

Kasrils left the country in 1963 and lectured for a period at the London School of Economics.

At one time he was deputy commissar of MK. He became a member of the SACP central committee.

He returned to South Africa in mid-June.



# NP support for mixed council in Uitenhage

Scout 23/8-29/8/90

PORT ELIZABETH. — A joint working committee, involving the Uitenhage municipality and the local Mass Democratic Movement (MDM), has been set up to work towards the establishment of one municipality in the town.

The municipality indicated its support for the idea at a recent meeting with local MDM structures, at which a broad range of civic issues were raised.

Eastern Cape UDF vice-president and local MDM spokesperson, Myekeni Seyisi, said the working committee would serve as a communication channel between the two parties.

## Pressure

He said the committee would first attend to the electricity problem.

He said the MDM's representatives on the committee will be chosen after a report-back.

Sayco general secretary, Duma Nxarane, said: "We in the MDM and the Uitenhage town council are practically involved in the daily problems on the ground."

The president of Cosas' Uitenhage branch, Mthuthuzeli Mbusi, said the opening of schools in the town for all was raised but that the council claimed not to have authority over education matters.

He said forces from the MDM and the Uitenhage municipality would campaign for the opening of the schools.

# Teachers on sabotage rap

Southern 23/8 - 29/8/90

PORT ELIZABETH. — Three Uitenhage teachers who are members of the African National Congress (ANC) have been charged with sabotage and subversion in the Uitenhage magistrate's court.

The charges arise from last week's violence in the "coloured" areas here.

The teachers are Jeff Du Preez, treasurer of the ANC branch in Uitenhage, Dezra Hobbs, branch executive member of the Kirkwood ANC branch, and ANC member Bernard Rossouw.

The three were released on bail of R500 each this week. More than 110 people are still being held following the violence.

The vice-chairperson of the ANC in Uitenhage, Peter Swartz, condemned the arrests.

# Of Christians and communists

GOODLY Christians may take exception to the statement (sometimes glib, it must be conceded) that Jesus was the first communist because of his message of sharing and community.

Yet, his message was revolutionary.

He preached the unseating of tyrants (Luke 1,52) and advocated the release of prisoners and that the poor should get food, housing, clothing, medical care and education (Matthew 25,31).

The bible speaks of changing the structures of community life (Mark 6,30; Acts 2,44 and 4,32).

But his message was hijacked by the Roman Emperor Constantine in the fourth century and by emerging capitalist countries that were, coincidentally, Christian and Western.

## Capitalism

The original message of Jesus, as of Mohammed and the other major religions, holds no brief for capitalism.

But Christianity has become equated with the capitalist West.

Instead of asking whether it is possible for a Christian to be a communist, isn't it time we began to ask whether it is possible for a Christian to be an atheist.

Thus South African Christians (and believers of other denominations) — not only from the rabid right — have become filled with anxiety after the unbanning and relaunching of the South African Communist Party and its alliance with the ANC.

But the SACP, following a recent meeting with the Johannesburg-based Institute of Contextual Theology, stresses there is no need to see religious believers and communists as antagonists in building a new South Africa.

In a statement, the SACP delegation led by its general secretary Joe Slovo,

*South 23/8 - 29/8/90*  
**The unbanning of the South African Communist Party and its alliance with the ANC have caused consternation among religious believers. However, need believers and communists be antagonists? NOEL BRUYNS investigates:**

expressed the conviction that "the value systems embodied in all the major religions of our country contain many extremely important, positive features".

The Party feels there is no contradiction between these positive ideals and those of socialism.

Those applying to join the Party after its relaunch include religious believers.

Believers in the past *have* been oppressed by communist regimes, as the SACP conceded in its meeting with the ICT.

"The Party delegation was self-critical of the dogmatic intolerance of religion that had existed in its ranks, and it expressed strong criticism of the persecution of religion that had occurred historically in certain socialist countries," its statement read.

## Marx

Yet even in traditional communist countries, religion continued to be a major force in people's lives at grass-roots level — as exemplified in Poland.

Karl Marx, in his best-known quotation on religion, called it "the opium of the people" — referring to religion being used to dull the pain of people's suffer-

ing.

Engels tried to refute Christianity more directly.

But that 19th century religion is rejected far more comprehensively by liberation theologians and ordinary Christians *today*.

It is a corrupted Christianity that grew since the Constantine era by which many churches became "religious transnationals under the protection of the state, extracting money, inculcating imperialist principles, spreading anti-communism as an act of faith, and promoting reformism," as Methodist cleric, the Rev Cedric Mayson, who ministered in South Africa before being forced to leave the country, says.

South African history itself proves the solidarity of believers and communists working for a just society, as Anglican priest Fr Michael Lapsley (the victim of a parcel bomb in Harare earlier this year) points out.

## Revolution

In a paper entitled "The South African Revolution — Christian and Communist Participation" delivered in Harare in 1987, he said:

"At the Congress of the People in 1955, when the Freedom Charter was adopted, the ANC made its highest award, Isitwalandwe, to three people — Trevor Huddleston, Albert Luthuli and Yusuf Dadoo:

"A Christian priest later to become archbishop, a lay preacher who was president-general of the ANC and winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, and a leader of the South African Indian community who became chairman of the South African Communist Party and was buried with Muslim rites (an interesting mix of Marxism and religion!)."

Lapsley also mentions veteran anti-

apartheid campaigner Helen Joseph, listed for decades under the Suppression of Communism Act.

"Every Sunday morning she participates in the mass at the Anglican Cathedral in Johannesburg. Not quite the image of a God-hating communist which we have."

The fine line between Christian caring and communists' fight for a more "Christian" world is best encapsulated in the words of the Latin American Roman Catholic Archbishop Dom Helder Camara:

## Saint

"When I give food to the poor, they call me a saint. When I ask why the poor have no food, they call me a communist."

And the Rev Frank Chikane, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, warned against labelling people who stand up for justice as "communists".

"If you do, you encourage people in the townships to think that communists must be fantastic.

"For instance, if you say that Archbishop Tutu is a communist, and the people in the townships know how loving he is, how committed he is to justice, then what you are saying is that communists are fantastic people," Chikane was quoted in a magazine.

Believers and communists for generations have seen one another as a threat.

But as Mayson says: "The followers of Jesus and Marx need disturbing if they are to scrap over past excesses and errors, instead of finding unanimity in the present struggle.

"They must educate themselves out of their misconceptions, and blast themselves out of their prejudices, because confusion and suspicion among allies is treason to the cause of freedom."

# OAU plea to factions to end violence

HARARE - The secretary-general of the Organisation of African Unity, Mr Salim Ahmed Salim, has appealed to the warring factions in South Africa to meet and bring an end to the violence.

On his way to Botswana for the Southern African Development Co-ordinating Council summit, Salim told reporters in Harare that the violence could only be in the interests of those who wanted to see apartheid perpetuated. *Sowetan 23/1/90*

He said the South African Government had a duty to ensure that law and order was maintained and that its forces were used impartially.

Salim, a Tanzanian, said the OAU supported the negotiations between the ANC and the Government

as they were "only talks about talks to create conditions conducive to negotiations".

Asked about support for the liberation movements in view of the differences between the ANC and the PAC over the armed struggle, he said:

"The OAU will continue to support the struggle but the form of assistance will be determined by the circumstances of the day."

Salim said events in Liberia, which were a cause for concern, and the coup in the Comoros by mercenaries should make Africa realise the necessity for a joint high command and military co-operation.

He said the creation of such a command was inevitable in the end. - *Sapa*.



Beyers Naude

# Change 'not irreversible yet'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

SOUTH AFRICANS should know by the end of the year whether political change had become irreversible, Dr Beyers Naude said yesterday.

Dr Naude, a prominent church leader and member of the ANC's delegation at the Groote Schuur talks in May, did not say whether this could lead to the ANC calling off its sanctions campaign.

But ANC leadership figures have repeatedly stated that the question of sanctions should be

reassessed once it adjudged the process of political change to have become "irreversible".

Addressing the SA Property Owners' Association annual convention, Dr Naude said that developments since February 2 had "created a process and momentum of change, the nature and speed of which is making it very difficult for millions in our country to understand and handle appropriately".

South Africa was moving from "repressive minority rule to

some form of broad democracy" to include all South Africans.

"Many believe that this process has already become fundamental and irreversible, but I think it is a little premature to already make or substantiate such a claim at this point.

"It does seem, however, that by the end of this year, the current developments will confirm whether this process has in fact reached that point," he said.

● **Hyper-inflation warning** — Page 10

*Handwritten notes:* (11A) CMA Times 23/8/90

# MDM clique set to split ANC - claim

11A

Sowetan 23/8/90

**THE African National Congress yesterday denied knowledge of a cabal within its ranks which is allegedly bent on undermining the leadership of the organisation.**

According to a letter purported to be written by the Release Mandela Campaign to the national executive of the ANC and circulated to the media, including *Sowetan*, the cabal is a secret clique of activists within the Mass Democratic Movement.

**By SY MAKARINGE**

The cabal is said to "have been doing what is perceived as good work on the surface but with a hidden double agenda".

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said the organisation was "unfamiliar with the document".

## Document

She said the organisation would only comment after the contents of the document had been studied.

The letter quoted the

clique's document, which is also in the possession of *Sowetan*, as saying they would "make new inroads in the formulating of ANC policy and strategy while remaining in control of the UDF".

"There was also a blatant attempt by the cabal to marginalise the RMC when the leadership was released.

"We did not thrust ourselves forward and behave in a pushy manner because we are broad-minded. We wanted that the leadership should be given a breathing space to

see issues for themselves," the letter said.

"The cabal document of conspiracy stinks, to say the least. It is treasonable," the letter said.

## Youths

The alleged cabal document claimed, among other things, that there was presently no leader who can control the youths.

"Although they are prepared to listen to Mandela, roars of approval only came when he committed himself to the

continuation of the armed struggle," the document said.

It also claimed that between 5 000 and 7 000 members of *Umkhonto we Sizwe* did not have the faintest idea of what negotiations entailed. They saw it as capitulation.

"Some members of MK have explicit orders to establish MK in rural areas. A strong BC influence is noticeable within their ranks. Many have already defected to the PAC who (sic) has a hardline approach," it said.

# Officials play the fiddle while the country burns



Sowetan 23/8/90

## Mandela and Buthelezi must meet to end this wholesale slaughter

### OPINION

By THAMI MAZWAI

WHILE accusations and counter-accusations over the violence between township residents and hostel inmates fly all over the place, the architects of apartheid and their minions grin wolfishly from their graves or from offices in Pretoria and Cape Town.

Their long-term planning is paying off, and blacks are once more savaging each other. Communities and hostel inmates are pitted against each other.

I suspect that powerful forces with enough resources could be fuelling this carnage in an effort to achieve their ends. What ends? Anybody's guess. Who are these forces? I do not know.

What I do know is that because of the stakes involved, such people hardly bat an eyelid when people, even hundreds of them, perish.

### Arguments

The African National Congress and other black organisations must thus pull out all stops to bring peace to their communities.

Therefore, a meeting between Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and deputy president Nelson Mandela is urgently needed.

Arguments that this meeting will not achieve much and will give credibility to Buthelezi for his stature is not equal to that of Mandela, are hardly worth a second thought.



CHIEF BUTHELEZI

Inkatha structures, as part of this great debate while lives are being lost, are refusing to participate in peace talks unless Mandela meets their leader.

It appears everybody is playing the fiddle while Rome burns.

Frankly speaking, I do not see how Buthelezi can enhance his image in the PWV solely on the basis of meeting with Mandela.

### Butchery

In addition, some of the arguments why Mandela must not meet Buthelezi border on the metaphysical, the type of intellectually heavy stuff beyond simple minds like mine.

All some of us want is an end to the butchery of blacks by other blacks.

We are talking about putting a stop to wholesale slaughter, the saving of human lives. We are not concerned with statures or political credibilities, although we do believe that any leader who can help stop the carnage tearing our communities apart will have a special place in our hearts, even if he met with his political foe to save the lives of their followers.

### Warring

Thus a public embrace by Mandela and Buthelezi, who are leaders of the warring factions, is the symbolism and tonic needed to get the message down to their foot soldiers that enough is enough.

It will give momentum to the valuable groundwork now being done.

Mandela was, incidentally, keen on such a meeting, and his first attempt was stopped by ANC officials in Natal. It now appears that such a meeting is considered inappropriate by the ANC. Walter Sisulu said as much at the weekend.

The ANC's reasoning is inexplicable. On the one hand Mandela is allowed to discuss this

violence with FW de Klerk and Adriaan Vlok, but he is not allowed to speak to Buthelezi. Yet it is Buthelezi's and Mandela's followers who are involved in this bloodbath.

When have we started having faith in the Government and the police? What blows the mind is that during the thick of the fighting the ANC accused the police of taking sides. Have these same policemen now been cleansed?

What I, however, find astonishing, yet expected, is that the South African Council of Churches, which welcomed meetings between De Klerk and Mandela precisely because they believed they would put a stop to the political conflict costing the country thousands of lives, is silent when it comes to calling for a meeting between Mandela and Buthelezi.

### Symbolise

Taking their argument into account, won't such a meeting symbolise some togetherness at the top which would permeate to the forces on the ground?

The SACC has instead called on the Government to take action - the ANC stance. My suspicions are that the SACC will not take a stand contrary to that of the ANC.

It is now understandable why Contralesa, strongly pro-ANC, early this week announced it would get Zulu- and Xhosa-



THAMI MAZWAI

speaking chiefs to the Reef to speak to their followers. It even ignores the fact that this is no ordinary tribal conflict, but one with heavy ANC-Inkatha overtones.

Who these chiefs will speak to in places like Mapetla, Dube, Meadowlands, Kattlehong or Kagiso confounds the mind. Townships in the Reef have no affinity with tribal rulers, unless we are being told the Government did succeed in making us rekindle our tribal affiliations.

General Bantu Holomisa has even come to the Reef to talk about his kinsmen being killed by Zulus. Is he suggesting that there are no Xhosa-speaking hostel inmates and the township residents being attacked, or fighting, are only Xhosa speakers?

### Committees

A specific section of the media is also hysterically fanning the tribal conflict story. Apparently overseas audiences, who logically expect a Mandela-Buthelezi meeting as a necessity to help stop the fighting between their followers, must be convinced this is merely a tribal issue and does not need Mandela.

Yet at local level attempts are being made - and it reports on them - to get peace committees consisting of ANC and Inkatha officials.

Is it not time to stop playing politics and get Mandela and Buthelezi together. Those being killed are our kith and kin, not merely statistics on police bulletins. The men and women who are dying in their hundreds have children they love and want to see grow.



NELSON MANDELA



# Mandela, Winnie slammed by UK writer

Sowetan 23/8/90

11A

Sowetan  
Correspondent

LONDON - Outspoken Fleet Street columnist Jean Rook has launched a bitter attack on Mr Nelson Mandela, describing him as having "the small, grasping mind of an increasingly wealthy tribal headman in a Rolls-Royce".

She said in her *Daily Express* column yesterday that the years of "Mandela-worshipping" have given the world a "prideful, awkward old man of 72 who, with his shrieking shrew of a wife, Winnie, has, in a mere six months' freedom, brought South Africa to the brink of a bloody black war".

## 'Puffed up'

Rook, whose byline bears the description "The First Lady of Fleet Street", says the ANC deputy president is "obsessed with being the only big black man".

Apart from making "mountainous money" from his lecture tours, he is "so puffed up with the too much importance we handed him, he refuses to see himself as just part of what should be the great careful plan to rid South Africa of apartheid".

She adds that Mandela's "foot-stamping jealousy of more stable and far-seeing Zulu Chief (Mangosuthu) Buthelezi is threatening to tear apart President de Klerk's fragile reconstruction of a new South Africa".

She concludes that "he looked much better as a jailed martyr".





VIEWPOINT

by NEVILLE ALEXANDER

# WOSA: The reasoning behind the need for an Assembly of the People

Cape Times 23/8/90 (11A)

DURING the past four months South Africa has entered the period of its greatest danger since the end of WW II.

F W de Klerk's speech of February 2 and the response to it by the leadership of the African National Congress were welcomed worldwide and, of course, inside South Africa as great acts of statecraft and *realpolitik*.

It was (and still is) generally expected that the logjam of politics of apartheid would be broken and we would enter a period of peace and prosperity leading to the desired haven of a non-racial, united, democratic South Africa.

There can be no doubt that the "politics of negotiation" has received the spontaneous support of the overwhelming majority of the people of this country. This is quite natural, since all people normally prefer peaceful means of resolving conflict to violence and warfare. The reasons why the National Party turned its dramatic policy somersault have been analysed in detail from every angle and need not be repeated here.

### No moral right

The same cannot be said of the ANC leadership's about-turn. There is a tendency to present the politics of negotiation as the logical outcome of the organisation's armed struggle, as a victorious reaping of the fruits of three decades of guerrilla warfare. In this way, the thought that the present process might represent much less than "victory" and might even be an act of capitulation is not allowed to come into the foreground. What is clear, however, is that the process of negotiation is understood by prominent ANC-SACP leaders as a process of *compromise*.

And it is at this point that a warning has to be flashed. The leaders of the ANC have no moral or political right to enter into compromises on behalf of all the oppressed people of this country. They have themselves made it clear that no matter how popular the organisation is, it is not the only representative voice of the oppressed and exploited majority of the people of South Africa.

*This is a fundamental issue.* No amount of wishful thinking or manipulation of the media can alter the fact that there are three or four other significant currents that run in the broad river of the national liberation movement.

It is for this reason that the Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action (WOSA) insists that the only way in which a new constitution can be drawn up for South Africa/Azania is by a Constituent Assembly based on one person, one vote and on proportional representation. No other mechanism can give legitimacy to a new constitution.

### Undo dirty work

Any constitution that eventuates from the present talks between the National Party and its allies on the one hand and the ANC and its allies on the other will be as illegitimate as was that of the Union of South Africa, that poisoned fruit of the notorious whites-only National Convention of 1908-1909. That constitution led to an 80-year struggle which continues to this day.

Before the leaders of the ANC-SACP tie us into the same kind of historical knot, they should pause and consider the wisdom of convening jointly — with all other political organisations

eful  
ce.  
con-  
ex-  
his  
hink  
hink  
ment  
are  
  
ear  
wa  
nd  
  
m-  
tit  
for  
ed  
re-  
k-  
til  
ar  
ry  
  
a-  
re  
js  
e-  
ct  
lo  
  
fy  
it  
y.  
  
er-  
  
ave  
t to  
ant  
  
CP  
the  
that  
with  
l the  
% is  
this  
  
not  
white  
stay  
over  
part-  
  
lacks  
owing  
thers  
fight  
  
hown  
hat if  
jority  
have.  
nd the  
n from  
are be-  
for, it  
o grow  
a new

CAP 7-15 23/8/40

Police ANC

link up on

## Natal unrest

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The media spokesman for the Minister of Law and Order, Brigadier Leon Mellet, has confirmed that communications links have been established between the SAP and the African National Congress in Durban and northern Natal to monitor political violence and intimidation in Natal areas.

He said the police had given the ANC the names of more than 60 senior police officers and they had in turn supplied the police force with 29 names.

---



**TEARGAS ...** Old Crossroads leader Mr Benedict Matho with a teargas canister allegedly fired at residents.

# PAC claim 'brutal attacks' by ANC

CAPE TOWN 23/8/90  
By CHRIS BATEMAN 118

THE Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) yesterday rounded on the ANC for "brutal attacks" on their supporters in Old Crossroads and vowed to "defend" their squatter members in future.

At their first press conference, held in the Noxolo School hall in Old Crossroads and attended by at least two members of mayor Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana's town committee, the PAC paraded a string of "refugees".

The school was shut down last week to house some 200 refugee squatter families mainly loyal to Mr Ngxobongwana whose homes were torched in attacks which ended late on Friday last week.

Minutes before yesterday's conference was due to begin, a youth was reportedly assaulted

by supporters of breakaway headman and ANC member Mr Jeffrey Nongwe near the school hall, prompting a sudden and violent response.

Five youths and a man sprinted across an open field towards the scene of the reported incident armed with sharpened steel spikes, sticks and a shotgun.

The shotgun was fired once and the youths returned. No injuries were apparent. Two police Casspirs appeared and drove off towards the scene.

PAC executive member Ms Patricia de Lille told journalists and residents that the PAC was "as much against community councillors as the ANC is".

However, tensions between the two rival organisations had been building for the past three months in Khayelitsha and Old Cross-

roads. Efforts to get the ANC to discipline its members via a joint monitoring committee had "failed". Ms De Lille said the PAC had 2 000 paid-up and partly paid-up members in Old Crossroads.

Yesterday's meeting follows an ANC launch in Old Crossroads on Sunday at which it claimed a paid-up membership of 4 115 squatters.

● ANC regional interim committee member Mr Christmas Tinto denied that the ANC was responsible for attacks, appealing to the PAC to "talk to us before going to the press".

● Old Crossroads politics are delicately poised with both Mr Ngxobongwana and Mr Nongwe agreeing to dissolve their committees and submit to an interim ruling committee consisting of UDF-linked organisations.

Mandela and Buthelezi 'could be included'

Star 23/8/90

(11A) (23/8/90)

# ANC-Inkatha talks soon

By Peter Fabricius and  
Esmaré van der Merwe

High-level African National Congress and Inkatha delegations — possibly including ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi — will meet soon in a bid to end the spiralling Transvaal and Natal township violence.

President de Klerk said in a statement yesterday he had been informed that the delegations would try to establish dialogue between the two movements at leadership level in a bid to end the violence.

And the ANC yesterday confirmed that it was starting discussions with a view to high-level talks with Inkatha.

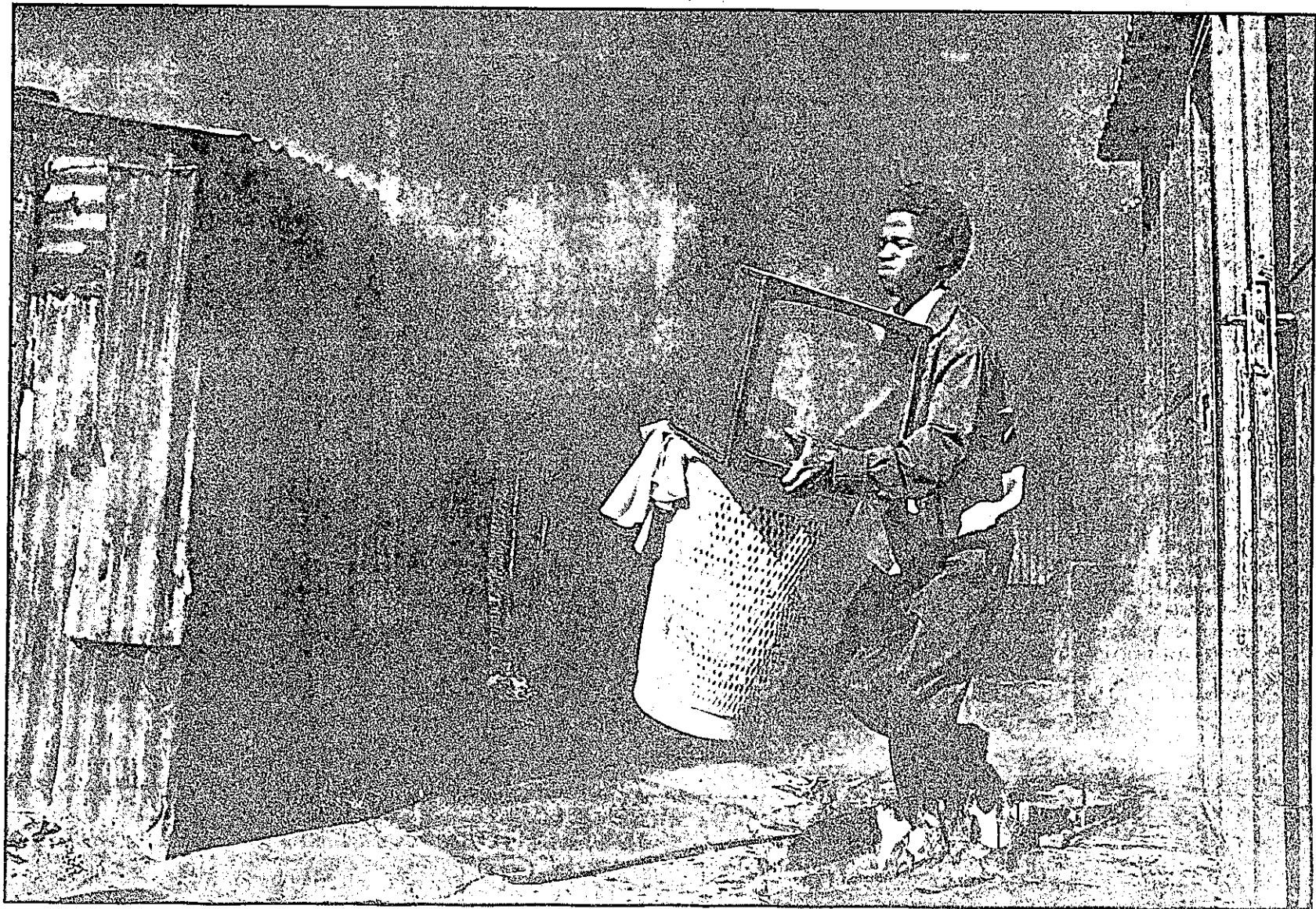
The talks would not necessarily involve Mr Mandela, but this had not been excluded, executive member Pallo Jordan told a press briefing in Johannesburg.

Chief Buthelezi could also be included, he said.

Mr de Klerk said he had received the news of the meeting after his in-depth discussions with Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi about the violence in Natal and on the Witwatersrand — "in which the ANC and Inkatha accuse each other of playing the leading role".

Mr de Klerk said it was of decisive importance that the meeting took place as soon as possible.

"It should result in definite steps and a plan of action to bring to an



Mr de Klerk said he had received the news of the meeting after his in-depth discussions with Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi about the violence in Natal and on the Witwatersrand — "in which the ANC and Inkatha accuse each other of playing the leading role".

Mr de Klerk said it was of decisive importance that the meeting took place as soon as possible.

"It should result in definite steps and a plan of action to bring to an end the unnecessary conflict at a time when all responsible leaders have declared their commitment to peaceful solutions.

### Outcome awaited

"I am awaiting the outcome of this meeting."

Mr de Klerk said that in his meetings with Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi he had repeated his "deep concern about the violence and I insisted that the violence be brought to an end through strong leadership from all sides.

"I believe both leaders share my concern and agree on the need for peace to be fully restored."

Mr de Klerk said that in the meantime the Government was giving attention to additional measures to curb the violence and to restore law and order.

He added: "I also strongly reject the persistent efforts from some quarters to blame the present spate of violence on the police.

"Similarly unfounded allegations of partisanship on the part of the police should come to an end."

In later comment, Mr de Klerk said the meeting of the Inkatha-ANC high-level delegations was not taking place at his initiative.

The ANC said yesterday its initiative to establish the high-level talks with Inkatha would be undertaken by a high-powered four-person ANC commission on violence set up last month.

This is one of several initiatives launched recently by the ANC and its allies to restore peace in the townships.



Kagiso flashpoint . . . with the township in flames in a day of bloodletting that pushed up the death toll on the East Rand to 361, a Kagiso resident, near Lewisham Hostel, removes his belongings and joins hundreds of other fleeing residents. © Picture by Ken Oosterbroek.

# Mob attacks police station

Staff Reporters

The focal point today in the Reef township conflict — in which at least 510 people have died — is Kagiso on the West Rand as a mob attacked the police station and police reinforcements were sent to the township.

No immediate reports of casualties had been received at the time of going to press.

A police spokesman said shots were fired during the attack, which started at about 7.30 am.

"It is not known at this stage which group is attacking the police," the spokesman said.

The attack comes after 27 people died and at least 20 were injured in violence in Kagiso and Chamdor, near Krugersdorp, yesterday.

Today's attack in Kagiso is the second against a police installation. Yesterday, the SAP Operations Room in Vosloorus on the East Rand was attacked twice.

For the first time since the fighting erupted last Monday, East Rand and Soweto police reported a quiet night and said at the time of going to press today that the death toll had not risen.

There was heavy fighting in Chamdor and Kagiso yesterday and last night.

And in Vosloorus, 42 bodies were found, bringing the total death toll on the East Rand to 361, said police spokesman Lieutenant Ida van Zweek.

Soweto police confirmed that 122 people had died there by last night.

## Zambia refinery shut down

LUSAKA — Zambia's main state-owned refinery was shut down as oil supplies from the Gulf dried up, officials said yesterday.

Workers were sent home when the plant at Ndola closed on Tuesday, refinery spokesman Salvatore Miele said.

He said Zambia might begin rationing fuel soon.

Panic buying has worsened the domestic fuel shortage.

Last Sunday, the government increased petrol prices by about 50 percent.

● Uganda's Energy Minister, Richard Kaijuka, told parliament on Tuesday that prices of all petroleum products would rise by up to 17 percent immediately.

● US crude soared above \$30 a barrel yesterday to its highest levels in nearly five years. — Sapa-AP.

● Gulf crisis — Pages 4, 5 and 20.

Parts of Kagiso were in flames yesterday with houses and police vehicles burning.

Hundreds of Kagiso 1 residents had fled their homes by 7 pm, fearing further attacks by Inkatha supporters from Lewisham hostel.

Police fired birdshot at a crowd after a 13-year-old girl threw a petrol bomb at policemen at about 6 pm. She and 10 other people were injured in the skirmishes.

Police said that yesterday afternoon they persuaded hundreds of armed Inkatha warriors intent on attacking a group of young "comrades" down the road to return to the Lewisham hostel.

Comrades ran riot through the township yesterday, burning down council property and houses where Inkatha people stayed.

At Vosloorus, 37 bodies were discovered after bloody clashes. A further five were found last night.

A petrol bomb was hurled at a police Casspir, and two AK-47 rifles were left behind by the mob that attacked the Vosloorus police station.

Two people were found dead in Tembisa last night.

A policeman was killed and another injured in Soweto when a grenade was thrown into a police van. A man was arrested.

● See Pages 3, 8, 12 and 21

**Pick**  
Southern Transvaal Dis

Another step forward in the

**Para**

- SYRUP - CHERRY FLAVOUR • NO TARI
- TABLETS - NO PRESERVATIVES • ASPI

NEW

FOR RELIEF OF PAIN AND FEVER IN INFANTS AND CHILDREN

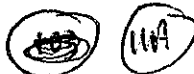
**Paramed**

SYRUP FOR CHILDREN

FOR RELIEF OF PAIN AND FEVER IN INFANTS AND CHILDREN

FOR

Aug 23/8/90



NEWS

# I don't take orders from Pik, says Hani

UMTATA — Umkhonto we Sizwe's chief of staff, Mr Chris Hani, said in Umtata yesterday he regarded the question of his indemnity as irrelevant and would not take orders from South Africa's Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha.

"I refuse to be intimidated by anyone. I shall take my orders from the leadership of the ANC and the people," he said.

Mr Hani made a surprise appearance at a meeting in the Independence Stadium held by

the Transkei Teacher Unity Forum following a march to the Department of Education.

Commenting on the violence in Reef townships, he claimed *Inkatha was killing everyone who refused to join it.*

He said Umkhonto we Sizwe would continue training its people — the Pretoria Minute did

not say anything about continued training.

"We support the suspension of the armed struggle but not its abandonment."

● The ANC has accused the Government of trying to produce tensions within its ranks by refusing to renew the indemnity from prosecution of three leading members of the

ANC national executive committee (NEC) — Mr Hani, Ronnie Kasrils and Mac Maharaj.

In a statement, it said this and several acts since the ANC-Government meeting in May had placed "severe stresses on the entire process of peaceful transition".

The police "and its agents"

had been responsible for physical attacks and harassment of ANC members.

The ANC called for "an immediate and unconditional indemnification of all members of the NEC to enable them to contribute to the valuable work of reconstructing the ANC as a political force inside SA".

● Transkei leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa, reacting to the removal from indemnity of Mr Hani, said yesterday: "I only hope the ANC will take the matter up with the relevant authorities."

Mr Hani had been "an asset", because ever since he arrived in Transkei, he had been "talking discipline and has cleared up certain issues to the masses". — Political Staff and Sapa.

# Mandela set for Norway Africa trip

ARCUS  
23/8/90  
11A

## Political Staff

MR Nelson Mandela is leaving South Africa on Saturday for visits to Norway, Libya and Algeria. He will return at the end of the month.

In a statement released yesterday, the ANC announced details of its deputy-president's programme for the next few weeks.

Mr Mandela, who has resumed his duties after a brief holiday at an undisclosed venue, will speak in Oslo at a conference on The Anatomy of Hate on Monday.

Then he will travel to Libya and Algeria for follow-up meetings with Libyan leader Mr Muammar Gaddafi and Algerian president Mr Chadli Benjedid. He visited these two countries in May.

He will return to South Africa on August 31.

## TRAINED IN ALGERIA

Mr Mandela was trained as a fighter in Algeria in 1961, a year before being jailed for 27 years.

The ANC said Mr Mandela would travel to the Western Cape during the first week of September.

After this regional tour, he will take a week-long holiday before resuming his duties at the ANC's Johannesburg national office.

Meanwhile, President De Klerk is attaching great importance to a high-level meeting soon between the ANC and Inkatha over the violence on the Reef and in Natal.

"It is of decisive importance that this meeting takes place as soon as possible," he said in a statement late yesterday.

Asked if he had arranged it, Mr De Klerk said: "No, not at all. This meeting is a continuation of previous discussions between the two organisations, which were started on their own initiative."

Adding his voice to the chorus for peace, Ciskeian leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo said the way to restore peace was through an independent commission of inquiry consisting perhaps of foreigners. It should examine the roots of the unrest and recommend how to end it and ensure it did not recur.

# Mandela to visit Algeria, Libya

By Esmaré van der Merwe  
Political Reporter

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela is to pay a brief follow-up visit next week to Libya and Algeria, two countries he visited in May as part of a two-week African tour.

The ANC yesterday announced details of Mr Mandela's programme for the next few weeks.

Mr Mandela, who has resumed his duties after a brief holi-

day at an undisclosed venue, will leave SA on Saturday for Norway. He will speak in Oslo on Monday at a conference on "The Anatomy of Hate".

Thereafter he will travel to Libya and Algeria for follow-up meetings with Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi and Algerian President Chadli Benjedid.

He will return to South Africa on August 31.

The ANC leader this week met several Western ambassa-

dors as a follow-up to his six-week international tour of Western Europe and North America in June and July.

The ANC said Mr Mandela will travel to the western Cape during the first week of next month to meet a cross-section of rural communities.

After this regional tour he will take a brief week-long holiday before resuming his duties at the ANC's Johannesburg national office on September 15.



# Ceasefire affects all, says detainee's wife

Pretoria Correspondent

The ceasefire by the ANC as agreed in the Pretoria Minute is binding on all its members and would also be binding on two alleged members of the Nchabaleng unit who were being detained under the Internal Security Act, according to the wife of one of the detainees.

Joanna Ditshego, who applied to the Pretoria Supreme for the release of her husband and a friend, said in an affidavit yesterday that, in view of the ceasefire, individuals who owed their allegiance to the ANC would cease any crimes as defined in the Act, or so-called "political crimes".

The Supreme Court action by Mrs Ditshego and Popi Makitla, both of Alexandra, for the re-

lease of Isaac Ditshego and Johannes Makitla follows their detention on June 27.

The matter, heard by Mr Justice Preiss, was brought against the Minister of Law and Order, the Commissioner of Police, the Officer Commanding John Vorster Square, the Minister of Justice, the Commissioner of Prisons and the Chief Magistrate of Johannesburg.

## Uncovered unit

Police claimed last week that they had uncovered the Nchabaleng unit, a military unit within Umkhonto we Sizwe, of which Mr Ditshego was the commander.

Mrs Ditshego said she had no

knowledge of her husband's involvement in the unit.

Counsel for the respondents, Sam Maritz, SC, said the existence of the ceasefire had no bearing on the case.

It was argued that according to police information, the men played a leading role in the secret unit conceived to "overthrow the present Government".

Referring to an alleged assault by police on Mr Ditshego, which Mrs Ditshego has made an issue in the action, counsel for the respondents said a case had been made and was under investigation. On completion of the investigation, the dossier would be handed to the Attorney-General.

The case is proceeding.





**LEFT:** A policeman attends to colleague hit by a brick thrown by a rioter in Kagiso yesterday. **RIGHT:** Zulu migrant workers armed with sticks guard the body of a friend murdered at Vosloorus.

Pictures: REUTER

## Hani's surprise

UMTATA. — Umkhonto we Sizwe's chief of staff, Mr Chris Hani, said here yesterday that he regarded the question of his indemnity as irrelevant and would not take orders from South Africa's Foreign Affairs Minister, Mr Pik Botha.

"I refuse to be intimidated by anyone. I shall take my orders from the leadership of the ANC and the people," he said.

Mr Hani said he did not know why indemnity had been denied him but it did not give him "sleepless nights", nor did he know why the government was so impatient to send him back to Lusaka.

Mr Hani made a surprise appearance at a meeting in the Independence Stadium held by the Transkei Teacher Unity Forum co-ordinating committee, following a march by teachers to the Department of Education where they handed in a list of grievances.

He said Transkei had "never witnessed such a militant demonstration by the teachers".

## Indemnity demand

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC yesterday demanded immediate and unconditional indemnity for Chris Hani, Ronnie Kasrils and Mac Maharaj.

The government at the weekend lifted their temporary indemnity from arrest.

The ANC said the government had recently placed severe stress on the process towards negotiating a peaceful political transformation.

It demanded an end to arrest and harassment of ANC members by police, and release of Mr Maharaj and other detainees.

It said that since the Groote Schuur meeting, the government had placed severe stresses on the process of peaceful transition. These included:

- Leaks of confidential discussions between the ANC and the government; the arrest and detention of ANC members, and the continuation of political trials.

"These ill-considered actions are as provocative, as they are insufferable," the ANC said. — Sapa

## Hani 'an asset'

UMTATA. — Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Mr Chris Hani had been an asset to Transkei, Major-General Bantu Holomisa, chairman of the Transkei Military Council, said yesterday.

Reacting to the removal of Mr Hani's name from the indemnity list by the South African government this week, General Holomisa said Transkei had nothing against Mr Hani, especially since the ANC had been unbanned.

"In fact he has been an asset, because ever since he arrived here he has been talking discipline and has cleared up certain issues to the masses."

From Johannesburg it is reported that police are continuing their investigation of charges of high treason against Mr Hani.

Police in Pretoria made inquiries to Sapa yesterday about two newspaper articles quoting Mr Hani, which appeared in July in two Transvaal newspapers. Both articles reported on speeches delivered by Mr Hani in Umtata. — Sapa

SA T-415 23/8/90 (11A) ~~8/2/87~~

**Own Correspondent**

DURBAN. — A sophisticated international network provided funds for Operation Vula — a nationwide revolt planned in case negotiations between the government and the ANC failed, Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Mr Siphwe Nyanda conceded yesterday.

Mr Nyanda, who was applying for bail before Dr W G M van Zyl in Durban Regional Court, was arrested on July 12 on a charge of illegal possession of arms, ammunition and explosives.

Under cross-examination, he told the court he had been an Umkhonto (MK) commander since 1977 and had entered South Africa illegally in 1988 after training in the USSR.

He admitted to prosecutor Mr P J Blomkamp that his MK unit had maintained a number of bases in Durban, including a house known as "The Knoll" in Kenville, a house at 42

Avoca Road, Greenwood Park, a house at 70 Westview Road, Greenwood Park, an Annet Drive, Reservoir Hills, house and a flat in Sahara Mansions, Sydenham, which they used as an office.

Mr Nyanda also agreed that his unit had links with two bases in Johannesburg, including a Parkhurst house used for arms storage.

He admitted these bases were linked by computers

which the police had uncovered in raids. A more sophisticated computer system developed for Operation Vula had never come about.

Mr Blomkamp showed the accused copies of print-outs made from captured MK computer discs which referred to transfers of funds for Vula from London, one a sum of £30 000 (about R140 000) "for Vula operations in all areas".

Other print-outs concerned

# Revolt plan 'backed by foreign cash'

arms shipments from Botswana, the infiltration of MK cadres from Swaziland and a meeting in Johannesburg with an airline employee said to be an ANC courier from Amsterdam.

Mr Nyanda, who was known as Carl, had used a variety of disguises, false ID books and passports during his time "underground."

He said he was "to some extent" a Marxist-Leninist and that the policy of the ANC's Durban Political Committee was that armed operations would resume if negotiations failed.

Mr Nyanda said he undertook to stand trial as the ANC leadership had agreed that he should and said the organisation would pay his bail.

Dr Van Zyl remanded Mr Nyanda in Westville Prison and the bail application continues today.

Advocate Mr Z M Yacoob appeared for Mr Nyanda.

# UK paper sees bid to gag Winnie

Cape Times 23/8/80  
11A

LONDON. — Mrs Winnie Mandela's appointment as head of social welfare for the ANC was reported in most London newspapers yesterday.

The Financial Times said it could be an attempt to confine her radical statements to less controversial issues than the armed struggle.

The Guardian said the appointment could damage the ANC's reputation. It had caused "some bitterness among grassroots supporters of the ANC, as well as hilarity among the organisation's opponents".

The newspaper said it came at a time when the Transvaal attorney-general was considering whether to charge Mrs Mandela in connection with the murder of township activist Stompie Moeketsi, aged 14.

● An ANC spokesman told the Cape Times that Mrs Mandela's main task would be to deal with welfare problems experienced by returning political exiles.

She qualified as one of the country's first black social workers in the 1950s. — Sapa

Cart TWP  
23/8/90

11  
18  
22  
28

# Summit soon?

**JOHANNESBURG.** — As the township death toll soared yesterday, the ANC indicated the possibility of a direct meeting between Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

ANC executive member Mr Pallo Jordan announced at a press briefing the formation of a special four-person commission to look into the possibility of such a meeting.

It coincided with a statement by President F W de Klerk late yesterday that high-level delegations from the ANC and Inkatha are to meet soon in an attempt to overcome difficulties preventing a meeting between their leaders.

## Policeman killed

He also said "additional measures" to curb the violence would be implemented.

Meanwhile, police struggled again yesterday to keep warring factions apart in Vosloorus and other townships surrounding Johannesburg and came under increasing attacks themselves.

In Soweto a policeman, Constable S Ntunduna, was killed and Constable R Ntsile critically wounded when a handgrenade was flung at their vehicle.

At Tembisa, people who gathered in the streets were ordered by police to hand over their weapons. When they refused police fired teargas to disperse them and

## Tutu calls for peacekeeping force in townships



Archbishop Tutu

**JOHANNESBURG.** — Archbishop Desmond Tutu yesterday called for an international peacekeeping force to be deployed to end the township war.

"What we require at the present time is a kind of Untag," he said.

Speaking in Soweto, he said such a force would be needed for as long as white-led police were seen by blacks to be biased. Archbishop said revenge was fuelling the 10-day-old conflict.

"If you allow the law of an eye for an eye very soon the only people around are going to be blind," he said.

"We are calling for tolerance, tolerance, tolerance and yet more tolerance. People must not seek to take revenge. We are making an appeal to our people, please, yes, defend yourselves, but don't pay back."

He said the Anglican Church was setting aside next Monday for prayer and fasting for an end to the fighting.

Tacitly aligning himself with the ANC position, Archbishop Tutu said a meeting between Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi should be seen as a last resort. He warned that if such a meeting failed it could be disastrous.

⊙ In a hardline statement last night the ANC said their people in the Transvaal townships had lost confidence in the police. They accused sections of the government and police of "destabilisation" and called on branches throughout the country "to build formidable organisations with a view to defending themselves". — Sapa-Reuter

collected 15 petrol bombs and other homemade weapons.

