

BLACK POLITICS

SEPTEMBER - 1990

All-race Nats will try for alliances

PETER FABRICIUS
Political Correspondent

DURBAN — The National Party is to throw open its membership to all races in a bid to form a broad moderate alliance or movement with other political parties.

President de Klerk announced the historic decision at the National Party's Natal congress yesterday.

The congress unanimously backed the decision by the NP leadership. It will now go to the other three NP provincial congresses over the next two months.

No serious opposition is expected and the first black could join the National Party before the end of the year, ending 78 years of white exclusivity.

"The National Party is saying and confirming today with this decision that racism and racial discrimination in South Africa are over for ever," Mr De Klerk announced to applause.

See PAGE 2

It is clear that the decision to open membership was taken as a means to forming alliances than to embark on a substantial recruitment drive among blacks.

Mr de Klerk said the NP's whites-only status was "an obstacle to forming alliances".

Active vying for membership among parties co-operating as allies was "not appropriate" and they would have to reach an understanding on this.

It is known that possible alliance partners such as the Labour Party will not consider a partnership with the NP while it practises any discrimination.

However NP information chief Stoffel van der Merwe would give no indication yesterday of any alliance partners the NP had in mind.

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Saturday Star September 1 1990

All races

FROM PAGE 1.

Mr de Klerk said that if all provincial congresses accepted the decision, a committee would be formed to work out the details and put out feelers to alliance partners.

He hailed the decision as a "great and far-reaching step" but said it had been well thought-out.

Criticism

He predicted a "storm" of criticism from the Conservative Party which would now claim it was the only party representing white interests.

But the only way to find peace in South Africa was by working together with those who shared the same basic values.

"The new South Africa demands that those who belong together through inner conviction, should come together."

The NP accepted that there would be an "inevitable realignment in the party-political sphere."

It also believed the basis for future co-operation should be laid now, or valuable opportunities would be lost.

The NP leadership had formulated several "points of departure" to be submitted to the provincial congresses for ratification.

"1. The National Party will work for alliances or a broad political movement which unites those who think alike in respect of common goals on the basis of shared convictions on important points;

"2. The existing restrictions on membership of the National Party are in conflict with the party's declared point of view against racial discrimination and constitute an obstacle to forming alliances.

"Therefore congress authorises the head council after consultation with the federal Council to effect the necessary amendments to the constitution and standing rules, in order to make membership of the National Party accessible to all South Africans."

The other points of departure were that alliance partners would have to reach an understanding to avoid competition for the same members, and the NP would continue to advance the rights and interests of all communities.

Accepted

Mr de Klerk said if these points were accepted by all four congresses, the four NP provincial parties would form a committee to:

- Compile a draft manifesto as a basis for forming alliances.
- Recommend whether individuals or only political organisations should be able to join the alliance.
- Consider the role of the NP in negotiations.
- Advise on more detailed constitutional proposals.

Dr van der Merwe said that technically a black could become leader of the NP once it was opened.

He indicated that an NP alliance could participate both in negotiations and in a future government under a new constitution.

Mandela shuns Buthelezi . . . while he slips

off to Moscow

Star 11/9/90 (11A) (K)

FOREIGN NEWS SERVICE

LUSAKA — African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela yesterday reiterated his refusal to meet Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to discuss an end to factional fighting among blacks in South Africa.

"Buthelezi's political support has been seriously eroded and we cannot meet a man who wants to see the blood of black people," Mr Mandela told reporters on arrival at Lusaka airport.

The ANC vice-president, who is due to brief a summit of the seven-nation group of Frontline states today, said the violence which has cost more than 500 lives could not be solved by one person.

"The question of a South African solution to the violence is not to be handled by an individual. We have been able to force the Government to suppress this violence," he said.

Mr Mandela has been under pressure to meet Chief Buthelezi to help resolve the

escalating battle between ANC followers and Zulus of the Inkatha Freedom Party who are loyal to the Zulu leader.

Mr Mandela, who has accused South African police of fanning the violence, said Chief Buthelezi had engineered the conflict to promote his political ambitions.

"He wants to be accepted as a leader," he said.

● Mr Mandela is to arrive at Jan Smuts Airport at 4.30 pm tomorrow, according to a statement by the ANC.

He is to visit the western Cape in September, on dates still to be confirmed, and will be visiting Natal on October 6, 7 and 8, where he will meet ANC members and address a public rally.

He will leave South Africa again on October 15 to visit India, Malaysia, Indonesia and Japan and will return on October 30. — Sapa-Reuter.

LONDON — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is on a top-secret visit to Europe and the Soviet Union.

According to sources here, Chief Buthelezi left Warsaw Thursday for Moscow, where he was due to meet government officials, among others.

Chief Buthelezi's trip, coming just days after violent clashes between Inkatha and ANC followers is likely to rile the ANC, which has traditionally kept very close ties with Moscow.

Chief Buthelezi's visit to the Soviet Union follows indications of a thawing in Moscow's hostile stance towards South Africa. No details of his itinerary have been given to Inkatha offices abroad and it could not be confirmed how long Chief Buthelezi would stay in the Soviet Union.

State's call to PAC for talks dismissed

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

A SENIOR Pan Africanist Congress member has dismissed as "not serious or honest" an invitation from Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen to join constitutional talks.

The movement's general secretary, Mr Benny Alexander, said at the University of the Western Cape yesterday he did not think the country's problems would be solved in the near future.

This was because the gap between the PAC and the government was so big.

"I'm not saying people should not sit down and talk, but the issue is: Can the bottom lines be reconciled?"

The PAC stood for a constituent assembly, while government did not.

Mr Viljoen's letter, the first official contact between the state and the PAC, had to be seen in this context, he said.

"It's not anything serious and honest as far as I am concerned."

The PAC had not changed its policy on talks with the government. Acknowledging receipt of Mr Viljoen's invitation was a mere courtesy, he said.

Referred for decision

The minister was informed that the PAC as a democratic organisation had referred his letter to its membership for a decision, Mr Alexander said. The PAC's military wing and its natural allies had also been told of the contents of the letter.

He said the PAC members held by the government would no longer be called political prisoners when African National Congress activists were freed.

"If they are being held in order to force their movement to do certain things, they'll become hostages. Somebody who holds hostages is a terrorist. We don't negotiate with terrorists."

The government had made it clear that only prisoners who were ANC activists would be released, he said.

"That's unacceptable to us."

He said that Mr Barney Desai, the Western Cape co-ordinator of the PAC, had been told by the government that he should leave the country within two months.

"He's not going anywhere. They must arrest him if they want to. We don't want an amnesty as a concession."

Desai finds PAC slam SA past of
restrictions 'colonialist genocide'
on return

PAC leader Mr Barney Desai, the first exile to return home in February, has been given a restricted permit to remain in South Africa until the end of October.

Mr Desai had visa restrictions placed on him when he returned to South Africa three weeks ago after a visit to Zimbabwe, he said.

Mr Desai, who is the Western Cape co-ordinator for the PAC, said yesterday he hoped the matter was a "mix-up". His lawyers were seeking clarification.

There were no conditions placed when Mr Desai returned home after 27 years in exile.

A spokesman for the Department of Home Affairs in Pretoria said no record of Mr Desai had been found on the department's computer.

JOHANNESBURG. — South Africa had suffered a national holocaust in which "the colonialist practised genocide against us and reduced a proud and free people of Africa to serfdom", Mr Barney Desai of the Pan Africanist Congress said here yesterday.

Speaking on the 10th anniversary of the Black Lawyers' Association, he said it was "fashionable nowadays for commentators and white politicians to refer only to the brutal oppression inflicted on us over the past 42 years of National Party rule".

"We hear little or nothing about the existence of the slave colony of the Cape which flourished for 150 years, nor of the next 150 years when de jure slavery was transformed into de facto slavery without even a pretence of caring for the welfare of the black wage slave," he said.

He warned the business community that "economic enterprise cannot proceed on the basis that profits can be generated without social responsibility to this nation". — Sapa

PAC's Mokoena quits again

JOHANNESBURG. — A founding member of the PAC, and Evaton town councillor of seven years, has publicly resigned from the council for the second time and is living in his car after his house was burned down last week.

Mr Simms Griffiths Mokoena, 58, said he has had six houses, five cars and his business burned down in recent years by elements in the volatile Vaal township who are opposed to his participation in the council. — Sapa

SA 'at risk' of becoming like Lebanon

W/E ARGUS 1/9/90 11A 300

Weekend Argus
Foreign Service

Pessimism because of township unrest

LONDON. — The township violence of last week has enhanced fears that South Africa could become "a sort of giant Lebanon, with warring communities tearing up all the rules of civil society and reducing the land to a series of no-go areas and contested zones".

This warning comes from former Natal Rhodes scholar Mr R W Johnson in the latest issue of *New Statesman and Society*. Mr Johnson is now a fellow in politics and sociology at Magdalen College, Oxford.

While he concedes that police had "frequently sided" with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha forces, Mr Johnson dismisses as "ludicrous" Mrs Winnie Mandela's claim that they and President F W de Klerk's government were behind the present unrest.

Most to lose

In fact, he adds, "he has more to lose than almost anyone from the violence, which pushes more white votes towards Treurnicht on the extreme right, and destabilises the negotiation process on which he, De Klerk, has risked everything".

Such accusations came naturally to the ANC, since the government and the police had been the movement's "natural enemies" down the years. "But it is extremely dangerous to fling such charges around now," he adds.

"In the eyes of the wilder township elements, it is tantamount to saying that to kill the other side (Zulus) is to strike a blow against the hated apartheid state. The result can only be to increase the ethnic polarisation that these events have done much to strengthen."

Mr Johnson, author of the bestseller *How Long Will South Africa Survive*, says the worsening relationship between the ANC and Chief Buthelezi comes at a time when the policy differences between them have been narrowed to almost nothing.

This has cost the ANC dearly. "Despite decades of non-racial propaganda, it finds itself engaged in a neo-tribal war." It is, he says, "the hope and probably the future of the country ... but (it) is in a fair old mess".

A lot of this is understandable; the ANC was an illegal organisation up to just six months ago. But time is lacking in a "fundamental sense", he claims.

Larger breakdown

The fighting on the Reef is only part of a far larger breakdown, Mr Johnson says. Youngsters who acted on the ANC slogan of the mid-1980s, "Liberation now, education later", now find they can't get into schools, that they are unemployed for life.

"I think of them when I hear

that car theft is increasing so fast that insurance premiums are doubling annually. What else can they do? And who is to blame?"

With the South African economy shrinking, the country could easily slide further toward violence and social breakdown — "but it is important to the whole world that it doesn't".

Within the country, the main imperative has to be some kind of rapprochement between the ANC and Chief Buthelezi, Mr Johnson says.

"Nothing would do more to reduce ethnic strife, restore peace, help confidence and shore up the economy."

However, such a move would afford Chief Buthelezi a role in the ANC second only to Mr Mandela together with a huge personal power base, as well as push a lot of other ANC constituents further down the queue to make room for more Zulu office-bearers.

Such a transformation of the ANC was a tall order, "but there may be no other way to peace," Mr Johnson concludes. "Everything, once again, depends on what Mr Mandela does — within a few months of his emergence from jail, he has become South Africa's indispensable providential man."



FIRE-BOMBED . . . Firemen douse the blaze at Crossroads mayor Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana's house which was firebombed yesterday.

Picture: OBED ZILWA

Xroads mayor's home bombed

By MONICA GRAAFF
Crime Reporter

THE home of Crossroads mayor Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana was fire-bombed yesterday in a flare-up of tensions between warring factions in the squatter township.

The bombing followed two sniper attacks on groups of his supporters earlier in the day and on Wednesday.

Police confiscated 19 petrol bombs found at Noxolo Primary School in the area and arrested two men.

Mr Ngxobongwana's bungalow — the only brick house in Section One, Old Crossroads — was gutted. Almost every shack within a 200-metre radius of his house has been razed by fire.

Firemen, guarded by machine-gun toting riot police, doused the blaze at a scene marked by the absence of onlookers.

An ANC flag fluttered above a shack about 200 metres away belonging to a mem-

ber of the rival side, led by breakaway headman Mr Jeffrey Nongwe.

And at the Noxolo Primary School, half a kilometre from the fire, over a hundred families belonging to Mr Ngxobongwana's faction were seen clinging to high barbed wire fences surrounding the school. This has become their home since fighting flared about two weeks ago.

The residents, virtually imprisoned, looked out in anxious anticipation of another sniper attack.

They said a gunman had sent a volley of shotgun fire into the school grounds about 3am. This followed a similar attack on about 30 youths walking towards the school about 1.30am on Wednesday.

Police confirmed both incidents, adding that special constables guarding the school had returned fire. They said these special constables, accused of supporting Mr Nongwe's side, had been driven out of the

school shortly before Mr Ngxobongwana's house was fire-bombed.

Police also reported stonings in the area yesterday. On several occasions, they broke up barricades outside the school.

On Wednesday, police used teargas to break up a group of stone-throwers and to stop fighting between groups armed with sticks and stones.

Mr Ngxobongwana has apparently lost a fair amount of support to Mr Nongwe in the last couple of months and many of Mr Ngxobongwana's supporters fear he will not return from the Transkei, where he has been for the past month.

A community development official operating from Mr Ngxobongwana's town committee, Mrs Antoinette Lourens, said no teaching had taken place at the school in weeks.

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NEWS

Koos snubs top ANC man

By FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Weekend Argus
Political Correspondent

YOUTH leaders from 34 countries this week watched the amazing spectacle of Conservative Party politician Mr Koos van der Merwe's blunt refusal to speak to a top African National Congress official, Mr Patrick Lekota.

Mr Van der Merwe, acting in terms of his party's policy of not talking to the ANC, shook hands with Mr Lekota but would not answer a question from him at an international seminar held at the Rand Afrikaans University.

Observers at the talks said some of the foreign visitors, in conversations afterwards, expressed shock and dismay at Mr Van der Merwe's attitude.

Mr Lekota, who later commented to Weekend Argus on the incident, said he had found Mr Van der Merwe's attitude towards him "quite hurtful".

"Strong impression"

National Party MP for Pretoria Rissik, Mr Chris Fismer, who took part in the talks, said the overall debate, excluding Mr Van der Merwe's contribution, had created a strong impression that South Africans were genuinely seeking reconciliation.

"The only exception was Koos van der Merwe. I'm convinced that the viewpoints he expressed and his behaviour made other participants shudder to think what awaited South Africa if men like him were to gain control," Mr Fismer said.

He described Mr Van der Merwe's refusal to talk to Mr Lekota as "artificial and somewhat childish".

Organisation's policy

Mr Lekota told Weekend Argus: "There was in his (Mr Van der Merwe's) demeanour something that told me that apart from our different political positions he regarded me as less than a human being.

"It may be his organisation's policy not to talk to the ANC, but the fervour and intensity of his personal feeling was something



Mr Koos van der Merwe



Mr Patrick Lekota

peculiarly and individually generated.

"I was saddened by the realisation that racial rule had made him what he is.

"In the end I felt no anger towards him but concern as to how many whites firmly believe, like Mr Van der Merwe does, that we do not belong together."

Mr Lekota, who is the Southern Natal convener of the ANC, said the question he had wanted to ask Mr Van der Merwe was: "In view of the fact that the CP model was in fact the old Verwoerdian apartheid model which had been repeatedly rejected by blacks, how was the CP hoping to convince blacks of the correctness of separate but equal freedom? If they failed what would they do?"

Mr Van der Merwe, when asked later by Weekend Argus for his reply, again refused to answer if the question came from Mr Lekota. However, he said he would speak if the question came

The answer he gave was that the CP regularly talked to black, Indian and coloured people. The existence of 10 self-governing black states in South Africa was proof that a partition policy was successful after all.

"The ANC's artificial attempts to give the impression that the CP is isolated, with nobody to speak to, is ridiculous."

To Mr Lekota's comment that he found Mr Van der Merwe's attitude at the seminar "fairly hurtful", Mr Van der Merwe responded that he had no control over Mr Lekota's feelings, but "we regard every other human being as being entitled to full human rights and universal suffrage, but there is no democracy if 5-million whites are juxtaposed with 35-million blacks. The whites will be victims of a tyranny of numbers."

Mr Lekota said that if Mr Van der Merwe were to become part of a government of South Africa, the country would be "headed for a major disaster".

"A CP government would be a major setback for South Africa." Mr Van der Merwe explained why the CP refused to talk to the ANC.

He said: "We don't recognise the ANC as a government-in-waiting, but merely as a political grouping with no special status but with strong terrorist and communist characteristics.

Self-determination

"Once they (the ANC) accept the right of self-determination of the white nation, the CP could possibly re-consider its stance."

At the Johannesburg seminar Mr Van der Merwe said he had agreed to participate in the proceedings on condition that he would not talk to the ANC.

This has been confirmed by the convener, Mr Stephan Botha, RAU's co-ordinator of leadership development.

He said altogether 63 people from 34 countries were attending the seminar, which would continue until Tuesday.

Participants have come from all over the world and include youth leaders from most Western countries, Eastern Europe, Asia, South America, the Republic of

NP praised for opening to all races

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THE National Party's decision to open membership to all races was widely acclaimed last night — with the Conservative Party raising the only note of dissent.

The first overseas reaction was from Britain where the government quickly welcomed the move.

"We welcome it as further evidence of the National Party's commitment to end apartheid," a Foreign Office spokesman said in a brief response.

More detailed comment was not available from Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's office, or from the Foreign Office, where the Gulf crisis and efforts to get British hostages out of Iraq has dominated daily business in Whitehall for weeks.

A British Anti-Apartheid Movement spokesman commented that it was ironic that blacks would be admitted to the NP while apartheid legislation remained in place.

"It is not really the central issue — all apartheid legislation has to be abolished."

At home, favourable comment came from Democratic Party co-leader Zach de Beer who said the decision meant white racism in politics was at last on the way

Only CP criticises the move

out.

"We the DP have had an open membership for 30 years. So has the ANC for even longer. Inkatha's membership is open, and so forth.

"This now means that the Nats are catching up at last, and that must be good news for South Africa.

"Now the way is open for competition by all parties for the votes of all South Africans.

"I trust President de Klerk will now spell out his constitution proposals with equal clarity."

African National Congress information chief Pallo Jordan said the NP had finally caught up with the new wave of political thought in South Africa.

"Better late than never," he said.

Mr Jordan said he did not think the move would alter the character of the NP, which he claimed had always been of an Afrikaner "ethno-nationalist" nature.

He rejected the possibility of ANC members joining the NP.

"The ethno-nationalism of the NP and the Pan-Africanism of the ANC are not compatible," he said.

He could not conceive blacks belonging to any other parties, including Inkatha, joining the party.

"I'm sure there are some blacks who would join, but I can't imagine why," he said.

Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht said the decision meant that the CP was the only party left in Parliament fighting for the right of self-determination and had become a champion of liberty for whites, as well as other nations.

It was a tragic day, he said, as the NP had sacrificed its principles of freedom for nations and had become a practitioner of integration and political surrender.

Dr Treurnicht said the NP would not succeed in its move, but rather would further alienate whites and blacks, who valued their identity and right of self-determination.

He said the NP was completely out of touch with modern trends worldwide and that the time for unity states, which accommodated different races and nations, had passed.

The NP would not survive the upsurge of true nationalism, he added. — The Star's London Bureau and Sapa-Reuter.

Govt asks for ANC 'control' over Hani

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PETER FABRICIUS

(11A)

11/9/90 Political Correspondent

THE Government believes the ANC will exercise "control" over militant Umkhonto we Sizwe number two Chris Hani — and enable the Government to grant him immunity from arrest so he can serve on the working group on the ANC's armed actions.

Government sources said that if the ANC offered assurances that Mr Hani would stop making militant statements, his immunity would be extended.

The ANC announced that it had appointed Mr Hani to head the working group — even though his immunity against arrest was withdrawn two weeks ago. Mr Hani has been based in the Transkei from where he has repeatedly said that the ANC would take up the armed struggle again if negotiations failed.

Government sources stressed that there was no objection in principle to Mr Hani serving on the working group — as long as he did not make statements they regard as contrary to the commitments to peace in the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes.

The temporary immunity granted to him this week extends from 6 am on Tuesday to 11 pm on Wednesday. The first meeting of the working group is scheduled for Thursday and Government sources said that if the necessary assurances could be given by the ANC on Tuesday or Wednesday, Mr Hani's temporary immunity could be extended.

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ter of the NP, which he claimed had always been of an Afrikaner "ethno-nationalist" nature.

upsurge of true nationalism, he added. — The Star's London Bureau and Sapa-Reuter.

'Now racism's a thing of the past'

THE National Party, by opening its ranks to non-whites, drove home the point that racism was a thing of the past in South Africa.

This was an opinion that came through from interviews conducted by Saturday Star last night. Fears were expressed that the move by the NP might be part of a plan to merge with the Inkatha Freedom Party, a former cultural movement which recently turned into a fully-fledged political party.

Walter Sisulu, leader of the ANC internally, said his organisation had a decided policy to work for a non-racial and democratic SA and all who aspired towards that goal should be encouraged.

Star 1/9/90
JOVIAL RANTAO
He said the decision by the NP at its Natal Congress was a progressive trend which was welcomed.

Paying tribute to President F W de Klerk, Mr Sisulu said: "Mr de Klerk has shown qualities of being brave. I think he can do more."

He said an NP-Inkatha alliance would not pose any threat to the ANC in a future SA.

Asked whether he thought there would be blacks who would join the "new" NP, Mr Sisulu said it was likely that those in the "bantustans", the Houses of Delegates and Representatives, would join.

Patrick Lephunya, publicity

secretary of the Soweto Civic Association, said the announcement was "baffling".

He, however, went on to say that the NP move was indicative of the fact that racism was a thing of the past. He said it remained to be seen whether the NP move was authentic.

Soweto civic leader Dr Nthato Motlana said: "This announcement by the President de Klerk has paved the way for a probable link-up between the NP and Inkatha, which recently re-launched as a political party."

Asked whether he would consider joining a multiracial NP, Dr Motlana retorted: "No! No! I'm an ANC man."

C/Press 2/9/90

(114)

Apologise, ANC tells editor

THE ANC has demanded an apology from a newspaper editor after a "rightwing" pamphlet was distributed through his newspaper.

The move, which raised eyebrows in Press circles, followed the insertion of a pamphlet in Maritzburg's *The Natal Witness* on Friday. The pamphlet was issued by the pro-conscription Veterans For Victory Organisation from Houghton, Johannesburg.

Headlined "South Africa must come first", the pamphlet criticised the ANC and MDM for "inciting masses to bloodshed and total seizure of power", yet demanding that SADF troops should be in the frontline to maintain law and order in Natal.

"One wonders what would have happened to the lives of many, many civilians in the townships, should the 'Troops Out' campaign have succeeded," the pamphlet said.

"Veterans For Victory made a plea to South Africans to allow our 'troopies' to do their duty and so bring an end to this needless killing, in particular in Natal, so

that negotiations may continue in the spirit of friendship and reconciliation."

In a strongly worded statement the Midlands regional convener of the ANC, Harry Gwala, called on the *Witness's* editor to "explain to the public what his own stand on the matter is - and whether he is going to allow the newspaper to carry such distorted, alienating and shoddy rightwing material in the future".

The statement said: "We demand that the editor issue a public apology to all who have been subjected to this distasteful, abhorrent as well as totally unsolicited media assault."

He accused Veterans for Victory for having operated in support of military fascism.

"We are astonished and astounded that *The Natal Witness* has allowed such a dubious organisation to publicise its message of hate through its deliveries and sales."

The editor was not available for comment yesterday.

Peace pact in Natal's killing fields

A PEACE pact signed yesterday has ended the carnage in the killing fields of the Natal north coast.

The Lower Umfolozi Regional Peace Accord was the brainchild of the Zululand Chamber of Industries and was signed by Inkatha, the ANC, Cosatu, the mayors of Esikhaweni, Ngwelazane and Enseleni plus security forces in the area of Empangeni and Richards Bay, reports Sapa.

The ANC said: "Local leaders of the people feel strongly that this commitment to peace principles will lead to real peace in the area and they believe this peace process will assist national leaders to effect broader reconciliation."

Signatories said they wished to promote the following principles:

- All people must be free to choose whether to support stayaways, boycotts or any other legitimate political activities.
- All people shall have freedom of religious choice.
- Direct or indirect intimidation is a criminal offence and every effort will be made by organisations to inform security forces of potential criminal activities.
- The practice of denigrating leaders and organisations through inflammatory and insulting rhetoric must cease.
- Mayors and their representatives will play a neutral role in ending conflict.
- Places of learning must

not be disrupted by political activity

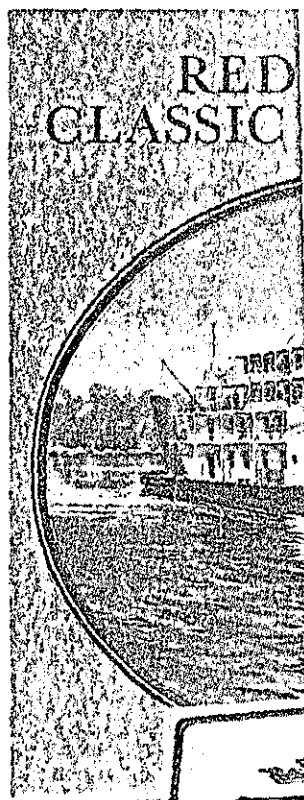
■ Problems experienced by refugees must be urgently addressed with a view to their rehabilitation and return home.

■ Organisations must not abuse the youth for violent purposes.

■ Dangerous weapons should not be carried in public and the possession of illegal weapons is condemned.

■ Residents should be guided by local leadership and rumours by outside forces which incite people to violence must be stamped out.

A joint peace rally will be held soon, the ANC said.



Right to differ is a 'blessing'

IT was the height of racism to say black political division was disunity but white political division and ideology was democratic diversity, Azanian People's Organisation president Itumeleng Mosala said on Friday.

Addressing more than 300 delegates at a dinner for the 10th anniversary conference of the Black Lawyers' Association, Mosala said the plurality of the liberation movements within the black community was, in fact, a blessing.

Speaking on the theme "Unity in action among liberation movements", Mosala said each of the traditions of struggle represented by the various liberation movements was a product of particular

historical circumstance and marked a development of that struggle for national liberation.

There presently existed, however, a debilitating disunity among blacks.

They were waging the struggle as if no one else in the world had fought such wars before. History was not being used as a reference point.

The present crisis was a result of what he called "a dangerous theoretical Kwashiorkor" among the majority of followers of the mass movements, which had led to political intolerance.

"Ideological one-partyism is a direct offspring of this crisis in the

politics of liberation," Mossala added.

Genuine reconciliation, he said, "is about the return of the land to its rightful owners. This is about the repossession of the economy by the nation that produces the wealth of the country".

"It is about the creation of one culture and one history by one people in one country under the same set of material conditions," he added.

Azapo had called for a conference to discuss not only political intolerance and violence but also to map out common positions and joint strategies and it was hoped a date and venue would be announced soon. — Sapa

□ KAUNDA'S PEACE PLEA

(11A) ~~SECRET~~
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PAC 'should accept the invitation to join talks'

PRESIDENT Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia yesterday appealed to the PAC to consider seriously President FW de Klerk's invitation to the organisation to join the peace talks aimed at bringing about a free, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

Speaking before the start of the one-day Frontline heads of state summit in Lusaka, Kaunda said as far as the Frontline states were concerned, De Klerk had proved to be sincere and meant well when he invited the PAC to join in talks between the ANC and the South African government.

The Zambian President, who is also chairman of the seven countries forming the Frontline states, told PAC chairman Johnson Mlambo, who is representing his movement at the summit: "We hope the PAC will look at President De Klerk's invitation from the angle of the things that have been happening since the release of Mr Mandela."

The one-day summit was called by the ANC deputy president so he could brief the seven member states - Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Namibia, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe - on the latest developments taking place in South Africa.

Meanwhile, Kaunda called on Inkatha

leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to stop what he described as wanton destruction of human life in South Africa.

The Frontline leaders said they would not recognise the Inkatha leader until he put an end to the violence sweeping Natal and black townships in South Africa.

Kaunda asked Buthelezi, whom he accused of fanning the current black-on-black violence, to "go back home to the days when he won the respect and admiration of the international community through his messages of love".

"This wanton destruction of human life by Buthelezi is uncalled for."

The PAC has dismissed as "not serious or honest" the invitation from Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen to join constitutional talks.

General secretary Benny Alexander said at the University of the Western Cape this week he did not think the country's problems would be solved in the near future because the gap between the PAC and the government was so big.

"I'm not saying that people should not sit down and talk, but the issue is can the bottom lines be reconciled?" The PAC stood for a constituent assembly while the government was not in favour of one, he said. - Sapa, ANO

Tambo is coming home in December

Sowetan 31/1/90
ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo will return to South Africa in three months for the organisation's conference which starts in Bloemfontein on December 16, deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela disclosed at the weekend.

Addressing delegates at the 10th anniversary conference of the Black Lawyers Association after receiving an award for his contribution to the development of black lawyers in the country, Mandela said Tambo was recovering well from the effects of last year's stroke.

Mandela said Tambo was alert and would be ready to return home by December.

Star 3/9/90 (11A)

ANC comes out tops in new survey

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The ANC could expect to win a clear majority in a system of proportional representation if an election were held now, a new poll reveals.

In one of the most comprehensive polls of attitudes to the "new" South Africa since February 2, Natal University's Institute of Black Research canvassed the opinion of about 3 874 respondents from around the country.

The sample was representative of all races and regions, though skewed in favour of urban, higher-income groups.

Respondents were asked who they would vote for, who they wanted as prime minister, should the negotiating table should be partitioned, and whether they supported a capitalist, socialist or communist future.

The results showed:

- The ANC enjoyed the support of 53 percent of South Africans, with the National Party enjoying the next most support at 16,9 percent and the Democratic Party next with 7,8 percent.

- Blacks, coloureds and Indians all gave significantly more support to the racially exclusive NP than to the DP. The Pan Africanist Congress showed a 2,7 percent support base.

- Inkatha and the Conservative Party each enjoyed about 1,5 percent support and the SA Communist Party 0,9 percent.

Civil resistance such as boycotts, stayaways and marches were seen as productive by only 5,9 percent, although nearly 10 percent said they would support them.

Most people (41 percent) would like to see Nelson Mandela as the first prime minister of a new SA, followed by President de Klerk (24 percent) and Chief Buthelezi, running a poor third at 2 percent.

Charge all police linked to Sebokeng shootings — ANC

By Patrick Laurence

The African National Congress has called for the prosecution of all policemen involved in the shooting of protest marchers in Sebokeng and its neighbouring townships on March 26.

Its call came yesterday in response to the findings of the Goldstone Commission — released at the weekend — that there was complete lack of discipline and control of the police and that the firing of live ammunition had not been ordered and was unjustified.

While Mr Justice Richard Goldstone was sharply critical of several policemen on duty at Sebokeng that day, including, and in some ways especially, the commanding officer of the police line, Captain WJ du Plooy, the organisers of the march did not escape censure.

In its reaction yesterday, the ANC said: "The ANC notes the issues raised by the Goldstone report regarding organisation, co-ordination and marshalling of marches, and we strive constantly to improve our performance..."

Mr Justice Goldstone said in his report: "The march at Sebokeng was not properly and effectively organised. Confusion helped create in the police line a nervousness and a feeling of being threatened."

Earlier in his report the judge criticised the organisers, the ANC-aligned UDF, for giving the authorities too short notice of their intention to organise the march and themselves

"insufficient time to properly cancel the march".

He added: "Organisations responsible for such mass action should give serious consideration to adequate planning in organisation and control, and thus reduce the risks occasioned by confusion..."

A summary of the main points from the ANC's reaction and, for elucidation, appropriate findings from Mr Justice Goldstone's report, are:

- The ANC did not recognise the right of the Government to proscribe the right of people to "peacefully assemble and demonstrate".
- The Goldstone Commission found that the crowd, which was 50 000-strong, was not armed with pangas and iron pipes and that, at the most, five stones had been thrown.

Disregard

- "It is clear from the commission report that all police officers, from Captain du Plooy down to the men in his command, acted in violation of standard police procedures and wilfully chose to disregard Colonel (Othniel) Mazibuko, the senior officer in the area."

Mr Justice Goldstone said of Captain du Plooy: "He failed to inform Colonel Mazibuko, his senior, of his presence in Sebokeng. He did not even inform him of his presence in the vicinity of Colonel Mazibuko's own police station."

- The ANC said: "The shooting was completely unjustified. There was no need for the police to use live ammunition, let

alone ammunition that was so deadly."

The Goldstone Commission concluded that the shooting was unjustified and that the "force used was quite immoderate and disproportionate".

- The ANC said: "We fully expect that all police personnel involved in this incident will be prosecuted to the full extent of the law. Pending such legal proceedings, the policemen identified should immediately be suspended from duty."

Mr Justice Goldstone said: "... the conduct of policemen who shot live ammunition into the crowd merits the attention of the Attorney-General." He was specifically critical of three policemen: Sergeant R van Huysteen (whose bullets killed four people), Constable JJJPA Geldhenhuys and Warrant Officer KJI Csajaghy, a security policeman of 12 years' standing who was guilty of "blatant mendacity".

- The ANC said: "It is clear that had the ANC not taken the steps it did, including the postponement of the Groote Schuur talks, an internal police inquiry would have resulted in a white-wash which would have covered up the crime committed against our people."

In his reaction to the Goldstone Commission report, Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok noted that, while some individual policemen had been criticised, "the judge voiced no essential criticism against the force as a whole, except in as much as it concerned the utilisation of special constables".

8/04
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Mandela and Kaunda hit

at Buthelezi

The Star's Africa News Service

Nelson Mandela is reported to have said the ANC has no intention of meeting Chief Buthelezi as long as the Inkatha leader continues to portray himself as a leader by perpetuating violence among blacks.

Mr Mandela, the deputy president of the ANC, is reported by the Africa News Organisation (Ano) to have told reporters at Lusaka airport over the weekend that "it is dangerous to meet such a man; he wants to see bloodshed and we cannot see him".

Mr Mandela said the ending of violence could not be left to an individual and that was why the ANC was meeting the Government.

Mr Mandela and the chairman of the Pan Africanist Congress, Johnson Mlambo, met in Lusaka with leaders of the seven Frontline states to brief them on recent developments in South Africa.

The Africa News Organisation says President Kaunda of Zambia appealed to the PAC to seriously consider the South African Government's invitation for it to join the talks on a new dispensation.

However, Ano reports that PAC general secretary Benny Alexander said that Dr Gerrit Viljoen, the Minister of Constitutional Development, was "not serious or honest" when he issued the invitation to the PAC to join the talks.

At the summit the Frontline leaders reportedly said they would not recognise Chief Buthelezi until he put an end to the violence among blacks that was sweeping Natal and the Reef townships.

President Kaunda accused Chief Buthelezi of fanning the violence. He called on him to go back to the days when he had won international respect through his message of love.

80. 3/9/90

 **BRIEFS** 

ANC women to talk

Three leading African National Congress women will address "concerned women" at a luncheon organised by the National Party-aligned Sandton Women's Focus on Thursday. The speakers will be Albertina Sisulu, co-chairman of the United Democratic Front; Sister Bernadette Ncube, president of the Federation of Transvaal Women; and Gertrude Shope, a national executive committee member of the ANC. All concerned women are welcome to attend the function, which will start at noon at the Inanda Club in Forest Road, Inanda.

CHM TWP 3/9/80 (14)

ANC, SACP will split, says Marxist Zim academic

HARARE. — The future breakup of the ANC-SA Communist Party (SACP) alliance has been predicted by a Zimbabwean Marxist academic, the national news agency Ziara reports.

The point was made by Mr Kempton Makamure, chairman of the the Department of Law at the University of Zimbabwe, in his paper presented at a conference on Zimbabwe's first 10 years of independence and its lessons for South Africa and Namibia.

The conference ended yesterday after South Africans, Namibians and Zimbabweans had exchanged

views on their respective countries.

The paper dealt with the future of socialism in South Africa, drawing from the Zimbabwean experience.

Mr Makamure said both the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) would, in a "post-colonial" situation, inevitably become black bourgeois parties. The alliance between the ANC and the SACP was bound to break sooner or later in post-apartheid South Africa, as the SACP would, ideologically, practically be forced to fight for the working class in the

face of the inevitable growth of both the ANC and the PAC into African bourgeois parties, said Mr Makamure.

He said the two were nationalist movements "in the exact mould of Zanu-PF" in Zimbabwe. The only significant difference was that the ANC had had an historic alliance with the SACP, which alliance would wither away.

Mr Makamure said South Africa's working class, unlike its counterpart in Zimbabwe and Namibia, had been independently politically organised. He

added that the struggle for socialism in a free South Africa would not bypass capitalism.

In Namibia, Swapo would continue with its character of a nationalist movement without a commitment to fundamental political change.

"The petty-bourgeois leadership of Swapo will preside over the continuity of the capitalist economy of Namibia more easily and naturally without the discomfort of Zanu-PF leadership, which has had to endure a split personally in that it espoused Marxist-Leninism but practised capitalism," said Mr Makamure. — Sapa

Can 4/9/90 3/9/90

Assembly not the answer to power question

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IN his recent *Viewpoint* article, Dr Neville Alexander warns that "the leadership of the ANC have no moral or political right to enter into compromises on behalf of all the oppressed people of this country".

He cites this "fundamental issue" as the reason for insisting on a Constituent Assembly, since "no other mechanism can give legitimacy to a new constitution". This means that any constitution eventuating from the present talks between the National Party and the ANC would be illegitimate.

Besides a moral concern about legitimacy, this view also implies a strategic prescription on how to achieve democratic legitimacy. However, contemporary studies of transition, based on actual historical cases of democratisation, seriously question the prescribed means in the light of the realities of transition politics.

Clash

The problem is not so much Dr Alexander's contention that the ANC has no mandate to negotiate on behalf of "all the oppressed people" (the NP also has no electoral mandate to negotiate with the ANC). But his standpoint becomes questionable when he insists that only a Constituent Assembly can steer the transition process towards a democratic and legitimate constitution.

The findings of transition research clash with practically every implication of such a belief. The research denies the presumptuous notion of a single and exclusive road to democracy, and it rejects the naive assumption that the majoritarianism practiced by a people's assembly would guarantee the in-

stitutionalisation of democracy in a viable structural and procedural form.

Above all, it challenges the efficiency of such a radically populist approach for successful democratic change. The facts rather suggest that democracy is best achieved when powerful national forces form a pact to guide the transition process towards a democratic end.

Efficient

Pacts typically entail mutual agreements to abstain from violence and to use pact-making again as a means of resolving future disputes. However, such agreements are made among a *select set of leaders* who are prepared to negotiate compromises without direct public accountability or explicit mass mandates.

In fact, successful pacts deliberately limit accountability and intentionally distort the principle of democratic participation for the sake of the efficient management of the transition process.

Recent political developments seem to underwrite the belief that the efficiency of the pact depends on such a form of relative autonomy, and prompt some rhetorical questions: If prior mass consent was required (even only from their respective constituencies) would the ANC have altered its stance on the armed struggle and nationalisation?

Misleading

Would the NP have obtained electoral permission to unban the SACP and allow co-operation between the state's security forces and MK? And could the same pact-building progress have been made without personal contact at elite-



VIEWPOINT

By WILLEM VAN VUUREN

level talks between messrs Mandela and De Klerk?

Dr Alexander suggests that the present negotiating parties are misleading the people into believing that negotiations offer the only non-violent option. To allude to the violence of negotiation politics he refers to Welkom, Port Elizabeth, Thokoza, Soweto, etc.

This is only partially acceptable, in the sense that the political space opened by high-level negotiations (that started before February 2), naturally invited strategic positioning and fierce competition for power vacancies. Especially in previously uncontested black politics. But it was rather the absence of mutually-accepted rules for political rivalry, and the participation of uncompromising contestants competing for high stakes under low living conditions, that set the

scene for a violent struggle.

If these factors (not created by negotiation, but rather by decades without it) add up to a recipe for violence, it defeats the argument that a Constituent Assembly offers a viable non-violent alternative.

Power contest

A Constituent Assembly presents exactly such a high-stake power contest *before* mutually acceptable rules for it have been negotiated; That is, before a democratic constitution has been produced to provide the procedural and structural framework for non-violent competition.

By insisting on an assembly, the Worker's Organisation for Socialist Action might well achieve the nationalisation of violence, so to speak, before economic nationalisation, as it is likely to extend local power struggles to a

nationwide violent contest.

And, if Wosa's position is similar to that of the PAC, it means that the nationalised violence will not only occur in the absence of negotiated rules, but also in the absence of an effective government that could enforce the rules — which would spell total anarchy.

Confined role

Either the socialist left "forces through" a Constituent Assembly, as has been irresponsibly suggested by some, or they could (together with the anti-negotiation radicals of the right) increasingly find themselves forced into scavenger politics. This would confine their political role to that of feeding on popularly exploitable pact decisions.

Since their approach has so far been to try and capitalise on every pragmatic agreement and ideological risk that could be interpreted as against the (idealistic) interests of the "oppressed people" or "threatened folk", the pact partners will have to clearly spell out the *principled* need for pragmatic pact politics — namely, to achieve *effectively* a democratic transition.

(Professor Van Vuuren teaches at the University of the Western Cape)

Service cuts: Govt, UDF to meet

CAF-Tint
3/9/90
114

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Senior government officials will meet a UDF deputation in Pretoria today to discuss the government's announcement to cut off services to black townships presently boycotting rent payments.

Deputy Planning and Provincial Minister Mr Andre Fourie yesterday confirmed the meeting.

UDF national treasurer Mr Azhar Cachalia said in a statement on Friday the UDF was concerned the announcement to stop services to boycotting black townships would generate widespread anger in the already volatile townships.

It follows the resolution of boycotts in 18 Eastern Transvaal townships on Friday after a month of negotiations.

Residents would start paying not later than September 17 while service arrears would be frozen and rent arrears written off.

Although the Soweto People's Delegation was recommending acceptance of the agreement, chairman Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said at the weekend it would not be finalised until it had been approved by residents, and this had been made clear to the TPA.

Mandela home with message

CAPT T45 3/9/70 (11A)

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday returned to South Africa unannounced after a week-long tour of four nations, including a stop in Libya.

ANC spokeswoman Ms Gill Marcus said he flew in early to avoid journalists. He had been expected in the afternoon.

Mr Mandela arrived from Zambia with a message for President F W De Klerk from the frontline states asking him to end black strife.

Mr Mandela — who attended the frontline summit after arriving from a six-day tour of Norway, Algeria, Libya and Uganda — is to personally deliver the message to Mr De Klerk.

Mr Mandela is to hold a press conference today.

In Lusaka, meanwhile, Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda chaired Saturday's meeting of leaders of Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

The summit effectively blamed Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi for the recent black violence.

"Chief Buthelezi just now is creating a lot of chaos for all of us. He is leading us on a course of destruction and we are asking him to go back to where he was before and stop all this killing," Dr Kaunda said.

He also said the summit had also asked PAC chairman Mr Johnson Mlambo, who also attended, to take a special message to his organisation's president, Mr Zeph Mothopeng.

The Zambian leader would not disclose the contents of the message, but at the beginning of the summit he urged the PAC to consider the invitation by Mr De Klerk to join the negotiations on a new South Africa. — UPI and Sapa

Natal leaders sign peace accord

MT Times 3/9/90

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Representatives of warring factions, as well as civic and business leaders, signed a ground-breaking agreement in Empangeni at the weekend aimed at restoring peace in northern Natal.

The organisations involved in the formulation of the peace initiative included the Natal Chamber of Industries, the ANC, Inkatha, Cosatu, the mayors of Esikhaweni, Ngwelezane and Enseleni, as well as security forces in the Empangeni/Richards Bay area.

Mr Jacob Zuma signed the agreement on behalf of the ANC, while KwaZulu Minister of the Interior Mr S Sithebe represented Inkatha.

The accord, a possible blueprint for similar agreements in other trouble spots, guarantees freedom of political association and religious choice, the support of legitimate political activity and the rejection of intimidation and violence.

The delegates also agreed to address problems being faced by refugees in the area.

Delegates at Saturday's ceremony agreed on a peace rally to convey the contents of the accord to the people.

PAC prisoners 'held hostage'

CAPE TIMES 3/9/90 (11A)

Staff Reporter

PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS political prisoners were being kept "hostage" by the government to force the organisation to the negotiating table, according to Mr Benny Alexander, PAC national executive member.

Mr Alexander was addressing about 400 people at the Nxolo Primary School, where the Crossroads PAC branch was launched yesterday.

"One who keeps another a hostage is a terrorist, and we do not negotiate with terrorists," he said to loud applause.

He told the crowd two men were sent to the PAC on September 17 with a letter from the State President's Office inviting the PAC to talks.

The government asked that the matter be dealt with confidentially, but the national executive met last Wednesday to discuss the letter and decided there was no room for secrecy.

"The government has a two-fold conspiracy against the PAC — a conspiracy of silence, and, if that fails, a conspiracy of distortion. When they came with the conspiracy of silence they pretended the PAC did not exist ... they later believed their own lies," he said.

Youths gag groups at mass funeral

11A
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Soweto
3/9/90.

THE mass burial of 19 unrest victims yesterday broke into chaos at different stages in Kagiso when ANC supporters wanted only speakers from the Mass Democratic Movement to address the public.

The supporters said representatives from organisations not linked to the MDM would not be tolerated.

A Kagiso councillor

By SONTI MASEKO

and an Azapo speaker were prevented from addressing the mourners by youths who jeered, booed and toyi-toyed.

Azapo member Mr Dan Matsobane was stopped twice from speaking.

After Matsobane stepped down for the first time, UDF official Mr Popo Molefe pleaded with the crowd to be disciplined and be more

tolerant towards the views of other organisations in the struggle.

When Matsobane tried to address the gathering the second time a rowdy group of youths started singing and others ordered him to leave.

Relatives of the 19 victims were allowed only to read obituaries.

Nearby, hostels were heavily guarded by police and SADF armoured trucks.

Senior

The funeral was attended by senior ANC members, Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr Alfred Nzo and general secretary of the South African Council of Churches the Rev Frank Chikane.

President of the South African Youth Congress Mr Peter Mokaba warned the Government in a fiery speech that the suspension of the armed struggle by the ANC did not mean the people had suspended the right to defend themselves.

He called for the youths to swell the ranks of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC's military wing, and its underground structures.

Next step for 'open NP' plan
Blomay 319190
MIKE ROBERTSON

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk's bid to open the NP's ranks faces one of its toughest hurdles tomorrow when the traditionally conservative Free State NP starts its two-day congress.

The open membership proposal, unanimously endorsed by the Natal NP at its congress last week, will be the main item on the agenda.

If the proposal is endorsed by all four provincial congresses, the party's Head Council, in consultation with the Federal Council, will amend the NP's constitution to allow people of all races to join the party.

NP information chief Stoffel van der Merwe said at the weekend that because the Transvaal Congress was only scheduled to take place in November, the earliest it would be possible to effect the necessary amendments would be by December.

Van der Merwe said the NP had not addressed the question of recruiting black members. The main motive behind the decision to go for open membership was to allow people who supported the same principles as the NP, but were excluded from membership on the basis of race, "to actively pursue the principles either as members or in a broad movement".

Asked with whom the NP would seek to pursue an alliance, Van der Merwe said the NP did not want to jump the gun. It would concentrate on defining a set of principles and then allow other parties to speak for themselves. If all four provincial congresses supported the open membership proposal it would be technically possible for a black person to become a leader of the NP.

● Comment: Page 10

Threat of split hangs over DP congress
Blomay 319190

THE DP's new economic blueprint could be all that holds the party together at its national congress starting on Friday, MPs said at the weekend.

A number of DP MPs canvassed described the leadership race between co-leader Zach de Beer and chairman Tian van der Merwe as too close to call, while those venturing a prediction were divided on who would win.

Several MPs said there was a real possibility of the DP splitting at the congress, which will be attended by 750 delegates from around the country.

At the centre of the intra-party dispute is the question of the DP's future identity and relations with the ANC in particular.

Several motions call for the party to extend its support base by marketing itself in the black community.

Differences of opinion could come out into the open during debate on a resolution from the Paarl constituency which urges the party to permit dual membership.

Resolutions 38 (from Hillbrow) and 39 (from Sandton) illustrate the diversity of opinion within the DP. The Hillbrow motion directs the party to reserve its right to criticise the ANC, while Sandton calls on the party leadership to negotiate an alliance or pact with the ANC.

DP parliamentary caucus members clashed head-on recently after Houghton MP Tony Leon criticised the ANC and SACP at a public meeting in his constituency.

PETER DELMAR

The debate over the DP's future role will be the crucial factor deciding the outcome of the leadership vote.

Van der Merwe is expected to be supported by those favouring closer links or an alliance with the ANC and other organisations, while De Beer will be backed by those elements wanting the party to remain an independent, staunchly-liberal party.

MPs said they were pinning their hopes on the DP's economic blueprint to keep the party together.

Alternative

The social market manifesto, they said, would probably be adopted with only minor adjustments and was likely to appease the DP's left-wing elements in view of its strong emphasis on upliftment and correcting past social and economic imbalances.

By providing a viable alternative to the ANC's "muddled" policies and the government's new "old-style capitalist" economic thinking, which was likely to prove highly unpopular, the new manifesto could help define a new and relevant role for the party, they said.

Finance spokesman Harry Schwarz said that in addition to discussing the blueprint, the congress would be given a detailed programme spelling out how the DP would implement economic policy.

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Buthelezi MCC 3/9/90 'perpetuating black violence'

Argus Africa News Service

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Nelson Mandela is reported to have said the ANC has no intention of meeting Chief Buthelezi as long as the Inkatha leader continues to portray himself as a leader by perpetuating violence among blacks.

It is reported that Mr Mandela said the ending of violence could not be left to an individual and that was why the ANC was meeting the government.

Mr Mandela and the chairman of the PAC, Mr Johnson Mlambo, met leaders of the seven frontline states to brief them on recent developments in South Africa.

The Africa News Organisation says President Kaunda of Zambia appealed to the PAC to seriously consider the South African government's invitation for it to join the talks on a new dispensation in South Africa.

Dr Kaunda, who is also chairman of the frontline group, said that as far as these states were concerned President De Klerk had proved to be a sincere man and he meant well when he invited the PAC to join in the talks with the government and the ANC.

Fanning violence

However, the news organisation reports that the PAC's secretary, Mr Benny Alexander, said that Dr Gerrit Viljoen, the Minister of Constitutional Development, was "not serious or honest" when he issued the invitation to them to join the talks. Mr Alexander said the PAC had not changed its policy on talks with the government.

No reaction was reported from Mr Mlambo to Dr Viljoen's invitation.

At the meeting the frontline leaders are reported to have said they would not recognise Chief Buthelezi until he put an end to the violence among blacks that was sweeping Natal and the Reef townships.

President Kaunda accused Chief Buthelesi of fanning the violence and called on him to end it and to go back to the days when he had won the respect and admiration of the international community through his message of love.

"Recognition of him as a leader will only come as a result of good deeds and not as a man who contributed to the wanton destruction of human life," Dr Kaunda said.



NATIONAL

Argus 3/9/90

11A



Pretoria 'targeting' Hani, says ANC

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The government is "targeting" African National Congress military chief Chris Hani, who, according to ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma, will not come to South Africa for meetings this week.

"They know full well Mr Hani has not said anything different from what any other ANC member has said, but he

is being targeted," Mr Macozoma said today.

He said Mr Hani was still in Transkei and would not come to South Africa for the meetings this week.

At the weekend Mr Hani rejected the 41-hour indemnity from September 4 to 6 granted by the government after requests by the ANC, which said he needed to attend the nation-

al executive committee this week.

Asked about the implications of Mr Hani's absence, Mr Macozoma said it was his attitude that the government should answer that.

"There are certain issues which cannot be discussed without Chris Hani, without his involvement. The government must be asked what would happen if he is not there."

All smiles ... Cheryl Carolus shares a joke with the Rev Beyers Naude and Thabo Mbeki. All three served in the ANC's Grootte Schuur negotiating team.

Why fiery Cheryl prefers socialism

Star 3/9/90 (11A)

Political Staff
CAPE TOWN — Growing up in a poor, working class community on the Cape Flats in the 1960s helped forge the political ideals of fiery, charismatic Cheryl Carolus.

She was the youngest member of the ANC negotiating team that met the Government earlier this year for the talks at Grootte Schuur, and was swept to prominence in

communist ranks with her elevation to the 22-person internal leadership group of the South African Communist Party.

Ms Carolus, even now, prefers not to say when exactly she joined the SACP — communists (she calls herself a socialist, a "technical" distinction) are still not entirely trusting of the political change in South Africa.

But 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 which understands 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 Carolus temporarily rejected organised religion as a "reactionary bourgeois institution", but returned to it later. She is an Anglican.

From the tangible sense of poverty in her childhood, Ms Carolus developed a "tangible" sense of freedom.

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 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."

Not that socialism is without ills, she recognises. But she does not believe the basic principles of socialism have



Cheryl Carolus ... knows about poverty.

been proved incorrect in Eastern Europe.

"There were serious problems, mainly a lack of accountability, and, as a socialist, I could not justify what happened there."

However, before criticising communism abroad, she says, capitalists ought to look at the impact they have had in South Africa.

"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."

One of the strengths of the ANC, she says, is that it provides 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?"

'Open' NP: wagon in front of the ox

THE National Party's flurry about opening its membership to blacks and allying with Inkatha is very fine and interesting, to be sure, but, as usual, the party is doing it the wrong way round.

The DP already tried this trick, you will recall. A few years ago — it was still the PFP then — there was a lot of noise about looking for black members, and now you hear a deathly silence, not entirely unrelated to the fact that the effort was a total flop.

If you cannot quite count the DP's black members on your fingers, you could probably take off your socks and have toes to spare.

You might resort to the old cliché about the DP being irrelevant and say that the Nats are the power-holders, so now this is a different deal, but even if there is something in that, it certainly does not go to the core.

Core is unchanged

The core is that there is no valid reason for the ordinary man in the street to join a party for which he cannot vote.

Yes, times have changed and the Nats have changed, but the core has not changed.

There is great excitement because the Nats are talking about "one-man-one-vote" but, then, that is what they have always talked about; they just wanted the vote to be in different places for different people.

They have now accepted that this vote is to be a South African vote for a South African parliament, but they still want one person's vote to be somehow distinguished from the next person's vote.

They still think that the idea of everybody rolling up to the same polls on the

same rolls is something horrendous.

Their minds are greatly exercised in trying to find an updated alternative, and whatever vote they envisage their new-found allies casting, it is not the undiluted, undifferentiated, majority-rule vote that is the bottom line of every black political agenda.

So their grand opening-up is also going to turn out to be a damp squib, although there may well be a phase of hopeful spluttering before the wick burns out.

It is not that there is a lack of so-called moderate blacks — nearly everybody is actually moderate in the real meaning of the word — but that the Nats are once again making it extremely difficult for moderate blacks to express themselves.

That is what the Nats have been really good at: shooting themselves in the foot. All along, they have wanted to secure a place for the whites in Africa, which is fine and well, and all along they have tried to do it through some form of political separation from the blacks, which is their equivalent of the Nonquase phenomenon of the 1850s, when the Xhosas self-destructed in the hope of getting rid of the white man.

Now they want to open the party, but hold over on the question of opening the polls. So here and there a black person will pitch up to take out his Nat membership card — and be a fish out of water.

In most places, and particularly the urban townships, he will be perceived as a crank or a traitor, and his chances of mobilising anything like an effective constituency are closely associated with the figure 0.

For years, there have been plenty of white people, mainly located in Nat circles, who take the view that the task at hand is for the

whites and the Zulus to get together and beat the daylight out of the rest. They will be fortified.

Meanwhile, and of course inflamed by recent events, there has been a rumbling animosity towards Inkatha and/or towards Zulus in general from other blacks.

That will be fortified too, and the overall result will be that the current salvageable shambles will be displaced by a greater and unsalvageable shambles.

It is almost consoling to see the Nats screwing up again, a reminder that some things stay the same in this somersaulting world, and if politics was purely the joke that it often appears to be, we could have fun watching.

Genuine alliance

But I have another agenda and I have no doubt you do, too. I want to be living here in peace, with pride, next year, in 20 years, and beyond, and regrettable though it may be, the inescapable fact is that all of us who share that aim are thoroughly dependent on the Nats getting something right.

Which they could do by putting the horse in front and the cart behind. They could sort out the polls first, and then worry about the party. They could make the polls full and free.

Then they would become the centrepiece of a genuinely moderate alliance rather than a skewed ethnic coalition, and the whites' survival, like everybody else's, at last would come to rest on a solid base, namely the aggregated diversity of millions of voters who are never going to carry the card of any political party.

Lawyers get the leaders together

star 29/90

11A

Own Correspondent

The Black Lawyers Association made history at the weekend when it brought together representatives of major political forces in the black community to address its 10th anniversary conference in Johannesburg.

Delegates stood on chairs, ululated and cheered as ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, Azapo president Itumeleng Mosala, PAC leader Barney Desai, and New Unity Movement president R O Dudley shook hands at the podium on Saturday night.

BLA chairman Keith Kunene said his organisation was happy to provide a forum for political forces within the black community to meet and share ideas.

Internal Act detainees

THREE Black Consciousness activists who were detained by police in Potgietersrus two weeks ago, are being held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act, their attorney, Mrs Queen Vilankula, announced yesterday.

Vilankula said the three are the organisers of the Black Allied Mining and Construction Workers Union and a member of the Azanian People's Organisation, Mr Hedrick Mokgalagadi of Galeshewe Township in Kimberley, Mr Sammy Maluleke and Mr Michael Mothowagae, both members of the Azanian Youth Organisation in Mahwelereng Township.

The three were arrested on August 19.

Azasm slates Cosas stayaway

11A

By MATHATHA TSEDU

THE disruption of schooling in Seshego Township schools on Wednesday for the launch of a branch of Cosas was wrong and should never be repeated again, the Seshego branch of Azasm said in a statement yesterday.

The statement said while Azasm, a Black Consciousness formation, welcomed the launch of the Cosas branch, which is an affiliate of the UDF, "it was wrong that teachers and pupils had to sacrifice yet another day because of the launching.

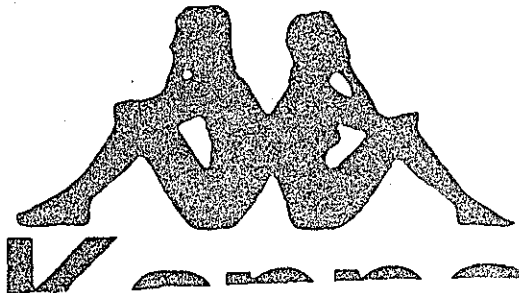
Calling on pupils to subject calls that disrupt schooling to careful scrutiny, the organisation called for pupils to return to schools and learn.

The launch of the Cosas branch took place at the local community hall. The occasion led to a stayaway from school. Officials of Cosas, Sayco and the ANC addressed the launch.

Green light for Dollar brand

ORGANISERS of the Weekly Mail Film Festival yesterday said they had received assurances from the ANC that it supported the presence of Abdullah Ibrahim (Dollar Brand) at two music concerts staged by the festival.

The organisers were responding to media reports which quoted the SA Musicians Alliance condemning the proposed tour and charging that the cultural boycott had not ended.



11A

FEATI

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Consolidating membership, recruiting new members and embarking on political education to ensure cohesion within the ranks were the SA Communist Party's internal priorities, says senior SACP member Cheryl Carolus.

Politically, the chief priority was "building the ANC", she said.

Ms Carolus — one of the 22 members of the SACP's Internal Leadership Group, a senior member of the ANC and publicity secretary for the UDF in the Western

SACP's political aim is to build the ANC, says senior member

Cape — denied that the SACP was opportunistic-ally clinging to the ANC.

"People think it's opportunistic that the SACP backs the ANC... that as if at some point when the ANC was off-guard, we would stage a palace coup. That's rubbish.

"The ANC is a national liberation movement

which will become a party and stand for democracy."

The SACP's mandate is to build socialism. That can occur "once there is democracy in South Africa", and a climate in which people can make free choices has been created.

The party had no ambition to "become the

government", recognising that it could not "represent the masses" and at the same time meet all the demands of State.

Ms Carolus also revealed that the SACP was still emerging from its "underground" status, a legacy of the many years of repression of communists in South Africa.

"We are emerging from what was very much an underground basis, where we communicated virtually on a one-to-one basis.

"I had two contacts and each of them had two, but I didn't know who their contacts were. Even at a leadership level, you did not necessarily know other people in the party, people who literally were in the same organisation as you."

In the interview on this page, Ms Carolus explains why she became a socialist, and addresses other key issues.

Service cuts: Govt, UDF to meet

CA-7inf
3/9/90
114

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Senior government officials will meet a UDF deputation in Pretoria today to discuss the government's announcement to cut off services to black townships presently boycotting rent payments.

Deputy Planning and Provincial Minister Mr Andre Fourie yesterday confirmed the meeting.

UDF national treasurer Mr Azhar Cachalia said in a statement on Friday the UDF was concerned the announcement to stop services to boycotting black townships would generate widespread anger in the already volatile townships.

It follows the resolution of boycotts in 18 Eastern Transvaal townships on Friday after a month of negotiations.

Residents would start paying not later than September 17 while service arrears would be frozen and rent arrears written off.

Although the Soweto People's Delegation was recommending acceptance of the agreement, chairman Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said at the weekend it would not be finalised until it had been approved by residents, and this had been made clear to the TPA.

Azapo slams 'political thugs' in ANC

(11A)
Soweto
4/9/90

AZAPO yesterday accused the ANC of political thuggery after a speaker representing the organisation was shouted down while addressing mourners at the Kagiso mass funeral on Sunday.