At Daveyton petrol bombs were thrown at the police who replied by firing rubber bullets.

Three more bodies discovered in Vosloorus last night brought the death toll after 10 days of violence in East Rand townships to 361.

Police earlier reported that a total of 122 people had died in Soweto with 27 deaths in Kagiso on the West

Rand. More than 446 people had been injured in Soweto.

This brings the total death toll after the 10 days of fighting on the Witwatersrand to 510.

The ANC commission announced yesterday consists of executive members Mr John Nkademeng, Mr Thabo Mbeki, Ms Getrude Shope and Mr Jacob Zuma, head of intelligence and one of the few significant Zulu leaders in the ANC.

"We want to announce that the specialised commission is investigating discussions with Inkatha with a view to having a meeting at a very high level with Chief Buthelezi to address the question of violence," Mr Jordan said.

"I want it understood that the high-level meeting does not necessarily imply a meeting between Gatsba Buthelezi and ... Nelson Mandela," Mr Jordan said.

"But at the same time understand also that it does not exclude that."

In his statement, Mr De Klerk said that after holding discussions with Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi he believed both leaders shared his concern about the violence that started in Natal and has since swept through the Witwatersrand.

## Decisive role

The ANC and Inkatha accused each other of playing a decisive role in this violence, he said.

He had urged the two leaders "to overcome impediments in the way of dialogue between the relevant movements at leadership level.

"I have now been informed that high-level delegations from both sides will meet shortly in an effort to make progress towards this end."

Mr De Klerk said it was of decisive importance that such a meeting took place as soon as possible.

"It should result in definite steps and a plan of action to bring to an end the unnecessary conflict at a time

to page 2

P.T.O.

# Angry Crossroaders plead with the PAC: Defend us

AR6 vs 23/8/96 (114) (115) (116)

By VUYO BAVUMA, Staff Reporter

ANGRY Old Crossroads residents claim the African National Congress is collaborating with squatter leader Mr Jeffrey Nongwe, who they allege burnt their houses and attacked them — but this has been denied by the ANC.

At a Pan Africanist Congress Press conference yesterday residents also accused the police of taking sides against them and said they wanted the PAC to defend them against these "senseless" attacks.

Resident Mr Benedict Matho alleged that police were involved in helping Mr Nongwe in the conflict.

## Truce a failure

Another resident said the truce between the warring factions after peace talks initiated by the government in July was a failure because it had never been conveyed to the people.

He said he fetched his son from school every day to protect him against attacks by supporters of Mr Nongwe.

Teachers from three schools said they were worried as their pupils could not get to school because of the violence.



"Amid this violence our main priority remains that of providing education.

"We have decided to accept children from the other areas because we know that the children cannot reach other schools," said a teacher at Mkhangeleni Higher Primary.

Another teacher said pupils were being chased away from school by Mr Nongwe's supporters.

Mrs Patricia de Lille

Mrs Patricia de Lille, spokesman for the PAC in the Western Cape, said the organisation intended to defend its members from attacks.

"It will be tragic if the Western Cape is now to suffer the fate of the horrifying violence of the Transvaal.

"It's our view that where ANC supporters failed to persuade people to join them they resort to extreme intimidation and violence against those who make a democratic choice," Mrs De Lille said.

The ANC has denied attacking or threatening PAC members in Crossroads and said it was not "even aware the organisation existed in the area".

● A father saved his son from being kidnapped by knifemen in Old Crossroads.

The son was attacked about midday yesterday near Noxolo Primary — now home to 200 refugees whose houses were torched in the recent fighting.

Women residents at Noxolo quickly spread the word that the boy was being "dragged away."

A girl arrived at the school and told residents the attackers had threatened to assault and take her as well if she did not run away.

Within minutes the boy's father and reinforcements — mostly armed youths — assembled on the border of the territories.

Soon after the son was freed one of his captors fired a pistol but no one was injured.

## ANC to reveal

8/23/8/90

## 'SAP involvement'

By Esmaré van der Merwe,  
Political Reporter

The ANC would soon publicly release evidence of alleged police involvement in the current township violence, spokesmen confirmed yesterday.

They said the recently established ANC-Cosatu committee appointed to look into the violence was investigating many claims of police involvement.

It is understood that ANC leaders last week briefed Government Ministers on their concerns of police involvement.

Yet Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok on Tuesday challenged the ANC to make public such evidence if it indeed existed. He denied that police were siding with any of the groups.

11A

It can remain untouched by the violence which has swept through the PWV region.

Peace among the people has been the rallying call of the African National Congress.

We see the attainment of peace among the people as striking a major blow against the oppressive forces.

No measure of skirting the issues through joint meetings and Press statements can replace the immensely more valuable approach of getting people within communities to work at bringing about peace.

Any meeting between Mandela and Buthelezi must be seen as part of a process to bring about peace at ground level.

### Cry

The shrill cry emanating in particular from the Press for Mandela and Buthelezi to meet is simply not echoed on the ground.

Feedback we have received, as well as the results of opinion polls, indicate that Inkatha is not capable of effecting the present campaign of destabilising communities.

At the same time there is a clear orchestration of the acts of violence and incitement.

It is no coincidence that the violence broke out on the eve of the launch of some 17 ANC branches in the PWV region. Nor is it a coincidence that the violence intensified immediately after the suspension of the armed struggle by the ANC.

# ANC pleads for peace

Those who are responsible for the violence clearly do not wish to see the ANC involved in its present process of bringing about peaceful change.

Those who are responsible have the means to arm and fund large groups of people.

Those who are responsible want to create the very situation which prevails in Natal: inter-cine violence which develops into a continuous spiral.

The Government is renowned for having a well-developed capacity for destabilisation.

Throughout the southern African region, the Government has deployed its special forces to carry out its murderous tasks.

We believe that the measures used in those countries are now being implemented in our own.

We believe that elements of the security forces are using the tactics polished in the southern African countries on South Africans to instil insecurity, fear and submissiveness.

The question of self-defence is being raised even more acutely as communities are destroyed by the actions of such elements.

There is no point in trying to make the violence appear to have ethnic origins. There is little historical precedence in the PWV region to make that argument stand.

The experience of Cosatu contradicts arguments which claim that the violence is ethnically rooted. Cosatu has succeeded in uniting the huge cosmopolitan workforce of this region. Workers, whatever their cultural practices, have stood together in struggle.

The ANC's policy on the issue of the unity of the people of South Africa is well known. A united South Africa has been one of the principled planks of our programme.

The reality is that ethnicity has been facetiously used to spur on people against imagined enemies to achieve the specific goals of destroying the democratic movement.

### Carnage

We are thus contemptuous of any suggestion that the carnage is the result of factional wars between Zulus and Xhosas.

In Natal, where the

African community has been drawn from one ethnic group, the violence has reached nightmarish proportions.

In the PWV region members of all ethnic groups have been victims of this brutal vendetta.

Organisations which have been based on ethnic grounds can simply play the role of calling upon their members to refrain from violence and pursue peace.

These organisations must not waste time hedg-

ing for meetings to discuss peace. Instead they could contribute actively by urging their membership to hand in their weapons and to work for peace.

We repeat our appeal to all the oppressed people of South Africa not to allow themselves to be misused by persons and groups whose sole purpose is to divert us from the burning issue that confronts all of us: the dismantling of apartheid.



Kagiso, the West Rand township, was in turmoil this week when residents barricaded streets with burning tyres and tree trunks during battles between hostel residents and other township residents. This woman, giving the clenched-fist salute, was captured by Len Kumalo while putting up a barricade.



## WR women flee to ANC

A GROUP of frightened women fled from the West Rand township of Kagiso to ANC headquarters in Johannesburg yesterday seeking refuge. (11A) (248)

But after a two-hour wait outside the ANC office, they were told to go home as internal ANC leader Mr Walter Sisulu and other officials had already gone to the township "to talk peace".

*Sowetan 24/8/90*  
The array of banners and placards they carried bore testimony to their desperate plight.

"Police and Inkatha are killing the masses. MK fight back"; "ANC - why

let us die? Why sign peace treaties while Inkatha and police are murdering us?" the placards read.

The women said they tried to go to the local police station for protection yesterday morning but police teargassed them.

Police confirmed yesterday that a group of people had rushed into the Kagiso police station at 7.30am. Police believed they were under attack and called for reinforcements.

But the group was seeking protection from another group after vicious fighting in the township.

## PAC meeting

THE PAC has invited all priests in Soweto to a meeting at the Holy Cross Anglican Church in Orlando West today.

It starts at 10am.

Speakers will include Advocate Dikgang Moseneke, PAC general secretary Benny Alexandra and the Rev PL Lenkoe.

Soweto 24/8/90

119

## Azapo holds a workshop

THE Azanian Peoples  
Organisation will hold a  
workshop tomorrow at  
Jiswa Community Centre  
in Lenasia at 2pm.

The theme of the  
workshop is: "Challenges  
facing the socialist move-  
ment in Azania".

Speakers will include  
the organisation's Trans-  
vaal president Dr  
Gomolemo Mokae and  
past president Mr Nkosi  
Molala.

# ANC to launch 4 new branches in Pretoria

24/8/90  
Sowetan  
FOUR branches of the ANC are to be launched in Pretoria at the weekend and another one next week.

Branches in Mamelodi, Atteridgeville, Soshanguve and Garankuwa are to be launched on Sunday and the Laudium branch will be launched on Wednesday.

ANC spokesman for the PWV region Mr Titus Mafolo said the launches follow a membership drive by the ANC.

**Sowetan Correspondent**

11A He said about 6 000 people had joined the movement in Pretoria.

Mafolo, however, emphasised the membership drive would continue and branch members will also be canvassing on a door-to-door basis.

Branch executives will be elected.

## Hopes and fears

Less than two weeks ago, the chances of a meeting between Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi looked better than ever. Now they are quickly receding, as factional violence on the Reef continues and the ANC's Walter Sisulu and Winnie Mandela seem to be trying their best to stop such a meeting from taking place.

Recent developments have come as a disappointment to Oscar Dhlomo, the former KwaZulu politician, who has been working, in his personal capacity, to get the two leaders together. FIM 24/8/90

Regarding a Mandela-Buthelezi indaba as an essential first step towards defusing the conflict between Inkatha and the ANC, Dhlomo now fears it could be more than a month before the two will consider meeting. "One hopes the violence on the Reef will reinforce the need for an urgent meeting," says Dhlomo, "and not make both sides despair to the point where a meeting between

FIM 24/8/90  
 their leaders becomes impossible." 11A

Since resigning from his official position with the KwaZulu government and Inkatha (*Current Affairs* August 17), Dhlomo has been setting up the Institute for a Multi-Party Democracy. ■

## THE LAW

FIM 24/8/90

## To err is easy

"Judicial vanity cannot have greater weight than eliminating mortal error" — the words of a top legal academic, criticising the judges president of the Transvaal, Cape and Natal for opposing suggested reforms to the death penalty.

Prof Etienne Mureinik, acting Dean of the Law Faculty at Wits University, says he believes judges will no longer be able to "take shelter behind the notion of mandatoriness or absence of proof of extenuating circumstances. Now they have to take responsibility for their decisions."

Mureinik believes the incidence of the

## VIOLENCE

## Edge of the abyss



111

FIM 24/8/90

Statesmanship? Forget it.

While hundreds of people were dying in Natal and Transvaal townships this week, not one black leader seemed capable of rising above petty political differences to stop the bloodshed.

A peace summit held on Tuesday by Foreign Minister Pik Botha and Law & Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, with General Bantu Holomisa of Transkei and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of KwaZulu, backfired when both emerged issuing thinly veiled war statements. Buthelezi accused the NP and ANC of "profiteering" out of death; Holomisa threatened Transkei might intervene directly in the conflict (how, exactly, he did not make clear).

And Nelson Mandela continues to refuse to meet Buthelezi and won't reveal his reasons.

What will be the use of, say, an end to sanctions (and increased job opportunities and economic growth) if investors shy away from a nation with endemic violence?

Chris Hani, chief of staff for Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC's military wing, tells the *FM* that "egos have to be buried" if the violence is to stop. Buthelezi says "the time has come to stop pointing fingers, political leaders must work together." But no one seems capable of matching actions to words; all seem to think compromise happens on the other side.



Vlok

Buthelezi



Holomisa

Mandela

The toll is high — 4 000 people dead in Natal in four years of conflict, more than 470 people dead in three weeks in Reef townships and more than 40 dead in eastern Cape violence.

The *FM* saw violence in Soweto this week that seemingly contradicts those who say the conflict is tribal. It is more a case of hostel-dwellers against township residents (though most of those in attacking impis tend to be Inkatha and some hostel-dwellers have warned residents of planned attacks). No one asks political affiliations or tribal origins before they shoot or hack. In Alexandra, where some hostels have been upgraded and families live with the men, there has been no violence.

Inkatha impis were not stopped, dispersed or disarmed by police, even in instances where impis clearly killed people. And it is ridiculous for the police to say, as they did last week, that they will not disarm impis because carrying weapons is part of Zulu culture.

Such statements do nothing to dampen allegations against the police of complicity — direct or indirect — in Inkatha attacks against township residents.

ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu called for hostel-dwellers to be locked into their hostels. At a residents' meeting in Central Western Jabavu on Saturday — scene of attacks on Thursday and Friday by men toting grenades, AK-47s, spears and pangas — there were calls for hostel-dwellers to be sent back to rural areas.

The most positive development yet is the delegation to be sent by the Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA (Contralesa) from KwaZulu, Ciskei and Transkei to ask hostel-dwellers to lay down arms. The delegation will be led by the prince of the Zulu royal family, Mewayizeni Zulu — a fierce opponent of Buthelezi.

Certainly, Buthelezi has to beware that the conflict in the Transvaal does not erode only his organisation, but his continued leadership as well. Says André du Pisani of the Institute for International Affairs: "Buthelezi, with all due respect, is seeking some

form of national credibility and wants to be restored to a national political level. One way is by meeting with someone like Mandela. That apparent motivation may be why the ANC is refusing to meet Buthelezi." Du Pisani believes, in common with many observers, that even if the two men do meet it will do little to stop the violence.

There is another possible way out of the crisis: President F W de Klerk should convene a national peace forum, where not only Buthelezi and Mandela meet, but also leaders of other political and cultural groupings as well as civic and hostel representative groups. This would make no group more important than others and do what needs to be done — get them around the table.

Another goal should be to achieve peace through restoring balance. Not only should hostel-dwellers be integrated into communities near their hostels, policemen must be encouraged to play a consultative role in communities.

The police, Du Pisani says, are widely discredited after years of enforcing unjust laws and suspected of holding extreme right-wing sympathies. Black policemen were ousted from their communities in the mid-Eighties and made pariahs. What has changed is that policemen may listen a little longer to residents' arguments — but many still look at residents with open contempt and are anything but trusted protectors.

But it is also too easy to endlessly blame an overworked, understaffed police force. In the end, politicians will be held accountable for the violence.

Charlene Smith

SABC

FIM 24/8/90

## Corridors of power

At the end of his term at Auckland Park, former SABC Director General Riaan Eksteen's relationship with board chairman Brand Fourie had deteriorated to such an extent that he found no support from Fourie during P W Botha's vendetta against him. Eksteen and Fourie have both gone and a new team has taken office — but there are already hints of disunity.

Christo Viljoen, a Stellenbosch professor and Botha's appointee as chairman, soon stamped his authority on the corridors of the Piet Meyer building, while the introverted and quiet-spoken Wynand Harmse, as director general, remained in the background. Or so it seemed.

Viljoen still manages to attract the limelight: his latest outburst against M-Net chairman and Naspers MD Ton Vosloo in a *Leadership* interview is a good example. Last Friday, in the same week that the article caused Home Affairs Minister Gene Louw to call for a truce between the two broadcasting giants, Viljoen launched another scathing attack on M-Net in a letter to *Die Burger*.

Meanwhile, it seems that Harmse has been consolidating his position on the 27th floor. Inside sources tell the *FM* that an instruction from the director general's office some time ago prohibited any senior staff member from discussing day-to-day SABC affairs with the chairman — to stop them by-passing Harmse. It is also said that Harmse had requested Viljoen, in an internal memo, not to involve himself with the normal run-

# The missing families

276 10573 (11A)  
FIM 24/8/90



Chris Hanani, chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe, discusses township violence. He spoke to the *FM*s Charlene Smith — the day before the announcement that his indemnity would not be renewed.

**FM:** The ANC has criticised the role of the police in Natal and the Transvaal townships. Isn't the problem mistrust — that even if the police do something positive, people will ignore or dismiss it?

**Hani:** There is a point I want to make before I respond to that question. Inkatha has formed a political party, and for government to allow a political party to have a police force (the KwaZulu Police) is, I think, dangerous. What we see in Natal today is the deployment of the KwaZulu police with Inkatha warlords and their armies in violent actions against the people.

The ANC believes the KwaZulu police should be disbanded and those police absorbed into the SA Police. This is urgent. Buthelezi should work in the same way as the ANC and Azapo. He should have organisers and activists who take his ideas to the people without the support of police. Furthermore, we are concerned that Inkatha are armed with standard weapons of the SAP and the SADF. We feel there is some connivance between the SAP and Inkatha.

As to the question you raise, it is true that the black community lack confidence in the

SAP. That trust cannot be restored overnight. But I was impressed to see, last night, in a certain ugly situation in Soweto, police working with leaders of the community, working out the best possible methods of neutralising that violent situation. The police force must work continuously to restore the confidence of the community.

Equally, we should be seen to be helping the police during this painful process of reorientation. There's a need for a change. It has to be demonstrated to Mister Average that this is a police force which is interested in helping you, in assisting you with problems of crime — and problems of violence.

This morning I saw an Inkatha fellow looking very wild and wielding a panga. No policeman went forward and arrested that man. Why are the police not disarming these people? In a situation like this, where there is fighting and violence, nobody should be allowed to carry a dangerous weapon.

We want also to expose this falsity that this violence is between Xhosa and Zulu. That is nonsense. When they (Inkatha) move against commuters or workers, those workers do not carry any label. You can't tell the difference between Xhosa and Zulu, they just attack ordinary people. This is not a tribal fight or a tribal feud. This is an attempt by Inkatha to establish a presence in the urban areas and strengthen its bargaining position. What Buthelezi is saying is that this problem will be solved when Nelson Mandela meets him.

**Will this happen?**

It is blackmail — as if Mandela is responsible for the violence. The deputy president

of the ANC has made a statement that people must throw their weapons into the sea and work out a peaceful solution. Why can't (Buthelezi) come out and tell Inkatha to do the same?

The solution to these problems will come about as a result of grassroots discussions between residents in the different places.

Government has allowed a dangerous situation and one which has been brewing for a long time, by maintaining these hostels. Poverty-stricken men leading abnormal lives cut away from their families, cut away from normal society.

**Isn't that one of the problems?**

There's an alienation. These people stay in hostels, they are illiterate or semi-literate, they do not mix with the rest of the people in the townships. They have no feelings for people in the townships.

There must be an immediate project to upgrade those hostels and make them habitable, so that each hostel man can live a normal family life with his wife and children. You won't get a responsible adult with a wife and child suddenly running out into the streets brandishing a spear to kill other people.

The ANC, Cosatu and MDM must begin politicising the hostel dwellers so these people feel accepted. We have to bring them into the fold of our people.

We should also ask the SABC to open up and have programmes where we can make use of radio and television to tell our people how tribal hostility is bad and archaic; how this country could be rent apart as a result of tribal division and tribal feuds.

## VIOLENCE

**Calling it a peace . . .**

F/M 24/8/90

11A

By any standards the death toll in the latest wave of Witwatersrand violence — considered with the nationwide toll — amounts to the beginnings of a civil war. Refugees fleeing from the troubles can be expected to regroup along geographical lines and the next phase would be planned reprisals and pre-emptive attacks on a widening scale.

It is wrong to say that no one wants it to come to that — it is *because* some people do that the national mood was seriously depressed as the body count rose. Who those people are depends on political affiliation — everyone is blaming everyone else. Certainly, the factors in the conflict are more complex than tribal (see *Current Affairs*) but there can be no doubt that the tribal component is alarming and reminiscent of antagonism over land and identity which are precolonial in origin.

It is true that hostel life is inhuman and that the police are mistrusted by the community. The kind of police co-operation with local people described elsewhere in this issue by the ANC's Chris Hani is a welcome and healthy initiative. Building family housing for migrants would be equally so. Meanwhile, to bring the killing to a stop, there are certain compelling political lessons which have to be applied.

The ANC must accept Inkatha as a major player in negotiations. This is the hurdle — the *FM* believes — which is preventing the symbolic meeting of Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Nelson Mandela now. The charge that this would be to accede to blackmail is not valid: *if* Inkatha members have been prosecuting violence with this as a political aim, then they have, unfortunately, demonstrated the effectiveness of

this particular armed struggle.

Only two weeks ago the ANC suspended its own armed struggle — presumably, as it would testify, because it had achieved its aims. (It would of course also say that it conducted a disciplined struggle; remembering civilians killed in bombings, not everyone would agree.)

Local units involving the SAP and ANC cadres — designed to monitor the “ceasefire” announced by Mandela — have begun to be set up. It seems essential for Inkatha to be brought into these structures — and for that to even be possible Inkatha has to depend less on rhetoric and apply itself to making peace stick at grassroots level.

In practical terms, such local-level co-operation is what is meant by suggestions of “peace forums” and the like. Convening them is clearly at this stage the responsibility of President F W de Klerk and his ministers, which is what lies behind this week's meetings of the President, Buthelezi and Transkei strongman Bantu Holomisa, an ANC ally as well as a Xhosa with powerful reasons for fostering a national settlement in which he must play a role.

No sane South African wants to live in a wasteland. No prospective foreign investor will believe in a stable future for this country if the various “sides” verbally abuse each other while some who act in their name burn and kill; and if those who claim to be the major players in a settlement are somehow unable to exert effective control over rioters and extremists on all sides of the spectrum.

The fear of a civil war will drive away all confidence as quickly as the real thing. ■



# Return to BC the answer - Mogoba

MIA

Sowetan 24/8/90

A RETURN to black consciousness was the only remedy for the current violence raking the country, the president of the South African Institute of Race Relations, the Rev Stanley Mogoba, said yesterday.

Delivering his annual address in Johannesburg, Mogoba said South Africa was in danger of not attaining the freedom for which so many had fought for so long, even though the country stood "on the brink of political emancipation".

"The violence that we see around us is deafening us to the peals of the bells of freedom that we had begun to hear.

## Separation

"Instead of joining together to ring bells of freedom, too many of our countrymen and women are walking the lonely path of separation - and the only bell they will hear is the bell for those who mourn."

Mogoba said it might be better to use the term Africanism or African consciousness to enable a clearer understanding of the concept of black consciousness.

"African consciousness is a consciousness that holds the spirit of Africanism dear to it."

Mogoba said his call for a return to black consciousness should hold no fear for whites as it was a remedial action aimed at repairing the damage in the black people's mind and soul.

## SA Press Association

"If anything, black consciousness will help them also by liberating them from complexes developed in the past, and, hopefully, also enable them to see themselves as Africans, as people of Africa as opposed to people of Europe or some other foreign land," he said.

Mogoba emphasised that a South African consciousness did not imply rejection of any one race, but would lead to a spirit that resulted in people being proud to be who they were which in turn would lead to a harmonious society.

He said he respected the opinions of those who opposed black consciousness.

If they differed, however, then they had an obligation to suggest a remedy that had been as fully tested as had black consciousness.

"I can vouch for positive nationalism and black consciousness because I have seen it work.

"I have seen individuals and whole communities undergoing a metamorphosis because they have subscribed to and practised black consciousness.

"It is difficult for people who have been thus changed to be manipulated by others for selfish ends, or to resort to the primitive practice of violence. This type of change is going to be necessary in the near future with the air so heavily charged with conflicting ideologies.

"People must be taught to think for themselves and not be steamrolled by mass thinking and mass hysteria."

He added that a programme of national reconstruction could begin with the acceptance of this philosophy.

Mogoba said African consciousness was not racism because there was no reference to race.

"The land belongs to all of us who see ourselves as South Africans and people of Africa first.

"Any South African who chooses to exclude other genuine South Africans is himself not a genuine South African.

## Tragedy

"And that is the tragedy of those South Africans who seem hellbent on destroying one another at this time - they are in the process of destroying the spirit of Africanism which they should instead be nurturing.

"All South Africans as defined above have one future and one destiny. Those who want to sell us to foreigners for a mess of pottage are not genuine South Africans.

"Neither are those who seek to impose their will by violent means. National reconstruction must be based on the realisation that we belong together. We will swim or sink together," he said.

He warned that if South Africans were preparing disaster for others, "that will be our fate also".



Miss Elsi Mkhonza (21) and her two-year-old son Siphamandla escaped death this week when their KwaThema home was petrol-bombed. The two suffered burns. Siphamandla's cousin, Mthokothozi Motha, burnt to death in the attack. Pic: MBUZENI ZULU

"armed struggle" and, twice within a week, has made threats. Previously, her allegations could be dismissed as the loose talk of a problematic individual.



**Winnie Mandela**

However, if she becomes an office-bearer status of the organisation, her rhetoric will appear to have official backing.

Witwatersrand Attorney-General Klaus von Lieres is evaluating whether she should be charged in connection with the abduction and murder last year of 14-year-old activist Stompie Seipei.

She qualified in the early Fifties as SA's first black social worker. Apart from sterling work at her clinic in Brandfort during banishment there, she has done little community work and has consistently refused the discipline of organised political or community structures.

There have been signs recently that the rules do not apply to Winnie Mandela. This has been evident not only in her undiplomatic contradiction of her husband and the ANC from public platforms, but in the status she enjoys within the organisation. At the NEC meeting in July, she sat at the conference table; members of the committee who complained were hushed. Said one resentful member: "It is like Marjke de Klerk being

allowed to participate in Cabinet discussions." (11A)

During her husband's US tour in June, she said black schools were legitimate military targets and drew sarcastic comment when she said that if negotiations failed she would "go back to the bush."

Since 1986, when she "unbanned" herself, controversy has been a constant companion. Her house has been stoned and firebombed by mobs angry with her conduct; shots have been fired from her house; and weapons have been found in it. Contradicting stated ANC policy in 1987, she told a large crowd in Mamelodi that "with our necklaces and matches we will liberate this country."

She has been questioned about the deaths of members of the "football team" she formed, whose members have been involved in at least half a dozen cases of murder, assault and robbery.

In 1988, three men appeared in court after abducting two children at gunpoint and holding them hostage in a room in the Mandela house, where "Viva ANC" and "M" were carved into their bodies with broken bottles. F1M 24/8/90

Early last year, when Seipei was found dead after being abducted with four others by the football team, the UDF and Cosatu publicly called for her isolation.

However, the release of her husband brought public rehabilitation — and the isolation of some UDF officials who'd denounced her. ■

THE ANC F1M 24/8/90 (11A)

## Caesar's wife

There is widespread anger in ANC ranks that Winnie Mandela is set to take up the position of the head of social welfare for the organisation.

The issue is under intense discussion in the ANC, with some members of the newly formed Mayfair and Yeoville branches talking of sending in their membership cards as a protest.

"We should send in our cards and demand the rest of our subscription back. What will the child welfare officials think with Winnie in charge of welfare?" an irate senior activist asked.

Some middle-ranking and senior members have also begun focusing on what they see as nepotism at the Johannesburg headquarters of the ANC. "Many employees there are the friends of other more senior people; it has caused a lot of dissatisfaction," says a top unionist. As a result, it has become a priority among some ANC organisers to establish branches as rapidly as possible, to facilitate voting at grass-roots level before the election of policymakers on December 16 at the National Consultative Conference in Bloemfontein.

There is a belief that years of repression under the State of Emergency, which all but halted grassroots elections for posts in the MDM (Cosatu excepted), have created some abuses of power now, as the ANC re-establishes itself in SA.

Local portfolio placements in Johannesburg appear increasingly arbitrary and ill-conceived.

Meanwhile, Winnie Mandela has not stilled her talk of the ANC returning to

# Govt to step in today on violence

Cape Times 24/8/90

11 20



**JOHANNESBURG.** — The government will today announce measures to help end the bloodbath on the Witwatersrand in which 500 people have died in the past 11 days.

The measures, to be announced by Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok, are expected to include controls on weapons.

The pending measures were announced by President FW de Klerk who condemned the violence in an address at Potchefstroom University.

He told thousands of students the violence was not aimed at state authority, but was between blacks. Action by security forces was therefore objective and neutral, he said.

In another development yesterday, ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela said peace talks with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi were possible but he blamed police for failing to halt the fighting.

Mr Mandela said it was unclear why a "strong, efficient, and well-equipped army and police force" were unable to halt the fighting.

"We are very critical of the way the government is handling the matter because there are immediate remedies which they could take. This trouble comes from the hostels and all that is necessary is that the government should guard the hostels," he said.

The prospect of Mr Mandela meeting Chief Buthelezi has angered many township residents, who allege Inkatha has been protected and armed by police. The ANC says such a meeting must be well prepared if it is to avoid alienating its supporters.

Mr Mandela also briefed the ambassadors of Italy and Ireland on the violence.

The fighting between Xhosas and Zulus appeared to ease yesterday, but sporadic clashes were reported, especially in the hard-hit township of Kagiso, west of Johannesburg.

In a clash between police and residents, police opened fire with buckshot after two stones were thrown at them.

In another incident, shouting "Now! Now!" and singing "Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika", 2 000 Kagiso residents armed with clubs and metal-tipped wooden spears marched on a hostel for Zulu migrant labourers. Forty police carrying shotguns held them at bay.

Kagiso Police and Zulu hostel-dweller leaders yesterday assured civic leaders at a peace meeting that the township hostel would be cordoned off and Inkatha-aligned residents kept on the premises in a bid to keep the warring factions apart.

In Diepidoof, Soweto, about 500 youths stoned the police station. Police dispersed them.

SA Police East Rand liaison officer Lt Ida van Zweel said the total death toll, after 10 days of fighting in townships on the Witwatersrand, was 500 at 10pm yesterday.

The revised total of deaths for the East Rand stood at 346, she said last night, following the discovery of six bodies in Thokoza, Kathlehong, Vosloorus and Tembisa.

Police were earlier stoned and petrol-bombed in Vosloorus, and used birdshot to disperse small groups. No one was injured, Lt Van Zweel said.

She said the whole East Rand was calm by 10pm.

⊙ The US government, meanwhile, expressed support for the government's efforts to bring peace to the strife-torn townships and called on all parties, leaders and individuals to end the violence.

⊙ In Windhoek, the National Patriotic Front appealed to the Namibian government to invite leaders of the ANC and Inkatha to meet in Namibia to seek ways of ending the violence.

⊙ Special buses are being organised by the Transkei military government to take Transkeians to the Transvaal free to help identify relatives killed in the violence, said the military ruler, Major-General Bantu Holomisa. — Own Correspondent, Sapa and UPI

⊙ Bishop's plea to end violence — Page 2

**COMRADES** ... Young comrades in Kagiso yesterday where the worst violence took place on the Reef.

## DP man for Randburg

**JOHANNESBURG.** — The mayor of Midrand, Mr Allan Dawson, has been chosen by the Democratic Party as its candidate for the coming Randburg by-election.

The by-election results from the resignation of former DP co-leader Mr Wynand Malan. — Sapa

## Flaunting all for erotic aim

**MADISON.** — Scores of scantily dressed women marched through Madison on Wednesday in support of their demand for this Wisconsin state capital to be declared an "Erotic Play Zone".

The demonstrators belong to the "Lingerie Liberators", a group fighting for the abolition of "repressive" laws forcing people to wear clothes. — Sapa

## Courtroom crime

**PIGGS PEAK.** — A Swazi magistrate here ordered more than 50 members of the public attending a court case to be locked up in the courtroom for half-an-hour as "punishment" for showing disrespect to the court. — Sapa

## Baby check

**MANZINI.** — Female student teachers at the William Pitcher Teacher Training College here are to undergo periodic compulsory pregnancy tests. — Sapa

## New watering hole

**LONDON.** — An underground lavatory at Spitalfields, London, is to be converted into a yuppie wine bar — called Crappers.

100

KIT K

BEAC LIQUOR ALLSOR

2

Don't pay

W. CAPE ONLY LICENSURE

012-5700  
PREF 254  
PAGE 1

CM Tru's 24/8/90 11A

# Gerwel: UWC to redefine its role

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

THE University of the Western Cape had defended the ANC's cause during the national oppression of democratic forces over the past four years, but it now had to declare its autonomy from the state, both present and future, its principal, Professor Jakes Gerwel, said yesterday.

The university's rethink of its role was not a dramatic change, but "we will no longer be a kind of substitute standard bearer for the liberation and democratic movement", he said in an interview.

"We will certainly, I hope, remain a democratic and progressive institution, as we are composed in that way, but in a formal way that relationship will obviously have to change."

He had said at a University of Cape Town graduation ceremony back in 1984 that universities had to protect their autonomy from

## Taking a stand on autonomy

the state and from future states, but then a period of repression came and UWC felt it was necessary for a university to take a stand in the best ideals of the purveyors of freedom.

"Where freedom was so assailed, we felt universities should come out clearly in defence of that freedom even if it meant coming out side by side with the liberation movement," Professor Gerwel said.

UWC's political connectedness would have to be rethought as all progressive institutions of civil society would have to do "because we think in the building of a democratic society one of the prerequisites is the institutions

of civil society should have an autonomy from the state.

"If the ANC and other democratic movements represent the state, a future state or part of a future state, then now in the time they are being unbanned and they have greater freedom to operate and defend themselves is also the time for preparation for governing, and from our side we must define the relationship between a democratic state and our institution.

"In that sense we are redefining our position."

UWC took very seriously how the university was democratised and everyone in the university constituency was equal in it, whether they were academics, students, administrative officials or workers.

The institution was also bound to the service community, the organised formations of the community, and responded to the people.

"As an institution we have seriously taken the heavy burden of the title of the 'peoples' university'," Professor Gerwel said.

11A  
24/8/90  
Strategy  
of ANC  
'needs  
reviewing'

THE crucial challenge now facing the government was to pressurise the ANC into abandoning "mass mobilisation" as a strategy, the executive director of the SA Institute for Race Relations, Mr John Kane-Berman, said on Wednesday.

"It is from mass mobilisation, rather than from armed struggle narrowly defined, that chronic instability, political tension and violence now principally arise," he said.

Speaking to the SA Property Owners' Association congress, Dr Kane-Berman said the ANC had principally three strategies open to it: International economic sanctions, the armed struggle and mass mobilisation.

Mass mobilisation had been the most important and effective over the past few years — but had "almost invariably" led to violence, whether intentionally or not, he said.

Mr Kane-Berman said mass mobilisation carried "very high risks" for the following reasons:

● The "obvious" risk of confrontation with an "undisciplined police force which all too often has opened fire as a first rather than a last resort".

● The danger of conflict with other black political organisations, particularly Inkatha. The ANC-Inkatha conflict had claimed about 4 000 lives in the past four years and had recently spilt over into the Transvaal with "terrifying consequences".

# Old Crossroads leader lashes out at PAC

Cape Times 24/8/90  
By CHRIS BATEMAN

A SENIOR member of the Old Crossroads mediation committee set up to try to resolve the internecine violence yesterday lashed out at the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) for "making cheap accusations" against the ANC.

Mr Gladstone Ntamo, spokesman for the Western Cape United Squatters' Association and member of the mediation committee, was reacting to PAC accusations on Wednesday that the ANC was sponsoring attacks on its members.

The PAC held an inaugural press conference in Old Crossroads attended by at

least two members of mayor Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana's official committee.

Mr Ntamo said that instead of making "hollow accusations", the PAC, a relative newcomer to the scene, should become involved in the mediating committee on which several ANC members served.

"They should know by now that the fighting is not between political organisations but about internal disputes over land, housing and funds," he said.

Breakaway headman Mr Jeffrey Nongwe, an ANC member, leads a powerful faction against Mr Ngxobongwana. Since the internal split 18 months ago, scores of people have died violently and

hundreds of homes have been torched.

Mr Ntamo said the PAC was welcome to recruit members in Old Crossroads but they should not try to "oversimplify the issues in an attempt to gain support".

The ANC claims 4 115 paid-up members in Old Crossroads and the PAC 2 000 paid-up and partly paid-up members.

● The squatter camp's politics are delicately poised with both Mr Ngxobongwana's and Mr Nongwe's committees agreeing to step down to let an interim ruling committee take over. This committee would consist of UDF-linked organisations. The mediation committee is trying to achieve this goal.

# Killings 'incredibly difficult to stop'

By Helen Grange

The cycle of violence that has started in the Transvaal townships may take months to subside, Lloyd Vogelman, director of the University of the Witwatersrand's Project for the Study of Violence, has said.

Speculating on the future pattern of the most concentrated violence in South Africa since World War 2, Mr Vogelman yesterday said the killings would now be "incredibly diffi-

cult" to stop. "With the death toll at over 500, there are literally thousands of people who have been affected. The repercussions of such an outburst are enormous.

"There is enormous resentment and a desire for retribution. A lull in the conflict only means that people are reorganising strategies for further battle," he said.

Mr Vogelman warned that should the violence subside

soon, it would mean only that the next phase of conflict would happen sooner.

"The tragedy of Natal is that police were not seen to be exercising law and order. In situations like this it is essential for police to act fairly," said Mr Vogelman.

He added that the conflict raging in Witwatersrand townships therefore needed urgent resolution through the judicial system.



Fearful residents show they are unarmed as they walk towards a police patrol outside Kagiso hostel yesterday afternoon. © Picture by Ken Oosterbroek.

# Killings 'incredibly difficult to stop'

By Helen Grange

cut" to stop.

8/24/81/90

The cycle of violence that has started in the Transvaal townships may take months to subside, Lloyd Vogelman, director of the University of the Witwatersrand's Project for the Study of Violence, has said.

Speculating on the future pattern of the most concentrated violence in South Africa since World War 2, Mr Vogelman yesterday said the killings would now be "incredibly diffi-

"With the death toll at over 500, there are literally thousands of people who have been affected. The repercussions of such an outburst are enormous.

"There is enormous resentment and a desire for retribution. A lull in the conflict only means that people are reorganising strategies for further battle," he said.

Mr Vogelman warned that should the violence subside

soon, it would mean only that the next phase of conflict would happen sooner.

"The tragedy of Natal is that police were not seen to be exercising law and order. In situations like this it is essential for police to act fairly," said Mr Vogelman.

He added that the conflict raging in Witwatersrand townships therefore needed urgent resolution through the judicial system.



Fearful residents show they are unarmed as they walk towards a police patrol outside Kagiso hostel yesterday afternoon.

Picture by Ken Oosterbroek.

APRIL 24 1981



12 star 24/8/90  
Frightened  
women flee to  
ANC offices

By Monica Nicolson

A group of frightened women fled from the West Rand township of Kagiso to the ANC headquarters in central Johannesburg yesterday to seek refuge from alleged Inkatha attacks.

But after a two-hour wait on the pavement outside the office they were told to go home because ANC chairman Walter Sisulu had gone to the township "to talk peace".

The women said they were bewildered and that their leaders had failed them.



Pictures: ANDREW INGRAM, The Argus.

**VOLK HERO:** Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche in Robertson last night.

'AWB will  
make war  
with ANC  
regime'

Tygerberg Bureau

THE Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging is recruiting commando members at its meetings and AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche has reaffirmed the intention to overthrow an ANC government by any means, including violence.

At a meeting attended by about 300 people in Robertson last night, he said the AWB would "make war" with an ANC government.

He said Afrikaners were not colonialist and would not run away. He warned that "the black hordes" would take away white farms. A black government would subdivide and redistribute the land.

Mr Terre'Blanche said in a "so-called" new South Africa, neither white nor black people would be able to live independently: "We will be the slaves of the communists and from here war will be waged to eventually create a communist world state."

He referred to members of the National Party as "political smurfs and jelly tots who are incapable of following the demands of the voters".

He said the National Party government was "politically bankrupt" and predicted that it would soon collapse and hand over power to the "black forces".

Mr Jaap Marais, leader of the Herstigte National Party, who shared the platform with Mr Terre'Blanche, warned that if President De Klerk was not stopped, South Africa would face the "biggest crisis of its existence".



**LISTENERS:** Part of the 300-strong crowd at the meeting.

# Inkatha,

## ANC call

### for peace

24/8/90 (11A)

Staff Reporter

Inkatha and ANC representatives bridled at each other's views on the causes of township violence, but both made pleas for peace on a television news panel discussion last night.

Pallo Jordan, ANC spokesman for information and publicity, said he did not believe political organisations were behind the violence, but blamed "mischievous elements who were fanning the flames" created by a build-up of tension in the hostels due to their unnatural living circumstances.

He also blamed the police for "accepting, carried pangas as accoutrements of manhood" and not confiscating weapons.

Dennis Madide of Inkatha asked Mr Jordan to define the warring sides. Mr Jordan said there was the aggressive side and the receiving side and said it was quite clear hostel dwellers had come out to attack township residents.

"What would you call name-calling, insults, disparaging language? Would you call that aggressive?" protested Mr Madide.

He said it had been seen that the sight of the two leaders shaking hands and calls to followers to stop fighting had a "cooling effect".

# Strong demands put to Govt

Sapa and Staff Reporter

South Africa could only be saved from more bloodshed and suffering if all parties strictly adhered to the provisions of the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes, a statement from the ANC, Cosatu and other "progressive and democratic" organisations said last night.

In a strongly worded letter addressed to the State President and the Ministers of Law and Order, Defence and Justice and Prisons, the ANC-allied organisations has called for:

● The immediate release of Mac Maharaj, Issack Ditshego, Cassel Mathale, Ephraim Mogale and all other political detainees held under

5th 24/8/90 11A  
Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

● The immediate scrapping of the Internal Security Act, Public Safety Act and all other "repressive laws".

● The immediate withdrawal of troops from villages and townships.

● An end to all harassment and torture by police, SADF, and State-sponsored vigilantes.

● An end to detentions without trial.

● Immediate dismantling of vigilante groups and prosecution of "war lords".

● An end to police assistance of groups which promote violence.

● The right to free political activity.

Thousands of South African women are expected to march in 17 different centres tomorrow in a renewed call for peace and for government action to stop the violence.

The marches are being organised by the African National Congress's Women's League, Cosatu, the Black Sash, Federation of South African Women (Fedsaw), United Women's Congress and Call of Islam are also taking part.

Fedsaw representative Ms Beattie Hofmeyr appealed to Chief Buthelezi to call on his followers to end the violence as deputy president Nelson Mandela had done to ANC supporters.

# Explaining the slaughter

11A (11A) (11A) (11A) 24/8/90

The political analysts in South Africa have been surprised by the slaughter on the Reef by Xhosa on Zulu and Zulu on Xhosa. They have attempted to pin down the reasons, reports **HERMANN GILIOMEE**.

The position of Zulus in the liberation struggle was quite different. Their major organisation, Inkatha, has operated freely during all the years while the KwaZulu government functioned within the broad parliamentary system. If one leaves out the few exceptions, notably Jacob Zuma, no significant ANC leader hails from Zululand.

One would hope that growing numbers of people would commit themselves to the ideal of non-racialism.

What does this all say about the prospect of a peaceful transition? First, it is nonsense to think one could isolate political divisions from ethnic divisions. Zulus will tend to see attacks on Inkatha as being directed against Zulus. The same goes for the Afrikaners and the National Party.

Second, there is a great danger of ethnic conflicts spilling over in uncontrolled violence. One now doubts that South Africa can proceed to a post-apartheid society on the basis of free democratic competition. Elections may result in horrific violence.

The need for peace and stability rather calls for all parties being drawn into the negotiations and the post-apartheid government on the basis of the degree of support receive in polls.

The violence on the Witwatersrand also shows how dangerous the ANC strategy is to force all opponents of the "racist regime" into a single alliance and to have only two parties at the conference table.

While there can be no doubt that many of the ANC leaders are sincere in their democratic commitments, the fact is that they have very little, if any, control over the alienated youth who try all over the country in more or less violent ways to establish an ANC hegemony over the masses.

Surely the time has come for the ANC and Inkatha leaders to appear together in public to send a signal to their followers that there is no war between them.

everything to the bitter fruits of apartheid and deliberate ethnic enmity by Inkatha leaders.

Several newspapers have quoted the even-handed judgment by former KwaZulu and Inkatha leader Oscar Dhlomo.

He expressed concern that the violence in Natal is assuming an ethnic character. He mentioned the ANC-led campaign to marginalise Chief Buthelezi, as well as certain Zulu leaders appealing to tribalism and making anti-Indian and anti-Xhosa statements.

In an analysis in *The Weekly Mail*, Jo-Anne Collinge conveniently forgets about the first part of the quote (Dr Dhlomo laying part of the blame on the ANC) in her rush to find Inkatha rather than the non-racial, non-tribal ANC primarily responsible for the Transvaal violence.

Quoting some sociologists, Collinge proceeds to argue that ethnic consciousness is especially strong among Zulu hostel dwellers, and that if Inkatha wishes to make headway on the Witwatersrand it has to employ these hostel dwellers physically or politically against its opponents.

This is also the line of Walter Sisulu of the ANC, who asserts that Inkatha is exporting the Natal violence to the Witwatersrand in an orchestrated way.

There is a third interpretation implicit in some newspaper reports, but not very popular in academic circles, where the so-called modernisation theory still forms the orthodoxy.

This third view sees South Africa during the transition period being gripped by ethnic conflicts which no longer are primarily caused by apartheid but rather are fuelled by the same factors as ethnic conflicts

all over Africa and Asia.

What causes ethnic conflicts? The stock answer academics give is: that it is a competition for scarce resources. But this begs the question: Why do conflicts invariably take place along ethnic lines? To this, modernisation theory somewhat lamely answers: It is unscrupulous leaders who manipulate their followers.

But this, in turn, does not explain why the followers follow, except if one believes, despite all evidence to the contrary, that the masses are stupid and bogged down by false consciousness.

It also cannot explain why ethnic conflicts such as those in Northern Ireland or Lebanon or the recent clashes on the Witwatersrand are so incredibly vicious and bloody.

In a major recent study, "Ethnic groups in conflict", Donald Horowitz has greatly advanced our understanding of the dynamics of ethnic conflicts. His major insight is that individual self-esteem in divided societies such as South Africa is determined largely by the esteem accorded to your ethnic group.

Ethnic groups do not compete only for material rewards but also for power. Horowitz examines the claims which dominant ethnic groups make to legitimise their power after the colonial power has been defeated.

A particularly strong claim is the demand by some ethnic groups to succeed the colonial power because they have borne the brunt of the struggle.

Could the Xhosa as the dominant group in the ANC be making a similar claim? After all, Umkhonto leader Chris Hani said recently in Umtata that the soldiers coming from Transkei fought the hardest in his army.

The internecine slaughter on the Witwatersrand along predominantly a Zulu-Xhosa divide has taken most South African analysts by surprise.

In liberal and radical circles in South Africa the struggle against apartheid has made intra-black ethnic cleavages virtually a taboo subject. By contrast, Soviet experts no longer fool themselves: they know that the break-up of multi-ethnic empires such as the Soviet Union and apartheid South Africa produces explosive conflicts along ethnic rather than class or party lines.

The apocalypse in the Soviet Union, like that in South Africa, is not the overthrow of the State but its political disintegration, leaving large areas ungovernable.

Three explanations of the Witwatersrand violence have been put forward in the press. It is important to investigate each critically if one wants to understand the significance of this grave development.

The first explanation is that it is due to instigation by the police.

Gerald Shaw in his *Cape Times* column makes it clear that he does not believe that we have a deliberate ploy by the De Klerk government to delay black emancipation by setting Zulus and Xhosas at each other's throats.

He does point to the worrying fact that the 1976 unrest on the Witwatersrand was ended by Zulu hostel dwellers attacking the comrades with the tacit support of the police.

And in Natal the police backing of the "legitimate" Inkatha against the "illegal" ANC appears to be one of the main reasons why the violence has continued for so long. And then there is the history of Mozambique's destabilisation.

So is the ANC correct in claiming that also in this case the police are out of control or covertly doing the Government's bidding? Somehow, this does not ring true as an explanation of the Witwatersrand violence.

The second, somewhat stronger, explanation, put forward by *The Weekly Mail* of August 17, reduces

## Govt, ANC men talk to cricket bosses

A senior Minister, an African National Congress national executive member and a former PFP leader will address leaders of the South African Cricket Union (SACU) today at a think-tank on the future of the game.

The all-day meeting is being held at a secret venue in Johannesburg.

Steve Tshwete of the ANC, Roelf Meyer, Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, and Van Zyl Slabbert of Idasa will address the top echelon of "establishment" cricket. — Sports Reporter.

● Cricket summit — Back Page.

# Trotsky comes in from the cold — but few embrace him

**T**HE current rewriting of Soviet history in these days of glasnost and perestroika has led to a rethink of Red Army commissar Leon Trotsky's role in the 1917 Revolution.

This development raises the question of the significance and existence of Trotskyism in South Africa today.

Fifty years ago this week, Soviet ruler Joseph Stalin ordered the death of Trotsky, who had opposed Stalin's bureaucratic rule. In the ensuing years his writings were slandered and banned by the Soviet Union and thousands of Trotsky's supporters were persecuted.

Political analyst and former Wits University lecturer Ivor Sarakinsky says: "While Trotskyism is coming to light in the Soviet Union, historically one is not sure if the ideology has ever taken off in South Africa."

He says elements of Trotskyism do exist in the country. "The stronghold is the Western Cape where you have the New Unity Movement and aligned organisations."

The South African organisations are small, and do not seem to enjoy mass appeal. One such organisation is the Marxist Workers Tendency — a group which, says the African National Congress, was expelled from the organisation almost eight years ago.

The New Unity Movement sees the 50th anniversary of Trotsky's death as significant for all liberation movements in the country. The president, RO Dudley, says: "Trotsky contacted numerous people engaged in the South African liberation struggle during the 1930s, including the Fourth International groupings involved in the country at the time."

---

*How relevant is Trotskyism in this country? Not at all, say some. But others, such as the Marxist Workers Tendency and the New Unity Movement, disagree.*

**By CASSANDRA MOODLEY**

---

Dudley adds that even if the group of people who understand the philosophy is small, one of the "dominant notes in the liberation movement derives from the ideas of Trotskyism".

Sarakinsky adds that Trotskyism may not constitute itself as a movement but may exist as an "ideology or theme in organisations".

The Workers Organisation for Socialist Action, which is often considered Trotskyist, says however that the organisation does not call itself Trotskyist: "Our members come from a variety of traditions. Certainly a number of our members were part of the Fourth International (formed by Trotsky in 1938) or Trotskyist movement in a broad sense."

Despite the presence of small groups of supporting Trotskyism the major liberation organisations do not seem to embrace Trotskyism. The ANC's Ahmed Kathrada says he has not seen "any evidence of Trotskyism in the country — there have been pockets of such organisations but there is not much evidence of them publicly".

Kathrada adds that his organisation "does not embrace any ideology — it adheres to the Freedom Charter. The ANC is a mass organisation and embraces people from all strata".

However, Pallo Jordan, also of the ANC executive committee writes in a recent critique of Joe Slovo's article "Has Socialism Failed?" that Trotsky, "setting aside for a moment our opinion of him and his political ca-



**Leon Trotsky ... Does he have any followers in South Africa?**

reer, provided one of the most original critiques of the Soviet system using the method of historical materialism".

Pan Africanist Congress representative Benny Alexander says the PAC is not Trotskyist; it is Pan Africanist. He refused to comment on the relevance of Trotskyism, adding the PAC did not want to compromise itself.

Jerry Mosala, of the Azanian People's Organisation, points out: "Azapo embraces Trotskyism only to the extent that we see him as one of the revolutionary leaders, like Marx and Engels. But we reject the political elitism."

A flaw, says Mosala, was that Trotskyites criticise what others are doing rather than organising on the ground.

However, Mosala says Trotsky's "views on the international capitalist economic order and anti-bureaucratic stance are relevant", but is critical of "Trotsky's reluctance to grant workers organisation's autonomy — this was a major contribution to the lack of democracy".

South African Communist Party representative Essop Pahad said the SACP embraces the science of Marxist-Leninism in general and not any of

its derivatives.

"There is a debate about Trotsky's contribution to the Russia revolution to the extent there is some rethinking going on in the Soviet Union. But the SACP derives its understanding and guidelines from Marxist-Leninism.

"We would say the relevance of any organisation including the SACP is going to be determined by the work and actions of political groupings in articulating grievances of the people."

But the SACP caused an uproar among Trotskyite groupings like the MWT when their publication, the *African Communist*, carried an article "What is Trotskyism?" which concludes: "While most communists today would no longer accept the view (current during the Stalin period) that Trotsky was an 'agent of fascism' few would deny that throughout his life Trotsky hindered rather than helped the struggle for socialism."

In a journal commemorating the 50th anniversary of Trotsky's assassination, the MWT cites this statement, accusing all 'communist' parties of rejecting the legacy of Trotsky's ideas and the SACP of being "organically wedded to the interests of the Stalinist bureaucracy and its false anti-working class ideas".

Responding to criticisms, a subsequent editorial comment in the *African Communist* reads: "Ultra-leftism persists in 'workerist' and Azapo circles. No doubt some continue to sympathise with Trotsky's theories on the stage of revolution and the narrowness or broadness that the struggle need adopt.

"They continue to deny the national democratic character of our revolution and direct their efforts for a proletarian struggle for socialism only now. They have little sense of politics and historic realities.

"They are text-bookish and have little idea of the complexity of the transition from national liberation to socialism. We should, however, not dismiss them out of hand and reject them as 'only Trotskyists'. Patience in analysing their errors will achieve much."

Institute for International Affairs researcher Gary van Staden sees a limited future for the ideology. It does not have mass appeal, he says. It does appear to have some application although it is very inflexible.

However, Dudley is adamant that the legacy of Trotskyism is embraced by all resistance organisations in the country even if they do not overtly follow the ideas.

11A

w/Manl  
24/8 - 26/8/90

# SACP backs Numsa in Mercedes dispute

By PATRICK GOODENOUGH

THE SA Communist Party has thrown its weight behind the National Union of Metalworkers in its tussle with worker rebels at the Mercedes-Benz plant in East London.

And in another development, Numsa's regional office has condemned Mercedes' dismissal of 200 dissidents sleeping in at the plant as "inflaming the situation".

It has also warned management against using police to evict the workers, who were fired after ignoring a Supreme Court order for their eviction.

Numsa regional secretary Msiteli Nonyukela said the SACP had sent a letter backing the union's stance on centralised bargaining.

The Mercedes plant has been closed for a week after work stoppages and demonstrations by a worker faction demanding the company's withdrawal from the

national bargaining forum (NBF) in the auto assembly industry — in flat contradiction of Numsa policy.

Yesterday Automobile Manufacturers Employers Organisation chairman Theo van der Bergh said NBF negotiations this week had been postponed until next Tuesday "due to the situation at Mercedes".

Both Mercedes management and shop stewards had been absent. "We need to have everyone there to proceed," he said.

Nonyukela said the company had reacted "emotionally" by dismissing workers and had given no prior warning of the dismissals.

It had also threatened to call in the police to evict workers, he said, saying it was "unprofessional to involve police in a labour matter".

Company comment could not be obtained yesterday, but it has confirmed that workers occupying the plant caused damage at the weekend.



Paul  
March  
T. ...  
Sh...

# Askaris are still in use ... maybe as hooded captors

w/Mark 24/8 - 26/8/90

By JO-ANNE COLLINGE

THE South African Police continue to deploy Askaris — "turned" former members of the African National Congress — in many areas of their work, Ministry of Law and Order spokesman Brigadier Leon Mellet confirmed yesterday.

"They are specialised people doing specialised services in the police force and they will continue to do so," he said.

Mellet added: "They are fully-fledged members of the South African Police, receiving the same benefits as all other policemen."

The Askaris were one of two groupings within the state's armed forces linked in evidence before the Harms Commission to death squad activities directed against opponents of apartheid.

The commission has yet to make a finding on the validity of this link, which rests primarily on the evidence of self-confessed Askaris Almond Nofomela and Spyker Tskikalange, and their commander, former security police captain Dirk Coetzee.

The ANC believes that Askaris were involved in events preceding last Saturday's arrest of Ralph Petersen, a member of staff at the ANC's Johannesburg head office. Petersen was shot before or during the arrest and is now detained incommunicado in a Johannesburg hospital ward.

A trained cadre of Umkhonto weSiz-

we, Petersen was part of the first ANC group sent into the country to help prepare for the Groote Schuur talks and set up the ANC office, ANC representative Gill Marcus said.

The ANC said that Petersen was detained as he emerged from a Hillbrow disco. "As he was getting into his car he was surrounded by police, including a number of men who wore hoods, thought to be Askaris. As Ralph was told to put his arms in the air, shots were fired by the police, hitting Ralph twice and also hitting a friend, Louis, who drove up to find out what was happening," an ANC statement read.

The ANC said that the two men were left lying in the road and were taken to hospital by members of the public. Petersen was later detained under section 29 of the Internal Security Act. It appeared that Louis (whose full name is not known) had also been detained.

According to the police division of public relations, two men were arrested as a result of information that they "had entered the country illegally and were illegally in possession of arms".

The first man had been arrested after being identified "as a suspected trained terrorist" and had revealed during questioning that he was waiting for four associates. When these men arrived in a car "they were confronted and a struggle ensued during which shots were fired and a policeman was injured."



CAF-TMZ 25/8/90

# Mac Maharaj 'was lured to SA'

LONDON. — Detained ANC executive member Mr Sayandranath "Mac" Maharaj had been lured back to South Africa and trapped by security police who ignored his special indemnity from prosecution because they had wanted to get hold of him for a long time, a United Nations Human Rights hearing was told in London yesterday.

It was also alleged that police told lawyers he was being held incommunicado in terms of Section 29 of the Internal Security Act as part of an investigation which had revealed that Mr Maharaj "aided trained terrorists and failed to report their presence ... despite his knowledge of their presence".

The detainee's wife, Mrs Zarina Maharaj, was giving evidence to a London sitting of the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts on Southern Africa, set up in 1989 in

terms of UN Human Rights Commission resolutions.

Mrs Maharaj testified that her husband, who is also a senior SACP member, was allegedly tortured for eight months and served 12 years on Robben Island up to 1976 before going into exile. He had been on a SA security forces' "death squad hit list" for a long time.

She feared for his life, regardless of whether he was in or out of detention.

She had no clue as to his whereabouts or condition now, and she did not know if she or her children would ever see him again.

The group, under the chairmanship of Mr Justice Mikuin Balanda, the Zairean Chief Justice, had hoped to hold its first hearings in South Africa, but visa refusals a few weeks ago forced hearings to be rescheduled to London, Dar es Sa-

laam, Harare and Lusaka, an official said.

Their report will be submitted to the UNHRC in February.

Mr Balanda, on behalf of the Working Group, expressed distress and concern at Mr Maharaj's circumstances, and endorsed Mrs Maharaj's call for maximum international pressure to be applied on South African authorities to secure his release or charge him.

Mrs Maharaj testified that her husband had left Britain for South Africa on June 15 under a government indemnity in effect until August 19, subject to renewal.

Mrs Maharaj claimed in response to questions that her 54-year-old husband had been tortured for eight months before serving his sentence on terrorism charges on Robben Island where he was held in the solitary confinement section.

— Sapa

# Mandela off despite critics

Staff Reporter

APR 25/8/90

ANC vice-president Mr Nelson Mandela leaves for Norway today amid growing controversy over the advisability of maintaining a hectic international schedule with tension simmering in the Transvaal townships.

An ANC spokesman in Johannesburg rejected criticism yesterday, saying Mr Mandela would never have considered leaving the country if he thought his presence would have a direct influence in ending the violence.

He said the ANC leader would address a conference in Oslo on the theme The Anatomy of Hate, before visiting Algeria and Libya to follow up matters discussed during his previous visits.

Mr Mandela is expected to start a tour of the Western Cape on his return early next month, before a week's holiday that was postponed last week because of the Inkatha/ANC fighting.

Mr Mandela had met several ambassadors for foreign countries this week.

# The ugly price of change

Laborious solution  
is a multi-faceted  
approach to many  
divergent problems

**T**HE thick blankets of smoke which hang over most Reef townships in the early evening, particularly when it's cold, create the impression that the townships are on fire. This week they were.

As the death toll from 11 days of bitter fighting in the streets of apartheid's satellite cities rose above 500, the search for answers grew more desperate. Behind the news commentaries and various analyses a single overriding question dominated all discussion: Why?

The answers were almost as numerous as the death toll yet none seemed entirely satisfactory. Perhaps it is time to try a different approach and examine the events of the past two or so weeks in a wider context, free of the constraints brought about by the widely held belief that South Africa is somehow different from anywhere else.

In order to achieve that end it is necessary to retreat into the abstract and view South Africa not as something unique but as just another society in transition. This does not imply that South Africa has no unique features, it clearly has, but it shares much with societies which have been transformed in the past and with those which will undergo fundamental change in the future.

Nor is this approach necessarily cold, calculating and detached. When more than 500 people die in the space of just 10 days, often under gruesome circumstances, it is simply not possible for the average human mind to fully absorb the implications of those deaths on an individual basis. For the average human mind the death of one person is a tragedy, the death of 500 is no more than a statistic.

The literature produced by dozens of social scientists, based on their studies of societies in transition and data going back over 30 or 40 years, highlights two important features:

● First, that societies in transition are characterised by instability and a greater or lesser degree of violence;

● Second, that the focus of unrest and violence is multifaceted, in other words there is no single cause of this instability.

GARY VAN STADEN

This is not the time or place to go into the specifics of this literature but its message is clear. What is happening in South Africa today has happened in dozens of other transitional societies and it will happen again almost as certainly as mixing hydrogen and oxygen in the correct proportions will produce water.

This theory of transitional societies has identified several elements which contribute to political instability and social unrest. Among the more important of these elements are rapid social change, high levels of expectation which cannot be met in the short term and thus produce frustration; socio-economic conditions; the competition for political power; the competition for other resources; class conflict; tribal/ethnic/religious cleavages; rapid urbanisation and societal alienation or a lack of a sense of belonging.

Many of these fundamental elements of instability are inter-linked and obviously some would be more important than others depending on the precise nature of the society itself and the mode of transition.

In order to make the propositions of the theory more clear it is necessary at this point to find a concrete example. Consider an actual society in which the ruling elite decided that the political system had to be reformed or face violent overthrow. The leaders thus instituted political and socio-economic reforms which created the conditions for a society in transition. Previously restricted political activity was tolerated and popular leaders allowed to mobilise support.

**P**opular resistance increased and rival groups began competing for political power and for other resources such as employment, housing and other social benefits. The sudden and dramatic lifting of decades of repression produced a Jack-in-the-Box effect as people moved to prevent the reimposition of previous conditions.

Ethnic rivalries began to emerge which led to a series of violent clashes. High expectations of rapid social transforma-



PEACE MARCH: As Kagiso burned, women marched on the local police station where they prayed for an end to the violence.

tion were not met and two weeks of pitched battles in the streets of major cities left hundreds of people dead.

South Africa? No, Romania, December 1989.

If the theory of societies in transition is applied to South Africa there is a near perfect match. Tribal and ethnic cleavages run deep, sustained by years of a divide-and-rule policy, racial divisions run even deeper, general socio-economic conditions are poor and class differences are sharp.

Ideological belief systems have little common ground and competition for resources is fierce. Competition for political power is cut-throat, often literally. The stakes are high and there is no second place: the winner takes all.

Under such conditions the violence of the past two weeks in South Africa can be explained and understood. There is no one answer, be it Nelson Mandela meeting Chief Buthelezi, socio-economic upliftment, mediation, or force. The bottom line is that the solution lies in a multi-faceted approach to divergent problems.

The best that it may be possible to achieve in the short term would be to contain the violence by a series of crisis management mechanisms. The worst would be to slow down the process of transition because that would simply fuel the expecta-

tion-frustration cycle and sharpen the competition for political power.

There was little or no prospect of transition in South Africa avoiding violence. The theory of transitional societies shows us that the seeds of instability were always going to find very fertile ground in South Africa.

Our history of intolerance and the total lack of any constitutional mechanisms for political organisations outside of the current parliamentary system to demonstrate and mobilise their support only made violence more inevitable.

**T**he theory of transitional societies shows us that South Africa is not unique. Some of our problems may appear to be unique but context proves otherwise. What may be different is the degree of division and cleavage.

The violence can be resolved in the long term but this depends to a substantial degree on what is done to meet expectations. The only real way to stop the violence is to begin to remove — no matter how slowly — those elements which sustain it — all of them. And that means going forward at almost any cost.

● The author is Senior Research Officer at the SA Institute of International Affairs.

## Tribal fears st

FOR the first time in 25 years, Anthony Newwane (41) feels vulnerable.

Newwane is physically far from the violence that has torn through black townships on the Witwatersrand in the last two weeks, but mentally, the carnage is close.

Since arriving in Johannesburg in 1965, he has never had to peer over his shoulder at his colleagues. Now he does.

### Locked

Newwane and his wife live in the domestic quarters atop a block of flats in Hillbrow. He has stoked the boiler beneath the block for 17 years.

"Every night, I make sure that my door is locked. I am sure there is no need to. All my friends drink and carry on with me as normal. But I am the only Zulu among the other Xhosas, Tswanas and Sothos, and anything can happen," says Newwane.

That comment illustrates the mental legacy of the tribal chauvinism that has left more than 500 people dead and up to 1 000 injured on the Witwatersrand.

It is a legacy that is seeping into the consciousness of many urban black people isolated among others whose tribal affiliations are different.

"I am not a member of Inkatha. No one has been around to ask me to join the organisation. In any event, I will not join Inkatha. The Zulus and Xhosas are one nation, we speak the same language and we need one organisation. So we should not be fighting.

"But I still lock my door at night. And only when the fighting stops, will I feel safe."

Newwane owns a smallholding about 6 km out of Umzinto, on the Natal South Coast. He waxes lyrical about the parties he throws once a year on his return home.

"Whenever I go home, a beast is killed and we drink lots of beer and vodka. All the people

# price of change



RCH: As Kagiso burned, women marched on the local police station where they prayed for an end to the violence.

Photograph: Ken Oosterbroek.

not met and two  
tched battles in the  
major cities left hun-  
ple dead.

ica? No, Romania,  
989.

ory of societies in  
s applied to South  
e is a near perfect  
al and ethnic clea-  
deep, sustained by  
divide-and-rule poli-  
divisions run even  
eral socio-economic  
are poor and class  
are sharp.

cal belief systems  
common ground and  
n for resources is  
petition for political  
A-throat, often liter-  
takes are high and  
second place: the  
s all.

ch conditions the vio-  
e past two weeks in  
a can be explained  
ood. There is no one  
It Nelson Mandela  
ief Buthelezi, socio-  
pliment, mediation,  
e bottom line is that  
lies in a multi-facet-  
h to divergent prob-

hat it may be possi-  
ve in the short term  
contain the violence  
of crisis manage-  
anisms. The worst  
slow down the pro-  
sition because that  
ly fuel the expecta-

tion-frustration cycle and sharp-  
en the competition for political  
power.

There was little or no pros-  
pect of transition in South Africa  
avoiding violence. The theory  
of transitional societies shows  
us that the seeds of instability  
were always going to find very  
fertile ground in South Africa.

Our history of intolerance and  
the total lack of any constitu-  
tional mechanisms for political  
organisations outside of the cur-  
rent parliamentary system to  
demonstrate and mobilise their  
support only made violence  
more inevitable.

**T**he theory of transitional  
societies shows us that South  
Africa is not unique. Some of  
our problems may appear to be  
unique but context proves other-  
wise. What may be different is  
the degree of division and cleav-  
age.

The violence can be resolved  
in the long term but this de-  
pends to a substantial degree on  
what is done to meet expecta-  
tions. The only real way to stop  
the violence is to begin to re-  
move — no matter how slowly  
— those elements which sustain  
it — all of them. And that means  
going forward at almost any  
cost.

● The author is Senior Re-  
search Officer at the SA In-  
stitute of International Af-  
fairs.

## Tribal fears stalk flatland

FOR the first time in 25 years, Anthony Newane  
(41) feels vulnerable.

Newane is physically far from the violence that  
has torn through black townships on the Wit-  
watersrand in the last two weeks, but mentally,  
the carnage is close.

Since arriving in Johannesburg in 1985, he has  
never had to peer over his shoulder at his col-  
leagues. Now he does.

### Locked

Newane and his wife live in the domestic quar-  
ters atop a block of flats in Hillbrow. He has  
stoked the boiler beneath the block for 17 years.

"Every night, I make sure that my door is  
locked. I am sure there is no need to. All my  
friends drink and carry on with me as normal.  
But I am the only Zulu among the other Xhosas,  
Tswanas and Sothos, and anything can happen,"  
says Newane.

That comment illustrates the mental legacy of  
the tribal chauvinism that has left more than 500  
people dead and up to 1 000 injured on the Wit-  
watersrand.

It is a legacy that is seeping into the conscious-  
ness of many urban black people isolated among  
others whose tribal affiliations are different.

"I am not a member of Inkatha. No one has  
been around to ask me to join the organisation. In  
any event, I will not join Inkatha. The Zulus and  
Xhosas are one nation, we speak the same lan-  
guage and we need one organisation. So we should  
not be fighting.

"But I still lock my door at night. And only  
when the fighting stops, will I feel safe."

Newane owns a smallholding about 8 km out of  
Umzinto, on the Natal South Coast. He waxes  
lyrical about the parties he throws once a year on  
his return home.

"Whenever I go home, a beast is killed and we  
drink lots of beer and vodka. All the people

around come to my place because the "madoda"  
comes home. And most of the people who come to  
my 'gumba' are Xhosas. We have a really good  
time. Now, who knows, they might not come this  
year in December."

The simple fears expressed by Newane are  
echoed in many places around Hillbrow.

Gibson Tshabalala runs the "Little Soweto"  
shebeen in the teeming multiracial high-rise sub-  
urb and is well aware of the explosive climate in  
his illicit drinking house.

"Things have been pretty hairy here over the  
past two weeks. People come here and when they  
are drunk, they become vulgar and might say  
some tribalistic things.

"So, I have decided to put into action my plan  
of 'first tribal word, first out'.

"I have kicked out about six people in the last  
two weeks. I don't want any stuff here that is  
going to cause major problems. People in Hill-  
brow are not even affected by the violence. It is  
all in their minds," says Tshabalala.

Like Newane, he is aware of his tribal affilia-  
tion, which is Zulu.

"In a situation where people are fighting be-  
cause of their tribe, I cannot forget my culture.  
But only God knows when we will get rid of this  
thing."

### Fears

"I just want my business to continue without  
interference. If a Zulu comes here and messes  
around with my customers, he is out. The same  
goes for anyone else. I don't want Kagiso in my  
shebeen," avows Tshabalala.

Newane and Tshabalala are both Zulu by tribe,  
but by location have managed to escape the vor-  
tex of violence. But the fears remain — regard-  
less of where one lives. — Sapa.

## Winning unwanted awards

### Greenpiece

JAMES  
CLARKE



**E**NVIRONMENTAL activists  
in the United States are  
turning their attention to man-  
ufacturers who produce throw-  
away articles and excessive  
packaging.

They have hit Kodak — the  
corporation which coined the  
slogan: "Leave nothing but  
footprints" — for producing  
throw-away cameras. (South  
Africa is spared this sort of  
rubbish — Kodak boycotts us.)  
Kodak's throw-away camera  
has won the US environmental-  
ists' Wastemaker Award.

And Coca Cola has won a  
similar award for Minute  
Maid, packed in non-recyclable  
boxes swathed in indestruct-  
ible plastic.

The corporations have been  
asked by a coalition of green  
groups to take the products off  
the market.

A Sapa AP report earlier  
this year quoted an environ-  
mentalist saying: "Madison Av-  
enue advertising agencies have  
taught us that when we see  
these products, we should think  
'convenience'. Our mission is to  
teach consumers that when they  
see these products, they  
should think 'waste and destruc-  
tion of the environment'."

Colgate-Palmolive, which  
has also been awarded a Wastemaker Award for excessive  
packaging around its Fab "one-  
shot detergent", is now redesi-  
gning the packaging and eli-  
minating two components. It  
will also use recycled board.

### Shelf space

And the end product will  
take up only half the shelf  
space.

The thought occurs to me: it  
will also take up only half the  
space in transport terms there-  
by achieving a saving in fuel  
and cutting pollution.

● A "Consumers Against Pol-  
lution" has formed in Grahams-  
town (Box 498, Grahams-  
town 6140). One of their objec-  
tives is to cut down on excessive  
packaging and some mem-  
bers, while still in the super-  
market, strip away what they  
consider to be excessive pack-  
aging.

I am frequently getting let-  
ters from readers complaining  
that supermarkets will not  
take back their plastic bags for  
re-use. Supermarkets say it is  
unhygienic. Fine, but surely  
they can accept them back for  
recycling?

I believe that, in time, public  
opinion will cause supermar-  
kets to do what is done in Brit-  
ain — make shoppers bring  
their own shopping bags.

Incidentally, an American  
who has been staying with me,  
said on his return from Zim-  
babwe: "My gosh that country  
is clean compared with yours!"

It's partly because Zim-  
babwe does not allow drink  
cans or throw-away bottles.

# Govt cracks down

## British will die if West invades'

LONDON — Iraq said yesterday that British detainees would die if there is a Western military invasion of Iraq, Independent Television News said in a report from Baghdad.

The private TV channel quoted Information Minister Latif Nassif al-Jassem as saying: "If Iraqis die, so will the British civilians."

ITN said the Minister referred to more than 230 Britons detained by Iraqi authorities.

In Amman, Jordan, it was reported that desperate Western families trapped in Kuwait have pleaded for US troops to rescue them quickly from a city now gripped by near-panic.

Tension was at fever pitch early today as the final deadline for the closing of foreign embassies drew near.

More stories  
on PAGE 9

Iraqi President Saddam Hussein warned that if diplomats were not out of their embassies by this morning, force would be used to evict them. All embassies, including those of the United States, Britain and France were last night surrounded by heavily armed Iraqi troops (see map on Page 9).

"Get the Americans in here fast," was the message brought to Amman by the exhausted wife of one Briton from Western friends in Kuwait.

The woman was among 42 British embassy dependants who made an arduous 26-hour journey across the desert from Baghdad to Amman. She refused



ELECTRONIC MEETING: Mr de Klerk with Ruda Landman, who conducted the conference.

● Photograph: John Hogg.

## NP ready to form alliance — FW

THE National Party is willing to take the lead in forming a centrist non-racial alliance with other parties even before a new constitution is put into place.

President de Klerk gave this firm indication, in reply to questions during a unique "electronic house meeting" with NP supporters on M-Net's business broadcasting conference network yesterday.

He said that proposals on alliances and opening the party's membership

to other races would be put to NP supporters at the provincial congresses starting this week.

Mr de Klerk was facing a panel of studio guests in M-Net's Randburg studio but also took questions from NP supporters at 30 live meetings and in 400 homes around the country

hooked up to the special M-Net service. The conference was conducted by presenter Ruda Landman.

See **SPEAK OUT** on PAGE 2

Asked if the National Party — with its membership open to all races — could develop as the central force in a broad-based, non-racial centrist alliance, Mr de Klerk said that "most definitely" alliances

would arise in the new South Africa and even before.

Because politics would no longer be racist in the run-up to a new constitution, people would get together on the basis of political philosophy. Many people of colour believed, like the NP, in protection of minorities, in free enterprise and in maintaining law and order.

The NP had stated its conviction that alliances must be formed and

● TO PAGE 2.

## But negotiations with ANC are going ahead

STAFF REPORTERS

IN A MASSIVE security clampdown designed to smother the violence sweeping Transvaal townships, the Government yesterday declared 19 magisterial districts encompassing 27 black townships as "unrest areas".

The measures also included the introduction of wide-ranging unrest regulations in terms of the Public Safety Act and the implementation of section 2 of the Dangerous Weapons Act, which outlaws the necklacing method of killing people.

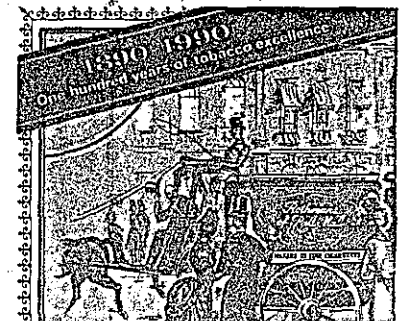
But negotiations between the Government and the ANC for a new South Africa are still on in spite of the crackdown.

The continuation of talks was announced at the Union Buildings late yesterday by ANC deputy-president Nelson Mandela after a 30-minute meeting with President de Klerk.

The security legislation invoked by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok has effectively created mini-states of emergency in 27 black townships.

The 19 magisterial districts affected are (townships listed in brackets): Johannesburg (Soweto, Meadowlands and Diepkloof), Roodepoort (Dobsonville), Benoni (Wattville and Daveyton), Germiston (Kathlehong), Alberton (Tokoza), Kempton Park (Tembisa), Springs (KwaThema), Nigel (Duduza), Kagiso, Balfour (Balfour and Greylingstad residential areas), Delmas (Botleng), Heidelberg (Ratanda), Boksburg (Vosloorus), Brakpan (Tsakane), Vereeniging (Sharpe-

● TO PAGE 2.



P.T.O.

# Govt cracks down

## 'British will die if West invades'

LONDON — Iraq said yesterday that British detainees would die if there is a Western military invasion of Iraq, Independent Television News said in a report from Baghdad.

The private TV channel quoted Information Minister Latif Nassif al-Jassem as saying: "If Iraqis die, so will the British civilians."

ITN said the Minister referred to more than 230 Britons detained by Iraqi authorities.

In Amman, Jordan, it was reported that desperate Western families trapped in Kuwait have pleaded for US troops to rescue them quickly from a city now gripped by near-panic.

Tension was at fever pitch early today as the final deadline for the closing of foreign embassies drew near.

More stories  
on PAGE 9

Iraqi President Saddam Hussein warned that if diplomats were not out of their embassies by this morning, force would be used to evict them. All embassies, including those of the United States, Britain and France were last night surrounded by heavily armed Iraqi troops (see map on Page 9).

"Get the Americans in here fast," was the message brought to Amman by the exhausted wife of one Briton from Western friends in Kuwait.

The woman was among 42 British embassy dependants who made an arduous 26-hour journey across the desert from Baghdad to Amman. She refused



ELECTRONIC MEETING: Mr de Klerk with Ruda Landman, who conducted the conference.

● Photograph: John Hogg.

## NP ready to form alliance — FW

THE National Party is willing to take the lead in forming a centrist non-racial alliance with other parties even before a new constitution is put into place.

President de Klerk gave this firm indication, in reply to questions during a unique "electronic house meeting" with NP supporters on M-Net's business broadcasting conference network yesterday.

He said that proposals on alliances and opening the party's membership

to other races would be put to NP supporters at the provincial congresses starting this week.

Mr de Klerk was facing a panel of studio guests in M-Net's Randburg studio but also took questions from NP supporters at 30 kg meetings and in 400 homes around the country

hooked up to the special M-Net service.

The conference was conducted by presenter Ruda Landman.

See SPEAK OUT on PAGE 2

Asked if the National Party — with its membership open to all races — could develop as the central force in a broad-based, non-racial centrist alliance, Mr de Klerk said that "most definitely" alliances

would arise in the new South Africa and even before.

Because politics would no longer be racist in the run-up to a new constitution, people would get together on the basis of political philosophy. Many people of colour believed, like the NP, in protection of minorities, in free enterprise and in maintaining law and order.

The NP had stated its conviction that alliances must be formed and

● TO PAGE 2.

## But negotiations with ANC are going ahead

STAFF REPORTERS

IN A MASSIVE security clampdown designed to smother the violence sweeping Transvaal townships, the Government yesterday declared 19 magisterial districts encompassing 27 black townships as "unrest areas".

The measures also included the introduction of wide-ranging unrest regulations in terms of the Public Safety Act and the implementation of section 2 of the Dangerous Weapons Act, which outlaws the necklacing method of killing people.

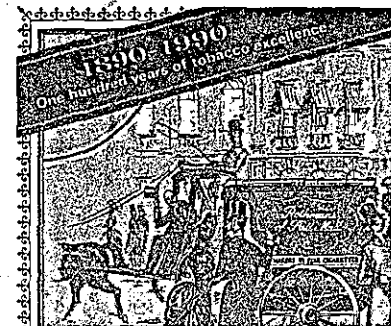
But negotiations between the Government and the ANC for a new South Africa are still on in spite of the crackdown.

The continuation of talks was announced at the Union Buildings late yesterday by ANC deputy-president Nelson Mandela after a 50-minute meeting with President de Klerk.

The security legislation invoked by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok has effectively created mini-states of emergency in 27 black townships.

The 19 magisterial districts affected are (townships listed in brackets): Johannesburg (Soweto, Meadowlands and Diepkloof); Roodepoort (Dobsonville); Benoni (Wattville and Daveyton); Germiston (Kaitleng); Alberton (Tokoza); Kempton Park (Tem-bisa); Springs (KwaThema); Nigel (Duduza); Kagiso; Balfour (Balfour and Greylingstad residential areas); Delmas (Botleg); Heidelberg (Ratanda); Boksburg (Vosloorus); Brakpan (Tsakane); Vereeniging (Sharpe-

● TO PAGE 2, P.T.O.



25/8/90

(11A)

## NEW SA: ALL MUST TAKE PART — IDASA

**A**TTEMPTS should be made to get all "outsiders", including rightwingers, to go along with the transition process to a "new South Africa".

This has been urged by Idasa's executive director, Dr Alex Boraine, as a possible future task for the organisation.

"Although it presents many difficulties, it is my view that Idasa ought to take seriously its responsibilities towards conservative white South Africans in order to encourage them to become participants in the irreversible shift towards a new South Africa," he says.

In such a move a factor to be taken into account is that the rightwing movement is not monolithic.

It has a (pro-violence) "Rambo" factor which should be isolated, according to Dr Boraine, but on the other hand Idasa could concentrate on those rightwingers whose genuine fears and uncertainties make it difficult for them to support negotiation politics.

In the same way the Pan African Congress (PAC) and Azapo are also "on the outside" and should be encouraged to take part in developments.

"It does not augur well for a peaceful and united South Africa in the future if they continue to remain there instead of being involved in the transition process or the negotiations themselves."

**I**N an assessment of Idasa's past and future role, Dr Boraine said there was a "massive task" of building a democratic culture in South Africa. Without such a culture, the country would face even more difficulties than those that were inevitable in future developments.

It was important that much of Idasa's resources be concentrated on encouraging the growth of a democratic culture.

But who is Idasa's constituency? Until now it has focused to a large extent on white South Africans, especially those in influential positions who in turn would be able to influence others to move away from apartheid.

The challenge for the institute, as seen by the outgoing chairman of Idasa's board of trustees, Dr C F Beyers Naude, was how to bring a fearful white community to a new understanding, and to work with those on the left who were deeply suspicious of the National Party.

However, the new chairman, Soweto civic leader Dr Ntatho Motlana, sees a further urgent challenge for Idasa — to allay black fears and promote democratic ideals in the black community. While he appreciates the work done among whites, he believes there is a particular need also to broaden democratic practice and understanding among black youth.

Dr Motlana told Weekend Argus the problem was not so much black fears but the lack of a democratic tradition.

"Democratic principles and ideas are not peculiar to any one group — these things are acquired during a lifespan. They have to be learnt, and the challenge facing us is: How do we strengthen democracy?" he said.

One way of doing this was to hold many conferences, seminars and other discussions in schools and elsewhere to build up a democratic tradition and culture, and to educate people.

**D**R Boraine said the question of Idasa's constituency and the need for a democratic culture in every area of South Africa had been raised with Mr Nelson Mandela. However, the consultation would have to take place "far and wide and over a period of time".

While Idasa had the ability and freedom to organise in the white community and had involved blacks in all its projects, it did not have the same freedom to do so in the black community.

If, however, the need was there — as it no doubt was — and if the ANC's key leadership wanted Idasa's assistance, then the institute could begin to think of joint projects in black areas involving, for example, the South African Council of Churches (SACC), Sayco, Cosatu and the ANC itself.

Dr Boraine likened Idasa's role until now to that of an impresario.

"In crude terms, Idasa has stage-managed events, but has sought to act very much as facilitators."

However, sooner or later Idasa would have to face the question of whether or not it would have to go beyond the role of "impresario" and actually begin to take part actively in events.



11A  
25/8/90

We have come a long way since the days when — in the eyes of the government — talking to the ANC was a disgrace. Now everybody, including the government, is doing it. Much of the spade-work was done by Idasa. Weekend Argus Political Correspondent FRANS ESTERHUYSE reports.

## NEW SA: ALL MUST TAKE PART — IDASA

**A**TTEMPTS should be made to get all "outsiders", including rightwingers, to go along with the transition process to a "new South Africa".

This has been urged by Idasa's executive director, Dr Alex Boraine, as a possible future task for the organisation.

"Although it presents many difficulties, it is my view that Idasa ought to take seriously its responsibilities towards conservative white South Africans in order to encourage them to become participants in the irreversible shift towards a new South Africa," he says.

In such a move a factor to be taken into account is that the rightwing movement is not monolithic.

It has a (pro-violence) "Rambo" factor which should be isolated, according to Dr Boraine, but on the other hand Idasa could concentrate on those rightwingers whose genuine fears and uncertainties make it difficult for them to support negotiation politics.

In the same way the Pan African Congress (PAC) and Azapo are also "on the outside" and should be encouraged to take part in developments.

"It does not augur well for a peaceful and united South Africa in the future if they continue to remain there instead of being involved in the transition process or the negotiations themselves."

**I**N an assessment of Idasa's past and future role, Dr Boraine said there was a "massive task" of building a democratic culture in South Africa. Without such a culture, the country would face even more difficulties than those that were inevitable in future developments.

It was important that much of Idasa's resources be concentrated on encouraging the growth of a democratic culture.

But who is Idasa's constituency? Until now it has focused to a large extent on white South Africans, especially those in influential positions who in turn would be able to influence others to move away from apartheid.

The challenge for the institute, as seen by the outgoing chairman of Idasa's board of trustees, Dr CF Beyers Naude, was how to bring a fearful white community to a new understanding, and to work with those on the left who were deeply suspicious of the National Party.

However, the new chairman, Soweto civic leader Dr Ntatho Motlana, sees a further urgent challenge for Idasa — to allay black fears and promote democratic ideals in the black community. While he appreciates the work done among whites, he believes there is a particular need also to broaden democratic practice and understanding among black youth.

Dr Motlana told Weekend Argus the problem was not so much black fears but the lack of a democratic tradition.

"Democratic principles and ideas are not peculiar to any one group — these things are acquired during a lifespan. They have to be learnt, and the challenge facing us is: How do we strengthen democracy?" he said.

One way of doing this was to hold many conferences, seminars and other discussions in schools and elsewhere to build up a democratic tradition and culture, and to educate people.

**D**R Boraine said the question of Idasa's constituency and the need for a democratic culture in every area of South Africa had been raised with Mr Nelson Mandela. However, the consultation would have to take place "far and wide and over a period of time".