Azapo deputy president Nchaube Mokoape, in a statement released yesterday, condemned "the unruliness of the ANC and its affiliates during the funeral".

He said Azapo speaker Dan Matsobane was "hounded and harassed" by people wearing ANC colours and SACP T-shirts when he attempted to address the large crowd from the stage.

Also, Azapo banners displayed at the funeral were "torn by knife wielding thugs", Mokoape said.

"We in Azapo are truly disgusted. Is this a glimpse of the new non-racial, democratic South Africa for which the ANC says it is working?" he asked.

Azapo was demanding that the ANC take responsibility for the incident, as well as similar incidents of intimidation at the recent Soweto funerals of activists Muntu Myeza and Tsietsi Mashinini, and "explain to our people how to interpret it", Mokoape said.

It was ironic that the ANC condemned "the intimidation of the regime while doing the same to other organisations of the oppressed.

Shocked

Azapo had always welcomed ANC speakers on its platforms without any difficulty. "We were shocked that the unruly element of the ANC would not even listen to the impationed pleas of their leadership," Mokoape said.

"We are worried that there may be an undisciplined element within the ANC who are not only creating problems for other organisations, but who may also become an uncontrollable monster for them. - Sapa.

Don't be lulled by NP promises warns BCMA

Sowetan 4/9/90

BLACK people should not let the pronouncements of the National Party lull them to sleep, the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania said from Harare yesterday.

The BCMA was reacting to media reports quoting the NP as intending to repeal the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act and open its membership to all races.

A BCMA spokesman said they had noted that a change in "the constitution of the traditionally racist NP" would have to be approved by the congresses of the party.

A spokesman said the State President, Mr FW de Klerk, and the NP would never liberate black people. Liberation, he said, would only come from black people's own efforts.

"Considering the fact that the NP has been the main vehicle of black people's oppression for the last 42 years, these intentions are as ironic as they are also remarkable.

"We shall only review the intensity of institutionalised racism when these intentions have been translated into action. Such action, however, will not herald liberation for the oppressed black com-

By NKOPANE
MAKOBANE

munity," he said.

The spokesman pointed out that on August 24, De Klerk told farm owners at an agricultural conference, that ownership of land was not negotiable.

"The BCMA is not willing to accept as irreversible the impoverishment of black people in Azania through the continuation of the monopoly of white farm land ownership.

"All farms in Azania are on land taken by force from black people and have been and continue to be developed by black labour under slave conditions.

"The promise by De Klerk on August 24 that 'opportunity for private ownership of land' would be extended to all, means that black people will have to buy back land they never sold.

"The BCM stands for the creation of an open, anti-racist society in South Africa, where one's colour, language, religion, sex, and origin will not have any political significance and political rights will be accorded to individuals, and not to groups.

"To this end, the BCM has adopted certain policies, strategies and tactics to eradicate colonialism and racism, as well as to bring about the cherished an open society."

UDF in talks on services

By Musa Mapisa

4/9/90
The United Democratic Front held discussions with Deputy Minister of Planning Andre Fourie in Pretoria yesterday about rent and service charges boycotts in black townships.

During the talks both parties agreed that:

- Black local authorities were economically non-viable and therefore required bridging finance. However, rent boycotts resulted in the depletion of bridging finance.

- The principle of payment for services was accepted with regard to affordability.

- Negotiations were to be supported in the continuing search for solutions.

Essential services such as water and sewerage would not be cut.

- Actions taken by suppliers concerning the possible discontinuation of services should be reasonable and sympathetic.

It was agreed that the UDF would call a meeting of the Transvaal Civic Association and the TPA later this month to speed up negotiations on rent and services issues, taking note of the Soweto deliberations and proposals.

It was also agreed that Mr Fourie would refer the concern and request of the UDF delegation to the Government that services in the townships should not be suspended.

Mandela hints at multiparty government

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela hinted yesterday that the country's first non-racial government would consist of various political parties, even if the ANC obtained an outright majority.

He was addressing a press conference in Soweto two days after returning to South Africa from an overseas trip.

Mr Mandela said some arrangement was likely to be made after the first non-racial election "so that a new government will be representative of all political opinions in order for all people to be confident that they are adequately repre-

sented".

Asked to comment on statements by Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning Gerrit Viljoen that negotiations on a new constitution could start early next year, Mr Mandela said the ANC wanted to reach a settlement as soon as possible. Negotiations might even take place before the end of the year.

Mr Mandela said the next stage of talks between the Government and the ANC should be to determine who would draw up a new constitution. A formula needed to be found whereby the Government did not control the process of constitution-making.

Star 4/9/90 (11) (11) Mr Mandela said he had cut short a planned 31-day holiday and returned to try to resolve the outbreak of violence on the Reef last month.

Upon his return from his intended holiday, he had been briefed about alleged police misconduct. He had subsequently telephoned Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, who had come to Soweto that night for a meeting with the community leaders.

On Sunday, he added, he had personally phoned Mr Vlok to ensure that riot police be ordered out of funeral meetings in Kagiso.

● Open NP strategy
— Page 11.

Azasm slams Sayco's links with whites

By NKOPANE MAKOBANE

THE South African Youth Congress has come under fire from the Azanian Students' Movement in latest round of war of words between the two camps.

Last week, Sayco challenged the Azanian Peoples' Organisation (Azapo) to say if it was still involved in the struggle against apartheid.

It said lately Azapo had not only watched political developments and popular mass actions with indifference, but had begun to actively campaign against them.

This attack followed Azapo's criticism of a "week of action" called by the National Union of South African Students (Nusas), the South African National Students' Congress (Sansco) and the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) to protest against the wave of violence in the townships.

Mr Siphso Maseko, Azasm's publicity secretary, yesterday said the kind of questions raised by Sayco to the Black Consciousness Movement could, in turn, be directed to a movement that was, "in effect, in alliance with the white minority regime".

"Our history of mass action is there for all to glean wisdom from. Our own conception of struggle in Azasm is to empower our people through community projects like the Black Students Study Projects and the Black Community programmes.


"Sayco's conception of the struggle is heavily laden with theatrical gimmicks, which help them to perform for the gallery which cares less for black lives," he said.

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ANC call on role of police

Sowetan 4/19/90



THE ANC's PWV region yesterday called on the police to get rid of the impression in black communities that the force was one of repression and to start acting in an impartial way.

The call was made in a report-back statement following a regional consultative conference on Sunday in Lenasia, south of Johannesburg.

Delegates, representing 53 recently launched ANC branches, also endorsed the ANC's

SA Press Association

suspension of the armed struggle - "as a contribution to the negotiation and peace process" - but reiterated the right to "self-defence" had not been forfeited.

The conference paid special attention to matters affecting the growth of the ANC. These included building the ANC, recruitment and the launching of branches.

"Special attention was paid to the question of the recent violence," the ANC report-back said.

"Concern was expressed over the simplistic presentation of the conflict as 'Xhosa/Zulu' or 'black on black' violence without due attention being paid to the systematic orchestration process.

"Particular note was made of the role of police violence. The perception of our people persists that police are not a body for the maintenance of order, but a force of repression.

"A unanimous call was made for police to act in service to the community in a totally impartial way."

Reports on the Pretoria Minute were delivered to delegates and the ANC "reiterated its commitment to peace".

The conference expressed support for the appointment of Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Mr Chris Hani to lead the ANC working group on the suspension of the armed struggle.

It rejected, "as a violation of the Pretoria Minute", the 41-hour special indemnity, starting this week, granted to Hani.

"In the interest of the regulation and peace process, it would be inconceivable that matters arising out of the suspension of armed struggle be determined without the participation of the MK chief of staff," the region said.

It welcomed the agreement of the joint ANC-Government working group on the release of political prisoners. - Sapa.

Open SA the aim - media council

IT WAS the task of the SA Media Council, in addition to mediation and conflict resolution, to be vigilant in protecting and promoting a free and open South Africa, council chairman Mr Jan Steyn said in Cape Town yesterday.

Speaking at the 14th meeting of the council, he said the organisation would debate how to give further and "hopefully permanent content to the process

through which a more open society can be secured". Sowetan 4/19/90

He said the principles on which such a society was based had been systematically eroded over the years.

"We will be seeking to produce a carefully considered and balanced input to the Government to have all unnecessary constraints on media freedom removed," Steyn said. - Sapa.

Sowetan 4/9/90 (119)



ANC information chief Mr Palo Jordan asks for the next question from reporters at a Press conference hosted by ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela at Funda centre in Soweto yesterday. Report on opposite page.

Govt targetting Hani says ANC

Sowetan 4/9/90

THE Government is "targetting" ANC military chief Chris Hani, who, according to ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma would not be coming to South Africa for meetings this week.

"They know full well Hani has not said any-

**SOWETAN
Correspondent**

thing different from what any other ANC member has said, but he is being targetted," Macozoma said yesterday.

He said Hani was still in Transkei and would not be arriving in South Africa for the meetings this

week.

Hani at the weekend rejected the 41-hour indemnity from September 4 to 6 granted by the Government after requests by the ANC who said he needed to attend the national executive committee this week.

Asked about the implications of Hani's ab-

sence, Macozoma said it was his attitude that the Government should answer that.

"There are certain issues which cannot be discussed without Chris Hani; without his involvement. The Government must be asked what would happen if he is not there."

11A

ANC input sought on plan

GRETA STEYN

GOVERNMENT's economists — the Central Economic Advisory Service — hope to consult the ANC before the release later this year of a detailed Economic Development Plan (EDP), a Finance Department source said yesterday.

Private sector economists had speculated the EDP, which had been in the making since 1987, would be shelved by simply integrating it into the programme being drawn up by Economic Co-ordination and Administration Minister Wim de Villiers. But a Finance source yesterday indicated the EDP would be released as a separate document providing a much more detailed long-term strategy for economic growth.

The release of the EDP was delayed by political reform and by De Villiers's advent in economic policy-making.

The source said it became "politically unwise" for government to release a long-term growth plan once it had emerged that dramatic changes were taking place. The

political climate had made consultation with "other interest groups" essential.

While he acknowledged the free-market basis of the EDP would prove to be contentious, he believed that discussion could still yield positive results.

SA's last EDP was drawn up in 1978. Its projections were not realised because of the 1985 debt standstill and subsequent capital flight, and because of government's unwillingness to implement the right policies. The EDP projected employment growth of 2,8% a year in the decade to 1987; actual growth was less than half of that and SA lost 860 000 jobs as a result. The source said: "SA has not lacked plans and programmes to promote economic growth and job creation. What has been lacking is the will to implement them."

● See Page 3

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4/9/90

2 Cape Times, Tue

Formal talks 'before year-end'

SOWETO. — Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday formal power-sharing negotiations were likely to begin before the end of the year.

"We should try to reach a settlement as soon as possible," Mr Mandela said. He declined to predict a timetable but said: "Negotiations are likely to take place even before the end of this year."

"We have convinced the government of things we never thought they would agree to."

He added that the ANC's success so far meant there was "no reason" it could not convince the government to take the remaining steps to ending apartheid.

Following the preliminary talks Pretoria indicated formal talks could begin early next year and Constitutional Affairs Minister Mr Gerrit Viljoen said they could take two years to complete.

● Meanwhile the ANC in the PWV region called on police yesterday to get rid of the impression in black communities that it is a force of repression and start acting in an impartial way.

The call was made in a report-back statement following a regional consultative conference on Sunday in Lenasia, south of Johannesburg.

— Sapa

ANC optimistic on negotiations

PETER DELMAR

11A

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela yesterday predicted that full negotiations with government on a new constitution could start before the end of the year.

Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said recently he was optimistic that negotiations could begin by early next year. 11049190

Sapa reports that Mandela told a news conference in Soweto that the next stage of talks would probably centre on choosing people to draw up a new constitution for SA.

ANC information chief Pallo Jordan said the ANC was anxious to "move the (negotiating) process along". However, he acknowledged that it was unlikely significant progress would be made this week on the suspension of ANC's armed struggle.

Jordan said Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani would not return to SA today to take up the 41-hour indemnity from prosecution offered to him by government. Jordan said the ANC was waiting for a response from government on its application for Hani and others to be granted unconditional indemnity.

THE you-had-yours-now-we-want-ours philosophy that underlies much of the ANC's posture on political economy is understandable. It is quite natural that, despite its rhetorical commitment to non-racialism, the ANC should wish, upon taking office, to replace the current system of racial preference with one of its own devising.

The new system will likely go well beyond a simple — and thoroughly legitimate — reordering of spending priorities. It will involve state-mandated "affirmative action" on a scale even more heroic than the Nationalists instituted when they took power.

Since the principal goal, in theory at least, is to undo and somehow compensate for the damage wrought by apartheid, those who dare question the wisdom of this approach open themselves to all kinds of calumny. As a result, the practicality and effectiveness of the means are all too easily ignored.

Do racial preference policies work? Will the granting of special advantages and privileges to the previously disadvantaged and unprivileged promote happiness, equality and prosperity for those hitherto denied such things?

The SA government's own admission that apartheid has failed is hardly enough to convince the historically unpreferred to believe that their own variation on the National Party's policies of the past half century will not be more successful.

They tend, unsurprisingly, to focus on what apartheid did for the Afrikaner while it lasted, not on the fact that it did not last. Nor can they really be expected to appreciate that the vast energies and wealth the system so wastefully consumed to survive as long as it did will continue to be squandered if the system is perpetuated under new management.

They will argue that unlike the new SA they are to govern "non-racially", the old one was run solely for the benefit of white racists. In

Why an ANC racial push would benefit elite, not the poor

SIMON BARBER in Washington

other words, it will be "moral". Given the economic and social havoc wrought elsewhere in the self-interested name of morality, this is not a useful distinction.

Thomas Sowell, a prominent black American scholar at Stanford's Hoover Institution, poses the following question in his new book, *Preferential Policies — An International Perspective*: why did the Nationalist regime find it necessary to pass so many laws binding whites to behave in a racist fashion? Surely, such behaviour would have come naturally. But, clearly, it did not. To the contrary, the state had to use every power at its disposal to ensure that whites, as well as blacks, acted counter-intuitively. That is to say, against their own best economic and political interests.

What benefit, for example, did the private sector gain from being required to employ a shrinking pool of artificially expensive white labour while at the same time being denied skilled, mobile and motivated black labour?

As for those for whom industries were nationalised, an elephantine bureaucracy established and jobs reserved, where do they stand now?

The enervated creatures of racial entitlement, many lack skills, education or temperament to compete in the real world. Weaned on the teat of Nationalist welfarism, what kind of future do they have now that the Verwoerdian sow is dying?

"Both official and unofficial writings on preferential programmes," Sowell remarks, "tend to abound in the discussions of the rationales, mechanics and resource inputs of such programs, with a dearth or even total absence of data on actual outcomes."

SA, of course, provides a profusion of data on actual outcomes. After surveying preferential policies adopted all around the planet — from Malaysia, India, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, Nigeria and SA to the US itself — one of the constant themes he finds is that: "Group polarisation has tended to increase in the wake of preferential treatment, with non-preferred groups reacting adversely, in ways ranging from political backlash to mob violence and civil war."

This is perhaps self-evident to any South African. Those seeking to emu-

late the Nationalist programme have no doubt factored such commonsense into their thinking and believe they will be able to deal with the recalcitrance of the newly unpreferred. Right, they can assure themselves, will be on their side.

Sowell identifies another less obvious, though equally important, feature standard to all preferential programmes, whether affirmative action in the US or attempts to redress historic caste privileges in India: "Within the groups designated as recipients of preferential treatment, the benefits have usually gone disproportionately to those members already more fortunate."

This is demonstrably the case in the US where efforts to increase black representation in the professions through university admissions and hiring policies have chiefly benefited those least in need of the head start, while diverting attention from those who need it most. For all that, such efforts remain the centrepiece of government programmes to level the playing field between black and white.

And not only of government programmes. The Rev Jesse Jackson's Chicago-based organisation, People

United to Save Humanity (or Push), is currently demanding a boycott of Nike athletic shoes on the grounds that Nike is "exploiting" the black inner city youth who comprise one of the company's most important markets.

Push's remedy is not only for Nike to recycle some of its profits for the benefit of ghetto teenagers — the company already does a bit of that — but that it should have more blacks in senior management positions and should award more contracts to black entrepreneurs.

"Like come many affirmative action programmes," comments the Washington Post's highly respected black columnist, William Raspberry, this "amounts to a bait and switch game in which the inner city poor furnish the statistical base for the proposals, but the benefits go primarily to the already well-off" — in this instance, almost certainly the well-heeled cronies of the Rev Jackson.

Putting aside this factor, one of the major evils with affirmative action in this instance, as in so many others, is that it offers the politician an easy way of plausibly claiming he is dealing with inequalities and discrimination, evading what is an infinitely more complex and intractable set of problems.

In a sense, preferential policies are thus an elaborate con game, and a quick fix that is really no fix at all. In SA, as in the US, any attempt to address the great disparities between most whites and most blacks must start from the ground up.

Of course, all racial barriers must be removed but, that done, all — and not just a few elites — must be given the opportunity to better themselves. That means education, proper health care, decent housing and, above all, a growing economy.

Such things are difficult and take years to achieve. For that reason, politicians abhor them. They would rather pretend they can undo the past overnight. For which pretence, everyone will sooner or later pay dearly.

SA universities should keep identities

ANC

BIDM 4/9/90

PETER DELMAR

THE ANC believed that existing universities should retain their own particular cultural identities and that Afrikaans universities should continue to teach in that language, ANC legal expert Albie Sachs said at a meeting at RAU yesterday.

Sachs said the ANC wanted Afrikaans universities "just as we want Afrikaans medium schools — not as a concession, not as a compromise, but because it corresponds with our policy of the right of all South Africans to use their (own) languages".

He said universities such as Stellenbosch and Fort Hare had developed their own different identities and cultures and the ANC did not see why these should all be the same.

However, the ANC insisted that universities should be open, not only in terms of admissions, but also in relation to the open exchange of views and debate.

Afrikaners, he said, had previously been discriminated against and RAU was a visible symbol of affirmative action by Afrikaners to improve their educational position *vis a vis* English-speakers.

Sachs said Afrikaans would enjoy equal recognition with other languages in an ANC-drafted constitution, but should not receive preferential treatment.

Status

The language, he predicted, would not be kept alive through a "constitutional respirator", but because it was one of the languages of SA, spoken by millions.

In taking affirmative action, it was not necessary to deprive people, he said, adding that the status of Afrikaans did not have to be diminished.

He said members of the ANC spoke

many languages and for this reason the organisation was more sensitive to the Afrikaans issue than most English-speakers.

For whites to enjoy minority protection as whites and to have special white minority votes would not be in their own interests, but would expose them to attack.

Sachs equated the Boer War commandos to the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe and said the Boers had their own "detainees support committees" which highlighted the abuse of human rights in British concentration camps.

Afrikaner nationalism, he said, had been a force "of liberation and of freedom fighting", and added that "it would be a great disservice to this country if we were to turn our backs, let alone suppress, this great patrimony of culture, of ideas and struggle. The freedom struggle is one of the strands running through Afrikaner history."

Hani not returning for ANC meeting

8/6/90 (11A) (11B)
Political Correspondent

Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani will not be returning from Transkei to South Africa today or tomorrow to meet the ANC national executive committee (NEC).

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus confirmed yesterday that Mr Hani would not be taking advantage of the 41-hour immunity against arrest granted him by the Government.

Ms Marcus said the NEC meeting was now off, and so was the first meeting — which Mr Hani was supposed to attend — of the joint ANC/Government working group to discuss the ANC's suspension of its armed struggle.

The ANC was involved in discussions with the Government about restoring Mr Hani's temporary immunity against arrest, she added.

The ANC last week announced that Mr Hani was to head its delegation at the working group meetings — even though the Government had withdrawn his temporary immunity against arrest.

The ANC said in a statement yesterday that it was "unthinkable" that Mr Hani, as Umkhonto chief of staff, should not attend the meeting.

"If the Government wants the Pretoria Minute to be implemented, they should allow him unrestricted access."

Govt, ANC

20 5/9/90 (11A)

accused of secret plan

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

The African National Congress and the Government were today charged with having conducted secret negotiations to form a multi-party "fraternal" Cabinet.

Democratic Party co-leader Zach de Beer responded with suspicion today to remarkably similar proposals made over the last few days by Finance Minister Barend du Plessis and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela.

He said it seemed the ANC and the Government had been holding bilateral talks about negotiations.

"It looks as though Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela want to cosily stitch the whole thing together before letting anyone else in the room," he said.

"This runs utterly against Mr de Klerk's assurance that leaders of all recognised parties would take part in negotiations."

Mr du Plessis told the National Party's Free State congress last night that the executive authority could be a "fraternal" (kollegiale) Cabinet representative of all groups represented in both Houses of the bicameral legislature.

Equal value

One House of the legislature could be chosen on the basis of universal franchise and proportional representation, while in the other House groups would be represented as such and their minority rights would be protected.

The two Houses would be of equal value and legislation would have to be passed by both.

The Cabinet could be composed in such a way that it represented both Houses and therefore all groups in Parliament would serve in the executive. This sort of Cabinet would be an important instrument for effective minority protection.

Mr Mandela said on Monday that the first non-racial government would consist of various political parties, even if the ANC obtained an outright majority.

Some arrangement would be made "so that a new government would be representative of all political opinion in order for all people to be confident that they are adequately represented," he said.

● Du Plessis's plea — Page 5.

Talks about struggle on course - Govt

Star 5/9/90 (11A) 3

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

The Government is sure that the joint ANC-Government working group discussing the suspension of the ANC's armed struggle will hold its first meeting tomorrow — with or without Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani.

The working group has the crucial task of defining what exactly is the practical meaning of the ANC's agreement under the Pretoria Minute to "suspend armed actions and related activities".

Until this is done, the next stage of negotiations cannot proceed, the Government has made clear.

Police sources said they had confirmation yesterday from ANC officials on the working group that tomorrow's meeting was on and that the rest of the ANC delegation would attend it whether or not Mr Hani did.

This contradicts an ANC statement on Monday that the meeting would not go ahead until Mr Hani had been granted unconditional immunity against arrest.

But ANC spokesman Gill Marcus yesterday said the ANC was still deciding whether or not to attend the meeting. She did not rule out the possibility of Mr Hani attending and said the problem of his immunity from arrest was still being discussed with the Government.

Police sources said there was no real need for Mr Hani to attend as he was only number two in Umkhonto we Sizwe and Umkhonto commander Joe Modise would be there.

Justice Minister Koble Coetsee last week gave Mr Hani temporary and conditional immunity from 6 am yesterday until 11 pm tonight to attend a meeting of the ANC national executive committee.

But Ms Marcus yesterday

said the meeting was not on and that Mr Hani would not be taking up the offer of immunity. He has been staying in Transkei for the past few weeks as guest of Transkei leader General Bantu Holomisa who said that, at 4 pm yesterday, Mr Hani was still in Umtata.

The delays in getting the crucial working group off the ground meant that it would probably meet almost daily until next week, police said.

Under the Pretoria Minute agreed to by the Government and the ANC on August 6, the group is supposed to report back to its principals on September 15.

Serious disagreements are certain to erupt in the working group about the ANC's commitments, under the Pretoria Minute, about the armed struggle.

The ANC has interpreted it to mean only the suspension of armed actions and the infiltration of arms and Umkhonto cadres.

The Government is pushing for a much wider definition which includes Umkhonto training and recruiting. Police also believe the ANC has in effect agreed to suspend its campaign of mass mobilisation, because this is part of the armed struggle by its own definition.

There is also disagreement about the permanency of the ANC commitment. The Government believes that the ANC agreement under the Pretoria Minute, that "no further armed actions and related activities by the ANC and its military wing will take place", implies a more permanent cessation of hostilities.

But ANC leaders such as Mr Hani have interpreted it very differently and have repeatedly vowed that the armed struggle will be taken up if negotiations fail. This was the reason the Government withdrew Mr Hani's temporary immunity.

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After the shooting . . . a clash between SADF troops and a crowd in Sebokeng yesterday left 11 people in the crowd shot dead and many wounded.

● Picture by Len Kumalo.

Killings: Army slated

Star 5/9/90 (11A)

Staff Reporters
The SA Defence Force has appointed a board of inquiry into the killing of 11 people by troops in Sebokeng yesterday, amid calls for a judicial commission of inquiry.

The 11 township residents were shot dead during a confrontation between a 5 000-strong crowd and a contingent of SADF troops called in for support by police.

Today both the African National Congress and the Democratic Party said a judicial inquiry must be held. A military probe would not satisfy them.

While saying today that a military board of inquiry had been appointed, a Ministry of Defence spokesman said no further statement would be issued at this stage.

Today ANC spokesman Saki Mazonia said Nelson Mandela had

called for a judicial inquiry. The SADF could not investigate itself.

DP co-leader Zach de Beer said of the military probe:

"In the light of the recent Goldstone inquiry (which sharply criticised police for the shooting of protesters in the township earlier this year), this is simply not good enough.

"That inquiry showed beyond any doubt that at least in certain instances the security forces have acted improperly in suppressing unrest.

Reckless

"The public will expect a similar objective and authoritative inquiry into the latest episode."

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela said the ANC was outraged by the "carnage".

He was speaking after he and other ANC executive members had seen some of the bodies of the peo-

ple who were slain — just hours before Mr Mandela met Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok to discuss the shootings.

Sapa reported late last night that no statement was released after the meeting, at an undisclosed venue.

Addressing journalists after meeting a police station commander and other senior police officers, Mr Mandela placed the blame for the deaths and scores of injuries squarely on Inkatha and the SADF, whose actions he described as reckless.

Mr Mandela, who was accompanied by ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu and secretary-general Alfred Nzo, said: "We examined some of the bodies and were outraged at what we saw.

"One of the people was obviously shot in the back and his head was crushed.

"These people had been shot, hit with pangas and stabbed with

spears. This was a very cruel and vicious attack.

"This comes after the findings of the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry and it only confirms that the conduct of the police leaves much to be desired.

"We see no reason why live bullets were used because the lives of members of the army were not threatened," Mr Mandela said.

Today the township was quiet, following 48 hours of faction fighting and the SADF-crowd clash which left a total of at least 40 people dead.

According to a spokesman at the Sebokeng Hospital, 124 injured people had been treated during the last two days.

Seventy remained in wards and 54 had been discharged.

An Inkatha leader was among 150 arrested following yesterday's shootings. Police alleged he was found in possession of four AK-47 rifles, pistols and ammunition.

He will appear in the Vereeniging court within 48 hours, along with the 150 hostel dwellers arrested in connection with the murder of four local residents.

The four murders are said to have sparked the confrontation which led to SADF troops shooting dead 11 township residents among a mob outside the hostel, home to migrant Zulu workers.

Threatened

On the East Rand, peace returned last night with only a few reported incidents of gun shots and arson after faction fighting which left three dead on Monday.

A strong police contingent patrolled the township last night.

Taxis were operating as usual this morning and travelling into the townships to fetch commuters. However, the Putco buses were still stopping on the outskirts of troubled townships.

Police spokesman Colonel Frans Malherbe said no more bodies or injured people have been reported, and the death toll for the Witwatersrand townships since Sunday night remained at 40.

● Viva Comrade FW — Page 3.

ANC, Govt meeting goes on



Sowetan 5/9/90

PREPARATIONS for tomorrow's meeting of the ANC and the Government continued yesterday.

Sources said the ANC had been in contact with the Government on Tuesday, and dismissed suggestions that the meeting had been cancelled.

An ANC spokeswoman, Gill Marcus, was quoted on Tuesday as saying the leader of the ANC delegation, Chris Hani, chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe, would not be leaving Transkei in terms of a 41-hour indemnity granted by Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee.

The sources said the working group would have an open agenda to "resolve all outstanding questions" arising from the ANC's announcement on August 7 that it was suspending "all armed actions".

The groups are to report back to the Government and the ANC by September 15.

The Government group will be headed by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok.

Observers said the fact that an ANC official said tomorrow's meeting had been cancelled while others continued to prepare for a meeting seemed to confirm perceptions of discord in ANC ranks.

The situation is the culmination of events dating

back to public statements Hani had made from Transkei.

The Government allowed his temporary indemnity from prosecution to lapse, and the ANC consequently named him as head of its working group.

Coetsee responded by granting him indemnity for an ANC National Executive Committee meeting on yesterday and today, but excluding tomorrow, the date of the working group meeting. - Sapa

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S 6641

A DEMAND for a constituent assembly is based on the assumption that the current government is illegitimate and that another government is needed.

It assumes that the constitution of the country is illegitimate and unacceptable and that it needs to be scrapped.

This is the main reason why the settler-colonialists cannot agree to the demand for a constituent assembly as they believe themselves to be legitimate.

The current government believes that it should be recognised by the liberation movement and that the current legislative procedures should be the channel for introducing "new" legislation. The illegitimate regime believes that demands should be directed at it for consideration and not to a new government.

The opportunist petty-bourgeois leadership of a section of the national liberation movement exposes its opportunism brilliantly by both giving legitimacy to the settler-colonialists through collaboration and calling for a constituent assembly!

Proportionate

The sincere call for a constituent assembly must go hand in hand with the principle of non-collaboration. The demand is further based on the assumption (no, fact) that the system is undemocratic and that democracy, as normally understood, can only take place in a new political dispensation under a new government.

Nobody has the right to speak on behalf of



**Viewpoint
by BARNEY
DESAI**

Assembly democratic prelude to voting in of a new state

CAF FMS 5/9/90
11A

From a PAC discussion document on the call for a constituent assembly.

the masses unless he or she has been elected.

This too is unacceptable to the ruling class as it wants its puppets to play an important role in future on the basis of mere claims of support.

The PAC proposes that elections for a constituent assembly take place on the basis of one-person-one-vote in a unitary state on a common voters' role and to a single-tier assembly by all Azanians 18 years of age and older.

There shall be 265 seats in the Constituent Assembly. Voting shall take place on the basis of proportional representation. This means that at the end of the election the total national individual votes will be counted to determine the winner. In effect it will mean the masses will vote for an organisation and not individuals in demarcated residential areas.

The residential areas are racially divided and any election based on these will be racialistic even if that is not the intention. This evil can only be avoided by proportional representation.

Seats in the constituent assembly will be allocated according to the proportional

strength of the elected parties. For example, the party with 40% of the total national individual votes will get 40% of the 265 seats in the assembly. It is up to that party to decide who its representatives will be.

State power

Once seats in the assembly have been allocated proportionately, the appointment of 20 constitutional experts will take place. These will be appointed by the parties in the assembly on the basis of proportional strength. Again for example the party with 50% of the seats will appoint 50% of the constitutional experts. The function of the constitutional expert is to assist with the debate on the new constitution. Once the new constitution has been adopted, the term of the office of the experts will expire.

The next elections will then take place according to the new constitution and not necessarily on the basis of the first election of the constituent assembly.

The current negotiations are taking place within the context of the ideology of the ruling class. The National Party wants to "share power" with credible

leaders of the oppressed. In effect this means joint government and compromise of the genuine aspirations of the dispossessed African majority. It means making ideological and other concessions to the ruling classes.

A constituent assembly is the only democratic option which would allow the liberation movement maintenance of its revolutionary ideology, perspective and programme. State political power is more than just the government. It includes the security forces, prisons, laws, courts, the government and the state organs of propaganda. The constituent assembly does not immediately grant one full state political power, but it places one in a position to move more swiftly towards full assumption of state political power wielded in the interest of the starving and toiling masses.

Represent masses

Current negotiations are intended to "share" the government only. Full state political power is out, as is full consent of the governed. For this reason the current negotiations must be firmly rejected and the demand for a constituent assembly as the only democratic option must be promoted.

The racist South African settler ruling class has made it clear that it is against a constituent assembly. It is only the masses who can implement such an assembly in the context of struggle. The demand for constituent assembly therefore must go hand in hand with the intensification of the struggle on all fronts. The demand for an assembly is further based on the recognition that there are many liberatory forces operating in the country and that they are entitled to promote their ideas freely, both alongside each other and competitively. When the joint effort of all liberatory forces have overthrown settler-colonialism, the constituent assembly will provide the mechanism for them to seek representation of the masses, either in an alliance or separately.

□ Barney Desai is Western Cape Co-ordinator of the Pan Africanist Congress.



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Govt, ANC still set to meet tomorrow

(11A)

ALAN FINE

THE first meeting of the working committee established to resolve "outstanding questions" arising from the ANC's decision to suspend armed action is set to go ahead tomorrow in spite of the ANC's unhappiness about the non-renewal of Chris Hani's indemnity. BIDA 5/9/90

Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Hani's indemnity was not renewed on August 19, with those of detained executive member Mac Maharaj and Ronnie Kasrils, who is still being sought by police in connection with the Operation Vula allegations.

Confirming tomorrow's meeting was still on, an ANC source close to the working group described as "foolish" government's position on the issue.

"Tell them to let him return to participate in the process," the source said.

The ANC last week nominated Hani to lead its delegation at the working committee established in terms of the Pretoria Minute. "Our position that he must be a member of the delegation remains in place," he said.

Government appears unlikely to reverse its decision until it receives from Hani assurances that he is committed to a peaceful political process.

The working committee is required to issue its first report by September 15. Initial talks are likely to focus on the status of armed MK personnel in SA, and what is to happen to existing arms caches.

Sayco setting up links with white youth groups

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THEO RAWANA

THE SA Youth Congress (Sayco) is developing relations with white youth organisations, Jeugkrug, Nusas, youth organisations of the NP and the DP, Afrikaans culture organisations "and all those who are opposed to apartheid", says publicity secretary Phakamile "Parks" Mankahlana.

In an interview, Mankahlana said whites had suspicions and misconceptions about blacks.

"We can understand this as they come from different backgrounds. Our move to forge links has got to be taken seriously."

He said that until the youth asserted themselves and introduced a more ag-

gressive stance in 1944, the ANC was an organisation of conservative African nationalists, relying only on talks, deputations and peaceful appeals to government.

He added the importance of the youth could not be disputed as this segment of the population reflected a future SA.

Through the Youth League, the "struggle" became more militant, with mass movements and boycotts, culminating in the 1952 defiance campaign, Mankahlana said.

"So the importance of the youth cannot be underestimated — and organising the youth is very important in preparing for the future."

Shape

The 26-year-old Mankahlana, a Port Elizabeth-born ex-Fort Hare law student, was deeply involved in student politics before joining Sayco in 1986.

He said Sayco was born out of a need to give shape to the youth movement, and to bring the youth under one wing.

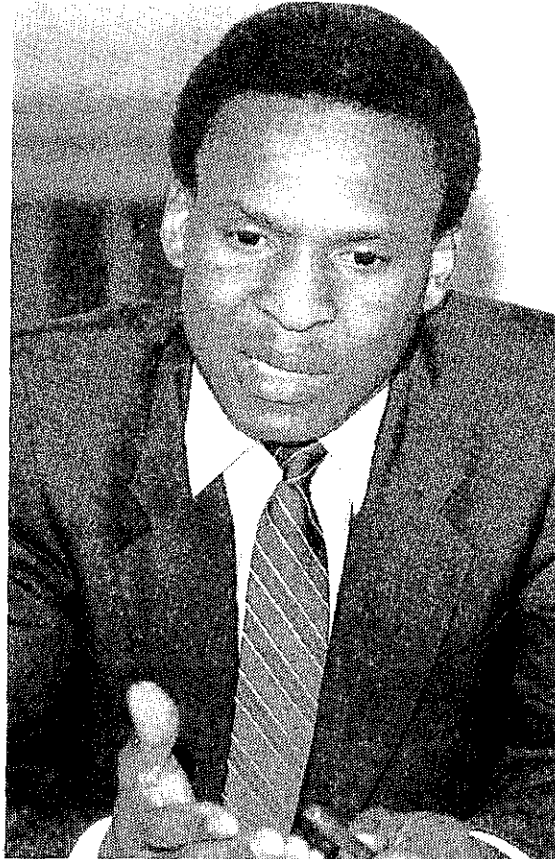
"With a nationwide membership of about 1-million, Sayco has been part of the mass struggle, marshalling the thousands of youths who are articulating the demands of the people."

The age limit is 35, so membership included breadwinners, fathers and workers.

"You find Sayco involved in Cosatu's campaign against the Labour Relations Act, and in the rent and consumer boycotts."

Sayco was also involved in the campaign to stop the violence in Natal and, recently, to quell the violence on the Reef.

With the country in a period of transition, Sayco was concerned that the settlement effort initiated by government and the ANC



Sayco publicity secretary Phakamile "Parks" Mankahlana.

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

should be seen through to its logical, amicable conclusion.

But Sayco was concerned that government was not abiding by agreements to create a climate conducive to negotiation.

He mentioned the activities of the police and "the soldiers".

"Coupled with this is government's arrest of ANC member Mac Maharaj, the withdrawal of indemnity to top ANC and SACP members and the attempt to divorce the ANC from the SACP.

"You can't exclude a man like Umkhonte we Sizwe leader Chris Hani and expect the youth to have confidence in those negotiations.

"We see this as government's attempt to neutralise the ANC — to get it to compromise on some issues and reduce its standing in the eyes of the people," Mankahlana said.

He rejected the notion that the violence in the townships was tribal, and said it was orchestrated by the state.

On a future constitution, Mankahlana said Sayco stood for one man, one vote, which was a universal concept.

A future constitution should include affirmative action to improve the lot of blacks, address the land question, redistribution of wealth and education. "It must represent a radical transformation of the present structure," he said.

Nationalisation ideology 'a failure'

Business Day Reporter

11A

POLITICAL groups and trade unions to the left have acknowledged the failure of an ideologically motivated nationalisation policy and the need for economic growth.

According to Ahmed Jooma, author of the latest edition of *Social and Economic Update*, published by the SA Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR), this follows debate sparked off by the ANC affirming its commitment to nationalisation.

The ANC envisages an economy characterised by private, state, mixed and collective property relations.

Its two basic objectives are to bring about a redistribution of wealth and ensure the economy provides for the people's needs.

Jooma's research shows the ANC would also consider areas in which to establish public corporations or to strengthen existing ones for the benefit of society.

They might also place government-appointed directors on the boards of private companies.

However, Jooma quotes SACP secretary general Joe Slovo and a member of the ANC national executive committee as saying nationalisation is not a fundamental policy of the ANC and would have to be negotiated.

PAC general secretary Benny Alexander said should his organisation come to power, it "would promote business owned individually and collectively by indigenous people".

In a draft of its economic policy, the PAC says there is an overconcentration of capital in the hands of a few, and the economy serves a minority of the population.

Jooma also quotes former Anglo American chairman Gavin Relly as saying he agreed a mixed economy was the way forward, and the real issue was the details of a mixed economy.

Envi

The Johannesburg allocation and for the (nil paid) letters of a The salient dates in

Last day to register

Tshwete for ANC launch

By MUSA NDWANDWE

ANC national organiser Mr Steve Tshwete will speak at the launch of the organisation's Khayelitsha branches on Sunday. (11A)

Various branches, with more than 100 members each, will hold a joint launch at the Khayelitsha rugby stadium.

"Some sections of the township will be re-named," said acting branch chairperson

Vuyani Ngcuka.

South (11A) 6/9-12/1/70
The event will be marked by cultural events such as music, traditional dancing, poetry and speeches.

Branches to be launched jointly include Site B South, Site B North, Site C, Block D and E, Khanya Park, Nobuhle, Mandela Park and Green Point. The launch starts at 9 am.



Winnie Mandela

WINNIE'S JOB ON THE LINE

JIA
South 619-12/9/90



Radiant bride waits for Mr X

A BIG traditional wedding awaits ANC commander Bongani Jonas when he is released from Robben Island. Jonas married Cynthia Figlan, 27, (above), a friend since their teenage years, at the Pollsmoor Prison last Saturday. Jonas, who was brought to testify at the Yengeni terrorism trial as Mr X but sentenced to five years when he refused to give evidence, was taken to Pollsmoor for the ceremony. Jonas and Figlan's mothers were the only relatives allowed to attend the wedding ceremony, conducted by Father Peter John Pearson of the Catholic Church.

From MONO BADELA. JOHANNESBURG. — In the wake of mounting criticism over her controversial appointment, Winnie Mandela's job as head of social welfare in the ANC is on the line.

The organisation's national executive committee (NEC) was under pressure to reconsider her status in the movement when it met on Thursday.

A groundswell of protest from ANC branches countrywide could see the NEC reversing a decision by ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo to appoint Mrs Mandela to the social welfare desk, a source close to the ANC said.

Appointment

More than 100 branches have sent written notices to the ANC headquarters here expressing concern at her appointment.

Sources in the ANC have disclosed that some members of the NEC have stated that the "appointment" had not been discussed at "NEC level" and that it would be tabled for discussion at this week's meeting.

A delegation of social workers from ANC-aligned organisations have also lodged their objections to the appointment.

The ANC has been tight-lipped, stating only that the appointment was based on Mrs Mandela's qualifications.

A spokesperson refused to comment further on the matter.



VICTIM: Horrified Vosloorus residents discover the body of an unrest victim in a rubbish tip

'Heavy-handed' security force action under fire

SECURITY force action to curb unrest situations came under fire again this week as more people died on Reef townships and heavy-handed action was taken in two Cape rural towns.

The National Union of Metal Workers of South Africa (Numsa), claimed that 19 of their members were killed in the hostel attacks on Tuesday.

The union claimed the attack was

led by white men, some in SADF uniforms, and all wearing balaclavas and alleged when workers were shot when they ran out of their rooms.

Vredendal residents were enraged at a police raid on high school pupils on Wednesday morning, resulting in the arrest of 19.

Community leaders in Bredasdorp are to meet with police following a raid on a squatter camp last Friday where residents allege the police were abusive and violent.

Govt set to
meet ANC

minus Hani

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

The first meeting of the joint African National Congress/Government working group discussing the suspension of the ANC's armed struggle is set to go ahead today without the head of the ANC delegation, Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani.

Police sources confirmed last night that the ANC delegation would attend without Mr Hani, whom the ANC appointed to head its team.

The ANC would not comment.

Justice officials said they were not aware of any decision to extend the immunity against arrest of Mr Hani, which was due to expire last night.

Open branch

Informed sources in Umtata said last night that Mr Hani had gone to the Transkei village of Cofimvaba for several days to open an ANC branch and would not be in South Africa today.

Officials said the meeting, to be held in the Pretoria office of Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, would most probably deal only with procedural matters and terms of reference.

Mr Vlok heads the South African Government delegation to the talks.

The talks must decide what exactly the ANC must stop doing in terms of its agreement at the Pretoria talks on August 6.

Bringing history back to life

HISTORY, a subject generally regarded as an accumulation of "dead" facts by teacher and student alike, was given new life and meaning at a history festival held in Cape Town last weekend.

Participants had the rare experience of seeing and hearing the city's history unfold through exhibitions, slide-tape shows, workshops and oral histories.

Organised by the history and education departments of the University of the Western Cape (UWC) and the University of Cape Town (UCT), the festival aimed at "encouraging schools and people in Cape Town communities to participate in activities designed to create a new awareness of the history and experiences of the people of South Africa, and especially about the people of our city".

Remarkable

The two-day festival also attempted to expose high school teachers to alternative teaching methods and how these can be incorporated into a new syllabus and education system.

A less explicit, but equally remarkable objective, was the festival's attempt to make accessible to communities the richness of academic historical research.

"Historians sit on campus looking at people's history, but the people are not there; the festival wanted to change that," said Kerry Ward, a History Masters student and festival organiser.

The two-day festival was split into three aspects: a Friday afternoon schools programme, a cultural event and an open day.

South 6/9-12/9/90

A history festival held in Cape Town last weekend created a new awareness of the history of the Mother City and its people and showed new and alternative methods of teaching history. GAIL REAGON reports:

The school's programme drew students and teachers from 30 schools across the Peninsula.

This programme, which was largely workshop-orientated, was presented by UWC and UCT history students.

The series of workshops focusing on District Six, forced removals, the slave experience, the displacement of Africans in the early 20th century and the 1989 defiance campaign, employed a range of participatory methods such as role-play, simulation games and interviews.

One workshop, titled "Cape Town Under Our Seat", looked at how a study of archeology can inform one of the city's past.

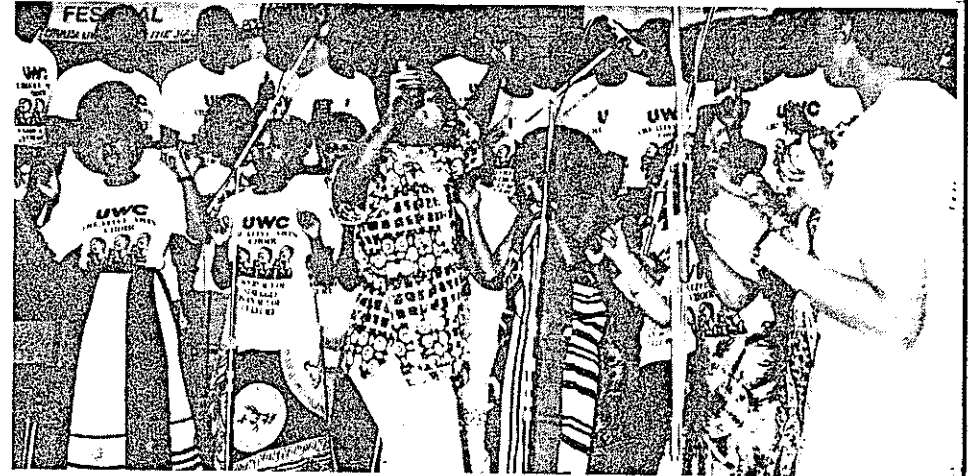
The Friday evening cultural event, held at St Francis in Langa, explored Cape Town's diverse and dynamic musical history.

Feast

Various musicians interspersed performances with talks of their roots in the local music scene.

The Saturday open day at UWC was an audio-visual feast.

This included a "Walk through History" which consisted of a series of connecting rooms, each depicting a dif-



ferent period of Cape Town's history.

The innovative use of exhibitions, videos, recordings and newspaper clippings was an excellent and practical introduction to an alternative history methodology.

The "Walk Through History" traced Cape Town's social, economic and political roots from the 1930s.

Some of these historical gems included a profile on the Cape Town politician, Dr A Abdurahman; a special focus on District Six and an especially interesting look at the development of informal trading (hawking, flower-selling) from 1980 to 1990.

Trade union stalwart Ray Alexander, introduced by history professor Colin Bundy as "the voice of Cape Town — past, present and future," captivated young and old with her personal history and how that was inextricably linked with the political history of not only Cape Town, but South Africa as a whole.

The open day also explored new ways of "making" history and presenting it in an interesting and accessible way through a series of oral history sessions.

These consisted of interviews with people from sports, education, music and Robben Island who shared their experiences of life in Cape Town.

Perhaps the most interesting of these was the interview with James April and Wolfie Kodesh, two of the first Umkhonto we Sizwe members.

Amid much nostalgia, laughter and anecdotes, their conversation brought alive the birth of the armed struggle, attached a human face to leaders like Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu and made real the frustrations and joys of establishing the underground.

Humorous

April's incisive memories ranged from life in the early training camps to the reasons for the landmark 1969 Morogoro Conference which attempted to introduce a more democratic relationship between the ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The more anecdotal and humorous account of Wolfie Kodesh, who had been Chief of Logistics in the ANC for about 10 years, touched on the first MK

experimentations with the making of explosives.

His stories of harbouring Nelson Mandela, then known as the Black Pimpernel, had the audience in fits of laughter, but also echoed the experiences of the younger generation of activists who have lived in a semi-underground manner in latter years.

Entertained

The use of the century-old oral history tradition was revived during this session. Again the audience was not only entertained, but exposed to an alternative and dynamic way of presenting our history.

André Odendaal, an historian at UWC felt that the festival was "a resounding success".

"I think we succeeded in our attempt to show that an alternative Cape Town history exists.

"We have shown that we have to go back and reclaim our history as part of the process of understanding where we come from and where we are going to," he said.

ANC calls for show

boycott

THE ANC has called for a boycott of the Lebowa Show which started on Tuesday.

In a pamphlet issued by the organisation's branch in Lebowakgomo, the ANC said the show disrupted schooling, furthered the apartheid philosophy and resulted in increased crime.

The pamphlet said the ANC was not impressed by the "opportunity allowed to the racist SADF and SAP to hold exhibitions in the show grounds to the exclusion of our army, Umkhonto we Sizwe".

The call has drawn swift reaction from Lebowa chief minister Mr Nelson Ramodike who said in a statement that "radical organisations" would not be allowed to disrupt the show.

He said his government was no longer prepared to tolerate radicals and promised "drastic steps as prescribed in the Pretoria

11A
Sowetan 6/9/90
By MATHATHA TSEDU

Minute" to maintain law and order.

The show is to be officially opened tomorrow by State President Mr FW de Klerk.

Ramodike this week also met senior members of the ANC leadership to discuss friction between himself and ANC grassroots structures in the area.

Meeting

A joint statement titled "Lebowakgomo Minute" issued after a meeting with Mr Elias Motswaledi and Mr M Mugwai, both of the ANC, who met the entire Lebowa cabinet, said the two agreed that the ANC would "translate to all its branches and

zones the importance of refraining from interference" in traditional leadership issues.

The ANC also undertook to

- * Ensure that its flag should not be used as an "authority to cause anarchy";
- * Civic associations aligned to it would stop "demanding and intimidating people in the present government structures to disband"; and,
- * The "cordial relationship between the ANC and the Lebowa cabinet should be maintained".

'Sell-out' slur denied

Cowetan 6/9/90
THE Alexandra Civic Association has denied responsibility for a slur pamphlet distributed in the township yesterday branding members of the rival Alexandra Civic Organisation "sell-outs who are not working for our people".

ACA chairman Mr Mike Beça said the pamphlet was "obviously the work of the enemy who did not wish to see peace prevailing in the townships."

ANC, NP link, says De Beer

CHARGES surfaced yesterday that the National Party and African National Congress are together quietly preparing a future constitution for the new South Africa.

"It looks as though President De Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela want to cosily stitch the whole thing together before they let anybody else in the room," Democratic Party co-leader Dr Zach de Beer said.

Remarks

He was linking two remarks - the first from Mandela at a news conference on Monday and the other from Finance Minister Barend du Plessis at the NP's Free State congress in Bloemfontein on Tuesday.

De Beer expressed alarm at the simultaneous appearance of the idea. "The statement by Mandela that there would be 'arrangements' for a multi-party government appears to have been confirmed by Du Plessis when he proposed a multi-party Cabinet representative of all groups in Parliament."

Suggested

This suggested that the Nats and the ANC had been talking bilaterally, not merely about the removal of obstacles to negotiation but about the shape of a new government. *Sowetan 6/9/90*

Mandela said the first multi-racial government would consist of various political parties. Some arrangement was likely after the first non-racial election "so that a new government will be representative of all political opinion. - Sapa.

Hani refuses his indemnity

CAP & TGH 6/9/90
Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Mr Chris Hani yesterday refused to exercise his 41-hour indemnity to meet the ANC's national executive, but said he was optimistic that progress would be made at today's first meeting of the joint working group on the suspension of the ANC's armed struggle.

From Umtata, Mr Hani reiterated his refusal to accept the conditions of the indemnity, adding that the SAP could not be trusted not to arrest him.

The ANC chose Mr Hani to lead its delegation to the talks before the government refused to renew his indemnity from prosecution. The working group was agreed to at last month's meeting between the government and the ANC, at which the ANC announced it was suspending its armed struggle.

Today's meeting in Pretoria is expected to explore all issues relating to the suspension, as well as current unrest. The non-renewal of Mr Hani's indemnity is also likely to figure on the agenda.

Mr Hani said yesterday that he would have "loved" to attend the meeting because he regarded the suspension of the armed struggle as important.

There was no question, he said, that the working group would be unable to function without him, saying that other ANC members would be in a position to answer most of the questions raised.

It was unclear yesterday who would head the ANC delegation in his place.

Government, ANC set for clash over Hani

THE Government and the ANC are set for a major clash today over Mr Chris Hani, Commander in Chief of Umkhonto we Sizwe, when talks about the suspension of the armed struggle start.

The ANC has designated Hani as leader of its delegation even though his temporary indemnity ended at 11 last night.

Up to the time of going to press, the ANC still regarded Hani as the leader of the delegation that will meet the Government in Pretoria today.

The meeting will be held in the offices of Min-

Sowetan Reporter and Sapa

ister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok who will head the Government delegation.

The talks will be held behind closed doors but the working group's first meeting is not expected to be much more than a getting-to-know-you session. *Sowetan 6/9/90*

The group will define terms such as the armed struggle, its suspension and which groups are bound by "the ANC's announcement on August 7 that it was suspending all

armed action".

The Government is expected to push for the inclusion of mass action and recruitment for Umkhonto we Sizwe in the concept of the armed struggle.

According to Government thinking these two aspects formed part of the ANC's "total onslaught". *2/9/90 IIA*

Both sides announced their teams last week.

The ANC delegation was to be led by Hani in spite of the inclusion of Mr Joe Modise, who is

Go Page 2

All set for clash over Hani

From Page 1

the commander of the military wing and more senior than Hani.

An ANC spokesman ANC yesterday told the *Sowetan* that the organisation's original delegation still stood.

Hani's indemnity was revoked on August 19.

The Government then granted him temporary indemnity from 6am on Tuesday until 11pm yesterday to consult with the

ANC National Executive Committee.

Hani refused to come from the Transkei to Johannesburg under the conditions set by the Government.

Delegation

The ANC delegation comprises Mr Thabo Mbeki, Mr Jacob Zuma, Mr Joe Nhlanhla, Dr Pallo Jordan, Mr Matthew Phosa and Mr Joe Modise (*ex officio*).

The Government's

team is Vlok, Constitutional Development Deputy Minister Mr Roelf Meyer, General BJ Beukes of the Security Police, Mr Johan Geysler of the Department of Justice, Dr HP Fourie of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Mr M Spaarwater of the National Intelligence Service.

In terms of the Pretoria Minute the Working Group must report to their respective principals by September 15.

Sowetan 6/9/90

6/9/90

ANC's Hani refuses to test his indemnity

6/Day 6/9/90
UMKHONTO we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani yesterday refused to exercise his 41-hour indemnity from prosecution to meet the ANC's national executive.

However, he said he was optimistic that progress would be made at today's first meeting of the joint working group on the suspension of the ANC's armed struggle.

In an interview from Umtata, Hani reiterated his refusal to accept the conditions attached to the indemnity, saying the SAP could not be trusted not to arrest him.

The ANC chose Hani to lead its delegation to the talks before government refused to renew his indemnity.

PETER DELMAR

The working group was agreed to at last month's meeting between government and the ANC at which the ANC announced it was suspending its armed struggle.

Today's meeting in Pretoria is expected to explore issues relating to the suspension and the unrest situation.

The non-renewal of Hani's indemnity is also likely to be on the agenda.

Hani said yesterday he would have "loved" to attend the meeting because he regarded the suspension of the armed struggle as an important decision.

He expected to be briefed by the ANC's delegates and would be available to give input. (HA) (SA)

It was unclear yesterday who would head the ANC delegation in his place.

Government's decision not to renew Hani's indemnity was based on militant statements he made when setting up his base in Transkei.

However, he sounded more conciliatory yesterday, saying the time for recriminations was over. A balance had to be found between white fears and the fears and frustrations of the oppressed, he said.

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KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday. Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

Buthelezi still keen on Mandela meeting

111 100

6/10/90

KWAZULU Chief Minister and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday he was still willing to meet ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela to discuss a joint strategy to end the township violence.

Speaking at a news conference at Jan Smuts Airport on his return from a visit to Poland, he said he was "very, very disturbed" by recent attacks on him by Mandela and other ANC figures.

Asked about a possible alliance between Inkatha and the NP, Buthelezi said he would welcome such cooperation, adding that "the more alliances we have, the more likely we as South Africans are to get our act together".

He said he had no objection to the working rela-

PETER DELMAR

tionship between government and ANC which has been described as a form of alliance.

Buthelezi said he believed that a meeting between himself and Mandela would make "a major contribution to the diffusion of the violence".

He had been told that a "very important leader of the ANC" — who he declined to name — wished to meet him.

Meanwhile the ANC-aligned SA Youth Congress (Sayco) yesterday called for Buthelezi's arrest, saying he was guilty of "associating and involving himself in criminal activities which are carried out by his impis".

... bodies were ...

Weekend Mail



Great Trek. Great Return. Great Trauma

WLE Mail 7/9-13/9/90

As the Pretoria Minute ticks on South Africa is faced with the return trek of anything from 30 000 to 100 000 exiles. While they and their families will rejoice a number of problems need to be faced. Where will they live, where will they work, who will foot the bill and what problems are they importing?

By MARK GEVISSER

THE Mfecane. The Great Trek. The Gold Rush. Forced Removals. Forced Exile. South African history has always been about huge population movements -- people caught up, with their oxwagons or mining picks, their AK47s or Australian entry visas, in stampedes across colonialism's borders.

We learnt history from those nonsensical maps showing thick black arrows plummeting down one coast and thin white ones climbing up the other.

Now let's make a real map: write 1990 under it, take your kokis and draw thick arrows squeezing south through Komatipoort and Beit Bridge.

Add The Great Homecoming to our venerable history of population movements, as a scattered nation reconstitutes itself.

If South Africa's clock ticks in time to the Pretoria Minute, then some categories of exiles will be granted indemnity in just over three weeks, on October 1.

An African National Congress-government Working Group has also been instructed to set up a timetable for granting indemnity on an individual basis to those who are in Umkhonto weSizwe or have charges against them: "The latest date envisaged for completion of the total task," the Minute states, "is not later than April 30 1991."

Reverend Sol Jacob, director of refugees' ministries for the South African Council of Churches, predicts that at least 30 000 exiles will return by

TO PAGE 3

STOP BEING, LIKE, HEAVY

11A



FIM 779/90

Discard your angst. Lighten up.

That's the startling message from Albie Sachs, the ANC's chief constitutional planner and author of a recent controversial paper on culture. In a public talk at Wits last week, he told the arts community that "angst and guilt and self-denial helps no one. Bring your privilege, your talents into our new society. If you have the capacity to heal, heal; to paint, paint. Your duty as a South African is to share what you have with those that don't."

He also warned against pouring castor oil down the throats of both the "haves" and the "oppressed." Most refreshingly, he punctured the egos of the, you know, radical academic chic who believe that art has to be, like, relevant to the masses.

Sachs seemed to provide some defence against looming artistic fascism. His evident humanity made the arty masochists sound shrill and mean. Perhaps the forgiving humility of this man, whose arm was blown off in an assassination attempt by SA agents in Maputo, is itself an illustration that, while protest art can voice rage during times of repression, it becomes a toneless instrument when endlessly banged.

"The slogan of yesterday, which meant so much yesterday, is boring tomorrow," Sachs says. "History means that what was right at one moment becomes wrong the next."

People will not forever be prepared to leave townships (or suburbs, he might have added) to watch plays on the wickedness of

apartheid. Audiences will want plays, art and literature that speak about their lives, that criticise contemporary events. "There was beautiful poetry written during the struggle in Mozambique," said Sachs, "but after the struggle, poetry crashed, because they were publishing over and over again the poetry of the armed struggle."

Sachs wove his messages around vivid word pictures of his long years in exile in Mozambique. He told of assisting the painters of one of the first of the large murals that became a symbol of newly independent Frelimo Mozambique. He was with two artists: a Chilean woman whose brother, a member of socialist Salvador Allende's government, was hanged after the dictator Pinochet seized power; and a Mozambican, a round man who sang as he painted in his newly free country.

The Chilean woman with the sad face painted the top half of the mural, filled with rainbows, flowers and a cow; the happy Mozambican painted miserable faces and scenes of devastation. "The Chilean art was not full of guns and spears and bombs," said Sachs, "there were no signs of the face of fascism. It was warm, affirmative and glowed with landscapes and animals and bright colours."

Perhaps here another point needs to be made: art that shows devastation, misery and contorted forms is art beloved of the wealthy; buying angst, covers guilt. It is snail-on-the-razorblade art; it hovers close to the boundaries of being patronising and insulting.

Sachs struck a blow against the pseuds, too, when he said: "The least you can do if you're privileged is to enjoy it. Poor people feel it is disrespectful if you visit them when you are poorly dressed. They aspire towards wealth."

A trendy intellectual stood up and asked how the ANC law professor felt about the insidious colonialism of television in people's living rooms, enslaving their minds.

"We go to the movies," Sachs responded, "because it is enjoyable. We don't feel colonised. If it's a good picture, a good poem or good theatre you'll get the message. If you go there and people have physical or moral AK-47s and won't allow something because it is racist, sexist — then it won't work."

"Brazilian soap opera saved the Mozambicans. People were depressed, they were suffering, but in the intricacies of Brazilian soap operas they were able to escape. Are we going to have soap operas with serious, hard-working people, noble, correct, with the right message? Boring!"

"People want soap operas with mystery, intrigue, drama, where the good triumph in the end. You can't round up people and push them into a gallery. One has to facilitate, not impose: when you impose, the results are feeble. When people are enthusiastic and get together because they are involved together in freedom, that's when something good emerges."

At this rate the ANC will soon be advocating a free-market economy. *Charlene Smith*

THE VIOLENCE
FROM BOTH SIDES

FIM 719190

ANC failure to move faster on matching SA Police appointments to the joint monitoring group is hampering police efforts to bring peace to strife-torn areas.

"It is pointless to have a working forum that is working from only one side. If there is a problem we need to address it," Law & Order spokesman Leon Mellet tells the *FM*. He also complains that those the ANC has nominated are not easily available. This makes it difficult for police to tackle problems quickly and after consultation.