While Idasa had the ability and freedom to organise in the white community and had involved blacks in all its projects, it did not have the same freedom to do so in the black community.

If, however, the need was there — as it no doubt was — and if the ANC's key leadership wanted Idasa's assistance, then the institute could begin to think of joint projects in black areas involving, for example, the South African Council of Churches (SACC), Sayco, Cosatu and the ANC itself.

Dr Boraine likened Idasa's role until now to that of an impresario.

# Terror trial delayed after escape

By DAN DHLAMINI  
c/mas  
26/8/92  
(1A)

THE terrorism trial of alleged Azanian National Liberation Army (Azania) cadre Saxe Mokonyana and six others was postponed this week because Mokonyana escaped from police custody.

He fled after police re-arrested him in court where he and a co-accused were granted bail.

The break-out has delayed a court case which has dragged on for 11 months.

This week lawyer Moss Mavundla, who represents the accused, told the Klerksdorp Regional Court he had been informed by the local station commander that Mokonyana escaped in May.

The State alleged the seven were members of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCMA) of Azania plus its military wing Azania and underwent military and political training in several countries with the aim of violently overthrowing the government.

The State also alleged that Dorris Thako, 18, of Soweto - the only woman in the group - was a platoon commander between 1986 and 1988.

It alleged that Lawrence Kondile, 22, of Port Elizabeth, was head of the intelligence and military committees of the BCMA and acted as an instructor for military training.

The magistrate postponed the case until October 22 and a warrant for Mokonyana's arrest was issued.

The other four are Matikela Mashigana, 27, of Port Elizabeth; Patrick Nthako, 24, of Welkom; Nelson Joyi, 27, of Port Elizabeth and Simon Ndlovu, 18, of Soweto.

# ANC, PAC co-operate on return of exiles

By SANDILE  
MEMELA

IN an effort to make the reception committee for returning exiles non-sectarian, care has been exercised to include many prominent clerics as well as representatives of the ANC, the PAC and Azapo.

About 20 000 ANC exiles are presently planning their return to South Africa in the wake of the negotiated release of political prisoners and indemnity to exiles starting in a phased process from Saturday.

SACC Task Force co-ordinating member Ven-

ita Meya said the National Co-ordinating Committee (NCC) members were largely drawn from the religious section of the community to prevent the body being seen as sectarian.

The chairman of the NCC is SACC general secretary Rev Frank Chikane, who initiated the programme to address the issue of returning exiles.

Other members include Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, president of the Methodist Church in SA, Bishop Stanley Mogoba, Catholic Bishop WF Napier, Methodist Bishop Khoza Mgojo, AME Bishop Sen-

ate and the Rev Paul Makhubo, general secretary of the Council of Independent Churches.

The ANC, PAC and Azapo which will each have two members on the NCC.

The ANC representatives will be Vusi Khanyile and Zanele Mbeki, wife of Thabo Mbeki.

The PAC will be represented by its head of legal affairs, Phillip Dlamini, and a yet-to-be-named delegate.

Azapo will be represented by its vice-president of finance, Peter Jones, and spokesman Pule Pule.



Rev Frank Chikane ... initiator of the programme.



Bishop Stanley Mogoba ... member of the NCC.

c/press 26/8/90



# The future of hostels in the balance today

By SANDILE MEMELA

ANC-aligned organisations will hold a mass meeting in KwaThema, Springs, today, to discuss the thorny issue of the removal of hostels from the area.

East Rand ANC co-ordinator Cyril Jantjies told City Press today was D-Day for the hostel inmates to leave.

"There is a good reason for all hostel inmates to evacuate the hostel as this will restore peace and normality to the area."

Jantjies said there were strong suspicions that elements in the hostels were bent on waging a violent campaign against residents to sabotage talks between the government and the ANC.

KwaThema residents have demanded the complete destruction of the hostel system.

The past two weeks have seen a rift develop between civic leaderships and residents in KwaThema, Kagiso and Tokoza over strategies to restore peace and normality to the trouble-torn areas.

Various community or-

ganisations in KwaThema as well as local town councils, representatives of hostel inmates and police agreed on Thursday the hostel must be evacuated.

"At present there is not much we can say about the demolishing of the hostel. We all agree that that evacuation is one means of getting calm and normality," Jantjies said.

He added police and SADF soldiers have agreed to cordon off the area and help evacuate the remaining inmates to other areas. A rigid system of monitoring the movement of Zulu impis inside the hostel has been set up.

Earlier this week the KwaThema Civic Association's plan to peacefully resettle Zulu impis trapped inside the hostel to another area, was vociferously challenged by a 10 000-strong crowd at the local stadium.

Residents demanded the hostel be demolished to restore normality to community life which was disrupted by the strife which has left at

least 56 dead in KwaThema.

Residents in the area have had little sleep as a result of running battles with Zulu impis in the saga of violence which has left more than 500 dead on the Reef.

And, a week ago a 15 000-strong crowd walked out of a mass meeting over dissatisfaction with Tokoza civic association chairman Sam Ntuli's plea that police help be sought to remove Zulu impis from the hostels.

His idea of granting peaceful concessions to trapped Zulu impis was rejected at the rally.

"We cannot afford to have hostels in our areas as they have been the launching pads for people who want to wage war against peace-loving black people in the country," a resident said.

But, Jantjies said his organisation could not decide the fate of the hostels.

"We cannot give word that the hostels be razed as they do not belong to us. That would only put

us into trouble with the law," he added.

The migratory labour system has created 31 hostels housing close to 125 000 people in Soweto and East Rand townships.

The Urban Areas Act, which was repealed in 1986, was responsible for breaking up millions of families and forcing married men to be bachelors for 11 months every year.

The migrant labourers are thus isolated from both their families and township communities - which have shunned them.

Though influx control has been withdrawn, hostel dwellers remain under the uninhabitable conditions created by it. The past two weeks have seen their frustrations explode into violence.



Thorny problem ... just one group of the many hostels which township residents demand should be razed.

Photo: MIKE MZILENI

# ANC offers olive branch



**Thabo Mbeki: "Nobody should be left out"**

THE ANC has offered the olive branch to rival black political organisations by mooted equal status for all during the process of drawing up a new constitution.

The conciliatory gesture came during a speech to a Five Freedoms Forum conference on Friday by ANC foreign affairs director Thabo Mbeki.

He stressed that rival political organisations not party to current talks with government were wel-

come to put forward their suggestions.

Mbeki said: "These (rival organisations) must enjoy equal weight in the debate aimed at defining the national consensus, which is a critical element in the common effort to arrive at a new reality of justice and peace.

"It must be our task to encourage all other organised formations, whether political or not, to contribute their views and those of their members so that, as far as possible, nobody is left out of the process of developing the national consensus.

"The constitution-making process should not be held back while efforts are made to solve problems ancillary or incidental to this process."

On security, he said: "There is no reason for anybody within the present security forces to oppose change in the

belief that such change will create a situation in which their lives and livelihood will be threatened.

"Rather, they should look forward to the situation when, perhaps for the first time, they would be accepted by all our people as part of a truly national security force."

On the economy, he slated the huge outcry over the question of nationalisation and said it was necessary for the country to have an economic system in which every citizen enjoyed a decent and rising standard of living.

He said: "The time is upon us when the country as whole has to make every effort to end the 'poor black problem'. Private enterprise, the free market and other social instruments will have to play their role in the common effort to address this burning question." - Sapa

# Why we called the ceasefire – ANC

C/Pres 25/8/90 (11A)

**T**HE Pretoria Minute, arising from recent talks between the ANC and the South African Government, has evoked conflicting reactions. These include suggestions that suspension of the armed struggle was a form of betrayal.

The ANC is not deterred by such attacks and is seriously exploring the possibility of achieving peace through a negotiated settlement. The main victims of violence in South Africa are the oppressed people. It is our duty to do everything we possibly can to end the violence and secure lasting peace through a democratic constitution.

Once one enters a process leading to negotiations, one needs to maintain momentum. Deadlocks can derail the entire process. It is important that we constantly monitor our progress towards achieving the objectives of the Harare Declaration.

We need to look critically at our progress and, where necessary, make tactical adjustments that will enhance the possibility of achieving our long-term objectives. Breaking the deadlock was essential.

In the period after the Groote Schuur Minute, the process of removing obstacles had become deadlocked and it was difficult for us to ensure political prisoners would be released and exiles allowed to return.

Whether we wanted it to be or not, the question of the armed struggle featured very prominently in reasons for delays by "the other side".

Just as we initiated the negotiations

process as a whole, we took responsibility for breaking the deadlock. We decided before the Pretoria meeting to offer a unilateral suspension of the armed struggle. This decision, we believe, was the only route to the breakthrough regarding other aspects of the Pretoria agreement.

The Groote Schuur Minute, it will be recalled, did not commit government to the release of political prisoners, stopping political trials or the safe return of exiles. The Pretoria Minute includes a concrete commitment by government to the releases and the safe return of exiles within an agreed period.

At the same time, as with the Groote Schuur Minute, there are aspects of the Pretoria agreement which remain vague and unspecific. In particular, the questions of the state of emergency in Natal and repressive legislation remain unanswered and are questions to be reviewed by the government.

Part of our job, as in the case of release of political prisoners, is to ensure the repeal of all laws used to suppress democratic political activity.

It is important to understand that suspension of the armed struggle does not mean abandonment. We reserve the right to take up arms again should the need arise. It also does not mean we hand over arms or surrender or disclose arms caches. Umkhonto we-Sizwe is not a banned organisation and it is within our rights to maintain its existence and recruitment.

We have committed ourselves to suspend all armed activity. But this does

In the recent Pretoria Minute, the ANC committed itself to suspend all armed activity. But, writes RAYMOND SUTTNER, head of the ANC's department of political education, this does not mean relinquishing the right to self-defence, the need for which has become all the more evident in the recent carnage. Should the government fail to take adequate steps to bring this slaughter to an end, it would make it very difficult for the ANC to continue with the negotiation process and maintain suspension of the armed struggle.

not mean we relinquish the right to self defence, the need of which has become all the more evident in the recent carnage, aided and abetted by State security forces.

If government fails to take adequate steps to bring this slaughter to an end, it will be very difficult for the ANC to continue with talks with this process and maintain the suspension of our armed struggle.

It is important to recognise that the undertaking to suspend armed activity does not mean an undertaking to end militant, mass action. The government failed to secure such an undertaking.

This is the time when the power of the masses must be demonstrated loudly and clearly. Representatives who meet at future ANC/government working groups, at the President's residence or at future negotiating tables need to hear the voice of South Africa and the demand of ordinary people for peace – and their claim, which is correct, that there can be no peace while apartheid exists.

Government also needs to know that we will not rest until we have a demo-

cratic, non-racial society – the long-term guarantor of peace and stability.

Reference has been made to the fact that the ANC, through the Pretoria Minute, has deviated from the process set out in the Harare Declaration. The suspension of armed activity, according to the declaration, was supposed to happen after all the obstacles preventing the creation of a suitable political climate were removed.

This has not happened and new obstacles like increased right-wing and war-lord violence have arisen. Likewise, the suspension of hostilities was to be taken on both sides, but the State has not taken equivalent steps.

The Harare Declaration represented a major strategic initiative with a particular goal. It laid down certain steps considered necessary for the achievement of that ultimate purpose.

Over months of experience in the process leading up to negotiations, we have decided that following the precise sequence of the Harare Declaration does not, at this point in time, serve our long-term goals. We have made tactical adjustments because are pursu-

ing the realisation of our ultimate objectives.

This represents concession and compromise, words which arouse strong emotions. The question is not whether we compromise or not, but whether any particular compromise is justified.

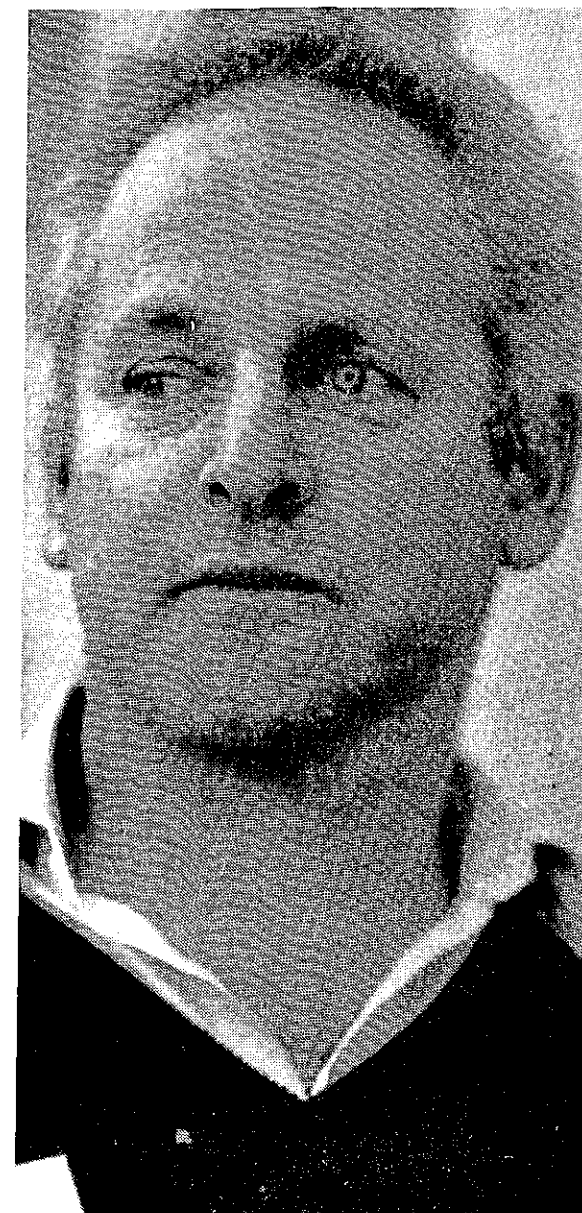
It is justified, we would argue, if it is in the interests of the struggle and if it in no way undermines or negates our ultimate objectives. It is incumbent on us to recognise and act when we see a tactical compromise as essential.

A liberation struggle cannot always move along a straight line, whether it is following a plan outlined in the Harare Declaration or some abstract revolutionary concept.

It is a source of grave concern that the Pretoria agreement does not appear to have led to any significant decline in the State's repressive action against the ANC and its allies.

We find it unacceptable that security forces are doing very little to stop violent action against the ANC by collaborators. We believe the present violence in Natal and the PWV region can be stopped if the government is prepared to take serious steps. Its failure to do so is endangering the entire peace process.

Such matters cannot be left to the government alone. We will use the power of the people, organised in ANC ranks and those of our allies, to bring home to all South Africans that we must have justice, peace, end apartheid and create a new, non-racial and democratic State.



ANC's Raymond Suttner ... it is our duty to do everything we possibly can to end the violence.

**'No free pass for anarchy' warning as troops move in**

# MAGNUS BLASTS ANC



**TOUGH TALK**  
... General Malan tells the ANC to get its act together, or else

ST Times  
26/8/90



By **LESTER VENTER**: Political Correspondent

**USING** the strongest language heard since the peace process began, the Government yesterday fired a broadside at the ANC for failing to curb unrest and intimidation.

"The ANC cannot practise peace and violence at the same time," said Defence Minister Magnus Malan in a sharply worded speech. The peace talks, he said, were not "a free pass to anarchy".

His tough mood is said to reflect impatience that has been boiling up in government circles for weeks.

From now on, it is said, the same standards of conduct will be exacted from the ANC as from any other political movement.

As General Malan spoke, at a military parade, it was announced in Johannesburg that large units of crack troops had been deployed in Reef townships where more than 500 have died in bloody tribal clashes during the past fortnight.

Major-General Wessel Kritzing, of the SADF's Witwatersrand Command, said men from the Parachute Battalion, 32 Battalion, No 1 Special Service Battalion and two infantry battalions had been moved in to help police quell the fighting.

He said said Citizen Force elements would also be called up "to obtain required force levels".

Yesterday the mayhem subsided. After the carnage of the past two weeks, only two more deaths — which

## Pasta professor a la Amanda!

By **MARK STANSFIELD**

**THE SECRET** of TV's prettiest mum is out. The blonde star of the popular TV commercials who cooks up "spaghetti a la Amanda" has just been appointed *Professor of American Literature* at a top US university.

Even more remarkable is that "Amanda" — real name Rita Barnard — is an Afrikaans girl, born in Pretoria, and a graduate of Stellenbosch University.

Former model Rita was back in South Africa last week filming a new version of the popular Fattis and Monis TV ad in which she plays a mum who's a whizz with pasta.

She flew back to America a few days ago to take up her new academic post in the English department at the University of Pennsylvania.

The original Amanda advert — seen by millions of South Africans — is still being screened.

It's the one where her husband and little boy eat up all the salami and she has to improvise a dish of "spaghetti a la Amanda".

**TV SPAGHETTI MUM LANDS JOB TEACHING AMERICAN TO AMERICANS**



**Riddle of Hani and Kei militia**

By **BILL KRIGE**

# Riddle of Hani and Kei militia

By BILL KRIGE

THERE's unease in security circles about the high-profile role of Chris Hani, second-in-command of Umkhonto we Sizwe, in Transkei's defence force. Yesterday Mr Hani denied reports he was engaged in integrating the ANC's military arm with the Transkeian Defence Force.

Major-General Bantu Holomisa, Transkei's military dictator, also dismissed the reports.

Yet the fiery MK leader continues to be a huge drawcard in Transkei, particularly among students and



S1 Times 26/1/90

CHRIS HANI

the Umtata elite. Wearing battledress, he delivers provocative speeches to soldiers and police.

He's protected by heavily armed guards.

General Holomisa says the guards are ANC former prisoners whose weapons come from "old stock". He says they're subservient to the homeland's security establishment.

This week he said Mr Hani came from Transkei and had a right to say what he liked.

A non-aggression pact with SA was being implemented "to the letter".

"But I am not going to dance to Pretoria's music," the general added.

Referring to Mr Hani's high profile, he said: "He has contributed to peace.

"We had labour unrest and disrespect for traditional authority — a general lack of political education.

## Respect

"Chris Hani told youths to go back to school and urged respect for authority. As a result, discipline has improved."

Commenting on the removal of Mr Hani's indemnity in SA, General Holomisa said: "If South Africa wants Mr Hani they will have to follow established channels. So far no application has been made."

Security sources this week claimed that the Transkeian Defence Force had been infiltrated by Umkhonto we Sizwe soldiers — with the blessing of the general.

Interviewed from Umtata, Mr Hani described the allegations as "absolutely ludicrous".

will be exacted from the ANC as from any other political movement.

As General Malan spoke, at a military parade, it was announced in Johannesburg that large units of crack troops had been deployed in Reef townships where more than 500 have died in bloody tribal clashes during the past fortnight.

Major-General Wessel Kritzing, of the SADF's Witwatersrand Command, said men from the Parachute Battalion, 32 Battalion, No 1 Special Service Battalion and two infantry battalions had been moved in to help police quell the fighting.

He said said Citizen Force elements would also be called up "to obtain required force levels".

Yesterday the mayhem subsided. After the carnage of the past two weeks, only two more deaths — which occurred overnight on Friday — were reported.

## Terrorism

As the troops moved in, it was General Malan who expressed the Government's anger over the ANC's failure "to match words with deeds".

"Parties that want to — and should — be participants in SA's future are still not distancing themselves from violence," he said at Voortrekkerhoogte.

He laid into the ANC for its commitment to "mass action".

"I say this mass action is nothing other than mass mobilisation and it includes mass intimidation. It aims at placing pressure on the peaceful negotiating process.

"Not only does it increase antagonism but it suppresses any positive developments on the path of reform.

"Every fair-minded person has the right to ask: How can these actions be reconciled with the contents and spirit of the Groote Schuur Minute and the Pretoria Minute?"

General Malan said five fundamental issues now needed "positive action from the ANC side":

- Peace and violence could not be practised simultaneously. While peace was not a prerequisite for peace talks, the agreements between SA's conflicting parties meant they were in a "new game with new rules".

- Not only the Government should be expected to remove stumbling blocks and act with audacity. "If the Government were to evaluate the ANC at face value it would not consider holding talks with it — purely because of the ANC's bloody deeds of terrorism and destruction."

- There was "a strong impression" the ANC could not get its political house in order and discipline itself.

"It is time the ANC solved this," he said.

## Unrest

- Black leaders should stop blaming each other for the violence within their communities — and ANC leader Nelson Mandela "must also do his bit in this regard".

Mr Mandela had not heeded the willingness of Zulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to talk.

Said General Malan: "It is simply unacceptable that leaders hide behind transparent excuses for not talking to their political opponents."

- Black leaders should stop blaming "state violence" for all problems. Security forces did "excellent and impartial" work under extreme provocation.

"The heart of the matter is that black leaders who want

Vie  
Bis



GET KNOTT  
his ties



# ANC gets a blast



A soldier stands guard outside a Vosloorus hostel during a raid yesterday

From Page 1 (11A)

to take part in discussions on the future of SA are standing before a test: they must tackle violence, unrest and intimidation and stop them.

"The commitment and actions of these negotiating partners should be above suspicion. In this respect it is expected, especially from the ANC, to show unequivocally that it is capable of political discipline.

"At the same time it should spell out clearly what it understands by armed actions and related activities."

These were activities the ANC undertook to abandon in the Pretoria Accord reached with the Government earlier this month.

"The future of succeeding generations is too important to have it dealt with in ambiguous rhetoric," General Malan said.

If various parties could not — or did not want to — stop violence and build confidence, an impression would

be formed that they did not care if SA descended into anarchy.

General Malan said this year's tally of more than 11 000 incidents of violence was greater than the total for the previous three years, and was "ominously" approaching the 14 000 reached at the height of SA violence in 1986.

5/Time 26/6/90

## Exposed

General Malan also said that Operation Vula, a recently exposed ANC and SA Communist Party bid to gear up militarily for a possible collapse of negotiations, had not been halted.

He said there was "proof" that infiltration of fighters and the stockpiling of weapons was continuing. There was now also no co-operation in locating weapons caches.

General Malan warned that negotiations did not mean that law and order would be "thrown out the

back door" or that the authorities would become "soft" on those who disturbed order.

The current phase of talks would be anything but "a free pass to anarchy".

He also ruled out suggestions that the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, should be integrated with the SADF.

So-called "alternative forces" were, in the final analysis, nothing other than military wings of political movements.

"No organisation or political party-in-the-making, like the ANC, can or dare build an armed force alongside the state's Defence Force," he said.

This week two senior government sources said a feeling had built up in the Cabinet that the ANC should be pressured to toe the line in the peace process.

The Government felt the ANC was "getting away with things it shouldn't get away with", one source said.

**THE African National Congress this week unveiled its plan to repatriate thousands of exiles.**

Estimates of the number vary from about 10 000 by Government sources to 30 000 by the ANC.

The first returnees, who will be granted indemnity in terms of the Pretoria Minute, are expected home in less than six weeks.

The ANC was at pains this week to warn its internal supporters that this would be no victorious homecoming.

The organisation said it wanted to keep the exercise "low-key", mindful that the exiles would be coming home to massive homelessness, large-scale unemployment and a deep education crisis.

The ANC is also anxious to dispel the notion of a well-funded movement flying thousands of members in on United Nations planes and buying all available property to accommodate them.

Said Vusi Kkanyile, head of the ANC's finance department: "People seem to have this mistaken belief that the ANC has stacks of money and is ready to buy every building on sale.

"We have limited financial resources and will not be able to buy a house or rent one for each of the people coming home.

"With all the goodwill in the world, the repatriation

# Thousands expected, but it will be a low budget homecoming

By **MANDLA TYALA**

programme cannot be met by charity and private donations alone.

"We are mobilising various communities to come up with innovative ideas to ensure their sons and daughters coming home will live in dignity. In fact, some areas have established reception committees on their own initiative."

Mr Khanyile said South Africa would not see a Nami-

bian-style operation which housed returning exiles in tents in reception centres before they were integrated into their communities.

"That was different," said Mr Khanyile. "Those people came home at the end of a conflict. There was a deadline. They had to be integrated speedily into society before the elections could begin.

"Our people are coming home in the middle of the conflict. They are coming home to join the struggle against apartheid."

Mr Khanyile also ruled out reported plans of a massive United Nations airlift.

This is the ANC's plan:

- An external repatriation committee has been set up to take a census of the exiles. The ANC says it does not have exact figures of displaced South Africans wishing to come home under its auspices, but return forms have started flowing in.

- The ANC will continue to run external operations established to create employment for the exiles — farms, schools, clinics and manufacturing firms.

- Internally, a social welfare department, to be headed by Mrs Winnie Mandela, has been set up. Its main function will be to help the ANC respond to the needs of returnees.

- Owing to the crisis in education, the ANC is encouraging exiles studying abroad, not to abandon their studies.

- The organisation says it has not yet bought any properties in SA to accommodate exiles, but it has compiled an inventory of idle properties.

Return of the ANCO

STW 26/18/90

exiles

**OPINION 2**

**THE MANDELA MANDATE**

DURBAN'S Point Road is not a very salubrious area. How can it be, when at the end of the road sits Africa's biggest port? The pavements are oily from the docks and at night African squatters sleep in domino-leaning rows in the shop-fronts, 20 or 30 to a shop.

But nobody sleeps too much here: there are too many raucous clip-joints, too much fast, tough action from moving cars and dodging dudes.

Its bars are full of working-class white men wearing shorts and T-shirts in the winter heat, ready to talk boxing, buy you a drink or throw a punch or two. Such men are racists but many will sleep with a black hooker before the night is over.

Although those bars are formally integrated — every public facility now is — no African or Indian will wander in. They just wouldn't feel good in there somehow.

Just along the street are some quite reasonable restaurants. Six months ago these were pretty much lily-white too. Not now. Tonight I counted the diners: three Chinese, six whites, eight Africans and 12 Indians.

The African women, you can't help but notice, often wear yellow and green which, against their black skins, give you the ANC colours. Except, of course, these are the Inkatha colours too and in Durban you never know.

That, I decided, rather sums the situation up. Change is rapid, and sometimes, despite islands of continuity, quite overwhelming. But often you're not quite sure what it means, what exactly is going on.

On the face of it the whole country is basking in quite unparalleled perestroika and glasnost.

Everything is visibly more relaxed now. Nelson Mandela was due in on the next aircraft after mine and there was the normal reception committee waiting.

The police mingled cheerfully with the activists who sported hammer-and-sickle T-shirts and other South Africa Communist Party insignia.

## Peace

Six months ago this would have been unthinkable but the friendly rapport between police and activists was undoubtedly genuine. Each night on TV you can see similar scenes as the ANC and the hard-pressed police work together to contain the latest eruption of township violence.

For that is the reality. The ANC has suspended its armed struggle and for the first time in 30 years blacks and whites are officially at peace — but the whole land is racked by violence.

The daily toll in the morning newspaper is now taken almost for granted, as is the fact that virtually all this violence sees blacks killing other blacks.

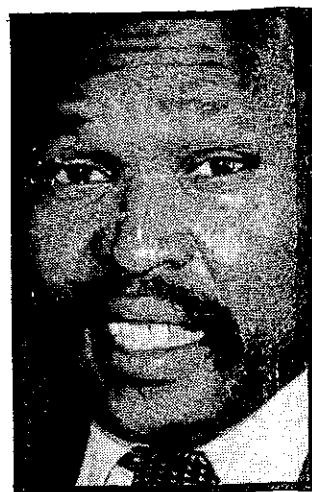
The main interest centres on where the latest outbreak has taken place and what is its proximate cause. The ANC and police alike tend to blame the violence on "criminal elements" but this doesn't explain much and even when both sides are working together — as happens increasingly often — they seem powerless to stop it by community means. Only the arrival of the army really works.

Political assassination is also rife — the bodies of two ANC activists have just been recovered in Ndwedwe (with the ANC blaming Inkatha), several Azanian People's Party (AZAPO) activists have been similarly murdered (with AZAPO blaming the ANC), and one of the dissident ANC guerrillas who returned with blood-curdling revelations about mutiny and torture in the ANC's Angolan camps



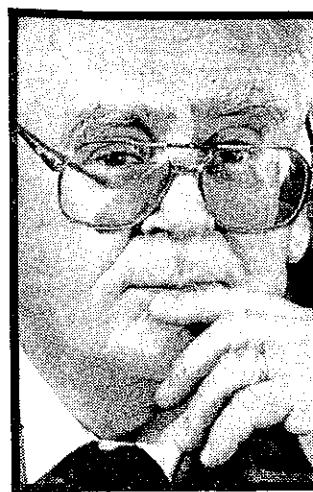
WINNIE MANDELA: Humiliated her husband by her comments, but he is devoted to her

5/1 Times



MURPHY MOROBE: Distanced the UDF from Winnie, and is now said to be "licking stamps"

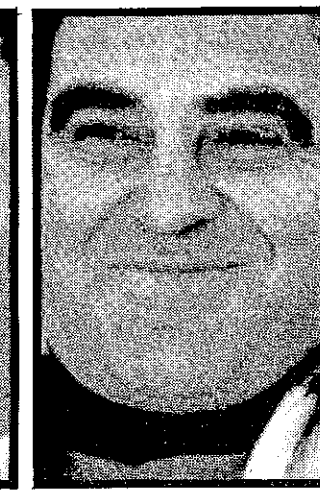
26/8/90



JOE SLOVO: Strong-armed out of his chair at Pretoria talks by Alfred Nzo



CHRIS HANI: Umkhonto leader who sees himself as Mandela's radical rival/successor



RONNIE KASRILS: Loyal SACP party man who echoed the Hani line on armed struggle

# Historian R W Johnson argues that murder, political uncertainty and economic ruin face South Africa if he cannot establish his authority



has now been found in Transkei with a bullet through his head.

And, of course, all sorts of purely personal scores are also being settled amid the general mayhem.

One reason for the violence is that what blacks generally call "the repressive apartheid state" has lost all legitimacy and credibility as a result of the political changes of the last six months.

Which means, to many blacks, that you may as well settle your old feuds now, especially since the new, softer police line means you can get away with more without being thumped. The ANC, for its part, has been very slow to organise.

Everywhere it depends on local "leaders" imposed from above or who have imposed themselves with a similar absence of election.

Few within the ANC seem to have much idea or even concern about how to run a mass membership party and both democratic procedure and recruitment efforts are frequently shambolic.

Only when Mr Mandela returned from his recent world tour was it discovered that even he had never actually joined the ANC and he had to be formally signed up.

So once again appearances are deceptive; the ANC clearly enjoys diffuse and massive support, but its membership remains small and the movement simply has no disciplined apparatus with which to deal with township violence.

But the biggest mystery still revolves around the "insurrectionist Red plot", Operation Vula, mounted by the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), and uncovered by President De Klerk with much fanfare. The ANC press has poo-hoed the whole business as a mere propaganda ploy by Mr De Klerk, but this is to miss almost everything.

The first thing to note is that after the first meeting between the Government and the ANC the stringent security precautions in airports, shopping centres and elsewhere were almost wholly relaxed.

This could only have occurred as a

result of a firm ANC commitment to end its "armed struggle", though that commitment was kept wholly secret at that stage, doubtless because the ANC needed time to get its radicalised following to accept such a climb-down.

Moreover, such a decision was bound to be deeply unpopular with those SACP activists who have made MK their personal commitment and political base.

In particular, Chris Hani, the MK leader, continued to give the sort of incendiary speeches which play well to the young "comrades". Mr Hani, it should not be forgotten, sees himself as Mandela's radical rival/successor.

The first sign that something odd was happening was the detention of two well-known MK supporters in Durban. Normally this would have unleashed a torrent of ANC demands for "the release of our comrades". In fact the ANC said and still says nothing about these cases. Then came the police swoop and their revelation of Operation Vula.

## Opposed

The scorn of the ANC press has been exclusively focused on the police's mistaken allegation that the SACP leader Joe Slovo was at the meeting — but the large, uncontested fact was that military preparations had been under way long after the ANC had clearly promised the Government that they would stop. Confronted with this fact Mr Mandela temporised.

When Mr De Klerk asked that Mr Slovo be dropped from the ANC's delegation, Mr Mandela did not resist such a request out of hand, as might have been expected, but simply said that the matter was "under consideration".

At this point one has to fill in a lot of blanks. Mr Mandela as a young man was strongly opposed to the SACP and opposed the ANC's alliance with the party. Later he accepted this but resisted all attempts to get him to join the SACP, despite endless invitations and despite,

the fact that a majority of the ANC leadership had taken a party card.

We also know that in jail he had bitter arguments with those ANC members, led by Govan Mbeki, who were SACP.

Put all this together and you realise that Mr Mandela may well have been willing to believe that the SACP was mounting an action of its own, that it could not be trusted.

What is certainly very odd is that although 40 ANC/SACP members are still in police detention, including Mac Maharaj, an ANC executive member, talks went ahead with the Government and no peep of protest was raised about the continuing detention of Maharaj and the others.

Mr De Klerk laid his evidence about Vula before the major Western embassies — who communicated to the ANC in no uncertain terms their furious disapproval that its commitment to peaceful negotiations had been compromised in this way.

Mr Mandela, who is well aware that the ANC owes everything to international pressure and almost nothing to "the armed struggle", was badly squeezed.

At this point, Ronnie Kasrils, the former MK chief of intelligence who was on the run from the police for his own part in Vula, popped up to give a press conference echoing the Hani line: why should MK not continue the armed struggle, after all there was no truce, the police and army were still intact, etc?

Again, the impression was very clearly that of a separate SACP line being pressed upon the "Africanist" leadership of the Mandela-Sisulu elders.

Mr Mandela then saw Mr Slovo and extracted from him assurances that he, at least, had nothing to do with Vula. But any misgivings Mr Mandela still harboured about Mr Slovo he simply had to swallow, for the politi-

cal fact of life is that the SACP controls the ANC national executive.

When the five-man ANC delegation for the Pretoria talks was chosen, three (Slovo, Modise, Mbeki) were SACP members — and the entourage which attended this delegation at the talks was also overwhelmingly SACP.

It was, though, a strangely chastened Mr Slovo who took the field on this occasion. He had dominated the ANC delegation at the first round of talks, winning plaudits from the Government as the most intelligent member of the opposition side.

In Pretoria the talks began with Mr Slovo being strong-armed out of his chair next to Mr Mandela by Alfred Nzo, the other non-SACP delegate. Mr Slovo was so quiet this time as to merit the nickname "silent Joe" from the Government side.

On the substance, Mr Mandela seems to have got his way entirely: any hope for a separate SACP line was quashed by an immediate and public suspension of the armed struggle, even though this meant departing sharply from the Harare Declaration which the ANC had hitherto treated as holy writ.

## Trouble

The internal ANC line is now that those involved in Vula were actually a dissident faction. This is a strange notion — too many of those detained for their part in Vula are too high up in the SACP for it to be at all easy to believe that they could have acted as they did without the party's blessing.

Mr Kasrils, who was involved in Vula and hotly defended it, is something like number three or four in the SACP hierarchy, after all.

And anyone who knows him (and I do — indeed the Security Police accused me of hiding him when he was on the run in the 60s) will vouch that he is a totally loyal and disciplined party man.

The early suspension of the armed struggle was bound to cause the ANC trouble with its radical wing — neither Mr Hani nor Mr Kasrils could possibly

have spoken the way they did in the last few weeks had they expected such a decision — and for Mr Hani his whole political base is now at stake.

Without doubt Mr Mandela could only hope to make the new line stick by putting his immense personal authority behind it. A great deal of money is riding on this: numerous Western donors, starting with the US Government, have made aid to the ANC conditional on its abandonment of the armed struggle.

At this delicate point enter Winnie Mandela, taking it upon herself to lay down policy for the ANC and MK although she holds office in neither: violence must not cease, she says.

Mr Mandela, humiliated at this public disavowal by his wife, suddenly became unavailable for comment and cancelled public appearances. His oldest comrade, Walter Sisulu, went on TV to disavow Winnie's "mistake".

There is a real Winnie problem — a decision must still be made whether to put her on trial as an accessory to the murder of Stompie Moeketsi. But Mr Mandela is utterly devoted to her and she remains extremely powerful.

When the Moeketsi murder burst surface last year, United Democratic Front leader Murphy Morobe finally distanced the movement from her. Winnie swore to be avenged on Mr Morobe and sure enough he has suffered a complete political eclipse — his role in the movement now was described to me as "licking stamps".

Meanwhile Winnie's entourage still includes former members of the notorious "football team". Even within the ANC many are very frightened of her.

What Winnie tirelessly demonstrates is that the political division between radicals and realists within the ANC runs through the Mandela family too. But the shenanigans over the ending of the armed struggle are but a foretaste of what is to come.

For if the ANC has now decided that the De Klerk Government is the sort of government you can work with and negotiate with, then it will soon become very difficult to argue that boycotts and sanctions are still appropriate.

Similarly, if the ANC wants peace in Natal there is no way it can avoid being

shoe-horned into open negotiations with Dr Buthelezi before long. And both of these decisions will be almost impossibly difficult for its radical wing to swallow. One can see a lengthening list of such decisions ahead.

Not surprisingly, all this uncertainty is not good for the economy — latest forecasts are for a 0.5 percent growth rate this year although just to stop unemployment from increasing the country needs a 3.5 percent growth.

For several years now the fastest-growing part of the economy has been in firms providing electronic security — the Rolls-Royce of the sector being a firm which guarantees that within five minutes of your pressing an electronic bleeper their heavily armed guards will arrive to assist you wherever you are.

But it's difficult to believe that an economic future can be built by having yet more men tearing round this country with guns.

The only really good economic news is the Iraq-Kuwait war which has sent the gold price racing upwards again. But all the while the rich are stealthily leaving — at the lower end of the white housing market prices are firm as segregation goes and black buyers appear, but the upper end of the market is down by a real 25 percent in six months.

Capital and confidence are leaking away, producing economic stagnation and more unemployment. And nothing will increase black-on-black violence more than rising unemployment.

For years the ANC has cheered on international disinvestment from South Africa. It is now extremely urgent for the ANC to see that it must reverse that flow if it is to have a hope of satisfying its followers' pent-up demands, indeed if it is to prevent the future from being very gloomy indeed.

The irony is, of course, that the approach towards power of the ANC-SACP may cause disinvestment on an unprecedented scale. Hence the strangely mixed atmosphere.

## Bitterness

The nub of the problem is this: the urgent priority both for the ANC and the country is the most rapid possible progress towards peace and prosperity, but to keep its radical wing happy the ANC is pushed towards a confrontational line against De Klerk and Buthelezi on sanctions and so on — stances which hurt peace and prosperity.

The bitterness which produces that urge to confrontation is, of course, only too easy to understand, but pandering to it now means that the ANC behaves like an eternal opposition party rather than a future government. On the other hand, not to pander to it means threatening the unity of the movement and losing support to the Pan African Congress.

The only way to reconcile these choices is for Mandela to haul the movement bodily towards realism, putting his authority on the line every time. This is pretty clearly what he'd like to do — but with everyone trying to make his job harder it will be no easy walk to freedom.

□ R W Johnson teaches history at Magdalen College, Oxford, and is author of the book *Can South Africa Survive? This article appeared in the New Statesman.*

# Win a Volk

Chris Hanl told youths to go back to school and urged respect for authority. As a result, discipline has improved.

Commenting on the removal of Mr Hanl's indemnity in SA, General Holomisa said: "If South Africa wants Mr Hanl they will have to follow established channels. So far no application has been made."

Security sources this week claimed that the Transkeian Defence Force had been infiltrated by Umkhonto we Sizwe soldiers — with the blessing of the general.

Interviewed from Umtata, Mr Hanl described the allegations as "absolutely ludicrous".

## Respect

A non-aggression pact with SA was being implemented. "But I am not going to dance to Pretoria's music," the general added.

Referring to Mr Hanl's high profile, he said: "He has contributed to peace. We had labour unrest and disrespect for traditional authority — a general lack of political education."

Chris Hanl told youths to go back to school and urged respect for authority. As a result, discipline has improved.

Commenting on the removal of Mr Hanl's indemnity in SA, General Holomisa said: "If South Africa wants Mr Hanl they will have to follow established channels. So far no application has been made."

Security sources this week claimed that the Transkeian Defence Force had been infiltrated by Umkhonto we Sizwe soldiers — with the blessing of the general.

Interviewed from Umtata, Mr Hanl described the allegations as "absolutely ludicrous".



CHRIS HANL

5 Times 26/8/90

THREE'S unease in security circles about the high profile role of Chris Hanl, second-in-command of Umkhonto we Sizwe, in Transkei's defence force. Yesterday Mr Hanl denied reports he was engaged in integrating the ANC's military arm with the Transkeian Defence Force.

Major-General Bantu Holomisa, Transkei's military dictator, also dismissed the reports.

Yet the fiery MK leader continues to be a huge draw-card in Transkei, particularly among students and

By BILL KRIGE

# Riddle of Hanl and Kei milita

# Is an organisation lurking behind all those headlines?

SI Times 26/8/90

DOES the ANC actually exist — as an organisation — beyond the rhetoric and the headlines?

This must be the question the Government is asking itself. It certainly is one ordinary South Africans are posing.

What is apparent is that the Africa National Congress does not initiate the violence in the country, does not direct it, does not control it and cannot end it.

## Unheeded

Unless, of course, one is so cynical as to believe the ANC's signing of the Pretoria Minute is just another ploy and that its frequent appeals for peace are a camouflaged message which mean exactly the opposite.

That would mean the belligerent statements of Winnie Mandela and Chris Hani represent the real face of the ANC.

But that is too preposterous to take seriously.

Which leaves the country with a very worrying question — whether the ANC is in a position to deliver what it promises.

So far, there is not too

## Harald Pakendorf asks, in the wake of the Transvaal violence, whether it is the ANC directing events or events directing the ANC

much evidence to support such a possibility.

Nelson Mandela's appeals for peace go unheeded. When Zulu and Xhosa gang up on each other and when Inkatha and ANC do the same, the best the ANC leadership can do is not good enough — the carnage simply continues.

The ANC seems to have been reduced to the position of the old PFP, the same one that the Democratic Party is about to re-enter: to accept, in other words, that it has been sidelined.

If Hani really has those disciplined, well-trained elements of Umkhonto inside the country, why does the ANC not use them to help discipline its followers?

And those ANC allies, the communists and trade unionists in the SACP and Cosatu — it is difficult to say where the one ends

and the other begins — also seem to have no influence on the ground and cannot get to the grassroots support they claim to have.

Perhaps they don't have that support. Perhaps they represent far fewer people than they like all and sundry to believe.

Simply to blame it all on the police is just not good enough. It is an argument which increasingly won't wash, particularly as the ANC at the same time calls for the State to intervene even more harshly.

Certainly, the role of Inkatha in all of this needs to be examined — but that is another issue.

Perhaps a kinder version of the ANC's patent inability to influence events on the ground is to accept that it is finding it exceedingly difficult to make the transition from being a liberation organi-

sation to being just another political party.

And that it does not have the funding or the organisation to control its people.

And that the leadership is divided on such issues as whether talks should be held with Mangosuthu Buthelezi, on how close the SACP and Cosatu should be to the ANC, on whether the discussions with the Government are not going too far and too fast and that its followers are being left behind, and that it is concerned that international sympathy is swinging away from it towards the Government.

## Rhetoric

All of that may be true — and probably is — but it does leave the over-riding questions: How much influence does the ANC have? How strong is it in fact?

Only the ANC can answer. But not in speeches, not in argument, not in rhetoric. It has to do so on the ground by providing leadership to the mass of its followers.

It must do it by doing something.

ANC League marches to Tuynhuys

# Women demos seek "warlords" arrest

A SMALL group of women from the ANC Women's League marched from District Six to President FW de Klerk's Tuynhuys office in Cape Town on Saturday.

They presented a memorandum to officials calling on Government to end violence in the townships; to disband the KwaZulu police; to do away with hostels and to create a disaster crisis fund to assist families uprooted by the violence on the Witwatersrand.

They also called for the arrest of "warlords" in townships and the lifting of the state of emergency in Natal. The women called for a judicial commission of inquiry into the violence and said security forces must play "an effective and impartial role as peacekeepers".

Hostels have proved to be breeding grounds for attacks against surrounding communities", the memorandum said. The memorandum, drawn up by Mrs Albertina Sisulu, wife of ANC internal head Mr Walter Sisulu, also said the Women's League was seeking meetings with De Klerk's wife Maricke.

Meetings were also sought with the wife of Law and Order Minister Mr

Adriaan Vlok and Health Minister Dr Eugene Terre'Blanche and khaki-clad bodyguards were observing the march.

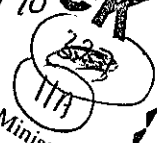
Among the group was ANC Western Cape executive member Ms Cheryl Carolus, recently released after having been detained in an ANC march earlier in the week.

"The women of South Africa protest in the strongest terms against the violence," the statement said, adding that if the conflict had been in white residential areas, or if the victims had been white, police would have taken stronger action.

The SAP had "failed to protect communities from attack" and had not shown impartiality to "Inkatha vigilantes", it said.

The march was part of a nationwide co-ordinated series of marches by the ANC Women's League scheduled throughout SA on Saturday. - Sapa.

Sowetan 27/8/90



ANC League marches to Tuynhuys

# Women demos seek "warlords" arrest

Sowetan 27/8/90



A SMALL group of women from the ANC Women's League marched from District Six to President FW de Klerk's Tuynhuys office in Cape Town on Saturday.

Adriaan Vlok and Health Minister Dr Rina Venter.

They presented a memorandum to officials calling on Government to end violence in the townships; to disband the KwaZulu police; to do away with hostels and to create a disaster crisis fund to assist families uprooted by the violence on the Witwatersrand.

Amid rumours in the 100-strong crowd that the leader of the AWB, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche and khaki-clad bodyguards were observing the march, the group made its way to Tuynhuys under police escort.

They also called for the arrest of 'warlords' in townships and the lifting of the state of emergency in Natal.

Among the group was ANC Western Cape executive member Ms Cheryl Carolus, recently released after having been detained in an ANC march earlier in the week.

The women called for a judicial commission of inquiry into the violence and said security forces must play 'an effective and impartial role as peacekeepers'.

"The women of South Africa protest in the strongest terms against the violence," the statement said, adding that if the conflict had been in white residential areas, or if the victims had been white, police would have taken stronger action.

"Hostels have proved to be breeding grounds for attacks against surrounding communities", the memorandum said.

The SAP had "failed to protect communities from attack" and had not shown impartiality to "Inkatha vigilantes", it said.

The memorandum, drawn up by Mrs Albertina Sisulu, wife of ANC internal head Mr Walter Sisulu, also said the Women's League was seeking meetings with De Klerk's wife Maricke.

The march was part of a nationwide co-ordinated series of marches by the ANC Women's League scheduled throughout SA on Saturday. - Sapa.

Meetings were also sought with the wife of Law and Order Minister Mr



# ANC's reaction shocks Vlok

(11A)

LAW and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok has expressed astonishment at the ANC's dissatisfaction with the declaration of 27 magisterial districts as unrest areas.

Vlok noted that ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela had, on several occasions, accused the Government of not using the powers it had to put an end to the unrest.

## Media

He said there was an essential difference between the declaration of areas of unrest and the declaration of a State of Emergency.

When he announced at a Friday news conference the measures to stop violence in black residential areas, Vlok said the news-gathering activities of the media would not be curbed. He called on the media not to increase violence through their actions in unrest areas, however.

The Commissioner of Police, Gen Johan van der Merwe, also assured the media that they would not be removed from unrest areas if they merely observed events.

Vlok at the weekend invoked security legislation effectively creating mini states of emergency in 27 black townships and banning the carrying of firearms and other dangerous weapons in certain circumstances.

He also pledged to "drastically increase" the number of SA Police and Defence Force members in the areas affected.

The effect of declaring 27 unrest areas under Section 5 (a) of the Public Safety Act is to allow authorities there wide powers to suppress unrest through, for example, detentions, curfews and confiscations.

60-2-71 27/1/90

## Affected

The order, which affects all east and west rand townships, is valid for three months unless renewed or rescinded.

The townships affected are: Soweto, Meadowlands, Diepkloof, Dobsonville, Wattville,

Daveyton, Katlehong, Tokoza, Tembisa, KwaThema, Duduza, Balfour's black residential area, Greylingstad's black residential area, Botleng, Ratanda, Vosloorus, Tsakane, Alexandra, Sharpeville, Sebokeng, Evaton, Bophelong, Boipatong, Mohlakeng, Bekkersdal, Kagiso and Munsieville.

The weapons legislation banned the carrying of firearms and other dangerous weapons such as knives, axes, pangas, knouts, spears, petrol bombs and forks at gatherings - Sapa

ANC members  
*Cap. T. 25/8/70* held in Bop

PRETORIA. — Bophuthatswana security forces detained members of the executive of a newly launched branch of the ANC in Mabopane on Sunday.

A Bophuthatswana police spokesman confirmed that seven people had been detained on suspicion of holding an illegal gathering. Sapa

# Petrol bombs raze 11 shacks

11A (26) (27) Staff Reporter *Cape Times* 27/8/90

A FURTHER 11 shacks were burnt out in Old Crossroads at the weekend in continuing conflict between rival factions in the squatter settlement.

Residents of Section One said they did not know who was responsible for the petrol-bomb attacks, which occurred on the common boundary between territory controlled by the Mayor, Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana, and that of local ANC leader and break-away headman Mr Jeffrey Nongwe.

Special police constables patrolled the still smouldering ruins early yesterday while victims tried to reclaim building materials.

Mr Adonijar Rangula, whose shack was razed during an early-morning raid yesterday, said he and four others living there had lost all their clothing, furniture and personal possessions in the blaze.

They planned to shelter in the nearby Noxolo School until they had rebuilt the shack, he said.

Friends who were helping him sift through the ashes complained that police teargas had prevented them from trying to put out the fire.

A police spokesman, Major Gys Boonzaaier, said a police patrol was attacked by a stone-throwing mob and used tear smoke and birdshot to disperse them. There were no injuries.

● Mr Nongwe told the Cape Times after leading a New Zionist Church service yesterday that he wanted to arrange a meeting with Mr Ngxobongwana in Nyanga. He denied that he harboured any animosity towards the Pan African Congress, who have accused the ANC of unprovoked attacks on their members in Old Crossroads.

CAPL Times 29/8/90 (29/8/90)

# SADCC calls for greater co-operation

GABORONE. — Botswana President Quett Masire has called on Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) planners to develop a single airline, railway system and shipping corporation.

Speaking at the opening of the SADCC's new headquarters in Gaborone on Friday, Masire said that wish could be translated into reality if the 10-member states were willing to work together to achieve the greater economies of scale that would arise.

The SADCC said in a communique after the summit that PAC president Zeph Motho-

peng and ANC secretary general Alfred Nzo had attended.

The communique expressed appreciation at the easing of tensions in the region and the encouraging prospects for a democratic SA which would "enhance the efforts for co-operation among the countries of the region, including SA".

Masire, who was re-elected SADCC president at the summit, was speaking at celebrations held to mark the tenth anniversary of the organisation, initiated primarily to lessen the region's dependence on SA.

He was joined on the podium

by the heads of state of eight SADCC member countries, the exceptions being Malawi and Angola, who had sent senior representatives.

He said the region's heavy debt burden of about \$25bn and attendant debt service ratios had exacerbated its economic plight.

The early part of the decade was marked by a period of decline, but in the past three years significant progress had been made in arresting the situation.

The SADCC's Programme of Action had ensured that a number of transport corridors were now operational, with

traffic on the Beira and Maputo corridors increasing by 16% and 21% respectively over the past two years.

"Our continued reliance on the more costly SA transport network would, therefore, appear largely the result of the security situation in Angola and Mozambique."

He said the Programme of Action contained 546 projects valued at \$7,9bn of which 38,4% had been secured.

He expressed the hope that in the future, as the region's economic means improved, its contribution to financing the programme would rise beyond the current 11%.

# Don't be hypnotised by ANC, says PAC man

THE PAC is a shadowy, enigmatic presence in radical, anti-apartheid South African politics. A powerful force under Robert Sobukwe in the Sharpeville days, the organisation largely has been elbowed off centre stage by the ANC.

But its general secretary, Benny Alexander, warns observers of the South African political scene not to be hypnotised by all the publicity surrounding the ANC.

Alexander says: "People must be very careful of becoming enticed by that outdated Soviet

authentic representative' situation in black liberation politics. That idea has been proved wrong, not only in Zimbabwe but also in Namibia."

He acknowledges the PAC does not have anything like the resources of the ANC. "But while they go around every week issuing statements saying how many offices they have opened up, we are out there establishing branches. We are winning members away from them - people who are coming to us because they believe in what we stand for and feel the ANC leadership is selling out by talking to De Klerk."

Born near Kimberley 34 years ago, the short, moon-faced Alexander does not look like a radical who could foam at the mouth with slogans like "one settler, one bullet" and "Africa for the Africans."

An organiser with an Africanist-aligned trade union in the 1980s, he says he supports the slogans but points out, with quiet reasonableness, that the PAC is often misunderstood because of a "conspiracy of silence between the Government and the Government-supporting media."

Few of the organisation's critics - both at home and abroad

bother to look deeper into the slogans, preferring to label the PAC as revolutionary and anti-white, he says.

"We are not racists who want to kill all whites simply because of the colour of their skins."

The reverse is true, he maintains.

"We believe only in one race, the human race. Even the ANC is a racist organisation simply because it acknowledges, even at the core of its philosophy, that people differ because of skin pigmentation or appearance."

SA Special Dispatch

11A

06/08/90  
27/08/90  
50 mg/for

# ANC forms four more Cape branches

By VUYO BAVUMA, Staff Reporter

FOUR branches of the ANC with more than 1 720 members were officially launched at the weekend.

This brings the number of the ANC's paid-up members to more than 8 500 in the western and southern Cape.

Section 1 in Guguletu was launched yesterday and has 367 paid-up members.

Mr Alpheus Ndude, acquitted in the Yengeni terrorism case, was elected chairman and ID Mkize teacher Mr Andile Jonas publicity secretary.

The Woodstock, Walmer and Salt River branch was launched at Community House.

At the launch Mr Reggie September, an executive member of the ANC in the Western Cape, urged members to be politically tolerant.

Elected executive members included chairman Mr Siraj Desai and political education officer Mr Willie Hofmeyr, both civil-rights lawyers.

An Nyanga branch was launched with Mr Christopher Toise as chairman.

In Langa Mr Sindile Mathanjana, who served 18 years on Robben Island for terrorism, was elected chairman.

The Mbekweni branch was launched with 463 members.

# ANC-DP talks delay blow

Star 27/8/90 (11A)  
By Peter Fabricius,  
Political Correspondent

The postponement of in-depth talks between the ANC and the Democratic Party planned for this weekend is expected to increase the chances of dissension and even of a split at the DP's national congress on September 7 and 8.

DP sources said the meeting would have helped to resolve the tensions in the party between those in favour of closer links with the ANC and those against.

"The calling-off of the meeting means we go into the congress in great uncertainty and tension. It makes us more vulnerable to dissension and even splitting," a party source said.

He said the ANC meeting would have helped to identify

those for and against closer ANC links and could have worked out a compromise position.

Some sources said the ANC meeting might have brought home the realisation to pro-ANC members of the DP that the ANC did not want them anyway.

Rory Riordan, DP executive member and chairman of the Human Rights Trust, who organised the ANC meeting, confirmed last night that the ANC had sought the postponement because the leaders who would have taken part were "too busy trying to end the township violence".

The DP was disappointed, but accepted this explanation. He said the ANC had given a firm

undertaking to hold the meeting once the township fighting had diminished.

The tension between the opposing camps in the DP is expected to come to the surface when the congress debates a motion proposing that the party change its constitution to allow dual membership of the DP and parties with whom members can "reconcile their consciences".

This is clearly a reference to the ANC. Even those who favour the motion acknowledge it would be "a big thing for a party to allow dual membership", as this is virtually unprecedented.

If the motion is not passed, pro-ANC members believe some members of their camp might leave the party.

# Unite and stop East Rand killings, say black leaders

Star 27/8/90



By Shehnaaz Bulbulia

Traditional leaders yesterday called on residents and hostel dwellers on the East Rand, where violent conflict has left hundreds dead and many injured, to unite and stop the killing.

Speaking at a press conference organised by the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa), Chief Nonganyana Mwelo explained that the weekend visit by chiefs from Natal and Transkei was an attempt to speak to people jointly in an effort to restore peace and calm in the Transvaal.

"The killing must stop. It serves only the interests of the enemy, not the cause of freedom in our country," said Chief Mwelo.

He stressed that Contralesa was not affiliated to any political party.

He said ANC and Inkatha supporters as well as other concerned parties should initiate peace talks at grassroots level because "high-level talks will not solve the crisis."

Chief Mwelo stressed, however, that the recent violence was not a Zulu-Xhosa conflict, but had its roots in the system of apartheid and the policy of destabilisation perpetrated by the Government.

He added that Contralesa took strong exception to the refusal of the Government to allow the chiefs access to certain hostels.

The role of the police was to serve the community and not to fan the flames of conflict, he said.



# Inkatha, ANC to <sup>ARGUS</sup> meet <sup>27/8/90</sup> <sup>(17A)</sup> <sup>(17B)</sup> this week

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — An African National Congress delegation will meet an Inkatha group this week to discuss the violence which has been raging in the country.

The meeting is scheduled to take place in Johannesburg on Wednesday.

The ANC will be represented at the meeting by its task force, appointed after the last National Executive Committee (NEC) meeting, to investigate solutions to the violence.

## TASK FORCE

The task force consists of four NEC members — Mr Thabo Mbeki, Mrs Gertrude Shope, Mr Jacob Zuma and Mr John Nkadimeng.

A national peace committee, consisting of executive members of Cosatu and leading ANC members, is also meeting on an almost daily basis to find ways of solving the violence.

During the past two weeks violence on the Witwatersrand has left more than 500 people dead and many injured.

A senior ANC source said a meeting between ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Dr Gatsha Buthelezi would have been "a fixed solution" to the violence.

He said the peace initiatives between the two groups were moving towards a meeting by representatives of the two organisations led by Mr Mandela and Dr Buthelezi and away from "a personal thing" between the two leaders.

● See page 2.

Star 2/18/90

# Anger as ANC and Inkatha meet

By Esmar van der Merwe,  
Political Reporter

"In my neighbour's house the father is Inkatha and the daughter ANC. They can't share supper."

So said a Maritzburg resident during a three-hour discussion on violence, part of the Five Freedoms Forum's weekend conference in Johannesburg on "Negotiations and the Future".

## Violence

The special session on violence was an emotionally draining experience in a potentially volatile situation.

Inkatha and ANC supporters, "warlords" and "comrades", faced each other with apparent calm and reason.

But the bitterness ran deep.

There were disturbing testimonies of police involvement, vicious accusations and counter-ac-

cusations about who had started the township carnage.

There were frequent calls for political tolerance and urgent programmes by all political parties to educate their followers on the meaning of multiparty democracy.

There were calls for rehabilitation programmes for people who have become brutalised in a society where political oppression, socio-economic hardships, endemic violence and merciless retribution have become a way of life.

And there was harsh criticism of the media which has labelled the faction fighting "tribal" and "black-on-black".

Remarked one delegate: "I've never heard anyone refer to World War 2 as white-on-white violence."

A young resident from Phola Park, one of the worst trouble spots on

the Reef, remarked matter-of-factly that he knew 20 squatter camp residents who had died at the hands of Inkatha supported by the police.

An Inkatha member responded immediately: "Let us call for restraint from speakers."

"Such statements will lead to another war."

A woman got up, close to tears: "I have never killed anybody, but my hands are covered in blood."

## Carnage

"I don't want to know about the history."

"We women must stand up and be voiced."

"We must tell our men to stop this carnage."

Another Inkatha member remarked that black politics lacked discipline and tolerance.

"I don't care who started it."

"The fact is we must save the very little we have left."

The conference was painful, tense and emotional.

On the surface, all was well.

But afterwards, two people who had spoken out in favour of the ANC were said to have been threatened by the very Inkatha members who had spoken of tolerance and forgiveness.

After a gruelling afternoon, I walked outside, name tag still pinned to my chest.

Three young black passersby spotted my surname.

One shouted loudly — in Afrikaans — in the middle of a crowded Johannesburg street: "You f...ing Boer!"

I recalled one delegate asking desperately if tolerance had any meaning, when it did not extend any further than podiums and platforms.

● More reports

— Page 6.

# Business and ANC have many common interests

Story 27/5/90 (11A)

Corporate South Africa and the African National Congress are closer to each other than is realised and the present heated debate over nationalisation should not blind business to the overlaps in agenda that exist.

The key to such co-operation lies not in finely tuned economic argument but rather in effective practical contribution to the process of social reconstruction. This would demonstrate the private sector's ability to play a meaningful and important role in the South Africa of the future, not only in the economic sphere, but also socially.

This is according to a study by Lance van Sittert and Andrew Feinstein of Concept Interface, a company which specialises in interfacing between communities and the corporate sector.

They found CSI programmes needed to adjust to the new South Africa otherwise they would be doomed to failure.

Black communities have long viewed the corporate sector as an exploiter grown rich and fat on apartheid. Communities feel the people should be given control over social spending.

Money spent on CSI did little to bolster the credibility of business with the target communities. It was seen by these communities and their political organisations as being paternalistic and devious. Many companies used CSI as a hedge against disinvestment, strike or boycott pressure and as a crude marketing, promotions or public relations tool.

On the other hand, black community organisations showed little understanding of business and the constraints under which it operates in the social sphere.

This state of affairs created by different agendas, mutual distrust and misinformation on both sides, flourished under the state of emergency and the repressive environment of the 1980s and effectively polarised the social sphere into hostile camps.

As South Africa undergoes the transition to a post-apartheid society, the massive socio-economic needs facing the country have become a priority on the political agendas of the ANC and the National Party.

Since February 2 there have been protracted conflicts over education, health and land. The Government has responded to these spiralling social demands with the so-called R2 billion "Steyn Fund" and an appeal to the private sector for assistance. The ANC has made a similar appeal. Individual companies have also unveiled new initiatives in the social sphere, the prime example being Liberty Life's R100 million trust fund.

However, money has never been the problem. It is the way in which that money is controlled that lies at the bottom of past failures.

Even with its new-found urgency and copious resources, this latest corporate crusade is doomed to failure if it does not re-orientate its basic thinking to the new realities.

In the current context what is needed is a market-driven approach to corporate social spending which recognises that the market is changing and seeks to secure business's future within it. Such an approach should be proactive and see social intervention not as a responsibility but an investment.

This requires the identification of investment opportunities through consultation with the communities; a clear idea of desired returns; and management to achieve those returns.

Returns should be looked for not in increased sales or media hype, but rather in the less easily defined areas of community and employee goodwill and a stable business environment.

Both business and the ANC have a vested interest in social peace. Both recognise that such peace can not be achieved without the other. While they still differ on the exact nature of the relationship between the private sector and the State in the future mixed economy, they agree co-operation not conflict will be the basis for any future *modus vivendi*.

The present heated debate over nationalisation should therefore not blind business to the overlaps in agenda which exist and should not drive it into a laager-type conflictual position. The nationalisation debate is an important one, but so is the process of building the new relations of co-operation crucial to the future economic order.

The key to such co-operation lies in the corporate sector's commitment to social reconstruction. This, coupled with a shedding of collective corporate guilt about the past and a seeking out of common ground with the communities is essential to securing business's place in the sun.

This notion of co-operation will be best served by business developing proactive strategies during the period of negotiations and transition. One such strategy that has been mooted — and needs to be further researched and developed — is that of a compulsory contribution of companies above a certain size to a committee of social reconstruction.

It has been estimated that if this contribution was 1 percent of pre-tax profits, R1,6 billion would be made available every year.

This should be matched by the State and the total amount made available to a committee chaired by a State-appointed development specialist. Representatives from all interest groups should form the committee that will attempt to reach compromise on how this R3,2 billion should be spent.

# Govt challenges Transkei over MK

By Peter Fabricius  
and Sapa

The South African Government has officially expressed its concern to the Transkei government that the ANC military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) may be planning to use Transkei as a base for operations against South Africa.

It did this as a result of Transkei leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa's vehement denial yesterday that there was any substance to allegations in the media that members of MK were being integrated into the Transkei Defence Force (TDF).

The suspicions about ANC intentions, which have been fired by the presence in Transkei of MK chief of staff Chris Hani, have been raised at the highest level, Government sources said last night.

South African security sources believe MK forces have been building up recently in Transkei, coinciding with the presence of Mr Hani — whose indemnity against arrest was withdrawn 10 days ago.

They suspect that Mr Hani may use Transkei as a launching pad for his stated intention of seizing power in South Africa by force if negotiations fail.

The Department of Foreign Affairs refused to comment as it did not wish to aggravate bilateral relations with Transkei. It is understood Transkei has not yet reacted officially to the representations.

General Holomisa said yesterday: "It would be premature for the ANC, the TDF and the

SA Defence Force to integrate MK members before a new political dispensation had been forged at the negotiating table."

He added that no formal ceasefire had been signed between the ANC and the South African Government and that Transkei was still honouring its non-aggression pact with Pretoria.

General Holomisa denied the allegation, published in Rapport, that he was suddenly expanding the TDF. "For the last three years the TDF has been accepting 500 recruits and we have not changed this number.

He added that the scores of MK members, which the media said were thronging the larger towns in Transkei, were those who were recently released from Transkei jails.

## Enhanced

General Holomisa said that if the South African Government had any concrete information that Transkei was integrating MK members into its defence force, it should channel such information through the standing management committee, which comprised members of the SADF and TDF.

He said rather than using the media, this method of communication would have enhanced South Africa's respectability and honour.

On the issue of Mr Hani's use of a helicopter belonging to the TDF, General Holomisa said that while Mr Hani was a guest, the Transkei government

was responsible for his security.

"He has a price of R5 000 on his head and, given the geographical layout of Transkei and its lack of infrastructure and his visits to remote areas, the use of a TDF helicopter is necessary."

South African Government sources said last night they were unable to pinpoint exactly what Mr Hani was doing in Transkei or what his relationship with General Holomisa was.

The Government's suspicions are based on a greater presence of MK cadres in Transkei, on the Transkei government's VIP treatment of Mr Hani and on Mr Hani's frequent statements from Transkei that MK will seize power in South Africa if negotiations fail.

Also under consideration was General Holomisa's statement last week that he would send forces into South Africa to defend his citizens in the townships against attack by the police and Inkatha if they were not properly protected.

● Mr Hani, addressing a crowd in Umtata on Saturday, said the suspension of armed struggle did not mean that the oppressed people should not protect themselves.

Addressing about 300 people gathered at the Independence Stadium before a march to the South African embassy to present a petition protesting against the violence, Mr Hani said: "We must build self-defence units."

The march was organised by the ANC's Women's League.

# Press cries: Where's Mandela?

By Esmaré van der Merwe  
and Star Bureau

Nelson Mandela was the subject of severe media criticism yesterday, both locally and abroad, for leaving the country at a time of bitter township conflict.

The ANC deputy president left the country on Saturday for Norway, where he will today address a conference on "The Anatomy of Hate", and follow up with visits to Libya and Algeria.

While most British commentators have concentrated their fire on Inkatha's role in the conflict, there have been increased doubts raised about Mr Mandela's own response.

The (London) Sunday Times yesterday said that by boarding a plane for Norway, "Mr Mandela was virtually admitting his inability to halt the killing".

The newspaper's South African correspondent, Ross Dunn, wrote that Mr Mandela's dream of bringing peace to the country "lay in tatters".

In Johannesburg, City Press editor Khulu Sibiyi said the ANC should have advised Mr Mandela to postpone his trip until the situation at home had been normalised.

## Magic wand

Under the headline "Mandela must stay", he wrote: "We know Mandela alone cannot wave a magic wand and normalise things in the townships.

"However, it is foolhardy for a leader of Mandela's stature to leave his country when it is on fire. One would have thought the ANC had a better understanding of what it means to look towards leadership in times of crisis."

He compared Mr Mandela to Archbishop Desmond Tutu who recently cut short an overseas trip to help stop the bloody conflict in the townships and personally visited trouble spots in an effort to bring calm.

Durban's Sunday Tribune described Mr Mandela's decision to go overseas again — only weeks after returning from a six-week international tour — as "mystifying".

It commented: "Mr Mandela should be standing right here, shoulder to shoulder with Mr F W de Klerk and Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, putting an end to the hate that is convulsing the townships of the Transvaal and Natal."

In London's Sunday Telegraph, columnist Christopher Booker said the violence was destroying the "fairytale version" about South Africa's recovery.

"More than ever, South Africa has been shown up as what it has always been: a loose confederation of warring tribes, some black, some white, some neither."

## Fairytale

He suggested that the only solution would be co-operation between all groups, but said that "if there is one group which now seems more determined than any other, to disqualify itself from helping to bring about such a solution, it is the ANC — behind its decent but weak front-man, Nelson Mandela. The fairytale is being stood on its head."

In an editorial examining the township violence and efforts to curb it, the Sunday Star made a passing remark about Mr Mandela's latest overseas trip.

Criticising the ANC leader for refusing to meet Chief Buthelezi to resolve the mini-war between the rival groups, it said Mr Mandela had left at a time when his "backyard is burning".

On departure from Jan Smuts on Saturday, Mr Mandela told journalists that he was not concerned about leaving the country at such a critical moment.

He said pressing matters such as the violence were being addressed by the ANC as an organisation and not individuals.

He had important engagements to fulfil overseas and had cancelled his holiday last week to personally deal with the violence.

ANC spokesmen could not be reached last night to comment on the criticism.

# No voluntary hand-over

*Copy Times 27/8/90*  
*(11/8/2000)*  
MARITZBURG While the ANC hoped that liberation could be achieved peacefully, "some of us know deep down in our hearts that no one can hand over power voluntarily", Natal Midlands ANC convener Mr Harry Gwala told a crowd gathered in a park here on Saturday.

He told the 10 000-strong crowd the violence plaguing the country was not started by blacks, but by whites who came to South Africa and robbed blacks of their land.

"(Nelson) Mandela and Gatsha (Buthelezi) can meet and solve their problems but if they don't solve the warlords, hit squads and apartheid, then violence will never stop," Mr Gwala said. — Sapa

## Threat of split in DP as ANC delays meeting

### Political Staff

THE postponement of talks between the ANC and the Democratic Party could lead to dissent at the DP's national congress.

DP sources said the meeting with the ANC — planned for this weekend — would have helped to resolve the tensions in the DP between those in favour of closer links with the ANC and those against.

"The calling-off of the meeting means we go into the congress in great uncertainty and tension. It makes us more vulnerable to dissension and even splitting," a source said.

He said the ANC meeting would have helped to identify those for and against closer ANC links and could have worked out a compromise position.

Some sources said the ANC meeting might have brought home the realisation to pro-ANC members of the DP that the ANC did not want them anyway.

Mr Rory Riordan, the DP executive member who organised the ANC meeting, confirmed yesterday that the ANC had postponed it because the leaders who would have taken part were too busy trying to end the township fighting.

The DP was disappointed, but accepted this explanation. He said the ANC had given a firm undertaking to hold the meeting once the township fighting diminished.

The tension between the opposing camps in the DP is expected to surface when the congress — on September 7 and 8 — debates a motion proposing that the party change its constitution to allow dual membership of the DP and parties with whom members can "reconcile their consciences".

This is clearly a reference to the ANC. Even those who favour the motion acknowledge it will be "a big thing for a party to allow dual membership," as this is virtually unprecedented.

# Buthelezi's 'hand of friendship'

Cape Times 27/8/90 11A  
70  
58

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — KwaZulu Chief Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi says he could have ordered Inkatha to rout out every vestige of UDF and ANC strength in KwaZulu-Natal but has decided not to do so.

Addressing about 12 000 supporters of the Inkatha Youth Brigade at the annual conference of the movement at Ulundi on Saturday, he said everyone knew what the consequences would have been had he taken such action.

"I have said 'no'. Defence is one thing, I have said, but to adopt violence is another thing."

Chief Buthelezi said he had, instead, held out the hand of friendship to the ANC and to Mr Nelson Mandela. He cited 50 instances of where he had done this between February 10 and August 15 this year.

The crowd roared its approval when he said Inkatha would never be beaten out of existence.

Chief Buthelezi said that, if the ANC could not control its various fragmented youth sections, then South Africa would be back to a stalemate situation.

He said that if the ANC dropped its "political belligerence" and became ashamed of its "arrogant and false" claim to be the only organisation in South Africa and that any opposition to it was "treachery and treason", then it would only be Inkatha youth who could pick up the threads and produce the return to normality.

There was visible anger when the Inkatha president said the ANC/Cosatu/UDF/SACP alliance had published newspaper advertisements calling for the disbandment of KwaZulu.



Chief Buthelezi



# Put away your knives, plead tribal chiefs

**JOHANNESBURG.** — Collaboration between elements of the SA Police and Inkatha is the root cause of the violence in Witwatersrand townships over the past two weeks, the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa) alleged on Sunday.

Contralesa leaders — mainly from Natal and Transkei — made the accusation at a press conference here after touring the townships.

Contralesa however ruled out the withdrawal of police from the townships. Spokesman Chief Mwelo Nonkonyana denied the organisation's affiliation to any political party, and said it wanted peace to return to the troubled townships.

ANC and tribal leaders pleaded yesterday for an end to fighting between black factions as troops swept through Johannesburg's townships in a bid to quell the violence.

"As chiefs of this sub-continent, we strongly make our stand against such things as have been happening here," Xhosa Chief Mtirara told about 700 people at the rally.

Chief Mcwayizeni, an associate of Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, urged those who instigated the fighting to stop.

"No one must go armed. There must be no knives, no pangas (cane-cutting knives), no spears and no sticks," he said.

ANC leader Mr Walter Sisulu, who shared the platform with the chiefs, echoed the calls for peace. But a member of the militant ANC-aligned South African Youth Congress (Sayco) said people should be ready to defend themselves.

"There is no way that we are going to allow our comrades, the cadres of Umkhonto we Sizwe, to just be overrun and killed," Sayco vice-president Mr Mnyamezeli Boy said to cheers. — Sapa-Reuter

CAPE TOWN 27/8/90

# Mandela welcomed in Norway

**OSLO.** — Mr Nelson Mandela accused police yesterday of fuelling violence in black townships to weaken the ANC and other anti-apartheid forces seen as a threat to white minority rule.

"If it were just a clash between the Inkatha and the ANC it would have been over. It is the South African police who are fuelling it," said the ANC leader.

Mr Mandela, in an impromptu address to about 100 admirers at Oslo's airport, said thousands have died in the 4½ years of conflict and asked: "Why has the government not used its capacity to stop this violence?"

"Because (the government) has used this in an attempt to crush the ANC, which (it) sees as the main threat to white supremacy,"

he said.

The airport crowd, mostly Norwegians waving ANC flags or saluting with raised fists.

Mr Mandela arrived in Norway's capital to join Nobel laureates, statesmen, human-rights activists and others in a four-day conference on the problem of hatred, which began yesterday.

Norwegian Foreign Minister Mr

Kjell Magne Bondevik and Mr Eli Wiesel, the 1986 Nobel Peace Prize-winner, were among those greeting Mr Mandela at the airport. Mr Wiesel, a Romanian-born author, and the Norwegian Nobel Committee organized the conference.

The seminar, called "The Anatomy of Hate", is expected to draw about 70 delegates from 30 countries, including Czech President Vaclav Havel, French President Francois Mitterrand and former US president Mr Jimmy Carter.

The deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Leon Wessels, is also attending the conference. Two other South Africans, Dr Allan Boesak and author Nadine Gordimer will take part in the debate on South Africa. — Sapa-AP

# ANC, Govt not ready for negotiations - prof

Pretoria Correspondent

There will be "no next step in a real way" in the negotiation process if violence is not stopped, according to senior African National Congress member Aziz Pahad.

Mr Pahad was sharing the platform with Stellenbosch University academic Professor Willie Breytenbach in a discussion on the next step in the negotiation process, at a Five Freedoms Forum conference entitled "South Africa at a Turning Point - Negotiations and the Future".

The conference was held in Johannesburg at the weekend.

11A Star 27/8/90  
Mr Pahad stressed that no secret negotiations could be conducted and it was vital that all interested parties took part in the process.

The ANC was insistent on the implementation of a constituent assembly which, Mr Pahad said, would deal with the "numbers game" in South African politics.

The ANC's guidelines for the future included:

- South Africa should become a united, democratic, non-racial and non-sexist country. Mr Pahad added that the movement was not opposed to regional devolution but was op-

pose to federalism based on the homelands and apartheid.

- All South Africans should enjoy a common citizenship under a one person, one vote system.

- A new legal system, which guaranteed equality before the law, as well as an independent and non-racial judiciary.

- A future economic order which advanced the well-being of all South Africans. Mr Pahad added that the ANC did not have a blueprint for a future economic dispensation but could not accept the inequality between the haves and have-nots.

According to Professor Breytenbach, it was likely that a new dispensation could be arrived at before Parliament expires in September 1994.

He said the Government and the ANC were not ready for negotiations, and their policy positions were not yet clear.

Professor Breytenbach did not foresee any real negotiations getting under way before the end of the year.

He said much of the new South Africa would not be achieved through negotiations, but rather through pacts.

Professor Breytenbach said consensus had already been

reached on a number of factors, including the need for a multi-party state, an independent judiciary and a bill of rights.

Outstanding issues which needed to be negotiated were the question of a second chamber parliamentary system, various electoral systems and the issue of regionalism.

The next priority after a constitution had been formulated would be a post-apartheid economy with a "democratised" budget.

He did not foresee the implementation of a constituent assembly but rather the holding of a referendum in 1993.

# Malan 'last person to point a finger

CAPE TIMES  
27/8/70  
MIA

In his speech, General Malan also hit out at the ANC's commitment to mass action.

"I say this mass action is nothing other than mass mobilisation and it includes mass intimidation. It aims at placing pressure on the peaceful negotiating process.

"Not only does it increase antagonism but it suppresses any positive developments on the path of reform."

Black leaders should stop blaming each other for the violence within their communities — and ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela should do his bit in this regard.

General Malan said Mr Mandela had not heeded the willingness of Kwa-Zulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to talk.

# Buthelezi surprised by banning of arms

KWAZULU Chief Minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, expressed surprise during an Inkatha Youth Brigade conference at the weekend at a new Government ban on assegais and other simple weapons in some areas, blamed the ANC for violence in the Transvaal and proclaimed his desire for peace.

Buthelezi, who is also the leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party, said in Ulundi: "It is criminal and it is totally unacceptable. Anybody who wants to make any kind of political statement or do anything that is political must join the political party of his choice and do it there."

Buthelezi said the image of the ANC as the nation's leading liberation group was propaganda.

The enthusiastic, predominantly young crowd of about 7 000 was surprisingly free of arms such as spears and clubs that Zulus, who dominate In-

katha, have embraced as "cultural weapons."

In his wide-ranging address of about 90 minutes, Buthelezi cited Inkatha as the force that had pressured the National Party Government into freeing ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and legalising black political organisations.

Buthelezi labelled as "poppycock" suggestions in the Press that Inkatha was jealous that State President Mr FW de Klerk was negotiating with the ANC, but not with Inkatha. Inkatha had negotiated and talked with the Government long before the ANC did, he said.

The focus of his speech was the ongoing violence between blacks and what he called the ANC/UDF/Cosatu alliance's role as the instigator.

ANC "surrogates and ANC co-travellers" had incited violence in Natal between 1983 and 1986, he said.

Sowetan 28/8/90

11A

# Biko would have played a vital role - Woods

Black Consciousness (BC) leader Steve Biko would be playing "a leading and vital role" in South African politics today had he lived longer, according to former *Daily Dispatch* editor Donald Woods.

Woods, back in South Africa for the first time since he fled the country 12 years ago, said he believed

**SOWETAN  
Correspondent**

Biko, who was 30 at the time of his death, was "an extraordinary man" who had tried to unite the ANC and the PAC.

Biko's friend, Woods and his family skipped the country through Lesotho shortly after the BC leader died in police custody. He

11A had been given a five-year banning order and his family was subjected to constant harassment from the police and the rightwing.

Woods, who is in South Africa on a six-week visit, was a guest on John Berks's morning talk show on Radio 702 on Monday. A number of callers either asked about, or commented on, the movie

*Cry Freedom*, which Woods said was not an attempt to capture Biko's life, but was rather a movie on himself and his friendship with the BC leader.

The former *Daily Dispatch* editor and author of *Cry Freedom* and *Asking for Trouble* said real democracy meant nothing less than the acceptance of one-person one-vote.

"There is no other kind of democracy but one-man one-vote. If it's a proper democracy, there is an automatic protection of minorities in a Bill of Rights," Woods said.

Responding to a caller's question, Woods said he "would love" to act as mediator during negotiations in the country if he were asked to do so. As an experienced journalist who was familiar with whites' fears and had been in contact with people on the other side of the political divide, he would be suited for the job.

Woods said in the two weeks he had been in South Africa he found the country a lot more relaxed than it was when he left. He said he had not decided whether to return permanently.

**FREE  
R200  
CASH**

**ON ALL ROOF REPAIRS**

**\* Waterproofing & recoating,  
this week only**



**MILITARY-STYLE WINNIE:** The ANC's Mrs Winnie Mandela, in camouflage uniform and peaked cap, and Mr Walter Sisulu, left, pay their respects at a Soweto funeral of eight "comrades" killed in two weeks of violence. More than 500 people have died in East Rand township faction battles.

# Negotiated peace is possible, says Mbeki

11A  
Sowetan  
28/6/70

## FOCUS

**Sowetan:** At what stage is your organisation in at present in respect of the struggle and negotiations?

Mbeki: "The ANC has always been about the liberation of the black people. That expresses itself in the demands for a united, democratic, non-racial South Africa.

"At present, it seems that it is possible to arrive at that transformation by negotiating. A situation has arisen wherein the Pretoria Government is no longer able to defend the apartheid system. A possibility has emerged for the creation of a united non-racial democracy through negotiations.

**Sowetan:** The ANC is set to begin talks with the Government early next year. Have the preconditions set out in the Harare Declaration, the scrapping of security and apartheid legislations, among other things, been met?

### Specify

"The Harare and the United Nations declarations speak about the need for negotiations to take place. They say it is necessary to create a climate conducive to negotiations. They then specify in these documents what has to be done to create that climate: the unbanning of organisations, which has already been done; the release of all political prisoners and detainees and the end to all political trials.

"Both of them do not mention the return of exiles. On the release of political prisoners and detainees and the ending of trials, we have reached an agreement with the Government on the definition of political offences. An agreement was reached in the Groote Schuur and Pretoria minutes which completed the process, as well as a timetable for the release of political prisoners.

"What that means, therefore, is that there is a commitment from

ANC leader Thabo Mbeki is one of the major participants in the negotiations process initiated by the ANC with the Government. He spoke to *Sowetan* reporter SONTI MASEKO on various aspects of the organisation and its negotiations strategy. This interview was held shortly before the ANC issued several statements last week on the violence in the townships.



THABO MBEKI

the Government on the release of political prisoners and the stopping of political trials.

"This affects exiles because the same process used to indemnify people in prison will be used to indemnify them and they can return without fear of arrest and prosecution.

"We are confident that the State of Emergency will be lifted in Natal. The Harare Declaration mentions security legislation and repressive legislation, but it does not talk about apartheid legislation.

"In Cape Town and again in Pretoria we got commitment from the Government to review security legislation. There is agreement that all legislation which has the effect of limiting free political expression and organisation and so on will be repealed.

"In the Pretoria Minute the deadline is the next session of Parliament. This is a technical problem. Only Parliament can repeal

legislation and not the Government.

"But, in the meantime, the Government can ensure that these laws are not applied.

"So in terms of issues that were raised both in the Harare and UN declarations with regard to what needs to happen to create a climate conducive to negotiations, it is our view that there is agreement on all of these issues and that some of them have already been implemented, like the unbanning of organisations.

"As for the remainder, we believe they will be carried out by the Government in terms of the agreement that we have reached with them.

**Sowetan:** Is that the profound and irreversible changes that Mandela talked about?

"No, we are not yet there. The issue of profound and irreversible changes arise in the context of a discussion about at what point sanctions should be lifted, at what point should the armed struggle be

terminated. The Harare Declaration says that these two things, the termination of the armed struggle and the ending of sanctions should happen at 'that point where a democratic constitution has been agreed on'.

"The Harare Declaration does not talk about profound and irreversible change and it is the UN Declaration which spoke of profound and irreversible change, but did not tie this to the adoption of a constitution.

"The UN Declaration says 'to ensure that the international community does not relax existing measures, in pursuance of the objectives stated in this declaration, we hereby decide to ensure that the international community does not relax the existing measures aimed at encouraging the SA regime to eradicate apartheid. There will be no relaxation of these measures until there is evidence of profound and irreversible changes, bearing in mind the objectives of this declaration.'

"In any case, profound and irreversible change would not relate to the creation of a climate for negotiations which is what we have been talking about.

"Profound and irreversible changes refer to a political transformation in the country, defined in the Harare Declaration as the adoption of a constitution.

**Sowetan:** But that is not exactly what has happened in this context, the ANC has suspended the armed struggle based on the changes or agreements which do not constitute what you call profound and irreversible change?

"The word I used with regard to the armed struggle is *termination*. The HD says at the point when the climate for negotiations has been created by the unbanning of organisations, etc, then the next step is the suspension of hostilities. It is only when profound and irreversible change, democratic constitution, has been arrived at that the armed struggle can be terminated. This distinction is made in the HD.

● Continues tomorrow



# ANC peace probe begins tomorrow

*Sowetan 28/8/90*

**AN ANC delegation will meet an Inkatha group this week to discuss the violence which has been raging in the country.**

The meeting is scheduled to take place in Johannesburg tomorrow.

The ANC will be represented at the meeting by its task force, appointed after the last National Executive Com-

mittee (NEC) meeting, to investigate solutions to the violence.

The task force consists of four NEC members - Mr Thabo Mbeki, Mrs Gertrude Shope, Mr Jacob Zuma and Mr John Nkadameng.

A national peace committee, consisting of executive members of Cosatu and leading ANC mem-

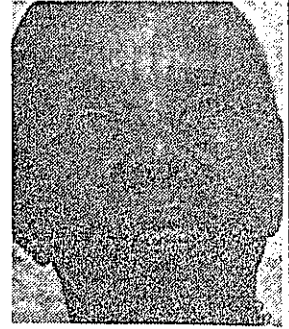
bers, is also meeting on an almost daily basis to ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Chief Gatsha find ways of solving the violence.

During the past two weeks violence on the Witwatersrand has left more than 500 people dead and many injured.

A senior ANC source said a meeting between

Buthlezi would have been "a fixed solution" to the violence.

He said the peace initiatives between the two groups are moving towards a meeting by representatives of the two organisations led by Mandela and Buthelezi and away from "a personal thing" between the two leaders. - *Sowetan Correspondent*



**GERTRUDE SHOPE**

Cont  
7-21  
28/8/90  
11A  
27

### ANC 9 in court

EAST LONDON. — Nine ANC marshals arrested in Gonubie on Sunday appeared briefly in court on charges under the Dangerous Weapons Act.

The nine, who were allegedly dressed in khaki uniforms and carrying replicas of weapons, were not asked to plead and the case was postponed to October 23. — Sapa

ANC members  
*Cap. T. 25/8/70* held in Bop

PRETORIA. — Bophuthatswana security forces detained members of the executive of a newly launched branch of the ANC in Mabopane on Sunday.