The 96 policemen appointed by the SAP are placed across SA to make access to a joint monitoring group easy in most areas. The ANC has provided only a third of that figure.

The *FM* left numerous messages for the ANC to react to these allegations but no response was received.

Mr Justice Goldstone earlier this week issued his report on the March 26 Sebokeng killings. He concludes that police actions, which led to the deaths of 12 and injuries of 86, were largely unjustified; he also finds that certain standing orders were ignored and recommends that the conduct of some policemen should be considered by the attorney general. Families of the deceased and injured are putting together claims of R2m-R3m against the police.

It is clear that there will be no easing of tensions between police and the community until there are regular discussions. Mellett says this is an SAP priority.

However, the peace forum initiative (launched so promisingly in mid-August when Minister of Law & Order Adriaan Vlok flew to Soweto to meet Nelson Mandela) has still not got off the ground. It has not met since.

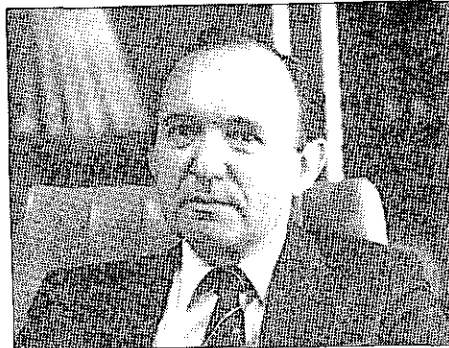
Not only communities feel threatened. Vlok says from January to mid-August 42 policemen (one white) died in political un-

CURRENT AFFAIRS

FIM 719190

rest; 403 were injured; there were 1 233 attacks on patrolling policemen; the homes of 522 were attacked; and 1 805 police vehicles were damaged or destroyed.

The Goldstone Commission criticises police attitudes and procedures but also con-



Judge Goldstone ... actions unjustified

11A demns organisers of the Sebokeng march for ill-preparedness and lacking control. Marshalls to control crowds are essential and political organisations cannot expect police to take sole responsibility.

It is hoped the Goldstone report will lead to greater accountability on both sides. ■

Murder at random on Soweto's streets

Staff Reporters

The official death toll in Soweto has risen to six with additional unconfirmed killings reported since violence flared yesterday morning. Thirty people were injured, four critically.

Early today the situation in the township was quiet but tense, with police and the SADF maintaining a high profile, Soweto police spokesman, Captain Joseph Ngubeni said.

Five people were killed last night when bands of men — one group allegedly in a minibus and others on foot — went on the rampage randomly killing residents in the street and in their houses.

One was shot dead in Naledi. Three were assaulted in the same area and ferried to the Jabulani Police Station in a private car. They were dead on arrival. A sixth man was attacked in Maphetla.

Earlier in the day a Zulu migrant worker was murdered, two men critically injured and 14 seriously injured when renewed violence erupted between Merafe hostel dwellers and

township residents.

And according to Father Emmanuel Lafont of the Catholic Church in Moletsane at least four people were killed in Moletsane, and the attackers destroyed a number of homes.

"Black people in blue clothing had gone on the rampage. The four I know of who died lived in the same street. An old woman was stabbed with an assegai. In other places people were shot. Then the attackers vanished in a kombi."

Fasting

He has embarked on "an indefinite" fast to protest against the on-going violence and "after appealing in vain to the police.

"It is the third time now that my own people are threatened by the hostel dwellers and police are unable to help."

Reacting to allegations by several residents, Capt Ngubeni said he could not confirm incidents of looting, neither could he say the attackers came from Merafe Hostel.

Yesterday morning police uncovered 25 petrol bombs in a toilet near Merafe station.

Earlier, police fired teargas to disperse a mob who threw stones and petrol bombs at a police car.

The media were asked to leave the area until the unrest had died down, because police believed the crowds were "showing off" for TV cameras. The violence erupted early in the morning, when, following the killing of the migrant worker, hundreds of enraged hostel dwellers gathered at the station at about 7.30 am armed with knobkerries, axes, pitchforks, pangas and other weapons to avenge his killing.

They attacked terrified commuters on their way to work.

The mob was dispersed by an SAP patrol firing teargas.

Sharpened

While the police and members of the SADF watched, some hostel dwellers with red headbands sharpened their homemade weapons on stones.

Youths erected barricades in neighbouring towns, apparently to hinder police vehicles from entering.

Residents in the area blamed Inkatha hostel dwellers for yesterday's fighting and hostel dwellers alleged that some of them were attacked after alighting from the trains at Merafe on their way to and from work.

⊗ A photographer from The Star and a photographer from a French agency were locked in the back of a police van and driven away yesterday, but were later released after being threatened with arrest.



Weapons and money exchanged hands behind the Merafe hostel yesterday. This enterprising hostel dweller did a roaring trade manufacturing weapons and sharpening instruments. Police and troops were standing outside the hostel gates at the time. ⊗ Picture By Herbert Mabuza

Khala can go to conferences

Star 7/9/90
By Celeste Louw

The general secretary of the Media Workers' Association of SA (Mwasa) succeeded yesterday in having his bail conditions amended to allow him to attend union conferences. He faces charges of armed robbery and attempted murder.

Sithembele Khala (32) asked permission of a Johannesburg magistrate not to report at the

Jabulani police station daily in September as Mwasa was involved in negotiations in Port Elizabeth and Cape Town. Mr Khala was granted bail of R25 000 earlier this year after his arrest for allegedly robbing a branch of Nedbank in March.

According to the charge sheet, Mr Khala and a co-accused, Mchgwati Diseko (34), also allegedly attempted to shoot three men.

F1M 7/19/90

LINING UP SUPPORT



ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela has written to US Congressman William Gray, a leading proponent of sanctions, asking him to support next month's observation mission by black business leaders to the US.

"During my visit to the US," Mandela wrote last month, "I spoke of the need for greater co-operation between black South Africans and African-Americans. One of the critical areas where this type of international co-operation is vitally important to a more democratic SA is in economics and business development."

WR Consultants head Willie Ramoshaba plans to take up to 120, mostly black, business leaders on an 18-day tour of six major US cities. So far 65 people from SA and a dozen from neighbouring countries have signed up for the trip. He is putting together an 80-page, ad-sponsored book of profiles of SA black businesses to distribute abroad and at home to government agencies, corporations and foundations.

Ramoshaba says the group is not out to

bust sanctions but to get acquainted with potentially lucrative US opportunities. That's why it's called an observation — not a trade — mission.

The mission begins October 7 with a farewell dinner in Johannesburg. Mandela and US ambassador Bill Swing will be among the speakers. Companies are invited to attend the dinner.

In Chicago, mission members will have a chance to talk to executives of fast-food giant McDonald's. Mike Mohohlo, who's co-ordinating the trip in the US, says McDonald's is preparing the groundwork to open franchises in SA and 15 mission members are potential franchisees.

"In Washington we will deal with policy issues and how business and government interact," Mohohlo says. "The people on this trip will be expected to contribute to the debate in SA on legislation that affects business. They will come home with two bags, one full of business cards and contacts and the other full of ideas on how government and business can work together."

Low-level team is a 'snub' by ANC

11A

Sowetan 7/9/70

THE African National Congress appears to have deliberately snubbed the Government by not sending its top men to the first meeting yesterday of the joint working group to work out details of the ANC's suspension of its armed struggle.

This seems to have been a retort to the Government's withdrawal of immunity against arrest for Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Mr Chris Hani, who was to have headed the ANC delegation, which prevented him attending today's meeting.

Umkhonto we Sizwe



CHRIS HANI

commander Mr Joe Modise, head of international department Mr Thabo Mbeki and Mr Pallo Jordan also failed to arrive for the meeting at the offices of Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok.

ANC sources denied the snub and said their officials had an "important meeting to attend".

Their absence left a three-man relatively low-level ANC delegation facing the full six-man Government team.

The Government team, headed by Vlok, consisted of Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, chief director of Constitutional Development Dr Henk Fourie, Security Police deputy chief General Bob Beukes, justice department official Mr Johan Geysler and national intelligence service official Mr M Spaarwater.

The three ANC officials were Mr Matthew Phosa, Mr Joe Nhlanhla and Mr Jacob Zuma.

Police sources said the first meeting would probably define terms such as

"the armed struggle" and discuss which groups the suspension of the armed struggle applied to.

There has been some controversy about whether the agreement also applies to the South African Communist Party.

The Government is expected to push for a comprehensive suspension of the armed struggle, including recruitment of Umkhonto cadres and the mass mobilisation campaign.

The ANC offers a much narrower definition which includes only the suspension of armed action and infiltration of men and arms. - *Sowetan Correspondent.*



Home again ... Hugh Masekela, surrounded by fans, greets crowds in the Great Hall foyer before the Abdullah Ibrahim concert

THE SETILOANES

THE Setiloanes have been back from Britain for two years and, says Chwaro Setiloane, a Unisa behavioural scientist who has written a case study of his own homecoming experience, "the longer we stay here, the more we realise the way we became anglicised by our years away. It doesn't just take a couple of months to readjust — it takes a lifetime".

Chwaro and Mandisa Setiloane have divided their life back home into three phases:

●The "Spectator Phase" when "we were fascinated by the novelty of our surroundings".

●The "Involvement Phase" when an emptiness set in and "we felt a desire to establish a deeper and more meaningful relationship with the community".

●The "Coming-to-Terms Phase when they realised their inherent difference from the community and the role that they, as outsiders, were expected to play.

In England, where the couple met, they were part of a tight exile community bonded by a common cultural identity and the dream of going home. The power of the dream overrode considerations of tribe and race: they were never forced, by society, to consider the fact that he was Motswana and she Xhosa, and they lived as free individuals in a society that was racist, certainly, but in a community that was "colourless".

Now they're in a township; now they have to deal, every day, with the harshness of racism in the street, in the classroom, and in the workplace.

"On our second day back," says Chwaro, "we were nearly killed by a white policeman because I dared to talk back when we were accused of stealing the car we were driving. I'm used to certain rights and my freedom to stand up for them. Now I've had to readjust. What do you tell your child when he comes back from school one day and says 'Daddy, am I a kaffir'?"

Because their home language is English, the three children are at private schools in Pretoria, where they are made constantly aware of their otherness, as black children and as foreign-

Coming back home — too shelter in a port of storms

w/Week Mail 7/9 - 13/9/90

ers with London accents. "We got such strange looks when we ride the taxis and we speak to each other in English," the family says. The parents are encouraging their children to learn Setswana by spending time with other families in the township, but, says Mandisa, "what we've found is that when they are invited out it's so that the other kids can practise their English!"

When the Setiloanes decided to return in 1987, they encountered much hostility from people in the exile community who felt they were betraying the cause. And when their children mentioned at school that they were going back, they were told by teachers that South Africa was evil and that they should protest. "We had to bribe them with promises of visits to granny, and we had to overplay the spirit of adventure aspect of it all," Chwaro says.

Because of Chwaro's Unisa post, they settled far away from their families in Cape Town and the Transkei, and had to start from scratch in Atteridgeville. Chwaro became involved, as soon as possible, in local organisations — this, he says, was his primary reason for returning, but it also assisted immensely in their social integration into the township. The Setiloanes are now staunch members of the African National Congress's Atteridgeville branch, and Chwaro chairs the local Education Crisis Committee.

"At first," he says, "I felt an element of suspicion as to what my motives were for coming back, but now people are beginning to know and to trust us. People were very suspicious of me."

Mandisa, who did not work at first, had a hard time adjusting to the isolation of a housewife and the role that is expected of women in South African society. In Atteridgeville as in Lon-

don, the Setiloanes are faced with trying to reconcile a belief in African custom with the lifestyle acquired by living in Britain.

"Life is so much more communal here," Chwaro says. "When I built a wall around my house, the neighbours suggested that a low wall — or no wall at all — is better security than a high one, because they can keep an eye out when we're not at home."

The Setiloanes are getting used to the communal, African life and are beginning to enjoy it. Apartheid, however, is harder to tolerate. "We were naive in thinking that the changes happening in some parts of Johannesburg and Cape Town were true for everywhere. Had we realised the extent to which apartheid is alive and thriving in Pretoria, we might not have come back."

Of course, they say, they are nostalgic for Britain. "But we're still here, we've hardly just finished building our home. It takes time. This is what other returnees must realise."

What awaits the exiles who will, in the next few months, stream back into South Africa? **MARK GEVISSER** spoke to a family which has been back from London for two years, and to an ANC staffer who returned from Lusaka in May

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When Joel Netshitenzhe left medical school in 1976 to join the ANC, he could not tell even his family he was going. Like most of the ANC exiles in Zambia and Tanzania, he was required, for security reasons, to effect an absolute schism with his South Af-

frican life: he even changed his name.

Because he edited *Mayibuye*, the ANC newspaper, he became Peter Mayibuye. "But now that I'm back I'm Joel again. We must go back to our real names to ensure that we're not suspended from our roots and that we integrate fully into our communities." He smiles. "I'm more recognised as Pete, though."

Reintegration has been relatively easy for him because, he says, he has come back to a job with the ANC. "In many ways I've just been transferred from one bureau to another. It won't be this simple for the majority of exiles, though."

He also feels that reintegration will be easier for those of the Seventies generation: "Unlike the comrades of the Sixties," he says, "the whole period we were in exile was characterised by a resurgence of mass movements, and we had much contact with those movements. So the political world we find here isn't that foreign."

He knew he would be coming after the NEC meeting in early March, he says, and although he had apprehensions, particularly concerning his safety, he had no conflict about returning: part of the ANC training, after all, was that you could be expected to return underground at any moment.

"And the challenge was so great," he says, "to come back above ground and do work you haven't been able to do from the outside. Every time I wrote from Lusaka, I felt like I was shooting with a pellet gun. I didn't know where my shots would land. Now, I'm in touch with my readership."

Internal activism and external activism are of course, he says, very different. Perhaps most importantly, "we worked more in broad generalities outside — we read, we thought, and we theorised. Inside, though, the

culture's more of a day-to-day pragmatism."

Another major difference is that "outside the country, you belong to the ANC and that's the end of the story. You work in an ANC office, and you live in the movement's residences with other ANC members. Here, though, there's a whole dispersed mass movement to consult with and work with — trade unions, civic, etcetera. A culture of wide consultation must develop within the ANC now that it is back."

The initial problem he found in political organising was that "I had this label saying 'ANC Lusaka' round my neck. People didn't relate to me as an individual, but as a representative from head office giving them the head office line. I felt this pressure to perform."

He is aware of being back in a society where his skin colour renders him a "non-being" to many, but, he says, gesturing to Sauer Street beneath him, "it really is different from when I left. There's a sense of mass self-assertion now. People even walk with more confidence."

Most difficult, he says, is adapting to working in the open. "We've been forced into such secrecy, and we're so used to operating under cover, that it's difficult to shed ourselves of that skin. But it's crucial. We have to encourage a culture of free discussion and free exchange."

The conversation shifts tone as we talk about his reunion with his family. "Of course," he says, softly, "they were worried about me. And even though they supported my decision to go, they were upset that I didn't finish my medical studies. They had such ambition for me."

The reunion was a few weeks ago: on the way up to the far-northern Transvaal, his car broke down, and so he arrived at the family home at 3 a.m., eight hours after he was expected. "The whole family was still there, up and waiting for me. All the old ladies, everyone. Nobody had gone home."

There were strange cultural jolts, such as the regular prayers in which God was profusely thanked for having returned him. But overall, he says, "there was elation".

Another Great Trek - this time back home

W/E Mail 319-13/9/90

●From PAGE 1

the end of the year.

There are roughly 60 ANC exiles back in South Africa now, and perhaps double that number who are non-aligned. The World Council of Churches (WCC) has estimated, conservatively, that the total number of South African exiles exceeds 100 000 — the size of a respectable Reef town.

The mechanics of repatriation are immense: Where are South Africa's 100 000 going to go? And who's going to pay for them to get there? Where will they live? What will they do?

Either the ANC has decided to delay the homecoming for a while (perhaps with inside information about the laggardiness of the Pretoria Minute's working group), or it is simply not prepared for a migration of this magnitude, for there is very little evidence of on-the-ground preparation. The movement has set up a repatriation task force — headed internally by Winnie Mandela — and is conducting a head count in its 38 missions worldwide; it is also participating in a national co-ordinating council (NCC) that has been convened by the SACC.

The NCC has set itself up to administer the return of all exiles, regardless of political affiliation, and SACC general secretary Frank Chikane has isolated seven categories, including non-aligned individuals, rank-and-file members of the liberation movement, trained and armed soldiers, defectors, prisoners on both sides, conscientious objectors and even askaris — former ANC members who have been "turned" by security forces.

The NCC has just sent a budget for immediate needs to the WCC — which has taken responsibility for finding the funds necessary to finance the repatriation process — calling for R8,2-million by the end of September. This is primarily to cover the costs of setting up a staff and a series of task forces to plan the reception and resettlement process. A comprehensive budget is being prepared; the WCC estimates each exile will cost at least R3 500 to resettle — ultimately, a bill of R350-million.

The projections are, to be fair, a little more terrifying than the reality. A national consultation conference convened in May and attended by church organisations, social welfare groups and liberation movements emphasised, for example, that "the decision to return was entirely voluntary": many exiles might not decide to return immediately or at all, particularly those who are non-aligned and who have been away for 30 years or more. And right now, says NCC co-ordinator Venita Meyer, "our advice to all exiles is to stay away until we can guarantee their safety".

Meyer believes the repatriation process needs to be staggered over a long period of time. "This will enable us to process the returnees more effectively, and will also allow time for communication between those who have returned and those who have yet to return. That way, exiles can orient and help each other."

Ideally, Meyer says, a system would be set up whereby exiles are counselled before they leave on what they should expect upon arrival.

The NCC believes the government "has an obligation to provide for its citizens, especially those who have suffered as a direct result of its policy and practice".

Into this category of apartheid victims fall the exile; the NCC is calling for government involvement ranging from the giving of land (particularly that expropriated through forced removals) to the provision of money from special funds: the Steyn Fund, for example, was used to resettle returning servicemen after World War II.

There is also the possibility that the United Nations High Commission on Refugees (UNHCR) might become involved, administering the transportation of exiles both to the entry points

and then to their final destinations within South Africa. UNCHR would provide the returning exiles with travel documents, would offer limited material assistance and would, perhaps most importantly, ensure their safety by policing the terms of the indemnity.

Namibian advisors to the NCC have stressed the importance of involving the UN in the repatriation process. UNHCR Africa director Nicolas Bwakira confirms, from Geneva, that "we have been approached by both the ANC and the government, and discussions are under way." The South Africans, however, are reportedly sceptical at present.

The ANC's head of finance, Vusi Khanyill, has publicly ruled out the possibility of an UN-administered airlift, and has said South African repatriation would work very differently to the Namibian one.

Rather than all being housed together as exiles initially were in Namibia, the South African returnees will pass as quickly as possible through primary reception centres before being helped, by regional offices of the NCC, to move on to their home communities.

"The temptation among the exiles might be to stick together," explains Njanje Ned, head of the South African Black Social Workers' Association (Sabswa) and member of the NCC's task force on welfare and counselling, "but it is imperative that they do integrate quickly into South African society. This will make it easier for them to find jobs and housing, it will present less of a security risk, and it will also prevent exiles from being lumped together and stigmatised by all other South Africans."

The YMCA/YWCA have pledged to offer all their regional centres as primary reception centres, and the NCC is looking to rent blocks of flats or hotels that can be used as further sites.

As in Namibia, the NCC intends the first plane-load to be filled with professionals — doctors, social workers, lawyers, administrators — who can then assist with the integration of the rest.

"These people," says the NCC's Meyer, "have high expectations. They've been living for the moment of return. But they'll be coming back to look for homes and jobs in a country with a severe housing crisis and unemployment."

And, adds SABSWA's Ned, "they will have to readjust to being treated as secondary citizens under apartheid".

To deal with the problems of reintegration, the NCC has set up its task forces even as the Working Group discusses the terms of indemnity. Already, certain major problems have presented themselves: the government has demanded that all returning exiles from other African countries be screened for HIV before being allowed to return, but both the ANC and the National Medical and Dental Association have said this is unacceptable. ANC doctors have estimated a high percent of its membership in Africa is HIV-seropositive.

Education and training is another important priority. There is a joke that there are more South African PhDs abroad than at home, and while it is true that the exile community is highly qualified, there are also tens of thousands of people, now in their late twenties or early thirties, whose schooling was disrupted by the Soweto uprising and who have consequently been trained as soldiers. This militarised population will have to readjust to civilian life by training for jobs and, psychologically, by learning to function in an open society after a decade or more of secretive, disciplined life.

LAST week it seemed that alliances between the African National Congress and the democratic cultural organisations which they have sponsored within the country might be sundered forever.

But after a series of reportedly often heated meetings last week and during the early part of this week, the crisis appears to have been averted. The internal Mass Democratic Movement-based organisations have backed down from confrontation with the parent movement and agreed to defer to the ANC's cultural desk as final administrator of the cultural boycott.

While no formal decisions have been taken as yet, sources close to the centre of cultural politics have confirmed that the controversial United Democratic Front/MDM cultural desk will be dissolved at a meeting — scheduled to held next month — where a National Cultural Congress will be set up.

As "People's Poet" Mzwakhe Mbuli, one of the driving forces in earlier challenges to the ANC's authority, put it:

"We are like a family in culture and we acknowledge that the ANC's Department of Arts and Culture is our senior. The DAC is the parent which bore our people's organisations and now that it has established itself inside this country, we look to it for leadership."

Mbuli also invoked the family metaphor in terms of last week's dispute itself: "It was a family matter and it was resolved within the home. We were happy to find that our differences were not irreconcilable."

Long-simmering differences between the two groups came to a head last week with an outright clash between the South African Musicians Alliance and the National Interim Cultural Desk and the ANC's Department of Arts and Culture over the proposed appearance of exiled musician Abdullah Ibrahim (Dollar Brand) at the *Weekly Mail* Film Festival. Ibrahim held the first of a series of scheduled concerts at the Wits University Great Hall on Wednesday this week.

Whereas the ANC had given support to the appearance of the long exiled pianist under the auspices of the festival, Sama, backed by the Cultural Desk — in effect shrunken again from being a body with pretensions to national representivity to being merely the Transvaal Interim Cultural Desk — were vehemently opposed to what it described at the time as Ibrahim's breaking of the cultural boycott against South Africa.

A similar clash had come about in June this year when DAC head Barbara Masekela was advised by the Cultural Desk to boycott the Grahamstown Arts Festival after she had accepted an invitation to deliver a lecture — largely on the

Cultural politics and the return of the ANC

Differences between internal cultural structures and the returning ANC Department of Arts and Culture have been resolved with the DAC resuming its position as head of its cultural family. **IVOR POWELL** reports

Sama, it emerged, was planning a concert of its own, at which exiled musicians, among them Ibrahim, were scheduled to appear. Conceived as an event which would require at least R2-million in funding, the concert was to be a big bang celebration of the return of South Africa's eminent musical exiles — as well as marking the lifting of the cultural boycott.

Quite simply, Sama felt that, as the relevant musicians' alliance in relation to matters affecting the cultural boycott and the return of exiles, its thunder was being stolen by having the famous musician appear under *The Weekly Mail's* banner.

If Ibrahim was to return it should be under the auspices of Sama. As the body mandated by last year's DAC policy document in which the parent organisation handed over the administration of the cultural boycott to relevant discipline-based organisations inside the country, Sama was technically well within its rights — whatever

one might think of its motivations and modus operandi.

In the end, however, it was the DAC — now semi-formally established as a local organisation with the return of its head Barbara Masekela to this country — which won the day.

"We still feel that Dollar Brand deserved something bigger, something which would create more of a splash," one Sama representative confided. "But we understand that now decisions need to be made on a more centralised basis."

Masekela has made it clear in recent statements that the cultural boycott no longer binds South Africans. It is only applicable to foreigners wanting to perform in the country. However, in this, as in many other matters related to culture, policy decisions seem to be increasingly ad hoc, and, in the view of many local cultural organisers, increasingly difficult to keep up with.

While it is acknowledged that the return of the DAC entails that cultural policy decisions within the broad alliance will now be made by its principals, it is only the series of meetings held last week which have specifically aimed to centralise the question. No formal decisions have been taken, nor any debates entered into.

But greater clarity is unlikely to be forthcoming before the constitutive Cultural Workers Congress meeting, scheduled to be held next month. At an earlier meeting in May, a National Interim Cultural Co-ordinating Committee was elected, comprising members from seven South African regions. From this committee ANC Transvaal regional officer Ronnie Mabe-na has emerged as the key representative.

It is expected that at the CWC meeting, the Interim Cultural Desk will be formally disbanded and a National Cultural Committee set up in its place.

It is also possible that the cultural boycott will be officially lifted.

Official ANC cultural policy is to maintain MDM cultural structures as more-or-less autonomous organisations, and not to transform them into ANC structures. However, it is expected that they will owe "accountability" to the parent organisation.

Meanwhile, Cultural Desk frontman Mbuli says he will be pursuing his career as a performer and moving gradually out of the cut and thrust of cultural bureaucracy.

Mbuli said: "I am first and foremost a performer. Now that the DAC is back in place, I am at liberty to pursue my career. Soon people will be talking about the Singing Poet Mbuli."

advice of Grahamstown-based cultural organisations. In this instance, however, the threatened crisis was defused relatively quickly and a semblance of unanimity restored.

In relation to the Dollar Brand issue it became clear on examination of the facts that there was more to the issue than met the eye. The difficulty was not, as it first seemed, one rooted in outdated interpretations of the cultural boycott, but one related to invitation protocol.

Top ANC members skip talks

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

The joint ANC/Government working group discussing the implementation of the suspension of the ANC armed struggle held a first "exploratory" meeting in Pretoria yesterday.

It appeared, however, that the ANC snubbed the Government by not sending its top men to the meeting.

While sources said the meeting was largely a "getting to know you" affair, the "snub" seems to have been a retort to the Government's withdrawal of immunity from arrest for Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani. He was

granted temporary immunity to attend the talks but said he did not want this.

Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Joe Modise, head of international department Thabo Mbeki and Pallo Jordan also failed to arrive for the meeting in the offices of Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok.

ANC sources have denied snubbing the Government and said their officials had another "important meeting to attend".

Their absence left a three-man, relatively low-level ANC delegation of Mathew Phosa, Joe Nlhanhla and Jacob Zuma facing the full

Government team headed by Mr Vlok. The meeting was conducted in a fairly informal atmosphere.

The working group — which is supposed to report back to the Government and the ANC national executive by September 15 — will meet again on Tuesday.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, chief director of Constitutional Development Dr Henk Fourie, Security Police deputy chief General Bob Beukes, justice official Johan Geysler and national intelligence service official M Spaarwater also attended the talks.

At the top a **11A** call for peace, with 7/19 - 13/9/90 on the ground pleas for guns

By JO-ANNE COLLINGE

AFRICAN National Congress officials were reporting increasing demands from Reef township residents for weapons to defend themselves as ANC and government teams met in Pretoria yesterday for cease-fire talks.

The ANC team that went to Pretoria for the Joint Working Group meeting on the ceasefire was only half-strength.

Not only was the ANC team leader, Umkhonto weSizwe chief of staff Chris Hani, absent as expected, but so were MK commander Joe Modise and executive members Thabo Mbeki and Pailo Jordan.

Jacob Zuma, Joe Nhlanhla and Mathew Phosa attended for the ANC. The government, it is understood, fielded a full team under Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok.

Hani's absence was due to Pretoria's refusal to indemnify him from prosecution. The government has indemnified all but three members of the ANC national executive committee.

The ceasefire talks stand in stark contrast to a demand from ANC supporters for arms and protection in Reef townships where hostel-centred violence has claimed about 600 lives since July 22.

At the weekend, ANC PWV region organiser Andrew Mapheto reported to a consultative conference that "a desperate call for arms became deafening" in recent weeks as conflict moved from area to area. Unless ANC and other leadership figures "said something very specific on the question of self-defence and arms, (his message) fell on deaf ears".

He added: "Some of our comrades even became reluctant to come face to face with comrades from conflict-ridden areas. They had no answer to the demand for arms."

In terms of the Pretoria Minute, the ANC undertook to suspend all armed actions from August 6. Although the movement at all times stressed this did not preclude the right of people to defend themselves with all means at their disposal, in practice garden forks and petrol bombs have proved ineffectual against assailants with firearms.

Mapheto also commented that in the face of alleged police misconduct "all we could do was telephone their senior officers. Unfortunately, the more reports of police conduct reached us, the more we urged our people to work in consultation with them." This simply reinforced people's existing mistrust of the police, he reported.

His views were underscored yesterday by Barbara Hogan, ANC PWV office co-ordinator. "People are not saying, in fact, that the armed struggle should not be suspended. What they are saying is that 'the ANC must come and defend us' — or else that they want to go for military training to defend themselves."

The feeling in the region was that it would not be correct in the present context to arm untrained people, even if the Pretoria Minute did not impinge on this strategy, because it could push the situation towards civil war.

The remaining, stop-gap strategy was "to start forcing the police to start doing their jobs properly, to start disarming the other side".

This meant more effective use of the police-ANC communication mechanisms set up in the Pretoria talks and depended on ANC branches establishing "efficient intelligence networks" so that information could be used timeously to

● To PAGE 2

The leaders call for peace. The people call for guns

● From PAGE 1

force the police to take pre-emptive action and to bring aggressors to book.

Hogan argued that the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes gave the ANC a degree of influence at senior level:

In addition, the ANC was "working at how to set up self-defence units that are not going to escalate the violence" and could act pre-emptively.

The problem, said Hogan, was that none of these measures offered immediate and tangible results: None offered outright security in the face of attack.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela has made it clear that he perceives in the violence the hand of rightwing elements whose purpose is to derail the process of negotiation.

It is probably in the light of this perception that the Joint Working Group meeting went ahead as planned yesterday. with 7/19 - 13/9/90

PETER DELMAR

ALL indications last night were that the government/ANC working group discussions on the suspension of the ANC's armed struggle were still on track despite an apparent snub by the ANC, which sent only half its delegation to yesterday's inaugural meeting in Pretoria.

Both sides refused to comment.

The ANC was represented by Jacob Zuma, Matthews Phosa and Joe Nhlanhla.

Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) commander Joe Modise, Thabo Mbeki and Pallo Jordan did not attend. Neither did MK chief of staff Chris Hani, nominated by the ANC to lead its delegation, as government last month refused to renew his indemnity

Talks on the armed struggle 'on track'

from prosecution.

ANC spokesmen denied that their non-attendance was a deliberate snub, saying the men were "at another meeting".

The government delegation was led by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and included Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee and Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer.

Sapa reports ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela said last night the question of Hani's absence from the working group was being satisfactorily addressed.

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OSCAR DHLOMO

PAC must join the talks

THE Government has taken an unprecedented step in formally inviting the Pan Africanist Congress to participate in negotiations that are about to begin. The PAC's Secretary-General, Benny Alexander, has been quick to point out the uniqueness of this development.

The Government has never made a secret of the fact that the PAC is a significant player in our politics and that it therefore deserves a place at the negotiating table. The Government-ANC Pretoria Minute does, in fact, call on all political parties to come forward and join negotiations. The Frontline States have also encouraged the PAC to participate in negotiations.

It would indeed be a great pity if the PAC ultimately rejects participation. It is a party that has made its contribution, alongside other parties, in bringing us to the present stage of the liberation struggle. It has capable and talented leaders whose contributions would undoubtedly enrich the future constitutional debate.

The PAC leadership has wisely decided that the invitation will be democratically considered by the party structures. It would have been tragic had the leadership rejected the invitation out of hand. But in debating the invitation, they should keep the following strategic considerations in mind:

Firstly, they should not put the Gov-

ernment in a position where it could credibly claim that the PAC excluded itself from negotiations after having been formally invited.

This is something that the Government has never done to any other liberation movement in the past. A matter of only a few months ago, the National Party leaders of the day were threatening to confiscate the passports of people who dared to visit Lusaka to talk to the ANC. There were days when a mere hint that either a government official or an ordinary member of the National Party had talked to the ANC was angrily denied by the National Party.

Secondly, since the PAC believes that there are serious obstacles that still stand on the way to the negotiation table, it must find a way of discussing these obstacles with a view to ultimately removing them. We would dearly love to read the PAC version of the Grooten-Schuur and Pretoria Minutes.

Thirdly, rightly or wrongly, I have always understood the objective of the PAC's armed struggle to be to force those who have monopolised political power to start talking about ending this monopoly. Doesn't the invitation from the Government meet this objective?

We shall all wait anxiously for the decision of the PAC and we know that it will discuss this matter with extreme perspicacity.

WORCESTER, a major Boland agricultural and industrial centre, has produced a unique civic liaison between a militant, ANC-supporting tenants' committee and the white, but self-styled "non-racial", municipality.

A "Worcester Indaba", where local civic bodies could meet to chart a just and fair future for the Breede River valley town, would be convened later this year, tenants' committee spokesman Mr Ronnie September said yesterday.

Mr September is the deputy co-ordinator of the Worcester Housing Crisis Committee (WHCC), a body representing municipal tenants in coloured housing areas, and in direct opposition to the statutory management committee.

Worcester has unique ANC link

Cape Times 8/9/70

The committee initiated a rent boycott in July and has demanded that all arrear rentals be scrapped.

Municipal officials and representatives of the WHCC met on Thursday night in ongoing discussions on demands on rent, a single municipality and disbanding the

management committee.

Worcester is a National Party seat. The neighbouring black Zwelethemba township experienced sustained unrest during the 1985-86 popular uprising.

Commenting on the relationship between the municipality and WHCC Worcester's mayor, Mr Kalle Nelson, said "I lay great emphasis on retaining open channels of communication with all interest groups, not just the WHCC. Because of this, there has been no violence. Worcester is a safe town."

The effects of the rent boycott were negligible and most arrears arose because people were unable to pay, he said.

The next meeting was scheduled for September 26. — Sapa

Indemnity granted to 29

PRETORIA — Twenty-nine people received temporary immunity in terms of the Indemnity Act yesterday, according to a Government Gazette notice.

They are P Appalraju, S de Bruyn, M Gana, A Khumalo, T Lushaba, R Maphanga, M Mavimbela, F Mfenyane, T Morathi, D Motswenyane, S Mtoti, T Ngwenya, L Njenje, S Nogxina, G Tshabalala, L Colvin, H Dolney, K Kgositsile, J Kubu, R Mafisa, B Masekela, C Mayson, D Molefe, Y Motsoane, S Msimanga, M Ncumani, M Nhlanhla, S Nkondo and E Pahad.

The notice was signed by President F W de Klerk and Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha.

The immunity will be valid until December 31 this year. — Sapa.

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**Winnie's job
'not on line'**

MRS Winnie Mandela's job as head of the ANC's social welfare department is not "on the line", according to a spokesman at the ANC's Johannesburg headquarters.

The ANC has declined to comment on reports that more than 100 ANC branches have expressed concern at her appointment.

South newspaper claimed that the ANC national executive was under pressure to reconsider her status.

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Hostel raiders wreak carnage in Naledi Ext

SIX people from the same family were admitted to Baragwanath Hospital after a well-planned attack on residents of Naledi Extension which left four dead and 14 injured this week.

The attack occurred while residents of the township on the west of Soweto, known as the "wild west", were watching their favourite TV2 and TV3 programmes.

Agnes Thutloane (13) told how a group of seven men, allegedly hitmen from Merafe hostel, attacked her family after entering their home through the windows. She said a woman ran into their house, while the family was watching television, shouting that hostel dwellers had arrived.

"The men then entered and stabbed my granny, Augustina Tsibogo (55), with an "intshumentsho" (a long sharp steel instrument) in the stomach.

Axe defender

"They then hit my aunt, Josephine Tsibogo, who was hiding in the wardrobe, on the head with knobkerrie."

She said her grandfather, Josiah Tsie (60), tried to defend them with an axe but the men wrested it from him. "They then chopped him on the head. The axe stuck in his head and was removed at Baragwanath Hospital."

Lebo Molefe (9) and Nthabiseng Maphalala (10) were also injured in the 7.45 pm attack. Agnes's sister, Kefuwe Thutloane (18), tried to run but was hit several times with a knobkerrie. Agnes survived the attack by crouching behind a dressing table.

The men then attacked several other houses. One man died instantly after being shot several times. Soweto police spokesman, Captain Joseph Ngobeni, confirmed that three others died on arrival at Jabulani Police Station.

A Baragwanath Hospital spokesman said 14 people from Naledi were treated at the hospital.

Rabu Raletsema, whose home was also attacked, said the men were travelling in three vehicles, including a Cressida and a minibus.

THABO LSHILO and ABBEY MAKOE

Phari Matlou (51) said he and a number of companions were in the street when they heard screams followed by the sound of gun shots. They ran into a nearby yard seeking shelter. Then two of his companions, Solomon Seema and Khambule Mpherethane, insisted that they jump the fence to escape from the advancing mob.

Mr Matlou said that because he had an injured knee, he decided not to jump the fence but to crawl under a car parked nearby in the yard.

From under the vehicle he watched as his friends tried to jump the fence. But it was too high for them and they were caught by the advancing mob which in a frenzied attack inflicted terrible injuries on them.

Seema was killed and Mpherethane injured. He is in a critical condition at Baragwanath Hospital.

Mrs Martha Seema, now a widow, told Saturday Star that she arrived at 9 am the next day from night duty when the news of her husband's death was broken to her. That was all she could say. She just sat there and cried.

Just opposite the Seemas' house Martha Kwena (56) was also killed.

Only an hour later men thought to be Inkatha members stoned her house and attacked Mrs Kwena. She was killed — stabbed to death by men she had earlier warned her daughter to avoid.

David Magano used to live in the house next door. His widow, Lydia (49), said they were watching TV when she was hit by a stone thrown through the window. They all ran to the kitchen for cover.

After entry was forced, she was stabbed with a spear below her shoulder but managed to run to the street, she informed Saturday Star.

But her husband (53) was not so lucky — as their daughter discovered when she saw the raiders dragging his corpse away from the combi parked in their yard.

It was
last TV
show for
family
of six

press 9/9/90

Residents relive their horror

By SOPHIE TEMA

WHEN 23 visiting Anglican bishops and other clergymen visited Sebokeng Hostel this week, a blood-soaked blanket, shirt, shoes and pools of dried blood in a lonely street near the hostel bore witness to the violence that erupted in the area on Monday night.

They listened as residents caught in the upsurge of violence relived the horror which left 36 people dead and about 50 badly injured.

The bishops were from many parts of South Africa, Mozambique, Namibia, Lesotho and Swaziland.

Bishop Tomaz Manhique of Mozambique wept as he told the congregation of St Michael's Anglican Church in Sebokeng about similar attacks on the people of his country by Renamo rebels.

He said his house had been destroyed by fire during an attack and he and his colleague Bishop Dennis Sengulani Leombo had witnessed several killings of their people.

Residents said the attack on the hostel on Monday night by Inkatha supporters was the worst since violence broke out in the area two months ago.

They told the bishops of the gruesome deaths and the agonising screams as their colleagues called for help, saying they were being attacked by Inkatha members.

Two dormitories in the hostel, block 32 and Block C, were ripped apart by two blasts in which about 17 people died.

Lizzy Nxumpane had a leg damaged in the blast and it had to be amputated.

Speaking from her hospital bed, Lizzy, 22, said: "I had arrived only two days before the incident from Umtata to look for my father who lives in the hostel.

"I was asleep when I was suddenly woken up by the screams of people in the dormitory. Suddenly I felt the whole room shaking. I lost consciousness and when I came to I found myself in hospital. My leg was severed." Lizzy said her body was also full of shrapnel wounds.

Residents living near the hostel said they heard the blasts but were too scared to go out into the dark and could

Sebokeng blast victims tell churchmen of Inkatha attack

only helplessly peep through their windows.

Scores of people who accompanied the bishops on their tour were shocked to see clotted blood in the soil where some of the dead had been lying.

Nothandile Lwabe, who had come from Idutwya to visit her husband, also sustained injuries to her legs when the room in which she had been sleeping was rocked by a blast. Her husband escaped injury, although some of the people who slept next to him had died.

She said doctors told her they might have to amputate her left leg as it had been severely mutilated in the blast.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, who visited the government mortuary hours after the bodies had been removed from the scene of the violence, described the attack on the hostel dwellers as vicious and cruel.

At a Press conference at Sebokeng on Tuesday, Mandela said when he and other members of the ANC visited the mortuary they saw the body of one man

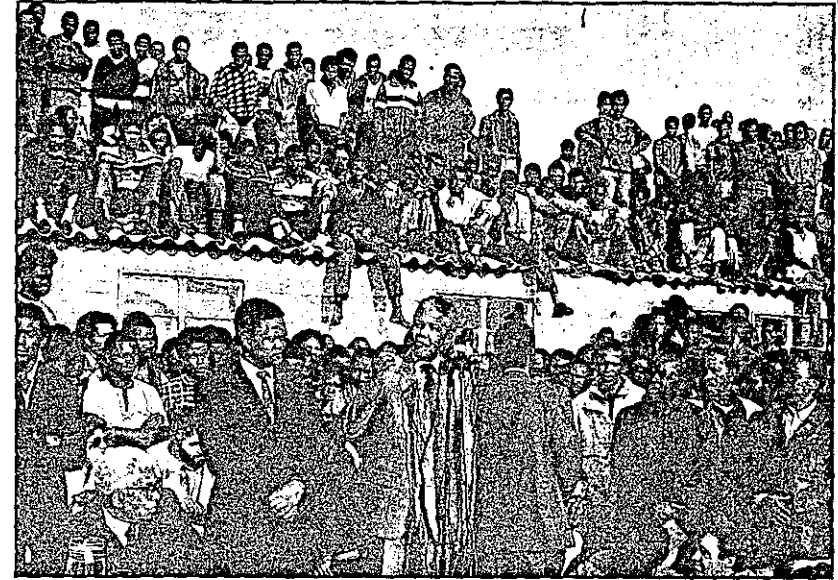
who had been shot in the back of the head.

Seilo Tumelo, who lives near the hostel, said he and his wife were woken by gunshots and two heavy blasts coming from the direction of the hostel.

"I jumped out of bed and crept up to the window. I saw people running from the hostel towards the township. They were screaming for help, saying they were being attacked by Inkatha.

"At about six o'clock I went out of my house and in the street I saw a group of residents. We mobilised other residents and moved towards the hostel where we noticed a man known to us as the leader of the Inkatha Youth Brigade handing out guns to a group of men.

"When he saw us he drove off at high speed towards the hostel in a car that had no registration plates. When we arrived at the hostel we were shocked at the number of bodies lying strewn all over the place."



Nelson Mandela addresses an enthusiastic crowd at the Sebokeng Hostel this week.



home and possessions after her

Picture: MIKE MZILENI

C/Press - 9/9/90

(11A)

PAC at turning point?



PAC president Zeph Mothopeng has always rejected negotiations as a solution. Will he and his followers now join the process?

By SHAFATH AHMAD-KHAN

A NEW challenge faces PAC president Zephania Mothopeng when he turns 77 tomorrow.

Since being released from prison a year and nine months ago, the diehard Africanist faces a dramatically changed political scene.

The crucial question for him and his organisation now is whether to accept the South African government's recent invitation to join the negotiation process.

A decision on this question is eagerly awaited by all parties concerned.

Mothopeng was born near Vrede in the Free State on September 10, 1913. He became national executive member of the PAC when the nationalist organisation was formed in 1959.

He was elected president in 1986 while serving a 15-year sentence for furthering the aims of the banned organisation.

In 1988 he was freed in the wake of campaigns for his release because of his deteriorating physical condition.

Once in the political fray, he denounced negotiations as a means of solving the country's problems.

In an address last December at the launch of the Pan-Africanist Movement, he said: "Failure to understand this (international, regional and local political, economic and social) climate will result in your misreading the issues confronting the Azanian people and resulting tactical blunders."

In an interview a few weeks later he remarked: "Negotiations mean you bargain with your opponent. As far as the PAC is concerned, the question of land is not negotiable. The land has to be restored to its rightful owners."

Asked whether he foresaw a narrowing of ideological and other differences between political organisations, he said: "The struggle for liberation has nothing to do with the narrowing or expanding of ideas. It is a question of determination on the part of the people to wage

Thorny issue of negotiation faces Zeph as he turns 77

that struggle.

"When people are convinced they have been oppressed enough, they will want to free themselves."

His response to the question of negotiations has to date been uncompromising.

Some sources believe the PAC will not want to be left out in the cold and might want to plunge itself into the hitherto "unacceptable process".

For all the changes taking place and the rallying of different political factions around the negotiation table, the point for Mothopeng and the PAC might be that the "real issues" affecting the lives of millions of black South Africans have not been addressed.

Help for abused

DESPITE a financial crisis the Johannesburg Child and Welfare Society is going through, the organisation has launched a programme to help women who were abused as children.

Social workers Linda Palm and Zelda Kruger said they believed the society had specialised services which could be used to provide therapy for women who had been sexually abused as children.

The support group programme will be part of the unit that works with sexually abused children.

People who wish to join the support group can call 331-0171.

Mokaba's fighting talk not out of line

Press 4/9/90
By SEKOLA SELLO

(114)

PETER MOKABA, the 31-year-old president of the South African Youth Congress (Sayco), has been cast in the mould of a stormy petrel in the country's turbulent politics.

He is being labelled the second most controversial figure in the ANC after Umkhonto we Sizwe's chief of staff Chris Hani.

And his pronouncements in recent weeks have only strengthened the image of a hardliner. At the Soweto funeral service of 11 people killed during the recent attacks on township residents, Mokaba statements were regarded as "highly inflammatory" by government spokesmen.

Mokaba threatened the armed struggle would be taken to white areas. He declared the ANC was a "government in waiting" and the suspension of the armed struggle did not mean the suspension of the right to self-defence.

Mokaba, addressing thousands of mourners at the Jabulani amphitheatre, warned the government not to "play with us, we are fighters. We are prepared to fight until the last drop of our blood".

These statements, not dissimilar in content to those made by Hani, have led to some people claiming that Sayco is trying to flex its muscle by making pronouncements which are likely to make the organisation sound radical.

It is said such utterances, while endearing Sayco to the militants, could also be an embarrassment to the ANC which is engaged in talks about talks with the government.

"Nothing could be further from the truth," says Mokaba. Every statement he has made in recent

weeks is in line with ANC policy and not in conflict with the terms of both the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes.

Speaking to Mokaba at Sayco offices shows a different picture of the man. Mokaba is totally committed to the ANC, body and soul. He does not seem to be swollen-headed, given his position in Sayco.

Neither is he the demagogue he is made out to be. Most of his statements seem to be well thought out. Although his utterances may be controversial, they seem to fall well in line within the broad policies of the ANC.

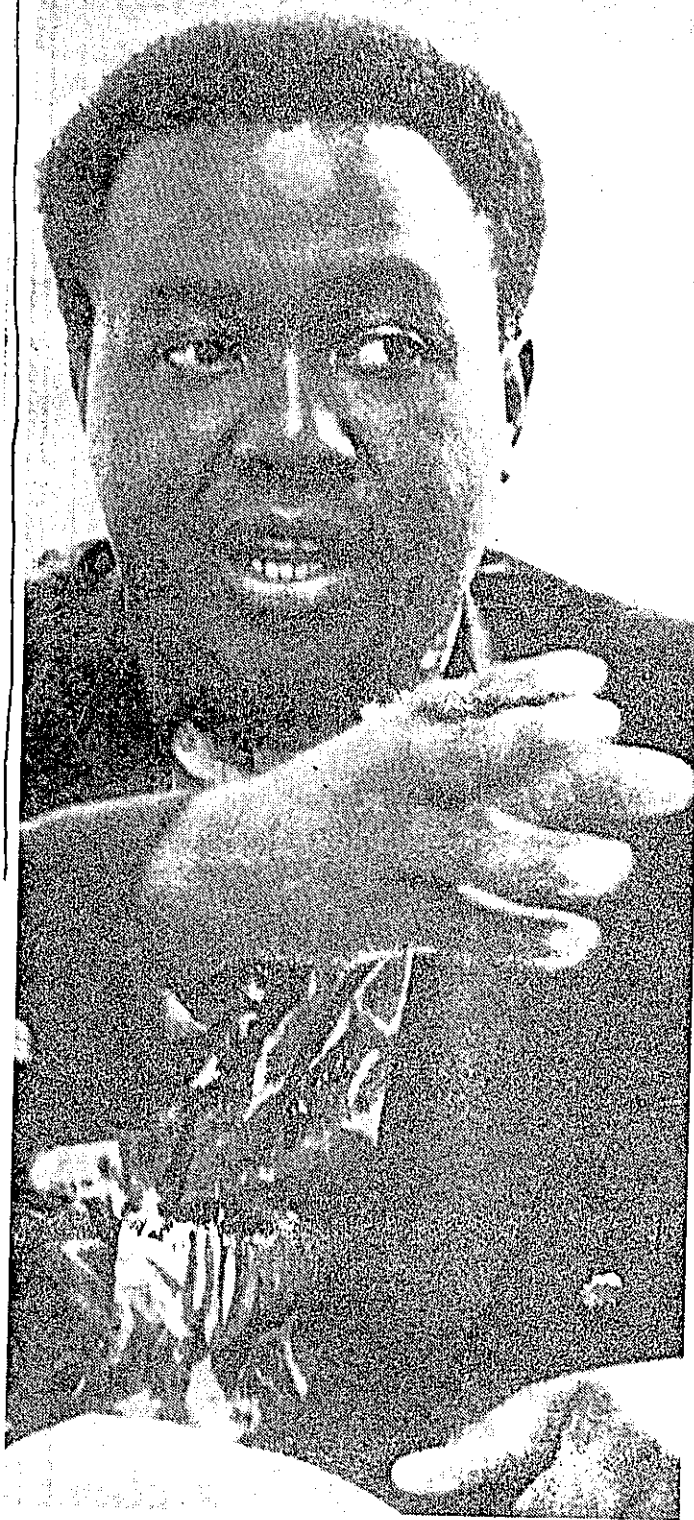
Highly articulate and self-assured, Mokaba is aware of the immense power wielded by Sayco. The organisation is reputed to have about a million members.

Sayco is said to be courted by some hardliners within the ANC and members of the SACP. Some even claim it is the power base of Winnie Mandela. These claims are difficult to verify, but one thing is certain: With Mokaba at the helm, Sayco will remain in the ANC's mainstream.

Mokaba, a former computer science student at the University of the North and now studying law with Unisa, sees himself first and foremost a leader of a youth organisation.

Contrary to what many perceive of him, Mokaba is committed to political diversity. He has a healthy respect for both the PAC and Azapo - and acknowledges their contribution to the liberation struggle. He sees them as credible anti-apartheid movements whose continued existence is politically healthy.

These are not the thoughts of a raving hardliner who sees the ANC as the only game in town.



Peter Mokaba . . . highly articulate and self-assured, and not at all the demagogue many try to make him out to be.

Hero who could not be silenced

el/press 9/9/90 (S) (11A)

By SANDILE MEMELA and SHAFAT AHMAD KHAN

THIS Wednesday is the 13th anniversary of the death in detention of Steve Biko.

Thirteen years later, Biko's legacy lives on amid debate about whether he would still be a black consciousness adherent.

His friend and colleague Strini Moodley told *City Press* that if Biko were alive today, he would still be the leader of the black consciousness movement.

"In his last interview before he died, Biko said he wanted to see the BCM included in a united opposition front. There would have been no need for him to cross the floor," said Moodley.

But some of his colleagues believe he would by now have joined the ANC.

At a symposium held in Harare in June this year, some of Biko's colleagues from the late 1960s and early 1970s argued that his legacy was not confined to any single organisation or institution.

Anglican Archbishop of Central Africa Khotso Makhule, president of the US-based World Council of Churches who was chairman of the symposium, said Biko's colleagues had outgrown BC philosophy.

"They have gone to different political homes without relinquishing the BC philosophy," he said.

This argument was

echoed by the ANC's cultural officer in London, writer Mongane Wally Serote. He said there was no conflict between BC philosophy and the non-racial, democratic culture of the ANC.

But Moodley maintains former BC adherents are trying to justify their betrayal of Biko's philosophy.

"If Biko were alive today, 90 percent of those who have crossed the floor would not have done so."

Moodley stressed that Biko's philosophy could have stopped the outbreak of violence that has wrecked black communities.

Biko pointed to the fact black people in South Africa had to struggle for survival, and said the violence could be explained

by poverty, unemployment, overcrowding, lack of schooling and migratory labour.

In Biko's words: "Township life alone makes it a miracle for anyone to live up to adulthood. There we see a situation of absolute want in which black will kill black to be able to survive.

"This is the basis of the vandalism, murder, rape and plunder that goes on while the real sources of the evil - white society - suntans on exclusive beaches or relax in their bourgeois homes."

He said black people had to sit as "one big unit".

"We are oppressed not as individuals, not as Zulus, Xhosas, Vendas or Indians. We are oppressed because we are black. We must use that very concept to unite ourselves and to respond as a cohesive group."

Azapo will be holding services in Biko's honour throughout the country, and a commemoration will form part of the programme at the Azanian Student Movement's congress which started at Shareworld yesterday.

Today the Kagiso branch of Azapo will hold a rally at the Roman Catholic Church at 2pm. There will be a service in QwaQwa, and other Biko services are planned for Medunsa on September 12, Alexandra on September 9 and at the Mangosuthu Technikon in Umlazi on September 8.



Steve Biko ... 13 years since he died in detention.

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5 PIECES CHICKEN WITH HOT CHIPS OR

Bloodshed under the spotlight

8 S/Times 9/9/90

Sunday Times Reporter

TOP police and ANC officials are taking stock after a week of bloodshed that saw 11 people killed by an SADF patrol in Sebokeng and random slayings of blacks by mysterious gunmen.

Violence — and the danger of it spiralling out of control — dominated statements by government and ANC spokesmen.

The actions of the security forces also came under attack from the right, the left and a group of international jurists.

Among the important events:

- Police launched an investigation into allegations that a "third force" of blacks and balaclava-clad whites are fanning the township carnage with random attacks on innocent people;

- Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok warned that police

will insist that any allegations of police misconduct are supported by evidence;

- ANC official Thabo Mbeki disclosed that his organisation would set up its own monitoring groups to keep a check on the security forces;

- An international commission of jurists investigating the Natal violence has come down hard on Inkatha and the security forces.

A police spokesman confirmed yesterday that allegations of a so-called third force operating in the townships were being investigated, but that no hard evidence had come to light.

Residents in Sebokeng on Tuesday claimed that a bloody attack on a hostel was launched by armed

blacks and whites wearing balaclavas to hide their skin colour.

Eye witnesses said that the hands of some of the attackers clutching firearms were white.

Meanwhile, Mr Mbeki announced at an education forum in Cape Town that the ANC would appoint its own people to monitor security force behaviour.

Flashpoints

He also warned that unless the police did more to curb violence, the peace talks were at risk.

He said all police needed to do was to visit flashpoints like the hostels in Soweto, confiscate all weapons and flush out the trouble-makers.

In Johannesburg jurists released the first international study of the

Natal conflict, which has claimed more than 4 000 lives in four years.

In its findings released this week, a three-man panel from the Geneva-based International Commission of Jurists recommended the appointment of a "Human Rights Verification Mission" drawn from European Community countries.

A member of the commission, Swedish attorney Christian Ahlund, said he had found the same ingredients in the Natal conflict as in the violence in San Salvador, where a United Nations-sponsored monitoring mission had worked effectively.

The jurists recommended a reorientation of the police force, more policemen, an end to the carrying of "cultural" weapons such as knobkierries and an end to the state of emergency in Natal.

Star 9/9/90 (11A)

Ominous pattern in politics

By SEKOLA SELLO

SINCE February 2 when President F W de Klerk lifted restrictions on organisations like the PAC, the ANC and the SACP - paving the way for open party-political activity - politics in the black community has been characterised by increasing intolerance and violence.

While political rivalry and even a measure of intolerance have always been part of our political scene, a more ominous pattern is now beginning to emerge.

Heckling of political rivals, denying them a platform at mass funerals of people killed in the recent upheavals, threatening rivals at schools and in the workplace and preventing them from organising are now becoming the norm.

In Kroonstad members of Azapo were threatened with violence at a funeral of people allegedly killed by police.

This incident compelled ANC internal leadership core co-ordinator Walter Sisulu to intervene directly to guarantee Azapo leaders participation in the funeral service.

In Westonaria Azapo members were allegedly killed by members or supporters of charterist organisations.

In the West Rand township of Kagiso members of the PAC were also allegedly attacked by members or supporters of charterist organisations.

Last week Azapo member Daniel Matsobane was prevented from addressing the mass funeral of 26 Kagiso residents who were killed in the recent violence.

The small Eastern Cape town of Uitenhage saw serious bloodletting between ANC and PAC supporters.

An even more ugly incident occurred in Diepkloof when youngsters, allegedly Sayco members, threatened to attack people at the vigil of Azapo leader Muntu Myeza, who died in a mysterious car accident on the outskirts of Bloemfontein.

These youngsters also threatened to raze Myeza's home. Prior to his death, Myeza had on several occasions been

All parties vying to capture power

ground may be different."

The misbehaviour of such elements, Jordan says, is not only condemned, but the ANC has taken disciplinary measures against the wrongdoers.

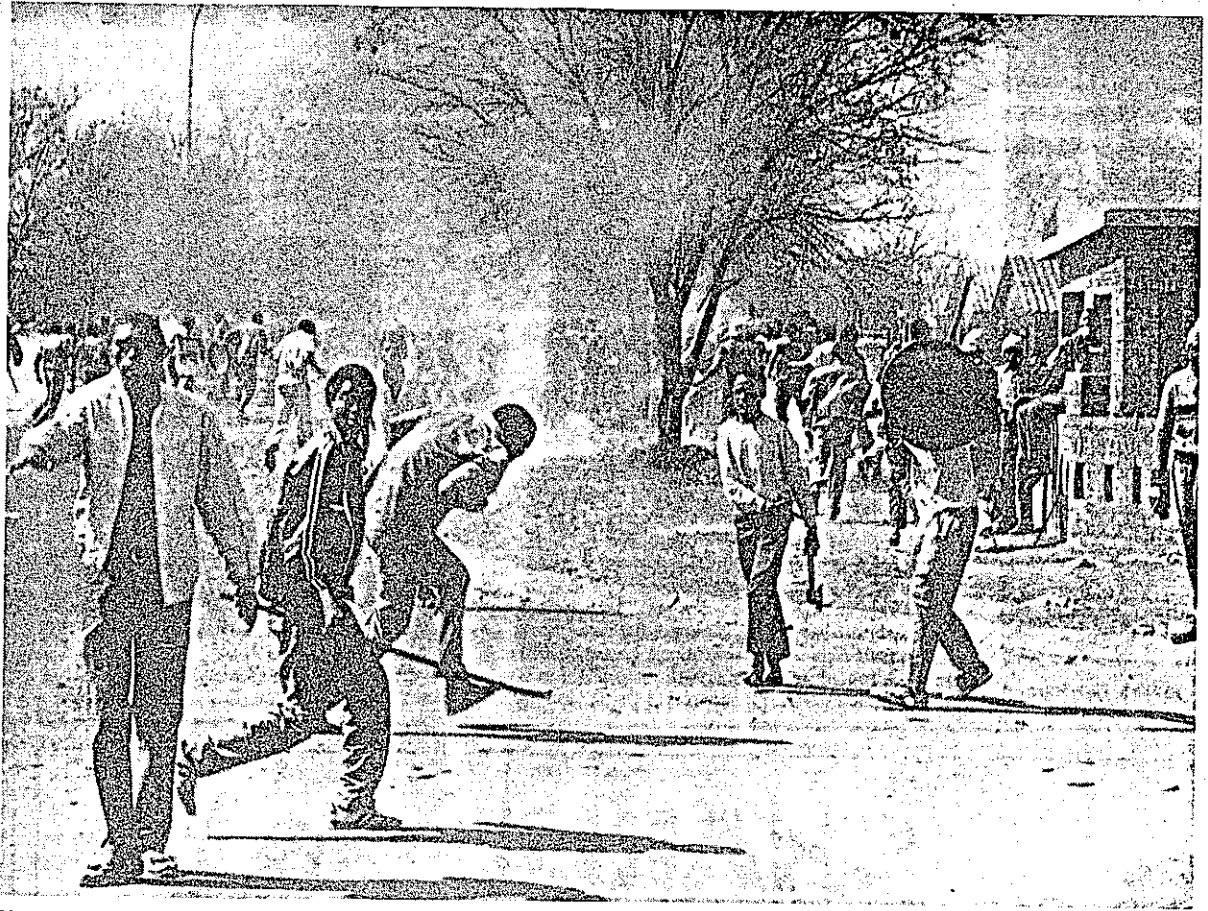
Jordan says whereas he cannot give specific examples of instances where action has been taken against such elements, the ANC has "a clean record of never promoting anyone who has been found guilty of any action that could place the movement in an embarrassing position".

Jordan says political parties like the National Party have a track record of promoting members who are known to have been involved in activities which are not acceptable in organisations which uphold and cherish democratic values.

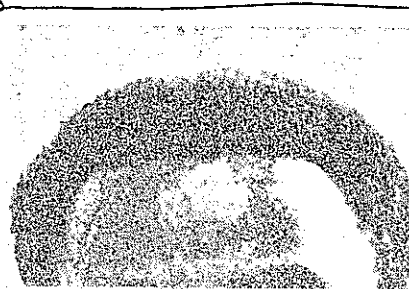
He says: "Think of former President P W Botha. He went on to occupy the highest position in the land and yet he was known to have been a bully-boy of the party who disrupted the opposition's meetings. There are many other examples I could cite."

According to Jordan, because of the "emotive" nature of politics it is not easy to discipline each and every member. He says the organisation is always trying as much as possible to see that its members behave responsibly.