A Bophuthatswana police spokesman confirmed that seven people had been detained on suspicion of holding an illegal gathering. Sapa

# Battle-weary township dwellers pick up pieces

Nov 28/90



By Dawn Barkhuizen

Eight death certificates were piled on the desk of the Kagiso funeral parlour yesterday — at least three times as many as there are most days.

The eight dead are all victims of the last two weeks of hell that has seen at least 515 people die when townships throughout the Witwatersrand flared up into war.

But the war seems to have died down as suddenly as it came.

Apart from the death certificates, the odd burnt-out car, the gutted houses and the fact that nearly every window in Kagiso 1 has been smashed, life in Kagiso — on the surface at least — seems pretty much back to normal.

And police report that the East Rand, the scene of several bloody clashes between hostel dwellers and township residents, is quiet.

Late yesterday afternoon small children were playing with carts, eating oranges and skipping over the piles of rocks that once formed roadblocks throughout Kagiso.

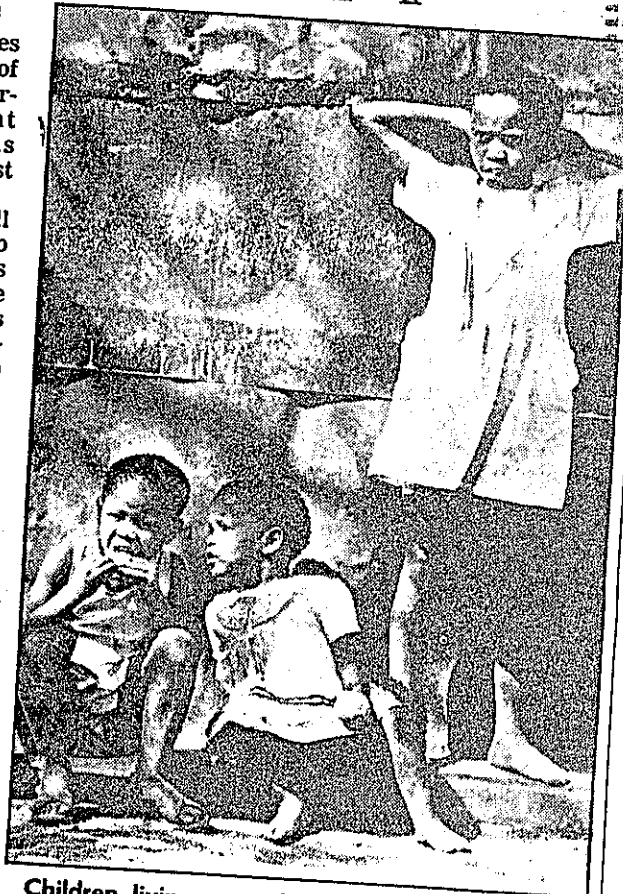
Residents were shouting to one another across garden fences and strolling in the streets, apparently oblivious of the lone SADF patrol.

The only area unusually quiet was the street bordering the Kagiso hostel.

Opposite the hostel, under the watchful eyes of self-styled hostel sentries, Paulos Mochine was packing the remains of his furniture on to a van and moving them out.

His house has been petrol-bombed twice. The glass melted, the paint blistered on the walls, the contents were destroyed and his children barely got out with their lives.

"I am afraid, but I do not know what to do. I have been here for 30 years. There has never been trouble like this before. People keep talking about Xhosas and Zulus and ANC and Inkatha,



Children living near the Inkatha stronghold of Jabulani hostel, in Jabavu, Soweto, are taken to safer houses at night as violence continues.

but I am a Tswana. I am not a political man. I have lost everything. I do not understand why."

## Teargas

In central western Soweto, where the unrest death toll stood at 126 yesterday afternoon, the only evidence of the shooting, the teargas, the stones and the bodies of last week were broken, boarded-up windows.

At Jabulani hostel, police were posted at the entrance. About 20 hostel dwellers sat at the gate. Others paced along the fence, watchful and reluctant to talk.

A young blond policeman said: "Last week was bad, but it's quieter now."

Township residents with homes bordering on the hostel were yesterday still planning to move out for the night.

One resident, David Sitabela (42), said that by the time Taeolo Street exploded into violence a week ago, he had already sent his wife and children away.

He had been alone in the house when the stones started raining on to the roof. He tried to squeeze behind a small cupboard and claw his way up the wall to hide.

Now he still stays at home alone every night. There are holes in the roof, and the windows are smashed. His television is gone and so is his peace of mind.

"At night you shut your mouth, take your weapons and look after your house. I would run, but where do I go? I was born here. This was my parents' house."

Paulina Seoma says: "The trouble is not as bad as it was a few days ago, but when it gets dark the men from the hostel still shout across the railway line: 'Seyeza! Seyeza! Ningalale! Seyeza!' (We are coming! We are coming! Do not sleep! We are coming!)"

Her daughter Disebo says: "No we do not want those men. We must burn the hostels. We must burn them."

Disebo is just 13.

For 28/8/90

11A

~~11A~~

# Mandela in clash on Zionism's role

OSLO — Jewish leaders defended Zionism against what they perceived as an attack by African National Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela during a debate on hatred at a meeting of world figures yesterday.

Mr Mandela had said the African National Congress condemned Zionism if the term meant the Israeli State had the right to occupy Palestinian lands and refuse to deal with Arab leaders.

But if it meant religious freedom, it was welcomed, he added.

The remarks drew a sharp reaction from Israeli Minister of Health Ehud Olmert, also attending the four-day conference on combating hatred.

He said he had felt "a little bit uncomfortable" when he heard Mr Mandela equating Zionism and racism.

"From a freedom fighter such as Mr Mandela I expected to hear an unequivocal refuta-

tion of that allegation against the Jewish people and the Zionist movement," said Mr Olmert.

The two men were among about 70 delegates gathered in Norway's capital for the seminar, called "The Anatomy of Hate."

Other world figures attending include Czech President Václav Havel, French President Francois Mitterrand, former US President Jimmy Carter and actor Gregory Peck.

Mr Mandela, concluding a keynote address on apartheid, added his view on Zionism, a movement established a century ago to promote the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine. After Israel was founded in 1948, the movement encouraged immigration.

Mr Ephraim Urbach, an Israeli scholar, urged Mr Mandela to "accept that Zionism is not a racist movement".

Mr Mandela criticised the leaders, and other delegates, for refusing to consider their

opponents' view in a conflict — a stance that could create "formidable problems".

Mr Olmert countered with an apparent reference to Iraqi threats, pointing out that "recognised Palestinian leaders are the first to embrace those who threaten to kill Jews with gas, so perhaps some people may understand our difficulty in negotiating with these guys".

Several Jewish leaders took a more conciliatory line, saying they would like Mr Mandela to come to Israel to express his views, even if they did not agree with them.

The ANC leader also said he wanted talks with the Government to continue, because "in South Africa, we are on the threshold of a historic and fundamental transformation".

SA Deputy Foreign Minister Louis Wessels, in his address, described apartheid as "a dreadful mistake. I was present at its birth in the 1940s and 50s. I also want to be present at its death." — Sapa-AP.

# Township violence:

Star 28/8/90

## Inkatha states view

By Patrick Laurence

An attempt by the African National Congress and its allies to turn Sebokeng into a "no-go" area for Inkatha triggered the 10-day township war which left more than 500 people dead, Themba Khosa of Inkatha said yesterday.

Inkatha supporters on their way to a rally in Sebokeng had been abused and stoned by ANC loyalists outside the stadium at Sebokeng on July 22, the date which marked the start of the "Transvaal war" between Inkatha and the ANC, Mr Khosa told journalists.

Later, after the rally and after a bus carrying Inkatha supporters was forced to retreat by stone-throwing youths, Inkatha's followers were escorted away from the stadium by police but were ambushed outside the hostels, he added.

A major battle ensued and, before the fighting died down, at least 22 people had been killed.

From that day onwards, violence flared in townships around Johannesburg, coming to a terrifying climax in 10 days on August 13 and abating only after a massive

police clampdown.

Mr Khosa was one of three Inkatha officials who gave journalists Inkatha's perspective on the violence in the hope of correcting what they believe has been an unfair portrayal of Inkatha as the primary aggressor.

He cited the appearance of pamphlets under an ANC logo, denigrating Zulus as pro-Government stooges, as another factor which had fuelled the violence.

Told that the ANC had disowned the pamphlets as bogus, Mr Khoza replied that the ANC disavowal had come too late and too discreetly.

The fact that most of the major battles had been fought near the entrances to Inkatha strongholds in the townships proved that their role had been defensive, Mr Khosa reckoned.

While offering the Inkatha perspective, the main purpose of the envoys was to convey a call for peace and tolerance to people of the strife-torn Transvaal townships from Chief Buthelezi.

The message was taken directly into the townships and hostels at the weekend by a strong delegation of high-ranking Zulu chiefs.

Star 28/8/90 11A

# Keep up pressure on SA, delegates told

By Esmaré van der Merwe  
and Craig Kotze

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela will meet President de Klerk soon after his return to South Africa on Friday to discuss the political violence plaguing the country.

Mr Mandela is at present in Oslo, Norway, where he is taking part in a conference on "The Anatomy of Hate".

At the Oslo conference yesterday, Mr Mandela urged the international community not to relax its pressure on South Africa, because democratic reforms under way in the country were not yet irreversible.

It would be premature for anyone to begin thinking of helping South Africa to break its pariah status and diplomatic isolation, Mr Mandela added.

Another speaker, South African writer Nadine Gordimer, spoke of the roots of the current violence in South Africa's townships.

"Without the migratory labour system where, in single-sex hostels, thousands of men have no bonding but herd bonding, without the chaotic overcrowding of black townships, the unbearable tensions which arise would not come about," she said.

● Mr Mandela said yesterday in Oslo he could be willing to mediate in the Gulf conflict if he was asked to, Sapa-Reuter reports.

"I will assess the question seriously and with a positive attitude if I am asked to take part in a delegation to Baghdad to talk with Iraqi President Saddam Hussein," Mandela told the Norwegian news agency NTB.

Earlier yesterday, a Palestinian delegate at an international conference proposed that Mr Mandela and former US President Jimmy Carter go to Iraq to try to mediate in the Gulf crisis.

977 Times 28/8/90

# Mandela suggested as Gulf mediator

OSLO. — Deputy ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday that he might be willing to mediate in the Gulf conflict if requested to do so.

"I will assess the question both seriously and with a positive attitude if I am asked to take part in a delegation to Baghdad to talk with Iraqi President Saddam Hussein," Mr Mandela told the Norwegian news agency NTB.



Mandela

Earlier yesterday, a Palestinian delegate, publisher and editor Mr Hanna Siniora, at an international conference on the "Anatomy of Hate", proposed that Mr Mandela and former US president Mr Jimmy Carter should go to Iraq to try to mediate in the Gulf crisis.

Mr Mandela and Mr Carter, who have both been attending the conference, should be included in a special delegation to have talks with President Hussein, said Mr Siniora. Conference members have yet to decide on the proposal. — Sapa-Reuter



# Top ANC official launches scathing attack on Buthelezi

Ste- 28/8/90 (11A) 43

A top ANC official in Natal, Patrick "Terror" Lekota, yesterday launched a blistering attack on the Inkatha Freedom Party, accusing Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of having sanctioned Inkatha attacks on the ANC and its allies and not using his powers to curb the protracted violence in Natal which has claimed more than 4 000 lives.

Taking part in a political debate at the Rand Afrikaans University, attended by international youth leaders, Mr Lekota gave the most detailed public explanation yet for the ANC's animosity towards Chief Buthelezi.

He was prompted to do so by Gavin Woods, director of the Inkatha Institute, who revealed that he was "of course a member" of the Inkatha Freedom Party "and a proud one too".

Mr Lekota dismissed claims

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has sanctioned Inkatha's attacks on the ANC and its allies, ANC official Patrick Lekota claimed in Johannesburg yesterday. **Political Reporter ESMARÉ VAN DER MERWE** was there.

by Dr Woods that ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela was not prepared to meet Chief Buthelezi.

However, the SA Government would have to be party to such a meeting to ensure that Chief Buthelezi honoured any agreements reached. He gave details of earlier agreements reached between Inkatha, the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions which he said the KwaZulu leader had "scuttled unilaterally".

Mr Lekota said the protracted violence in Natal had been sparked by Chief Buthelezi.

He claimed that the recent outbreak of violence in Reef townships had been sparked by Inkatha. The ANC had information that arms had been brought into the townships before the eruption of the violence, and that a "chief from Natal" had visited a migrant workers' hostel where Inkatha attacks on ANC supporters had first been planned.

Mr Lekota responded to Dr Woods' claim that he (Mr Lekota) had publicly vowed that the ANC would kill Chief Buthelezi by saying he had said Inkatha was out to kill ANC supporters.

"I said that Buthelezi wants to kill our people with arms, but we will kill him politically."

CP's Koos meets ANC's 'Terror'

By Esmaré van der Merwe,  
Political Reporter

Maverick Conservative Party MP Koos van der Merwe yesterday shook hands with, but refused to answer a question from, a top ANC official during a panel discussion in Johannesburg.

Mr van der Merwe refused to answer a question from Patrick "Terror" Lekota, ANC leader in Natal, on the grounds that the CP does not speak to the ANC.

The two men met during a political debate at Rand Afrikaans University.

National Party MP Chris Fismer, Solidarity's Ismail

Omar and Democratic Party MP Louis de Waal also took part.

After Mr van der Merwe's speech, Mr Lekota asked the chairman, political commentator Otto Krause, whether he could ask a question.

An aggressive Mr van der Merwe refused, saying the CP had agreed to take part in the debate on the condition that there would be no contact with the ANC.

He left after answering questions from the floor.

During the subsequent debate, Mr Lekota asked Mr Fismer why the NP did not dis-

band and allow its members to join the ANC as the political party with the longest history of non-racialism.

Mr Fismer replied that the ANC could just as well disband and allow its members to join the NP.

This prompted Mr Omar to say: "This is but one indication of the fundamental change that has taken place in South Africa.

"I suggest the two parties form a new party with the name African National Party.

"The only problem will be that we will end up with a one-party state."

# Mandela ready to mediate in Baghdad

OSLO — ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela said yesterday he could be willing to mediate in the Gulf conflict if he was requested to do so.

"I will assess the question both seriously and with a positive attitude if I am asked to take part in a delegation to Baghdad to talk with Iraqi President Saddam Hussein," Mandela told the Norwegian news agency NTB.

Earlier yesterday, a Palestinian delegate at an international conference on hate proposed that Mandela and former US president Jimmy Carter, who is also a

810-21 28/8/90 (11A)  
speaker at the conference, should go to Iraq to try to mediate in the crisis.

The proposal was made by Arab Council for Public Affairs vice-president Hanna Siniora.

The conference, which opened on Sunday, has yet to decide on the proposal.

Mandela and Carter were yesterday's keynote speakers.

Carter has not yet responded to Siniora's proposal.

In his address, Mandela accused the SAP of fuelling violence in the townships in an

attempt to weaken ANC and other anti-apartheid groups.

"What has complicated the matter is that certain elements of the police force are now in the forefront of fuelling this violence and the carnage has taken place mainly because of shooting and killing by the police," Mandela said.

The conference has drawn world figures such as Mandela, Czech President Vaclav Havel, film star Gregory Peck, French President Francois Mitterand and about 60 other leaders from 30 countries. — Sapa-AP-Reuter.

## Apartheid a dreadful mistake <sup>(11A)</sup> Wessels

APARTHEID was a "dreadful mistake" which had blighted SA and its people, Deputy Foreign Minister Leon Wessels said yesterday.

He was addressing a conference in Oslo which was also addressed by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela.

"Apartheid in all its designs and manifestations came to nothing," Wessels said.

"It failed because it did not address the realities of our situation. Neither did it appreciate the human factors involved," he said.

Grand apartheid had failed to materialise in any respect. As well as being morally unfounded, petty apartheid was not practical, he said.

"Brutal apartheid or forced removals to the homelands was an inhumane and indefensible practice . . ."

He described the 99-year leasehold scheme for blacks in white areas as "sheer

MIKE ROBERTSON

folly". *BIDAM 28/8/90*

Wessels said he readily conceded government should have spoken and listened to other political groups much earlier.

What government in the past had regarded as real negotiations with black leaders amounted frequently to nothing more than consultation.

Wessels said "accommodation" politics was the only way to achieve a peaceful future for SA.

He said the tide of change sweeping across SA had an inevitability to it.

However, the greatest threat to the country's transformation was violence.

Wessels identified a lack of trust as the main cause of violence.

Only successful negotiation and a demonstration of mutual goodwill, irrespective of political persuasion, could remove the mistrust.

ARGUS 28/8/90

# ANC seeks apology from Vlok on Gunn

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN  
Political Staff

THE African National Congress today demanded a public apology and retraction from the Minister of Police, Mr Adriaan Vlok, over allegations that Umkhonto we Sizwe soldier Miss Shirley Gunn was responsible for the explosion at Khotso House.

The bomb exploded on May 5 1987, destroying the then headquarters of the South African Council of Churches. Miss Gunn said yesterday she was not responsible for the explosion.

In a statement today, ANC member Ms Cheryl Carolus said the government owed the ANC a public retraction and apology.

"They have made serious allegations about our member and by implication our organisation. Now they are not prepared to charge her. Cabinet ministers such as Mr Vlok must act more responsibly and realise that this trial by media and television is not in the interest of the peace process," Ms Carolus said.

She hoped that Mr Vlok would do his duty and apologise.

The United Democratic Front said Miss Gunn's release was a victory for mass pressure, adding it was clear that the people would have to enforce the Pretoria Minute.

Trade unionist Miss Gunn faced the Press for the first time yesterday since being freed on Sunday. She was held incommunicado under section 29 of the Internal Security Act for nearly two months.

She denied that she was responsible for the Khotso House bombing. "It's absolute nonsense that I am being held responsible for that bomb attack. I wasn't responsible."

It was self-evident that she would have been charged if she had been the bomber, she said. "If I'm responsible where is the charge?"

Confirming for the first time that she was a member of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the armed wing of the ANC, she said she did not believe that any other MK member would have planted the bomb.

As a "disciplined" member she fully supported the principles of the Pretoria Minute, she said.



Pictures: LEON MÜLLER, The Argus.

**WELCOME HOME:** Senior African National Congress member Ms Cheryl Carolus, right, welcomes former section 29 detainee Miss Shirley Gunn, carrying her son Haroon Gunn-Salie, back to freedom.

# SA to 'cast off apartheid'

Copy Trip 1/11  
28/8/90  
2097

PRETORIA. — The South African government plans to conduct the negotiating process to its logical conclusion of a fully representative and just democracy, the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Leon Wessels, said in Oslo yesterday.

According to a copy of his speech released here, he told an Elie Wiesel Foundation conference — also addressed by Mr Nelson Mandela — that the clock in South Africa could not be turned back. "No amount of wishful thinking by reactionary elements that cling to apartheid will hold back the tide of history sweeping in."

One of the greatest threats to the negotiations was left- or right-wing violence. "They seem prepared to consider the violent option as an answer towards meeting what amounts to their racist and exclusionist aspirations." There was no place for such

attitudes in the South Africa of the future, Mr Wessels said.

The hate and prejudices of the past should be removed from South Africans' minds, Mr Wessels said.

"Today I represent a generation that desires achieving real justice in our land and the casting off of the apartheid albatross."

He described forced removals to the homelands as "brutal apartheid", saying it was an inhumane and indefensible practice.

Mr Wessels said: "Apartheid was a dreadful mistake that blighted our land and its people."

Mr Mandela urged the international community not to relax its pressure on South Africa because democratic reforms under way there were not yet irreversible. — Sapa, Own Correspondent

# Tutu may take action over Press reports

Sowetan 29/8/90

11/8

ANGLICAN Archbishop Desmond Tutu is outraged over militant statements incorrectly attributed to him in two Johannesburg morning newspapers.

The contentious statements - about "seizing power" and "taking the struggle into white areas" - were attributed to the archbishop in both *The Citizen* and the *Transvaler*.

In fact, these were excerpts from a fiery address by SA Youth Congress president Peter Mokaba at a mass funeral in Soweto on Monday.

Tutu's office said yesterday that the church would demand an unconditional retraction and apology from *The Citizen* and would refer the matter to lawyers for "discussion of further steps".

"The address was apparently given after the Archbishop had left the funeral and it does not reflect his sentiments, the archbishop's office said.

At the funeral, Mokaba said the ANC was a government in waiting and was going to "seize power". He said the struggle was only going to be won if it was organised on the ground and taken into white areas.

Based on the erroneous attribution of these remarks to Tutu in *The Citizen*, the *Transvaler* - in its front page lead story - expanded on the report to explore the significance of these statements.

The story said that Archbishop's statements had caused an uproar this morning - and speculated that the speech would possibly provoke reaction from the Government.

## Mandela (11K) statement slammed

SOUTH African Jewish leaders yesterday took strong exception to ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela's statements in Oslo, Norway on Monday about Zionism and challenged him to visit Israel to see things there personally.

The leaders said Zionism was not a racist movement but was rather "the national liberation movement of the Jewish people".

Mandela, who is attending a four-day conference on "The Anatomy of Hate", is reported to have told delegates the ANC condemned Zionism if it meant the Israeli State had the right to occupy Palestinian lands and refuses to deal with Arab leaders, and that the organisation welcomed Zionism if it meant religious freedom.

His statement drew an angry response from Israeli delegates at the conference. - *Sowetan Correspondent.*

## Honours for leaders

THE Black Lawyers Association is to hold its annual conference and celebrate its 10th anniversary from Friday to Sunday. *Sowetan 27/8/90*

Two special banquets will be held at the Jan Smuts Holiday Inn where prominent leaders who have contributed to the black liberation struggle in South Africa will receive citation awards.

The recipients include president of the ANC Mr Oliver Tambo, his deputy Mr Nelson Mandela, PAC leader Mr Barney Desai, prominent leader and founder member of BLA Mr Godfrey Pitje, Mr Dan Nokoe, Mr L Lesene, Mr A Mda and Mr JB Vusani.

The awards to the founder of the PAC and lawyer Mr Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe and member of the ANC's Youth League Mr Anton Lembede will be made posthumously.

## Border calm - SADF

*Sowetan 29/8/90* By RUSSEL MOLEFE

THE security situation in the Northern Transvaal border has changed drastically since attacks from Zimbabwe and Botswana were stopped, a military spokesman has said.

The biggest problem along the border now was an illegal influx of job-seekers, the spokesman told a media briefing session.

He said township residents appeared to be less volatile than in other parts of the country and the various security forces deployed in the region were well-coordinated.

This was despite the discovery of an Umkhonto we Sizwe unit, known as Nchabeleng, with large quantities of arms caches buried at various places in the region in the past weeks.

The spokesman said, however, the SADF was aware alternative structures were being set up in townships.



Soccer  
club, *Cy & Twp*  
*29/8/90*  
*(111)*  
accused  
not freed

**Own Correspondent**

JOHANNESBURG. — A Rand Supreme Court judge yesterday overruled an application to discharge Mr Charles Bongani Zwane who is alleged to have killed 11 people, including a person whom he believed killed a member of the Mandela Soccer Club.

At the close of the state's case, Mr D Jacobs, for the defence, made the application, asserting that the evidence led by the state did not demonstrate that the crimes had been committed by his client.

Mr Justice Vermooten overruled the application.

Apart from the alleged murders, Mr Zwane is charged with 22 counts of attempted murder, one of arson and four of illegal possession of firearms arising out of shooting incidents in Soweto from December 1988 to April 1 last year.

The case continues.

# Come back home Mandela

## — DP Youth

CAF 7-1-5  
29/8/90

1/18  
JOHANNESBURG. — The Democratic Party Youth yesterday called on Mr Nelson Mandela to return to South Africa to address the violence in the country.

DP Youth chairman Mr Mark Heaton said in a statement that the timing of the ANC leader's trip was unfortunate.

"He is mistaken in stating that his role as an individual will not make any difference to the resolution of the country's conflict.

"It is our opinion that a successful meeting between himself and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi would go a long way to fostering peace in South Africa's strife-torn townships."

The statement called on Mr Mandela to put his personal differences aside and facilitate such a meeting as soon as possible.

The DP Youth also expressed concern at Mr Mandela's statements regarding a possible mediating role in the Gulf crisis.

"For Mr Mandela now to offer to assist in attaining peace in the Middle East, while his own country is desperate for his participation in its peace process, in our view displays an insensitivity to the problems facing South Africans.

"We call on Mr Mandela to put his country first and return to South Africa where he is desperately needed," the statement added. — Sapa

ANC want  
own radio  
station

Staff Reporter

THE ANC is looking into the possibility of establishing or buying its own radio station in South Africa — but only if financial resources are available.

This was disclosed yesterday by ANC spokesman in Lusaka, Mr Tom Sebina, who said the ANC had been considering buying or establishing its own radio station since the movement was unbanned in February.

The movement was still beaming its programmes from five African capitals to South Africa, he said. These broadcasts were in Afrikaans, English, Sotho, Zulu and Xhosa.

Mr Sebina said these services would be discontinued only after a local radio service had been established.

Broadcasts would continue to be on shortwave, he said.

---

# 40 000 exiles expected home soon

CR 7107  
29/8/90

119

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The number of exiles returning to South Africa soon could be as high as 40 000 — double the previous estimates of ANC returnees.

This is the "ball park" figure now being used by officials of the multi-party National Co-ordinating Committee (NCC) which will oversee the reception of exiles. The figure includes "non-aligned" exiles and those associated with all liberation movements.

It is expected that the whole repatriation programme could cost as much as R100 million. According to an NCC spokesman, the committee — which is based at the SACC headquarters in Johannesburg — is working on a rough budget of R8m for the initial phase.

The spokesman said the committee is appealing to business to provide temporary housing and office space as well as funding.

Employers are encouraged to provide information on jobs available, the spokesman said, adding that several thousand exiles are believed to have professional and technical skills, many of which are in short supply.

# Azapo's plan for hostel dwellers

Sowetan  
27/8/90



By NKOPANE  
MAKOBANE

**THE Azanian People's Organisation has proposed that Vosloorus hostel dwellers be transferred temporarily to a mine-owned hostel in Boksburg.**

The organisation said it was ready to negotiate with employers for transport to and from the East Rand Proprietary Mine hostel, 20km away.

In addition, employers would be asked to continue to pay the dwellers' rent at the ERPM hostel.

These plans were suggested by Azapo at a meeting in Vosloorus on Monday called to resolve



**NEFOLOVHODWE**

the conflict between the hostel dwellers and local residents.

The meeting was attended by representatives of the PAC, ANC, Azapo, local churches and the

Vosloorus Town Council.

Fighting between the two parties claimed dozens of lives in the past fortnight.

Azapo's general secretary of Azapo Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe said his organisation had tabled several views and proposals at the meeting.

They felt hostel dwellers should be treated not as Xhosas and Zulus in conflict, but as oppressed and exploited blacks who were part of the black working class, forced to live in those conditions by the apartheid system.

Azapo hoped that the hostel dwellers would be temporarily housed at the ERPM hostel for two

months while alternative measures were being investigated by local leaders.

It believed solutions to the problems should be treated on a long and short-term basis with a view to establishing unity between the warring parties.

The organisation also called for a rally where all parties would bind themselves to the interim solutions.

"Although these proposals pertain to Vosloorus, Azapo calls on student organisations, trade unions, civic associations and other organisations in other areas to consider them urgently," Nefolovhodwe said.

# 'Charity begins at home,' reaction to Mandela offer

11/18

MR NELSON Mandela's readiness to mediate in the Gulf crisis and the Israeli conflict have drawn sharp reaction in National Party circles.

"Charity begins at home," was the sentiment of Government MPs yesterday when they read that the ANC deputy president said in Oslo he could be willing to mediate in the Gulf if he was requested to do so.

"I will assess the question both seriously and with a positive attitude if I am asked to take part in a delegation to Baghdad to talk with Iraqi President Saddam Hussein," Mandela told the Norwegian news agency NTB.

Mandela also expressed the wish to visit Israel to "move both the Israeli Government as well as the PLO to a position where they can sit and talk".

A Palestinian delegate at an international conference on hate yesterday proposed that Mandela and former US president Jimmy Carter should go to Iraq to try to mediate in the Gulf crisis.

Mandela and Carter, who have both been attending the "Anatomy of Hate" conference, should be included in a special delegation to have talks with President Saddam Hussein, said a Palestinian publisher and editor:

"I ask this conference to appeal to the two to take part in such a delegation." *Sowetan 29/11/90*

The four-day meeting, which opened on Sunday and aims to investigate the origins of hate and how it can be countered, has yet to decide on the proposal. - *Sapa-Reuter*

S  
hs in  
aped  
play-  
hool  
when  
rtu-  
ex-  
um  
ere  
are  
oth  
ork  
who  
in



AR645 Mrs Mandela  
29/11/70 (11A)  
Winnie's  
gear sparks  
police probe

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Police are investigating the alleged wearing of a camouflage uniform by Mrs Winnie Mandela during a funeral rally in Soweto.

Wearing camouflage dress is illegal.

Mrs Mandela was seen wearing what appeared to be a black and green camouflage jacket or shirt during the rally in Jabulani on Monday.

"NO CHOICE"

A police spokesman confirmed today that they would investigate.

Detectives would look at video and photographic material taken during the rally.

"If the law has been broken we have no choice but to investigate and take the necessary steps," the spokesman said.

An  
rippe  
23

# ANC/Inkatha talks raise hopes for peace

510-1 29/8/90  
Own Correspondent (1A) (1B)

DURBAN — High-powered peace talks between the ANC and Inkatha yesterday went well and political commentators said a meeting between their respective national executives could be on the cards.

This bodes well for the future of the bloody violence in Natal which has left at least 4 000 people dead since the beginning of 1987.

In a meeting shrouded in secrecy yesterday the two delegations met at the Inkatha Institute — with the

ANC/Cosatu/UDF delegation headed by the ANC's national head of intelligence, Jacob Zuma.

Mr Zuma's presence was of great significance as it meant the ANC national executive was greatly concerned with the Natal violence.

The Inkatha delegation included KwaZulu Minister of Health, Dr Frank Mdlalose and Inkatha Youth Brigade national chairman Musa Zondi.

It was the first time the ANC had been officially represented by a

top-level executive committee member at the peace talks.

Sources said that the possibility of a meeting between Inkatha president Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela was also discussed.

● Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday relationships between political leaders should be normalised, and the first meeting should be between himself and Nelson Mandela, reports Sapa.

● Great divide — Page 23.



# Praise for troops, not for Mandela

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Praise for the troops, criticism for Mr Nelson Mandela.

That was the unusual content of many British newspaper reports yesterday, following the ANC deputy president's decision to head for Oslo, while army troops restored peace to the troubled Transvaal townships.

The Independent's correspondent quoted a member of the Pan-Africanist Congress who lives near to one of the Soweto hostels as saying that the troops "were rough but they were effective".

The report added that "army troops, a welcome presence since Friday after the perceived iniquities of the police, consolidated their control in the streets after a successful house-to-house, hostel-to-hostel sweep over the weekend had yielded a rich harvest of spears, axes, knives, guns and other weapons".

The Independent also carried a police denial of partisanship.

On Mr Mandela, the report said: "Not a few South Africans have been scandalised ... by what they perceive to be Mr Mandela's ill-timed expedition abroad.

"If the army and police are busy attacking the symptoms of the last two weeks' violence, Mr Mandela's task, the press here has argued, should be to address the causes, to meet with the Inkatha chief, Mangosuthu Buthelezi to find a lasting solution to the conflict."

But, says the report, a meeting so soon after the violence would "outrage the ANC's grassroots supporters".

The Daily Telegraph's correspondent said Mr Mandela had criticised the declaration of mini-states of emergency in 27 townships. "Yet the massive security operation that followed, with troops and police moving in force into the townships and confiscating weapons, has, so far, been successful in curbing violence which at one stage was clearly getting out of hand."

While Mr Mandela had accused the police of encouraging violence, said the Telegraph report, "none of his staff has taken up repeated requests by police to provide evidence of biased police behaviour during the township battles."

# ANC task force begins training in Guguletu

By GYNNIS UNDERHILL

VOLUNTARY ANC marshals are being trained as peace-keepers in "community protection units" in the Western Cape.

The training has begun in Guguletu and Mitchells Plain as part of an ongoing nationwide scheme to set up ANC marshal task forces.

The marshals are taught first-aid, unarmed self-defence and learning skills to equip them to deal with crowd control.

"The units will be made up of an accountable

group of people with a responsibility to maintain peace in a community," said ANC regional representative Mr Trevor Manuel.

The first established marshal structure will be in the rural areas outside Cape Town.

Mr Manuel denied information distributed in pamphlets in the Port Elizabeth northern areas that a prospective ANC marshal would have to "behave like a policeman".

"We are not planning to take on the normal function of the police, and our marshals will not be armed," he said.

The high crime rate in the communities and incidents of violence had prompted the need to establish a community marshal structure, he said.

Mr Manuel said the decision to establish marshal structures was taken after the rally at the Grand Parade following the release of Mr Nelson Mandela this year. The idea was also extended further to establish a community protection unit.

He said the ANC had a responsibility to take the question of violence seriously. People were

expected to give up a specific amount of time for training as marshals, he said.

The plans to set up marshal structures were "not at an advanced stage" and would take time to set up.

People would be given different levels of responsibility. The needs of the communities would dictate the roles of marshals in the areas, he said.

According to the pamphlets distributed in Port Elizabeth, marshals had to be of "sober habits".

"They must never stand on the street corners and smoke dagga. A marshal must never hit girls or commit any other crime."

The pamphlet advises that prospective marshals must "be physically fit at all times".

A police spokesman said the ANC had made no agreement with police for the training of units.

"The police are there to maintain law and order and the public may assist them, as laid down by the law," said spokesman Major Jan Callitz.

# Mandela's remarks on Zionism shock Jews

Sta. 29/8/90 (11A)

By Kaizer Nyatumba,  
Political Staff

South African Jewish leaders yesterday took strong exception to ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela's statements about Zionism when speaking in Norway on Monday, and challenged Mr Mandela to visit Israel to see things there at first hand.

Zionism, the Jewish leaders said, was not a racist movement but rather "the national liberation movement of the Jewish people".

Mr Mandela, who is attending a four-day conference on "The Anatomy of Hate" in Oslo, is reported to have told delegates that the ANC condemned Zionism if it meant the Jewish state had the right to occupy Palestinian lands and refuse to

deal with Arab leaders, but that the ANC welcomed Zionism if it meant religious freedom.

His statement drew an angry response from Israeli delegates at the conference and they challenged Mr Mandela to visit their country to gain first-hand information.

## Colour-blind

South African Jewish Board of Deputies executive director Aleck Goldberg yesterday echoed the Israeli delegates' call: "I want to emphasise that Zionism is not a racist movement and Mr Mandela ought to understand that. I hope he will understand that Zionism cannot be racist because it discriminates against nobody on the basis of either race or colour."

SA Zionist Federation chairman Solly Sacks said Israel was "the most colour-blind so-

ciety in the world", made up of Jews from every corner of the world, such as Morocco, Yemen, Ethiopia, Iraq, Syria and the West.

"The Jewish community is most distressed by Mr Mandela's statement with regard to Zionism and wishes to point out he is totally off the mark.

"The Zionist movement is the national liberation movement of the Jewish people and has as its basic tenets freedom, democracy and tolerance," Mr Sacks said.

More than 700 000 Arab Israelis were full citizens and six Arab MPs voted against the Israeli government "on every possible occasion", he added.

Those Arab leaders who had come forward to talk to Israel were "assassinated by their own people", as had happened to Egypt's President Sadat.

822 29/8/90

11A  
302

# Gunn 'had hand in blast'

ANC activist Shirley Gunn was detained because of information that she had, among others, been involved in the Khotso House bomb blast, the police public relations division in Pretoria said yesterday.

The division issued the statement after the ANC demanded a public apology from Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok

over allegations that Miss Gunn had been linked to the blast.

The division added: "Miss Gunn made a confession to the effect that she had received foreign training as a member of the ANC."

Miss Gunn was released from detention on Sunday and said on Monday that she had not been responsible for the May 1987 explosion.

"The investigation against her is continuing and everything possible will be done to finalise it as soon as possible," the division said. — Sapa.

# Blunders led to violence

Star 29/8/90

228 (11) (16)

**OSCAR DHLOMO, the former Inkatha secretary-general and now an independent conciliator, looks at violence in South Africa and discusses how it should be dealt with.**

The last few weeks have seen an escalation of violence and its spread to the black areas of the Transvaal.

Various theories have been advanced in attempts to explain why this violence, which had more or less become a permanent feature of life in the townships of Natal, has suddenly surfaced, with increased ferocity in the Transvaal.

A debate has also arisen as to whether the violence is ethnic (Zulu vs Xhosa) or ideological (ANC vs Inkatha). This debate is to my mind completely futile.

The grim fact is that people are dying and it does not restore them to life to pontificate about whether they are Zulus, Xhosas, Inkatha or ANC members.

## Sacrificed

These are people whose lives have been sacrificed at the altar of political expediency and one-upmanship. The questions that linger in everybody's mind are why the violence has spread to the Transvaal and why the ethnic factor has suddenly surfaced in this conflict?

Possible answers to these questions could be found in the strategies of the two warring factions, namely the ANC and Inkatha.

The ANC-UDF-Cosatu alliance committed a serious strategic blunder when it took a decision to make the violence in Natal a national issue by calling for protest marches and stayaways throughout the nation.

As if this blunder was not enough, these organisations called on the international community to isolate Dr Buthelezi and demanded that the KwaZulu police be disbanded and that the KwaZulu government be dismantled.

Dr Buthelezi complained bitterly against this "nationalisation" of the Natal violence and warned of its escalation.

We should, therefore, not pretend to be surprised that the violence did

in fact become "nationalised" and "internationalised" in line with the ANC's original strategy.

Neither should we be surprised that Inkatha countered with its own national strategy.

The combination of these two strategies led to the outbreak of violence throughout the nation.

If attempts to "nationalise" the violence using Buthelezi and Inkatha as niggers in the woodpile continue, we can expect that the Free State and the Cape Province might also experience the present violence sooner rather than later.

The second strategic blunder of the ANC was to demand the dismantling of what it calls the "KwaZulu Bantustan". No call was made for the dismantling of the other five homeland governments — KwaZulu, Gazankulu, KwaNdebele, QwaQwa and Lebowa.

## Humiliation

It is inexplicable why the ANC did not instead call for the abolition of the two Acts that established all self-governing states in South Africa, namely, the Bantu Authorities Act of 1951 and the Black States Constitution Act of 1971.

This blunder has again prompted Dr Buthelezi to allege that the ANC is singling out KwaZulu — and therefore the Zulu people — for vilification and humiliation.

Given the facts as outlined above, it is extremely difficult, to say the least, to fault Dr Buthelezi's case when he asks: "Why single out KwaZulu if your struggle is genuinely against the homelands policy?"

To complicate the issue further, ANC leaders have found no difficulty in visiting capitals of homelands that have gone further and be-

come "independent" thereby "selling out and opting out" of the black liberation struggle in South Africa.

These two homelands happen to be inhabited by fellow countrymen of Xhosa extraction.

The third blunder of the ANC is its constant refusal to meet Inkatha and the way it justifies the refusal.

The solution therefore appears to be that hundreds of people must die, scores of children must be orphaned and scores of families must be deprived of breadwinners — all in the name of denying Dr Buthelezi the "credibility" he should allegedly get by meeting Mr Mandela to talk about the violence.

It is also argued that Dr Buthelezi and Inkatha must first stop the violence before a meeting can be considered. Yet the proposed meeting is precisely for the purpose of talking about ending the violence.

The fourth blunder of the ANC was to attempt to go over Dr Buthelezi's head and talk to President de Klerk about ending the violence.

I have never been able to grasp the logic of this if it is Dr Buthelezi who is fomenting violence.

## Warning

It is again not surprising that Dr Buthelezi should feel slightly humiliated by the strategy, and that his followers should sound a few warning signals that they are a force to reckon with.

Mozambique, Angola, Ethiopia and Liberia are living examples of what happens to a country when one faction denies the other recognition and refuses to talk to it about ending the violence.

The final blunder that the ANC has made is to underestimate Inkatha's capability to defend its image and re-enforce its influence beyond the borders of Natal.

Up to the time of writing, ANC leaders still protest that Inkatha does not have the manpower resources to mount the kind of struggle it has mounted in the Transvaal.

A French philosopher once remarked: "There is nothing as fatal as a poorly observed fact."

Let me turn to possible benefits if Inkatha-ANC dialogue should take place.

In the first place, both organisations would benefit in that they would inherit more political space to recruit new members all over the country in accordance with the democratic principle of freedom of association.

Then we would witness a genuinely free, fair, democratic and civilised political contest as both parties sell their policies to us in the true traditions of multi-party democracy and political tolerance.

## Sleepless

At the present time potential recruits dare not come forward to identify with any of the two organisations because they fear for their lives.

A pro-ANC person living in an Inkatha-controlled area cannot come forward and openly identify with the ANC. The same is true for a pro-Inkatha person in an ANC-controlled area.

The worst-case scenario is, of course, that if the violence escalates and the ethnic factor continues to be highlighted, both organisations could end up losing members.

I have spent sleepless nights attempting to think of a strategy for ending the violence without Dr Buthelezi and Mr Mandela meeting. I am afraid there is no strategy.

We can call in the entire South African Defence Force, but the fact is this force can only end the killings and give us peace imposed from the outside — what I call armed peace.

What we need at this time is peace with reconciliation. Only Mr Mandela and Dr Buthelezi can deliver that.

# Top Cosatu men charged

CPK Truys 29/8/90 11A ~~11A~~

**JOHANNESBURG.** — Police raided the Cosatu head office yesterday — to free a constable who had allegedly been abducted and assaulted — and arrested general secretary Mr Jay Naidoo and two others.

Last night the three Cosatu officials were released by a magistrate on bail of R1 500 each after being charged with kidnapping, robbery and assault.

Mr Naidoo denied the charges against himself, Cosatu assistant secretary-general Mr Sydney Mufamadi and Mr Baba Schalk of Cosatu's media section.

He spoke at a press conference at John Vorster Square police station after his release last night.

Before yesterday's snoop, Cosatu officials paraded a police constable before a press conference, claiming the policeman had been "spying" on a member of the South African Communist Party with offices in the same building.

"We took it upon ourselves to apprehend this person," Mr Naidoo told reporters as he and SACP member Ms Geraldine Joselyn sat on either side of their trembling and occasionally crying suspect.

The man, identified as Constable Jo-

seph Maleka, told reporters he had been recruited by the police to monitor the movements of Ms Joselyn.

Saying he feared that publication of his picture in newspapers would prompt township activists to burn his house down or kill his mother, the visibly frightened constable shielded his face with a sweater during the press conference.

Witnesses said burly men in the room with Mr Naidoo forced the suspect's arms away from his face and grabbed his hair to pull his head up to face photographers — action evidently giving rise to the assault charges.

Police later confirmed he was a constable.

Mr Naidoo claimed that the policeman was carrying a two-way radio and a photograph of Ms Joselyn when he was nabbed at a garage near the office building.

He lashed out at police for failing to investigate complaints by its members of being harassed or subject to attack, yet having the time to put police on surveillance duty.

"We are investigating criminal charges," police spokesman Colonel Frans Malherbe confirmed. — UPI and Sapa

# 'Secret Reds' in the ANC

CAPT limits 29/8/90

11A

## Own Correspondent

LONDON. — There are at least 16 active but undeclared members of the South African Communist Party (SACP) on the ANC's national executive committee.