"We always try to educate and teach our members to accept political pluralism. But, given that our country does not have a culture of democracy, to inculcate such values will not be easy. It will take some time."



Voting with violence ... guns, bombs and any old sharp instrument will do as an embattled Soweto erupts.



Mokaba's fighting talk not out of line

Press 9/9/90 (11A)
By SEKOLA SELLO

343
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"We always try to educate and teach our members to accept political pluralism. But, given that our country does not have a culture of democracy, to inculcate such values will not be easy. It will take some time."

This point was supported by Sayco president Peter Mokaba. Sayco members have been accused of being largely responsible for the disruption of meetings of political rivals, assault and killing of opponents.

Most allegations of intolerance levelled against the ANC are attributed to members of Sayco.

Mokaba says the image of Sayco as stormtroopers of the ANC and its affiliates is both wrong and misleading. He says his organisation is well-disciplined and tolerant in spite of what he sees as constant provocation by political rivals like the PAC and Azapo.

Jordan and Mokaba are critical of PAC and Azapo statements which blame the ANC for the killings currently taking place in Soweto, the East Rand, the West Rand and the Vaal Triangle.

Says Jordan: "Statements by PAC and Azapo leadership apportion the blame equally on those who are attacked (the ANC) and the attackers. "These are unfortunate statements which create ill feeling among some of our members and thus lead them to act irrationally."

Jordan says it is unfortunate PAC leadership has told the Press it would like to mediate in the conflict between Inkatha and the ANC.

He says: "The conflict on the Rand is not between Inkatha and the ANC. The PAC exists in the townships, so does Azapo. Their members have also been killed. Even politically neutral people have been killed. How can this be ANC/Inkatha conflict only?"

Although Jordan and Mokaba are holding out the olive branch to Azapo and the PAC, it is clear their attitude towards Inkatha is different.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's party is definitely not seen as an anti-apartheid organisation.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's party is definitely not seen as an anti-apartheid organisation.

C/press 9/9/90 (11A) (S/11/90)

Mandela, Tambo to be honoured

ANC president Oliver Tambo and his deputy, Nelson Mandela, are to be awarded honorary doctorates by the University of the Western Cape.

They are the second and third members of the ANC to be awarded honorary doctorates by the university, whose rector has defined as being the "intellectual home of the left".

Reports by CP correspondents, Sapa.

Killers must be stopped, ANC warns government

C/Pres 9/9/90 (11A) (11B) (34) (11C)

■ From Page 1

The ANC's internal head Walter Sisulu said it was clear certain forces were killing black people at random.

"It seems a certain people in white kombi or kombis is involved in shooting black people. To date, such white kombis have appeared in Tembisa, Thokoza, Katlehong and Soweto. Their occupants have shot innocent people without provocation or reason," he told Sapa.

"These forces are not necessarily Inkatha. The killings are beginning to resemble the Strydom massacre. These forces must be identified and dealt with immediately before they kill more peo-

ple."

Following is a dossier of the killings:

■ Residents of Katlehong in the East Rand described how they were shot at by armed black men in blue uniforms, travelling in a Ford van driven by a white man.

■ A group of men in a minibus left a bloody trail in Tembisa and Thokoza last weekend, killing 12 people at random.

■ In Moletsane, Soweto, Catholic priest Father Emmanuel Lafont said at least four people were killed and a number of homes damaged by men travelling in a minibus.

However, Soweto police liaison officer Captain MJ Ngobeni said the people travelling in the

minibus were engaged in taxi warfare;

■ In Sebokeng, witnesses told how masked white men backed up vigilantes attacking the residents on Tuesday. Thirty-six people were killed.

Inkatha's Reef Youth Brigade leader Themba Khoza was arrested in Sebokeng Hostel, allegedly heavily armed and in the company of balaclava-clad white men. Newspaper reports said seven witnesses had identified Khoza as the leader of a pre-dawn attack on residents by Inkatha "rooi-doeke" and a number of white men.

Inkatha president and KwaZulu chief Minister Gatscha Buthelezi denied on his arrival from abroad this week that his organisation was behind the violence. "We do not have access to an armoury of AK-47s," he said.

Mokaba's fighting talk not out of line

Press 9/9/90 (16)
By SEKOLA SELLO



Peter Mokaba . . . highly articulate and self-assured, and not at all the demagogue many try to make him out to be.

PPETER MOKABA, the 31-year-old president of the South African Youth Congress (Sayco), has been cast in the mould of a stormy petrel in the country's turbulent politics.

He is being labelled the second most controversial figure in the ANC after Umkhonto we Sizwe's chief of staff Chris Hani.

And his pronouncements in recent weeks have only strengthened the image of a hardliner. At the Soweto funeral service of 11 people killed during the recent attacks on township residents, Mokaba statements were regarded as "highly inflammatory" by government spokesmen.

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It is said such utterances, while endearing Sayco to the militants, could also be an embarrassment to the ANC which is engaged in talks about talks with the government.

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Sayco is said to be courted by some hardliners within the ANC and members of the SACP. Some even claim it is the power base of Winnie Mandela. These claims are difficult to verify, but one thing is certain: With Mokaba at the helm, Sayco will remain in the ANC's mainstream.

Mokaba, a former computer science student at the University of the North and now studying law with Unisa, sees himself first and foremost a leader of a youth organisation.

Contrary to what many perceive of him, Mokaba is committed to political diversity. He has a healthy respect for both the PAC and Azapo - and acknowledges their contribution to the liberation struggle. He sees them as credible anti-apartheid movements whose continued existence is politically healthy.

These are not the thoughts of a raving hardliner who sees the ANC as the only game in town.

Democrats adopt wait-and-see attitude

8 Nov 10/9/90

~~SAF~~ (IA)

The Democratic Party sent a very clear message to the ANC from its national congress — yes, we will consider getting into bed with you sometime — but first prove your commitment to democracy.

In its choice of Zach de Beer as sole leader, in its voting on crucial resolutions about the party's future direction and in its general mood, the conservative congress expressed a decided wariness about the ANC.

There was one very telling moment when Sandton MP Dave Dalling — playing the unexpected role of ardent advocate for a pact with the ANC — said the ANC shared the DP's wish for multiparty democracy, an independent judiciary, an entrenched bill of rights and a free press.

Congress greeted these assurances — particularly the last — with derision.

Mr Dalling's resolution — calling for negotiations with the ANC and other relevant organisations aimed at forming a broad nonracial pact — threatened to be highly divisive as the liberal/conservative faction led by Yeoville MP Harry Schwarz weighed in with sharp criticism of the ANC and urged congress to back President de Klerk's reforms.

Simon's Town MP Jannie Momberg — a member of the leftist camp — saved the day with a simple amendment specifying the National Party as one of the organisations with whom the DP should investigate possible alliances.

In this form it was passed by an overwhelming majority of delegates.

The choice of Dr de Beer as leader over national chairman Tian van der Merwe — by 274 votes to 195 — further underscored the party's wait-and-see mood.

Dr de Beer had stood firmly on the platform that the DP should remain independent

The Democratic Party showed itself to be more unified than many expected at its weekend congress — eager to get out there and do something, yet not quite ready to take the plunge toward the ANC or the NP. Political Correspondent PETER FABRICIUS reports.

from the NP and ANC until they showed their true colours.

Mr van der Merwe showed a much greater inclination to cooperate with the ANC and visualised a possible merger with it in the future.

The central path of independence was also essentially followed in voting on dual membership with the ANC, another battleground between liberals and the left.

Congress decided to allow



Harry Schwarz.

dual membership of other political organisations only with the permission of national council.

Speaking publicly for the first time as sole leader, Dr de Beer made it clear, however, that as a general rule he would not allow DP members also to become members of competing political parties or organisations.

Party sources indicated that the national council — when it meets again in three or four months' time — would probably define the ANC as such an organisation and therefore for-

bid dual membership with it.

Exceptions might be made for black members who faced danger in their townships if they did not join the ANC.

The sum of all these decisions was seen by some as a compromise which favours the liberals or "true-blue Progs".

It did not escape the attention of the left that former Houghton MP Helen Suzman — doyen of the old Progs — arrived at the congress only on



Dave Dalling.

Saturday after her old fellow-Prog Dr de Beer had been elected sole leader and the pro-ANC thrust of the left had been headed off.

And for the first time since the PFP merged into the DP, Mrs Suzman made herself available for the national council — and was of course elected to it.

The apparent Prog victory caused some dissatisfaction among the non-Progs and prompted speculation of resignations.

But while some might occur

or might already have, it was clear that no major defections — and certainly no split — were imminent.

The most notable spokesmen for the left were agreed that though they had not achieved as much as they would have liked to, all was not lost.

Meanwhile, the congress agreed in principle on a social market economy following the West German model, a policy which while firmly based on the free market, laid great stress on development and welfare.

Mr Schwarz billed it as the answer to the ANC's policy of nationalisation and Gardens MP Ken Andrew presented a hypothetical budget based on it which purported to illustrate that it was possible to wipe out socio-economic backlogs within the constraints of the economy.

All agreed that their allegiance to the party depended upon the way Dr de Beer interpreted the resolutions.

Dr de Beer, taking his cue from the demand from the left for decisive action, received applause when he announced in his acceptance speech that he had ordered party officials to approach the ANC immediately to set an early date for recently postponed talks.

He had also ordered an approach to the Government to press for all parties to be included in constitutional negotiations as soon as possible.

And all regional levels would be ordered to send their workers out into the field to promote the grassroots contact — which the leftists regard as all-important.

In the end the congress showed the DP a little more united than many expected, eager to get out there and do something but not yet ready to take the plunge towards either the ANC or the NP.

This is understandable, perhaps, in view of the transient state of both those parties.

Reef clashes – Mandela hints at return to armed struggle

Star 10/9/90 (11A)

KAMPALA — Nelson Mandela has hinted that the African National Congress will return to the armed struggle if the violence sweeping South Africa's townships is not stopped by the Government.

He told a mini-summit of the Organisation of African Unity here that the peace process was in danger of being derailed by the continuing violence.

"The danger is great. We are not prepared to witness the massacre indefinitely," he said in his address to the meeting here on Saturday.

"We declared a ceasefire precisely because we wanted negotiations, and if the Government fails to respond we know exactly what to do."

Mr Mandela said the attacks on ANC supporters were part of a campaign which involved backing for Inkatha against township residents.

"You can see it is not just fighting between two political organi-

sations," Mr Mandela told the delegates from 14 countries. "It is a matter of making it impossible for us to overthrow white supremacy. I don't want to detail the type of evidence we have, but it is sufficient to say that two black men opened fire in a railway station and killed a number of people, and these men have not been arrested by the Government.

Defend

Mr Mandela told delegates that there was widespread demand, especially from the young, for people to be armed with guns so they could defend themselves.

"This is a demand which will be difficult to refuse when the Government fails to protect their lives," he said.

Mr Mandela warned that unless the Government stemmed inter-black violence the country would drown in blood.

Earlier, Mr Mandela accused the rival Pan Africanist Congress of refusing to work with the ANC in trying to end apartheid.

After being briefed by Mr Mandela, a statement issued by the committee of the OAU accused the South African Police of encouraging inter-black violence and said the township violence would harm the struggle against apartheid if it was allowed to continue.

The statement accused the South African Police of "encouraging and being actively involved in the violence being perpetrated by the Inkatha movement".

The meeting, chaired by Ugandan president Yoweri Museveni, the current chairman of the OAU, was attended by Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, Ethiopian President Mengistu Haile Mariam and Namibian Prime Minister Hage Geingob. — The Star's Foreign News Service, Reuter.

SA will drown in bloodbath, warns Mandela

VIA
~~SECRET~~

KAMPALA: Mr Nelson Mandela warned at the weekend that unless the South African Government stemmed inter-black violence the country would drown in blood.

Sowetan 10/9/90

"We shall do everything possible within our power to avoid this," the deputy president of the African National Congress (ANC) said in Kampala.

About 600 people have died in the past month in factional fighting between supporters of the Inkatha Freedom Party and ANC sympathisers.

Mandela blamed some of the violence on state agents.

"Any political demonstration is regarded by the police and the army as a rebellion which must be put down in a brutal way."

Earlier, Mandela accused the rival Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) of refusing to work with the ANC in trying to end apartheid.

He said that after a recent world tour he had convened a meeting of all organisations to report on developments. "Everyone came with the exception of the PAC." - Sapa-Reuter

PAC still probing FW's talks invite

THE chairman of the PAC, Mr Johnson Mlambo, says his organisation is still examining an invitation it has received from President F W de Klerk to enter exploratory talks aimed at resolving the political situation in South Africa. (11A)

He was speaking in Dar es Salaam on his return from Lusaka where he attended a summit meeting of the frontline states. Sovetan 10/9/70

Mlambo said De Klerk's invitation was still being discussed within the structure of the PAC, as instructed by the organisation's president, Mr Zephania Mothopeng.

However, Mlambo reiterated the PAC's unchanged stance on the armed struggle. He said that all external and internal pressures, including armed struggle and sanctions against South Africa, should be maintained since apartheid structures were still very strong. - Sapa

10/9/70



KHOTSO SEATLHOLO

Reforms won't affect fundamentals - Azasm



Sowetan 10/9/90

THE honorary president of the Azapo-aligned Azanian Students Movement, Mr Khotso Seatlholo, told more than a 1 000 students in Johannesburg on Saturday, that black conscious-

ness adherents acknowledged the fact that changes were taking place, but these had not affected the fundamental structure of South African society.

Seatlholo was the

main speaker at the start of a two-day national congress of Azasm, which was called to discuss wide-ranging issues including a possible postponement of the black-matric examinations.

"The truth is that the National Party has opened its membership for black people, but just like the DP/FPF had done in the past, membership by black people is still at its minimum. In any event, a black person joining such parties will not lead to a material change in the circumstances of the millions of other black people.

"Thus, when FW de Klerk calls for talks, he has tough conditions as he knows the masses do not trust white authority in this country. De Klerk refuses to talk about those things we need to talk about such as a government that regards no colour, the return of the land, and the restructuring

of the economy," said Seatlholo.

Seatlholo spent close on to eight years on Robben Island after being apprehended for infiltrating the country with guer-

rillas of of the SA Youth Revolutionary Council.

He was - with the late Tsietsi Mashinini- coordinator of the Soweto uprisings on June 16, 1976. - Sapa

Schwarz warns DP against ANC pact

THE Democratic Party should not sacrifice the principles it had supported for many years for the sake of being part of a new power structure, DP MP for Yeoville, Mr Harry Schwarz, told the party's federal congress on Friday. *Sowetan 10/9/90*

Speaking on a resolution about the future course of the party, he said the question of an alliance or pact with the ANC should not be considered.

Wilderness

"I must warn that we do not at this stage of our party's history sacrifice the principles for which we have walked in the wilderness, for the sake of being winners."

Schwarz said he had known ANC deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela, for longer than anyone present at the congress. He had been at university with Mandela and had participated in the Rivonia Trials.

"I like the man, but that does not mean I must join the ANC or form a pact with the ANC," he said. - *Sapa*

(11A)

16/9/90

2 Cape Times, Moi

Violent culture of intolerance

PIETERSBURG. — The violence sweeping the black areas of the Reef is caused by "a growing culture of intolerance" resulting from a lack of political understanding among many political activists, says a leading media union representative.

Addressing a crowd of about 2 000 at the funeral of a member of the Azanian Students' Movement, near here on Saturday, Mr Mathatha Tsedu, vice-president of the Media Workers' Association of South Africa (Mwasa), said this was because politicised youths today were "more sloganeers and chanters than genuine political activists".

It devolved on political organisations, parents and leaders at all levels to undercut this. Instead a culture of understanding was needed — "a culture that accepts that we are a society and we cannot expect to think alike and follow one ideology". — Sapa

SAP need to adjust to unbanning of 'enemy'

Sowetan 10/9/90

(11A)

IT was hard for many South African policemen to adjust to the fact that the "enemy", the ANC, had been unbanned and that the organisation was now to be helped, a team of international jurists examining the Natal unrest said in Johannesburg at the weekend.

The three-man delegation suggested the police be retrained and opinions exchanged with forces overseas.

The delegation from the International Commission of Jurists spent two weeks on a fact-finding mission in South Africa.

Another of the recommendations was that the Government should make more use of Zulu speakers in the SAP and SADF.

The group, whose members have spoken to all sides involved in the conflict which has left more than 4 000 people dead, also suggested a foreign monitoring force be employed to keep the peace

and record infringements.

The force could be made up of a team drawn from EEC countries or the United Nations.

One of the delegates, Briton John MacDonald, QC, said the Government ministers spoken to "seemed to be very receptive" to this idea.

Sincere

MacDonald also felt the Government was sincere in trying to find a solution to the Natal unrest.

The team, comprising MacDonald, Swedish human rights attorney Mr Christian Ahlund, and University of the Western Cape lecturer Mr Jeremy Sarkin, said it was concerned by the deprivation, squalor and misery which were features of life in black townships.

"The Government must send clear signals to people in the communities that they want a police force which has the confidence, trust and respect of all South Africans," the jurists said in a state-

ment, adding that Foreign Minister Pik Botha agreed with them on this.

"Cultural weapons" should be banned the delegation added.

The group outlined areas where the Government had to act to try and end the violence.

These are:

- * The "problem" of the KwaZulu Police, who are seen to be both referee and players in the situation, had to be addressed and KwaZulu citizens should be able to contact the SAP if they need help.

Resources

- Police resources had to be beefed up and they had to prevent clashes and not remain on the sidelines;

- * The so-called warlords must be prosecuted.

- * With an increase of policemen would come an increase in prosecutions and therefore the State's legal apparatus had to be increased; and,

- * The state of emergency in Natal had to be ended.

The group said the Government and the ANC had responded positively to the jurists' investigation, while Inkatha members did not have a similar awareness of the need to discipline and control their supporters.

The jurists said it was important for a four-sided peace meeting to be held between the ANC, Inkatha, the Government and the Church to hammer out a peace agreement but "there must be some assurance that if an agreement is reached it will be carried out".

The role of the Government and the churches in the meeting would be to provide some guarantees that the agreement is carried out.

The group's findings are to be submitted to the ICJ and foreign heads of state, the jurists said. - Sapa

Act or SA will drown in blood ^(11A) Mandela

KAMPALA — ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela warned on Saturday that unless SA's government took action against black-on-black violence, the whole country would be "drowned in blood".

"We shall do everything possible within our power to avoid this," he told an OAU meeting concentrating on southern Africa.

Mandela blamed some of the township violence on state agents and said the police and army had not been properly trained to handle demonstrations. "Any political demonstration is regarded by the police and

the army as a rebellion which must be put down in a brutal way."

Mandela said there was a widespread demand in SA for people to be armed with guns to defend themselves. "This is a demand which will be difficult to refuse when the government fails to protect their lives," he said.

Growing violence in black townships risked derailing talks between the ANC and government on a new constitution.

Earlier, Mandela accused the PAC of

refusing to work with the ANC in trying to end apartheid. "We can't afford to quibble when the house is on fire."

Mandela said that after a recent world tour he had convened a meeting of all organisations to report on developments.

"Everyone came, with the exception of the PAC. We have stretched out a hand of friendship to everyone. We are keen to share information, and we are even prepared to share our resources," he said. — Sapa-Reuters.

06/10/1990
10/19/90
L-01

A long, stormy marriage, but divorce unlikely

11A
Dec 11/9/90

PATRICK LAURENCE talks to Pallo Jordan, the ANC's arduous director of information, about the ANC's alliance with the South African Communist Party.

The alliance between the ANC and the SACP has "almost come apart" several times in its long history of more than 60 years, says Pallo Jordan, information chief of the ANC.

But, he adds, an alliance which has survived for so long has an indisputable durability and is unlikely to break up in the near future, as predicted by some observers.

Dr Jordan is not a member of the SACP. Nor is he an "Africanist". He identifies with the New Left, a movement which was launched more than 30 years ago to renovate Marxism from the influence of Stalin.

A historian by training and the author of a recent article questioning the extent to which the SACP has purged itself of Stalinism, Dr Jordan is thus in

with communism. He was, however, "unceremoniously drummed out of the ANC presidency a few years later" for tarnishing the image of the ANC and for fraternising with the "murderers" of Tsar Nicholas.

● In the 1940s Africanists in the ANC Youth League, among them Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo, accusing communists of watering down African nationalism, called for the expulsion of communists from the ANC; their proposal was defeated and Mr Mandela and Mr Tambo later changed their views.

● In the late 1950s, Africanism surfaced again after the ANC adopted the Freedom Charter, which they saw as a fulfilment of the Youth League fears that the ANC, under the influence of communists, would dilute African nationalism; they broke away in 1958 to establish the Pan Africanist Congress.

● In the mid-1970s another Africanist formation emerged, the "Group of Eight"; it hoped to "cash in" on the rise of black consciousness in South Africa and was expelled from the ANC for ideological divergence.

Dr Jordan offers a critical explanation for the Africanist break-away which led to the PAC, the most serious of the revolts against communists. He argues that the PAC, representing the interests of richer and better educated people, had an "elitist agenda" but clothed it in the attractive colours of Africanism to make it more acceptable to the poor black community.

The focus shifts to a point of critical importance: what are the essential differences between the ANC and the SACP?

Dr Jordan replies: "The SACP pursues the interests of one particular class, the working class. It is a matter for discussion whether they do so in the best way possible. But that is their identity."

"The ANC is a very broad movement, representative of all classes among the oppressed people. It doesn't have an exclusivist approach. Its programme tries to address the interests of all those classes."

But there is one salient difference between the ANC and similar multi-class movements elsewhere in the world: South Africa's blacks are relatively without property because of apartheid policies; the political leanings of the majority of ANC members and supporters therefore are left of centre instead of centrist.



Pallo Jordan.

a position to make a critical but not jaundiced appraisal of the ANC-SACP alliance.

Those who see the SACP as the controlling force in the ANC which has infiltrated and taken it over are "Cold War warriors" clinging to an antiquated world view.

Their view assumes that ANC members who do not owe allegiance to the SACP are puppets, Dr Jordan says, adding: "I think that is demonstrably untrue ... It assumes they will be unable to notice or resist the (supposed) manipulation."

He concedes, however, that the SACP-ANC alliance has evoked recurring and often fierce resistance within the ANC over a long period of time, stretching back to the presidency of Josiah Gumede.

He lists some of the occasions on which the ANC was racked by tension over communism.

● In the 1920s Mr Gumede, father of United Democratic Front leader Archie Gumede, took the ANC into an alliance

All-women peace conference fails

AN all-women peace conference at the weekend - which would have been the first conference at which women's organisations had met to discuss the issue of violence in Natal - collapsed this weekend after the Inkatha Women's Brigade failed to arrive and the ANC Women's League withdrew. ~~1/1~~ (1/1)

The conference, organised by Women for Peaceful Change Now, was held in Durban's Central Methodist Church on Saturday. *Sowetan 11/9/90*

Only about 100 women, instead of the hoped-for 400, turned out for the event and it was discovered that the Inkatha Women's Brigade had refused to come because of an allegedly inaccurate and confrontationalist Press report on the conference.

The ANCWL withdrew their delegation after they were told by the organisers that women were there in their individual capacity and not as representatives of their organisations.

The ANCWL said in a statement afterwards that they had been invited as representatives of their organisations and were disappointed that this facet of the conference had failed to materialise. They were also disappointed that Inkatha women were absent as the conference would have been a valuable opportunity for discussion between the two organisations.

"This conference would be a futile exercise if it is only we who openly commit ourselves to peace," they said. - *Sowetan Correspondent*

turned people out of their homes

11A ~~307A~~ 8/11/90

Viljoen criticises Mandela

Political organisations, especially the African National Congress, should cease claiming total innocence for themselves and their followers, by laying all blame on their opponents or on the police, says Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen.

Dr Viljoen said in a statement yesterday the Government had noted with great concern the "highly exaggerated" statement made in Kampala by the deputy president of the ANC, Nelson Mandela, that the Government was conducting a war against his followers and

that it was also systematically inciting certain people to attack and kill the ANC.

"Such charges are most unwarranted and unfounded and are calculated to increase tension and violence," Dr Viljoen said. They completely contradicted the spirit of mutual trust prevailing among the leaders involved to which the Pretoria Minute referred.

Dr Viljoen said it was time other organisations became visible in the control of their people, failing which, they might stand condemned either of condoning violence or of failing to control supporters. — Sapa.

ers agreement over...

● Station panga attacks

● Ambulance 'no go' areas

Orgy of killings continues

Star 11/9/90



By Carina le Grange,
Shirley Woodgate
and Gien Elsas

The orgy of violence on the Reef is continuing unabated and ambulances have been withdrawn from Soweto after being stoned by mobs.

Today commuters were hacked and stabbed by panga-wielding thugs in an attack on a train between the Braamfontein and Johannesburg stations.

Overnight clashes in Katlehong on the East Rand left at least 12 dead, and roads throughout Soweto have been blocked by makeshift barricades.

At the Johannesburg station today, shocked commuters were greeted with pools and trails of blood on the stairs and platforms.

Witnesses told The Star the attack on the Soweto-Johannesburg train took place shortly after 7 am.

A gang of panga-wielding men mercilessly hacked passengers as the train pulled out of Braamfontein station on its last leg into Johannesburg.

Terrorised

The body of a man who had been hacked to death and flung from the train was left lying under the Queen Elizabeth Bridge.

Other passengers leapt from the train to escape the attack. The number of injured is not known.

Black station workers told The Star that passengers were terrorised every day on the trains and the railways was "just not providing any security".

Today the death toll from clashes in Soweto and on the East Rand since Friday rose to 75 — a total of 41 in Soweto and 34 on the East Rand.

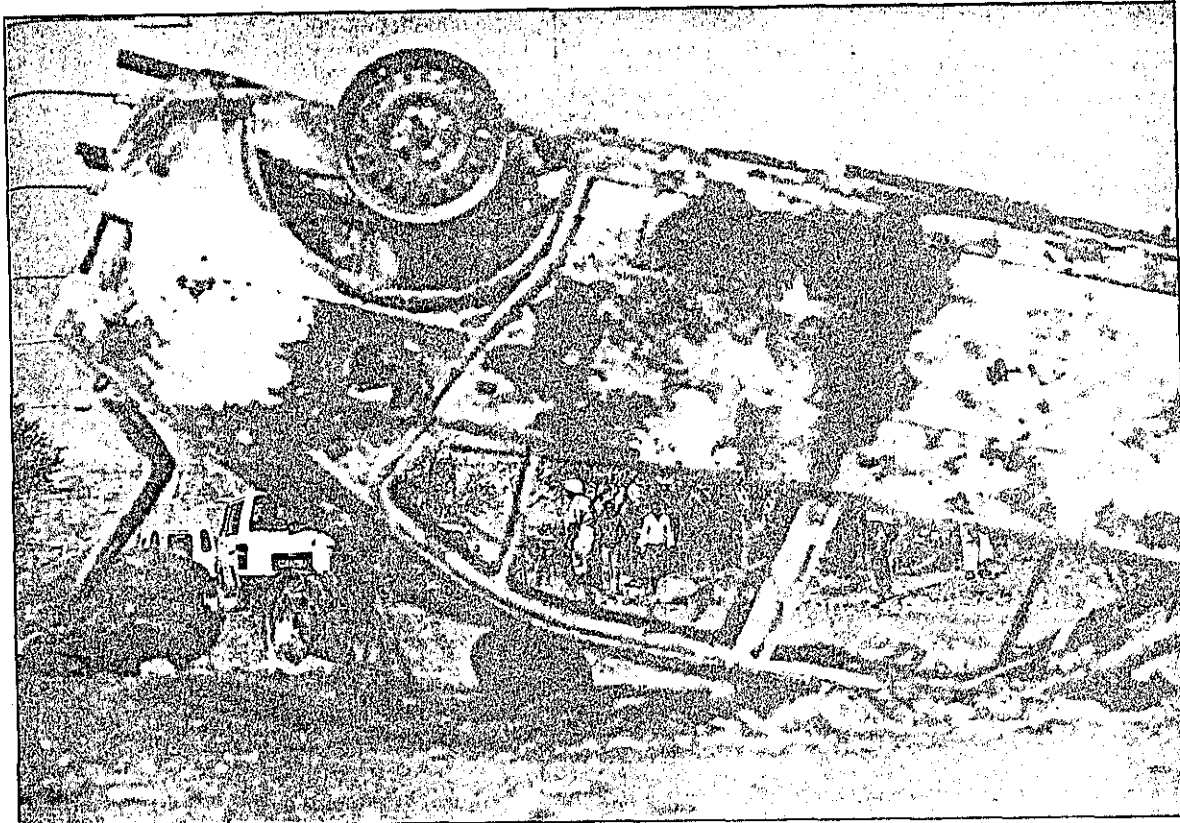
This morning Sowetans streamed to work despite barricades of rocks, burnt-out cars, rubble and tyres blocking roads.

Lieutenant-Colonel Tienie Halgryn, spokesman for the Soweto police, said among the victims was the body of a man who had been killed and set alight last night.

Colonel Halgryn said 80 patients were being treated at Baragwanath Hospital for gunshot wounds.

A spokesman for the police on the East Rand, Captain Ida van Zwiell, said Katlehong was quiet today after last night's fighting which, she said, was between Zulus and Xhosas.

She said the warring parties



Life goes on . . . after the violence that swept the sprawling township at the weekend, Soweto residents skirt the grim debris and go about their daily work. Barricades block the streets of Central Western Jobavu to slow down expected night attacks. ● Picture by Ken Oosterbroek.

fired shots at each other and at police and members of the SADF. One policeman was injured.

The president of the Witwatersrand Council of Churches (WCC), the Rev IE Thloloe, said among the dead were three people were killed at the Mandela Park squatter camp and four in the southern parts of Katlehong.

Mr Thloloe said parents withdrew their children from school yesterday as fierce fighting raged in Ramokonopi, Moseleki and Mnisi Sections.

In a new development, ambulances have been ordered to enter certain parts of Reef townships only under police protection, said

Johannesburg Fire and Emergency deputy director Danny Joubert.

"Ever since two ambulances were stoned and a patient being transported was attacked by a mob on August 18, we have instructed crews to wait for police protection if they are required to enter volatile areas.

Aggression

"Most of our staff live in the area and are very aware of the situation and the mood of the people in various sections," he said.

On Saturday night a group of people fighting in a street in


Johannesburg turned their aggression to ambulancemen.

Police dispersed the mob after considerable damage had been done to the vehicle's equipment.

Late last night a Johannesburg ambulance service spokesman said they had been forbidden to send ambulances to certain parts of Soweto because the vehicles were being stoned. The areas were Naledi and Tladi camps, Moletsane, Zola, Emdeni, Mapella and Phiri.

The ambulance service was encouraging callers to go to Jabulani Fire Station to be picked up, and 50 to 60 people had been picked up this way yesterday. Some were very seriously injured.

Wealth has to be shared - Lekota

Stc 11/9/90 (11A) 

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — If South Africa is to know lasting peace, the wealth of the country will have to be redistributed, says Patrick Lekota, the African National Congress's convener for southern Natal.

However, he said, this would not mean full-scale nationalisation as the ANC had never adopted pure socialism or communism as its economic policy.

Speaking during a weekend debate at Kloof High School on the redistribution of wealth, Mr Lekota said the 1913 Land Act and the 1936 Land and Trust Act had made the fair distribution of land among all South Africa's people impossible and had resulted in 87 percent of the land being owned by a "relative handful of whites".

Redress

He said this was clearly disproportionate and would have to be redressed, but it would not be enough simply to do away with apartheid legislation.

"South Africa's economy is in the hands of white South Africans. We don't necessarily think that is wrong. But we think it should be in the hands of both black and white on an equal basis, proportionately, and therefore some steps should be taken to correct it."

Mr Lekota said that in the past people were denied opportunities simply because they were black: "Wrong things were done in the name of God."

He cited the National Party Government's plan of action with regard to poor white Afrikaners in the 1940s and 1950s as an example of how the ANC could use

affirmative action to help poverty-stricken blacks obtain jobs and education.

This included job reservation and free education to help eliminate backwardness among those people.

"Those sectors of the economy which up to now have been under public control must remain under public control. Public funds must make a primary commitment to provide facilities for blacks."

Mr Lekota said, however, that the demands on the economy to uplift the black majority were going to be much heavier than they had been on the NP Government with regard to poor whites and consequently an extended area of South African capital was needed for black upliftment.

"Black South Africans need to be made into assets of this country."

He said a future ANC government would not want to take enormous loans from the World Bank and invest the money in non-profitmaking enterprises as they had seen the disastrous results from such actions in many other African countries.

Instead, the ANC would use funds or capital from public profit-making organisations such as Iscor or the railways to fund, for example, the building of schools.

Mr Lekota said the ANC was looking at the possibilities of breaking down some of the heavily monopolised industries, such as the newspaper industry.

He also mentioned mining houses and the banks as being under the ANC's consideration for coming under more stringent State control.

"Can we genuinely be-

lieve that blacks will always be happy on the periphery of the country's economy?" Mr Lekota asked.

"Privatisation of organisations such as Iscor only serves to consolidate distortions in the economy. No squatters from Inanda can afford to buy shares in Iscor."

With regard to land, Mr Lekota said a future democratic government would have to make an urgent effort to obtain land which could be made available for black housing and farming.

He said land now owned by the State could be made available for co-operative use so that unemployed people could become productive.

Vacant land owned by foreigners could also be expropriated for compensation.

Housing

Mr Lekota said that once land was occupied for housing, the Government could develop structures to help people — for example, rents could be comparable with wages earned.

He emphasised that the ANC had never adopted the policy of socialism: although the organisation believed some sectors of the economy needed to be under State control, it realised that there had to be a free private sector.

"The conditions and reality in this country must ultimately determine what we are going to do."

He said the ANC was still forming a concrete economic policy and was open to suggestion and negotiation. "We are asking white South Africans to look at the situation in a new context; we are asking them to start with us afresh."

Holomisa wants PAC, ANC to clear the air

11A
Sowetan
11/9/90

TRANSKEI military leader General Bantu Holomisa has called for a meeting between the ANC and its rival PAC.

In an interview at his Umtata office, Holomisa said the two liberation movements needed to "identify areas of common interest and devise a strategy of working together".

In exile, the two organisations had moved further apart if anything, and since their February 2 unbanning, differences have at times been played out in bloody clashes.

This prompted some contact between them to try and ensure political tolerance. But as yet the ANC's negotiations strategy has won little favour with the smaller Africanist grouping, which is currently marking itself out as a more militant option to the ANC.

Holomisa said he did not see himself facilitating contact between the two. That needed someone with more "expertise" than he had, argued the young general

whose ambitions, he says, lie in upgrading his military skills.

Currently host to ANC military chief Chris Hani, Holomisa pointed to a number of immediate steps to push negotiations forward.

Security laws had to be amended.

While Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok worked on a new image police force - putting his members in "a nice dress without always carrying rifles" would be a good starting point, he argued.

Invitation

Pretoria needed to open up negotiations to more interested parties.

"I am pleased they have sent an invitation to the PAC. But more need to be invited."

The ANC's suspension of its armed struggle needed to be followed up by a signed ceasefire agreement with Government.

At the same time, the voice for a constituent assembly - currently an ANC demand - had to be strengthened.

Unpopular

Hani's presence in Transkei has made the homeland even more unpopular with Pretoria, with Press reports - sourced to Government - alleging an Umkhonto we Sizwe guerilla presence within the homeland's tiny defence force, he said.

Holomisa added his Government had enough sources of information within Transkei to know the allegation was unfounded.

The general - who reckons he has saved

President de Klerk an international embarrassment by providing Hani sanctuary - would not be drawn into predicting possible retribution by Pretoria.

Already the impoverished bantustan is struggling against what Holomisa terms "a bit of sanctions".

Reduced fiscal transfers from Pretoria, with

an accompanying closing off of loans from the Development Bank of Southern Africa has forced a cutback in development projects. - *Sowetan Correspondent*



Gen BANTU HOLOMISA

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

Coetsee, Mandela discuss Hani immunity

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee and African National Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela discussed the possible reinstatement of Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani's temporary immunity against arrest when they met last night at Jan Suts Airport.

Mr Coetsee said today "greater clarity might emerge today" about the position of Mr Hani, who is now believed to be in the Transkei. Mr Coetsee went to the airport to meet Mr Mandela on his return from abroad and it was confirmed today

11A Ste 11/9/90
that the Hani controversy was discussed.

The disagreement over Mr Hani's immunity is apparently causing delays in the progress of the joint ANC/Government working group discussing the crucial issue of the practical implementation of the ANC's agreement to suspend hostilities.

The delay in completing the working group's report — due on Saturday — is in turn holding up

further stages in negotiations.

Mr Hani is the official head of the ANC delegation to the group but missed its first meeting last week because of the Government's decision to withdraw his temporary immunity against arrest.

The group was scheduled to hold its second meeting today but this was cancelled last night, official sources said.

They said that several ANC representatives on the group would be

meeting President de Klerk this afternoon and would therefore be unable to attend the meeting.

But Mr Hani's absence was also hampering the group's work. "We would like him in the group," an official said.

It is not certain if the ANC will attend another meeting unless Mr Hani is able to do so too.

It is not clear if the Government will insist on a conditional immunity against arrest for Mr Hani.

Two weeks ago — apparently also after talks between Mr Coetsee and high-level ANC officials — Mr Hani was granted a 41-hour immunity against arrest to attend a meeting of the ANC national executive committee.

The immunity was subject to strict condition that Mr Hani make no public statement or give press interviews while in South Africa.

Officials said the purpose of this

concession was for the ANC to persuade Mr Hani to moderate the militant language which provoked the Government into withdrawing his immunity in the first place.

No gag

But the ANC made it clear then that it did not regard Mr Hani's statements as being out of line with ANC policy and would not gag him.

A senior ANC delegation, led by Mr Mandela, will meet President de Klerk at the Union Buildings today.

FW meets Natal delegates today

Sowetan 11/9/90



STATE President FW de Klerk will meet a delegation of political leaders from Natal in Pretoria this afternoon to discuss the issue of the ongoing violence in Natal.

ANC deputy president

Nelson Mandela will lead the delegation. The organisations represented will include: the ANC, Cosatu, the UDF, the SANSCO and legal representatives.

Sources said yesterday that De Klerk had been presented with compre-

hensive memoranda on the violence in Natal since 1987 and would be well-informed before the meeting.

It is believed that the Natal delegation will demand an independent commission of inquiry into the violence.

Issues on the agenda for discussions include the role of the KwaZulu Police and the South African Police in the violence, the continued reign of certain "warlords" and the continued state of emergency in the province.

The meeting will take place at the Union Buildings at 2pm.

The delegation will consist of the following people: ANC executive committee members Nelson Mandela, Jacob Zuma, Thabo Mbeki, John Nkadimeng and Getrude Shope; Cosatu representatives Jay Naidoo, Willis Mncunu and Jeffrey Vilane; and local community leaders including Harry Gwala, Siphon Gcabashe, Linda Zama, T Ngcobo, John Jeffrey, Diliza Mji, Thami Mhlomi, Blade Nzimande, S Ngubane, K Magubane, Alec Erwin, and Thembi Nzuza.

Birthdays 'a health risk'

VANCOUVER - Medical researchers at Foothills Hospital in Calgary have identified birthdays as an unexpected new risk to health.

They have found that:
* In psychiatric wards, nearly one out of every

three patients is admitted within 30 days of celebrating a birthday;

* Twice the expected number of people are taken to hospital with heart problems within a week of their birthdays;

* Almost one in five

suicides takes place within a week of a birthday.

The director of psychiatric nursing, Ms Arlene Tanney, said studies suggested that "birthday blues" frequently created new patients.

Mamelodi divorcee remanded

A 35-year-old Mamelodi man who allegedly strangled and stabbed his 10-year-old daughter to death after his divorce was finalised last week appeared briefly in the Mamelodi Magistrate's Court yesterday.

Mr Solomon McTavish Michel Molefe, of 20625 Mamelodi East, ap-

peared before Mr E R Humphries and was not asked to plead. The case was postponed to today.

Molefe, who is conducting his own defence, will make an application for bail when he appears in court today.

The charge sheet is not formulated yet. - *Sowetan Reporter*

FACTFILE

Own Correspondent
LONDON. — The three-man mission from the International Commission of Jurists, which last week completed an investigation into the Natal violence, has called for a meeting of Inkatha's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and government and church leaders.

The involvement of government and church leaders would ensure that decisions taken were made to work "on the ground", mission leader Mr John Macdonald QC said in an interview yesterday.

The group's two-week investigation culminated in talks with Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok and Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha late last week.

Inkatha ^{CAA} ^{2/19/70} ANC talks ^{11A} called for by jurists

In the interview Mr Macdonald said:

● There was a strong need for the police to "turn over a new leaf" — and he recommended the establishment of a second police staff college, where refresher courses could be given by Australian, British or Canadian police on exchange appointment.

● That the State of Emergency in Natal should be lifted as a

"clear signal" to the people on the ground "that the government is determined to change the whole climate of opinion". He said Mr Botha indicated that the government was considering this.

Mr Macdonald said he was confident that because the violence, which has now spread to the Transvaal, originated in Natal, solving the problem there would help on the broader scale.

Mr Macdonald said his group was "left in no doubt" about the seriousness of the government's commitment to change.

He said a comprehensive report would be compiled over the next three weeks and would be submitted to President F W de Klerk, Mr Botha and Mr Vlok.

Violence: ANC 'should stop claiming innocence'

Ch. 7/1/85 *11/9/90* *(11/11/90)*

PRETORIA. — Political organisations, especially the ANC, should cease claiming total innocence for themselves and their followers and laying all blame on their opponents or on the police, Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen said yesterday.

Dr Viljoen said the government had noted with great concern the "highly exaggerated" statement made in Kampala by the deputy president of the ANC, Mr Nelson Mandela, that the government "is conducting a war against us" and that the government "is systematically inciting certain people to attack and kill the ANC".

"Such charges are most unwarranted and unfounded and are calculated to increase tension and violence."

Dr Viljoen said it completely contradicted "the spirit of mutual trust obtaining among the leaders in-

involved" to which the Pretoria Minute referred.

All political organisations had a duty and responsibility actively to contribute towards calming excited emotions and restoring peace and stability, Dr Viljoen added.

Mr Mandela's allegation that any political demonstration was regarded by the police and the army as "a rebellion which must be put down in a brutal way" was untrue and in conflict with the many political demonstrations that regularly took place without hindrance on the part of the security forces, Dr Viljoen said.

Dr Viljoen said it was time that other organisations became visible in their control of their people, failing which they might stand condemned either as condoning violence or not being in control of their supporters. — Sapa

Govt proposal aimed at ending trouble in Natal

PRETORIA — Government has drawn up a four-point proposal which it hopes will form the basis for discussions between the ANC and Inkatha in Maritzburg to end the violence.

Provincial Affairs Deputy Minister Tertius Delpport said yesterday the proposal was a result of separate discussions held last week with members of Inkatha, the ANC and the Maritzburg Town Council.

He would be holding talks with the ANC on September 24 for a response on the proposal and he hoped Inkatha and the ANC would accept it as the basis for negotiations.

Delpport said if the proposal facilitated a peaceful settlement in the Maritzburg areas of Mpumulanga and Edendale, he hoped it would have a ripple effect on the rest of Natal.

The four-point proposal suggests first that all parties subscribe to a code of conduct whereby the princi-

EDYTH BULBRING

ple of mutual tolerance is accepted. "It is important that people get away from the idea that peace can only be achieved when all opposition is destroyed," Delpport said.

Secondly, government must provide some form of security to displaced people who would like to return to their original homes.

Security

Government would have to provide some financial assistance in the reconstruction of these communities, he said.

The parties would have to look at security measures in the affected areas and decide to what extent they needed to be increased, and what form they should take, Delpport said.

Regarding financial assistance, government had made R6m available in July for the reconstruction of

the Natal communities.

This money could only be used once the conflict had been solved.

The third point was that government had to make available alternative stands to those people who did not want to return to their original area. He said the department was in the process of identifying land for this purpose.

The fourth point, he said, was to find a solution to educational problems where conflicts between Inkatha and ANC supporters had arisen at school level.

Delpport, who is responsible for the political co-ordination of social upliftment programmes in Natal, said the Maritzburg Town Council had expressed concern over the refugee problem in the region.

It was believed the assistance to refugees was costing the council, church and welfare groups more than R25 000 a week.

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PRETORIA — Government has drawn up a four-point proposal which it hopes will form the basis for discussions between the ANC and Inkatha in Maritzburg to end the violence.

Provincial Affairs Deputy Minister Tertius Delpport said yesterday the proposal was a result of separate discussions held last week with members of Inkatha, the ANC and the Maritzburg Town Council.

He would be holding talks with the ANC on September 24 for a response on the proposal and he hoped Inkatha and the ANC would accept it as the basis for negotiations.

Delpport said if the proposal facilitated a peaceful settlement in the Maritzburg areas of Mpumalanga and Edendale, he hoped it would have a ripple effect on the rest of Natal.

The four-point proposal suggests first that all parties subscribe to a code of conduct whereby the princi-

EDYTH BULBRING

ple of mutual tolerance is accepted. "It is important that people get away from the idea that peace can only be achieved when all opposition is destroyed," Delpport said.

Secondly, government must provide some form of security to displaced people who would like to return to their original homes.

Security

Government would have to provide some financial assistance in the reconstruction of these communities, he said.

The parties would have to look at security measures in the affected areas and decide to what extent they needed to be increased, and what form they should take, Delpport said.

Regarding financial assistance, government had made R6m available in July for the reconstruction of

the Natal communities.

This money could only be used once the conflict had been solved.

The third point was that government had to make available alternative stands to those people who did not want to return to their original area. He said the department was in the process of identifying land for this purpose.

The fourth point, he said, was to find a solution to educational problems where conflicts between Inkatha and ANC supporters had arisen at school level.

Delpport, who is responsible for the political co-ordination of social upliftment programmes in Natal, said the Maritzburg Town Council had expressed concern over the refugee problem in the region.

It was believed the assistance to refugees was costing the council, church and welfare groups more than R25 000 a week.

FW likely to grill ANC leader today

Viljoen slams Mandela over attack on govt

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela's reported claim that government was systematically inciting certain people to "kill the ANC" was unwarranted, unfounded and calculated to increase tension and violence, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said last night.

In a strongly worded statement, Viljoen said remarks reportedly made by Mandela at an OAU meeting in Kampala completely contradicted the Pretoria Minute which referred to "the spirit of mutual trust" existing among the leaders involved.

President F W de Klerk is likely to question Mandela on his reported statements — which include a claim that government is conducting a war against the ANC — when they meet tomorrow afternoon.

Mandela is leading an ANC/Cosatu/UDF delegation to meet De Klerk to discuss violence in Natal.

The meeting was originally scheduled for the end of last month, but was delayed.

The fact that Viljoen, government's chief negotiator, has chosen to respond to Mandela's charges is an indication of the serious light in which they are being viewed by Pretoria.

Until now De Klerk and members of his negotiating team have refrained from attacking Mandela. It has been left to Defence Minister Magnus Malan, who has not been involved in direct negotiations with the ANC, to speak on government's behalf whenever it has felt that Mandela has overstepped the mark.

MIKE ROBERTSON

Viljoen said Mandela's claims that government was conducting a war against the ANC and that "any political demonstration is regarded by the police and the army as a rebellion which must be put down in a brutal way" were plainly untrue.

Viljoen noted that many political demonstrations were taking place without hindrance by security forces.

"Mr Mandela," Viljoen said, "lays all responsibility for curbing violence on the shoulders of government. All political organisations have a duty and responsibility actively to contribute towards calming excited emotions and restoring peace and stability. The ANC and other organisations must cease claiming total innocence for themselves and their followers, and laying blame on their opponents, or the police."

Viljoen said government had thus far not hesitated to expose and act against irregular actions by security forces.

Despite the public war of words between government and the ANC, behind-the-scenes negotiations between the two are continuing and they report good progress.

The political offences working group has submitted a report which provides for the immediate administrative release of political prisoners and return of exiles (an example is those people who left the country without a passport); the release and return of categories of offenders; and referral of individual "hard cases" to a com-

□ To Page 2

Viljoen

mittee of experts for a decision on whether they qualify as political offenders.

The report still has to be accepted by Cabinet and the ANC national executive committee before being made public.

The working group appointed to clarify issues arising from the ANC's decision to suspend armed action is to meet again this week. Government is not reading anything

sinister into the fact that two ANC representatives, in addition to Chris Hani, did not attend the first meeting of the working group last week. Both sides have described that meeting as constructive.

The group is to report by September 15. Because of the delay in beginning its work, the group is unlikely to have completed its task by then. An interim report will probably have to be submitted.

□ From Page 1

Edging towards a new SA

stor 12/9/90

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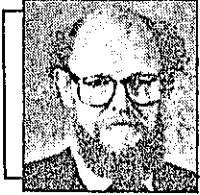
Amid cries of anguish, agony and anger ringing from the turbulent townships, South Africa's main political actors, President de Klerk's governing National Party and Nelson Mandela's African National Congress, have begun to etch out their negotiating positions.

They know the violence threatens a negotiated settlement, but at the same time the murderous strife underlines the importance of negotiations as the only long-term solution to the conflict.

With what may be viewed as robust optimism, the NP and the ANC have even begun to prepare for the non-racial elections — the first on a national scale in South Africa's history — which lie beyond the negotiations.

On the negotiation front, the NP has taken a tough stand on two issues: an interim government and a constituent assembly. It will countenance neither.

The latest Cabinet Minister to spell out the Government's opposition to an interim government is Constitutional Development Minis-



Unprecedented township violence threatens to delay and even subvert the negotiating process. But pre-negotiation manoeuvres continue because the violence makes negotiation more necessary than ever, writes **PATRICK LAURENCE**.

ter Gerrit Viljoen. The present government will remain in control until a new constitution is agreed on, he says.

Mr de Klerk's invitation to all parties, no matter how small, to join the negotiating process pre-empts calls for a constituent assembly.

The parties he named specifically at the NP's Free State congress are interesting and instructive: the right-wing Conservative Party, the opposition parties in the coloured and Indian chambers of Parliament, the National Forum, a loose organisation of black township councillors, and Sofasonke, the ruling party in Soweto's town council. They have one key feature in common: their support is minuscule.

As they are essentially conservative organisations, it is fairly certain they will support Mr de Klerk

in his opposition to the notions of an interim government and a constituent assembly. But the ANC may be able to woo some of the black organisations to its side, a stratagem which it has used to deprive the Government of the assured support of tribal leaders.

The ANC is pressing hard for both an interim government and elections for a constituent assembly. They are key components of its opening position. Its commitment to them dates back the Harare Declaration of August 1989.

The OAU-endorsed declaration wants a transitional administration, not the "apartheid regime", to supervise the drawing up of a new constitution. It does not refer directly to a constituent assembly. There is, however, mention of the need to negotiate a "mechanism for

drawing up a new constitution". The ANC's preference is for a constituent assembly.

If the Government succeeds in persuading the Pan-Africanist Congress to join the negotiating table, it will have attracted another strongly anti-ANC force to the discussions. But it will have to pay a price: the PAC is adamantly committed to elections for a constituent assembly.

Dr Viljoen is wont to describe negotiations as a process of give and take.

In the past few days, Finance Minister Barend du Plessis, second-ranking NP leader after Mr de Klerk, has spoken of a post-negotiation Cabinet being representative of all political parties in the new Parliament. Mr Mandela, too, has spoken recently of a post-negotiation government being representative of all parties.

Juxtaposition of their speeches raises the intriguing prospect that the NP and the ANC may be fairly close to agreement on what they have to give and what they can take.

ANC, Government clash over causes of ongoing violence

Peace process in the balance

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

The peace process is facing its severest challenge as the townships descend into bloody chaos while the Government and the ANC bicker about the causes.

The ANC and the Government clashed head-on again yesterday when ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela said the Government's failure to stop the killing

was threatening the peace process.

Mr Mandela urged the Government to use the full force of its security apparatus to end the violence. Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen, however, accused the ANC of inconsistency in calling for security force action on the one hand, and accusing the security forces of prejudice.

Full force

Mr Mandela said the Government "has a very strong, effective and

well-equipped army and police force and can easily use it. If it does, the violence will be something of the past."

Dr Viljoen and other Government officials shot back: "All along there has been an inconsistency in what Mr Mandela and other ANC leaders have been calling for. On the one hand they ask for the full force of the security forces to be brought to bear. On the other hand, the moment their supporters are in any way affected, those leaders say the security forces are prejudiced.

"There is an apparent unwillingness to admit any fault on the part

of the ANC and its leaders."

President de Klerk said after meeting an ANC delegation under Mr Mandela yesterday that he would consider the suggestions made by them to end the violence in Natal. But he pointed out that a solution to the problem depended as much on political initiatives as on steps by the Government.

He urged the ANC delegation to continue with the political initiative between itself and Inkatha.

Mr Mandela said yesterday the ANC would do all in its power to keep the negotiations on track.

But if the Government continued

to "drag its feet" it would be difficult for the ANC to resist the call from its supporters for arms.

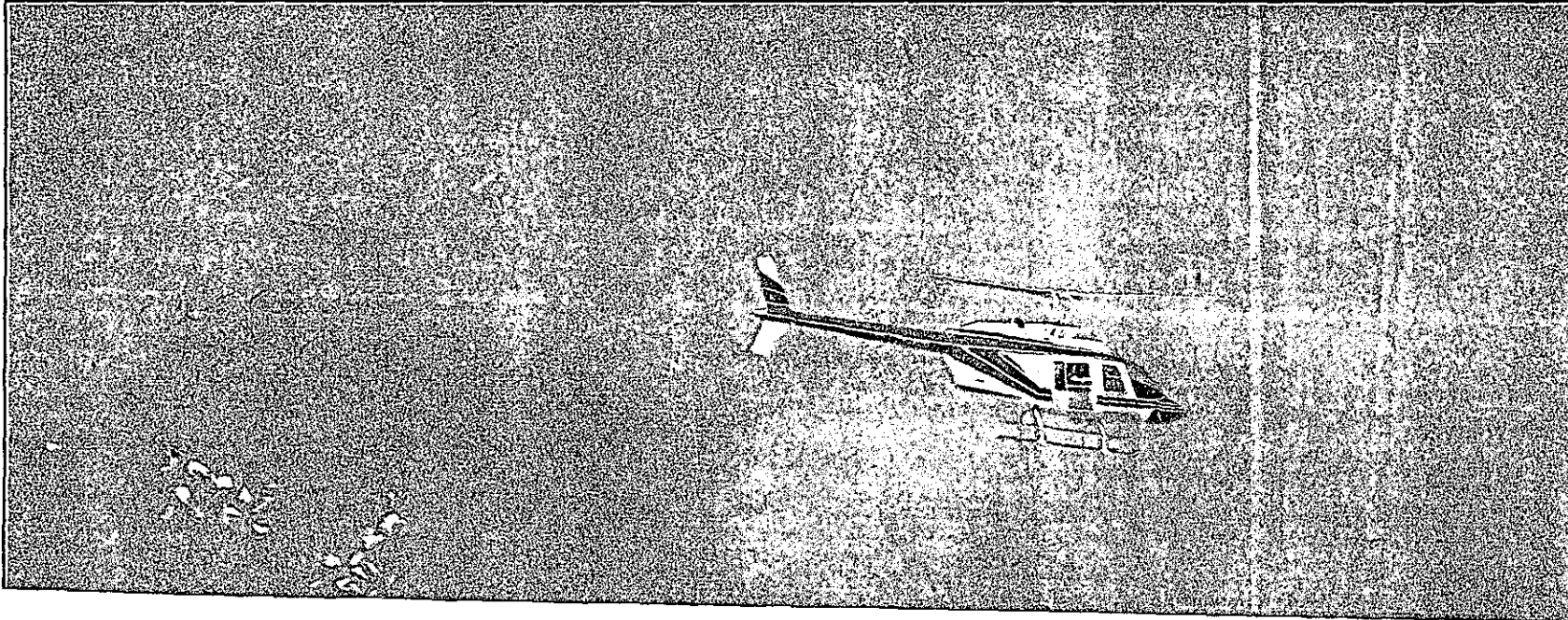
Meanwhile security sources said they believed Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok would issue a statement today pointing to ANC involvement in the township violence.

Suggestions

The ANC published a memorandum yesterday of suggestions to end the Natal violence — which Mr Mandela said had been presented to the Government two weeks ago.

It recommended that:

- The central Government should establish a central command structure in Natal and subordinate other security forces to it.
- A high-level working group should be established to help restore order.
- The security forces should remain impartial.
- Effective liaison and monitoring mechanisms should be set up between the Natal central command structure and the ANC.
- The state of emergency in Natal must go.
- The amendment of the Natal Code on Zulu Law regarding "cultural weapons" must be reversed.



Radioactivity scare in Natal

DURBAN — The possibility of a radioactive leak worried Natal North Coast residents last night after an accident in which a roller crushed an earth-measuring instrument equipped with a radioactive probe.

The accident took place at the scene of road works on the R614 near Tongaat at 5.40 pm. The area was immediately cordoned off and experts from the Atomic Energy Board advised officials on containing any possible leak. — Own Correspondent.

17 000 seals culled off Skeleton Coast

CAPE TOWN — About 17 000 seals have been culled off the Skeleton Coast nature reserve in Namibia since the season opened there last Friday. The chairman of the Seal Ac-

Sec 12/9/90

11A

By Dawn Barkhuizen

Some call it anarchy, others say it's civil war

"A man was lying dead in the street like a dog. His head was cracked open like an egg, he had been burnt and shot.

"A little further were two bodies under a blanket. Around the corner was a woman who had been shot in the leg, her companion was dead. Under some newspaper in a burnt-out car there was a skeleton.

"The windows in most houses were broken. The TVs and radios were gone. People were crying in the streets, some said they wanted guns. On one corner a group of kids were making petrol bombs."

An eyewitness account from Beirut?

No, from Katlehong township, East Rand, September 11 1990, 8 am.

At least 26 people were killed when rival bands attacked one another with axes, spears and knives, hacking and stabbing victims in the township on Monday night.

The violence continued unabated yesterday when trouble erupted in a train in central Johannesburg. One man was hacked to death and several injured when men with machetes rampaged through carriages

Chopped up

The dead man was thrown from a train. His body had been chopped up, police said. A wounded man was found shot on the train. More injured peo-

ple found their own way to hospital.

Iny Tokoza, 300 women were marching on the police station, demanding that troops remained in the townships overnight.

In Ennerdale, drunken residents returning from a rally yesterday went on the rampage and burnt down the civic centre, gutted buildings and fought with police.

People die nightly in the townships of the West and East Rand and in Soweto. The situation is increasingly fluid and volatile, despite threats and appeals for peace from the Government, political organisations and church organisations.

The death toll has risen to an estimated 650 over the last month. It is higher than that of the 32-month-old Palestinian uprising in Israel's occupied territories.

As the killing becomes more and more indiscriminate, the potential for anarchy increases, predicts Lloyd Vogelmann, director of the Project for the Study of Violence at the University of the Witwatersrand.

"For every day that the killing continues, for every day that there are more victims, the potential for anarchy increases. Unless this is stemmed within the next three weeks, I believe we will be faced with full-blown anarchy reminiscent

of Natal," he said.

A spokesman for the International Red Cross said that while the fighting was still localised and the townships not totally ungovernable, the situation had all the makings of a civil war.

Control

"Our workers leave the townships at night because it is too dangerous to continue working, but during the day we are still able to make contact with all the various sides. Were the situation anarchic we would not be able to do even that."

SAP spokesman General Herman Stadler said: "In certain townships, people are taking

the law into their own hands, but there is still control to a large extent. Even in the violence-stricken areas, people have still been going to work and doing their daily tasks."

Asked why the Government did not send in massive reinforcements, the general said: "The violence fluctuates, but is not continuous.

"One never knows where it is going to happen. If it gets worse we will send in the army, but we cannot keep a continuous large force in every area. We can only take our guidance from daily events.

"The police cannot solve the problem. We can put a lid on it, we can contain it, but the people must want to stop it. The leaders must come forward and stop it."

Violence: blacks don't know cause

Black South Africans in the main do not know the cause of the ongoing violence in the Witwatersrand area, while whites feel the conflict is largely ethnically based, according to a Human Sciences Research Council survey released yesterday.

Significantly, a slightly smaller percentage of blacks said they viewed a lack of communication and understanding among themselves as the main cause of the violence.

Asked what should be done to stop the killing, most blacks called for negotiations, while, in answer to the same question, whites said they did not know.

The survey, conducted among 845 respondents — 424 blacks and 421 whites — was carried out telephonically by the MarkData organisation of the HSRC.

The respondents all had a minimum qualification of matric and were resident in the PWV area, the Cape Peninsula, Durban and Port Elizabeth.

Of the whites, 27 percent believed the conflict stemmed from ethnic differences, "and more specifically differences between Xhosa and Zulu".

Some 25 percent of blacks said they did not know the reasons for the violence and 21 percent believed the cause to be "lack of communication and mutual understanding between the groups". — Sapa.

Students link under BC banner

Sowetan 12/9/90



A NEW student organisation catering for students adhering to the Black Consciousness philosophy at tertiary institutions has been formed.

By NKOPANE
MAKOBANE

The Azanian Students' Convention (Azasco) was formed at the two-day

seventh annual congress of the Azanian Students' Movement held at

Shareworld, Johannesburg, at the weekend.

It was attended by more than 1 000 delegates representing more than 80 branches countrywide.

Mr Xolani Kalaote, Azasco's president, told a Press conference in Johannesburg this week that Azasm will continue to function as another student wing of the BCM. It will mainly cater for primary and secondary pupils.