Africa Confidential says this is in addition to the nine whose NEC membership was disclosed at the SACP relaunch on July 29 and gives the communists a total of 25. The NEC has about 33 members in total.

The journal names the 16 and claims that at least five stand a good chance of being re-elected at the ANC's conference on December 16. They are Mr Steve Tshwete, Mr Aziz Pahad, Mr Henry Makgothi, Mr Stanley Mabizela and Mr Timothy Mokoena.

"This means that if those whose SACP membership has been revealed choose to renounce their responsibilities in the ANC, the party will still have a healthy representation."

Africa Confidential, a weekly journal which some claim has connections with the British security establishment, reports that there is "growing agitation" for the ANC and SACP to revert to their old status as separate entities, while remaining allies.

Unless this happens, the SACP will operate in its own right, while retaining a "clandestine front" with its members pursuing its interests through underground communist machinery within the ANC.

This front, according to the journal, extends beyond the NEC to embrace key positions like the administrative secretary of the treasurer-general's office, Mr Tickle Mohammed, education chief Mr Seretse Choabe, international affairs administrative secretary Mr Noah Mnumzana and others.

Africa Confidential claims that "latent tensions" are coming to the surface in the ANC over the SACP factor.

"A good example is the visceral attack launched by ANC information chief Pallo Jordan, in which his targets were SACP general secretary Joe Slovo and the cult of Stalinism.

With the SACP having "broken cover to some extent", AC says, "a host of minor struggles could become subsumed in a new tussle between nationalists and communists".

Africa Confidential says it foresees several ANC leaders "playing the nationalist card" as they struggle to find a popular base. But in Mr Chris Hani, reportedly using Transkei as a potential base for ANC guerillas, Africa Confidential says, Mr Modise faces a strong opponent.

"Hani is cultivating a new constituency as champion of the working class and militant youth. He is further reinforced by his popularity in the Eastern Cape, a traditional ANC stronghold. This is a powerful boost for the party (SACP)."

Apart from Mr Hani, "who has never hidden his party membership", only two other

black ANC leaders were unveiled as members of the SACP in July: Mr Sizakele Sigxashe, "who has always had a low profile", and Mr John Nkadameng "who, as general secretary of the now-defunct SA Congress of Trade Unions, is a natural champion of the working class".

Africa Confidential says many of those revealed as SACP members were people whose future in the ANC was "increasingly unclear in any event. Publicly declaring party membership is, for some, an elegant way of avoiding the ignominy of being voted out of the ANC leadership at the ANC's consultative conference scheduled for December 16".

The journal lists the following as being "non-declared communists" within the ANC's National Executive Committee, and outlines their future prospects:

● Alfred Nzo, the ANC secretary-general since 1964, and until 1984 a member of the SACP Central Committee.

● Josiah Jele. Dropped from the SACP's central committee, Africa Confidential believes he will also be dropped from the ANC leadership in December.

● Sindiso Mfenyane: As head of the NEC secretariat, he is responsible for the day-to-day functioning of ANC structures.

● Henry "Squire" Makbothi: ANC deputy secretary-general and "an important SACP member", says AC.

● Stanley Mabizela: He is deputy head of the ANC's Department of International Af-

fairs and was co-opted on to the NEC in 1988.

● Jacob Zuma: ANC intelligence chief and a member of the working group studying the removal of obstacles to negotiation.

● Dr Simon Makana: A leading member of the SACP and the ANC's "ambassador" in Moscow.

● Aziz Pahad: A leading SACP member and a politico-military analyst, according to AC.

● James Stuart: An SACP member and Lenin School graduate, AC says he was until recently the administrative secretary for the External Co-ordinating Committee.

● Dr Francis Meli: Until recently the editor of Sechaba.

● Steve Tshwete: A former national executive member of the UDF and now national co-ordinator of the ANC with Wilton Mkwayi.

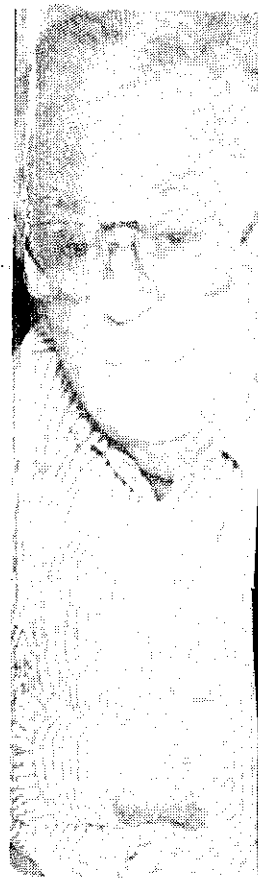
● Timothy Mokoena: Umkhonto we Sizwe commissar.

● Jackie Selibe: Youth Section head and National Repatriation Committee chairman.

● Robert Conco: "The Party man at Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College in Tanzania."

Africa Confidential says the SACP is unveiling a number of respected United Democratic Front leaders as party members, in a bid to bolster its constituencies. Among them is Cheryl Carolus, who with the eclipse of Dr Allan Boesak is "emerging as the new cult figure for Coloured radicals".

● ANC want own radio station — Page 9



SACP BOSS ...  
Mr Joe Slovo

Re: 29/8/90

(11A)

# ANC split with SACP predicted

The Star Bureau

LONDON — There is growing agitation within the ANC for a split from the South African Communist Party, says the Africa Confidential newsletter.

It claims in its latest edition that many people in the ANC "now feel that the conditions which caused the merger of the ANC and the SACP into one body with two heads, from 1961 onwards, are no longer extant".

There was increasing pressure for the two to "revert to their old status as truly separate entities while remaining allies. For these people, the continued existence of a formidable party underground inside the ANC is cause for concern."

The journal says the SACP still has 16 active but undeclared members within the ANC's national executive committee (NEC).

"Together with the nine revealed (members) on July 29, they constitute a weighty majority," says Africa Confidential.

"ANC insiders are now looking at the run-up to the ANC's conference on December 16

when it will be decided to what extent the SACP will continue to dominate a new-look ANC.

"Party members who came out of the closet on July 29 were those whose identity was least likely to cause a stir, including the non-blacks in the ANC leadership."

The publication points out that the SACP will probably still have a "healthy representation" in the NEC after the conference, which would allow it to operate on two fronts at once.

The public front would be manned by the powerful party machine revealed on July 29 and a clandestine front operated by the underground communist machinery within the ANC.

"Some of those revealed as party members are deeply unpopular in the ANC, to the point that they will probably lose their leadership positions at the ANC conference."

The newsletter cites the "visceral attack" launched by ANC information chief Pallo Jordan on Joe Slovo and the cult of Stanilism as evidence of the "latent tensions" now coming to the surface in the ANC.



Trans-  
tively  
dried

uncils  
of this

ce

Asso-  
bout  
ople  
ers-  
rity

was  
The  
r as  
the  
ov-  
al-  
be-  
uld  
ver  
for  
SA  
be  
pi-  
be  
DS

Taking tea during a break in yesterday's rent boycott talks by  
from left, Soweto city council management committee chair-  
and Transvaal local government MEC Olaus van Zyl.

# Govt-ANC peace team has started its work — Viljoen

3/10/90  
29/8/90

MIKE ROBERTSON

11A

THE working committee appointed to oversee the implementation of the ANC's decision to suspend armed actions was in the process of starting its work, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said yesterday.

The ANC last week insisted that Umkhonto we Sizwe Chief of Staff Chris Hani serve as one of its representatives on the working group.

Viljoen would not comment directly on whether Hani was serving on the committee.

However, he indicated Hani was not when he said in an interview: "Obviously Chris Hani's participation will be restricted in terms of the fact that he no longer has temporary indemnity."

Asked why government had withdrawn temporary indemnity from Hani and two other ANC executive members — Mac Maharaj and Ronnie Kasrils — Viljoen said: "Read in the Groote Schuur Minute what the expressed intention of indemnity is."

The minute states: "Temporary indemnity from prosecution for political offences committed before today will be considered on an urgent basis for members of the NEC and selected other members of the ANC from outside the country to enable them to return and help with the establishment and management of political activities, to assist in bringing violence to an end and to take part in peaceful political negotiations."

# ANC might soon be given a say in Parliament, says Gerrit Viljoen

GOVERNMENT was prepared to consider interim arrangements to allow organisations like the ANC a chance to "influence decisions" in Parliament while negotiations were under way, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said yesterday. *6/Day 29/8/90*  
Viljoen's statement, during an interview on Business Day, stops short of demands for the ANC and other organisations for an interim government, but is a first sign of government flexibility in this regard. The government, he said, had dropped the idea of a National Council — to enable black leaders to serve in an advisory capacity

at Parliamentary level — because of opposition to the proposal and fears that it could delay negotiations.

However, it was prepared to look at new ways in which parties excluded from existing structures could be given a chance to influence decisions made by them.

Viljoen said:

- Despite the recent spate of violence he was confident real negotiations could start at the beginning of next year;
- An impartial person or group of people would be appointed to chair negotiations;
- An all-race referendum would be held to test support for a new constitution;

MIKE ROBERTSON

provision would be made to count votes "globally" as well as by race group;

□ It was possible that legislation on issues such as a Bill of Rights — on which there was already agreement — could be introduced prior to a new constitution.

Viljoen said a stage had been reached where drawing opposition groups both in and outside Parliament into the negotiating process would be given high priority.

Negotiations with majority parties in Parliament and in homeland structures were at a more advanced stage than those

with the ANC.

The various parties were already exploring aspects of the negotiating process and discussing the orderly transfer from present structures to new ones. A working group had been set up to give attention to principles and guidelines for negotiating a second-tier government system.

Viljoen said the most important question to be decided in "talks about talks" was whether all parties with a proven support base should be allowed to participate in negotiations (the NP proposal), or whether a constituent assembly election as proposed by the ANC should be held.

Despite the public inflexibility shown by both government and the ANC on this issue, Viljoen predicted that a negotiating mechanism would be in place by early next year.

He said government accepted that the negotiating conference should decide on the issue of chairmanship. The most likely option was an impartial person or group of people acceptable to all sides.

Government also accepted that there would have to be some form of democratic endorsement by the population as a whole of the results of the negotiating process.

□ To Page 2

# Police say why Gunn was held

PRETORIA — The police public relations division said here yesterday that ANC activist Ms Shirley Gunn had been detained because of information that she had, among others, been involved in the Khotso House bomb blast.

The division issued the statement after the African National Congress demanded a public apology from Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok over allegations that she had been linked to the blast.

The division added that other reasons for her detention

were information that she had "received training as a terrorist outside the Republic, (and had been) involved in various acts of terror in the Republic, inter alia the storage of terrorist weapons".

The division added: "Miss Gunn made a confession to the effect that she had received foreign training as a member of the ANC."

Because Miss Gunn had an 18-month-old baby in her care, and the investigation so far indicated that some time might pass before it would be completed, it had been decided to charge her with illegal

possession of a firearm — "a Makarov which is normally used by terrorists" — and ammunition, and to provisionally release her.

Miss Gunn would appear in court on this charge on October 24.

"The investigation against her is continuing and everything possible will be done to finalise it as soon as possible," the division said.

Ms Gunn was released from detention on Sunday and said on Monday that she was not responsible for the Khotso House explosion. — Sapa



Ms Shirley Gunn

Sowetan 30/8/90

**SOWETAN  
Correspondent.**

THE African National Congress would apply to the Government this week to grant new indemnity from arrest for three leading militants, ANC sources said yesterday.

The Government earlier this month withdrew the temporary immunity from arrest of ANC executive members Chris Hani, Ronnie Kasrils and Mac Maharaj on the grounds that their conduct had not been conducive to peace.

All three are members of the South African Communist Party's interim leadership.

**Anger**

Militant speeches by Mr Hani, chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe, in Transkei have greatly angered the Government.

So have similar utterances by Mr Kasrils who is in hiding. Mr Maharaj is in detention.

The ANC sources said the basis of their application would be that militant speeches alone did not justify the earlier

**ANC to  
apply  
over  
trio**

Sowetan 30/8/90  
withdrawal of the temporary indemnities.

"What about the much more militant statements by people such as Eugene TerreBlanche and Andries Treurnicht?" they asked.

The ANC, which had warned earlier that the withdrawal of indemnity of the three leaders could jeopardise the peace process, would put pressure on the Government to grant the new applications, the sources said.

Denying reports that Hani's high-profile presence in Transkei suggested a military build-up, one ANC source said: "This is rubbish. Maybe these rumours will die down if we can get Mr Hani back in the country."

# Police impartiality key to peace in Natal: ANC

Sowetan 30/8/90



MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI

verge of reaching an agreement about how everybody should conduct themselves in Natal. The central committee of Inkatha said 'No'...

"The important question with the resumption of the talks now is: What mandate does the Inkatha delegation have?"

"The mandate for our side is still clear, reach an agreement so that this violence does not re-emerge in future. Unfortunately Buthelezi was not asked on television whether his group was now mandated to negotiate for peace in Natal."

### Political show

"The ANC is not opposed to a meeting between Buthelezi and Mandela. The ANC says a meeting between Mandela and Buthelezi must not be a matter of political show, it has got to be part of a process which is in fact going to produce peace in Natal."

"We need to find an agreement between ourselves and Inkatha to end the violence."

"We must regulate political activity so that people are free to organise without fear of being attacked. A meeting between Gatscha Buthelezi and Nelson Mandela has to be part of that process."

"In a situation in which we are not sure if the Inkatha delegation is mandated to reach an agreement, we must ask a question why, if indeed there is seriousness about a meeting between Buthelezi and Mandela producing peace."

SOWETAN: Chief Buthelezi recently said on TV that any effort to end violence, particularly in Natal, in which he was excluded would be impractical. He accused the ANC of deliberately leaving out Inkatha in the peace efforts.

Mbeki: The principal and immediate concern of the ANC with regard to the Natal situation is to end the violence. We believe that a very important element in that process has to do with the proper maintenance of law and order by the South African Government, the police and the army who are there.

"Lots and lots of evidence, millions of affidavits, really, show how the police have given weapons to vigilante groups, how the police have themselves lead such vigilante groups."

"Even in this more recent violence in the Transvaal, we have evidence of the army and the police actually handing over weapons to people who then said they were Inkatha."

### Violence

"We are saying that central to the ending of the violence in Natal, we have to ensure that the SAP and the SADF - to the extent that it is part of this force - have to act correctly and arrest people who are carrying out this violence and not participate themselves in the perpetuation of this violence."

"Again there are lots and lots of affidavits pointing to the wardens... This is a Buthelezi

Thabo Mbeki, one of the ANC's leaders in negotiations with the Government, spoke to Sontji Maseko on various aspects of the organisation and its negotiations strategy. This is the third section of an interview held shortly before the ANC issued a number of statements last week on the violence in the townships.

in Natal, who are all known for leading these campaigns against the people. Openly armed they go around killing people. They do not get arrested and the state of emergency in Natal has been consistently used against the UDF and Cosatu people, more so against the UDF people who are involved in peaceful discussions with Inkatha.

"Emergency regulations were used a number of times to arrest these negotiators. They were locked up for months, released and then put under banning orders."

Sowetan: Chief Buthelezi criticised the ANC and accused them of placing confines on Mandela, preventing a meeting between them. He said Mandela was more of a captive now than he was when he was in prison. Is the ANC opposed to Buthelezi and Mandela jointly calling for peace? Will a meeting between the two, when they are perceived to be working together for peace, help reduce the conflict?

"The matter has to be treated with a great deal of seriousness. Central to the solution of this problem in Natal is the behaviour of the police. You have white SAP officers who go around Natal's townships openly saying... Buthelezi

by De Klerk will hopefully soon meet to discuss the Natal violence.

Sowetan: There are two warring factions in Natal, with one party allegedly supported by police or being propped up by the police in their fight against the people in Natal. The logical stand would be for the two warring factions to iron out their differences and identify the factors which exacerbate this fighting between them. Is that peace meeting between the two parties possible? Before I come to that, there is still a misconception in what you are saying. I agree with you, if among these two warring factions you put one faction to include the KwaZulu police, the SAP and the SADF. They are part of the war there."

### Delegation

"You cannot solve the problems of violence in Natal unless you address the manner in which the SAP and the SADF are conducting themselves. De Klerk must do something about that, not Buthelezi."

"A delegation from ourselves led by Nelson Mandela, and a delegation from the Government led

They are not acting as a peace-keeping force. That is what I am saying.

"So it is not like there is a fight between the UDF, Cosatu and Inkatha. I am saying that there is an additional factor - an important element - and that is the intervention of the South African state, against the UDF, Cosatu and Inkatha."

"It is now happening in the Transvaal, where there is very strong evidence of weapons being handed over by the police to people saying they must go and kill."

"It is not two factions, the central Government is very important in this process. So I am saying that we will meet De Klerk, hopefully later this month to address this question."

### Initiated

The second point which is important is that the UDF and Cosatu, before the unbanning of the ANC, initiated a peace process which meant UDF, Cosatu and ANC would meet Inkatha."

"They worked out a whole agreement and conveyed that agreement to us in Lusaka and said 'Look, this is what we have agreed on and we believe that the ANC must come into the pro-



THABO MBEKI

# MK commander puts responsibility on FW

UMKHONTO we Sizwe commander Joe Modise placed responsibility for resolving the violence on the Reef squarely on President FW de Klerk's shoulders and called on him to harness sections of the police which were directly involved in the bloodshed.

He also condemned the "conspiracy" in which former members of Koevoet and 32 Battalion in Namibia were being "used by the police to kill our people".

Speaking at a Press conference in Windhoek on Wednesday, Modise said that De Klerk was "intelligent enough to know that if the ANC is pressed to the limit, it would definitely effect ANC decisions".

Asked whether this would mean a reversal of the decision to suspend the armed struggle as recorded in the Pretoria Minute, Modise said: "We have indicated to Mr de Klerk that this (the violence) must come to an end ... otherwise it could be that we would have to defend ourselves because our members are under attack."

The ANC had suspended the armed struggle in order to facilitate negotiations for the end of apartheid. In terms of its Harare Declaration to do this if the South African Government met certain ANC preconditions for talks, the ANC was "on course".

Modise hoped the South African Government would be "wise enough" to avoid a situation which would require going back on this decision.

"Mr de Klerk can stop the violence. He has got the force at his command and he also knows where the violence comes from."

Inkatha, with the collusion of some sections of the police, were to blame, said Modise.

He condemned the unrest area declaration by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok as "inappropriate and irrelevant".

The police already had sufficient powers to deal with the situation; Section 29, for example, which was being used against ANC members, should be applied to the Inkatha warlords, he said.

- Sapa

# ANC approached to buy Daily Mail

Sowetan 30/8/90

11A  
~~11A~~

THE ANC has been approached to buy the Johannesburg-based Daily Mail, which faces closure because of lack of funds less than three months after its launch.

The head of the ANC's department of information and publicity, Mr Pallo Jordan, confirmed yesterday that the ANC had been approached by newspaper staff to inform them that they were in trouble and needed bailing out.

The suggestion had been made that the ANC buy the paper, he said, adding that that was one of

several options being considered by the ANC, which had been looking into the possibility of launching its own newspaper.

In a statement on Tuesday *Daily Mail* co-editor Anton Harber said the paper would close if additional finance was not raised by the end of the week. The older, national *Weekly Mail* would still be published.

Yesterday the *Daily Mail* was inundated with offers of assistance and enquiries, Harber said.

"There's been an enormous response, including some cheques. But it is not enough to make a real difference.

We will have to watch to see if it builds up over the next few weeks."

Asked if the ANC had been approached to buy the paper, Harber said: "We are exploring every possible option to save the paper and people's jobs and to ensure the continuation of the ideals embodied in the newspaper.

"We are making no

choice at this stage between the options. We are duty bound to explore every possible way."

Confessing that the ANC had no money to launch its own publication, Jordan said other options considered by the organisation were an English national weekly and a multi-lingual national weekly.

## De Beer hits at Slovo goal

CAP TMS 30/8/90 Political Staff (11A)

THE statement by the general secretary of the SA Communist Party, Mr Joe Slovo, that communism was the final goal in South Africa was "utterly irreconcilable with anything that resembles Western democracy", Dr Zach de Beer, Democratic Party co-leader, said yesterday.

"It certainly challenges the ANC once and for all to say whether or not communism is their economic policy," he said in a statement. "The people of South Africa have a right to know this."

Dr De Beer also said it was not satisfactory to have a major player on the political scene, like the ANC, being unable to say whether or not it would pay compensation for land it might nationalise.

In an address to the Sandton Chamber of Business, Dr De Beer said indications were that the ANC, if not the communists, were prepared to be rather more flexible on nationalisation policies than in the past.



CAPL TML 30/8/90 (11A)

## Bop verbal war continues

**JOHANNESBURG.** — The verbal war between the ANC branch in Mmabatho and the Bophuthatswana government took a dramatic turn yesterday when both sides questioned the nationalities of key players in the controversy.

It all started recently when the homeland's Minister of State Affairs, Mr Rowan Cronje, suggested in a statement that a number of Mafikeng ANC officials and members were not citizens of Bophuthatswana. Yesterday a counter-statement from the ANC branch said it was surprising that someone with Mr Cronje's "Rhodesian" origins should be making accusations about "outsiders".

In his earlier statement, Mr Cronje did not specify which officials and members of the Mafikeng ANC branch were from outside Bophuthatswana.

The ANC denied that any of their members came from Europe and said every single member in the branch was a South African. — Sapa

# Worcester rally goes ahead without Boesak

City Times 20/8/70

11A

Staff Reporter

WORCESTER was the scene of two rival rallies organised by ANC affiliates yesterday — the Worcester Interim Crisis Committee and the Worcester Civic Association.

More than 2 000 residents attended the crisis committee rally at the Esselen Park stadium to hear the results of Thursday's meeting with Worcester Town Council.

Dr Allan Boesak was billed to address this rally but failed to turn up because of "other commitments", said Mr Ronnie September of the crisis committee.

A few hundred people attended the civic association meeting at the

Maywood Cinema, residents said.

Last Thursday, the crisis committee met the town council to discuss demands for lower rents, one municipality and the abolition of the local management committee.

Mr September said the council had agreed to form a committee which would find money to supplement service charges, thus lowering rents.

An urgent town council meeting would be held tonight to discuss recommendations for the "one town, one municipality" demand.

Deputy Mayor Mr George Quenet said the matter was sub-judice and that he would comment once the council had completed all investigations.

30/8/90

# Arrests a 'cheek' - ANC

Staff Reporter

The ANC yesterday described as "a damn-cheek" the arrest and charging of three senior Cosatu officials, after they complained to the police that an alleged police spy had been caught red-handed.

ANC publicity chief Pallo Jordan was responding to the arrest of Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo,

assistant general secretary Sydney Mufamadi and distribution official Baba Schalk during a police raid on the Cosatu head office in Johannesburg on Tuesday.

The three officials, who were charged with kidnapping and robbery, briefly appeared in court yesterday and the case was postponed. Bail of R1 500 each was extended.

# ANC asked to consider bailing out cash-strapped Daily Mail

Box 2018/90  
Political Reporter

(11A) (11B) (11C)

The ANC has been approached to buy the Johannesburg-based Daily Mail, which faces closure because of lack of funds less than three months after its launch.

The head of the ANC's department of information and

publicity, Pallo Jordan, confirmed yesterday that the ANC had been approached by newspaper staff to inform them that they were in trouble and needed bailing out.

The suggestion had been made that the ANC buy the paper, he said, adding that

that was one of several options being considered by the ANC which had been looking into the possibility of launching its own newspaper.

In a statement on Tuesday Daily Mail co-editor Anton Harber said the paper would close if additional fi-

nance was not raised by the end of the week.

Yesterday the Daily Mail was inundated with offers of assistance and inquiries, Mr Harber told The Star.

"There's been an enormous response including some cheques. But it is not enough to make a real dif-

ference. We will have to watch to see if it builds up over the next few weeks."

The money received is to be kept in a trust fund.

It was decided yesterday to continue to publish the daily edition until at least Friday September 7.

# ANC asked to consider bailing out cash-strapped Daily Mail

Box 3018/90  
Political Reporter (11A)

The ANC has been approached to buy the Johannesburg-based Daily Mail, which faces closure because of lack of funds less than three months after its launch.

The head of the ANC's department of information and

publicity, Pallo Jordan, confirmed yesterday that the ANC had been approached by newspaper staff to inform them that they were in trouble and needed bailing out.

The suggestion had been made that the ANC buy the paper, he said, adding that

that was one of several options being considered by the ANC which had been looking into the possibility of launching its own newspaper.

In a statement on Tuesday Daily Mail co-editor Anton Harber said the paper would close if additional fi-

nance was not raised by the end of the week.

Yesterday the Daily Mail was inundated with offers of assistance and inquiries, Mr Harber told The Star.

"There's been an enormous response including some cheques. But it is not enough to make a real dif-

ference. We will have to watch to see if it builds up over the next few weeks."

The money received is to be kept in a trust fund.

It was decided yesterday to continue to publish the daily edition until at least Friday September 7.

## Referendum for Transkei

PORT ELIZABETH. <sup>11A</sup> <sup>7/2/85 30/1/80</sup> The Transkei government has published a draft decree for a referendum to test Transkeians' views on the homeland's possible reincorporation into South Africa, says military leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa.

"The Transkei will not be an obstacle to the creation of a single, unitary South Africa and slow down the pace of the advent of a democratic social order beneficial to all," he said at the University of Port Elizabeth yesterday.

He thanked President F W de Klerk for "taking the advice of the Transkei government" on violence in black areas, causing "the SAP to disarm all sides wielding dangerous weapons". — Sapa

## Referendum for Transkei

PORT ELIZABETH. <sup>SA Times 30/11/90</sup> The Transkei government has published a draft decree for a referendum to test Transkeians' views on the homeland's possible reincorporation into South Africa, says military leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa.

"The Transkei will not be an obstacle to the creation of a single, unitary South Africa and slow down the pace of the advent of a democratic social order beneficial to all," he said at the University of Port Elizabeth yesterday.

He thanked President F W de Klerk for "taking the advice of the Transkei government" on violence in black areas, causing "the SAP to disarm all sides wielding dangerous weapons". — Sapa

ANC to  
30/8/90 (16)

# seek new

## indemnity

By Esmaré van der Merwe,  
Political Reporter

The ANC would apply to the Government this week for the granting of new indemnity from arrest of three leading militants, ANC sources said yesterday.

Earlier this month the Government withdrew the temporary immunity from arrest of ANC executive members and SA Communist Party interim leadership members Chris Hani, Ronnie Kasrils and Mac Maharaj on the grounds that their conduct has not been conducive to peace.

Militant speeches in the Transkei by Mr Hani, chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe, and similar utterances by Mr Kasrils, who is in hiding, have angered the Government. Mr Maharaj is in detention.

The ANC sources said the basis of their application would be that militant speeches alone did not justify the earlier withdrawal of the temporary indemnities.

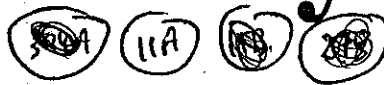
The ANC, which had warned earlier that the withdrawal of indemnity of the three leaders could jeopardise the peace process, would put pressure on the Government to grant the new applications, the sources said.

Vehemently denying reports that Mr Hani's high-profile presence in the Transkei suggested a military build-up, one ANC source said: "This is rubbish. Maybe these rumours will die down if we can get Mr Hani back in the country."



# Modise says

Star 30/8/90



# FW must act

The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Joe Modise placed responsibility for ending the violence on the Reef squarely on President de Klerk's shoulders and called on him to restrain sections of the police which, he claimed, were directly involved in the bloodshed.

He also condemned the "conspiracy" in which former members of Koevoet and 32 Battalion in Namibia were being "used by the police to kill our people".

Speaking at a news conference here yesterday, Mr Modise said Mr de Klerk was "intelligent enough to know that if the African National Congress is pressed to the limit, it would definitely effect ANC decisions".

Asked whether this would mean a reversal of the decision to suspend the armed struggle as recorded in the Pretoria Minute, Mr Modise said: "We have indicated to Mr de Klerk that this (the violence) must come to an end . . . otherwise it could be that we would have to defend ourselves because our members are under attack."

The ANC had suspended the armed struggle in order to facilitate negotiations for the end of apartheid. In terms of its Harare Declaration to do this if the South African Government met certain ANC preconditions for talks, the ANC was "on course". Mr Modise hoped the South African Government would be wise enough to avoid a situation which would require going back on this decision.

## Inkatha

"Mr de Klerk can stop the violence. He has got the force at his command and he also knows where the violence comes from." Inkatha, with the collusion of some sections of the police, were to blame, said Mr Modise.

He condemned the unrest area declaration by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok as "inappropriate and irrelevant". The police already had sufficient powers to deal with the situation, Section 29, for example, which was being used against ANC members, should be applied to the Inkatha leaders.

"The declaration, we believe, serves to hide the complicity of the police in the carnage." The ANC had evidence of this complicity, he said, without further elaboration.

Asked whether, in the light of the recent eruption of violence on the Reef, the ANC might now consider that it had suspended the armed struggle too soon, Mr Modise said the resolution of the apartheid problem was of paramount importance and the decision had been taken to facilitate that process.

Mr Modise did not rule out a meeting between Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela but said the ANC resented being forced into talks by violence.

1 Sep 30/8/90 (A) (A) (A)

# De Beer urges ANC to spell out its policy

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Democratic Party co-leader Zach de Beer has challenged the ANC to distance itself from Communist Party leader Joe Slovo's comment that the implementation of communism is his party's goal in South Africa.

"These statements will have done grave damage to economic confidence and unless the ANC dissociates itself from them quite quickly, the people of South Africa will pay a heavy price in lost job opportunities," Dr de Beer said.

He said Mr Slovo's statement was utterly irreconcilable with anything that resembled Western democracy.

"It certainly challenges the ANC once and for all to say whether or not communism is their economic policy. The people of South Africa have a right to know this."

## Agitation

Dr. de Beer added: "I note that Mr Mboweni, for the ANC, was unable to say whether or not his organisation will pay compensation for land it may nationalise.

● The ANC would not comment yesterday on a report in the Africa Confidential newsletter, published in Britain, that there was growing agitation within its ranks for a split from the SA Communist Party.

The report said many in the ANC now felt the alliance with the SACP no longer prevailed.

They said the two organisations should "revert to their old status as separate entities, while remaining allies".

Africa Confidential added: "The continued existence of a formidable party underground inside the ANC is cause for concern."

# SACP is not anti-religious

Star 30/8/90 (CIA) (S)

**ESSOP PAHAD**, a member of the central committee of the South African Communist Party, discusses communism and religion.

South African communists are accused of being anti-religion, anti-Christ and even opposed to the freedom of worship.

Although this accusation lacks substance, it is unfortunately widely accepted by different and differing religious bodies.

Of these, we may, discern two main trends.

The one consists of groups who liberately and systematically peddle a regimen of lies about the SACP's attitude and standpoint on religion and other vital issues.

The other is composed of groups who are genuinely concerned that the accusations mentioned may have substance.

To put it boldly, the SACP is unequivocally committed, now and in the future, to freedom of religion and worship.

This fundamental right must, we believe, be defended at all times. An intolerant, dogmatic, anti-religion attitude is, in our view, the very antithesis of a humane society.

We are convinced that the value systems embodied in all the major religions of our country contain important and exemplary features. There is no contradiction between these progressive, democratic and humane ideas and ideals and those of socialism.

We would also argue that we are closer to the moral content of the teachings of the great religions than those believers who are narrow and dogmatic.

It is a moral content which is suffused with a sense of communalism, respect for the dignity and worth of each individual, outrage at poverty and suffering and ill-gotten obscene privileges of a few and the obligation to assist the most disadvantaged sectors of our community.

The SACP admits that in the past some communists have adopted intolerant and dogmatic anti-religious attitudes.

These attitudes were certainly not conducive to developing close relations between believers and communists in the common fight to

combat racism and eliminate apartheid.

Furthermore, regretfully, the SACP, did not in the past openly criticise the attacks on some believers that had occurred in certain socialist countries. These attitudes and positions may have contributed to the image that communists are intolerant of believers and the right of worship.

An important lesson for all of us in this country is that an attack upon the democratic rights of any segment of society is an attack on the democratic rights of all of us.

In South Africa a certain version

---

**‘ To put it boldly, the SACP is unequivocally committed, now and in the future, to freedom of religion and worship. ’**

---

of Christianity was not only elevated to the pedestal of an official State religion, but also unashamedly utilised to justify racism in theological and practical political terms.

It is these people and their followers who gave Christianity a bad name, and not communists. Moreover, religions such as Islam and Hinduism have to fend for themselves in building their places of worship and educational institutions.

Any new democratic State would have to address the needs of all religious groups and not only the chosen few.

In South Africa religion is a powerful force. Millions of our people, among them many workers, subscribe to one or other religious belief.

Our own history and experience shows that in multifaceted and diverse political involvement and action believers and non-believers stood side by side.

In a strike, a demonstration, and a picket line the religious belief or otherwise of the participant is not the issue. The issue is sense of common interests, grievances and solidarity.

Our own history is resplendent with such leading religious figures and believers as Father Trevor Huddleston, Father Simangaliso Mkhathswa, Sister Bernard Ncube, Frank Chikane, Molvi Chachalia, Molvi Saloojee, Beyers Naude, Chief Albert Luthuli, Nana Sita and Dr G M Naicker.

All of them, and many more, have made an outstanding contribution which has enriched all of us, believers and non-believers, communists and non-communists.

We have believers in our underground structures. Moreover, among the thousands of applications to join our party there are believers. There is no bar to believers joining the party, save that they accept our programme and constitution.

The SACP welcomes in its ranks lay believers as well as religious leaders and thinkers. It is regrettable, however, that some church leaders are taking steps to prevent priests from joining political organisations. In our view it is a democratic right for all individuals to join a political party of their choice.

South African communists have also been influenced by progressive

and democratic thinkers within all the major religions of the world. Having read and studied them, we cannot but be influenced by their liberatory and humane ideas and ideals.

The SACP is guided by the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism. The science, as we see it, of historical and dialectical materialism, better enables us to comprehend the vast sweep of historical changes and development, the causes of oppression and exploitation and the means to overcome the latter.

Flowing from this philosophical basis, the SACP is open and ready to

---

**‘ In South Africa, religion is a powerful force. Millions of our people, among them many workers, subscribe to one or other religious belief. ’**

---

discuss issues of common interest as well as controversial questions with all religious formations. Such a dialogue would help remove the ignorance and prejudices that exists within all our ranks.

Political events in our country have moved with the rapidity of a raging torrent. We are on the threshold of momentous changes. The realisation of a relatively peaceful and negotiated solution of the conflict in our country requires the common effort of all of us, communists and non-communists, believers and non-believers.

It is this common effort that will usher in a united, democratic, non-racial and non-sexist society.

ANC and  
Bop in  
clash over  
bona fides

The verbal war between the ANC branch in Mmabatho and the Bophuthatswana government took a dramatic turn yesterday when both sides questioned the nationality bona fides of the key players in the controversy.

It all started recently when the homeland's Minister of State Affairs Rowan Cronje suggested in a statement that a number of Mafikeng ANC officials and members were not citizens of Bophuthatswana, saying some were "from afar afield as Europe".

He did not specify which members of the branch were from outside Bophuthatswana.

### Outsiders

Yesterday a counter-statement from the ANC branch said it was surprising that someone with Mr Cronje's "Rhodesian" origins should be making accusations about outsiders.

The branch denied that any members came from Europe, saying all were South Africans.

ANC branches are said to be popping up all over Bophuthatswana.

A new branch was launched at Eersterus in the Moretele district on Tuesday.

General secretary Daniel Mabena said more than 400 members attended the launch, without the police being aware of the event.

Seven members of the executive of the Mabopane ANC branch, launched on Saturday, were arrested at their homes on Sunday on charges of having attended an illegal gathering.

The Mafikeng ANC branch has alleged that the Bophuthatswana security police are trying to infiltrate their ranks.

- Sapa.

# ANC-Inkatha tit for tat over tete-a-tete

Spnr 30/8/90



Why did Nelson Mandela refuse to address a joint peace rally with Mangosuthu Buthelezi at Taylor's Halt outside war-torn Maritzburg?

The KwaZulu chief and Inkatha Freedom Party leader has scored much political mileage from the incident, claiming that the ANC deputy president agreed to and later called off a peace rally which was scheduled for April.

This week, the ANC's southern Natal convener, Patrick Lekota, broke the ANC's silence on the issue when, challenged by Inkatha Institute director Gavin Woods, he gave the ANC's side of the story during a debate at the Rand Afrikaans University.

## Disastrous

Mr Lekota said the suggestion of a joint rally to end the protracted carnage in Natal had first come up in a meeting of senior ANC officials attended by Mr Mandela.

The deputy president had personally telephoned Chief Buthelezi from that meeting, suggesting that a joint rally be organised after the local branches of the two organisations had come together to make their peace.

Mr Mandela's view had been that a joint rally could be disastrous if the local organisers did not first meet. He had also suggested that the local leaders decide jointly on a date and venue.

Chief Buthelezi's response had been that he first wanted to consult his parliament, according to Mr Lekota.

"Fifteen minutes later, an official in Chief Buthelezi's office

Protracted battles between supporters of the African National Congress and Inkatha have claimed thousands of lives since the early 1980s. A suggestion of a joint rally to end the protracted Natal carnage first came up, but never materialised, earlier this year at a meeting of senior ANC officials attended by Nelson Mandela.

Political Reporter **ESMARE VAN DER MERWE** reports on some of the accusations and counter-accusations made by the two groups.

phoned back and said the peace rally would take place on this day at that venue. Mr Mandela objected and asked to speak to Buthelezi. He refused to come to the telephone.

"Shortly afterwards, Inkatha announced to the press that the rally would indeed take place at Taylor's Halt that next Monday."

This is but one example of accusations and counter-accusations between the ANC and Inkatha which have filled reams of newspaper columns over recent months.

It is a war of words indicative of deeply rooted differences and animosity between the political rivals.

Dr Woods challenged Mr Lekota to state why Mr Mandela had not responded to at least 20 public invitations over the past two months to meet.

Mr Lekota replied: "We will meet Buthelezi any time, but not for his sake. If he just wants to shake Nelson's hand, he can make an appointment to do so."

A formal meeting between the two organisations would have to take place in the presence of the Government, he added, because Chief Buthelezi had scuttled several agreements reached between delegations of Inkatha and the ANC-aligned United Democratic

Front and Cosatu when the ANC had still been banned and Mr Mandela still in jail. The Government should ensure that Chief Buthelezi honoured any agreements reached.

The two men gave different accounts on the reasons for the eruption of the Natal violence, which has since spilt over to the Reef.

Dr Woods said the ANC had, through Radio Freedom and its official magazine, Sechaba, urged supporters to kill and "marginalise" Inkatha.

ANC supporters had killed 106 Inkatha leaders over the last few years and 13 Inkatha refugee camps had been put up to assist people who had fled their communities.

Mr Lekota said 13 000 ANC supporters lived in refugee camps in the Maritzburg area alone.

Inkatha had first launched attacks on ANC supporters when the UDF was formed in 1983 and immediately managed to draw massive support in the area. "Impis" drove out communities which had set up democratic structures.

Chief Buthelezi had been so desperate to survive that children had been refused schooling if their parents had not signed up with Inkatha, and hostel dwellers and teachers

had been forced to swear their allegiance to Inkatha.

The UDF and Cosatu had called for meetings with Inkatha. Several agreements had been signed which, Mr Lekota claimed, had all been unilaterally scuttled by Chief Buthelezi.

Last year, a still-banned ANC had offered to intervene and requested that the meeting take place in Lusaka. Chief Buthelezi had refused on the grounds that the venue was not impartial.

The ANC had then suggested a Scandinavian country as a venue. This was again turned down by Chief Buthelezi.

The ANC had then asked him to suggest a venue, whereupon Chief Buthelezi had said ANC president Oliver Tambo should write him a personal letter.

## Pamphlets

Dr Woods said one agreement reached between Inkatha, Cosatu and the UDF had been that the ANC be included in talks. The ANC, then still banned, had agreed, but had never responded to Chief Buthelezi's invitations.

Explaining why Inkatha had last year put a moratorium on contact with the ANC and its allies, Dr Woods said the decision was taken after pamphlets had been distributed urging ANC supporters to "take advantage of the peace talks by taking control".

Dr Woods said he would refrain from responding to Mr Lekota's "select little package" of accusations.

He said there was guilt on both sides, but "democratic tolerance" was now needed to stop the carnage.

...nce of Manica after a stoppage...

...ll bonds...

# ANC activists take a break from politics for study overseas

By Esmaré van der Merwe,  
Political Reporter

Three leading ANC activists will soon take a break from politics and

travel abroad to study.

Murphy Morobe, Krish Naidoo and Mkhusele Jaek will leave their work with mixed feelings — sad to miss out on the unfolding political scenario, probably re-

lieved to be spared the hiccups.

It is believed other activists could follow suit in the quest to equip potential leaders with the necessary higher educational skills that will be

needed for the future.

Mr Morobe, UDF assistant publicity secretary will leave for Princeton University in New Jersey on Sunday to do a one-year non-degree course in public policy.

Mr Naidoo, a Johannesburg lawyer, ANC organiser and former chairman of the National Sports League, will travel to Aberdeen University in Scotland next month. He will do a

masters degree in strategic studies.

Mr Jack, the UDF's publicity secretary in the Eastern Cape, will do a four-year degree in economics at Sussex University in England.

# Interim govt 'not on cards'

By Peter Fabricius,  
Political Correspondent

The Government had no intention of relinquishing any of its powers to an interim government, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen stressed yesterday.

He was responding to reports that he had said the Government was prepared to consider an interim arrangement to allow organisations such as the ANC a chance to influence decisions in Parliament while negotiations were under way.

Dr Viljoen said an interim government was not acceptable to the NP Government. But it would be prepared to negotiate the creation of "informal channels" to allow extra-parliamentary groups to influence decision-making in the Executive and in Parliament.

He stressed that their functions would be merely advisory and that the Government would relinquish none of its authority.

The informal channels were

in no way tantamount to an interim government, which implied a transfer of power from the present Government to a new one.

The present Government would remain intact during negotiations, the Minister said.

He said the idea of groups outside Parliament and the Government being given a say in legislature and the Executive dated from legislation passed a few years ago to set up a negotiating forum to be known as the national council.

That legislation proposed that the national council should have two functions: to negotiate a new constitution and in the meantime to give advice to the Government in the running of the country.

He said the national council idea was not acceptable, but the provision of certain channels for extra-parliamentary groups could be negotiated.

CMT Tmk's 30/8/90

1/A

## Local visit for Mandela

Staff Reporter

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela is due to tour rural areas in the Western Cape and Namaqualand soon after his return from Europe.

Mr Reggie September, Western Cape regional representative of the ANC, said yesterday that the dates of this tour had not yet been confirmed, but he thought Mr Mandela might be in the Western Cape by about September 10.

Asked which areas Mr Mandela might visit, Mr September replied: "Perhaps Robertson, Citrusdal, Mier."

Mier, in Namaqualand, has been at the centre of a recent controversy over the privatisation of communal land held in trust by the House of Representatives. The ANC asked the Labour Party not to alienate the land, and the land bill was delayed, but eventually it did go through.

An ANC spokeswoman said Mr Mandela was due back in South Africa on September 3.



Cape Times 30/8/90

## Natal branch launched 117

**DURBAN.** — The ANC formally launched its Durban Central branch on Tuesday night when a multi-racial membership of 300 elected as chairman Mr Joseph Nduli, a 12-year veteran of Robben Island.

"You know very well that in this region there has been violence for three years between progressive forces and reactionary forces," Mr Nduli said after his election. "Today we are going to try by all means to end the continuing violence in Natal."