Growing

"Congress resolved that two student structures of the BCM be formed because of the growing membership. We found that Azasm, as a single structure, can no longer adequately handle membership from secondary to tertiary level," he said.

Kalaote also said the congress discussed the education crisis at length. He said from investigations conducted, it was found that there had been no effective education. It was therefore resolved that the call for the postponement of examinations be supported.

Decisive

"As a way forward, Azasco and Azasm will organise a national student consultative conference to devise a long-term programme to put a decisive stop to this crisis," he said.

The congress also noted that the additional factor which complicates the education crisis is the rising tide of violence and drug abuse within and without school premises.

Kalaote said to resolve this, Azasco will initiate an awareness campaign for health, and social groups to be involved in the identification of the related problems.

He also said they believed that to normalise black education, teachers have every right to organise for the fair treatment of their labour from the Department of Education and Training.

Failure

"The continued denial of this right by the DET and its failure to acknowledge and resolve the legitimate grievances of teachers, will worsen the education crisis as happened with the teachers' strikes," he said.

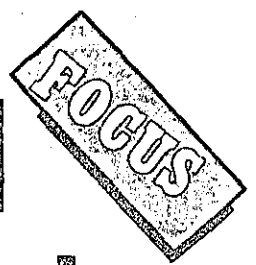
Azapo blames Govt (11A)

Cowetan 12/9/90
AZAPO yesterday blamed the continuing internecine violence on the Government, saying it was an orchestrated campaign to destabilise the black community and create the impression they were tribal conflicts.

Azapo's publicity secretary, Mr Strini Moodley, told a Press conference in Johannesburg the violence was fuelled by elements "clearly wishing to strengthen the hand of President FW de Klerk, particularly with regard to the question of group and minority rights".

He said Azapo had evidence the violence was an orchestrated campaign by the "De Klerk regime" - *Sapa*.

11A



Soweto 12/9/90

Biko's stand could stem the bloodshed

INTERNATIONALLY recognised poet Don Mattera and I were discussing the sordid violence in the townships and the painful litany of deaths in the newspapers every day when he shook his head and said: "I don't think any of this would have happened if Steve Biko was alive."

"As an important political figure in our history, Steve stood for the unity of black people and he would have seen to it that the violence among blacks did not happen and, if it did, he would have been in the front line trying to stop it."

"Blacks in the hostels and townships are not enemies. Blacks in different political organisations should not see one another as enemies. It suits our enemy when blacks kill blacks in such large numbers."

Biko, who assisted in formulating the Black Consciousness philosophy while a medical student at the University of Natal and who died in police custody after a slow and cruel interrogation that lasted for weeks, committed himself to the unity of the oppressed and their organisations.

Liberation

In one of his writings, he said: "Blacks are collectively discriminated against, so what could be more logical than for us to respond as a group."

And in a television interview on the theme of organisational unity, he made a far-reaching statement by saying: "I would like to see groups like the ANC, the PAC and the Black Consciousness Movement deciding to form one liberation group."

Biko, who was banned and restricted to King Williams Town while honorary president of the Black People's Convention, was arrested at a roadblock with Peter Jones on August 18 1977.

According to Jones, they were

STEVE BIKO, the founding father of the Black Consciousness movement, died a brutal death in detention 13 years ago today. **MIKE TISSONG** looks at how Biko and his belief in BC relate to the violence racking South African townships today.

subjected to physical assaults for 24 hours a day by teams of interrogators operating on eight-hour shifts.

Their interrogators wanted them to admit to spreading pamphlets calling for revolt. Biko died on September 12 as a result of brain damage and his autopsy report also revealed that he had injuries all over his body.

When Khotso Seathlolo, one of the student leaders of the June 1976 revolt, was released from prison earlier this year, he said the kind of violence going on in the townships today was unthinkable in the mid-1970s "because black people stood as one".

"We knew our enemy. We knew we were oppressed and who was oppressing us. We knew we had to stand together to overcome our common oppressor."

About three weeks ago, the Rev Stanley Mogoba, speaking in his capacity as president of the South African Institute of Race Relations, said a return to BC was the only remedy for the current violence raking the country.

"Instead of joining together to ring the 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."

Communities

He said those who opposed BC 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 changed by BC to be manipulated by others for selfish ends or to resort to the primitive practice of violence.

"People must be taught to think for themselves and not be steamrolled by mass thinking and mass hysteria."

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.

Complexes

"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."

If Black Consciousness achieved the unity of black people in the 1970s by having within its structures, ANC, PAC and Unity Movement people among others, where did things go wrong? This a questioned that has been fielded quite often.

Biko admired the unity of the 1970s and said the movement then and the revolt of 1976 that started in Soweto, had a "boldness, dedication, sense of purpose and clarity of analysis of the situation - all these things are a direct result of Black Consciousness ideas among the young in Soweto and elsewhere.

"The power of a movement lies in the fact that it can indeed change the habits of people. This change is not the result of forcing people, but of moral persuasion."

On another occasion, Biko

who would have been 44 years old now, commented that the "biggest mistake the black world ever made was to assume that whoever opposed apartheid was an ally."

And this is where the rot set in. People, such as security policeman Craig Williamson among others who did not have the interests of the liberation of the oppressed people at heart, crept into black organisations with enemy agendas and sowed the seeds of division in the movement as a whole.

Young people, who did not know their history, swallowed the seeds from the likes of Williamson abroad and others internally and grew into activists that breathed hatred towards their fellow blacks.

The fragile fabric of unity that had been sown across the black community and its organisations in the 1970s, was torn asunder with disregard to the damage they were doing to the black community as a whole or to the future of inter-organisational relations in this country.

Slogans

While each organisation chauvnistically looks after its own name, chants its own slogans and carries out independent agendas, the true liberation of this country will remain elusive.

The Government will continue calling the shots and setting the pace for components of the liberation movement to follow and make reference to when drawing up their own uncoordinated programmes.

But among true revolutionaries, there is light down the line.

And that light is that liberation organisations have to accept that there are others involved in the struggle and thrash out strategies together.

If one or more organisations are ignored in the settlement process, there is a chance that whatever agreement is reached by other parties, could be subverted.

PAC plea on violence

THE Pan Africanist Congress yesterday appealed to all people to actively and loudly abhor the wanton and senseless murders which have engulfed the Reef townships. *Sowetan 12/9/90*

PAC leader Mr Zeph Mothopeng said yesterday the "outrageous and inhuman violence" continued to involve mysterious elements who were killing people indiscriminately, including innocent children. (11)

He said a similar pattern of murder was taking shape, conducted either by people who were walking or driving vehicles such as kombis, using heavy and lethal weapons in each case, suggesting the possibility that these attacks were pre-arranged and co-ordinated.

He said the solution to the violence should become the priority above other things, including negotiations. - *Sowetan Reporter.*

Mandela calls on govt to use its full might

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B1 PM 12/9/90

NEGOTIATIONS would be jeopardised unless full powers of state were used to stamp out the violence which had claimed the lives of more than 600 people in the past month, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela warned last night.

As he was speaking East Rand township residents were barricading roads and forming watch committees to stand guard throughout the night in case of further attacks.

Speaking at the Union Buildings after meeting President F W de Klerk, Mandela sounded the strongest warning yet that the ANC leadership was finding it difficult to resist demands from supporters for arms to protect themselves.

By yesterday 32 people had been killed on the Witwatersrand since Monday night.

At the time of going to press a gang from Vosloorus had moved into the Phola Park squatter camp in Thokoza setting fire to shacks and firing shots.

Mandela yesterday led an ANC/Cosatu/UDF delegation which discussed violence in Natal with De Klerk, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok.

Speaking after the meeting Mandela said: "If government fails to take action and violence continues to rise and people continue to demand to be armed we will find it difficult to oppose these demands."

Government, he said, was capable of stamping out violence with its well-equipped army and police force. "I want it to use this capacity."

The ANC would do everything in its power to keep peace talks on track, but if

MIKE ROBERTSON, TANIA LEVY, LINDEN BIRNS and WILSON ZWANE

government continued to "drag its feet", the process would be threatened.

In Johannesburg yesterday evening terrified Soweto commuters swelled taxi queues rather than board trains after violence yesterday morning. A panga-wielding mob hacked and stabbed passengers on a train travelling between Braamfontein and Johannesburg stations. One person was killed.

Commuters who had witnessed the early morning attack described how people had leapt out of the train to escape.

Mandla, a middle-aged Sowetan, said he had seen a dead body at the end of platform 1 when he came into Johannesburg station at about 7.20am yesterday.

Other commuters said they were shocked by the large pool of blood on the stairs leading from the station platform to street level.

In Katlehong and Vosloorus yesterday evening, township residents were seen barricading main access roads and back streets in a bid to slow or halt Inkatha vehicles, police Casspirs and other patrolling security force vehicles.

Katlehong and Vosloorus residents said they could not sleep at night because violence always erupted then.

This morning local authorities in Vosloorus will demolish part of the Sotho hostel where Inkatha supporters gained a stronghold three weeks ago.

"There is concern among residents that the hostel dwellers are using the block as a hideout when launching attacks on them,"

□ To Page 2

Mandela

B1 PM 12/9/90

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□ From Page 1

Vosloorus town council spokesman Sydwell Mofokeng said last night.

Police said 24 people had died in Katlehong, Thokoza and Vosloorus since Monday night.

Yesterday afternoon Inkatha supporting hostel inmates set upon a house opposite the Zulu quarters of Vosloorus Nguni hostel, smashing windows and setting the

house on fire.

Sophie Phiri managed to escape with her life, but lost everything she owned in the blaze that swept through her house.

Ellen Phiri, Sophie's daughter, said the incident had been reported to the local police who told her they "would only come out if there was a dead body involved".

● Picture: Page 3

Threat to talks

CME 7/9/85 12/9/80 11A

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Nelson Mandela last night warned that negotiations would be jeopardised unless full powers of state were used to stamp out violence which has claimed the lives of more than 600 people in the past month.

As he was speaking people in East Rand townships, where 24 people have died since the weekend, were barricading roads and forming watch committees to stand guard throughout the night in case of further fighting.

Speaking at the Union Buildings, Mr Mandela sounded the strongest warning yet that the ANC leadership was finding it difficult to resist demands from supporters for arms to protect themselves.

A total of 32 people have been killed on the Witwatersrand since Monday night. At the time of going to press a gang, allegedly Inkatha supporters from Vosloorus, had moved into the Phola Park squatter camp in

Thokoza setting fire to shacks and firing shots.

In Johannesburg yesterday evening, terrified Soweto commuters swelled taxi queues rather than board trains following violence in the morning when a panga-wielding mob hacked and stabbed passengers on a train travelling between Braamfontein and Johannesburg stations. One person was killed.

Mr Mandela yesterday led an ANC-Co-satu-UDF delegation which discussed violence in Natal with President F W de Klerk, Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee and Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok.

Inevitably, the orgy of violence on the Witwatersrand also came under the spotlight.

Speaking after the meeting, Mr Mandela said: "If the government fails to take action and violence continues to rise and people continue to demand to be armed, we will find it difficult to oppose these demands."

The government, he said, had the capacity in a well-equipped army and police force to stamp out violence. "I want them to use this capacity."

Violence, he said, was threatening the peace process. The ANC would do everything in its power to keep peace talks on track, but if the government continued to



Mr Mandela at the Union Buildings yesterday

"drag its feet" the process would be under threat.

"No doubt the peace process is in distress," Mr Mandela said.

He confirmed he had said several times

that the government was conducting a war against the ANC.

"The government cannot be allowed to talk peace and negotiation while it conducts war against the ANC."

Mr De Klerk said in a later statement, apparently aimed at reassuring the ANC, that he had told Mr Mandela the government was taking steps "to strengthen the maintenance of law and order". The president noted he "reiterated his deep concern about the situation".

The statement from Mr De Klerk's office added: "The president once again indicated that a solution to the problems in Natal depended as much on a political solution as on steps by the government. The delegation was urged to continue with the present political initiatives between the main parties involved."

"The president also stressed that in handling the situation in Natal it is imperative that the government must be seen to act impartially towards all the parties involved in the conflict. Bearing this in mind, the recommendations made by the delegation will be considered."

At Johannesburg station last night, commuters who had witnessed the early morn-

ing attack described how people leapt out of the train to escape.

Mandla, a middle-aged Sowetan, said he saw a man's body lying at the end of platform 1 when he came into Johannesburg station about 7.20am.

Other commuters said they were shocked by a large pool of blood lying wet on the stairs leading from the Johannesburg station platform to street level. Mandla said splatters of blood leading up the stairs gave the impression the bleeding person had crawled away.

Mandla said some of his colleagues had left work at 1pm to avoid travelling home in the evening.

As the sun set yesterday on Katlehong and Vosloorus, township residents were seen barricading not just main access roads but back streets too in a bid to slow or halt alleged Inkatha-owned vehicles, police Caspsirs and other security force vehicles.

Both Katlehong and Vosloorus residents said they did not sleep and were constantly worried as violence always erupted at night in the townships.

To page 2

● Night of terror — Page 2

P.T.O.

Coetsee and Mandela meet over Hani

JUSTICE Minister Kobie Coetsee and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela discussed the possible reinstatement of Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani's temporary immunity against arrest when they met on Monday night at Jan Suts Airport.

Coetsee said yesterday "greater clarity might emerge" about the position of Hani, who is now believed to be in the Transkei.

Coetsee went to the airport to meet Mandela on his return from abroad and it was confirmed yesterday that the Hani controversy was discussed.

The disagreement over Hani's immunity is apparently causing delays in the progress of the joint ANC/Government working group discussing the crucial issue of the practical implementation of the ANC's agreement to suspend hostilities.

The delay in completing the working group's report - due on Saturday - is in turn holding up further stages in negotiations. *Sowetan 12/7/90*

Hani is the official head of the ANC delegation to the group but missed its first meeting last week because of the Government's decision to withdraw his temporary immunity against arrest.

The group was scheduled to hold its second meeting yesterday but this was cancelled on Monday night, official sources said. *(11A) (S)*

They said that several ANC representatives on the group would be meeting President de Klerk yesterday afternoon and would therefore be unable to attend the meeting.

But Hani's absence was also hampering the group's work. "We would like him in the group," an official said.

It is not certain if the ANC will attend another meeting unless Hani is able to do so too. - Sowetan Correspondent

High school renamed after Nelson Mandela

A HIGH school in Nyanga has been renamed after ANC deputy president, Nelson Mandela, and the Ministry of Education and Development Aid has given the move a thumbs up.

Mandela and the ANC have also registered their approval to Sebenza High School being named after him.

The school's new colours will be the ANC's black, green and gold. During a visit to the school the *Sowetan* correspondent saw a number of students clad in ANC colours.

According to chairman of the Parents'-Teachers'-Students'-Association, Mr Pro Jack, the proposal from students had been "overwhelmingly accepted by parents in a meeting held in February".

The idea to rename the school came after the expulsion of former principal Mr H Coetsee at the beginning of the year. - *Sowetan Correspondent*

Biko services to be held nationwide

Sowetan 12/9/90



AZAPO is to hold several services in the Northern Transvaal in remembrance of the death in police custody 12 years ago of Steve Bantu Biko. At Mankweng, Turfloop the president of the newly launched Azanian Students Convention (Azasoco), Mr Xolani Kalaote, and the honorary president of the Azanian Student Movement, Mr Kgotso Seatlholo, will both address a service to start at the university Great Hall at 10am.

Seatlholo and Kalaote will later travel to

By **RUSSEL MOLEFE**
and **SAPA**

Seshego for another service at the Community Hall scheduled to start at 3pm.

At Mankweng, a workshop on the relevance of black organisations in a non-racial society will begin at 2pm.

Azapo regional chairman, Mr Don

Nkadameng will lead discussions.

On Friday, the president of Azapo, Professor Itumeleng Mosala will address a service at the University of the North at 7pm.

The interorganisational violence sweeping black areas in the Reef will come under spotlight at a service to be held at the Nkowankowa community hall, near

Tzaneen, at 5.30pm today. The regional coordinator of the National Council of Trade Unions and Azapo branch chairman, Mr Phosakuwa Mashale, will be the main speaker.

He said the film *Cry Freedom* will also be shown.

At Makwarela, Sibasa, the *Biko Inquest* will be shown after a service which will start at the

Roman Catholic Church at noon today.

Another service in honour of the late Black Consciousness leader in King William's Town on today

A large number of people are expected to attend the service, organised by the Eastern Cape branch of the Azapo, said regional general secretary Mr Fanenele Mtyaleni.

He said Azapo had declared this week "Biko Anniversary Week".

A special workshop was arranged for tonight in Port Elizabeth to teach Azapo members, youth and women about the movement, he said.

Adt (int) 12/9/90 114

Azapo: No talks while FW regime in power

JOHANNESBURG. — The government must realise it cannot act as chairman and participant in negotiations; Azapo said yesterday.

A spokesman said Azapo would not take part in negotiations chaired by the government "or if the De Klerk regime is still in power".

"Meaningful negotiations can only take place at a constituent assembly."

A spokesman said Azapo blamed continuing internecine violence on the government. It was an orchestrated campaign to destabilise the black community and "strengthen the hand of Mr FW de Klerk, particularly with regard to the question of group and minority rights".

Azapo was to convene a conference involving all liberation groups, including the ANC, Cosatu, PAC, and SA Communist Party. — Sapa

SIMON BARBER

ANC tells Congress: Give us the \$10m

WASHINGTON — The ANC has proposed that almost the entire \$10m the US Congress set aside earlier this year to promote negotiations on a new constitution be forwarded to its own treasury to enable it to "harness the tremendous political support" it claims it already enjoys in SA.

Although Congress intended the money to be spent over two years on a variety of projects, the ANC wants \$9 587 062 for just one year's activities, to the exclusion of all other political viewpoints.

The primary objective, it says, is to ensure that the ANC begins constitutional negotiations from "a position of proportionate equality" with government.

Under the proposal, a copy of which has been obtained by Business Day, the US taxpayer is effectively asked to provide offices, communications, transport, salaries and operating expenses for the ANC's negotiating secretariat, plus, separately, for its Department of Legal and Constitutional Affairs (DLCA) and Women's and Youth Leagues.

The negotiation office, with rent of \$5 000 a month, would be staffed by 10 "specialised resource personnel", 45 research assistants, 15 typists, one computer

□ To Page 2

12/9/70
10 11A

Hostel dweller burnt, youth (17) shot dead

30/13/9/90



By Stan Hlophe and Thabo Leshilo
A Merafe Hostel dweller died after being stoned and set alight by a group of people in Mapetla, Soweto, yesterday.
A Soweto freelance photographer, Jackson Mhlambi, said the hostel dweller was on his way to nearby shops when a mob attacked him.

● A youth was shot at his friend's home in Zola 2 by police. Residents said the youth, Mzwandile Stanley Makhubo (17), was shot by police patrolling the area.
Anna Mokoena said she heard shots and when she went to investigate she saw the bleeding Mzwandile being chased by police.

"He dragged me by the skirt trying to shield himself from the bullets. It was too late as the police fired more rounds and Mzwandile collapsed and died in the kitchen."
His mother, Emily Makhubo, who was summoned from work, was in a state of shock. The body was removed by

police four hours later.
● According to Colonel Tienie Halgryn, Soweto police liaison officer, four people, one dressed in a camouflage uniform, fired shots at the Zola municipal offices.
Residents of the area put up barricades and when police arrived on the scene they threw

petrol bombs and stones at the police who used teargas and birdshot to disperse the crowd.
● A man died on Tuesday night when police allegedly fired on residents at the Mandela Village squatter camp in Diepkloof Zone 3.
Police said 54 people had been killed in Soweto since the weekend.

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Police said 54 people had been killed in Soweto since the weekend.

Kill the enemy, not Africans, says PAC

Story 13/9/90

11A

Political Reporter

The Pan Africanist Congress's external defence department yesterday called on the ANC and Inkatha to "stop killing the African people" and join forces to destroy the SADF and SAP.

In Dar-es-Salaam, PAC political commissar Romero Daniels said the two warring groups should concentrate their powers against their common enemy, the

"European colonialist forces".

"It is high time that the army of the enemy — the South African Defence Force and South African Police — die in large numbers."

Inkatha Freedom Party national chairman Frank Mdlalose and ANC media officer Saki Macozoma said the Reef township war was much more complicated than a conflict between the two groups.

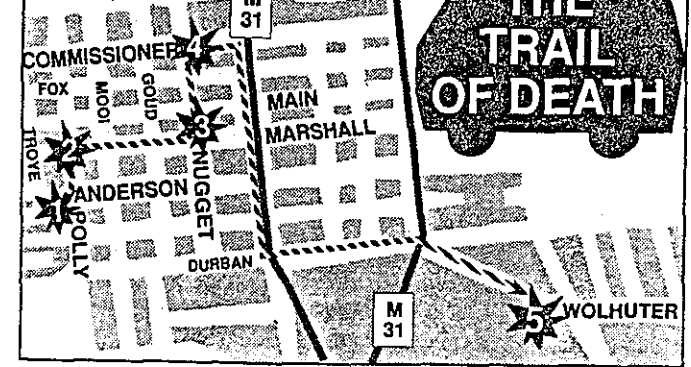
gangs down in pedestrians

Police hunt for

Star 13/9/90



random city street killers



By Guy Jepson

Four unidentified black men driving a minibus unleashed a wave of terror in central Johannesburg last night, randomly firing on commuters and pedestrians, killing three people and wounding at least eight.

Police launched an intensive manhunt but no arrests had been made by this morning.

Jacob Motsipe, who was injured at the Polly Street taxi rank, described the attack to The Star while lying on his back in an ambulance, waiting to be taken to Johannesburg Hospital.

"I was waiting for a taxi to take me to Chiawelo Station. There was a big crowd of people standing here waiting," Mr Motsipe said.

"Then these guys just started shooting at us. Everyone started panicking and running away."

The series of apparently motiveless attacks shocked police and emergency services personnel who followed the trail of destruction left by the gunmen who used AK-47 rifles.

Three victims were rushed to the Johannesburg Hospital, and five to Hillbrow Hospital.



More police shot dead in township

Star 13/9/90
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257

By Gien Elsas
West Rand Bureau

Attacks on policemen continued in Soweto last night.

Their deaths brought to 63 the number of people killed in the township since renewed violence broke out last Thursday.

Lieutenant-Colonel Tienie Halgryn, spokesman for the Soweto police, said Constable D Z Dlamini was on duty at the Dube Railway Station at 8 pm when three men approached him.

One then pulled out a gun and shot him at point-blank range between the eyes.

One of the killers took the policeman's gun from his body.

A private security guard shot and killed one of the attackers.

In another incident, municipal Constable J Fokane was on duty with colleagues at the Sinoane municipal offices at about 8 pm

... followed the trail of destruction left by the gunmen who used AK-47 rifles.

Three victims were rushed to the Johannesburg Hospital, and five to Hillbrow Hospital.

Picture — Page 3

Today a Johannesburg Hospital spokesman said a woman shot in the stomach had undergone surgery last night. She was in a stable condition today.

A man wounded in a knee was "doing very well", the spokesman said. A third person had been discharged after treatment.

A spokesman for Hillbrow Hospital said two of the injured, a man and a woman, had been admitted to theatre for emergency surgery.

Both were in a serious condition. The other three, all males, were being treated in casualty and would probably be discharged later today.

Lieutenant-Colonel Frans Malherbe, police liaison officer for the Witwatersrand, today described last night's three murders as motiveless and senseless.

"It appears on the surface to be faction-type shootings. But, it is highly unlikely that all those killed and wounded had anything in common. It was just senseless, random shooting," he said.

Police have pieced together the sequence of brutal shootings which the gunmen carried out.

⊙ The first attack took place at a taxi rank on the corner of Polly and Anderson streets in central Johannesburg at about 7.30 pm when the gunmen, driving a red and white minibus opened fire with AK-47 assault rifles on a crowd of commuters waiting to catch taxis to Soweto. Two men died instantly and two other men were injured.

⊙ The attackers then drove down Polly Street, left their vehicle and fired on a security guard outside a building between Marshall and Main streets, wounding him in both feet.

He managed to return their fire, injuring one of his assailants in the stomach. The man's accomplices helped him back into the minibus and they drove off.

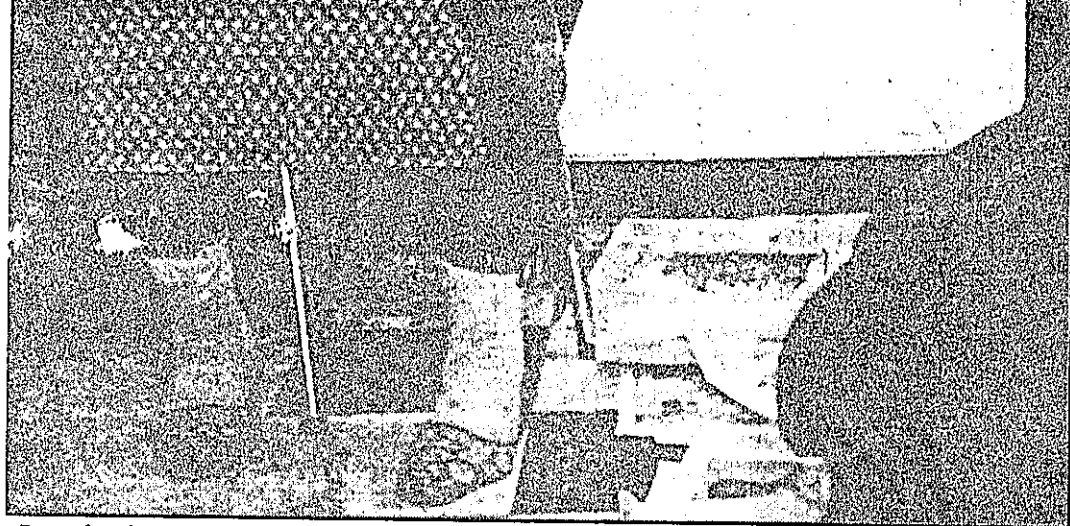
⊙ They stopped again on the corner of Nugget and Marshall streets and shot at and wounded another pedestrian in the legs. They shot another pedestrian, again in both legs, on the corner of Nugget and Commissioner streets.

⊙ The gunmen then drove out of the city centre. They found their last victim at the Wolhuter Men's Hostel in Wolhuter Street, Jeppestown. A man standing at the hostel entrance was gunned down. He died instantly.

Mr Hennie Bekker, MP for Jeppe, today offered R1 000 reward for information leading to the capture of the gunmen.

Mr Bekker, whose constituency includes Johannesburg's central business district where the gunmen went on the rampage, expressed his condolences to the next-of-kin of the victims of "this senseless deed".

He called on city businessmen to set up a standing reward for the capture of such killers, similar to the standing reward offered by banks for the arrest and conviction of bank robbers.



Tears for the victims ... a woman mourns over the blanket-shrouded corpse of a man killed in an Inkatha attack in Vosloorus. ● Picture by Stephen Davimes.

'Calm' returns to townships after night of mob horror

By Monica Nicolson and Abel Mabelane

Relative calm returned to war-ravaged East Rand townships today following 24 hours of violence on the Reef with mobs shooting and hacking people to death, burning houses and looting.

Lieutenant-Colonel Frans Malherbe, police liaison officer for the Witwatersrand, said today the townships were reported calm but very tense.

Five bodies had been discovered in Tokoza since midnight, he said.

Last night, police liaison officer Captain Henrietta Bester said Tokoza was chaotic, with hundreds of houses petrol-bombed.

In Soweto, two policemen and a gunman were shot dead in two separate incidents last night.

In Vosloorus, where 19 people have died since yesterday, people rampaged, burning down houses

and shooting and cutting people down.

A commuter train was ambushed by a group of youths between Lindela and Katlehong stations and three coaches were burning last night, Spoornet sources confirmed.

Gunman

Soweto police liaison officer Lieutenant Govindsamy Mariemuthoo said last night that two policemen on duty at Dube station were approached by a gunman who shot and killed one of them.

The second policeman and a security guard at the scene then fired shots, killing the gunman.

In a separate incident in Soweto last night gunmen shot dead one of two municipal policemen on guard at the municipal police offices.

In one of the bloodiest scenes yet, 25 Zulu migrant workers were hacked to death at the Vusumuzi

Hostel in Tembisa early yesterday morning by a group of men.

Police reported that municipal policeman Constable L Madadolu's bullet-riddled body was found near the Etlaweni Hostel in Tembisa.

In Vosloorus, at least three groups of youths armed with stones and petrol bombs clashed with the police yesterday afternoon.

A Casspir was petrol-bombed by an angry crowd.

Police confiscated two AK-47 rifles, a Scorpion and a truck filled with ammunition and lethal weapons. Nine men were arrested.

A petrol-bomb factory was also discovered and destroyed.

The known breakdown of deaths in East Rand townships since yesterday morning was 28 in Tembisa, 19 in Vosloorus, nine in Tokoza and one in Katlehong.

● Township terror — Page 3.

Domestic air fares to rise a second time in next few days

By John Miller

Fares on all South African domestic flights are to be increased by at least eight percent in the next few days — a second increase following one 43 days ago.

The latest increase comes after the rise on August 1 of 12 percent on economy fares and 17 percent on business class fares, and is a result of the crisis in the Gulf and the subsequent rise in jet fuel prices.

At a recent, hastily called meeting of all IATA members held in Switzerland at the end of last month, the 82 members, including South African Airways, agreed to increase international air fares by between five and eight percent.

However, these proposed rises by the representatives will first have to be submitted to governments for

ratification. A spokesman for the association said this normally took between 45 and 60 days.

The secretary of the Airline Association of South Africa, Des Collins, said last night all members would probably follow suit and increase their fares by between six and nine percent within days.

Emotive

"I think air fares are quite an emotive issue, but that it is no different to the motor industry or any other because we are all facing the same problems and inflation rate.

"Our fare increases in the industry are exchange rate-related because every mortal thing we buy, including fuel, has to be paid for in US dollars."

Cancer: experts give diet warning

LONDON — For people with cancer, a high-calorie diet of potato chips and beefburgers may be more effective than vegetables and lentils, British dieticians say.

They were reacting to an earlier report that care given by a Bristol cancer help centre, which included a vegetarian diet, might shorten patients' lives.

"Cancer patients wishing to follow vegetarian, vegan or macrobiotic diets should be made aware of possible nutritional inadequacies," warned the dieticians.

A cancer dietician at the Royal Marsden Hospital in London said it was possible that people on a strict vegetarian diet might lose weight. This could complicate surgical or other therapy by increasing the chances of infection. — The Star Bureau.

'Calm' returns to townships after night of mob horror

8 Dec 13/9/90



By Monica Nicolson
and Abel Mabelane

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© Township terror — Page 3.

str 13/9/90

Ambush allegation denied

11A

By Julienne du Toit

The ANC has condemned the police for "uncalled for" insinuations that internal leader Walter Sisulu led police into a fatal ambush in Diepkloof Extension on Tuesday night.

It was reacting yesterday to an SAP statement that when police responded to a call by Mr Sisulu saying there were attacks in Diepkloof, they were ambushed.

Police said the report that there were attacks in the area was false, but ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said bodies were found yesterday morning in adjoining Zone 6. He said Diepkloof residents telephoned Mr Sisulu on Tuesday night, saying they were under attack. Mr Sisulu telephoned SAP General J Swart and asked him to send police to the area, which the general did.

Police spokesman Brigadier Vic Haynes said yesterday: "We do not at all say Mr Sisulu deliberately led the policemen into the ambush. Here a young member of the force has lost his life because of immediate reaction on a false allegation ..."

Mr Macozoma said he hoped that co-operation between the ANC and the police would not now be affected as many such incidents had been defused by Mr Sisulu calling General Swart.

By MUSA NDWANDWE

THE longstanding conflict in Old Crossroads is rapidly developing a political dimension but its roots have nothing to do with friction between political organisations.

This is the view of several leading activists in the area.

They say that rather than a battle between the PAC and ANC, the conflict can be traced to rivalry between individuals who lead their unquestioning followers into bloody confrontations.

"There is no fight between the ANC and the PAC but there is a power struggle between two former vigilantes who started fighting long before the ANC and PAC were unbanned," said the vice-president of the West-

Xroads conflict's old roots

ern Cape United Squatters Association, Mr Enoch Madywabe.

The conflict between rebel headman Mr Jeffry Nongwe and community councillor, Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana, began last year when Nongwe defected from Ngxobongwana's camp, accusing him of allegedly misappropriating public money.

Nongwe took 14 of Ngxobongwana's headmen with him and there has been ongoing clashes between the two sides ever since.

Recently, the leadership of both factions have either assumed political positions or publicly embraced the

ANC and PAC respectively.

Far removed from their fights as "witdoeke" against the "comrades", Nongwe has since become the chairperson of the ANC's Crossroads branch while Ngxobongwana's committee members have claimed membership of the PAC.

Apart from both men's history of involvement in apartheid structures bent on destroying the very liberation movements they now represent, it is a legitimate question to ask whether the conflict would change if the two rivals were to switch allegiance to other organisations. *South 13/19-19/7/90*

"One wonders how many



Ngxobongwana

people could actually produce their ANC or PAC membership cards on request in this township," said the ANC's Western Cape chairperson, Mr Christmas Tinto.

But there is more to being



Nongwe

a member of an organisation than carrying a card.

Throughout the township there are clear signs of political awareness and it is not easy to dispute that the masses in Old Crossroads owe their allegiances to one

of the two organisations.

But this does not mean that conflict is inevitable.

Both organisations have denied the existence of friction between them.

"When the PAC launched in Crossroads recently, no violent incidents were reported. This was also the case when the ANC launched in Khayelitsha last Sunday", said Madywabe.

"If both leaders are committed to peace, as their organisations are, they must sort their differences out," he said.

This would be difficult with Ngxobongwana's whereabouts unknown since

he went to Ciskei, a month ago, to attend a funeral of a former committee member.

Two weeks ago, another former Crossroads councillor entered the scene.

Mr Prince Gobingca, now resident in Khayelitsha, held talks with police representatives "on behalf of the PAC". He told the police to "stop supporting the ANC".

The PAC later disassociated itself from the meeting. It said Gobingca had "no mandate" to speak on the organisation's behalf.

PAC National Executive Committee member, Ms Patricia De Lille, said Gobingca's membership had not yet been confirmed.

PAC opposes boycott

South 1319-19/9/90

11A 



GIFT: Abdullah Ibrahim is presented with a portrait at the meeting with the officials of the Manenberg People's Centre
PIC: RASHID LOMBARD

EAST LONDON.— Opposition to the current consumer boycott here has come from an unexpected quarter—an alliance of Africanist, black consciousness and sports organisations.

These organisations say the decision to launch the consumer boycott was “taken undemocratically”.

The boycott, now in its second week, has affected local trade significantly.

Mr Dave Groom, director of the local Chamber of Commerce, said it appeared to be “very effective”.

A Pan-Africanist Congress spokesperson, Sam Mngaza, has confirmed that the PAC, Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu), the South African Council on Sport (Sacos) and the United Front of Independent Trade Unions

have formed a co-ordinating committee to voice their opposition to the boycott.

A day after the boycott began, placard demonstrations calling on people to break the boycott were held in Mdantsane township near here.

Groupings in the city centre stood near shop entrances calling on people not to heed the boycott

Two days after the boycott started, the same organisations wrote a letter to the

boycott co-ordinating committee requesting a meeting.

The local UDF secretary and a member of the boycott committee, Penrose Ntlonti, confirmed that the letter had been received.

He said the letter had been sent to the front's structures which would decide on a meeting.

Demonstrations against the consumer boycott have, however, in the meantime ceased.

— ELNEWS

Mancoms in crisis

THE authorities are considering holding by-elections to fill vacant posts on “Coloured” Management Committees (CMC) after a wave of resignations.

Cape Provincial Administration spokesperson, Mr Willem van Heerden Heunis, said there had been resignations from 39 committees, leaving vacant 109 positions out of a total of 226.

There are 212 management committees in the Cape Province.

Six people were injured in Kraaifontein last week when residents marched to the home of the local management committee chairperson as pressure mounted throughout the Cape for the resignation CMC members and community councillors.

A senior administrator for the CMC's in Cape Town, Mr George Marx, said officially vacancies had to be filled through by-elections.

South 1319-17/9/90



ANC VACANCIES IN THE OFFICE OF THE TREASURER GENERAL



The African National Congress is an organisation committed to uniting all the people of South Africa in the complete liberation of the country from all forms of discrimination and oppression. Until 1990, the administrative organs of the ANC had been operating outside South Africa's borders, but are now in the process of being established internally. As a result, a number of vacancies have arisen in the Office of the Treasurer General. Applications are invited from persons sharing the ANC's ideals, aims and objectives, and fulfilling the requirements of the individual positions detailed.

NATIONAL OFFICE POSITIONS—JOHANNESBURG CBD

11A South 13/9 - 19/9/90

Finance Department — National Accountant

The Finance Department is responsible for the management of the financial resources of the ANC, and performs the accounting and logistical functions for the entire National Office. The Solution 6 accounting software is in the course of implementation.

* National Accountant (reporting to the Finance Manager) (Ref. A/1)

Will be responsible for the entire National Office accounting system and all National Accounts section staff. Will be required to generate regular and ad hoc management information from the accounting system, and thus prior experience with computerised accounting systems will be essential.

A B Comm or CIS is regarded as a minimum qualification, plus five years' commercial accounting experience in a managerial position

Creditors Supervisor (reporting to the National Accountant) (Ref. A/4)

Will be responsible for the maintenance of accurate creditors records, their payment and reconciliation to suppliers statements and general ledger control accounts. Good interpersonal and supervisory skills are necessary. Three years experience with mechanised systems and study towards an accounting qualification are prerequisites.

Finance Department — Management Information Systems (Ref B/1)

* Systems Accountant (reporting to the Finance Manager)

Will be responsible for the operation of the Solution 6 accounting package and maintenance of the chart of accounts. Will assist the National and Regional Accountants in the generation of regular and ad hoc reports and will train new members of staff in the use of Solution 6. Will also be responsible for development of accounting policies, systems, procedures and controls. A minimum B Comm qualification and three years experience with sophisticated computerised accounting applications is essential, plus good interpersonal skills.

Receptionist/ Secretaries (Ref D/1)

Will be responsible for screening and admittance of visitors to the Treasury Division, as well as providing secretarial support to the Finance Department. Training and/or experience in security/reception/secretarial tasks will be essential, together with a pleasant disposition. Prior experience with well-known word processing package would be an added advantage.

Distribution Officer (reporting to the Logistics Manager) (Ref. E/1)

Will be responsible for coordinating the promotion, sale and distribution of ANC publications via established commercial and informal outlets. Managerial, organisational and interpersonal skills and experience are required and at least five years experience in the publication distribution environment would be an advantage.

Purchasing and Contracts Officer (reporting to the head of Logistics)(Ref.E/4)

Will be responsible for the purchase of furniture, office suppliers etc from appropriate suppliers. This will involve suppliers evaluation, securing of quotes, negotiation of contracts and terms, and placing of orders against requisitions from all National Office departments. Good interpersonal and communication skills are prerequisites and at least five years experience in a commercial buying department would be advantageous.

Creditors Clerks (reporting to the Creditors Supervisor) (Ref A/5)

Will be responsible for collation, checking and capture of purchase documentation. Three years experience in a similar position will be required, and experience with reconciliation of suppliers statements would be an advantage.

Computer Software Support Officer (reporting to the Information Systems Manager) (Ref E/7)

Will be responsible for: * end-user training and support on all of the packages used at the National and Regional offices, which will include word-processing, spreadsheet, database and office automation software; * the design and development of key departmental information systems; * the maintenance of the Membership database.

The successful candidate will possess the following attributes: * at least three years experience in software development and support in a small systems environment; * a professional qualification would be beneficial; * knowledge of PC's, networks, spreadsheets, database and office automation software.

Petty Cash and Debtors Clerk (reporting to the National Account) (Ref A/2)

Will coordinate all National Office departmental petty cash floats, involving reimbursement, allocation of expenditure, data capture and reconciliation to physical cash and general ledger balances. Debtors tasks involve capture of invoices, production of statements, reconciliation of debtors records and control accounts and generation of accrual and prepayment entries. Accounting up to trial balance and three years commercial experience are prerequisites.

Regional Accountant (reporting to the Finance Manager) (Ref C/1)

Will be responsible for the coordination of the entire regional accounting function and the processing and consolidation of accounting information from the regions. Will be required to generate regular and ad hoc management information from the accounting system. Will have to reimburse regional bank accounts and manage regional funds on a national basis. Good managerial and interpersonal skills are essential. A B Comm or CIS is regarded as a minimum qualification, together with five years experience in a senior function within a computerised accounting environment.

Administrator (Ref D/2)

Will undertake general clerical tasks in the Treasury Division, involving filing, arranging purchase of office supplies, general secretarial duties (including typing, faxing and photocopying) and controlling the Division's petty cash float.

Subscriptions Clerk (reporting to the Distribution Manager) (Ref E/2)

Will be responsible for the setting up, management and expansion of a subscription system for ANC publications. Will also have to maintain accurate stock records of all ANC publications. At least three years experience in a commercial accounting position would be essential.

Transport Administrator (reporting to the Transport Director) (Ref E/5.)

The Transport Director will manage the ANC's vehicle fleet and drivers and coordinate reservations of flights, hire of vehicles, accident insurance claims etc. He/she will be assisted by the Transport Administrator in making detailed transport arrangements and undertaking the administrative and clerical tasks arising. Good administrative and secretarial skills are required and three years commercial experience in an administrative position would be required.

Computer Hardware Support Officer (reporting to the Information Systems Manager) (Ref E/8)

Will be responsible for: * the installation and maintenance of all computer hardware including networks, cabling and backup security; * liaison with a computer maintenance firm that services the organisation's maintenance requirements; * both local (National Office) and wide area (regional offices) networks to support National Office administration requirements. The successful candidate will possess the following attributes: * at least three years experience as an operator hardware support technician in a small system environment; * experience in the installation, management and support local and wide area networks.

Cash Book Clerk (reporting to the National Accountant) (Ref.A/3)

Will record receipts and payments via Solution 6's Cash Book module, compile cheques for signature and undertake bank reconciliations. A good understanding of bookkeeping and three years prior experience in a similar function are essential.

Human Resource Department

* Human Resource Manager (reporting to the Chief Administration Officer in the Office of the Secretary General) (Ref G/1)

Would be responsible for establishing a personnel department and setting up personnel and staff development policies, practices and procedures to suit the ANC's ideals and objectives. Duties would include the screening of job applicants for all National Office departments, setting up and maintenance of personnel and training records. Good managerial and interpersonal skills are required. At least five years commercial experience in an equivalent position would be essential and study towards an appropriate qualification would be a recommendation.

Accommodation Officer (reporting to the Logistics Manager) (Ref. E/3)

Will be responsible for allocation, control and reservations for staff, guests and conference accommodation and facilities. Will also aid staff members in the acquisition of appropriate personal accommodation. Good interpersonal and administrative skills would be essential. Experience in an equivalent position would be advantageous.

Information Systems Manager (reporting to the Head of Logistics) (Ref E/6)

Will be responsible for planning, coordinating and overall development of all the ANC's information systems. Will be required to prepare IS strategies and plans, coordinate systems specification and development, and arrange for the acquisition and installation of appropriate hardware and software. Three years experience in an equivalent position is essential and good managerial, organisational and interpersonal skills are required. Networking, database administration and systems analysis and design experience is essential.

Logistics Department Secretaries/Typists (Ref. E/9)

There are several secretarial positions available in the Logistics Department, supporting sectional heads listed above. These persons will handle typing, telephone and fax communication, filing, diaries and appointments. Successful candidates will possess word processing skills and have three years experience in a secretarial or typing position

The following regional offices require staff immediately: Johannesburg, Pietersburg, Nelspruit, Welkom, Bloemfontein, Kimberley, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, East London, Umtata, Empangeni, Pietermaritzburg, Durban, Klerksdorp:

Regional Office Administrators (Ref F/2)

Will be required to undertake the administration of the regional office in support of the Regional Organiser. With the support of a secretary will be responsible for the efficient running of the office, by arranging for adequate office supplies (stationery, office furniture and support equipment) and matters related to its premises (rental agreements, electricity, water, telephone, fax). The persons will require advanced management and organisational capabilities and good interpersonal skills. Reasonable accounting knowledge would be required to run the region's petty cash float. At least ten years commercial experience is a prerequisite, of which five should have been in an equivalent position. Demonstrable commitment to the ANC and its ideals would be an advantage.

Regional Organisers (Ref. F/1)

Will coordinate recruitment and development of new members and the organisation as a whole. Will set up branches, arrange political rallies and supervise the collection and recording of subscriptions. Successful candidates will possess the following attributes: * a proven track record of commitment to the ANC and its ideals; * fluency in local languages; * a driver's licence; * organisational and management experience in political organisations, and good interpersonal skills. Training and computer experience would be an advantage.

Secretaries/ Typists (Ref F/4)

Will act as executive secretary to the Regional Convener and the Regional Administrator, handling typing, telephone and fax communication, filing, diaries and appointments, and minutes of meetings. The successful candidate is likely to possess superior skills in the areas of: * shorthand; * wordprocessing/typing; * communication (good written and spoken English and the local language); * fax and/or telex experience. At least three years equivalent experience is essential, as well as an appropriate secretarial course.

Regional Accountants (Ref F/3)

Will be responsible for accounting for revenue and expenditure via a cash book and submitting returns thereof to the Regional Accountant at the National Office. Together with the Regional Treasurer, will exert financial control over the region, with particular emphasis on budget preparation. Expenditure control and collection of income. Good interpersonal skills are required, together with two years study towards an accounting qualification and three years commercial accounting experience. Experience in a computerised accounting environment would be an advantage.

Salary packages are negotiable. Confidential applications giving full career particulars (CV outlining work experience and qualifications and details of community involvement) together with a day telephone number and postal address should be sent to:

The Office of the Treasurer General,
ANC National Office,
PO BOX 61884,
MARSHALLTOWN,
2107

Envelopes and applications should be marked with the respective position being applied for and its reference number.

CLOSING DATE FOR APPLICATIONS: 26 SEPTEMBER 1990.

Mandela's Cape crusade

South 13/9 - 19/9/90
 y REHANA ROSSOUW

NC deputy-president Nelson Mandela's visit next week to the small Namaqualand town of Mier could determine the organisation's future relations with the Labour Party.

Excitement is mounting in rural towns from Mier to Plettenberg Bay as preparations are made to receive him.

Mier is on reserve land which the Labour Party has been trying to sell against the wishes of the community.

"This is an area Mandela is particularly concerned about as any future relationship with the Labour Party hinges on what happens here," said ANC Western Cape interim committee member, Mr Trevor Manuel.

"At our last meeting with the Labour Party we put two things to them; that they put a moratorium on the sale of the land and that they call a referendum to test the people's views on the sale."

Unrest

The trip has been arranged to give the NC a deeper understanding of the political dynamics of the Western Cape.

Mandela will be visiting towns which in recent months have been hit by police action, consumer and school boycotts and widespread unrest.

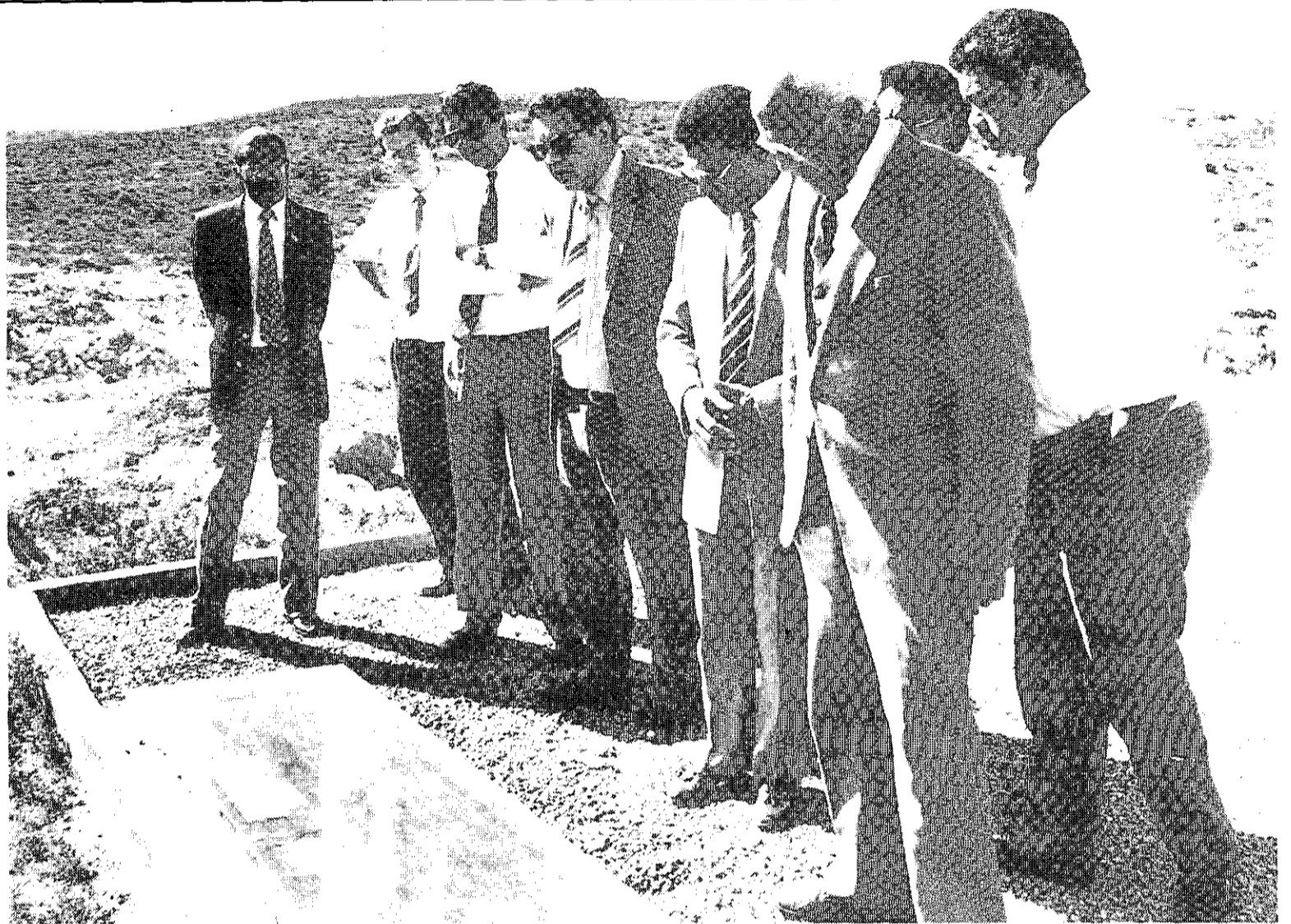
Although five rallies have been organised for the six-day trip, the emphasis will be on speaking to representatives of communities and to hear their grievances and aspirations.

"We are not just going to speak to ANC members, we will be listening to a cross-section of every community we visit," said Manuel.

Mandela will visit towns like Carnarvon and Richmond, which were identified as the poorest towns in the country. He will speak to people in Ashton, Robertson and Bonnievale, where the recent rural revolt had its beginnings.

On the north-west coast he will visit Reddenal and Lutzville, which has been hit by school boycotts in recent weeks.

The trip will end on Sunday, September 23, with a consultation with people on the West coast and a rally at Atlantis.



Oudtshoorn memorial

ANC regional co-ordinator Reggie September, Dr Allan Boesak and Oudtshoorn community leaders at the graveside of three Bhongolethu youth leaders Patrik Madikane, Andile Majola and Fezile Hanze whose tombstones were restored after being desecrated last year. PIC: FANIE JASON

Name dropping in Khayelitsha

South 13/9 - 19/9/90

By MUSA NDWANDWE
 ASKING for directions in Cape Town's Khayelitsha township could be a tricky business following the renaming of all sections in the area.

And people seeking to keep up with these changes will have to familiarise themselves with the who's who in the history of the ANC.

The renaming took place as an estimated 8 000 people gathered to jointly launch 14 branches of the ANC at the Khayelitsha rugby stadium on Sunday.

All sections were named after veteran ANC leaders and those who died in their involvement in ANC struggles.

Legal

Jubilant jubilation marked the event attended by some of the organisation's National Executive Committee (NEC) members, including Pallo Jordan, head of the department of publicity and information, Zola Skweyiya, head of the legal department and national organiser, Steve

Tshwete.

"This is the first step towards implementing the first clause of the Freedom Charter, The People Shall Govern", said Khayelitsha branch spokesperson, Mr Vuyani Ngcuka.

"The feeling among the people was that official names were supplied by the regime", said Ngcuka.

"People have subsequently waged struggles against removals in these areas. After winning these struggles the areas were now their permanent homes and it was only appropriate that they rename areas to names relevant to their struggles", he said.

But township officials are not likely to recognise the new names given to areas under their administration.

"We are not going to seek permission but in quest for order, relevant authorities are to be approached by the newly elected branch office-bearers", said Ngcuka.

A sea of black green and gold could be seen over vast strips of land as members

poured in, chanting and singing.

The event was marked by cultural events including musical items by the Goodwood College Choir.

Although 14 branches were launched jointly, a single Khayelitsha zone is still to be constituted, said Ngcuka.

Areas renamed include Site C to Mxolisi Petani Square, Site B North to Victoria Mxenge Park, Site B South to Trevor Vilakazi Park, Green Point to Sabata Dalindyabo Park, Town 2 to Griffiths Mxenge Park, Thembani Mbongweni areas to Sol Plaatje Park and Blocks Z and C to Dora Tamani.

Pullout mars launch of teachers' body

ONE MONTH before the launch of the mammoth South African Democratic Teachers Union (Sadtu), the Cape Peninsula branch of the Teachers Association of South Africa (Tasa) has pulled out of the National Teacher Unity Forum (NTUF). South 13/9 - 19/9/90

Their decision followed a report from Tasa's national council, where a resolution was passed decreasing the branch's representation at Sadtu's launch on October 6 from 45 to four.

Representation reduced

"This decision is in direct violation of the NTUF decision on regional representation," said Tasa's Western Cape chairperson, Mr Kenny Ernest.

"The branch found that its national council was not competent to take such a decision which effectively reduces the Western Cape regional representation to 9 delegates.

"We condemn this apparent hypocrisy and manipulation and declare a crisis of confidence in our national executive committee."

Ernest said the Western Cape branch would withdraw from the regional NTUF structure until its legitimate representation was restored.

He said the branch remained committed to the process of unity and the ideals of Sadtu.

Bomb scare at union's office

THE day before wage talks for the largest industry in the Western Cape were scheduled to begin, the headquarters for the South African Clothing and Textile Workers' Union (Sactwu) offices were evacuated after a bomb scare.

Industria House in Salt River was evacuated for about an hour on Tuesday after an anonymous phone call to Grassroots Educare which has offices in the building.

Both parties remained tightlipped after Wednesday's wage talks.

Sactwu is demanding an across-the-board increase of R45.

Employers have not yet released details of their offer.

Violence after shacks demolished

GRAHAMSTOWN.— Violence broke out in the black township here on Wednesday just hours after workmen sent by the Rini municipality began demolishing shacks.

It is not yet known whether there had been casualties.

The men, armed and wearing balaclavas, began demolishing "illegal" shacks built on open ground, and then began to destroy shacks erected in people's backyards.

A group of people who gathered to watch the shacks being demolished, stoned and set alight a municipal truck after the driver tried to ram them, according to witnesses.

Later at least five more trucks were seen burning and other municipal property was damaged. A cement mixer was seen overturned with cement running from it.

The atmosphere in the township on Wednesday night was tense as thick black

smoke from the burning vehicles rose above the township. South 13/9 - 19/9/90

Riot police patrolled the township and teargas was being fired randomly into backyards and at small crowds of people who gathered at communal taps.

The town clerk of the Rini town council confirmed that the men who demolished the shacks had been sent by the municipality. — ANA

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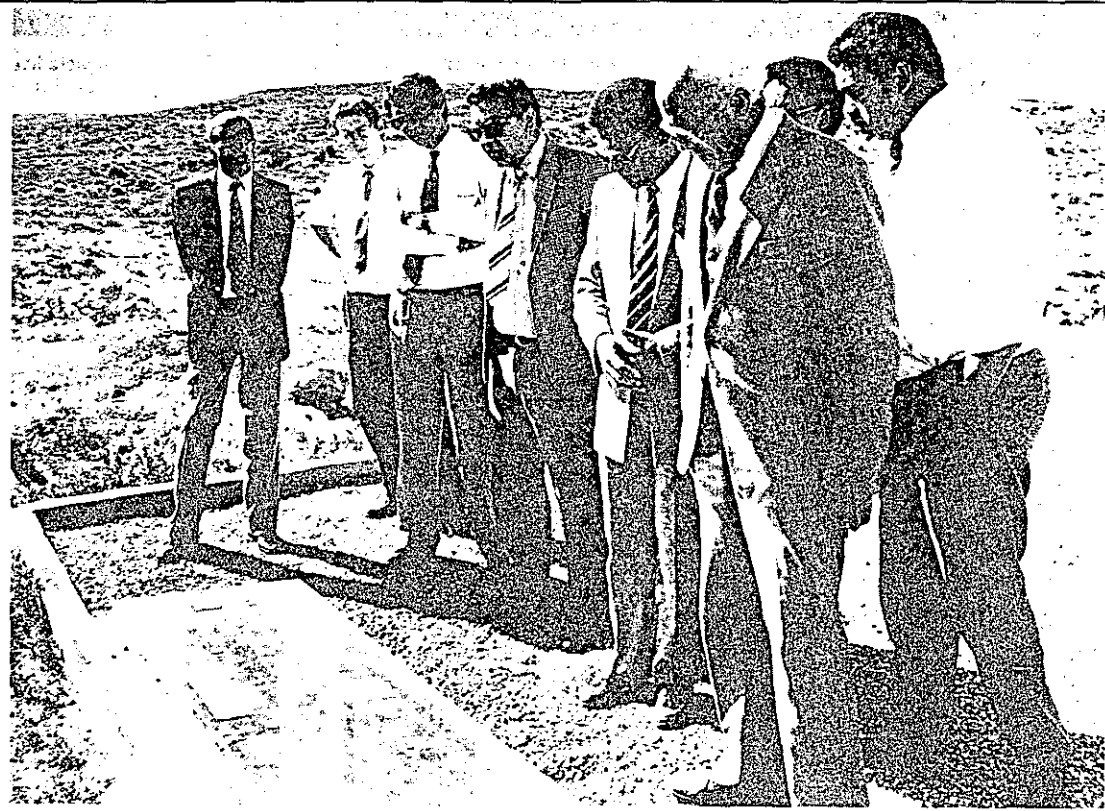
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South 13/9 - 19/9/90

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South 13/9 - 19/9/90

11A

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Winnie tipped me off, says Sisulu

Political Correspondent

AFRICAN National Congress internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu disclosed today that Mrs Winnie Mandela tipped him off about a telephone call late on Tuesday night, warning of an Inkatha attack in Diepkloof township, which led to a fatal ambush on police called to the scene.

Speaking from his Soweto home, Mr Sisulu recounted events that led to his call for help to Soweto police commissioner General Johan Swart. Two patrol cars sent to Diepkloof as a result of Mr Sisulu's call came under a hail of automatic fire. One policeman was killed and three were injured.

Mr Sisulu said: "On Tuesday evening, between 10 and 11 pm, I had a phone call from Mrs Mandela who told me she had had a panic call from Mrs Miriam Vilikazi of Zone One, Diepkloof. She gave me the phone number of the person.

"I then rang General Swart. I told him my information was that Inkatha was attacking in Diepkloof and gave him the particulars. He said he would attend to it.

"On Wednesday, shortly after 7 am, General Swart rang me and told me of the ambush.

"General Swart then said there was no such person as Mrs Vilikazi at the number I had given him the night before, and that the telephone number was a police number. He said he took the matter very seriously and was contemplating contacting the Minister of Police (Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok) about it. He asked me to provide an affidavit."

Mr Sisulu said he then tried the number Mrs Mandela had given him.

"I found Mrs Vilikazi at that number, the one said to be a police number. I then confronted General Swart with this — but he simply said he still wanted an affidavit."

● General Swart was unavailable for comment today.

SISULU ROW OVER AMBUSH

CAA Times
13/9/90
11A



MR WALTER SISULU . . . late night phone call to police.

FOUR policemen ambushed by unknown gunmen in Diepkloof, Soweto, were responding to an alert from ANC internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu, it emerged yesterday.

Two patrol cars were raked with automatic fire, killing one policeman and injuring three. The patrol was sent out late on Tuesday night after Mr Sisulu had made an urgent call to Soweto police Commissioner General Johan Swart saying Diepkloof residents were under attack from Inkatha members. Last night a row was brewing between the ANC and police over the mystery caller who told Mr Sisulu of the impending "attack". "We do not at all say that Mr Sisulu deliberately led the policemen into an ambush," police spokesman Brigadier Vic Heyns said. Mr Sisulu had been asked to prepare an affidavit on the incident. Brigadier Heyns said they were also investigating whether Mr Sisulu and the SAP had been "set up" by a

third party. The ANC said the suggestion by police that Mr Sisulu had led the SAP into an ambush was "incredible" and "unacceptable". ANC leaders receive many calls from residents appealing for help during violence and call the police, the ANC said. Liaison between General Swart and Mr Sisulu was one of the channels recently agreed to between the ANC and the SAP to help curb the township violence. The row comes against a background of escalating violence on the East Rand as residents fled the war-torn area last night. The death toll mounted to 116 dead — 71 in the East Rand alone. In further developments yesterday: ● The government asked the international community to put pressure on Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to join forces to end the bloodshed; and ● Hundreds of refugees poured into Natalspruit hospital to escape the violence on the East Rand.

Police said "street by street" barricades had been set up by youths and residents in Katlehong, Vosloorus and Tembisa last night as gangs were attacking each other sporadically. In Soweto, security forces were using birdshot and teargas to disperse gangs of stone-throwing and petrol-bombing youths manning barricades. ● In another shooting early yesterday morning, three hotel employees were killed and four seriously injured when a yellow minibus, which was apparently mistaken for a police vehicle, was fired on. Police at the Protea station yesterday allowed journalists to inspect the two police cars caught in the ambush. Both had bullet holes on the front and sides. Side windows had been smashed. In the Diepkloof incident Constable Mark Abramowitz, 24, was hit in the hip and in both legs. An emergency operation was performed and his condition was serious. Constable Francois Langeveldt was hit in one leg, and Constable T H Khumalo was hit four times in his leg,

knee, stomach and hand. Constable De Waal Liebenberg, 22, died on the way to Baragwanath Hospital. Explaining Mr Sisulu's call, the ANC said in a statement that Mr Sisulu received a telephone call at his Orlando West home telling him residents in Diepkloof were being attacked. Mr Sisulu then called General Swart at his home and asked him to send policemen into the area. General Swart was given a telephone number and a name of a person to contact in Diepkloof, the ANC said. "This morning General Swart phoned Mr Sisulu and said that the police who went to Diepkloof were ambushed. "He also said that the contact name given to him the previous night belongs to a person that does not exist and that the telephone number he was given is that of a policeman. "After receiving this news, Mr Sisulu called the number himself and found a family at that number — not a policeman as the general had said," the ANC said. — Own Correspondent and Sapa

Death of Steve Biko *CAAT 7-15 13/9/90 11A* 'an immeasurable loss'

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — The death of Steve Biko was an immeasurable loss and was mourned by millions throughout the world, the Eastern Cape regional secretary-treasurer of Azapo, Mr Zingisa Twalo, said here.

Speaking at a commemoration service at the University of Fort Hare marking the 13th anniversary of Biko's death in police custody, he said: "Even on his deathbed he did not waver nor falter but stood firm, refusing to back down in the face of bitter attacks from those who today, with naked hy-

pocrisy, claim to be representing the aspirations of the black people."

Mr Twalo urged blacks to carry on the cause left behind by Biko and "consolidate the unity of the people".

Mr Twalo said black consciousness was concerned with the liberation of the black poor from oppression and exploitation, and what blacks were doing was merely to respond to a situation in which they found themselves — the objects of white racism.

It had taught blacks to walk tall and look the world in the eye, and that finding their own way was an act of liberation, he said.

Xroads talks stall, leader fails to attend

CAPT
T-4/5
13/9/80
11A

By CHRIS BATEMAN

TOP riot control and security police officers alone met Old Crossroads Mayor Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana and his committee yesterday, after his arch-rivals, Mr Jeffrey Nongwe and his committee, "failed to arrive" for a peace meeting.

The meeting, at the police operational unit headquarters in Pinelands, lasted over an hour but was described later by the unit's regional chief, Brigadier Frik Kellerman, as "not achieving much".

Before the meeting, police liaison officer Major Gys Boonzaaier said he had just visited Mr Nongwe at his Old Crossroads headquarters. Mr Nongwe had told him that he was unable to attend the peace talks because some of his committee members were "in Johannesburg".

After the police meeting, Mr Ngxobongwana repeated claims that police special constables were the major cause of ongoing violence in the squatter camp, and called on Brigadier Kellerman for their removal.

Mr Ngxobongwana claimed that the special constables were siding with Mr Nongwe, and "burning our houses and shooting our people".

'No concrete evidence'

It was put to Brigadier Kellerman by the Cape Times that a detailed list of such allegations and names of special constables had been given to the police/township liaison officer, Major Fanie Bouwer, several weeks ago.

Brigadier Kellerman said no concrete evidence of criminal acts by special constables had "come forward" from this, nor had "anything been proven".

Major Boonzaaier added that no affidavits had been made from which to begin an investigation.

"Major Bouwer is, however, investigating special constables who are allegedly members of the ANC, whose names have been given to him," he said.

Mr Ngxobongwana said his followers were afraid to give provide evidence of special constable crimes, because "they will come and kill us".



TALKS . . . Old Crossroads Mayor Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana with the Western Cape Police Operational Unit chief, Brigadier Frik Kellerman, at the Pinelands police headquarters yesterday.

Picture: RICHARD BELL

Nair had heart attack in detention — SACP

CAPL Trip
JOHANNESBURG. — An ANC and SA Communist Party member, Mr Billy Nair, had a heart attack while being detained under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act, according to a SACP statement.

Mr Nair, who suffered the attack on Tuesday while in a Durban hospital where he underwent an operation to his knee, was released yesterday, senior police liai-

13/9/90 *(11A)*
son/officer Brigadier Vic Heyns has confirmed.

The SACP said it was outraged about the matter and said the government had come "within a hair's breadth of being implicated in yet another Section 29 tragedy".

It said it was holding the government responsible for Mr Nair's health because it believed the "stressful conditions of in-

definite detention" had contributed to the heart attack. The SACP also claimed Mr Nair had been assaulted at the start of his term in detention.

"Under the Pretoria Minute there was no reason for the continued detention of Billy Nair, just as there is no reason for the detention of Mac Maharaj and all other political detainees," the statement said. — Sapa

Don't let FW take advantage - BCM

HARARE - The Black Consciousness Movement of Azania yesterday called for maximum unity among anti-apartheid groups in South Africa, reports Zimbabwe's news agency Ziana.

Marking the 13th anniversary of the death of BC leader Steve Biko at police hands in 1977, the BCM said in a statement it recognised that each of the "major three components" of the liberation movement had its own history, policy, tradition and constituency.

The BCM did not name the "three components".

Sowetan
Unity 13/1/90

The movement called for unity in all areas of struggle, including unity amongst organisations on the issue of negotiations, where a set of common minimum demands had to be agreed on to prevent President FW de Klerk "from taking advantage of our disagreements".

In a reference to the

violence sweeping South African townships, the BCM said the scale on which black people were murdering each other "would simply not occur" in Biko's time when black consciousness "held sway".

"Through the values of self-worth and black solidarity, Comrade Biko and his colleagues enabled the black community in Azania to respect black life and to focus their anger at the real oppressors," the group added. - Sapa

Mandela call is rejected in Cape

THE New Unity Movement has strongly disassociated itself from ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela's call to the State to use the SADF and SAP to end the violence in the townships.

In a statement issued in the Cape yesterday, the movement said: "This call is not only politically indefensible - it is a cry of despair and an error of political judgment which can only lead to further unbridled violence and provide cover for warlords and gangsters who latch on to political revolt to pursue their own agenda of preying upon the victims of conflict to unleash another wave of murder, pillage and terror."

Causes

The call failed to take into account the basic causes of the terrible conflict and mistakenly called for the principal organs of state violence to be used against the victims," it added.

All experience pointed to the fact that the use of the armed forces of the State had "precipitated greater and greater waves of resentment and angry revolt which turns inward upon itself and sows death and destruction in its wake". - Sapa

Bring Inkatha, ANC together Pik urges UN

Soweto
13/9/90

FOREIGN Affairs Minister Pik Botha has suggested to the UN that the international community appeal to ANC leader Nelson Mandela and KwaZulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi to join forces to end the bloodshed in South Africa.

In a letter handed to secretary general Javier Perez de Cuellar on Tuesday, Botha said his government had been pressing for such meeting, because ending the violence between the ANC and Inkatha had become a major Government priority.

"Mandela claims that the ANC will not allow him to participate in such a meeting," said Botha.

He added, "I have appealed to governments through local diplomatic representatives to use their influence to bring about such a meeting but I believe it would be useful if the international community could issue a public appeal to the two leaders to join forces in putting an end to the bloodshed."

The letter was handed to De Cuellar in response to a UN debate on a UN document titled "Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in South Africa".

Botha also objected to the UN's intervention in South Africa's internal affairs, saying it was the sole right of South Africa's leaders and people to negotiate a new constitution for the country.

He warned the hard-

ships flowing from a continuation of sanctions would cause "an explosive situation which will have serious consequences for the negotiation process and for the Southern African region, if not for Africa as a whole".

Botha said attempts by any one political party or alliance or parties to become, through intimidation and threats of violence, the sole and dominant political force in South Africa would be met by reaction including violence reaction.

Discussing allegations of police bias, Botha said: "There are no angels in the South African Police, just as there are no angels in any of the political parties of this country."

He told De Cuellar that Constitutional Development Minister Dr Ger-

rit Viljoen had stated the South African Government was prepared to consider an interim arrangement which would allow organisations such as the ANC and other parties an opportunity to influence decisions in Parliament while negotiations were underway.

Viljoen had said the Government 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.

"This does not amount to an interim government.

Botha said the removal of the Group Areas Act and the Land Act would be addressed during the next session of Parliament. - Sapa

ANC detainee
in hospital

OWN Correspondent
114
CANC TWP 13/7/70

DURBAN. — A former exile and senior ANC and SA Communist Party executive member, Mr Mac Maharaj, was admitted to the St Aidan's Hospital here yesterday.

Mr Maharaj has been in detention since July under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act in connection with the alleged SACP plot to overthrow the government.

● Another report — Page 5

Mandela ¹¹⁴ to go on ^{Cape tour 13/7/70} big rural Cape tour

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela will spend next week visiting rural areas in the Boland, Southern Cape, Karoo, the West Coast, Namaqualand and North-west Coast — to gain a deeper understanding of the area.

Mr Trevor Manuel, the interim convener of the ANC in the Western Cape, said the tour would give Mr Mandela an opportunity to listen to residents and community leaders.

"Mr Mandela and the ANC will emerge from next week with a better understanding of the Cape," said Mr Manuel.

Mr Mandela will visit key Boland unrest areas such as Worcester, Robertson, Ashton and Bonnievale.

"We will fly to Mier, an area Mr Mandela is deeply concerned about and which could affect any future relationships with the Labour Party," said Mr Manuel.

Rallies will be held at Bonnievale, Vredendal, Springbok, Upington and Atlantis, he said.

Ambush: Sisulu alerted police

THE four SAP members ambushed by unknown gunmen in Diepkloof Extension, Soweto, on Tuesday night were responding to an alert from ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu, it emerged yesterday.

One SAP member died and three were seriously injured when they went to investigate a report Sisulu made to Soweto regional commissioner Maj-Gen Johan Swart about Diepkloof squatters being ambushed by Inkatha members.

The ANC yesterday "totally rejected" what it claimed was an SAP insinuation that Sisulu led the police into the ambush.

However, a senior SAP spokesman emphasised yesterday that police were not pointing fingers at the 78-year-old leader.

Swart said in an interview on SATV last night it appeared that township elements had misused Sisulu. 01041319190

Liaison between the two men was one of the channels recently agreed to between the ANC and the SAP to help curb the township violence.

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said Sisulu had been phoned by Diepkloof resi-

PETER DELMAR and
MATTHEW CURTIN

11A
dents and had passed on the details to Swart. He said the relationship between the ANC and SAP was one neither side could do without.

SAP spokesman Lt-Col Tienie Halgryn said last night an earlier police statement that the men had gone out to investigate a report of AK-47 rifles being in the area was based on incomplete information.

Lt Govindsamy Mariemuthoo said yesterday, after failing to find evidence of any gunmen armed with AK-47s, the policemen, in two cars, were ambushed as they drove past the squatter camp.

Const De Waal Liebenberg died and the other three were admitted to hospital. One, Const Mark Abramowitz, was in a serious condition late yesterday.

Three Carlton Hotel employees were shot and killed when their assailants apparently mistook their yellow mini-bus for a police vehicle at 1.10am yesterday.

NEGOTIATIONS AND VIOLENCE

~~11A~~

11A

F1M14/9190

CONSTITUTIONALLY SPEAKING

While the war in the townships goes on, so does the war of words. Is there any relationship between them?

Nelson Mandela's reported statement in Kampala, that Pretoria is "conducting a war against us . . . systematically inciting certain people to attack and kill the ANC" was so unacceptable that Gerrit Viljoen — not, this time, Magnus Malan — was called on to answer it.

He called it an untrue statement and referred to the "many political demonstrations taking place regularly without hindrance on the part of the security forces." Mandela was going against the spirit of the Pretoria Minute.

In this war — the verbal one — it is difficult not to see the protagonists seeking the moral high ground while actual territory is lost to forces of anarchy and mischief. *If* the ANC cannot arrest violence, government must be to blame; *if* the police and army cannot halt bloodshed, it must be because they are stretched so thin. That is the subtext of the arguments.

So the public positioning continues — mediated by the occasional summit between F W de Klerk and Mandela.

The violence would seem to have several causes, including prenegotiating political hostilities, tribalism, economic dependency and the hostel system. Whether other factors —

the rightwing, Inkatha, local animosities and so on — provide the trigger, must be sorted out from the rhetoric, though, heaven knows, we have enough commissions of inquiry as it is.

What people really want to know is whether the violence will scuttle the talks, because if so, all bets are off. Indeed, when Mandela suggests that the armed struggle might be resumed if violence does not cease, the lack of forethought is alarming; that way lies civil war.

At this stage, it seems that government and the ANC are locked into a process from which they cannot extricate themselves — and that is a good thing. What is not a good thing is the growing suspicion of a "deal" which excludes other participants at a two-sided table.

If nothing of the sort exists, then it seems to us that an important way of stopping the violence would be precisely to address those issues of prenegotiating hostilities, tribalism, and so on, by putting them on the agenda for constitutional talks and bringing the talks forward.

At this stage, negotiations on the constitution are set to begin "next year." Why not sooner? The death toll should take precedence over preconditions. That is what leadership is about. ■

Chiefs have role to play in new SA (11A)

By MONDLI MAKHANYA

CHIEFTAINSHIP may be one of the few institutions to be left intact as many of the "old" institutions of government crumble or are transformed into "democratic organs of people's power". VLE Mas 1419-2019/90

Despite the essentially undemocratic nature of traditional leadership — it is an exclusively male domain, unselected and unaccountable, requiring the unquestioning subservience of the ruled — the liberation movements concur it has a role to play in a "new South Africa".

Much of this may be attributed to the role played by the anti-apartheid Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa), which celebrates its third anniversary next week.

Formed in September 1987 after chiefs and people in the rural areas successfully opposed kwaNdebele's independence from South Africa, Contralesa has spearheaded many struggles in rural areas.

It has also been at loggerheads with the kwaZulu government, where Inkatha sees Contralesa as a threat to its traditional rural bases. Contralesa president Mhlabunzima Maphumulo, who is based in Natal, has survived several attempts on his life.

Chiefs have played a role in the struggle against apartheid: the founders of the African National Congress were chiefs; Nobel peace prize winner Chief Albert Luthuli led the ANC through the 1950s and 1960s; and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela is also a chief.

However, none of the liberation movements has a clear policy on how the maintenance of chieftainship will be reconciled with democratic accountability and the principle of non-sexism.

The ANC constitutional guidelines merely state that "the institution of hereditary rulers and chiefs shall be transformed to serve the interests of the people as whole, in conformity with the democratic principles embodied in the constitution".

ANC information chief Ahmed Kathrada said a new constitution would ensure that "the influence of these leaders does not infringe on the democratic rights of other citizens."

The South Africa Communist Party, despite a stated goal of creating a classless society, also believes traditional leaders should be maintained under socialism, "as long as the relationship between the ruler and the ruled is determined by the people".

The SACP's Essop Pahad said the party had not developed a policy towards traditional leaders but added that male exclusivity in chieftainship was an issue that would have to be addressed along with sexism in other spheres of society.

Azanian People's Organisation publicity secretary Strini Moodley said Azapo recognised the cultural and leadership role chiefs have played and accepted that they must continue to play this role.

"We recognise that they have arguably acted as the custodians of values and cultures in our society. We would like to see them continue playing this role in the context of a new constitution. However, we cannot allow them the political framework for purposes other than their functions."

Inkatha representative Humphrey Ndlovu said the "changing of South Africa should not change our attitude towards *amakhosi*."

"*Amakhosi* are treasures given to us by God, and we will always treasure and appreciate them," he said.

Contralesa national organiser Samson Ndou said there had been a misconception that chiefs were traitors — a view held mainly by urban dwellers. He conceded that the institution of chieftainship had been manipulated by successive National Party governments to serve their objectives, and said it was the duty of the "democratic movement" to change this.

What 'the people' want: Nelson and negotiations

TIA
w/mat 14/9-26/9/70
vouring of the ANC at a time when the organisation is the source of much media hype.

NEGOTIATIONS and change are South Africa's current political buzzwords. But while the African National Congress parleys with State President FW de Klerk, and the Pan Africanist Congress and Azanian People's Organisation protest against the talks, what do the people think?

It is this question the Institute of Black Research has attempted to address in its survey on "Negotiations and Change", released last month.

According to the findings of the survey, in which 3 725 South Africans were interviewed:

- The average South African supports negotiations above the armed struggle as a means of change.

- The ANC is the most popular organisation.

- The first president/prime minister of a new South Africa should be ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, with De Klerk as a second choice.

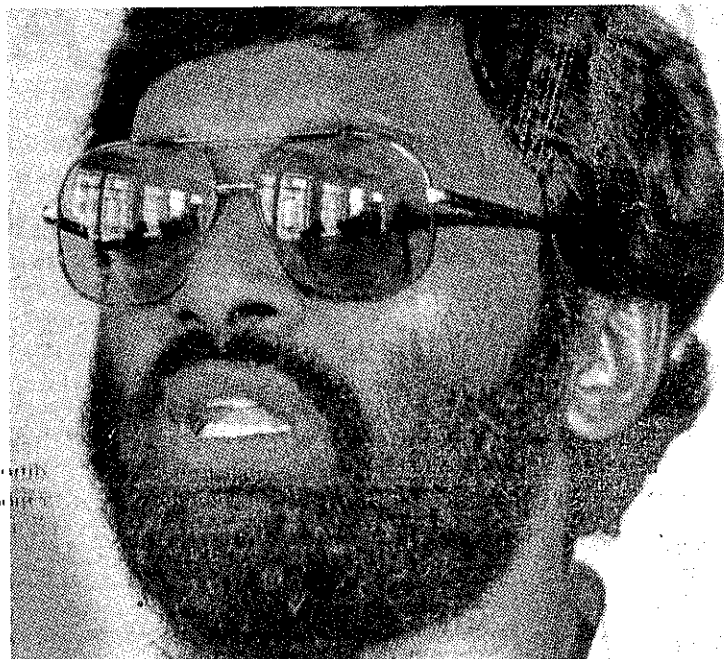
The opinion poll points to a majority in support of negotiations — 73 percent see it as the best means of bringing about change in South Africa, and 74 percent are for the current talks between the ANC and National Party.

Only 10 percent believe the armed struggle is the best means of bringing about change and five percent would support the armed struggle.

Survey co-ordinator Dr Saths Cooper says the people "want stability, peace and security".

The ANC (20,5 percent) and the National Party (12,2 percent) are identified as the most important parties to negotiations, followed by Azapo/Black Consciousness Movement (7,4 percent), the Democratic Party (7,2 percent) and the South African Congress of Trade Unions/Congress of South African Trade Unions (7,1 percent).

Research co-ordinator Professor Fatima Meer says the results indicate a dichotomy in the expectations of



Dr Saths Cooper ... People want stability, peace and security

The survey may be skewed but according to the IBR most people do not support the armed struggle. However, they do back the ANC and Nelson Mandela.
By CASSANDRA MOODLEY

the enfranchised and disenfranchised, and simultaneously indicate areas of convergence among racial minorities.

Responses from "disenfranchised groups" on the issues of "capitalism, socialism and a mixed economy, the ANC, and a single parliament in a unitary state" converge, she says.

Sixty percent of blacks, 59 percent of Indians and 57 percent of colou-

reds supported socialism, while only 22 percent of white respondents favoured this economic system.

Meer says the disenfranchised groups also reject protection of minority rights, but 66 percent of whites support this. And a majority was against safeguarding tribal rights — including 81 percent of blacks.

The results are viewed with scepticism by some, who question its fa-

Respondents to the survey were given mainly open-ended questions, according to the IBR, which describes the sample as representative of the entire population by race, sex, age, religion and regional distribution.

At the same time, the IBR says, the survey is skewed in favour of the urban groups with higher incomes and higher education.

Most respondents spoke English and were between 21 to 30 years old. The largest occupational group represented in the sample was students — 27 percent — and the highest income group earned between R1 001 and R2 000.

Most workers interviewed — 71 percent — were not union members.

Cooper admits: "The sample was not corrected for actual racial population distribution in the country."

"There is over-representation of whites, coloureds and Indians, and under-representation of blacks, compared to the actual population."

However, this would only affect the figures by two to three percent either way, he says. De Klerk's support would be decreased and support for ethnic bodies such as the Transvaal Indian Congress would disappear.

Surveys in general have come in for much criticism, with social scientists pointing to problem areas in research methodology and interpretation.

Debate rages around whether opinion polls should be rigorous in their statistical compilation and whether they can be extended beyond the sample questioned.

Political researcher Ivor Sarakinski says experience has shown "a range of methodical problems with such polls — people are sensitive to every influence and nuance when responding to questions".

He also asks whether one can extrapolate from the sample: "Can you extend your results from 3 000 people to 30-million?"

Call for a united front

Sowetan 14/9/90

11A

HARARE - The Black Consciousness Movement of Azania has appealed to black political organisations in South Africa to form a united front.

A statement here said each of the three major components of the liberation movement had its own history, policy, tradition and constituency.

"However the sum total of what we have in common is far greater than any differences we

may have. Thus a united front on the basis of our points of agreement is both possible and crucial to our struggle at this point in history.

"The BCMA calls for unity in all areas of struggle, including unity among the organisations of the oppressed on the issue of negotiations, where a common set of minimum demands have to be agreed upon to prevent settler-colonial leader De



STEVE BIKO

Klerk from taking advantage of our disagreements," said the statement.

The statement was issued on the 13th anniversary of the death in detention of Steve Biko.

Wounded describe their nightmare ride into hell

Star 14/9/90

Staff Reporters

Amid scenes reminiscent of field hospitals after a pitched military battle, wounded survivors of last night's "train of death" told The Star of a commuter trip that turned into a nightmare ride into hell.

At the Johannesburg, Hillbrow and South Rand hospitals scores of medical personnel battled to cope with the deluge of bloody victims.

As ferry services of ambulances

roared in, the wounded told of the most cold-blooded and merciless slayings yet seen on the country's transport network.

Obed Sithole of Soweto, being treated by medics for head wounds resulting from leaping out of a carriage said he heard one of the men, "hefty, middle-aged and wielding a gun", speaking in Zulu.

Just before he jumped he saw the man fire a shot through a window, then ask a passenger why he

had not jumped like the others.

A man in the emergency section at Hillbrow Hospital, where about 25 of the injured were taken, said passengers had been singing and praying before the violence began.

Thomas Ndimande of Soweto said he jumped when the shooting began. He injured his leg and arm.

"When I heard the first shots everyone opened their eyes from praying and started screaming and running. Some jumped out of the

train and others hung on outside from the doors and windows.

"I saw two black men, about middle-aged. One was wearing a black tracksuit with white stripes down the arms. I saw one of them stabbing a woman.

"They were using their pangas on anyone. I didn't think I would come out of it alive. I was very scared," Mr Ndimande said.

Another eye-witness, Sidney

© To Page 2

Nightmare ride into hell

From Page 1 and opened fire.

Ntshingila, said he had seen four black attackers between the ages of about 28 and 36.

Two of them had knives, one a panga and another a pistol. They wore ordinary clothes and "just started stabbing and shooting".

At Johannesburg Hospital, Edison Tshilamali of Dobsonville, said black men who boarded at George Goch station

"They were shooting at random, men and women. People started throwing themselves out of the windows in panic.

"I remember one of the men was dressed in an army outfit.

"He had a panga in his hand and his pockets were bulging."

Mr Tshilamali did not know how many attackers there were — but enough to give him nightmares for years to come.

~~SECRET~~ (11/1/90) star 4/9/90

NEWS

Staff Reporter

Steps next week to control violence — FW

Steps to bring the present violence under control would be announced next week, President de Klerk said in a midnight statement following last night's Johannesburg train carnage.

Mr de Klerk said the steps would supplement comprehensive measures already taken.

He said the "violent events of the past week, in which many people lost their lives, have

brought our country to an unfortunate turning point".

The latest wave of violence, unrest, arson and damage to property could not be tolerated in any civilised country.

"The offenders, whoever they may be, will be firmly dealt with.

"At the same time the Government will not allow the country to degenerate into an-

archy, whatever the cost."

Mr de Klerk said he again appealed to all leaders and the public to give the Government and the security forces their full support to counter crime.

"Accusations will achieve nothing. There are forces which do not wish peaceful negotiations to succeed.

"All those desiring peace must stand together to identify

and counter these forces."

He said those responsible (for the violence) were greatly mistaken if they believed the Government's search for a peaceful solution was a password to lawlessness, unrest and murder.

"The new South Africa, which is the goal of all sincere South Africans, is being threatened by present events. The Government is determined to ensure

stability and to carry out the process of renewal which has been initiated, within a safe and secure South Africa," he said.

● Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee said in Cape Town that some measures to bring the situation under control had been initiated earlier this week but details had not yet been announced. More details were expected to be announced today.

He said the Government would announce further comprehensive steps soon.

He declined to indicate what these would be, but it appeared they would include measures to expedite judicial processes, including court appearances as well as additional measures involving the police and the Defence Force.

Mr Coetsee and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok were today conferring with top officials in Pretoria.

PAC leader spurns negotiation

For 14/9/90
Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The Pan Africanist Congress had turned down the Government's offer to it to enter the negotiating process, PAC general secretary Benny Alexander said yesterday.

Speaking at the University of Durban-Westville, he said the PAC believed it would be better to fight for a transfer of power than sell out the "exploited masses".

(14) (9) (90)
Flanked by two bodyguards, Mr Alexander smiled as the 500 students listening to his speech shouted repeatedly: "One settler, one bullet" and: "Serve, suffer, sacrifice".

He said the PAC wanted a socialist democracy in South Africa and believed in the creation of a single nation in South Africa.

Mr Alexander said the talk about power-shar-

ing was a farce, as power presupposed supremacy and one could not share supremacy.

Referring to a letter from the Government to the PAC inviting the organisation to discussions leading to negotiations, he accused the Government of "trying to co-opt the PAC into their system" and said the PAC would only consider joining in elections for a constituent assembly.

26 die and 100 injured on Soweto-bound train as Reef slaughter continues

Squatters hacked and shot, shacks demolished

**50 more slaughtered
in township violence**

● Station panga attacks ● Ambulance 'no go' areas

Orgy of killings continues

By Chris le Grange

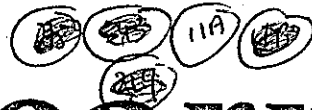
A week of violence ... The Star's front-page headlines on Monday (left), Tuesday (above) and yesterday (right).

Minibus gang guns down 11 pedestrians

**Police hunt for
random city street killers**



Star
14/9/90



The carriages of death





Death train . . . the bodies of a man and a woman lie in a railway carriage — two of the victims of yesterday's brutal rampage among passengers.

● Picture by Associated Press.

Train gang may be city street killers

By Julienne du Toit, Guy Jepson, Shirley Woodgate and Carina le Grange

The gang which carried out the slaughter of the innocents on a Soweto-bound train last night may be the same killers who ran amok in central Johannesburg on Wednesday night.

Police said today they were investigating the possibility that the gang responsible for last night's train attack also gunned down 17 people in the city on Wednesday, killing three.

There is still no apparent motive for either attack.

Last night's train carnage left at least 26 people dead and more than 100 injured when a gang armed with shotguns, pangas and knives hacked and shot their way through a crowded passenger train on its way to Soweto.

Planned

Survivors told The Star of the cold-blooded, planned slaughter which began when the killers climbed aboard at Jeppe Station.

With their weapons concealed, they joined the mass of workers on their way home to Soweto.

It was 5.15 pm and the train took the "loop line", which heads through Johannesburg's eastern suburbs before turning towards Soweto. Several minutes later the



To the rescue . . . paramedics give emergency treatment to a victim at Denver station.

● Picture by Karen Fletcher.

train made its scheduled stop at George Goch station.

Then began the "journey of death". The 8 km of line between George Goch and Denver stations

became a trail of carnage.

Patrick Makhado was sitting in the second carriage from the front of the "death train".

"I saw about five people with

shotguns, pistols and pangas.

"They just started killing everyone. Then two or three people came from the back, also with guns and pangas. They had trapped us all.

"I jumped off the train. I think I saw some of the attackers run off towards George Goch hostel."

Moving from carriage to carriage, the black attackers shot, stabbed and hacked their way through the passengers.

Some, such as Mr Makhado, jumped for their lives.

Others cowered under seats. Some were slain where they sat, or hacked as they tried to flee.

The killers shouted as they carried out the slaughter.

The Highveld evening was rent by the screams of the injured and dying in the train and along the track. It was a five-minute rampage that left 26 dead and more than 100 injured.

The driver brought the train to a stop at Denver Station.

Contrary to earlier reports, police said today a second group of killers were not waiting at Denver.

The attackers used pangas and knives, with most of the victims having slash wounds or injuries from leaping from the train.

As the train lurched to a stop, passengers fled into the night and the killers escaped.

A huge rescue operation — involving helicopters, a disaster bus and virtually every available ambulance in Johannesburg — was carried out as reports of the

● To Page 2 ■

"LET YOUR
VOICE
WORK FOR YOU"
Are you a professional
competing with professionals?



Monique Rissen

BA(HONS) A.T.C.L., L.T.C.L., MEM. SAGSDT

Are you irritated by voices that:

- | | | |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Mumble? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| Are too Loud? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Soft? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| High pitched & Squeaky? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Fast? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Slow & Monotonous? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

"Have you ever thought that you may be guilty of irritating others through poor voice production? Be aware of the power of the voice for successful communication"

The cold facts of Reef carnage

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14/9/90
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Truce requires b

By HELEN GRANGE

For just more than a month, black townships throughout the Reef have been racked by brutal killings, fear and tragedy.

The death count yesterday stood at more than 700 — over 100 more than the final official death toll of 550 four months after the Soweto uprising of 1976.

Although township violence was escalating countrywide throughout this year — peaking at the end of July/beginning of August with a sudden outbreak of Inkatha-ANC fighting in Sebokeng and Kagiso on the West Rand — bloodshed on the Reef began in earnest when the East Rand township of Tokoza erupted into faction war.

A Zulu man was found dead by police in the township on August 12. That night and the next morning, mayhem struck as hostel-dwellers and squatters from Pholo Park engaged in battle, leaving at least 20 dead.

Police at the time described the Tokoza situation as "quite serious". Mini-states of emergency, imposed on several townships, have since emphasised the growing weight of the problem.

By August 14, the violence had spread to the other East Rand townships of Katlehong and Vosloorus. Crossroads squatter camp near Katlehong was in flames and charred bodies were being removed from the gutted shacks.

By this time, police were expecting an outbreak of violence in Soweto. An ominous illegal gathering outside Jabulani hostel was reported, with angry township residents seen threaten-

ing the hostel-dwellers. Claims were being made that Inkatha supporters were threatening commuters as they boarded trains.

Well over 140 people had now lost their lives in the East Rand.

By August 17, the first 17 casualties of Inkatha-ANC clashes in Soweto were reported. At Merafe hostel, hundreds of Inkatha warriors massed together, chanting and dancing, brandishing assegais, shields and other home-made weapons.

Newspapers were now carrying front-page editorials calling for a stop to the carnage. Horrific pictures of burning bodies and homeless refugees covered the front pages.

In spite of these calls, the death toll kept rising, and by August 18 the official death count for Tokoza, Vosloorus, Katlehong and Soweto was 191.

By August 22 the violence had spread to two more East Rand townships, Tembisa and Daveyton. In the West Rand township of Kagiso, Lewisham hostel was the focus of vicious attacks, and residents were claiming that Inkatha imps were being bused in by police.

The death toll had now soared to at least 510.

Clampdown

The Government decided to impose mini-states of emergency on 19 magisterial districts affected in a massive security clampdown. Hostels were searched and weapons confiscated.

Over the weekend August 24-25, Reef townships were relatively quiet, but warnings that a resurgence of violence was not far off only increased anxiety.

On August 27, eight of the first Soweto violence victims were buried.

On the first weekend of September, the predicted happened. Police found 23 bodies in Tokoza and Tembisa after occupants of a minibus drove around shooting and stabbing residents.

On September 4 bloody battles raged in Sebokeng, where 36 people were killed, allegedly at the hands of the SADF. Reports were made that armed whites took part in a pre-dawn attack on a Sebokeng hostel before the killings.

On September 6 five people were killed and 14 injured in an attack at Jeppe station in Johannesburg. It seemed a senseless and motiveless attack on civilians.

Last weekend saw another 50 killed in further attacks on squatter camps in Soweto and the East Rand townships. People were hacked or shot dead by marauding armed bands, and thousands of shacks were demolished.

Yesterday, after another four days of carnage, the official death toll stood at over 700 and rising...

As township violence spirals out of control, millions of South Africans are asking: "How can the violence be stopped?" Political Reporter **ESMARE VAN DER MERWE** asked some experts for their proposals.

South Africa's political leaders must shift their ideological differences into the background and join forces to stop the carnage in Natal and Reef townships which has claimed hundreds of lives, politicians and analysts believe.

This is about as far as the consensus goes, and the one solution is rendered virtually impossible by deep-rooted ideological differences and, particularly on the Reef, confusion about the bloody clashes.

Those who believe the violence to be a straightforward battle for power between the ANC and Inkatha have called for a meeting between Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to facilitate a truce.

However, there is a general fear that such a meeting would no longer restore peace because the conflict has spread beyond ideological boundaries and that many exacerbating factors have since come into play. Those include:

- Widespread claims of police partiality and the existence of a "third force".
- Fear psychosis among township residents whereby attacks and counter-attacks are often launched following rumours of pending attacks by opposing forces.
- Revenge attacks.
- Ethnicity.
- Unemployment and appalling socio-economic conditions.
- Criminal behaviour.

The ANC and Inkatha are said to be involved in efforts to facilitate a meeting between top officials which, ANC sources said, should include Chief Buthelezi but not Mr Mandela. A meeting between the two leaders should only follow later.

ANC southern Natal con-

KAGISO

AUG 6
Hostel attack in Kagiso leaves 12 dead, 16 injured. (unofficial 30).

JOHANNESBURG

SEPT 6
Two gunmen open fire on commuters at Jeppe station. (6 dead, 14 injured)

SEPT 12
Four gunmen in minibus go on a terror from the Polly Street taxi at the men's hostel in Woluhuter (3 dead, at least 8 wounded)

SOWETO

SEPT 8-9
33 dead

SEPT 10
7 dead

SEPT 11-12-13
7 dead

SEPT 9
Tladi squatter camp residents allege dwellers from Merafe hostel, in minibuses driven by police, fired on them (32 dead)

SEPT 11
Police vehicle ambushed near Diepkloof squatter camp (1 dead)

SEPT 12
Minibus carrying Carlton Hotel staff attacked outside Nancefield hostel (3 dead)



The conflict has spread be

At the time, vener Patrick Lekota recently suggested a meeting between President de Klerk, Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi. The Government should be involved to ensure that the KwaZulu leader adhered to any agreements since he had a record of "scotching" agreements.

The anti-negotiation Pan Africanist Congress has offered to mediate between the two organisations, but this offer has been turned down by both groups.

This week the PAC made a controversial call to the ANC and Inkatha to "stop killing the African people" and rather to use their collective forces to destroy their common enemy, the SAP and the SADF.

Centre for Policy Studies researcher Fanie Cloete believe the violence could be stopped. Mr Mandela and President Klerk fully committed themselves to finding solutions.

Noting that Inkatha supporters started the violence, Cloete said Chief Buthelezi seemed to be able to control people if he were satisfied that he would not be overlooked at the negotiating table.

"The solution is for Mr Mandela and Mr de Klerk to commit themselves to stopping violence. So far, they have yet done so.

"It seems as if Mr Man is not really the one to oppose meeting with Chief Buthelezi but some people within his



Confused and frightened, children like the one above have been caught in the midst of the violence.
● Picture by Ken Oosterbroek.

Stop making police the un

By SHIRLEY WOODGATE

Until the root causes of the violence are solved by those involved in the township fighting, the police cannot end the unrest.

They can merely keep the lid on the boiling pot of unrest, says SAP public relations chief Major-General Herman Stadler.

Responding to allegations of partiality, conniving and incompetence, he said that while the police could act to contain violence, the force was unable to put an end to it.

"We can only urge those who are involved to stop making the police the scapegoat for their problems and to try to solve the real issues at hand," he added.

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"The next moment, calls are made for the full might of the security forces to be used to curb the violence.

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have been requesting security force action."

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BACKGROUND

e requires burying of hatchet

TERROR UPDATE

KAGISO
AUG 6
Hostel attack in Kagiso leaves 12 dead, 16 injured. (unofficial 30).

JOHANNESBURG
SEPT 6
Two gunmen open fire on commuters at Jeppe station. (6 dead, 14 injured)
SEPT 12
Four gunmen in minibus go on a trail of terror from the Polly Street taxi rank ending at the men's hostel in Wolhuter Street. (3 dead, at least 8 wounded)

SEBOKENG
SEPT 4-5
40 dead through residents' gang and police action.

EASTERN TOWNSHIPS
Tembisa, Tokosa, Katlehong and Vosloorus.
SEPT 8-9
18 dead
SEPT 10
9 dead
SEPT 11
23 dead
SEPT 12-13
64 dead
Total at 3pm 13/9 - 114 dead

SOWETO
SEPT 8-9
33 dead
SEPT 10
7 dead
SEPT 11-12-13
7 dead
SEPT 9
Tiadi squatter camp residents allege dwellers from Merafe hostel, in minibuses driven by police, fired on them (32 dead)
SEPT 11
Police vehicle ambushed near Diepkloof squatter camp (1 dead)
SEPT 12
Minibus carrying Cariton Hotel staff attacked outside Nancefield hostel (3 dead)

Map labels: Krugersdorp, JOHANNESBURG, Boksburg, Alberton, Gemiston, KATLEHONG, VOSLOORUS, TOKOZA, LERIASIA, SEBOKENG, KAGISO, SOWETO.

Graphic by Liz Warder

tely causes rifts between various organisations because it wants to portray the country as consisting of various minority groups," Mr Nefolohodwe said.

Deeply suspicious of elements within the security forces which are being used to destabilise the situation, the ANC has proposed the establishment of central command structures to exercise control over the security forces.

It has also proposed the establishment of liaison and monitoring mechanisms in unrest areas. This call has received wide support.

Former Inkatha leader Oscar Dhlomo, now of the Institute for Multiparty Democracy, believes leaders such as Mr de Klerk, Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi should draw up a code of conduct to guide the actions of the security forces.

Mr Mandela's call on the Government this week to use the SADF to quell the violence has been widely criticised.

Political commentator Jan de Plessis warned this week that the use of military force to solve a political problem could lead to civil war.

Nic Rhodie, head of the Centre for Conflict Analysis, said the significance of this call had not yet been grasped. In effect, the use of military force would make Mr Mandela an accomplice to murder if people died because of SAP or SADF activities.

Various black organisations have also criticised Mr Mandela on this score. In the words of Azapo's Mr Nefolohodwe: "It is naive to call on the people who cause the violence to maintain law and order. The campaign to get the security forces out of the townships was launched precisely because they were killing our people."

While there is a growing fear that the country's political leaders are no longer in control of the situation, other peace efforts are being planned.

Government representatives and traditional chiefs from KwaZulu and Transkei will this weekend hold joint rallies in Reef townships in an effort to defuse tension between Zulus and Xhosas.

The conflict has spread beyond ideological boundaries

vener Patrick Lekota recently suggested a meeting between President de Klerk, Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi. The Government should be involved to ensure that the KwaZulu leader adhered to any agreements since he had a record of "scotching" agreements.

The anti-negotiation Pan Africanist Congress has offered to mediate between the two organisations, but this offer has been turned down by both groups.

This week the PAC made a controversial call to the ANC and Inkatha to "stop killing the African people" and rather to use their collective forces to destroy their common enemy, the SAP and the SADF.

Centre for Policy Studies researcher Fanie Cloete believes the violence could be stopped if Mr Mandela and President de Klerk fully committed themselves to finding solutions.

Noting that Inkatha supporters started the violence, Mr Cloete said Chief Buthelezi seemed to be able to control his people if he were satisfied that he would not be overlooked at the negotiating table.

"The solution is for Mr Mandela and Mr de Klerk to commit themselves to stopping the violence. So far, they have not yet done so.

"It seems as if Mr Mandela is not really the one to oppose a meeting with Chief Buthelezi, but some people within his or-

ganisation are. He should stand up and say enough is enough.

"On the other hand, Mr de Klerk has only made half-hearted efforts because he does not want to alienate Chief Buthelezi. He should give him an ultimatum by putting financial pressure on him.

"Then there is a growing suspicion that some elements in the police, the defence force and even some politicians do not want to find solutions because it is a good propaganda tool - particularly overseas - to portray the violence as black-on-black."

From the Black Consciousness Movement came a different suggestion.

Azapo general secretary Pandelani Nefolohodwe said the organisation had in March - before the Natal violence spilt over to the Reef - suggested a conference among all "liberation movements" to stop the violence and map out joint strategies for the future.

Neither the Government nor Inkatha should be involved in peace initiatives because apartheid was the cause of the violence and "Gatsha has been built by the State as a pawn to do its dirty work", he said.

"It is apartheid and nothing else that is causing the violence. We had the experience when the UDF and Azapo were said to have been at war. The State was behind it. It delibera-

ing police the unrest scapegoat, says general

"We can only urge those who are involved to stop making the police the scapegoat for their problems and to try to solve the real issues at hand," he added.

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"We do not deny there have been isolated incidents in which individual policemen have

overstepped the mark, but we neither condoned nor tolerate this.

"It should be noted that this is not unique to the SAP and we believe it is also unfair for anyone to condemn the entire force for exceptions to the rule," he said.

The spiral of violence now sweeping the country was placing an increasing burden on the resources of the SAP, and the killing of policemen had now become an almost daily occurrence.

"Despite this deteriorating situation in our own backyard,

the propaganda is continuing," he said.

"Allegations being levelled against the police are viewed in a serious light, so much so that an experienced team of detectives under the leadership of a senior general has been appointed to investigate these claims.

"The police do not want to conceal the truth and we therefore have no qualms about such an investigation.

But at this stage, despite intensive research into various allegations, we have found no concrete confirmation to sub-

stantiate them," the general said.

Turning to the role of the media, he said that while the press and television had a duty to inform the public, their duty also extended to acting responsibly.

"The repeated publication of unsubstantiated allegations against the SAP cannot be considered responsible and cannot be to anyone's benefit.

"A false perception is being created which can lead to a wedge being driven between the police and the public," he added.

Stop making police the unrest scapegoat, says general

By SHIRLEY WOODGATE

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for a meeting
Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu
Buthelezi to facilitate a truce.

However, there is a general
feeling that such a meeting would

SEPT 14
Minibus carrying Carlton
Hotel staff attacked outside

40 dead through
residents', gang
and police action.

Graphic by

Nic Rhodie, head of the Centre for Conflict Analysis, said the significance of this call had

ANC killers win appeal

Sta 16/9/90 (11A)

BLOEMFONTEIN — The Appeal Court, in its first judgment in terms of amended Criminal Procedure Act provisions with regard to the death sentence, has allowed the appeal of three Umkhonto we Sizwe members against the four-way death sentence they received for four murders.

Yesterday the court substituted imprisonment of 25 years on each of the murder counts and ordered the sentences be served concurrently.

Jabu Obed Masina, Frans Ting-Ting Msango and Neo Griffith Potsane were sentenced by Mr Justice MC de Klerk on April 27 1989.

They and Joseph Makhura were also jailed for 25 years for multiple counts of attempted murder, when 17 people were injured in a limpet-mine blast at Silverton in 1986 and for a landmine explosion at Soshanguve. Masina, Msango and Potsane were also imprisoned for 10 years (concurrent) for the attempted murder of a woman.

Mr Justice Friedman (acting judge of appeal) said that when mitigating factors were taken

into account, he did not consider the death sentence appropriate. A proper sentence, in his view, would be one of 25 years' jail. Acting Chief Justice Mr Justice Joubert, Mr Justice Smalberger, Mr Justice Milne and Mr Justice Eksteen concurred.

Mr Justice Friedman said Mr Justice de Klerk had made a number of findings based on the appellants' statements and confessions. The appellants believed themselves to be soldiers, generally under the command of ANC leaders, the judge said.

They had been indoctrinated to believe that their actions and conduct were fully justified.

Mr Justice Friedman said the trial evidence did not reveal that the men were mere puppets who obeyed the orders of their superiors in the ANC without thought or question. Although they were under the general command of their leaders, they identified targets for assassination; people who, in accordance with ANC policy, would be appropriate victims. — Sapa.

ched union

Sasol starts to

(140A) 55
33

Treurnicht rejects negotiations

By Esmare van der Merwe
Political Reporter

The Conservative Party did not regard the National Party's reforms as irreversible and would never take part in negotiations which would reduce whites to a helpless minority in a black communist majority state, CP leader Andries Treurnicht said last night.

Speaking at the first public rally in the Parliamentary by-election campaign for the November 7 election in Randburg, Dr Treurnicht said voters would reject the "foolish" idea of a non-racial democracy which was just another name for a tyranny of numbers.

It did not make sense to invite the CP to take part in negotiations

while the Government was insisting that its "detestable course" was irreversible.

Both Dr Treurnicht and the CP's candidate, Leonie Steele, conducted most of their speeches in English and appealed to English voters to back the CP on November 7. About 600 people attended the lively meeting.

Dr Treurnicht said many English-speaking voters were now turning to the CP.

"We say we will listen to you now and we will listen to you when we are in power," he said.

The CP had had discussions with several blacks leaders who wanted the party's support in their fight against the ANC and the SACP. Further talks with such leaders, whom he did not identify,

would take place within the near future.

Turning to the President's visit to the United States later this month, Dr Treurnicht said Mr de Klerk should tell President Bush: "Stop blackmailing us, stop these sanctions which we regard as a form of war."

Although the international world could make life difficult for South Africa by means of sanctions, the country could become even more self-sufficient if white expertise was developed.

Ms Steele said the country was being destroyed by ethnic conflict. It was only a matter of time before whites would be caught up in the middle.

(Report by E van der Merwe, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg).

A LOOK INSIDE THE ANC

FIM 14/9/90

11A

In a journalistic first, the *FM* is publishing a Special Survey of the African National Congress on September 28. A complete departure from our usual concentration on business issues, the survey covers neither a company nor a sector of the economy — but a liberation movement in the painful process of adapting to political legality.

A team of writers headed by Peter Wilhelm and Amarnath Singh interviewed ANC leaders — including Nelson Mandela — for the project, which assesses the history of the movement, its role in negotiations for a new constitution, and its stance on a variety of crucial issues including the economy, sports and cultural policy.

In key areas, the ANC provided departmental panels who were questioned by *FM* specialists. A wide range of documentary evidence was consulted and memories were cast back to the Fifties and Sixties and the formation of Um-

khonto we Sizwe. There were recollections of prison life and operations and linkages with other movements like PAC, NP and communists were probed.

The influence of the Communist Party on the ANC is specifically addressed — and the number and names of communists on the national executive committee is for the first time given in full.

The survey was conducted with the cooperation of the ANC but reflects solely the *FM* view of the movement, its credibility and prospects.

Much new information came to light — including Mandela's current position on socialism, the status of the sports boycott (that is, when it could be lifted) and the extent of pragmatism or otherwise on controversial economic matters such as nationalisation and fiscal policy. The initial response indicates that this could be the best-read survey ever published by the *FM* — and will remain a reference work for the future.

TRADITIONAL LEADERS

CHIEF TROUBLE

FIM 1419190

Details of the mysterious suspension of Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA (Contralesa) president Mhlabunzima Maphumulo last month will emerge at the organisation's annual conference. There's some doubt, however, whether the maverick tribal chief will turn up to give his side of the story.

Maphumulo, the popular tribal leader appointed first president of the rural-based, ANC-aligned movement but suspended last month at a general council meeting, seems to have gone to ground. The *FM* could not contact him this week.

Acting president Sango Holomisa, an Umtata advocate, regional representative of the ANC and nephew of Transkei military leader Bantu Holomisa, said Contralesa's executive committee would present a full report at the organisation's annual conference in QwaQwa on October 12 following the investigation into "serious allegations of misconduct" made against Maphumulo.

"Though suspended as president, Maphumulo is still a member of Contralesa and should, therefore, attend the conference where he will be given an opportunity to state his case," Holomisa said.

He would not detail the allegations but did confirm that, basically, Maphumulo had at times been acting "without a mandate from Contralesa."

The *FM* learns from reliable sources that the suspended president had apparently been travelling abroad in the name of Contralesa without first consulting the executive committee and that his attendance at executive meetings was rare.

Reports that Natal representatives of Contralesa, where Maphumulo hails from, were unhappy with the president's suspension and could even break away from the organisation were dismissed by Samson Ndou in the congress's Johannesburg office.

"We have not heard of any dissent from Natal. In fact they seem to be behind the investigation," he said.

Maphumulo, a traditional chief, though stripped of his position by KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi for his in-

FIM 1419190 (11A) ~~(11A)~~
volvement with Contralesa and his perceived anti-Inkatha views, claims a following of about 30 000 people in the Table Mountain area of Natal.

Under his leadership the congress, a network of about 50 dissident chiefs and sub-chiefs with their respective followings, gained support in rural areas to the point where it became a threat to the much bigger Inkatha movement.

The ANC, noting Contralesa's influence in rural areas, has been placing increasing importance on the organisation's role within the broad liberation movement.

Contralesa was formed three years ago by a nucleus of tribal chiefs opposed to the homeland system.

Shaun Harris

PROFILE: Will success mellow Breyten Breytenbach? Not if he can help it ...

Breyten's handful of grudges

W/EM ad 149-2019/90

The establishment has forgiven Breyten Breytenbach and showered him with gifts. But the prodigal son is in no hurry to forgive the establishment. 'I still hold grudges,' he growls.

IVOR POWELL talks to the CNA winner

BREYTEN BREYTENBACH is richer now by R7 500 — "it helps." — and more distinguished by yet another major award, this time the Central News Agency Literary Prize for his latest work, *Memories of Snow and of Dust*.

With three prior CNA literary awards already under his belt one might be forgiven for thinking the rebel Afrikaner poet is becoming something of an institution — as far as the institutions are concerned, at least.

It would be a mistake. Breytenbach has lost none of the old fire.

He casts a hooded eye around the plush carpeting, the brass, the cream coloured fittings, the maybe real wood, the expensively faked sunlight of the restaurant space at the Sandton Sun.

"How does it feel to be back in South Africa? Where we're sitting at this moment is not South Africa. It's Las Vegas ... I think it's a kind of a plot to alienate everybody as rapidly as possible."

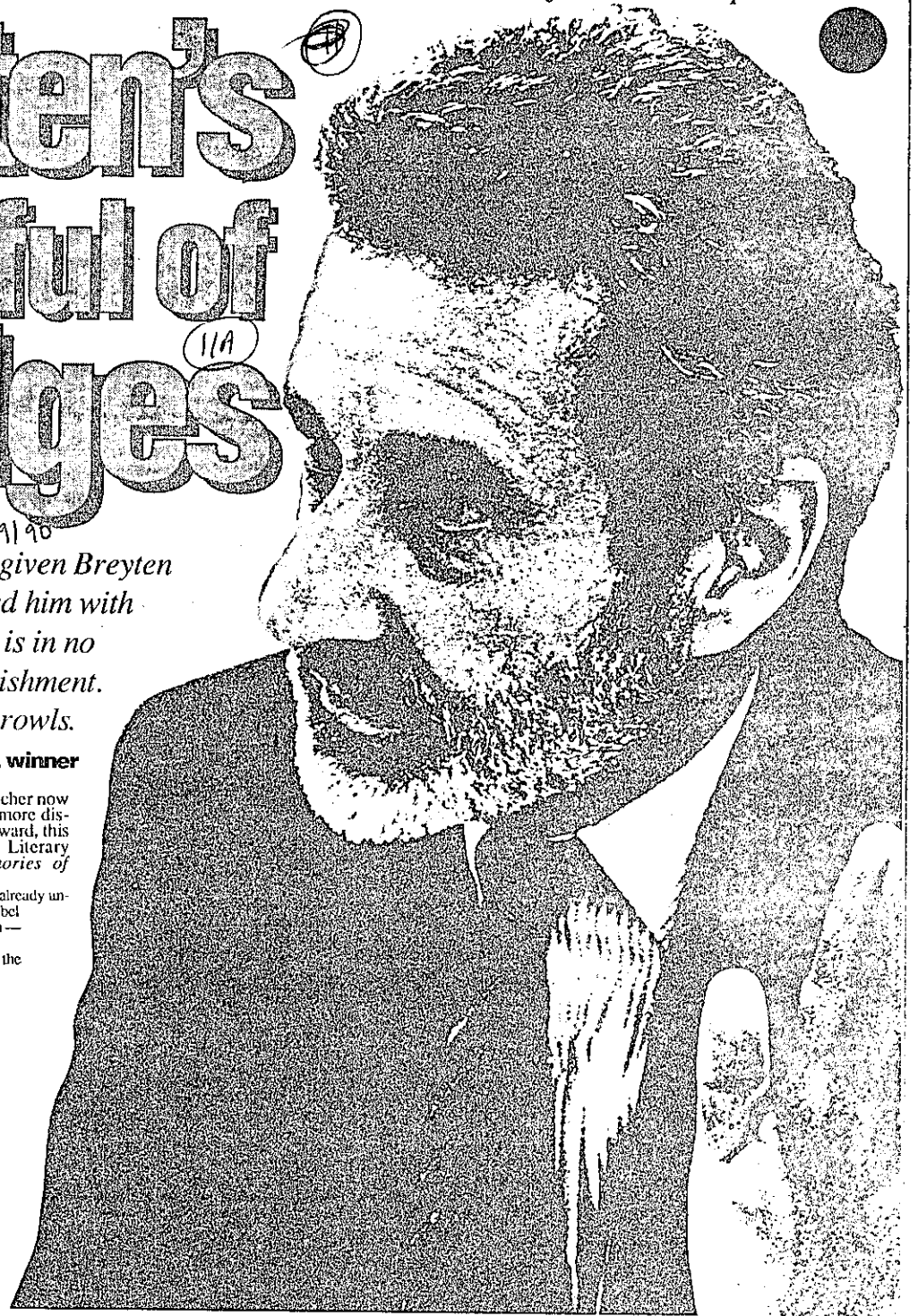
He pauses, shaking his South African head; then the writer in Breytenbach takes over.

"You know, I sit in my room upstairs and the only television going is an American network. So there I am watching Washington and it's Las Vegas and if I look out through the tinted windows maybe I can see in the far distance something that may look like Africa ..."

But it is not only what he describes as "the obscurity of living like this when you know what is going on around you" that incurs the distinguished writer's ire.

He addresses his dislikes in a more or less systematic

● To PAGE 2



A poet's handful of hates: culture, cultural workers, leaders, self-pity, accountability

Picture: JUSTIN SHOLK

CAP 7/4/5
14/9/90

Winnie in tense meeting with Thokoza police

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC welfare chief Mrs Winnie Mandela conducted a tense interview with the Thokoza police station commander in his heavily barbed-wired police building yesterday.

Outside the window lay 12 mutilated bodies, latest victims of the violence which the ANC claims is instigated by the police.

Station commander Captain SP Funani said the bodies had been brought in during the course of the morning from Phola Park and other Thokoza areas.

Phola Park squatters later gathered outside their squalid settlement with their axes and makeshift spears to listen to Mrs Mandela. "If you are attacked you have the right to defend yourselves," she said.

Earlier, she told a crowd at Natalspruit: "I am glad to see that the Minister of Police, Mr Adriaan Vlok, has deployed troops, but evidence from residents shows that most victims were killed and wounded by police bullets."

Electricity

Her words were greeted by a roar of approval by the crowd.

The squatters say they were attacked on Wednesday night by a large group of Inkatha people from Umsheyaazafe.

Meanwhile, electricity was yesterday switched off as a result of the rent and service-charge boycott.

● Witwatersrand Attorney-General Mr Klaus von Lieres is to make a decision "fairly soon" on whether to charge Mrs Mandela in connection with the kidnapping and murder of teenage activist Stompie Seipei.

Mr Von Lieres, who had originally delayed his decision saying, he was waiting for police to reinvestigate allegations of Mrs Mandela's involvement, said he now "had all the material I asked for". — Own Correspondent and Sapa

PAC to meet on joining talks with govt

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14/9/90

THE PAC could finalise a decision on whether to enter talks with the government when the internal and external wings of the organisation meet in Harare next week.

The Western Cape coordinator of the PAC, Mr Barney Desai, said yesterday that consultations with PAC branches about a government invitation to engage in talks about a new constitution had not yet been completed.

This was confirmed in Durban by the general secretary of the PAC, Mr Benny Alexander, who said it was "incorrect" that the PAC had accepted the government's invitation.

The organisation would consult its central committee in Harare on the government's invitation to talks.

Mr Alexander was addressing about 500 students at the University of Durban-Westville yesterday.

The students chanted "one settler, one bullet" at the meeting.

"Every time a settler is killed an African is liberated," a student leader introducing Mr Alexander said to tumultuous applause. — Political Correspondent and Own Correspondent

Violence prompts emergency ANC session

THE ANC is to call its full national executive committee (NEC) together next week for an emergency meeting to discuss ways of ending escalating township violence, including possible mass action. (11A)

The ANC/government working group established to consider issues relating to the ANC's suspension of the armed struggle finished an interim report yesterday.

A joint statement confirmed the two sides met in Pretoria yesterday and said the report had been finalised, but gave no further details. It is expected the report will be discussed by the leadership of both

PETER DELMAR and
MIKE ROBERTSON

sides within the next few days.

ANC sources said a meeting of NEC members in Johannesburg yesterday received reports on the violence from a number of ANC structures and affiliated organisations in affected areas.

The NEC is expected to discuss ways in which mass-action could be used to force government to use the full might of its security forces to end the violence and to stop police partiality alleged by the ANC.

Yesterday's meeting was held two days

after ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela warned the township war was jeopardising negotiations and that the ANC was coming under increasing pressure to arm its supporters involved in the violence.

In terms of the Pretoria Minute the working group was to have "resolved all outstanding questions" arising out of the decision to suspend armed action and to have reported by September 15.

However, because of delays in beginning its work, government sources indicated earlier this week that the group would

□ To Page 2

ANC session

have to submit an interim report.

The first report will now be considered by Cabinet and the ANC NEC for approval.

Yesterday's meeting was supposed to have taken place on Tuesday but was cancelled because two members of the ANC delegation, international department head Thabo Mbeki and intelligence chief Jacob Zuma, could not attend because they were part of an ANC/Cosatu/UDF delegation that met President F W de Klerk.

Mbeki, information head Pallo Jordan

and Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Joe Modise also did not attend the first meeting of the working group last Thursday.

The ANC denied this was a deliberate snub of government, stating the officials had another important meeting to attend.

Law and Order spokesman Col Steve van Rooyen declined to say whether all the members of the ANC delegation attended yesterday's talks. The two parties had agreed to say nothing more than was contained in the statement, he said.

□ From Page 1

CAP TITLES 14/9/90 (11A)

UWC accused of 'political bias'

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE University of the Western Cape (UWC) has been accused by a member of its education faculty, Dr Y da Costa, of officially aligning itself with "a single political discourse".

He also said the political bias of the official weekly publication UWC Bulletin was "so bad that for all intents and purposes it could be considered to be an official organ of a particular political organisation, and not of the university".

Dr Da Costa wrote in a letter to UWC Bulletin: "The fact that this university has opted to support and give prominence to a univocal political discourse is in itself a form of ideological sectarianism which must lead, out of necessity, to the exclusion and suppression of other discourses, and to behaviour which encourages

the removal of posters advertising meetings of those organisations which are not accepted or acceptable.

"Unfortunately, there is very little doubt that, for all intents and purposes, the university has officially come out in support of only one of the discourses in the broad democratic movement in this country.

"Surely part of the universality of a university, especially in this country at this time, is to allow as many discourses as possible on social change and progress to flower freely within all its structures, so that ideological battles and confrontation become part of the dialectic of social change.

"To give a certain discourse the status of 'gospel' is to work against all this and against all that a university should encourage.

"A university should be an ideological battleground where students of different political persuasions confront each other and do battle to test their ideas

against each other.

"This is growth, and it is only the element of opposition which allows for such growth," Dr Da Costa said.

In response, UWC's rectorate said the main thrust of Dr Da Costa's argument was "unreservedly supported".

"A university should allow, and in fact encourage, as many discourses as possible on social change and progress to flower freely within the institution."

The university's particular relationship with one component of the democratic and liberation movement was one which had developed historically out of joint struggles against apartheid.

Both the university and the democratic movement had "always understood that relationship to be one of a critical alignment from the side of the university".

UWC's media office said it was also "in favour of open, critical and constructive debate on campus".

Attack not directly linked to call

By BARRY STREEK

THE fatal attack on two police patrol cars in Soweto on Tuesday night was not directly connected to a late-night phone call by the ANC's internal leader, Mr Walter Sisulu, to a police general.

The ANC said yesterday that the original source of the phone call, Mrs Miriam Vilikazi, lived in Zone One, Diepkloof, whereas the ambush, in which a policeman died and three were injured, took place in Zone Six, Diepkloof, about 6km away.