Mr Nduli said the branch would run collectively and democratically and enhance communication with the ANC's top policy-makers.

"The importance of a branch is that people will have feedback from the organisation. It means we'll be giving information on what happened in Pretoria and what happened in Cape Town."

He stressed that the ANC was open to South Africans of any colour, sex or religion.

Elected to the branch's other executive posts were: Ms Meryl Plesket, secretary; Mr Michael Sutcliffe, treasurer; and committee members Ms Maris van Driel, Mr Khetso Gordon, Mr Eli Kolleng, Mr Thembaka Gwagwa, Mr Thobeka Ramwana and Mr Ian Phillips. — Sapa

ON more than one occasion there have been outbreaks of violence between forces of the ANC or sympathetic to the ANC and other sectors of the anti-apartheid movement, such as PAC and Black Consciousness supporters.

It may be that some or many of these incidents derive from provocation on the part of these other forces or that our people acted in self-defence.

But it nevertheless remains true that a number of our supporters and members do not allow these other forces to put their views across and to try to win support.

# No place for hooliganism



AS part of our campaign for freedom of speech, today we reproduce a debate

The ANC believes that it will win overwhelming backing from the people of South Africa because its policies are morally

between two correspondents in the July/August issue of the ANC's official organ, *Mayibuye*.

And, on the next page we carry King Goodwill Zwelithini's appeal to Zulus to throw down their weapons.

right.

It engages in strategies and tactics that will ensure victory. That is not the view of all sections of

the oppressed. We must convince these people of the correctness of our views. If we cannot convince them, it is nevertheless their right to propagate their views.

We have no reason to try to convert them to our position through violence.

It is also necessary to recognise that we sometimes have something to learn from the views of other groups.

There has in the past been a tendency in our

ranks to accept views without thinking them through, merely because they emanate from the leadership.

We have not only to know the policies of the ANC, but to think about them and discuss them. As a member one has a duty to be acquainted with policies; but one also has the right to try to develop or modify them, through the appropriate decision-making bodies.

This year's national conference will provide

the opportunity for ordinary members to canvass opinion in their branches and try to get them to agree to resolutions that can be put to the conference.

The question of our relationship with other anti-apartheid groupings is not merely an element of the code of conduct and discipline that is required of our membership. If we wish to defeat apartheid, that can only be done if we act as a united, well-directed force.

# Looking again at the problem

IIA  
~~3/11/90~~  
31/8/90

THE issue of inter-organisational conflict has been the subject of intense and vigorous discussion by scholars and laymen alike, victims and perpetrators, activists and the masses in general.

However, the cause as well as the solution to this problem cannot be arrived at by simply and mechanically referring to 'discipline and tolerance'.

Instead, one must, first and foremost, look at the problem against the background of the entire history of apartheid misrule.

Apartheid has denied the majority of our people basic democratic rights such as the freedom of expression, association and speech.

These rights have always been enjoyed by the apartheid state and its supporters. It is important to note that the state is nevertheless intolerant of other people's views and opinions, particularly those of the oppressed. This is the undemocratic environment in which all organisations, including the National Party itself, have developed.

These undemocratic conditions have given rise to a sub-culture of intolerance. Its victims are the entire political community of South Africa. Organisations of the oppressed are as not immune from this trend.

The Conservative Party and its allies, the AWB and others, are as much intolerant of the Democratic Party as they are of us.

The state's intolerance has the longest history. Not only has it imprisoned and detained people with different views and opinions; it has also killed and maimed.

Democratic organisations are the only force that can bring about change and democracy through education and the practice of democratic principles.

Secondly, attempts to quell the fires should not only involve the upper echelons of our structures.

Ordinary members of our organisations and communities, who have the practical experience of problems on the ground should be drawn in.

There have been instances where provocative slogans against our leaders have led to violent conflict. So too do attempts to discourage people from active struggle. These and other concrete problems need to be addressed concretely.

In trying to quell inter-communal and inter-organisational conflict, special consideration must be given to state manipulation. At times the enemy manifests itself under the cloak of anti-apartheid organisations.

# Sayco issues challenge to Azapo

11A

Sowetan 31/8/90

THE South African Youth Congress yesterday called on Azapo to explain to people of South Africa whether it was still involved in the struggle against apartheid.

The organisation was reacting to criticism from Azapo against a "week of action" called by the National Union of South African Students, the South African National Students and the Congress of South African Students to protest against the recent wave of violence in the townships.

In a statement, Sayco's publicity secretary, Mr Parks Mankahlana said recent actions by Azapo showed that it was "rapidly gravitating in the direction of reaction by word and deed."

"Lately Azapo has not only watched political developments and popular mass actions with indifference, but it has begun to actively campaign against them."

He said this was true of the July 2 stayaway, the mass marches of July 9 in protest against continued violence in Natal, the consumer boycott that was called in the Vaal and the pickets, demonstrations and marches organised by students protesting against Inkatha violence.

He said the action taken by the student organisations deserved to be hailed and supported by all progressive minded South Africans.

# Mandela delays return to SA

118

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela has postponed his return to South Africa. He is due to arrive in Zambia tomorrow to consult President Kenneth Kaunda and to meet exiled ANC members in Lusaka, a spokesman for the ANC said in Johannesburg yesterday.

The bulk of ANC exiles had not yet returned to South Africa and many were waiting in the Zambian capital, ANC information chief Pallo Jordan said.

## Opportunity

"Mr Mandela is using the opportunity of stopping over in Zambia to hold meetings with our ANC membership in Lusaka and to consult President Kaunda, before he returns to South Africa on Monday," Jordan said.

Another spokesman in the ANC information office said a large group of exiles would be returning to South Africa in mid-September.

He said it was not anticipated at this stage that Mandela would be visiting any other countries in Africa during this tour.

## Secretary

Mandela's secretary at ANC headquarters in Johannesburg confirmed that the ANC leader's tour of the Cape, to meet a broad cross-section of the community, had been postponed.

Originally Mandela was scheduled to return to South Africa today after his visit to Norway, where he addressed a conference on the Anatomy of Hate, and his visits to the heads of state in Libya and Algiers. - Sapa

# Pamphlet

*Soweto*  
(1A) 'a fake'

3118190  
THE ANC Women's League has denounced as a fake a pamphlet that was issued in its name and which stated that the Women's League had a military battalion and was out to kill soft targets.

The pamphlet, issued on the University of Natal in Pietermaritzburg's campus, caused a rumpus in Pietermaritzburg with its warlike approach.

It stated that the ANCWL was planning to mobilise women into a battalion, including those in white areas who could then gain intelligence about people's movements, especially those of policemen, soldiers, Government people and their children.

# Government invites PAC

11A

*Sowetan 31/8/90* By SONTI MASEKO

THE Pan Africanist Congress has been invited by the Government to take part in negotiations for a new constitution in South Africa, the organisation said yesterday.

PAC president Mr Zephania Mothopeng said the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, had written to the organisation two weeks ago inviting it for talks.

The Minister's spokesman, Mr Hannes de Wet, yesterday confirmed the invitation and said the Government was now awaiting a reply from the PAC.

PAC general secretary Mr Benny Alexander said it was the first time the Government had had any contact with the organisation.

"As far as I know, the PAC seems to be the first organisation that has been formally invited by the Government. Other people seem to have initiated their contact," he said.

"Receipt of the letter has been acknowledged and the Government informed that relevant PAC structures will decide."

Alexander said copies of the letter were sent to

● To Page 2

# Government invites PAC

11A

● From Page 1

all branches of the PAC and its affiliates for discussion.

He said: "We believe in democratic centralism and we are strongly opposed to any behind-the-scenes deals with the Government."

"Everything should be above-board and this will be taken to the lowest structures of the PAC for discussion and the executives will be guided by the feedback."

In the past, the PAC had consistently rejected the idea of holding talks with the Government, saying liberation was not negotiable. It had, instead, called for intensification of the struggle.

Asked when the response to the Government's invitation would be made, Alexander said democracy in itself was a lengthy process and that his organisation was in no hurry nor would it be pressurised by anybody.

"We will take our own time," he said.

*Sowetan 31/8/90*

114

# PAC invited to talks



Mr Zeph Mothopeng

JOHANNESBURG. — The government has moved to gather fresh support for negotiations with a formal letter to the PAC inviting the organisation to take part in talks on a new constitution.

Pretoria's sudden approach was revealed yesterday by PAC president Mr Zeph Mothopeng, who said his organisation had as yet not rejected the invitation, but would make its stance known once its formations had discussed the invitation.

"A letter dated August 17, 1990, and signed by the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, was hand-delivered at my home on the same day," Mr Mothopeng said yesterday.

"After consultation with members of the national working committee, I decided that the matter be referred to all PAC structures and Africanist formations for discussion. This letter will be discussed in the coming days. Our response will be based on the feedback.

"The PAC leadership works above board and not behind the scenes. Decisions are arrived at with member participation," said Mr Mothopeng.

The PAC leader, who was twice imprisoned on Robben Island, said the organisation had acknowledged receipt of the letter, pointing out their decision would rest on the shoulders of all members.

Presumably, this means internal members would travel abroad to brief cadres and the external leadership.

Mr Mothopeng added a broad range of groups and organisations outside of "Africanist formations", would also be consulted, but declined to name them.

The PAC is the first organisation to the left of the ANC to receive a formal invitation.

Azapo national organiser, Mr Lusibe Ntloko, said they had as yet received no indication of an approach from the authorities.

"I was just on the line to Azapo president, Dr Itumeleng Mosala, and nothing came up about an invitation.

If the government has done or is in the process of doing so, we are completely unaware of such a move," said Mr Ntloko.

The invitation is surprising considering that the PAC has so far maintained a hardline position on negotiations with the government.

Its position is that until the "five pillars of apartheid" — the two Land Acts, the Group Areas Act, Bantu education and the Population Registration Acts — are scrapped, there can be no basis for talks.

In addition, the PAC, like Azapo and the ANC, consider a Constituent Assembly pivotal to the drafting of a new constitution. — Sapa



CHM-Trans 31/8/90 (164)

# Students 'sceptical' of Chief's plans for talks

JOHANNESBURG. — The South African National Students Congress (NSC), the National Union of SA Students (Nusas) and the Congress of SA Students alliance (Cosas) yesterday said they were sceptical about the motives of Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's insistence on talks with ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela.

Chief Buthelezi had reportedly declared a meeting between himself and Mr Mandela was the only basis for the restoration of peace in the war-torn Natal province, and lately in the embattled Wiwatersrand townships.

But the alliance pointed out in a statement that it was sceptical about the proposed meeting in the light of Inkatha's alleged lack of commitment to previous peace initiatives aimed at resolving the Natal conflict. — Sapa



# ANC against Aids tests for exiles

By CHRIS BATEMAN

THE ANC was "absolutely opposed" to the compulsory testing of returning exiles for the Aids virus and had implemented a comprehensive Aids education campaign as soon as the killer disease became evident in Africa.

This was said by a senior ANC spokesman in Johannesburg yesterday.

She was reacting to news that six HIV-infected ANC Umkhonto we Sizwe prisoners had been transferred from the Pollsmoor Prison hospital to jails nearer their homes on Monday.

A seventh prisoner, originally a Uitenhage resident, was transferred from Pollsmoor Prison to Somerset Hospital on Monday and is in a "seriously debilitated" condition, lawyers representing him said yesterday.

The ANC spokesperson said her organisation totally supported an individual's right to a private life and

called for the immediate release of imprisoned Aids sufferers who needed "extra care and attention".

Imprisonment made it "virtually impossible to come to terms with your own mortality", while the disease demanded as little stress as possible, she added.

ANC members were "highly responsible", and she hoped that individuals who suspected they might be infected with the virus would voluntarily go for testing.


"There can be no question of compulsion," she emphasised.

As soon as Aids became evident in Africa the ANC had embarked on a policy of education which included teaching how the disease was contracted and how to avoid it, she added.

● Prisons Services public relations directorate chief Brigadier Erica van Zyl said in July this year there were 48 Aids-carrying prisoners in SA, 17 of them at Pollsmoor. Seven of the Pollsmoor Aids victims were security prisoners.

# ANC sees 'state farms as vital'

ANC Times 31/8/90



Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — The ANC believed state-owned farms could best ensure a radical redistribution of land among the people of a post-apartheid South Africa.

This was said by the organisation's convener in the Border, the Rev Makhenkhesi Stofile, in his address to a conference on agricultural and rural development at a Ciskei coastal resort yesterday.

Mr Stofile said parastatals would be vital in providing farm workers with skills, but added that these farms might have to be delayed.

Of three other possible models — individual land-ownership and production, co-operatives and company owned farms — the last was undesirable because it was inconsistent with the objectives of maintaining rural communities and redistributing land.

A future government would have to take account of the de-

sire of individuals to own land.

"Victims of forced removals will want rapid return as soon as possible to their land," Mr Stofile said.

Labour tenants would demand ownership deeds, and other farm workers saw wages, working conditions and security as the most immediate issues.

Mr Stofile said while ANC policy statements on agrarian issues were limited to the Freedom Charter and draft constitutional guidelines, the ANC had recently begun working towards a more detailed elaboration of its agrarian policy.

He said expectations would have been heightened after liberation and, above all, some form of land distribution would be expected to be a priority.

"Without a clear, long-term economic policy of a decisive socialist orientation there is no hope of redressing the economic injustices of apartheid capitalism."

# South Africa must move forward fast

Soweto 31/8/90

## 11A says Mbeki

**Sowetan:** The ANC's suspension of the armed struggle is being criticised by many who say the organisation gave more than the Government, and this was in fact surrender. Can you tell us more than you said earlier on?

**MBEKI:** The ANC is committed to the quickest possible forward movement to a democratically elected government. The ANC will therefore always re-evaluate its strategies and tactics.

In that sense, although the balancing of gains is an important question, it is not central to our thinking. What is central to our thinking is what needs to be done to move the country as forward as fast as it is possible.

### Cadres

The agreement on the release of political prisoners, including military cadres - some of whom have been sentenced to death - has an implication with regard to the armed struggle. You cannot use the process of indemnification as a means to legalise actions which were previously illegal.

You cannot use the process of indemnification to say because we have defined political offences in this way, therefore I am going to place a bomb tomorrow. You cannot, it's illogical.

There is a logical connection between these two things. An element to the two agreements

**This is the fourth and final part of our interview with ANC leader Thabo Mbeki, one of the major participants in the negotiations between the ANC and the Government. He gives SONTI MASEKO his views on the ANC's suspension of the armed struggle.**

reached in Pretoria and in Cape Town was an official right to intervene on the question of the violence and intimidation from whatever quarter.

What that meant was that even in instances where you are talking about police violence we have an official right to intervene with regard to that question.

That is why in the last few days you have seen reports in the Press about 96 police officers who have been appointed who are going to be liaising with people. That does not arise from the meeting in Pretoria, it was an agreement in Cape Town.

### Conduct

That there has to be a mechanism by which we are able to say how the police must conduct themselves.

I do not think this is just an ANC thing. The entire anti-apartheid democratic movement must now establish structures which are going to liaise with all these police officials.

If there is going to be a demonstration in the mid-

dle of Soweto tomorrow, the mechanism would agree that during the demonstration, police would be 500 metres away and the marshalling would be done by selected people and so on.

### Binding

It is also an agreement which binds both sides to meet and address this and other questions.

It is, therefore, a misperception to think that on the question of violence there is only one side. However, we have not moved with the necessary speed to establish the mechanisms on our side.

I am not saying this will be at the discretion of a police officer who will say "I have heard your comment, I will do something about it".

It is not like that, it is an official agreement where we are able to act together on questions of violence, including violence from the police.

The second agreement which was reached in Pretoria has to do with the manner in which the State responds to the grievances of the people.

As people do not have channels of communication, they use the only instrument available to them: demonstrations, consumer boycotts and so on. You do not wake up in the morning and say 'Oh I desire a consumer boycott today'.

### Wording

If you do not want that to happen, then you have to make sure that mechanisms exist to address grievances. That is why then the Pretoria Minute speaks about the establishment of additional mechanisms of communication, I think the wording that is used is, "additional mechanisms of communication at local, regional and national level".

### Behaviour

To address the grievances of the people on time is to avoid situations of conflict.

It means the State should no longer behave as it used to behave: 'We are the government of South Africa, we know what is good for you and will take all the decisions and you will abide by these decisions, if you decide to protest we lock you up.'

This, therefore, is not a one sided agreement.

# 'Let's persuade Mandela'

Star 31/8/90

11A

Political Staff  
DURBAN — African National Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela stood ready to be persuaded that nationalisation was not the correct economic solution for the country, Minister of Foreign Affairs. Pik Botha said yesterday.

"Let us go and persuade him," he told National Party delegates at the party's Natal congress in Durban. He urged businessmen to talk to the ANC about future economic policies for South Africa.

Mr Botha said he had told Mr Mandela during their August 6 discussions that his talk about

nationalisation had done damage to the country internally and abroad.

"He said to me: 'Look, I'm not married to the concept and we stand ready to examine other policies and programmes to address backlogs that exist today.'"

Mr Botha said it was therefore unfair to blame the ANC for being committed to nationalisation. It was untrue, and he urged the private sector to talk to the ANC about this.

In another part of his speech, Mr Botha said the NP would have stood accused by history of destroying South Africa

and sacrificing the whites if it had not undertaken its reform programme launched on February 2.

South Africa had been "on the way to total isolation, and destruction of our economy. We were on our way to becoming a bankrupt state, a banana republic, in which military or other forces inevitably could be used against us effectively.

"It has never been the NP's objective to let the country die."

The white man's security lay in making himself indispensable for the survival and progress of sub-Saharan Africa, Mr Botha said.

# Armed action is still talks hurdle

8/21/8/90  
 By Peter Fabricius,  
 Political  
 Correspondent

Negotiations for a new constitution are being held up by lingering doubts from the Government about the practical implementation of the ANC's suspension of its armed activities.

Constitutional Development Minister Gerit Viljoen disclosed this in an interview with The Star yesterday.

## Insist

Scanning the road ahead in negotiations, he said the next step was a meeting of the working group on the ANC's "armed activities".

Established under the Pretoria Minute on August 6, its job was to define exactly what activities the ANC should give up in terms of its agreement at Pretoria to suspend "armed actions and related activities".

Dr Viljoen would not say whether the Government would insist that the ANC's suspension of "armed action" should include its controversial campaign of "mass mobilisation" — something the Government pressed for at the summit with the ANC on August 6.

However, security police sources have made it clear they will push

hard, in the working group, for this comprehensive definition of the armed struggle.

Dr Viljoen said: "The working group will have to ensure that what the ANC has undertaken, has in fact been carried out. That is the highest priority at the moment."

He as confident discussions could start within a matter of weeks — if the ANC stuck to the spirit of the August 6 talks in Pretoria.

However, police sources are less confident that agreement will soon be reached in the working group.

They said the ANC had still not appointed any representatives to the group.

Dr Viljoen said the exploratory talks would have two aims: to agree on the nature of a forum to negotiate a new constitution, and to agree on certain fundamental constitutional principles to form the basis of a new constitution.

He said the ANC had expressed itself strongly in favour of the negotiating forum being a constituent assembly elected on a one person, one vote basis.

The Government had also taken a strong position against a constituent assembly.

"But the fact that we have committed ourselves to negotiation im-

plies give and take.

"We will try to identify the basic needs that both sides want to satisfy and see if there are alternative ways of satisfying them, which are acceptable to both sides."

The Government's preference was for all groups with significant support to be represented at the negotiating table.

Dr Viljoen made it clear that, while the Government was prepared to give groups such as the ANC some say in legislation and executive decision-making during negotiations, it was not prepared to relinquish any power to an interim government — as the ANC wanted.

Further clarity about the NP's proposed constitutional model might emerge at the party's congresses, which start this week.

## Model

The NP wanted a model that would protect certain basic rights and values which were important to minorities.

The most important of these was the guarantee of a free-enterprise economic system, of multi-party democracy with regular elections and of a community life for those who wanted it.

# Hani is given 41 hours

CAPT Tink  
31/8/90

11A ~~11A~~ ~~11A~~ ~~11A~~

### Political Staff

THE ANC has chosen Mr Chris Hani, the chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe, to head its team to discuss the suspension of the armed struggle.

And the government last night granted Mr Hani a 41-hour indemnity to consult the organisation's national executive, the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said in a statement.

Mr Coetsee said Mr Hani must abide by the provisions of the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes. He is allowed to be in South Africa from 6am on September 4 to 11pm on September 5.

The purpose of the indemnity was "definitely not to put him in a position to take part in any delegation," the statement said.

The police have warned that Mr Hani, one of three ANC leaders whose indemnity from prosecution was withdrawn last week, is liable for arrest.

Mr Hani, the head of Umkhonto we Sizwe, has been in the Transkei since his indemnity was withdrawn.

Security sources have claimed he was involved in a plot to smuggle arms and ammunition into SA.

Yesterday, however, the ANC named Mr Hani, who is a member of its national executive, to head its seven-person team in the joint working group, which is due to report back to the government and the ANC by September 15.

The other members are Mr Thabo Mbeki, Mr Jacob Zuma, Mr Joe Nhlanhla, Dr Pallo Jordan, Mr Mathew Phosa and Mr Joe Modise.

The ANC said the first meeting was due to be held next week, "on a date still to be announced".

nes  
cel  
in  
rs  
tor,  
id M  
lre  
ued  
wit  
cle  
ites  
s.  
ree  
co  
e o  
ect

Zulu  
dec  
the  
Nat

PA  
The  
PA  
cor

A  
Th  
pul  
ile

C  
Th  
ab  
a

G  
W  
G  
to  
ro

Al  
Bl  
Cr  
Fr  
Tr

Go  
Go  
Rai  
FT  
BD  
Do

# PAC ponders invite to join negotiations

*ARBUS 31/8/90 (11A)*  
The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Pan Africanist Congress, which has received a letter from the government inviting it to join in negotiations, has said it is seriously considering the issue.

PAC president Zephania Mothopeng confirmed today he had received a letter dated August 17 and signed by Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen.

The letter, believed to be the first contact between the government and the PAC, formally invited the organisation to take part in negotiations.

## "ONE PERSON, ONE VOTE"

The PAC has so far constantly refused to enter into negotiations, and has accused the rival African National Congress of having sold out.

The PAC's position has always been that the organisation would take part in negotiations only if these led to "a straightforward one-person, one-vote", the return of the land to the African people and a constituent assembly.

Mr Mothopeng today said he had consulted members of the PAC's national working committee and had referred the matter to all PAC structures and affiliates.



## Govt invites PAC to negotiating table 118

PRETORIA has moved to gather fresh support for negotiations with a formal letter to the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) inviting the organisation to take part in talks on a new constitution.

Pretoria's approach was revealed yesterday by PAC president Zeph Mothopeng who said his organisation had as yet not rejected the invitation, but would make its stance known once it had been discussed.

"A letter dated August 17 1990 and signed by the Constitutional Development Minister, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, was hand-delivered at my home on the same day," said Mothopeng. *Blom 31/8/90*

"After consultation with members of the National Working Committee, I decided that the matter be referred to all PAC structures and Africanist formations for discussion. This letter will be discussed in the coming days. Our response will be based on the feedback," he said.

Mothopeng added that a broad range of groups and organisations, outside of "Africanist formations", would also be consulted, but declined to name them.

The PAC is the first organisation to the left of the ANC to receive a formal invitation to negotiations.

Azapo national organiser Lusibe Ntloko said yesterday his organisation had not as yet received an approach from authorities.

Ntloko said the invitation to the PAC was surprising considering that the PAC had so far maintained a hardline position on negotiations with government. — Sapa.

FEATURE

# Women become warriors in township conflict



In the forefront ... women, armed with a variety of weapons, prepare to fight. A university expert says the breakdown in family structures means women have taken on the male 'duties' of protecting and defending.

● Pictures by Ken Oosterbroek.

**By Monica Nicolson**  
 During the township violence of the past few weeks it was not unusual to see aggressive women marching down dusty streets, brandishing pitchforks, pangas and knobkerries, hurling stones and petrol bombs through windows and singing provocative war songs.

Township women have not only become more politicised, they have become militant and willing to fight like men, according to people who witnessed recent battles.

"We are taking up



# warriors in township conflict



ert says the breakdown in family structures means women have taken on the male 'duties' of protecting and defending.

● Pictures by Ken Oosterbrook.

By Monica Nicolson

During the township violence of the past few weeks it was not unusual to see aggressive women marching down dusty streets, brandishing pitchforks, pangas and knobkerries, hurling stones and petrol bombs through windows and singing provocative war songs.

Township women have not only become more politicised, they have become militant and willing to fight like men, according to people who witnessed recent battles.

"We are taking up spears and guns and moving into the front line against the enemy," said Black Housewives' League vice-chairman Andronicah August, who has close contact with the conflict.

"It's our children who are being killed, our homes that are being burnt down, so even if we don't want to, we have to take sides and fight out of necessity. Giving emotional support to our husbands and sons is not enough any more," she said.

## Forced

A Soweto shebeen queen who identified herself only as Irene said that many women in the township did not have husbands and were sole supporters and protectors of their children.



War dancing . . . singing militant songs, women whip up their emotions while the men sit beside a burning barricade.

She said women had been forced to take the role of the fighter, to stand up and defend themselves, as men would no longer do it for them.

"If someone tries to rob or hurt me, I will fight like hell and with everything I've got until they kill me," she said.

A Black Sash worker, who wanted to be known only as Mita, lives across the road from a Soweto hostel where many of the township's bloodiest battles took place.

After witnessing death

literally on her doorstep, Mita called on women to stand up and fight for their children's safety against what she perceived as attacks by police and Inkatha.

She claimed that last month Inkatha supporters told her they were out to kill her children.

"As a mother, I will stand up and fight to the very end. We need to help our men because they are slow and women are quick and more alert," she said.

Along with many women The Star spoke

to, she was willing to sacrifice her life for peace and believed the only way was to burn down the hostels and send all Inkatha workers back to KwaZulu.

Women became engaged in violence only as a desperate last solution, according to the director of the University of the Witwatersrand's Research Project on Violence, Lloyd Vogelman.

"Many feel that unless they destroy the enemy, their lives and those of their family would be seriously jeopardised," he said.

Mr Vogelman said with the breakdown of family structures, women were elevated to the head of the household and their duties included protecting and defending — not a normal traditional role for black women.

However, he pointed out that women did not instigate the violence and it was not common for women to get involved in active combat fighting.

"It shows how widespread the fighting has become that women have joined in. Women

have taken the law into their own hands because they believe there is no judicial retribution," he said.

Earlier this month, Winnie Mandela urged supporters at the ANC's Women's League in Sebokeng not to fight against Zulus as that would be playing into the hands of the Government, who she said were conniving with Inkatha to attack blacks.

However, she added that if the need arose, ANC women would fight Inkatha to defend their children.

# 41-hour immunity

Star 31/8/90 (11A)

## for Hani

By Peter Fabricius and  
Esmaré van der Merwe

The Government last night gave Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani temporary immunity against arrest for 41 hours to meet the ANC national executive.

The move came soon after the ANC appointed him head of the ANC team on a joint Government/ANC working group, which is scheduled to meet next week.

Although the ANC has agreed to tight conditions for Mr Hani's visit, a confrontation is still possible over whether the working group can continue with its work if Mr Hani is banned by the Government from participating.

Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee said Mr Hani had been granted temporary immunity from arrest from 6 am on September 4 to 11 pm on September 5 to visit South Africa "to enable him to meet the NEC of the ANC on internal matters of the ANC".

"This was on special request of the executive of the ANC."

Security police sources said last night they believed the ANC had appointed Mr Hani to the working group on armed action to try to upset the group's work.

They said the ANC was seeking confrontation because it was having difficulty in persuading Umkhonto we Sizwe to suspend the armed struggle as agreed to in the Pretoria Minute.

ANC spokesman Saki Macozome said the ANC would not bow to Government pressure to exclude Mr Hani, who is currently in the Transkei, from the delegation.

The joint Government/ANC working group established to draw up a plan for the release of political prisoners and the granting of indemnity to exiles had completed its report, the ANC and the Government said yesterday.

# Buthelezi a product of Govt policies

5/24 31/8/90 (11A)

If the world were not on the brink of war in the Gulf, the news from South Africa would be dominating the headlines and filling the television screens.

The battles between the Zulus and the African National Congress have killed 400 people in 10 days.

The hopes of peace six months ago are being dashed, as the terrible prospects loom of the country being split apart in a tribal massacre.

The pessimists are already muttering "I told you so". They always knew that Africa was tribal: look at Uganda, Zimbabwe, Nigeria and Kenya.

Reading the horrific reports of the Zulu clashes, my mind goes back to a conference in London only six weeks ago, organised by the Conservative think-tank, the Centre for Political Studies.

It was billed as a conference on Britain and South Africa. But the guest of honour was Chief Buthelezi, with no ANC representative present; and after a sober introduction by William Waldegrave on behalf of the government, the speeches soon resembled a rally by Inkatha.

Chief Buthelezi himself delivered his familiar attack on the

The danger of tribal disintegration now appears more extreme than the danger of a breakdown of talks with the Government, and the ANC has to accept that for the time being Chief Buthelezi represents a force that cannot be ignored. **ANTHONY SAMPSON**, a distinguished British author, reports.

communists of the ANC who were "shooting themselves into power", demanding all or nothing and threatening to nationalise everything.

Another speaker from the platform, Bruce Anderson from the Sunday Telegraph, complained to Chief Buthelezi that he was not violent enough against the violence of the ANC.

The tribal vision of SA has only a shaky connection with the realities of an industrialised country, where for a century tribes have been intermixed in the cities and where the ANC was initiated in 1912 as a deliberately non-tribal body.

I watched the first mass removals 35 years ago, when the police demolished Sophiatown, the multiracial suburb of Johannesburg, and moved its black inhabitants into a distant extension of Soweto, segregated into Xhosa, Zulu or Sotho areas, yet many of them had no idea

to which tribe they belonged.

Mr Mandela's refusal until now to meet Chief Buthelezi to try to reach a settlement — and his flying to Oslo this week — makes him appear dangerously detached from the real fray.

Mr Mandela has an obvious dilemma. Already he has taken a huge risk in proclaiming his alliance with the Government the young hotheads detest, and in preparing for negotiations while some of his colleagues, led by his friend Mac Maharaj, are detained, accused of organising a new armed struggle.

Now he is being asked to meet with Chief Buthelezi, whom many ANC followers hate even more than the Government, and whom he can trust much less than President F W de Klerk.

The ANC is oversimplifying the matter when it says the police are on his side; and without some police supervision the carnage would have been far

greater. But the fact remains that Chief Buthelezi is the product of Pretoria's past policies, revenues and weapons.

He is also the product of encouragement and support from Europe and America. However romantic and indigenous those Zulu warriors may appear, they have been sustained both by hard cash and by diplomatic support — which did much to promote Chief Buthelezi over the three decades when the ANC was banned.

While Mrs Thatcher refused to meet the ANC, she repeatedly welcomed the chief to Number 10; she did so again, against the advice of the Foreign Office, after Mr Mandela was released.

The more self-destructive South Africa becomes, the more Britain and the US will have to play a role in its future, whether they like it or not.

Those who continue to support Chief Buthelezi must answer the question: what outcome do they foresee? Are they really planning to break up South Africa into tribal units?

If there is no answer, it is still intolerable for anyone to spur Chief Buthelezi to further violence. And for Mrs Thatcher to invite him again to visit Number 10.

# ANC asks Gaddafi for funds

CASE TR 31/8/90  
114

MR Nelson Mandela yesterday met Libyan leader Colonel Muammar Gaddafi and appealed for funds to build ANC branches within South Africa.

According to the Libyan news agency Jana, Mr Mandela also received the "Gaddafi international prize for human rights" after his arrival on Wednesday, en route from Denmark.

Last night ANC spokesman Mr Sakkie Macozoma said Mr Mandela had asked for funds on his visit to Libya in May, but he was told to return in July to follow up on his request.

Asked if the ANC had been criticised for going to Libya for funds, Mr Macozoma said the ANC had appealed to many people for assistance.

"We will accept help from anybody who believes in the process we are engaged in and who wish to assist us in establishing local ANC structures.

"Those people who have objections of where we are getting our money from, should make it harder for us to go to people they don't like," said Mr Macozoma.

Libya first offered financial aid, military training and political support to the ANC in 1985.

Mr Mandela has postponed his return to South Africa to visit ANC exiles in Zambia and to consult with President Kenneth Kaunda. He will now return on Monday.

According to ANC information chief Dr Pallo Jordan, the bulk of ANC exiles were waiting in the Zambian capital to return in mid-September. — Sapa and Staff Reporter

# Xhosas, Zulus

Star 31/8/90



## declare truce

DURBAN — Zulu and Xhosa leaders yesterday declared a truce in an attempt to end the ethnic war in the Transvaal and Natal.

And they called on political parties and leaders to stop making ethnic groups the target of political propaganda and attack.

At the meeting in Durban, delegations of members of the Zulu royal family and Kwa-Zulu Cabinet and traditional leaders of Transkei and Ciskei resolved to hold a mass rally in the Transvaal on September 16 and 17 at which King Goodwill

Zwelithini and Transkei President Paramount Chief Tutor Ndamase will address the warring factions.

Yesterday's meeting called on Zulus and Xhosas to "purge their minds and hearts of ethnic animosities".

They said: "We recognise the true source of conflict which lies quite outside the Reef's ethnic composition and resolve to stand shoulder to shoulder as black brothers to reject all those influences and all those leaders and political parties who dare put brother against brother."  
— Sapa.

# Govt invites PAC to take part in talks

The Government has moved to gather fresh support for negotiations, with a formal letter to the Pan Africanist Congress inviting the organisation to take part in talks on a new constitution.

Pretoria's sudden approach was revealed yesterday by PAC president Zeph Mothopeng, who said his organisation had as yet not rejected the invitation, but would make its stance known once its formations had discussed the solicitation.

"A letter dated August 17 1990, signed by the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, was hand-delivered at my home on the same day," Mr Mothopeng said yesterday.

"After consultation with members of the national work-

ing committee, I decided that the matter should be referred to all PAC structures and Africanist formations for discussion."

Mr Mothopeng said a broad range of groups and organisations outside of "Africanist formations" would also be consulted, but refused to name them.

The PAC appears to be the first organisation to the left of the ANC to receive an invitation.

Azapo national organiser Lusibe Ntloko said the organisation had as yet received no indication of an approach from the authorities.

The invitation is surprising, considering that the PAC has so far maintained a hardline position on negotiations with the Government. — Sapa.



# Speaking up for the 'have nots'

— Cheryl Carolus

By MICHAEL MORRIS  
Political Correspondent

**G**ROWING up in a poor, working class community on the Cape Flats in the 1960s helped forge the political ideals of one of Cape Town's most prominent communists and well-known fighter for civil rights, Ms Cheryl Carolus.

She remembers her father, a printer's assistant — "he was really a glorified labourer" — setting off to work at 6am and returning home at 8pm.

"The fact that we were poor had nothing to do with my father's willingness to work," she observes.

Swept to prominence in communist ranks with her elevation to the 22-person Internal Leadership Group of the SACP, Ms Carolus is, even now, reticent about some aspects of her socialist commitment. She prefers not to say when exactly she joined the party — communists (she calls herself a socialist, a "technical" distinction) are still not entirely trusting of the political change in South Africa.

### Religious freedom

But, whenever she actually joined, her dedication to socialist ideals occurred by what she calls a "natural progression".

"I have not arrived at it by intellectual debate, but because of the struggle, because I understood how the chain of oppression worked. I come from a working class community who understand the roots of poverty."

Nor was she motivated by bitterness.

"Socialism is positive. It talks about equality and in order to succeed you do not have to trample over others. It allows humane qualities to surface."

In her teens, Cheryl Caro-

lus temporarily rejected organised religion as a "reactionary bourgeois institution", but returned to it later. She is an Anglican.

"There is no conflict between socialist ideals and faith, and the SACP is quite clear on its commitment to religious freedom."

She believed even the churches accepted a materialist perspective in explaining socio-economic features of the world "as the work of humanity".

"It was too easy simply to palm it off on God."

From the tangible sense of poverty in her childhood, Ms Carolus developed a "tangible" sense of freedom... "when I think about freedom, I think about tangible things."

### Equality

It means the "right of all to have a roof over their heads, the right of all children to go to bed with food in their stomachs, the right and responsibility of all adults to work... that's what freedom means to me."

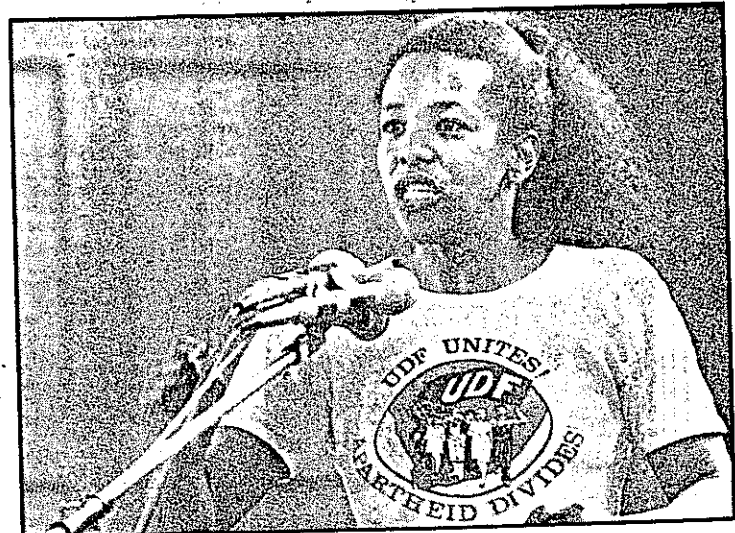
She adds with a quizzical Carolus frown: "When you think about these things and the equality of human beings, which is what socialism is all about, then I cannot see how it is possible that capitalism has the answers."

"Capitalism is so hierarchical and unequal — the chances are that if your parents are workers, you and your brothers and sisters will never be wealthy."

She says South Africa's five top companies control about 71 percent of the wealth... "that's probably about 100 white men who are virtually directing the economy."

She rejects the notion of the "market" as the best economic regulator.

"The market is thrown around as the fairest way of distributing wealth. That's



**FIREBRAND:** Cheryl Carolus is a fiery public speaker who is wedded to "the struggle". Pictured above addressing a UDF meeting in Cape Town in August last year. Below: Her real wedding day when she married Graeme Bloch, also a UDF executive member.



rubbish. The point is that people who have more money have more clout in the market. That market does

not cater for low cost housing or education. It caters essentially for consumer goods, for people who have money."

Not that socialism is without ills, she recognises. Events in Eastern Europe have have been tauntingly

celebrated among opponents of communism as the ultimate vindication of capitalism.

Ms Carolus grins: "Somebody said the other day that socialists are probably the most open-minded people right now because they're all trying to redefine what socialism actually is."

She adds: "No, but seriously, I do not believe the basic principles of socialism have been proved incorrect in Eastern Europe."

"Equally, it is too easy to say that these (despotic East European leaders) were simply evil people. There were serious problems, mainly a lack of accountability, and, as a socialist, I could not justify what happened there."

### Accountability

Accountability is essential. "That's the question that faces us here. You can never assume absolute power without accountability downwards. That's not democracy, and that was the Eastern European problem."

South Africans, she argues, are "lucky our changes are coming after so many years, where we can learn from the terrible lessons of others".

The SACP's commitment to the principle of a multi-party democracy is, she says, an inherent criticism of the old order.

However, before criticising communism abroad, she suggests, capitalists ought to look at the impact they have had in South Africa itself.

"Has capitalism worked here? Some of the worst apartheid laws came with capitalism, well before 1948. The Land Acts of 1913 and 1936 and the pass laws, the basis of influx control, were introduced to meet the needs of capital."

The needs of capital in the

post-apartheid South Africa is a subject fearful business leaders are wondering about with increasing anxiety, given the close ties between the ANC and the SACP, but Ms Carolus rejects the notion that the communists are preparing themselves for a "palace coup" within the ANC.

"The relationship with ANC has introduced a dynamic of accountability for the party. There is a political tolerance one rarely finds elsewhere."

"People have asked: 'Why does the party not have its own leaders? Why are they all ANC leaders?' Well, one of the corner stones of being a party member is that you actively involve yourself and work in other mass based structures and subject yourself to their discipline. You understand democracy. Our people have been elected to responsible positions in these organisations — we did not simply come in to manipulate people."

### Engender a culture

Ms Carolus says there are many political differences within the ANC, but everybody is accepted as patriots who are serious about change. "Our people feel strongly that we must contest our ideas, and help engender a culture of critical thought."

One of the strengths of the ANC, she says, is that it does provide a political home for people with wide-ranging views.

"That's how we will have to learn to live in the future. I know there are some people in the ANC who are virulently pro-capital, but there is no animosity. We will have to take them on in debate. The question is, how will we live in South Africa if there is no tolerance?"

11A 300  
B1 Day 31/2/90

# ANC plan for hundreds of exiles to return for congress

THE ANC is expected to make a special effort to repatriate hundreds of its supporters in exile before its first national congress in December.

The National Co-ordinating Committee (NCC), which is planning to receive exiles, estimates that about 40 000 people are likely to return to SA soon.

ANC spokesman Naledi Tsiki said the organisation was still working on a figure of 20 000 of its sup-

PETER DELMAR

porters being in exile, but would not be drawn on when they would return or how many the ANC would repatriate in time for the congress.

Tsiki said the ANC hoped that exiles would start returning by next month. Repatriation would have to be a lengthy process because of a shortage of resources and to ensure that the process was orderly, he said.

Various foreign govern-

ments and bodies had promised material and financial aid, including Scandinavian, European and North American governments. The ANC was still negotiating with foreign governments the details of this assistance.

The NCC will provide temporary reception and accommodation facilities for most of the exiles and the ANC is initiating its own plans to house, relocate and find jobs for its supporters.

The NCC and the ANC are looking to local business to contribute to the repatriation programme.

Naledi said that in addition to seeing to the initial needs of returnees, the ANC was concerned about their longer-term requirements, particularly housing and employment.

The ANC could also initiate counselling services to help supporters reintegrate into their communities.

# Hani will test indemnity withdrawal

THE withdrawal of the temporary indemnity granted to Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Mr Chris Hani will be tested next week when he leads an ANC delegation to meet high-ranking Government officials.

The working group, elected in terms of the Pretoria Minute, has been charged with the task of dealing with all matters arising from the ANC's decision to suspend the armed struggle.

The ANC delegation, which includes director of foreign affairs

By SY MAKARINGE

Mr Thabo Mbeki, information director Mr Pallo Jordan, Mr Jacob Zuma and Mr Joe Nhlanhla, will meet Government officials at a date still to be announced.

## Task

The Government's team will be led by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, whose department faces a daunting task of arresting or charging Hani following the expiry of his temporary indemnity about two weeks ago.

Vlok will be accompanied by Mr Roelf Meyer, Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development

and Planning, General B J Beukes of the Security Police, Mr Johan Geysler of the Department of Justice, Dr H P Fourie of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Mr M Spaarwater of the National Intelligence Service.

This is the first time that Hani will meet eyeball-to-eyeball with Vlok. *20 wetan 31/1/90*

## Committee

He was one of three members of the ANC's national executive committee whose indemnities were not renewed by State President FW de Klerk on August 17.

Mr Mac Maharaj is presently being held under Section 29 of the

Internal Security Act while Mr Ronnie Kasrils is in hiding.

Hani is currently believed to be in Transkei.

A spokesman for the police said shortly after Hani's indemnity was withdrawn that the Attorney-General would have to decide on whether to prosecute him.

"A charge of high treason is still being investigated against him," he said.

It is widely believed that the withdrawal of Hani's indemnity stemmed from his reported remark a few weeks ago that the ANC might be forced to seize power if negotiations failed.