And General Herman Stadler, head of the police's public relations division, said

the two police cars went to Zone One, found nothing, and then started patrolling.

They then came across a group of 200 youths whom they scattered and "after that particular action, they were attacked".

General Stadler added: "We are not accusing anyone. The point we wanted to make about that incident was that policemen went to investigate a complaint by Mr Sisulu to stop systematic violence and all of a sudden they were attacked."

The police and the ANC directly contradicted each other about the telephone number Mr Sisulu gave to the police com-

missioner in Soweto, General Johan Swart, in the phone call on Tuesday night.

Mr Sisulu said the number, which he himself had tested, belonged to Mrs Vilikazi in Zone One but the police said the number belonged to a member of the police's murder and robbery squad.

Mr Sisulu could not be contacted yesterday but Mr Saki Macozoma, an ANC spokesman, said reports that Mrs Winnie Mandela had called Mr Sisulu about Mrs Vilikazi's panic about the situation in Zone One on Tuesday night and had given him Mrs Vilikazi's number accorded with what Mr Sisulu told him on Wednesday.

ANC warns govt on mass action

 PETER DELMAR 11A

THE ANC warned government yesterday that it reserved the right to resume "mass action" to secure the release of detainees and the suspension of what it called repressive laws.

A strongly worded statement accused government of "a callous disregard for the most elementary standards of human decency" by refusing to release or grant bail to disabled and ill political detainees.

The statement came after detained ANC national executive member Mac Maharaj was taken to hospital and leading Natal member Billy Nair was freed after suffering a heart attack during his detention.

The ANC said yesterday more than 100 "apartheid fighters and ANC members" were being detained under Section 29.

Meanwhile, the families of a number of Section 29 detainees have asked President FW de Klerk for a meeting next Monday. *By my 149190*

According to a letter to De Klerk released by the ANC yesterday, the detainees' families are demanding their release, or at least that they be granted access to relatives and doctors and lawyers of their choice.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



Members of Women Against Repression affiliates at the Union Buildings yesterday.

Picture: ROBYN RYAN

Concerned women to meet Vlok today over violence

PRETORIA — A delegation from Women Against Repression (WAR), an alliance of women representing 22 organisations, will meet Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok today at the Union Buildings to discuss the violence in the Rand townships.

A four-person delegation yesterday delivered a memorandum from WAR to the Union Buildings expressing concern about the current violence and the urgent need for peace.



Banner 11A

The memorandum contains affidavits pertaining to police collusion with Inkatha and 13 demands.

The delegation was received by an official from President F W de Klerk's office who assured them he would give the memorandum to Vlok and De Klerk.

A group of more than 90 women from the affiliated organisations yesterday gathered under a banner saying "WAR calls on the state to end violence" on the lawns in front of the Union Building while more than 30 policemen watched.

Women for Peace representative Liz Mundell said WAR had unsuccessfully attempted to see Vlok over the past four weeks in connection with the violence.

The organisation had then decided to gather at the Union Buildings to ex-

EDYTH BULBRING

press their concern about the current violence.

However, WAR was informed on Wednesday that Vlok had agreed to meet them today, but they had decided to continue with their gathering and to present the memorandum to Vlok.

The demands include the establishment of an independent public judicial inquiry into the violence and into the conduct of the SAP, KwaZulu police and the SADF; the unbiased disarming of people in the townships; formal unrest monitoring committees, closure of all hostels; disbanding of hit squads and the policing of railway stations at all times.

010 1419190

Resign

The memorandum also calls on KwaZulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi to bring members of Inkatha under control, failing which he should be removed from office.

It also demands that should Vlok be unable to carry out the demands contained in the memorandum, he should resign.

The organisations represented by WAR include the Black Sash, Five Freedoms Forum, SACC, Human Rights Commission, ANC, Nusas and the Federation of Transvaal Women.

ANC warns govt on mass action

PETER DELMAR 11A

THE ANC warned government yesterday that it reserved the right to resume "mass action" to secure the release of detainees and the suspension of what it called repressive laws.

A strongly worded statement accused government of "a callous disregard for the most elementary standards of human decency" by refusing to release or grant bail to disabled and ill political detainees.

The statement came after detained ANC national executive member Mac Maharaj was taken to hospital and leading Natal member Billy Nair was freed after suffering a heart attack during his detention.

The ANC said yesterday more than 100 "apartheid fighters and ANC members" were being detained under Section 29.

Meanwhile, the families of a number of Section 29 detainees have asked President F W de Klerk for a meeting next Monday. 010 1419190

According to a letter to De Klerk released by the ANC yesterday, the detainees' families are demanding their release, or at least that they be granted access to relatives and doctors and lawyers of their choice.

Violence

15/9/90
FROM PAGE 1

Mr de Klerk's views on a "third force" or "hidden hand".

Expanding on his views of a Renamo-style force being at work in South Africa, Mr Mandela said it was significant the group of attackers on Thursday's Soweto-bound train did not say a word while executing more than 20 people.

"It is clear that they have considerable experience in this type of attack."

● Mr Mandela yesterday told Reef township residents to defend themselves against their killers.

At a press conference in Johannesburg, a tense-looking Mr Mandela was repeatedly asked to convey a message of peace and hope to panick-stricken residents in the wake of brutal and unprovoked attacks this week.

He said President de Klerk's admission that a "hidden hand" was manipulating the bloody violence, and the fact that the ANC's national executive committee had called an urgent meeting for Tuesday to discuss ways "to stop the violence and defend our people", should inspire confidence.

Later, when asked to appeal for peace, he said: "It is not for me to appeal for peace because the violence is not caused by residents but by faceless people."

"If I have to say anything, I would say they should defend themselves."

He declined to reveal possible actions which

the NEC might decide upon on Tuesday, or what he would tell his executive.

Confidentiality was an important element of any strategy.

The ANC would seriously consider the demand from its supporters that they be armed to defend themselves, he said.

If Mr de Klerk's new yet-to-be-announced measures to curb the violence were considered to be successful by the NEC, it would affect the NEC's views on whether to respond to the demand that its supporters be armed.

Asked if the ANC was considering resuming the armed struggle, Mr Mandela said: "We'll wait and see."

● A man — "sounding like a white person" — "desperately trying to imitate an African accent", yesterday telephoned an independent radio station claiming that Thursday's train massacre had been ordered by ANC militarist Chris Hani.

This was announced at a press conference yesterday by the ANC's head of information, Pallo Jordan.

Dr Jordan said the man, who had claimed to be an Umkhonto we Sizwe soldier, told Radio 702 that he and others refused to take orders from ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and would only act on the instructions of Mr Hani, MK's chief of staff who is currently in Transkei.

Dr Jordan said the man was an imposter.

He vehemently denied that Mr Hani had issued any orders, least of all instructions that innocent people should be killed in such a brutal way.

'The Zulus are coming!'

Star 15/9/90 NA ~~15/9/90~~ ~~15/9/90~~

FW has
conceded
3rd force
— Mandela

ESMAR VAN DER MERWE,
Political Reporter

AS more violence on trains in Johannesburg broke out yesterday, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela announced that President de Klerk had finally conceded the existence of a sinister "third force" manipulating the Reef violence.

After urgent talks with Mr de Klerk in Pretoria, Mr Mandela told a press conference in Johannesburg that the President was now convinced that the Reef carnage was no longer a clash between black and black, Inkatha and the ANC, or Zulus and Xhosas, but that "some hidden hand" was at play which intended to destabilise the peace process.

Mr de Klerk had informed him of a new comprehensive plan to end the violence and track down those responsible for the carnage.

Asked if he approved of the plan and whether the ANC would co-operate in implementing the plan, he said: "There is no question of any co-operation with regard to any measures he might take."

It was the task of the Govern-



FIRST AID: A victim gets emergency treatment at Jeppe station yesterday.

© Photograph: Sean Woods.

Many hurt as
panic sparks
train stampede

Star 15/9/90 ~~15/9/90~~ ~~15/9/90~~

STAFF REPORTERS

FIFTEEN people — possibly victims of mass hysteria — were injured on two trains in Johannesburg yesterday in a sequel to Thursday night's Benrose station massacre.

Late last night it could not be established whether the 15 had been flung from coaches or had jumped out in panic when fellow passengers stampeded yelling: "The Zulus are coming!"

Less than 24 hours earlier, a rampaging mob killed 26 people and injured 100 on a Soweto-bound train. And yesterday morning three people died in attacks at Soweto taxi ranks.

Police, the South African Rail, Computers Corporation and Spoornet jointly announced last night to increase security forces and personnel on railway stations. It would be difficult to place men on each train, a policeman said.

Yesterday's incidents — between Braamfontein and Mayfair stations at 3.45 pm and between Jeppe and Ellis Park stations at about 4 pm — came within hours of an emergency meeting between ANC leader Nelson Mandela and President de Klerk to discuss the wave of violence on the Reef.

Train victim Hilton Thabathe (35), who had been on train number 9412 when it approached Jeppe station.

© TO PAGE 2.

Jews cheer Mandela

Soweto's mayor

Train drivers fear

process.

Mr de Klerk had informed him of a new comprehensive plan to end the violence and track down those responsible for the carnage.

Asked if he approved of the plan and whether the ANC would co-operate in implementing the plan, he said: "There is no question of any co-operation with regard to any measures he might take."

It was the task of the Government to track down the killers.

Mr Mandela said the ANC was convinced that the latest spate of indiscriminate and unprovoked attacks on commuters and citizens was the work of highly professional and well-trained killers.

A new 'Renamo'

"The efficient manner in which they execute their crimes indicates that we are not dealing with amateurs. What we have here are the beginnings of a Renamo movement."

He welcomed Mr de Klerk's admission that some sinister hand was behind the violence as a significant departure from the position previously taken by the Government.

He had no reason to believe that Mr de Klerk would not carry out the new security plan. If Mr de Klerk had indicated to him why he "had changed his mind so sharply" on the reasons for the violence, he would not discuss it with the press.

In a short statement, the President's office said the two leaders had discussed the serious situation on the Witwatersrand, Thursday's senseless killings and the prevailing violence in general.

"The State President stressed that the Government intended to take strong and comprehensive action to curb the violence and that additional measures had already been taken to this end."

The statement did not refer to

● TO PAGE 2.

FIRST AID: A victim gets emergency treatment at Jeppe station yesterday.

Jews cheer Mandela after speech at temple

HELEN GRANGE

AN address by ANC leader Nelson Mandela to the Jewish community went unhindered at Johannesburg's Temple Shalom last night — in spite of circulated pamphlets expressing outrage that a "power-hungry despot" be allowed to speak at a temple.

Wearing a yarmulka, Mr Mandela quickly addressed the issue which has led to widespread controversy among Jews — his embrace of Palestinian Liberation Organisation leader Mr Yassar Arafat.

He told the congregation that the fact that the United Nations had on two occasions met Arafat in Geneva was indicative of the man's support.

"If Zionism means to deny Palestinians the right to freedom and self expression, then it must be strongly condemned. But if Zionism means freedom, liberty and the right to expression, then it is a healthy move-

ment... "Peace in the Middle East depends on Palestinians and Israelis accepting each other's right to existence."

Mr Mandela said that blacks identified strongly with Jews on the question of racial intolerance.

At the end of his address, Mr Mandela was cheered warmly.

Early yesterday, pamphlets from an organisation calling itself "People for Racial Peace and Harmony in Africa" were distributed, claiming Mr Mandela had embarked on a wave of terror against all disagreeing blacks.

He was getting ready to "out-Nazi the old Nats" and he "kisses the cheeks of Arafat and Gadaffi", the pamphlet said. "How dare he be invited to speak in a holy place?" it added.

Soweto's mayor ^{str 15/9/80} willing to mediate

ABBEY MAKOE

SOWETO mayor Sam Mkhwanazi last night demanded that ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi meet to end township violence.

He said he wanted them to shake hands in public and said he would be prepared to mediate in any move aimed at ending the carnage.

The Five Freedoms Forum (FFF) has added its voice to the growing call for an end to the violence, saying that President de Klerk, Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi should commit themselves to action for peace.

FFF press officer Gael Neke said: "We are extremely concerned at the lack of urgency demonstrated by the three leaders who should be most concerned by the violence. They should at this time be demonstrating 'on the ground' involvement and intervention."

● Photograph: Sean Woods.

Train drivers fear attacks in townships

SHAREEN SINGH ^{str 15/9/80}

TRAIN drivers are reconsidering servicing townships after the spate of attacks on trains travelling to and from Reef townships.

Mr Abraham Koekemoer of the South African Footplate Staff Association said drivers are in constant fear for their lives.

There is no real protection for drivers servicing the townships. The issue has been raised with Spoornet management, but no concrete steps have been taken, he said. The association was planning to meet management next week to address the situation.

Attacked

Several train drivers have been attacked and one seriously injured during the past few weeks while walking from one end of the train to the other, Mr Koekemoer said.

A spokesman for Spoornet, Transnet's rail division, said train safety was a broad transport issue and not just the responsibility of Spoornet.

Spoornet is a subcontractor to the state-owned South African Commuter Corporation.

He said the Minister of Transport and Public Works, Mr George Bartlett, was meeting the South African Police to discuss the issue.



The Death Train — No 9436

JOVIAL RANTAO

LAST night I rode the death train — the ill-fated Naledi-bound Train No 9436 on which gunmen ran amok on Thursday, killing at least 26 commuters and injuring more than 100.

My ride began at the Johannesburg station where the train, dubbed "Jikeleza" by commuters, pulled in at exactly 5 pm.

Black train commuters, usually packed on the platforms in their hundreds during peak hour,

Between sips from a quart of beer, Mr Radebe said commuters should be allowed to arm themselves for protection. "Check now," he said. "If an attack takes place, where will the police be?"

A walk through the other carriages revealed nothing but empty seats.

Zulu King blames ANC for violence

ESMAR VAN DER MERWE,

TRANSKEI President Tutor Ndamase and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini, accompanied by traditional chiefs and Cabinet Ministers, will tomorrow hold joint rallies on the East Rand and in Soweto in an effort to restore peace in the war-torn Reef townships.

A Transkei embassy spokesman in Pretoria said the first rally would be held at the Tokoza stadium from 10 am to noon and the second at the Orlando Stadium in Soweto from 2 pm to 5 pm.

Similar peace rallies would be held in the Vaal Triangle and on the East Rand on Monday — the first at the Sebokeng soccer field from 10 am to noon and the second in the Springs township of KwaThema from 2 pm to 5 pm.

Propaganda

The decision by Zulu and Xhosa leaders to visit the Reef was taken at a meeting in Durban late last month where the two delegations called on political parties to stop making ethnic groups the target of political propaganda and urged Zulus and Xhosas to "purge their minds and hearts of ethnic animosities".

King Zwelethini this week told a meeting of Zulu chiefs that he held the ANC and its allies — the UDF, Cosatu and the SACP — responsible for the violence which had flared in KwaZulu, Natal and the Transvaal.

Despite several attempts by KwaZulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and himself to hold discussions with ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, he had up to now not had the time for such a meeting.

Therefore he and traditional leaders from Transkei and Ciskei would visit the Reef to plea for peace.

"My message will be that people should put a stop to the violence. I will even say they should not engage in counter-violence if being provoked," he said.

chiefs to plead for peace

NEWS

Skw 15/9/90



Govt/ANC group draw up report on armed struggle

ESMARÉ VAN DER MERWE,

THE joint Government/ANC working group on the suspension of the armed struggle yesterday met for the second time and drew up an interim report to meet its deadline — in accordance with the Pretoria Minute — to report by today.

In a short joint statement, the Government and the ANC confirmed that the committee had met. No details were given. Government and ANC spokesmen yesterday declined to comment or reveal the names of the group members who had attended.

Deadlock reached

On Wednesday, an ANC spokesman said no meeting had been scheduled and hinted that the committee had reached deadlock due to the complications on the granting of indemnity from arrest for Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani, who plays a leading role in the committee's activities.

A Ministry of Justice spokesman yesterday reiterated an earlier statement that a new application for Mr Hani's immunity from arrest was receiving attention.

My nightmare of hacking, screaming and death

By THABO HLATSHWAYO

AT 6/19/90

AT about 6.30pm on Tuesday, Marimba Gardens in Vosloorus was plunged into darkness, but there's nothing sinister about this daily occurrence.

Two hours later, as I was preparing to go to bed, there was a knock on the door. A neighbour came to tell us the "Zulus" were about to attack.

I was duty-bound to join him and others to set up barricades. Sporadic machine-gun fire could be heard nearby, but this has also become a way of life in Vosloorus.

We discussed our plan in case of attack but we were helpless. None of us knew what to do. We resigned ourselves to a bloody fate.

The attack did not materialise but in the morning, people going to work were stopped

at the entrance to the township because the "Zulus" were about to mount an attack. I asked myself: "How could they attack in broad daylight?"

I decided to visit a friend who owned a car to ask him to take my family to Soweto. Before I reached his place, I met fleeing youths carrying petrol bombs. They were fleeing the "Zulus".

In the ensuing chaos, I ran into the nearest house. Inside, everyone huddled in silence. A few minutes later I saw a white minibus approach from which people were firing in the direction of the fleeing youths.

I was panic-stricken when I thought about my wife and 17-month-old daughter who were alone in the house. I wanted to get out and return home but was afraid to do so.

Twenty minutes passed before I could gather enough courage to go outside. I got

home safely but the house was locked and there was nobody there. I heard my wife call me. She was next door.

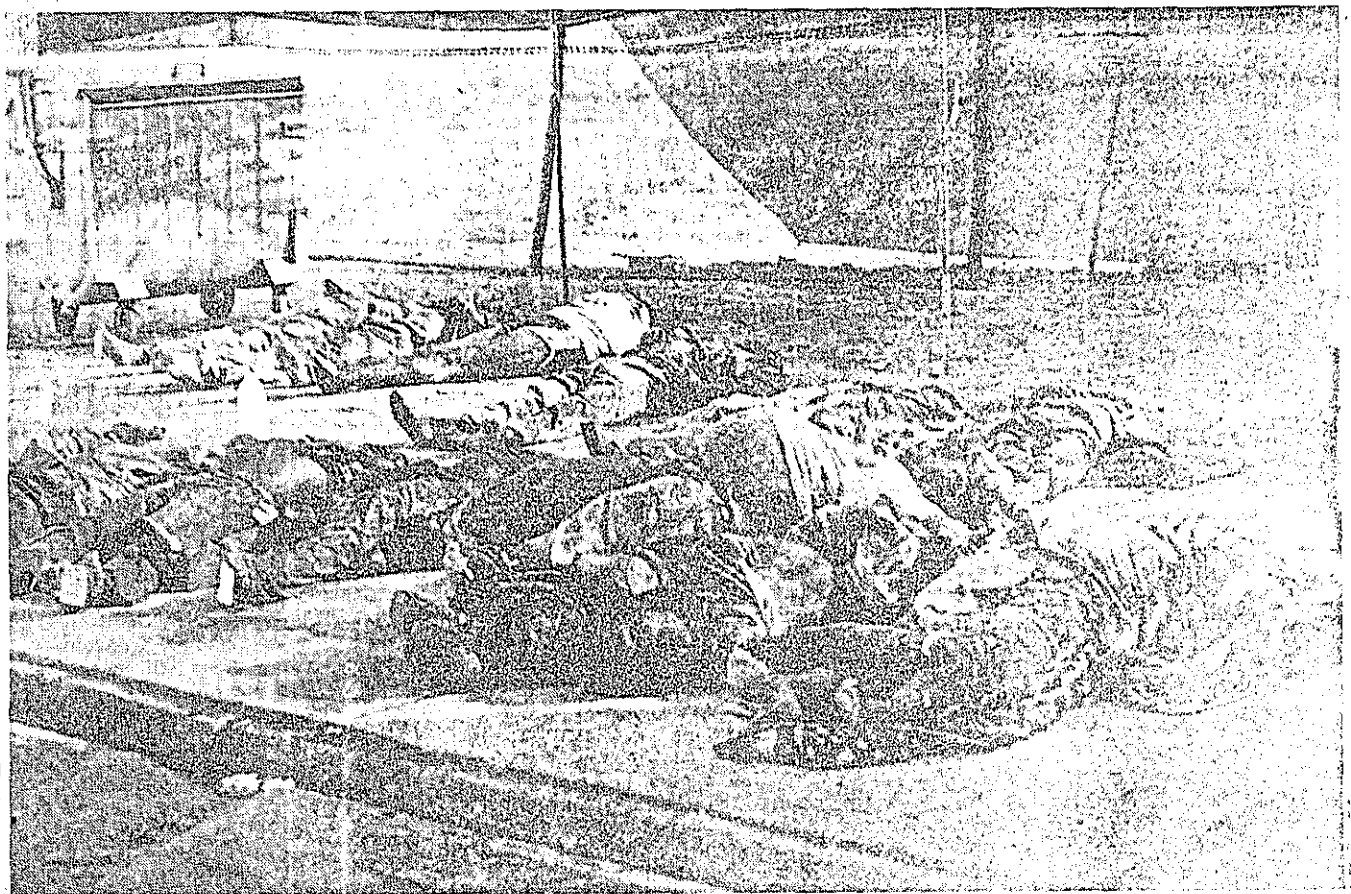
She told me the youths I had seen were being chased by the "Zulus". Some had jumped over our garden fence to escape.

Men chasing them wore red headbands and were armed with an assortment of pangas and spears.

Two youths were cornered just 200 metres down the road and were stabbed and hacked with pangas. I believe one was dead, the other near death. In another street, three more bodies were found - they had been shot dead.

When nightfall came, fears increased that the "Zulus" might return. But the night was peaceful. The electricity was turned on again - but no one dared switch on their lights.

The rotting victims of a rotten war



Mortuaries on the Reef were already full before this week's surge of violence. For instance, this Germiston mortuary is overflowing and bodies have been dumped in an open backyard where they have rotted under the scorching sun. These victims of violence are mainly from the East Rand.



FULL CRY... Peter Mokaba of the South African Youth Congress at a rally. Picture: JOE SEFALE

HE'S a fiery orator, the young man whose revolutionary utterances caused much consternation recently when they were wrongly attributed by a newspaper to Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

When Peter Mokaba says the ANC is a government-in-waiting and will seize power, he does so with the boast that 2-million black youths owe allegiance to his organisation, the South African Youth Congress.

But now the Sayco president has been charged with a daunting task by the ANC — to go around the country convincing his restive comrades that the ANC's decision to cease hostilities was a good move.

Petersburg-born Mr Mokaba (31) is undeterred by the tall order of trying to turn around the "young lions" in the townships who believe in "mass action to bring about a transfer of power". He believes his major point should go down well — that the suspension of the armed struggle was an advance, not a retreat.

In a wide-ranging interview, Mr Mokaba spoke at length about the aspirations and plans of black youths at a time when the multitudes of ANC-aligned student and community youth groups are about to merge into a monolith: the ANC Youth League. Sayco, which is something of an over-arching body drawing member-

ANC sends war-talk man to preach peace

MANDLA TYALA SPEAKS TO PETER MOKABA, ONE OF THE ANC'S ANGRIEST YOUNG MEN

ship from the Congress of South African Students and the South African National Students Congress, will dissolve once the Youth League is fully re-established inside the country. Moves are also afoot to recruit white youths, especially those already in progressive structures like Nusas.

On dissent within the ANC over the ceasefire decision:

“There were long debates and discussions before that decision was taken and Sayco was one of the groups that tried to clarify to members what cessation of hostilities means.”

“The ANC took up arms as a last resort because the Government then had closed all channels of communication. Now the same Government is talking to us, and the suspension of the armed struggle was a unilateral



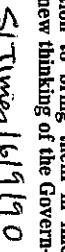
decision by the ANC to unblock the political logjam. Our members respect that.”

“But recent action by the police has made the task of explaining to less convinced supporters difficult. The Goldstone Report shows that there are still some policemen out there who are just too happy to shoot.”

On security force shootings:

Mr Mokaba puts across his organisation's conviction that the shootings at Sobokeng and other flashpoints are the deliberate work of a right-wing clique within the security forces.

“There are obviously members in the security forces who support the AWB and CP and do not believe in what Mr De Klerk is doing. (Pretoria mass killer) Barend Strijdom is a former policeman and the people who worked for the CCB came from with-



in the ranks of the security forces. “This is the type of element that is mowing down our people so as to challenge De Klerk. They are using us as cannon-fodder.”

“The security forces have over the years been conditioned to see the ANC and its allies as the enemy, and as far as we can see there has been no re-education to bring them in line with the new thinking of the Government.”

On the State President:

Mr Mokaba says black youths believe Mr De Klerk is earnestly trying to move away from apartheid, but not far enough to satisfy black aspirations.

On Mr Mandela meeting Kwazulu Chief Minister Gatsha Buthelezi:

Sayco is one of the forces that have

prevailed on the AN leader not to meet the Kwazulu leader. Mr Mokaba does not foresee such a meeting in the near future.

“Our view is that Comrade Mandela should meet with Buthelezi only when he (the latter) has demonstrated that he is also working for peace.”

“Comrade Mandela, at the risk of losing his credibility, has gone to Natal and asked his followers to throw away their weapons at a time when they were being attacked by Inkatha.”

“Buthelezi should do the same and go to the hostels to tell his imps that violence is unacceptable to Inkatha and remove the warlords from influential positions in his organisations.”

On the National Party opening its ranks to all races:

“We think it is a good move. We have always said that non-racialism is the only way to go. Now the Government is only waking up to a position the ANC took more than 75 years ago. We do not believe, however, that they will enjoy any significant black support because their only contact with the townships has been through puppets and the police.”

On overtures to white youth groups:

Sayco is developing relations with white youth organisations like Jeugkrags.

“Whatever constitution comes out of the negotiations must reconcile our people. Talks with the Government are well enough, but people on the ground must also reach out to one another across the racial divide.”

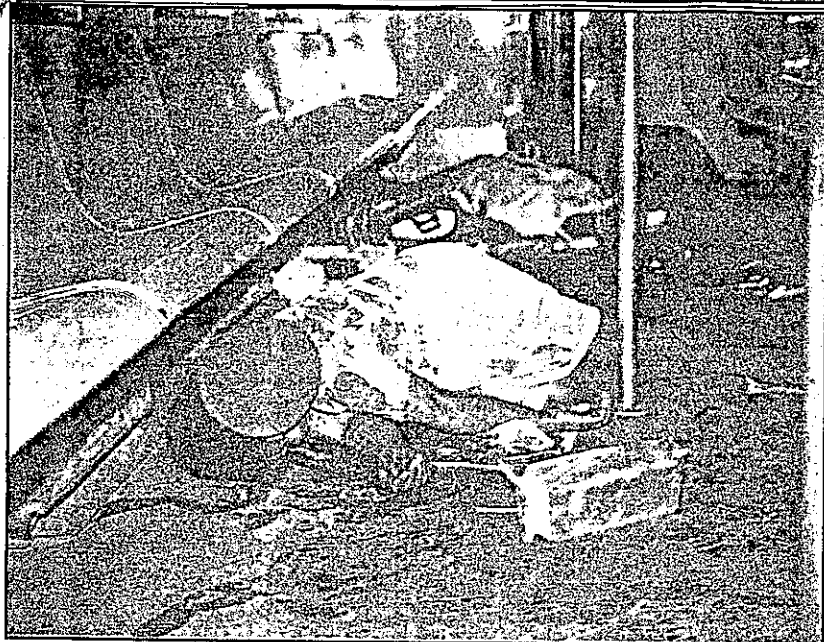
“One of the successes of apartheid has been the denial of communication and interaction between various race groups. What is meant today by ‘white fears’ means ignorance of what we stand for, which is non-racialism.”

“When we say we are going to take the struggle into the white areas, we mean we are going there to explain our position and allay fears.”

“We do not trust this Government. How can we trust people who grant indemnity to our comrades and then arrest them? I am thinking here specifically of (ANC executive member) Mac Maharaj.”

“We are, however, backing the ANC all the way, because the decision to negotiate does not mean we are no longer prepared to fight. It means only that we saw a means of ending the political logjam without violence.”

The ugly face of mass murder



A mysterious "third force" at work? A commuter and a loaf of bread that never reached home.



A rescue worker wheels a victim of the train massacre to a waiting ambulance at Denver station.

'Amen, so be it', their last prayer

By SOPHIE TEMA
"AMEN, SO BE IT" were the last words two women who had been praying uttered on Thursday before they and 24 other passengers were massacred by a gang of armed men who entered train No 36 - better known as "Jikeleza".
The killers boarded the 5.10pm train from Johannesburg to Naledi at George Goch station. Witnesses said they were armed with pangas, spears and guns.
As soon as the train started moving, the gang began attacking passengers indiscriminately. Of the 26 people killed, most were women who were shot and stabbed. And, said police, of the over 100 injured, most got hurt when they jumped from the train trying to get away from the killers.

A grisly sight greeted waiting commuters when the train arrived at Denver station. Next to one of the bodies - that of a woman - lay a Bible and next to another was a loaf of bread.

A Tladi woman, Martha Mthembu, said a group of women were holding a prayer meeting on the train.

"Suddenly I heard people screaming and I opened my eyes when I felt a heavy thump on my head. I fell on to another woman and other people fell and they were lying on top of me.
"They were screaming and crying, running from the killers while others jumped out of the train windows.
"I then saw a man with a gun in his hand and a woman who was sitting on the seat opposite me was screaming hysterically as he shot her. I saw blood coming from her stomach. Another man from the gang walked up to her and stabbed her several times - until she stopped screaming.

"One of my friends whom I only know as Matloporo, died on the platform after I noticed that he had been battling for breath and gasping."
Elizabeth Leroke, who has a gaping wound in her forehead, said she and other frenzied passengers were cornered by three of the killers after trying to escape.
She said she saw the three killers stab a man with what looked like a spear - before they hacked him with pangas.

Traffic police threw a tight cordon around the Denver station, while paramedics in a helicopter and several ambulances ferried the injured to hospital.

Train services shunned

THE number of suburban train passengers dropped significantly on Friday morning on the Reef, following the second attack on peak-hour commuters in just over a week of bloody carnage on carriages and station platforms.

Spoornet spokesman Jaques Pienaar said that on average there were 40 percent less passengers in trains running in and out of Soweto, Kattlehong, Thokoza, Vosloorus and Kagiso.

Tembisa, another flashpoint of conflict, was not affected, said Pienaar

In just over seven days, 26 people were killed in a Soweto-bound train on Thursday night and three other people died when gunmen fired at commuters at Jeppe station.

Meanwhile, the decline in train passengers is not helping minibus taxi operators.

Taximen, according to a spokesman for the Southern Africa Black Taxi Association, Fanyana Shiburi, are on average losing two operating hours a day, because they fear doing business before dawn and after dusk due to the ongoing violence.

Shiburi said in some of the affected areas, taxi operators who lived in the hostels were forced to stop operating altogether because of tensions between local residents and hostel dwellers.

"In several places such as Kattlehong, Vosloorus and Thokoza, taximen can only risk operating from the outskirts of the townships," he said. - Sapa



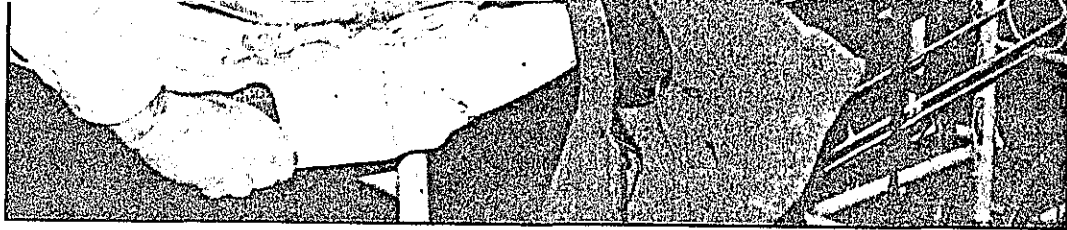
The horror which left the country reeling with shock. Pic: EVANS MBOWENI



Martha Mthembu ... heard people screaming as she was praying.



Nomathokazi Seseke survived bullet wounds and a gash on her head.



A rescue worker wheels a victim of the train massacre to a waiting ambulance at Denver station.

and stabbed her several times.
"One of my friends who noticed that he had been
Elizabeth Leroke, who said frenzied passengers were
She said she saw the three before they hacked him with
Traffic police threw a tire in a helicopter and several



Bodies of women — who moments earlier held a prayer meeting — litter a blood-spattered train coach after the killing spree.



Rescue workers and a victim alongside the train of death at Denver station. The killers escaped arrest. ■ PIC: EVANS MBOWENI

ANC has right to self-

defence

c/press 16/9/90

THE ANC had not forfeited its right to self-defence when it suspended the armed struggle, and would not stand by and allow "our people" to be mowed down like dogs, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela told hundreds of people who packed a synagogue in Johannesburg on Friday night.

He also warned there was a "real and terrifying prospect of a full-scale civil war" breaking out.

"An offensive unprecedented in ferocity has been launched against our people," Mandela charged. "Ordinary civilians, at home, at work and in the streets are made targets of brutal and savage attacks.

"There is no doubt in my mind - and all the evidence conclusively supports this - that the police and sectors of the government are working with a variety of vigilante forces, including Inkatha."

"If the strongest measures are not taken against the perpetrators of this violence, including elements within the South African Police force, we will be forced to reconsider our present strategy," he said in reference to the ongoing killings on the Witwatersrand.

"On the eve of real negotiations, forces determined to wreck the peace process have implemented a strategy of destabilisation which has resulted in the very real and terrifying prospect of full-scale civil war breaking out."

Mandela said eye-witnesses from many townships stated "unequivocally" that whites, with their faces and hands blackened, had been part of groups of attackers recently.

"This is not a new phenomenon in Southern Africa. It has been an integral part of the destabilisation policy perpetrated against Angola and Mozambique."

Turning to the sometimes controversial issue of the ANC's policy towards Israel, and Zionism in particu-

Mandela warns of prospect of full scale civil war

lar, Mandela, who was invited to address Johannesburg's Jewish community, slammed inaccurate reports attributed to him in the world media.

He told about 1 000 people packing the Temple Shalom in the Highlands North suburb: "If Zionism means the right of the Jewish people to live in secure boundaries, to have their own State, to contribute to world peace, and peace in the (Middle East) region, to live in a manner that affords them the right to fully express their culture, traditions and religion, then we consider Zionism a healthy movement."

However, "If Zionism means the right of Israel to seize territory and deny the Palestinian people their right of self-determination and suppress by brute force their right to self-expression, then we condemn Zionism in the strongest terms".

He added it must also be understood that the enemies of Israel were not the ANC's enemies.

"Our stand on the question of relations between Israel and the PLO (Palestinian Liberation Organisation) is that it is a matter which must be settled by peaceful methods, as is the view of the world community."

By refusing to speak to the PLO, the Israeli government was isolating itself, Mandela added. - Sapa.

Social friction fans flames

(Press 16/9/90) SOCIAL friction between streetwise black youths and traditionalist Zulus is worsening the bloody struggle for political ascendancy in South Africa's townships, say analysts.

Black groups, trying to influence negotiations on ending white rule, have ignited a powder keg of tensions between tribally minded Zulu migrant workers and township residents of all tribes used to modern big city ways.

More than 800 people have died in violence between Johannesburg's township dwellers, often including urban Zulus, and the 125 000 migrants living in 31 men-only hostels dotted around the city.

Magazine columnist Noma-venda Mathiane, a Zulu Soweto resident, wrote: "If the truth be known it is that many

of us in Soweto - and particularly the people who speak English and have good jobs - have considered ourselves 'upper-class Zulus' and we see Inkatha as 'lower-class Zulus'."

Residents loyal to the ANC say they are fighting poorly educated but aggressive migrant workmen manipulated by the Zulu Inkatha movement of Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who, they say, is trying to shoot his way into negotiations on reform.

University of Zululand analyst Herbert Vilikazi said adult migrant workers "were turned off, puzzled and infuriated by the impatient, impetuous tactics of youth, in a manner totally outside the traditional code governing relations between young and old". -Sapa-
Reuter



Survivors tell of mindless ki

By ELIAS MALULEKE

SURVIVORS of the latest township massacres told this week of their narrow escapes from death. But most were mourning the loss of loved ones.

Three families were wiped out on the East Rand as the carnage entered its sixth week in Reef townships and spread to taxi ranks and suburban trains in Johannesburg.

Many others were maimed by gangs when renewed fighting erupted in Katlehong, Phola Park squatter camp in Thokoza, Vosloorus and Soweto.

In Katlehong, two families were wiped out on Monday after

Kwesini hostel dwellers and stormed into five sections in the township including Dikathole, Khumalo, Mosiliki, Mokwena and Ramokonopi, killing more than 20 people.

One survivor of the killing spree, Alpheus Hajane, 50, a self-employed motor mechanic in Mosiliki Section, said a Zulu impi killed his mother Semole, 70; his wife Leah, 48; brother Frans Hajane, 38; and 18-year-old son Johannes.

Hajane said the "chanting impi" started hacking and setting fire to cars outside the house and then stoned it, fired shots and forced their way in.

The family heard gunshots

outside and a mob chanting. "My mother, wife and younger brother ran into one bedroom. I ran into the other bedroom with my two daughters and hid under the bed."

Hajane jumped out of the bedroom window and hid in the backyard. His 16-year-old daughter Rosina said that while she was under the bed with her sister Gladys, 5, she heard her mother move to the front door and tell their attackers there were no men in the house.

"I heard shots being fired, then came screams from the bedroom as the shooting continued and at the same time other men ransacked and destroyed furniture," said Rosina.

Not far from Hajane's home, the sole survivor of a family of five, Sheila Monyela, 20, is grieving for her two sisters who died during the attack and her critically wounded parents are lying in Leratong Hospital.

In Vosloorus, a family of five was almost wiped out on Tuesday night when a Zulu impi charged into the Sotho section. Three members of the Segole family in Mokgako street were killed in the house and two amazingly escaped.

The attackers killed Ezekiel Segole, 50, his two sons Brian, 26, and Kelo, 22. His wife Sessy and their daughter Maria escaped by hiding in a toilet.



Grieving but lucky to be alive, Rosina and Gladys Hajane. Four of their family were killed.

Reasons for killings no longer clear

C/Press 16/9/90

REB
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ANC is to urgently review options

By SEKOLA SELLO,
Political Editor

THE killings sweeping through most of the country's black residential areas, particularly on the Reef, have brought the country perilously close to a civil war - eclipsing the horrors of some of the world's worst trouble-spots.

The violence has taken on the dimensions of Lebanon, the Argentine of the 1970s, Northern Ireland and the recent bloodletting in Liberia - all rolled into one.

What is frightening, is that instead of abating, the violence is getting worse.

When inter-organisational fighting started in the townships around Durban and Maritburg, the divisions were clear. The protagonists were Inkatha on the one hand, and the Cosatu/UDF alliance on the other. Even the causes of the conflict seemed clear enough. This was supposed to be an ideological war, while some analysts said it was also a fight over scarce resources.

When the fighting started on the Reef in recent weeks, first in the Vaal triangle township of Sebokeng, it was assumed this was a continuation or "importation" of the ongoing fighting between Inkatha and the Cosatu/UDF alliance.

It was believed that

leave them. There were many solutions.

While prospects for peace seemed to be increasing, the fighting suddenly went beyond the townships.

Blacks are now being attacked at railway stations in the city. They are being attacked on trains on their way home from work.

At least 30 people have died after being attacked at the Jeppo and Denver stations.

They are also being attacked at taxi ranks in town as they prepare to go home. Some taxis have been ambushed in the dead of the night.

This spate of killings - in which hundreds have been killed in just two weeks - shows the fighting is no longer tribal, ideological or even between township residents and hostel dwellers. The killings are now indiscriminate.

Explaining the reasons for the escalation of violence, director of the Project for the Study of Violence at Wits University, Lloyd Vogelman, said this could be a combination of several factors.

He said whereas in the past the violence seemed "well planned and well orchestrated," today the picture had changed.

Vogelman said the latest killings could indicate there was a "third force"

emerging, made up of ultra rightists - and possibly some elements within the security forces who shared their sympathies.

Vogelman said although it was difficult to say some members of the security forces were involved in the killings, the fact the Law and Order Minister felt it necessary last year to make a ruling forbidding police from belonging to party political organisations, showed some members could be ultra rightists.

"I don't think this ruling has eliminated such elements in the forces."

Adding a more ominous note to the latest killings, Vogelman said given the poverty in the townships, it was possible this "third force" could exploit the situation by "hiring black mercenaries to kill for money".

It would be naive to discount such a possibility, he said. "People in the townships are poor and brutalised. If they can rob for money, what is there to stop them from being employed to kill fellow blacks? This is a real possibility."

Vogelman said it would be in the interests of the ultra rightists to create a climate of anarchy in the country. "If there is too much violence, (State President) De Klerk will be forced to halt his reform initiatives. This is

what the ultra rightists want. Such anarchy would also put paid to negotiations.

According to Vogelman, a climate of total anarchy could also precipitate a coup. "I am not saying this is going to happen, but a coup could be an outcome of anarchy."

Two of South Africa's leading clerics, Archbishop Desmond Tutu of the Anglican Church, and Dr Stanley Mogoba, head of the Methodist Church, also conceded a "third force" could exist which was fanning trouble in the townships.

If indeed there are now mercenaries involved in the conflict, Reef townships could soon be worse than Lebanon - where random and senseless killings are a daily occurrence.

The ANC's National Executive Committee is to hold an emergency meeting early next week to focus specifically on the endemic violence. The NEC is also to review the prevailing situation - and to look at strategic and tactical options in the light of current circumstances.

This terse statement does not indicate whether some of the options to be reviewed would entail pulling out of the ongoing talks-about-talks and reverting to the armed struggle.

P.T.O

c/Press
16/9/90

Mandela and Buthelezi must talk

By CHARLES MOGALE

(11A)

(11A)

CALLS for ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela to meet Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi grew this week as the death toll reached 736.

Thousands of people have been injured and homes burnt down as the level of violence reached unprecedented

heights. The violence has spread into "white" areas with wanton attacks of people in trains and taxi ranks by groups of men believed to be mercenaries.

Mandela has persistently refused to meet the Zulu leader to discuss the wars between Inkatha and township residents.

ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu said a

meeting between the two would be tantamount to Inkatha bringing the ANC to its knees.

Buthelezi, accused of not helping the peace process by justifying the carrying of so-called traditional weapons, has said he wants to meet Mandela. He said he believed this could help the peace process.

Foreign Minister

Pik Botha said a meeting between the two men could have a positive effect on their followers. Botha was reiterating President FW de Klerk's repeated calls to Mandela to meet Buthelezi.

In a veiled reference to the two leaders, John Allen, Press secretary to Cape Town's Archbishop Desmond Tutu, said churchmen were giving urgent attention to a range of steps to curb the violence, "including the possibility of getting the warring parties together".

The South African Chamber of Business (Sacob), which is meeting in Johannesburg tomorrow to discuss the violence, said it shared the view that a meeting between the two leaders would be helpful.

The call was echoed by Soweto mayor Sam Mkhwanazi.

Now outspoken rabbi dons bullet-proof vest

By MANDLA TYALA and FELICITY LEVINE

A LEFT-LEANING Johannesburg rabbi found himself in the centre of an uproar this week when he invited ANC leader Nelson Mandela to speak at a reform synagogue.

Rabbi Ady Assabi, of the Imanu-Shalom congregation, now wears a bullet-proof vest and has an armed guard looking after him after receiving 22 threatening calls in three days.

Outraged conservative Jews and other rightwingers have not only threatened to kill the rabbi, who believes Jews should be more vocal in their opposition to apartheid, but have said they will "blow up" the temple in Parktown, where his office is located.

Some members of the rabbi's congregation have threatened to resign.

Some Jews believe Mr Mandela is an enemy of Israel and they were incensed by his expressions of solidarity with the Palestine Liberation Organisation and its leader Yasser Arafat, as well as Mr Mandela's reported views on Zionism.



THREATENED . . . Rabbi Ady Assabi with guest speaker Nelson Mandela *SI Times 16/9/90* Picture: SUE KRAMER

But Rabbi Assabi says: "I am not trying to make anyone angry or cause havoc.

"As a rabbi and teacher of what Judaism stands for, I believe that if you don't like what someone does, you do not change that by ignoring them."

He said he had invited Mr Mandela because he and his

colleagues would determine the future of South Africa.

"There are three options facing the Jewish community," Rabbi Assabi said.

"One is to pack and go, the other is to be totally involved in the struggle against apartheid and the third is to sit on the fence, which is totally unacceptable."

Rabbi Assabi said he called for talks with the PLO 15 years ago.

"If the ANC objects to occupied territories and the fact that 1.5-million Arabs live under military rule, they have many friends in the Jewish community — including me.

"If the ANC objects to Zionism as it pertains to the aspirations of the Jewish people to have a state of their own within secure borders, then they do not have me as a friend."

KILLINGS: ANC WARNS GOVT

City Press
11A MB 2/23

TONY FOLLOWS IN HIS DAD'S FOOTSTEPS

Couple re-tie knot in dusty Serowe



IN Southern Africa's wedding of the year Anthony Khama, son of the late Sir Seretse Khama, married his white South African wife, Margaret le Roux of Rustenburg, for the second time yesterday, in the sweltering heat of Serowe. The people of Botswana have been waiting for this wedding for years. The couple arrived after 11am in a dusty Mercedes at the imposing stone

Staff Reporters and Correspondents

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela yesterday warned that if the South African Government failed to take effective steps to end the current violence in South Africa, the only defence of the people would be to take up arms. "We are not prepared to accept and witness the death of our people while the Pretoria government is conducting war against us," Mandela told the 5th summit of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) ad hoc committee on southern Africa.

The ANC leader blamed the South African Government for inciting members of the Inkatha Freedom Movement, faceless elements and State agencies for systematically mounting attacks and brutally killing the people of the ANC.

"Although the ANC is doing everything possible to avoid a war situation, the country will be drowned in blood if the South African Government fails to take firm action against these elements," Mandela warned.

He said the ANC suspended the armed struggle on August 7 because the movement believed in peaceful negotiations. "We have removed obstacles to negotiations and we want a climate conducive to these negotia-

We'll take up arms if government does not act - Mandela

plotted by the racist forces to their own advantage".

He said the continued lack of a united front between the ANC and the PAC plus violence between supporters of Inkatha and the ANC were serious drawbacks.

Mandela's warning follows killings on the Reef this week which appeared to be the work of faceless and efficient hit squads.

Fears are growing that white rightwingers are behind this "third force"

now playing a hand in violence which this week claimed more than 65 lives on the Reef.

Blacks on the Reef said they did not feel safe in the streets.

The worst of these cold-blooded slayings was the Jeppe station shootings in which five people were killed on Thursday night. The death toll rose to six when one of the 11 victims admitted to hospital died on Friday.

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Staff Reporters and Correspondents

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"Although the ANC is doing everything possible to avoid a war situation, the country will be drowned in blood if the South African Government fails to take firm action against these elements," Mandela warned.

He said the ANC suspended the armed struggle on August 1 because the movement believed in peaceful negotiations. "We have removed obstacles to negotiations and we want a climate conducive to these negotiations."

Mandela said the ANC rejected the government's demand that all leaders in the political structures set up by the government — like homeland leaders — be involved in negotiations.

This would mean the ANC and other anti-apartheid movements would be in the minority which would only increase the problem.

The ANC leader also called on the international community to continue to isolate South Africa and to maintain economic sanctions.

This sentiment was supported by the OAU chairman, Ugandan President Yeweri Museveni, who also called for sanctions until apartheid was dismantled.

Museveni said while some modest developments had taken place in South Africa it did not mean a fundamental shift in the policy of apartheid.

He called on anti-apartheid movements inside South Africa to forge a "common strategy" in the struggle against apartheid. Inter-factional fighting "can only be ex-

We'll take up arms if government does not act — Mandela

ploited by the racist forces to their own advantage".

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Each Cigarette
a Masterpiece

70 000 at rallies hear calls for tolerance and patience

Zulu, Xhosa leaders' peace bid

By Musa Mapisa

About 70 000 people yesterday flocked to Reef peace rallies at which traditional leaders called for an end to violence and for political parties to exercise tolerance, patience and vision.

The two joint Zulu-Xhosa rallies held in Tokoza Stadium near Alberton and Jabulani Amphitheatre in Soweto were addressed by Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini and Paramount Chief Tutor Ndamase, the Transkeian President.

Thousands of Zulus with red head-bands and carrying an assortment of weapons streamed through Tokoza's streets, dancing and singing on their way to the rally while ululating women lined the roads.

Chief Ndamase said the Tokoza rally was not a political meeting but rather an effort by traditional leaders to stop the violence by blacks against blacks.

"We are here not to say who started the violence, who is guilty and who is not guilty, but to say let there be peace among blacks," Chief Ndamase said.

He called on blacks to fight apartheid and not to allow themselves to be used to kill other blacks. He pleaded for black people to embrace each other as brothers and not to take up arms against each other — for the sake of their children, wives and land.

It would be sad if the affairs of the country were to be decided by a single political party, Chief Ndamase added. He called on the Government to ensure that people felt safe in their homes.

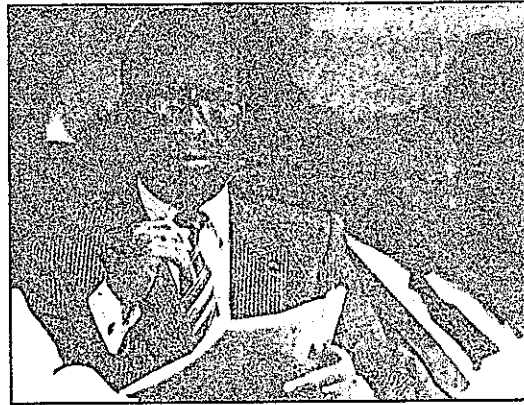
He commended President FW de Klerk for the steps he had taken to dismantle apartheid.

King Zwelithini told the Tokoza rally he had come to the Reef to put out the fires of violence.

"I have come to tell my father's people that I, as King of Zulus, will not tolerate violence perpetrated in the name of KwaZulu," he said.

The monarch said he differed with the people who called for the destruction of hostels, as this would not solve the problem.

"The township residents have co-existed peacefully with the hostel dwellers for many years," he said.



Joint effort ... KwaZulu's King Goodwill Zwelithini (left) and Transkei President Paramount Chief Tutor Ndamase at the rally.

He said the cause of the fighting was the political mobilisation of people for certain purposes where hostel dwellers and Inkatha members were excluded but were required to conform.

The Alberton consumer boycott was an example, he said.

King Zwelithini and Paramount Chief Ndamase ended the rally by shaking hands.

At the Jabulani Amphitheatre rally, King Zwelithini and Chief Ndamase repeated the appeals for peace they had made at Tokoza.

Plea to media

The king emphasised the importance of respect for political differences. "It is wrong to launch personal attacks against leaders and attempting to shame them before the world," he said.

He appealed strongly to the media to stop reporting events in such a way that it would encourage the violence and to stop blaming one group for the violence.

Other traditional leaders who were present were Paramount Chief Mopeli of QwaQwa; Chief N.J. Mahlangu of KwaNdebele, Princess Stella Sigcau, the former Transkeian Prime Minister, and Prince Ngcobo, a Pan Africanist Congress member stationed in London.

Police report that sporadic incidents of stone-throwing broke out

when large numbers of Zulu men marched back to their hostels after the peace rally.

Lieutenant Colonel Tienie Halgryn, liaison officer for the Soweto police, said a Zulu man who had wandered off from his group was knocked unconscious in White City when he was hit on the head with a stone. He was also stabbed in the chest and seriously wounded. He is being treated at Baragwanath.

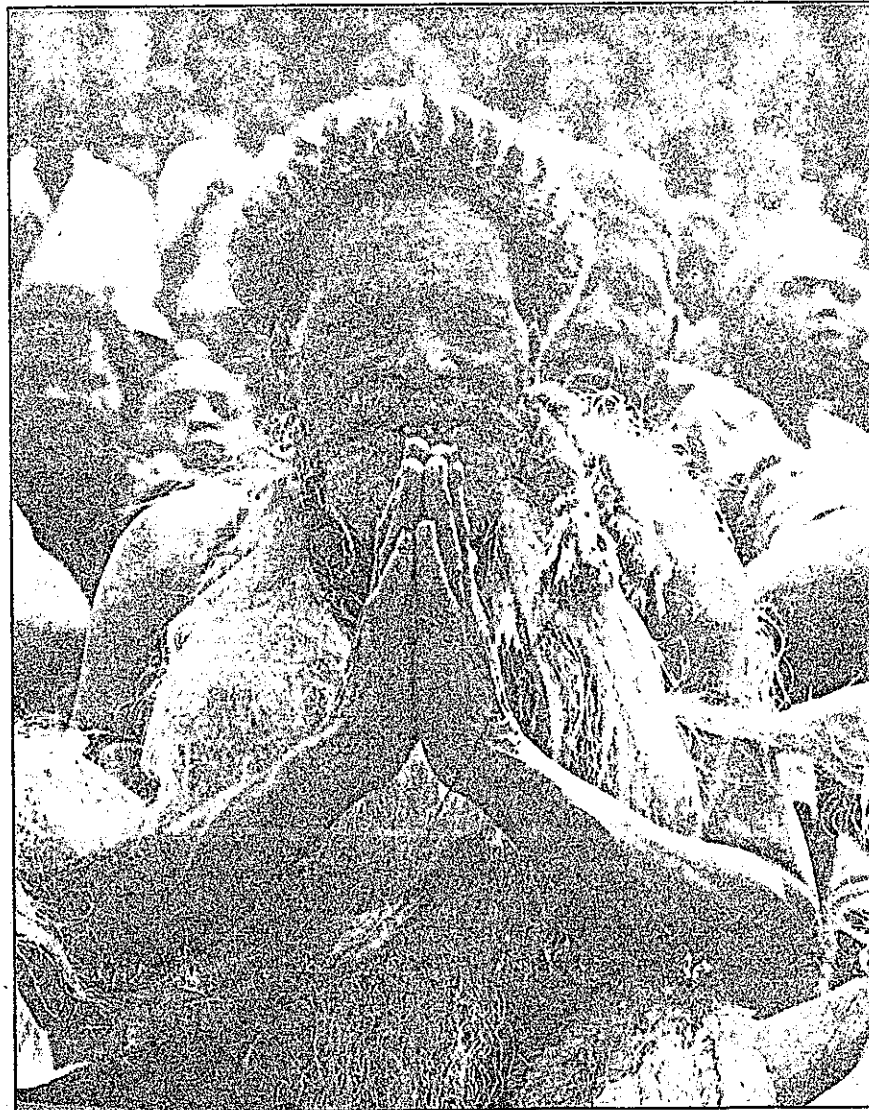
Several minor incidents also occurred on the march to and from the stadium. The large police contingent present had dispersed groups before any major incidents.

A man was set on fire but rescued and taken to hospital at an incident after the Jabulani peace rally. Freelance photographer Jabu Kumalo said he saw a large group of armed Inkatha supporters leave the stadium.

One dawdled behind and was confronted by youths. Other township residents tried to stop the confrontation, saying: "There should be peace." But the youths replied: "These people kill us."

They then beat up the man and someone threw a petrol bomb against his head. Two men doused the flames. The police arrived and an ambulance took him away.

Colonel Halgryn said he heard several gunshots when people left the stadium, adding: "I think they were just shooting into the air."



Praying for peace ... An Inkatha supporter at Jabulani Amphitheatre in Soweto yesterday.

© Pictures by Pat Hagan.

UK paper blames ANC

Star 17/9/96
The Star Bureau

LONDON — As violence in the townships continues to shock the world, a British journalist yesterday blamed the ANC for the conflict, accusing the organisation of goading Inkatha towards violence.

In a leader page article, The Sunday Telegraph's Johannesburg correspondent, Bruce Anderson, said the ANC must bear a heavy responsibility for igniting the current violence.

Anderson claimed that

for months, the ANC's young comrades have been harassing Zulu migrant workers, while ANC leaders derided Inkatha and its leader, Chief Buthelezi, claiming both to be stooges of apartheid.

"Despite mounting ANC/Inkatha tension, Nelson Mandela refused to meet Chief Buthelezi. Despite the ANC's claims to speak for all South African blacks, the ANC is a largely Xhosa organisation."

Anderson described the attackers in Thurs-

day's train massacre thus: "These are the descendants of Shaka's impis; they have lost none of their ancestors' fighting instincts. But on Thursday those instincts were degraded."

He said despite its horror, the present fighting "may have beneficial results. It could lead to a more realistic appraisal of the South African situation, especially by the ANC — for it must be clear that though apartheid may have exploited tribalism, it did not invent it."

17/9/90
11A

Azapo rejects invitation to negotiate

By Kaizer Nyatumba,
Political Staff

The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) today rejected the Government's invitation to enter into talks to clear the way for constitutional negotiations, saying its anti-negotiations position remained unchanged.

At the same time, it has invited all the major black organisations to a meeting in Soweto on Wednesday to seek an end to the violence.

In an interview today, Azapo publicity secretary Strini Moodley said his organisation's top leadership had seriously considered the Government's invitation to talks, but had decided to turn it down.

"Our position (on negotiations) has not changed," Mr Moodley said. "We are guided by policy decisions made at our congress (early this year). We will not participate in negotiations despite President de Klerk's invitation."

Dealing with the planned meeting on violence, Mr Moodley said: "We are hoping that the meeting will be able to appoint a co-ordinating committee which will set up joint defence structures and monitoring groups."

Azapo's move to end township violence was first an-

nounced by Azapo president Itumeleng Mosala at the organisation's national council in Seshego, Pietersburg at the weekend. Azapo, Professor Mosala said, believed the time had come for leaders of the various factions of the black community to meet and analyse "the many facets of the recent bloody violence".

Invited to Wednesday's historic inter-organisational meeting are all the major extra-parliamentary political organisations such as the the African National Congress (ANC), the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), the New Unity Movement, the Workers Organisation for Socialist Action and the two main labour federations, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the National Council of Trade Unions.

Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party is the only organisation with significant black support not invited. Mr Moodley said although Azapo had no problem with inviting Inkatha, it nevertheless had to be sensitive to other views.

Also invited are religious and professional bodies.

Most of the organisations, including the PAC, had already confirmed that they would be attending but although the ANC had expressed its commitment to the meeting, it had still not confirmed its attendance.



Minister Adriaan Vlok

Vlok 'averts possible large clash' in Tokoza

Sat 17/9/90

By Guy Jenson

Police say that Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Police Commissioner Johan van der Merwe averted a possible large-scale confrontation yesterday when they addressed about 2 000 heavily armed Phola Park residents who had gathered 2 km from the Tokoza Stadium.

Inside the stadium thousands of people, the majority of them armed Inkatha supporters, were being addressed by the Zulu king, Goodwill

Zwelithini Ka Bhekuzulu, and Transkei president and paramount chief, Tutor Ndamase.

Mr Vlok, General van der Merwe and Law and Order Ministry spokesman Brigadier Leon Mellet were flying over the troubled East Rand township in a police helicopter when they noticed the crowd marching on the stadium.

Mr Vlok ordered the pilot to land near the gathering, Brigadier Mellet said last night.

"We approached the crowd, who

were very hostile. Mr Vlok addressed the crowd, urging them to sit down. Although the Phola Park residents refused to be disarmed, they listened attentively to Mr Vlok who urged them to wait until he could negotiate with President Ndamase, who agreed to address them," the brigadier said.

The crowd left the area chanting "Viva Vlok, Viva SAP", Brigadier Mellet said. But Sapa reports that a panga-wielding man shouted: "SAP, go away."

Sporadic violence as Reef unrest eases

Staff Reporters

Ste 12/9/90

(11A)

(11A)

Reef townships, the scene of bloody battles last week, were relatively quiet at the weekend except for isolated incidents of violence.

A Carletonville woman was killed and her two companions were seriously injured when the police van in which they were travelling was attacked at a barricade in Soweto on Friday night.

Lieutenant-Colonel Tienie Halgryn, liaison officer for the Soweto police, said the unidentified woman and the two men had been looking for a police station in Moroka. They did not know the area and apparently lost their way.

A police van came to their assistance and the three were offered a lift to the police station. On their

way to the station, they drove into a barricade which had been put across the road. The three policemen inside the van climbed out to clear the road.

Suddenly a group of people started shooting at the police van with AK-47 rifles, killing the woman and seriously injuring the two men, who were taken to Baragwanath Hospital. The policemen outside the van were not injured in the incident.

Colonel Halgryn said the charred remains of a man were found at Jabulani station at 8 am on Saturday. It appeared that the man had been murdered and set alight.

On the East Rand, two unidentified men were burnt to death when

a group attacked them with petrol bombs and stones in separate incidents in Tokoza on Saturday.

Colonel Frans Malherbe, liaison officer for the Witwatersrand, said yesterday that a man was arrested in Katlehong for being in possession of a petrol bomb.

In Edenvale, six people were injured in separate incidents of assault at the weekend, an ambulance spokesman said.

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee announced at the weekend that more than 100 people had appeared in courts across the Reef in connection with the continuing violence.

Three men — found with an AK-47 assault rifle, an ammunition

magazine and 30 rounds of ammunition — were arrested on Saturday night at a police roadblock near Jabulani in Soweto, Pretoria police liaison officer Major Steve Senekal said yesterday.

The men are apparently the first known suspects arrested since police on Saturday declared "Iron Fist" measures aimed at curbing the township carnage.

The three men, who were travelling in a Mazda 323, were being questioned in connection with the weapons, Major Senekal said.

With the memory of Thursday's horror train attack and the ongoing violence still fresh in the mind of the public, the police described the past weekend as one of the quietest in weeks.

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FW urged to hold early conference

Sowetan 17/9/90

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THE Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) urged President FW de Klerk on Saturday to hold an urgent preparatory conference of all who hoped to participate in negotiating a new South Africa.

The party also called on the Organisation of African Unity and the United Nations to demand that ANC deputy president, Nelson Mandela,

meet its president, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, "for the sake of black people now being killed and maimed".

The party's central committee further warned US President George Bush and his government of the disastrous consequences if the US continued "its financial funding bias" in favour of the ANC and its SA Communist Party ally.

In politics money bought power, according

to the IFP, and the prospect for a multi-party democracy - as opposed to a one-party dictatorship - was threatened as long as the world, and the US in particular, continued to regard present negotiations as only involving the National Party Government and the ANC.

The IFP called on De Klerk to recognise that "those who posture for peace but campaign for violence must be

endorsed out" of the negotiating process.

Negotiations must begin with those parties who campaigned against violence and in favour of peace.

The committee also urged black South Africans to stand up and be counted in the process of establishing that the ANC's "so-called armed struggle was no more than an ANC-armed attack against black political opposition". - *Sapa*

Azapo's bold

unity bid

Sowetan
17/9/90

11A

THE Azanian People's Organisation has invited the ANC and other organisations to an emergency meeting on Wednesday to discuss an end to violence.

Making the announcement at the organisation's national council in Seshego, Pietersburg, at the weekend, Azapo president Professor Itumeleng Mosala said the meeting will be held at Funda Centre in Soweto.

Mosala said: "Azapo believes the time has come for leaders of the various factions of the black community to meet and analyse the many facets of the recent bloody violence."

The meeting will also attempt to get "a common programme to deal with each facet of the problem".

A sociologist has been asked to prepare an analysis of the violence, which will be presented at the meeting.

Other organisations and individuals invited include: the PAC, New Unity Movement, Workers Organisation for Socialist Action, National Council of Trade Unions,

● To Page 2

By MATHATHA
TSEDU

Azapo peace bid

● From Page 1

Congress of SA Trade Unions, SA Council of Churches, Black Theology Project, Institute of Contextual Theology, Nafcoc, Foundation for African Business and Consumer Services, Black Lawyers Association, National Association of Democratic Lawyers, Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference, Interdenominational African Ministers Association of SA, SA Black Social Workers Association and the SA Black Taxi Association. Sowetan 17/9/90

Among individuals invited are Archbishop Des-

mond Tutu, the Rev Stanley Magoba and newspaper editors Aggrey Klaaste (Sowetan) and Khulu Sibiya (City Press).

While individual organisations attempted to deal with the problem "this had not produced the desired result", said Mosala.

He said churches had also intervened in specific incidents but this was not enough.

"When our leaders are seen by their followers as meeting and talking, their collective suggestions are likely to succeed where individual appeals have failed," Mosala said.

11A

Council resigns in wake of cut-offs

THEO RAWANA

THE Tumahole Town Council has resigned, becoming a casualty of a four-day electricity and water cut-off by Parys Town Council.

A meeting held to end the switch-off and the two-week consumer boycott ended with a decision that the council should resign and that the Free State administrator be asked to appoint an administrator for the township.

The administrator would be informed that the Tumahole People's Delegation had demanded that arrears in respect of rents and service charges be written off.

The township's problems started last Monday when Parys Town Council switched off electricity supplies and reduced water flow by 90% because the township owed R235 000. Two days later, the water was cut off completely.

The services were restored on Thursday afternoon after a meeting between the Parys municipality, the Tumahole delegation, the Tumahole council, representatives from Eskom, the SAP and the Free State Provincial Administration.

In a joint statement they said the Tumahole Town Council had resigned and the appointment of an administrator would be recommended.

The delegation had demanded the write-off of arrears.

It said: "The residents of Tumahole will, in the interim, pay a flat rate of R18,50 a month with immediate effect.

"It was agreed that in respect of outstanding water, electricity and sewerage accounts, R25 000 would be paid weekly by the Tumahole Town Committee, the first payment being made on September 21.

"The Parys Town Council indicated that in respect of the first payment it would be prepared to consider an extension of time up to September 28, provided that a reasonable part of the R25 000 was paid on or before September 21."

The parties agreed that a planned stayaway would be called off, and that the delegation would recommend to the boycott committee that the consumer boycott be called off.

A joint working group made up of representatives from Parys, Tumahole Civic Association and the provincial administration would be set up to investigate issues such as a new system of local government, financing and administration, standards of services and affordable service charges.

PAC firm on 'people's constitution'

CAPE TOWN — The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) had been invited to talk to government and it might do so — but it would not budge from its demand that the people write their own constitution, senior PAC official Barney Desai said at the weekend.

Desai told a rally of about 1 000 people in Hanover Park that the PAC called for a constituent assembly as it believed the people of a country had to draw up their own constitution.

"It is not a question of writing a constitution in someone else's lavatory. If you do, the only treatment for that constitution is

to pull the chain," Desai said.

Launching an attack on the ANC for taking part in negotiations with government, Desai said the PAC asked no favours from "our oppressors".

He said the militant Africanist chant, "One settler, one bullet", was a call for retribution for crimes against black South Africans.

Desai said the PAC stood for reconciliation, but "there can be no reconciliation between master and servant, oppressor and oppressed, unless justice is done". — Sapa.

Govt wants to talk to Azapo

By MATHATHA
TSEDU

THE Government has invited the Azanian People's Organisation to enter into exploratory talks with it to pave the way for negotiations, Azapo disclosed yesterday. (11A) Sowetan 17/9/190
Azapo publicity and information secretary Mr Strini Moodley said the invitation came in a letter from Deputy Minister of Constitutional Planning Mr Roelf Meyer dated September 14. Addressed to Azapo president Professor

Itumelenga Mosala, the letter reads in part: "As president of Azapo you are urged to commit yourself and your organisation with the support of your members to become actively, openly and formally involved in the process of peacefully shaping the constitutional future of our country."

It asks Mosala to respond "positively as soon as possible", and says exploratory talks could begin immediately after Azapo had accepted the invitation.

Moodley said Mosala would respond to the letter at a Press conference in Cape Town today.

Azapo has always opposed negotiations with the Government in the present climate and has stated that it should first:

- * Commit itself to one-man-one-vote in a unitary state;

- * Accept the concept of a constituent assembly, be prepared to relinquish power and contest the elections for an assembly as an equal partner with other groups;

- * Accept land and wealth redistribution.

The Government has so far rejected these conditions, saying its legitimacy could not be questioned.



Cheery greeting ... African National Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela greets farm workers yesterday during a one-day visit to towns near Cape Town. © Picture by Reuter.

15/9/90 (IA) (S)

ANC in crucial meeting today

By Peter Fabricius and Esmaré van der Merwe,

The ANC's full national executive committee (NEC) will make decisions today and tomorrow that could crucially affect the peaceful reform initiative begun by President de Klerk on February 2 this year.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela said in a speech in Worcester yesterday that the ANC would not abandon talks, as this would play into the hands of the "third force" instigating the violence.

However Mr Mandela also said the ANC's NEC would have to "take a decision that will reverse almost everything that was done since May this year" — if the Government did not display the will to take emphatic steps to stop the township violence.

Today's emergency NEC meeting was at a secret venue in Johannesburg.

The organisation's head of information and publicity, Pallo Jordan, said yesterday the organisation would "take stock of the way in which it views the political transition".

He warned: "We have reached a pre-February 2 situation."

Senior Government sources today dismissed ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela's threats to withdraw from the peace process as "rhetoric" intended to placate militants within his ranks.

They said they did not believe the ANC's NEC would call off negotiations at its meeting today.

On Friday, when Mr Mandela was asked at a press conference to convey a message of hope to panic-stricken township residents, he said the fact that the NEC had convened an emergency meeting should give hope to residents.

Mr Mandela said the NEC would consider the people's demand that they be armed.

Government sources said they believed Mr Mandela — and perhaps the NEC — were under tremendous pressure from certain quarters within their own ranks.

That was why he was making such contradictory statements, they said, such as his demand for the Government to use the full force of its security apparatus in the townships — and then slamming them for doing so.

"It may be that there are elements within his own ranks who have had doubts since August 6. They would like to push aside whatever has been agreed.

"Mandela is trying to calm them with these strong public statements."

Responding to criticism from Mr Mandela and others about the "Iron Fist" measures to curb township violence — especially the decision to arm police vehicles with light machineguns — a source said the Government was "naturally concerned that this could lead to the

perception of irresponsible action".

"But we must remember that AK-47s are also machineguns. It's a question of meeting same with same. It's not an over-reaction.

"We are merely arming the police to meet the kind of force they could encounter."

In his tough speech to more than 2 000 people at the rally in Worcester's Boland Stadium, Mr Mandela said: "With the violence, the struggle for peace is becoming more difficult."

It was becoming increasingly difficult to resist the demands of the people for arms to defend themselves against the "indiscriminate and orchestrated violence perpetrated by a sinister third force".

"In these circumstances it should be easy for us to walk out of the talks, but we will not, because the talks have taken place on our initiative.

"We cannot afford to be stampeded into a situation which does not suit the aspirations of our people. To abandon it now would play into the hands of the third force."

Then he added: "But all this is subject to the Government carrying out its duties. The measures they announced (Iron Fist) are just not sufficient. Almost every one we totally reject.

"If the Government does not carry out its duties, then we will have to consider ways and means of defending our people against these criminal attacks."



Ex-MP slates Mandela,

Times talks of 'miracles'

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The Star Bureau

LONDON — South Africa's blacks and their leaders could have isolated any "mischievous and malicious third force" by getting together and concluding a peace treaty.

This is the view of former Labour MP Robert Kilroy-Silk who believes the solution lies to a large extent in the hands of Nelson Mandela, who "could use his undoubted authority to call for peace in the townships".

He criticises Mr Mandela's "consistent refusal" to call for peace in the townships and to meet Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and asks whether the ANC leader is "fearful that his young militants will ignore him and show him up to be an empty vessel, representing no one but himself, Winnie (Mandela) and a few hardliners".

Or is it, he adds, "that he feels that the ANC — which he is now threatening to arm — is gradually getting the upper hand?"

Mr Kilroy-Silk says the world "treats him (Mr Mandela) as a statesman. But to act like one means that he must do what's right for all South Africans, not what is politically expe-



Chief Buthelezi . . . realist who wants all blacks to have the vote.

dient for the ANC".

The Times, meanwhile, says President de Klerk has had no choice but to use force to stop the "gang warfare" between Zulus and Xhosas.

To deny that the South African State, "despite its shortcomings", is charged with the primary task of maintaining order would embrace not revolution or evolution, but anarchy.

The paper, in its second leading article yesterday, says Mr de Klerk will retain his initiative only if he can restore order in the townships without serious loss of life, and bring the Zulus into the constitutional



Nelson Mandela . . . fearful that young militants will ignore him.

process without alienating the ANC leadership — "a double miracle".

"But since the preservation of a stable, though democratic and multiracial South Africa is in the interest of the entire southern half of the continent, the lives of millions depend on his success".

In the Daily Mail yesterday, Paul Johnson berates Britain's "white liberals", whom he claims are "losing control of the thugs from their beloved ANC". He adds that the liberal message rests on the "manifest lie" that Mr Mandela speaks for all South African blacks.

Stemming the mayhem

Star 18/9/90

123 11A 11B

The merciless orgy of violence that has erupted in certain Transvaal townships bears many of the characteristics of the 1984-86 uprisings — only it is more vicious and it is killing more people.

Ironically, the massacres and mayhem have reached new levels of intensity in the immediate wake of the August 2 Pretoria Minute. In the six weeks since then, when the African National Congress (but not the Pan Africanist Congress) announced the suspension of its armed struggle, more than 700 people have lost their lives — and thousands have been seriously injured.

Most of the barbaric blood-letting has been at the hands of butchering bands of thugs who have hacked, stabbed and shot their opponents with crude weapons and guns. A good deal of the violence has become increasingly indiscriminate — directed at random against innocent commuters and pedestrians.

More widely, the scale of the slaughter is beginning to jeopardise negotiations between the Government and the ANC as protagonists trade political accusations of irresponsibility, partiality and complicity in the violence.

Behind the grisly carnage lies a cocktail of "tribal", ideological and economic factors. At one level, conflict is sparked off by mutual fears between two groupings — one apparently dominated by (mainly) Zulu supporters of Inkatha, in tandem with politically conservative hostel dwellers; the other aligned with radical urbanised residents whose loyalties lie with the ANC/SA Communist Party/United Democratic Front/Congress of SA Trade Unions alliance.

What is certain, however, is that many of those involved perceive the conflict in ethnic terms.

"We are the Zulus and we are fighting the Xhosas" — or vice versa — are refrains frequently reported by journalists. This kind of ethnic consciousness seems to be

DR SIMON BAYNHAM, chief researcher in political and strategic studies at the Africa Institute of South Africa, considers the causes and cures of the Reef township war.



especially prevalent in the hostels which have traditionally been Inkatha strongholds.

The increasingly volatile situation has been fuelled by grim living conditions inside the burgeoning squatter camps, by a dangerous dearth of employment and education opportunities and by the militant criminality of the nothing-to-lose dispossessed as traditional patterns of civic culture and authority fragment and collapse.

Against this backdrop of political bitterness and socio-economic grievances come competing claims of complicity and bias directed at the security forces.

As with cancer, it is relatively easy to diagnose the causes but much trickier to suggest cures. There are, however, a number of specific proposals that deserve detailed consideration. Most of these relate to the role and deployment of the security forces:

- Strict adherence to the principle of minimum force. (This should not be misunderstood to mean that maximum force should never be used). To date, riot-control techniques have often been unnecessarily heavy-handed.

- Years of political neglect have rendered the SA Police undermanned, underpaid and grossly over-stretched. There is an urgent requirement, for a rapid expansion of the police — especially black police — over and above the belated measures to expand the force and improve conditions of service announced by the Government in

June. This would eventually permit the SAP to focus on its primary role: tackling "ordinary" crime which is running at an all-time high.

- Consideration might also be devoted to decentralising police authority so that local communities could have a greater say regarding the role, methods and composition of these forces.

- Linked to the above points is a need for the SAP to be depoliticised and sensitised to the rights and requirements of all SA's citizens. There is an imperative for the SAP to become visibly identified with the process of reform (rather than reaction) if its name is to become synonymous with its motto: *Servamus et servimus* (To protect and to serve).

- The creation of an entirely new paramilitary riot force, one independent of both the military and police, should be examined. Such bodies are common in the European democracies. This would enable the SAP (and the Defence Force) to cultivate an image of serving the interest of all members of the community, thus divorcing it from those duties that have given the SAP a stigma as enforcers of apartheid laws and internal order.

- In the aftermath of the Goldstone Commission, there have been fresh demands for an open inquiry into the SADF Sebokeng shooting (which left 11 dead) and other incidents. Unless this happens, the security forces will remain wide open to unsubstantiated allegations regarding their behaviour and discipline.

- In the above respect, a permanent judicial commission could be established to investigate the violence — as suggested to President de Klerk by an Anglican church delegation on September 10. The clerics also argued that independent monitors (including judges, lawyers and community and church leaders) accompany security forces acting in unrest situations.

- Also of crucial importance is the requirement to speed up the judicial process, so that court cases are dealt with quickly, and to implement measures which will address the material and educational grievances that lie behind so much of the turmoil. In both respects, the Government has already initiated a number of specific steps, but these will take time to percolate through the strata of bureaucratic red tape to have any effect.

- Penultimately, there is an urgent imperative for the ANC and Inkatha to co-operate in stemming the bloodshed. For this to happen, there must be a willingness on the part of all legitimate leaders to participate in a process of reconciliation to stop blaming one another and to discipline their respective constituents.

The catalyst for this should be a meeting between Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi — a meeting that must mark the end of provocative speeches by khaki-clad men (and women) of the radical Right and Left.

- Finally, non-partisan security force action in the townships must be immediately stepped up (at least in the short term), as now called for by the ANC. If this requires a massive show of force from the SADF, then so be it. For unless the current levels of localised anarchy are checked and drastically reduced, many more South Africans — and especially black South Africans — will be staring a savage state of nature in the face where, in Thomas Hobbes's immortal lines, life is "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short".

PAC's 'watershed meeting'

Sta 13/9/90 (11) (11)
By Kaizer Nyatumba,
Political Staff

The top leadership of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) will hold "a watershed meeting" in Harare, Zimbabwe this week.

The PAC will discuss the Government's invitation to the organisation to become involved in negotiations.

PAC adviser Dikgang Moseneke said yesterday the meeting, which starts on Thursday evening and ends on Sunday morning, would "probably be a watershed meeting" in the organisation's history.

Philemon Tefu, PAC assistant general secretary, said the entire internal national executive committee, headed by general secretary Benny Alexander, will travel to Harare to consult with the PAC's central committee.

PAC president Zephania Mothopeng will also attend the meeting.

PAC publicity secretary Benny Ntoele said the organisation's national congress in October would also be discussed.

For the first time since it was formed in 1959, the PAC will hold its national congress inside South Africa next month.

However, external PAC leaders will not be able to attend the congress because, unlike African National Congress leaders, they have not been granted temporary indemnity from prosecution.

In order for them to benefit from agreements reached between the Government and the African National Congress, the PAC would have to be engaged in exploratory talks with the Government.

Need for human revolution to stem racism

Red Cross saviours arrive just in time

Sowetan 18/9/90

11A

THE secretary general of the League of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, Mr Par Stenback, could not have sent the first mission of Redtag (Red Cross/Red Crescent Transitional Assistant Group) at a more appropriate time.

This high-powered group of eminent humanitarians associated with National Red Cross Societies of Sierra Leone, Tanzania, Santa Lucia, the United Kingdom and Sweden arrived in South Africa last weekend.

The Henri Dunant Coalition, a union of members, volunteers and employees of the South African Red Cross Society, a special interest innovative group, committed to a fully racism-free national Red Cross organisation in this country, foretold the violence presently consuming the Witwatersrand, the Vaal area, Natal and other parts of the country with no promise of abating.

Renounce

While still calling upon the present leadership of the SARCS to renounce racism and waste no time to re-dedicate themselves to the mandate and ideals of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement, it makes a desperate call to all its compatriots to join together in a spirit of altruism, service and disinterestedness.

The call is for a new revolution, a human revolution. The HDC takes the arrival in the country of the first mission of Redtag to proclaim a new beginning in the humanitarian dimension of our life.

A fully racism-free SARCS,



SOWETAN REPORTER

once achieved, would be a pivotal point of all South Africa's people as volunteers as well as donors, whether in organisations or as individuals in their expression of their humanity through peacemaking, rescuing the injured, burying the dead with dignity, sheltering the scattered, tracing the displaced, comforting the bereaved and giving hope to captives.

It is time now to wage peace, and the humanitarian revolution is just the way to do it.

There are worthy human rights and humanitarian associations and philanthropic societies in the nation affiliated to the African National Congress, Mass Democratic Movement, United Democratic Front, Pan Africanist Congress, Azanian People's Organisation, Black Consciousness Movement of Azania, the State etc.

The present white-dominated leadership of the SARCS ought to realise that unless the Society is open to all, and its attitude and work are guided by the seven fundamental principles of the IRCRCM (humanity, impartiality, neutrality, independence, voluntary service, unity and universality), with all volunteers, black and white, deployed without discrimination and equipment and resources allocated impartially, all that they do, however

"good-looking", in the violence-torn areas and other situations of suffering will amount to contemptible cashing in on the plight of the people for publicity.

That can only discredit all the good work that the Red Cross has done to save lives and alleviate human suffering since the carnage started.

It will limit the effect of its own humanitarian contribution. We need all the hands and hearts that we can get.

That is why the HDC asks the people to respect the emblem of the Red Cross worn by units on the ground and give free, safe passage and assistance to all those rightfully wearing it, on humanitarian grounds - while the Redtag's "programme of transition" and other initiatives are underway to improve the SARCS.

Sprinkling

Co-opting and hand-picking a sprinkling of blacks for whites is no solution since it is now time that the SARCS must be taken over by the people on a non-racial basis and be reconstructed.

Let it be recalled once again that the SARCS, through its Namibian region, badly let down the people of that country by being unprepared and ill-constituted when pre-liberation or pre-independence heightened political activities culminated in horrific forms of inter-group or inter-party violence.

The call is for a Red Cross Society to be ready to play a major role in programmes for the repatriation of returning South African exiles.

The role of this body has al-

ways been to ensure assistance, even for all combatants, according to international humanitarian law and with the help of the International Committee of Red Cross.

Victims of armed conflict and their dependents should enjoy the help of the Red Cross.

The Red Cross, if the SARCS had not been mired in the way that it is, would have taken the lead in the exploration of the question of the prisoner-of-war status for the South African Defence Force.

The IRCRCM is the greatest humanitarian movement on earth, and therefore the SARCS of today and tomorrow should be held in high esteem.

Working with and through all or any group(s) and individual(s) must be the hub of all philanthropic activity and soul of humanitarianism here.

While we are mindful of the fact that many people took membership of the SARCS in 1989 but were never even issued with membership cards and invited to meetings, we say. join it as it is your Red Cross.

In pursuance of the call for a humanitarian revolution the HDC, in consultation with organisations, political parties and movements across the political spectrum, philanthropies, business concerns and religious groups, will convene a type of "humanitarian summit" with a view to mobilising all instruments of peace and human well-being.

Let us wage peace in a struggle beyond political ideological contentions, for our children's sake, for women's sake, for men's sake and indeed for humanity's sake. Together in a humanitarian revolution.

Thousands mob Mandela in Boland

By BRONWYN DAVIDS



LEFT: An ANC marshal watches over impatient schoolboys at Boland Park Stadium in Worcester before Mr Nelson Mandela's arrival. RIGHT: Mr Mandela holds Haroon Gunn at the Worcester rally while Haroon's mother, Ms Shirley Gunn, stands by.



THOUSANDS of people yesterday welcomed Mr Nelson Mandela to Boland towns where he told ANC supporters that if the government did not stem the tide of the violence the ANC would have to arm its people.

Mr Mandela visited Bonnievale, Ashton, Robertson and Worcester and was mobbed by eager residents. In the conservative town of Rawsonville, however, white primary school children booed him when he drove by.

At Worcester about 3 000 people waited about two hours at Boland Park stadium to hear him speak.

To roars of "viva ANC", Mr Mandela said his brief visit had given him insight into the "lives and struggles" of the people who had had no one to listen to them.

Before addressing the Worcester rally, Mr Mandela spoke at a leaders' meeting at the Solhge College of Education in Worcester. He said the ANC was reluctant to take up arms because it was committed to peace.

But he said the ANC would not remain passive if the government did not take steps to stop the violence.

At the rally he said the national executive of the ANC would hold an emergency meeting today to consider "very carefully" the government's reaction to the Transvaal violence.

"If we find there is no will on the part of the government to take emphatic steps to stop this violence then we will have to make a decision that will reverse almost everything that was done since the beginning of May this year."

'Third force'

He said the ANC was finding its commitment to peace increasingly difficult. "In these circumstances it should be very easy for us to walk out of the talks in which we are engaged.

"We will not, because we initiated them."

Abandoning the talks now would mean playing into the hands of the "third force" which was orchestrating the violence, he noted.

"But all this is subject to the government carrying out its duties... if the government does not carry out its duties we will have to consider ways and means of defending our people against these criminal attacks."

Opening the Zolani Community Centre in Ashton, which is named after him, Mr Mandela said people could see that the ANC was strong and that there would be "freedom in our time".

"I assure you that we will win this fight in the Transvaal because we will work together."

At a rally attended by Bonnievale township dwellers, where there were still burnt-out buildings from recent unrest, Mr Mandela said the town's coloured residents were a source of pride because they had put up some of the bravest struggles in the fight for liberation.

"We are proud of you. The differences in our colour, culture and historical background has made our unity even stronger than in other cases where people are one colour."

At Robertson, hundreds were unable to get into the hall where Mr Mandela said local ANC leaders were men of courage and conviction.

Piet Skiet

is caught



BOERE PIMPERNEL ... Mr Piet "Skiet" Rudolph

Boere Pimpernel arrested in Paul Kruger St

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — "Boere Pimpernel" Mr Piet "Skiet" Rudolph was arrested in Pretoria yesterday after six months on the run.

His arrest was announced by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, who said Mr Rudolph was "very angry with the police" when he was arrested.

Mr Rudolph was arrested in Paul Kruger Street about 1.30pm. He was a passenger in a car driven by a white man, who was also arrested. Police are investigating charges against the man.

Police found two .38 revolvers with 115

rounds, one pistol with 32 rounds and one 15mm "signal projector".

Mr Rudolph, who is the deputy leader of the Boerestaat Party, is being kept under strict security. Law and Order spokesman Brigadier Leon Mellet would not say where he was being held.

Mr Rudolph is expected to make a remand appearance in court within the next 48 hours.

"He had been very audacious recently and probably thought he would never be caught," Brigadier Mellet said.

He added that police were now tracking down the people who had sheltered the fugitive.

Mr Rudolph has been linked to an arms theft from air force headquarters in Pretoria in April.

In June, police posted a reward of R50 000 for his arrest after he sent a video to Beeld newspaper and Radio 702 saying he would seek the bloody and violent overthrow of the government.

He is also alleged to have been responsible for the bombings of two National Party offices on the Witwatersrand, the blast at the historic Melrose House in Pretoria and explosions near Beeld's offices earlier this month.

Last week Mr Rudolph brazenly walked into the offices of the Johannesburg weekly Vrye Weekblad to deliver a letter. He was travelling in a green station wagon.

The Boerestaat Party last night called on the government to treat Mr Rudolph as a political prisoner.

The party's leader, Mr Robert van Tonder, said Mr Rudolph's actions were not for self-enrichment. He warned that the government faced "another Jopie Fourie" in Mr Rudolph.

Mr Vlok said on SATV last night that police had achieved what they promised — "leaving no stone unturned" until the fugitive right-winger was traced and arrested.

He expressed concern that it had taken so long to catch Mr Rudolph and that the investigation had been so difficult, ascribing this to the "many people who helped Rudolph".

Asked to comment on allegations that police would not be able or willing to arrest militant right-wingers, Mr Vlok said the criticism was unfair because it was untrue.

He said police investigating teams regarded "crime as crime" from either side of the political spectrum.

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Azapo convenes 'peace summit'

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By ANTHONY JOHNSON
and BARRY STREEK

AZAPO is convening an urgent peace summit in Johannesburg tomorrow of liberation movements, churches and other key organisations to discuss ways to end the violence "destroying the black community".

Announcing the initiative yesterday, Azapo president Dr Itumeleng Mosala also called on ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela to meet Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Dr Mosala said a number of liberation movements had already "soiled their hands" by meeting homeland leaders and there was no reason why all the key players should not be included in a search for peace.

"People are already dying and so they (the ANC) must talk to Gatsha (Buthelezi)," he said.

However, Dr Mosala emphasised that violence could not be resolved simply by leaders

meeting and that a more comprehensive national peace initiative was needed.

Azapo believed it was well-placed to initiate such a process and had accordingly arranged tomorrow's meeting.

Apart from Azapo, organisations that had already accepted included the Pan Africanist Congress, the New Unity Movement, the Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action and the SA Council of Churches.

A number of newspaper editors on the Reef and religious organisations had also been invited.

Dr Mosala said he hoped Archbishop Desmond Tutu, who had also been thinking of convening such a meeting, would attend.

The PAC's general secretary, Mr Bennie Alexander, said yesterday that his organisation hoped that violence among the "oppressed" would be resolved at the meeting.

Dr Mosala also said yesterday that Azapo would announce "very soon" its response to a government

invitation to take part in exploratory talks.

He said that in its invitation the government had urged him and Azapo "to commit ourselves with the support of our members to become actively, openly and formally involved in the process of peacefully shaping the constitutional future of our country".

He said Azapo would not respond to the government's invitation through the media but would make its decision public once the government had been informed "in accordance with the normal rules of courtesy".

Dr Mosala said Azapo was already at an advanced stage in canvassing its members about possible talks.

He said Azapo's position on negotiations was that these first had to take place "among the organisations of the oppressed and exploited masses".

There was "a real concern" that the government and the ANC might try to strike a "cosy deal" which excluded other members of the liberation movement.

Should this happen, South Africa could end up after negotiations with a type of "neo-colonial settlement".

Azapo accordingly insisted on a consultative conference and the formation of a constituent assembly before negotiations for a new constitution took place.

"Azapo remains committed to peace," he said.

Dr Mosala also said the ANC had finally agreed to take part in a conference with other liberation organisations before entering negotiations with the government — but no date had been set.

● Mr Alexander said yesterday that the central committee meeting of the PAC's internal and external wings in Harare on Thursday would not make a final decision on participation in exploratory talks with the government.

Such a decision would come only once the PAC's national executive had canvassed all views, including those of PAC prisoners, he said.

ANC in crucial meeting on future of negotiations

By MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent
and PETER FABRICIUS
Political Staff

NEGOTIATIONS have reached a critical point and face their severest test as tension mounts between the government and the ANC over what to do to stop township violence.

But, while statements by ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela in Worcester yesterday suggested negotiations were entering a perilous phase, senior government sources today dismissed ANC threats to withdraw from the peace process as "rhetoric" intended to placate militants within the ranks.

As the government continued to flex its security muscle in line with the new Iron Fist strategy — which President De Klerk yesterday insisted would be applied impartially to restore peace and stability — the ANC's national executive committee went into critical talks at a secret venue in Johannesburg today to review the situation.

The meeting comes against a backdrop of increasingly aggressive rhetoric, fears of a third force brutally exploiting tension in the townships to derail negotiations, and signs of a decline in trust between the government and the ANC.

TREMENDOUS PRESSURE

But government sources said they did not believe the African National Congress's national executive committee would call off negotiations.

They were reacting to Mr Mandela's statement in Worcester that the NEC would have to "take a decision that will reverse almost everything that has been done since May this year" if the government did not display a "willingness" to take "effective steps" to stop the township violence.

Government sources said they believed Mr Mandela — and perhaps the NEC — were under tremendous pressure from certain quarters within their own ranks.

● Mandela's Boland tour — report and pictures page 5.

That was why he was making such contradictory statements, such as his demand for the government to use the full force of its security apparatus in the townships — and then slamming the government for doing so.

"It may be that there are elements within his own ranks who have had doubts since August 6. They would like to push aside whatever has been agreed. They are looking for an excuse to return to the struggle.

"Mandela is trying to calm them with these strong public statements.

"If this analysis is correct, I don't think the national executive committee will make any very different decisions today. This is mainly rhetoric."

Responding to criticism from Mr Mandela and others about the "iron fist" measures

to curb the township violence — and especially the decision to arm police vehicles in the townships with light machine-guns — the source said the government was "naturally concerned that this could lead to the perception of irresponsible action".

"But we must remember that AK-47s are also machine-guns. It's a question of meeting same with same. It's not an over-reaction.

"We are merely arming the police to meet the kind of force they could encounter."

Police sources said the light machine-guns were intended to defend policemen caught in ambushes — as some were last week when they were fired on with AK-47s.

They said it was difficult for policemen to fire out of Casspir armoured vehicles with their normal weapons.

Speaking in Worcester yesterday, Mr Mandela reaffirmed the ANC's commitment to the peace process and made a plea

(Turn to page 3, col 2)

Judge

condemns

Soweto

killer

9 times

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A Rand Supreme Court judge yesterday sentenced a man, who participated in "wholesale slaughter" with an accomplice he met at the home of Mrs Winnie Mandela, to death nine times.

When Mr Justice D'O Vermooten asked Charles Bongani Zwane, 22, whether there was any reason why he should not pass the death penalty, the accused replied: "I didn't kill anyone."

Zwane was also sentenced to an effective 22-year prison term on eight counts of attempted murder, one count of illegal possession of firearms and one count of arson.

Zwane was found guilty on September 7 of having shot five people in a shebeen in Soweto in December 1988, of killing two municipal policemen about a month later and of killing a 13-year-old girl in an attack on a home.

The judge rejected pro Deo defence counsel Mr S Jacobs's argument that to some extent, Zwane was the victim of a disintegrating society.

The accused had come from a strict and solid family background.

Earlier during the case, the court heard evidence that Zwane was accompanied by a certain Sonwabu, whom he met at the home of Mrs Mandela.



THE
IDEAL
INVESTMENT 10

By AUDREY D'ANGELO
Business Editor

Business Report

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 18 1990

XTRRA
WHERE THE BEST SHOES
COST LESS

LADIES GENUINE
LEATHER MULET
SANDALS

ENQUIRIES
PH 685 5040

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PAC SPELLS OUT ECONOMIC POLICY

of the PAC.

Stressing the need for redistribution of wealth to the mass of the "currently economically disadvantaged African people", and not to a small elite, Shabalala said that wealth distribution and wealth creation were not necessarily mutually exclusive.

His speech continued: "The redistribution process should be mindful of the medium to long-term effects on desirable economic development and the need for capital reproduction and accumulation to achieve a socially desirable level of economic development.

"Part of the wealth and resources to be redistributed are the means and access to opportunity to create or develop wealth, not just the consumption of existing wealth.

"Economic paternalism directed

to beneficiaries from the redistribution effort will be specifically discouraged: beneficiaries must be mindful of the need for economic development, economic efficiency and effectiveness."

General institutional forms would be:

- Enterprises wholly owned by the State.
- State-sponsored organizations which would be worker-owned and run, private profit and non-profit organizations.
- Multi-organisation enterprises "in those areas in which, due to the stage of development of the country and its individual organizations, there is no single organization or enterprise that is technically, financially, politically and managerially able to own and operate the entire economic venture."

The State would have a major role to play in effecting the redistribution of wealth.

"It is an envisaged role by the State to support business venture programmes by the economically disadvantaged. It is not the intention of the PAC's policies to have a State which will just be bleeding existing companies of their resources.

"In its redistribution role, the State will take into account the investment and income needs of the owners of existing business firms.

"Punitive State actions, motivated by mere intention to 'revenge' or avenge the past economic sufferings of Africans are not envisaged whatsoever. At the same time the poverty of the many and affluence of the few is equally unacceptable.

"The operations of the State should not be allowed to give no

room for market forces to operate. By market forces we mean entrepreneurial endeavours and choices made by identifiable individual citizens and by collectives of individuals.

"Even the broad precepts of democracy do not allow the muzzling of market forces when they play a positive developmental role.

Shabalala also said that the PAC was not obsessed with the idea of nationalisation of private sector corporations.

"The PAC is more concerned with the redistribution of wealth at individual private companies to the workers. We are more concerned with empowering the workers to participate at their workplaces in the following decision-making processes — financing, investment, dividend/reserves determination,

location of business product — market choices, pricing of offerings, income distribution, technology development, training and development and workers' social benefits.

"Generally the PAC will be satisfied if these structures, processes and rights are observed and made functional.

"Nationalisation might be generally considered if the above will not be observed and made functional.

Discussing the PAC concept of nationalisation, Shabalala said this included:

- Transferring the ownership of foreign firms into nationally-owned firms through a process of localisation.
- The transferring of private shares to the State "with or without compensation, voluntarily or involuntarily".

The size of land units would be determined by population pressure. "In general the State will encourage, within the dynamics of the culture of the people and voluntary restraint on the part of Azanians, control of population increase to minimize pressure on the land and other national resources."

PLANS by the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) to redistribute wealth include "the use of policyholders' funds in the mutual associations such as Old Mutual and Sanlam to promote the transfer of wealth, through influencing and directing the economic policies of the companies in which they have controlling shares.

"This might be achieved through an appointment of all or some of the managers of these mutuals by a State and the involvement of workers in their policy decision processes."

This was explained at the fifth annual convention of the Association of Black Accountants of Southern Africa (Abasa), at the Cape Sun yesterday, in a speech by Sipho Shabalala, lecturer in strategic management at the University of Zambia.

His economic policy in detail — read in Shabalala's absence by any Alexander, general secretary

of the PAC.

Stressing the need for redistribution of wealth to the mass of the "currently economically disadvantaged African people", and not to a small elite, Shabalala said that wealth distribution and wealth creation were not necessarily mutually exclusive.

His speech continued: "The redistribution process should be mindful of the medium to long-term effects on desirable economic development and the need for capital reproduction and accumulation to achieve a socially desirable level of economic development.

Redistribution within companies is PAC aim

CAPE TOWN — The PAC said yesterday it would seek wealth redistribution within individual companies and consider nationalisation only where firms refused to comply.

While the organisation said it was mindful of the effects of its policy on capital investment and economic growth, it proposed higher corporate taxation as a means of redistribution. It also proposed state intervention in the business of Old Mutual and Sanlam to ensure that the life offices' policyholders' funds were used to promote transfer of wealth.

A discussion paper by Zimbabwean academic Sipho Shabalala, presented by PAC spokesman Benny Alexander at the Association of Black Accountants of Southern Africa's annual convention, said "the PAC would like to see redistribution of wealth and decision-making powers at individual company levels as being more important than nationalisation. Obviously, if some individuals choose to defy redistribution measures, such companies will be considered for nationalisation."

Redistribution criteria for companies would include: creation of funds to enable workers to acquire a substantial portion of a company's shares with voting rights; job creation and wage increases favouring black workers; establishment of training and development programmes to enhance skills and provide opportunities to improve

LESLEY LAMBERT

productivity and increase the number of black workers at higher salary levels; contribution to social benefits; statutorily enforced worker involvement in financing, investment and profit distribution decisions; and direct taxation.

Companies would also be called on to contribute to small business promotion and development funds, make direct loans to the state and to provide technical services to black businessmen.

The paper said government would influence the use of Old Mutual and Sanlam policyholders' funds by directing the economic policies of the companies they controlled. They were singled out because of the economic power they wielded as managers of the bulk of the nation's savings.

If nationalisation were pursued, foreign firms would be a major target. Private shares of firms targeted for nationalisation would be transferred to the state "with or without compensation, voluntarily or involuntarily". Nationalised assets would be leased back to the private sector.

The PAC conceded that "nationalisation by itself does not achieve economic equality. It often benefits the elites and urban workers at the expense of people in the rural areas." If the PAC came to power it would reserve the right to reverse the process of privatisation.



'Coloureds' are also black, Mandela tells Boland crowd

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN, Political Reporter

MR NELSON Mandela has assured coloured people that he did not exclude them when talking about blacks.

He told a meeting in the Boland town of Robertson yesterday: "When I talk about blacks, I talk about about anyone who's not European. I'm talking about coloureds, Indians and Africans."

Earlier on his one-day trip to the Boland, during which he travelled more than 400km, he said in the Zolani community centre — which was renamed Nelson Mandela community centre yesterday — that the big presence there showed that coloured and African people could work together.

He said in Afrikaans: "This is what we want in the new South Africa. I'm happy to see you sitting together even if the state does not want us to live together. We must live together. We have almost won the fight because we are working together."

After leaving Zolani with five gifts from the community and a bouquet of flowers for his wife, Mrs Winnie Mandela, Mr Mandela paid a brief visit to Robertson and a longer one to Worcester.

Facing a cheering crowd of more than 2 000 at Boland Park stadium, Worcester, he said in Afrikaans: "When I talk about blacks I'm talking about all who are not white."

He assured them that the struggle of the so-called coloured people was part of the broader struggle.

"We are appreciative of the sacrifices you have made. We respect you, we love you. After what I've seen today I'm certain that many ANC branches will be formed here."



COLOURS ALOFT: An ANC supporter in the crowd at Worcester's Boland Stadium holds the movement's flag aloft.

Pictures: LEON MÜLLER
The Argus.



HOT LINE: Mr Nelson Mandela takes a lunchtime call at a Worcester hotel from the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, during his whistle-stop tour of the Boland.

Mandela corrected on 'third force' allegations

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

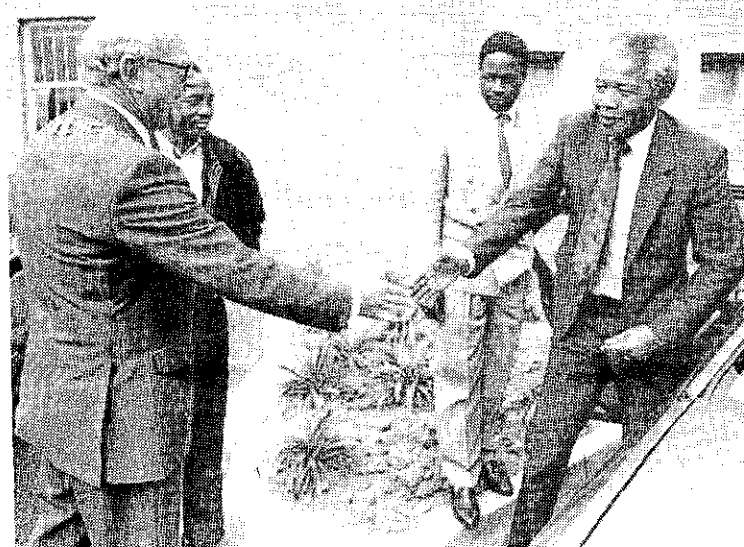
MR NELSON MANDELA has been told that he misunderstood President De Klerk over the existence of a so-called "third force" behind violence and unrest in the country.

Mr Mandela was called away from lunch in Worcester yesterday to take a telephone call from Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Gerrit Viljoen, who had a message for him from Mr De Klerk.

"He said I had misunderstood Mr De Klerk," Mr Mandela said.

In their meeting last Thursday Mr De Klerk told him that there was a force behind the unrest in the country.

"The correction is that he did not mean that there was a third force. He was trying to convey that there was a possibility of a force orchestrating the violence," Mr Mandela told a meeting at Songhe Teachers' Training Col-



MANDELA MEETS MAYOR: Mr Mandela greets Worcester mayor Mr Kolie Nelson before addressing a meeting at Songhe Teachers' Training College.

lege, Worcester, attended by Worcester mayor Mr Kolie Nelson.

He was "amazed that the government is dragging its feet in dealing with this violence and acts only when whites are killed".

"Had it not been for the fact that two white policemen had been killed ... only then did they think it was enough to promulgate measures ... the government moved in."

He had not asked the government to use an "iron fist".

"There is nothing further from the truth. What I said was: 'You

must use your capacity to put an end to violence. Can you tell me why you have not used it?'"

Using its capacity meant that the government must weed out the security forces and the criminal element fuelling the violence so that "the security forces can become proper instruments for the maintenance of law and order, peace and security".

He said that South African security forces used "live" ammunition for crowd control.

A plan to "take out" agitators, as announced last weekend, "is an invitation to kill our people".

Mandela threat on talks is dismissed

SENIOR Government sources yesterday dismissed ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela's threats to withdraw from the peace process as "rhetoric" intended to placate militants within his ranks.

They said they did not believe the African National Congress national executive committee would call off negotiations.

They were reacting to Mandela's statement in Worcester in the Cape that the NEC would have to "take a decision that will reverse almost everything that was done since May this year".

This would happen if the Government did not display the "will" to take "emphatic steps" to stop the township violence, Mandela said.

However Mandela also

said the ANC would not abandon talks, as this would play into the hands of the "third force" instigating the violence.

Sowetan 19/9/90

Government sources said they believed Mandela - and perhaps the NEC - were under tremendous pressure from certain quarters within their own ranks.

That was why he was

making such contradictory statements, such as his demand for the Government to use the full force of its security apparatus in the townships - and then slamming the Government for doing so.

"It may be that there are elements within his own ranks who have had doubts since August 6.

"They would like to

push aside whatever has been agreed. They are looking for an excuse to return to the struggle.

"Mandela is trying to calm them with these strong public statements.

"If this analysis is correct, I don't think the national executive committee will make any very different decisions. This is mainly rhetoric." - *Sowetan Correspondent.*

Mine union in dispute threat

By Shareen Singh ~~Star 19/9/90~~

The National Union of Mine-workers will declare a dispute with the Chamber of Mines if its draft proposal on retrenchments is not accepted by October 15, the union said yesterday.

About 4 000 miners headed by the NUM leadership and SACP and ANC leaders Joe Slovo and Pallo Jordan marched to the Chamber of Mines and Anglo American offices last Saturday to hand over the proposal.

The union plans to get a uniform

retrenchment policy applicable to all affiliates and members of the Chamber of Mines.

Among the wide range of demands forwarded are that:

- A retrenchment fund be set up with contributions by mining houses, in respect of each worker, to be administered jointly by the company and the union, and payable to retrenched workers.
- The last-in-first-out principle be used when retrenching workers.
- At least four months' prior notice be given on retrenchments.

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Sowetan 19/9/90
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Belafonte in secret South Africa visit

Sowetan 19/1/90

11A

By KENOSI MODISANE

AMERICAN entertainer and anti-apartheid activist Harry Belafonte is in South Africa on a secret visit.

The ANC office in Johannesburg confirmed his visit but could not give details of his itinerary. "All we can say is that he had dinner with Mr and Mrs Walter Sisulu yesterday."

Attempts to trace him to a hotel in Johannesburg yesterday were unsuccessful. The receptionist said "he had left his room for an appointment in town".

Belafonte's presence in the country was exposed when he was spotted at the Market Theatre last Friday night. He managed to enter the country without the media knowing because his visit was not made public.



HARRY BELAFONTE

He has been one of the driving forces behind the cultural boycott of South Africa and his visit has come as a surprise.

The Mass Democratic Movement's Cultural Desk was also not aware of his visit to the country.

Spokesman Mzwakhe Mbuli said: "We are not aware of the visit but we have no problems with him being in the country."

It is believed Belafonte is in the country to discuss a film he is making on the life of ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela.

He is well-known for the role he played in helping exiled singers, including Miriam Makeba, Hugh Masekela, Jonas Gwangwa, Letta Mbulu and Caiphus Semenya to international stardom.

Last night it could not be established when Belafonte would leave the country for the United States

Top-level Natal peace talks start today

A TOP-LEVEL meeting between Inkatha and four members of the African National Congress's national executive appointed to deal with the Natal violence will take place in Durban today

This will be the first time that such high-ranking delegations will have met to discuss the bloodshed in the province which has left thousands of people dead.

Their discussions follow a weekend meeting between ANC and Inkatha delegates from Ndwedwe near Verulam, during which an agenda was drawn up for further

**SOWETAN
Correspondent**

joint talks on how to restore calm to the troubled area.

ANC head of intelligence, Jacob Zuma, and KwaZulu Minister of the Interior, Steven Sithebe, were present at the weekend meeting, and were also an integral part

of the Lower Umfolosi Peace Accord, which has gone far in keeping the peace in the Empangeni area.

Today's meeting is expected to take the question of peace "one step further."

They said the two delegations were approaching the meeting with an open agenda and

a positive attitude.

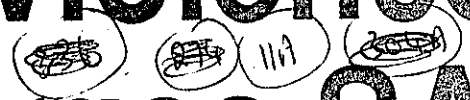
The four ANC executive members due at the meeting are Jacob Zuma, Gertrude Shope, Thabo Mbeki and John Nkadi-meng.

The Inkatha delegates are Steven Sithebe, Frank Mdlalose, Musa Zondi, Denis Madide, Velaphi Ndlovu and Nqobizizwe Nkehli.

1/18
10

Sowetan
19/9/90

Suppress violence, UN urges SA



NEW YORK - The 44th General Assembly closed its final meeting on Monday with a unanimous appeal to South African authorities to suppress the violence that has killed nearly 800 blacks in the last six weeks.

The General Assembly "calls for an immediate end to violence and urges the South African authorities to take urgent action to end it, specifically by dismantling the

Sowetan 19/9/90

apartheid structures as well as ensuring effective and impartial action by the security forces," said the resolution, adopted by acclamation.

The assembly "calls on all parties concerned to contribute to the establishment of a climate free of violence," the resolution said.

ANC leader Nelson

Mandela said last week after meeting with President FW de Klerk that the Government thinks there is a "hidden hand" behind the clashes in black townships.

The ANC has accused the white security authorities of arming the conservative Zulu movement Inkatha, which has been battling pro-ANC

youths in the black townships.

De Klerk has promised to announce a comprehensive programme in the next few days that would halt the clashes, which some people believe are being provoked by black provocateurs recruited by white extremists.

The assembly noted South Africa's progress in the last year, such as the freeing of political prisoners including Mandela, and lifting the ban on the ANC and other organisations, but said more efforts are needed toward racial harmony.

South Africa's voting rights in the 159-member General Assembly have been suspended since 1974 for its refusal to end apartheid.

ANC: No favours for Winnie

ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo said yesterday the organisation did not seek any special treatment for Winnie Mandela and would not make any improper comment on the pending judicial process.

He was responding to Witwatersrand Attorney-General Klaus von Lieres' decision to bring charges of kidnapping and assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm against Mandela. *8/Dec 19/90*

In his written statement, Nzo protested against what he called the "trial through the media" of Mandela.

He said the ANC objected to the "great publicity" given to allegations against her, and added that "certain sections of the media have lost no opportunity to create the impression that she is guilty".

PETER DELMAR, TIM COHEN
and ALAN FINE

11A The ANC's NEC reaffirmed its "unequivocal support for our deputy president and his family in this time of stress".

NEC members were in a meeting yesterday, unavailable to comment on whether Mandela's position as the ANC's social welfare department head would be affected by the charges. But other sources said the NEC had been hesitant in responding to protests against her appointment.

Her attorney, Ismael Ayob, said he would advise her not to make any statement until he had discussed the matter with her husband. She had not yet been

□ To Page 2

Mandela *8/Dec 19/90*

charged, and his only information was that given to him earlier by Von Lieres, he said.

Von Lieres said Mandela would face the same four kidnapping and four assault charges for which Mandela United Football Club coach Jerry Richardson was sentenced to eight years imprisonment.

He was sentenced to death for the murder of teenager Stompie Seipei. He was also sentenced to five years imprisonment for four kidnappings on December 29 1988, and to three years imprisonment on four counts of assault with intent.

11A □ From Page 1

In deciding whether or not to prosecute, Von Lieres said he had considered all relevant facts, "including possible implications beyond the normal legal ones".

He said it had been claimed that Mandela had been unjustly victimised, and he quoted her saying that she would welcome being charged with Seipei's murder so she could appear in court to defend herself.

But he said his decision to prosecute was not taken in response to these various claims and statements, but because of the law, the facts and his duty.

Winnie to go on trial

11/11
- Capt. TMS
19/9/90

JOHANNESBURG. — Mrs Winnie Mandela is to face four charges of kidnap and assault with intent to commit grievous bodily harm, along with seven others.

Last night the ANC said it did not seek any special treatment for Mrs Mandela — but it protested against her "trial by media".

The charges, announced by Witwatersrand attorney-general Mr Klaus von Lieres yesterday, follow the abduction of four boys, including activist Stompie Seipei, from a Soweto church hostel in December 1988.

The boys were allegedly beaten at Mrs Mandela's Soweto home. The body of Stompie, who had been stabbed, was later found.

During the alleged assault, the boys were accused of having sex with a church minister. Stompie was accused of being a police spy.

'My duty'

The decision to prosecute Mrs Mandela, wife of ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, comes at a sensitive stage in negotiations between the government and the ANC.

The prosecution also made world headlines yesterday. In Britain the decision was the main item in television news broadcasts and also the main report in evening newspapers.

Mr Von Lieres said he had reserved his decision to prosecute Mrs Mandela until the case of Jerry Richardson for the murder of Stompie Seipei had been disposed of.

"That position has now been reached," Mr Von Lieres said.

His decision was based on "my understanding of the facts, the law of the land and my duty as attorney-general to uphold and apply the law to all alike", he said.



TO BE CHARGED ... Mrs Winnie Mandela

Richardson, 41, "coach" of the Mandela football club, an unofficial security body for Mrs Mandela, was sentenced to death last month for the murder of Stompie.

He was also sentenced to five years for the four kidnappings, three years on four counts of assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm, two years for a further assault on Stompie on December 31 of that year, and eight years for the attempted murder of Lerotodi Ikaneng in January last year.

The attorney general said Mrs Mandela will stand trial in the Rand Supreme Court with seven other accused who have already been charged, and who are due to appear again in the Regional Court in Soweto on September 24.

The others facing charges are: Mr J. W. Morgan, 61, Mr Jabulani Khubeki, 25, Mr Sibusiso Mabuza, 18, Mr Xolisa Falati, 35, and three boys.

Mr Von Lieres said it had been claimed that Mrs Mandela had been unjustly victimised by being refused an opportunity to testify.

During a June visit to the US, Mrs Mandela told viewers during a popular breakfast-time television show that she "would welcome being charged with

the murder of Stompie Seipei so that I can defend myself".

Police investigations had not intended to establish the facts, but to "destroy the image of the Mandela family", she said.

Last night the ANC said it did not seek any special treatment for Mrs Mandela — but it protested against her "trial by media".

However, because the matter was now in the hands of the courts, "it would be improper for the ANC to make any comment on the pending judicial process".

ANC secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo said the ANC's national executive committee "wishes to affirm its unequivocal support for our deputy president (Mr Mandela) and his family in this time of stress".

"Certain sections of the media have lost no opportunity to create the impression that she is guilty," he said.

Stompie's mother

Speaking from her home in Mandela Village yesterday, Stompie's mother said that Mrs Mandela should have come to speak to her "mother to mother".

She told the BBC that if a crime had been committed, the courts would do their job. She did not plan to attend the trial, she said.

Democratic Party justice spokesman Mr David Dalling said the attorney-general could make a decision to prosecute Mrs Mandela only on the basis of evidence placed before him.

"If, in his judicially trained opinion, a prima facie case exists, then it is his duty to initiate a prosecution regardless of how important the accused person might be.

"An attorney-general cannot take cognisance of political considerations in reaching his decision," Mr Dalling said. — Own Correspondent, Staff Reporter and Sapa

C.M. T. M. 19/9/80 11A

ANC brass meet over govt 'Iron Fist' plan

Cape

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC leaders met in an urgent session yesterday to formulate their response to the government's tough "Operation Iron Fist" security plan to stop the unrest in Witwatersrand townships. ANC spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma said there was "quite a significant chance" that the policy-making National Executive Committee (NEC) would suspend peace talks with the government in retaliation for the security measures.

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela hinted that the ANC would consider withdrawing from the peace process because of its dissatisfaction with Operation Iron Fist.

The ANC executive was meeting "because we find

the situation intolerable", he said.

"If we find there is no will on the part of the government to take emphatic steps to stop this violence, then we will have to take a decision that will reverse almost everything that was done since May this year," Mr Mandela said.

But he added that it was unlikely the talks would be called off "because we initiated them ... We must hold our ground. But all this is subject to the government carrying out its duties".

A press conference will be held today at the end of the NEC meeting, which is taking place at an undisclosed venue in Johannesburg.

Seven weeks ago and before the outbreak of the

conflict which has killed up to 750 people, the ANC and the government were preparing the way to full-blown power-sharing negotiations on ending apartheid.

During talks last Friday on the bloodshed, Mr Mandela told President F W de Klerk the NEC would discuss demands from township residents that they be armed to protect themselves from further attack if the government failed to take adequate security measures.

On Saturday, police announced Operation Iron Fist — a sweeping strategy to curb the township conflict with roadblocks, heavily armed patrols and barbed-wire barricades. Mr Mandela immediately

condemned the measures as excessive and "a licence to kill" township residents.

The ANC noted that the proposed security force action did not address the cause of the strife, which the movement claims is a shadowy "third force" manipulating clashes between migrant-worker Zulus supporting Inkatha and the predominantly Xhosa township dwellers.

Mr De Klerk has conceded there may be a hidden force, but insists the original cause is tribal conflict. He also has said the talks process may be threatened if the parties lose trust in each other. — Sapa and UPI

Man held for attack on ANC official

JOHANNESBURG. — Police have arrested a man they suspect was involved in a recent assassination attempt on senior ANC official Mr Penuel Maduna.

The unidentified suspect was arrested following investigations into the gun and panga attack on Mr Maduna, 38, in July in Soweto, police spokesman Major-General Herman Stadler said.

Mr Maduna is a member of the Joint Steering Committee formed to deal with issues related to the tentative talks between the ANC and the government.

Appearing at a news conference a day after the attack, Mr Maduna claimed it had been orchestrated by police. Police denied involvement. — Sapa

ANC funding: Lonrho mum

CAN 1-25 19/9/90
Own Correspondent

11/1 20/1

LONDON. — Lonrho, the multinational conglomerate, has declined to comment on reports that it is considering funding a pro-ANC daily newspaper in South Africa.

The company's press liaison head has this week declined to respond to inquiries about a report in the latest edition of Africa Confidential, in which it is claimed Lonrho is "toying with the idea" of establishing such a newspaper.

The journal says: "The demise of the liberal Daily Mail leaves the ANC with no sympathetic daily at all."

It notes that "Lonrho has at various times owned newspapers in several African countries".

● The company has also declined to comment on a claim in the same publication that it intends constructing a railway to link the Namibian rail system to that of Zambia.

Africa Confidential says "Lonrho-watchers" had detected the implementation of a strategy to "control the key communication routes of Southern Africa".

Blood-letting swings blacks against Buthelezi

114 (AB) (125) CAP TTP 19/9/90

JOHANNESBURG — Black opinion has swung strongly against Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi over the past few months, in the wake of blood spilt in battles with the rival African National Congress, according to a recent study.

A nationwide poll by Intergrated Marketing Research last month showed that many blacks regarded the ANC as most representative of their lot.

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela led among the politicians making positive contributions to a future South Africa. President F W de Klerk came second.

The poll among 2 100 "economically active" blacks showed that 51% believed Inkatha "was making a negative contribution to the future of SA".

In a similar study in April, 18% were critical of Inkatha, IMR said yesterday.

The performance by Inkatha rivalled the extreme conservative movement AWB, which polled 52%, an 8% drop since April.

In sharp contrast, the ANC received the approval of most of the canvassed backs, 66% believing that it was making a positive contribution to a peaceful future. However, the ANC's performance fell by 18% from its April high of 84%.

In other major findings, the survey showed that 34% of blacks believed Mr Mandela was making a positive contribution to the future South Africa.

Only 1% thought so of Chief Buthelezi and his party.

Twenty percent held a similar view of President de Klerk and 12% for the National Party.

Seventy percent said the ANC was representative

of black opinion today, a sharp rise from 20% in a study conducted in January.

The rating for Mr Mandela rose from 13% in January to 44%.

"Black opinion has swung strongly against Inkatha," IMR concluded.

More than 700 people have been killed in fighting between ANC and Inkatha supporters since August 12.

Five percent thought Chief Buthelezi was representative of black opinion and 4% thought so of Inkatha.

Eleven percent regarded the Pan Africanist Congress as a positive force but 20% believed it was represented black opinion. In the January poll, 5% thought the PAC representative.

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PAC peace summit hits snags

THE peace summit between the ANC, Inkatha and the PAC planned for today faltered last night with the ANC and Inkatha not participating and the PAC threatening to withdraw.

The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) organised the talks.

The ANC, however, which said it had told Azapo last Wednesday that it could not attend because of its national executive meeting yesterday and today, did express support yesterday for all-party discussions aimed at ending the violence in the Transvaal.

The ANC also said it had no objection to Inkatha participating and pointed out that it was already involved in negotiations with Inkatha in Natal.

According to Azapo's publicity secretary, Mr Strini Moodely, Inkatha was not invited in deference to other political organisations.

The proposed summit suffered another blow last night when the PAC said it would probably withdraw from the talks.

PAC general secretary Mr Benny Alexander said a peace meeting without Inkatha and the ANC would be ridiculous, but the PAC would make a firm decision on the issue at a meeting last night.

ANC spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma said yesterday that the ANC was not opposed to such a meeting. "We think it is a good idea.

"It is our feeling that if Inkatha could make a contribution, we would have no principle objection. After all, we are talking to Inkatha in Natal."

Mr Macozoma added that some of the statements made by Azapo about the peace summit had reduced its credibility.

"It seems they are more motivated in taking potshots at the ANC."

The problems faced by Azapo included the ANC executive meeting in Johannesburg and the departure of the PAC leadership for Harare tomorrow for a central committee meeting.

However, the ANC's support in principle for the summit proposal could mean a more representative meeting at a later date.

Sapa reports that the United Democratic Front has invited its affiliates to a "general council" in Johannesburg on Saturday to discuss ways to end the violence on the Witwatersrand.

● The President's Council will debate the violence in the country, and possible solutions, on Friday, the PC's secretary, Mr J Weilbach, said yesterday.

Armed policemen escort a mortuary vehicle at the Diepkloof squatter camp, where a policeman and a resident died on Tuesday night. Three other policemen were injured. Pic: JOE MOLEFE

Blacks favour talks - survey

By ALINAH DUBE

BLACK opinion is that lack of communication and understanding among themselves is the main cause of the current unrest in the PWV area, according to a survey by the Human Sciences Research Council.

The results of the survey were announced in Pretoria yesterday. It was conducted among 845

respondents - 421 whites and 424 blacks.

Respondents had a minimum qualification of matric and lived in the PWV area, the Cape Peninsula, Durban and Port Elizabeth.

"Whites feel that the conflict is largely ethnically based and 27 per-

cent of them believe it stems from ethnic differences and more specifically differences between Xhosas and Zulus," the HSRC said.

In all 21 percent of blacks believe the cause of unrest is lack of communication and mutual understanding between various black groups.

While unemployment

and inadequate education were seen by 14 percent of the whites and 7 percent of the blacks as major contributory factors, 15 percent of blacks and 11 percent of whites saw apartheid as the cause of unrest.

The majority of respondents favoured negotiations as the best way to end the violence.

1990
SEPTEMBER

11A

Winnie to be charged

Stompie assault

Sowetan 19/9/90 (11A)



SOWETAN Reporter

THE ANC is outraged at what it says is trial by the media of Mrs Winnie Mandela following yesterday's announcement that she would be prosecuted on charges of kidnapping and assault.

The Attorney-General of the Witwatersrand, Mr Klaus von Lieres, has decided to prosecute Mandela on the same charges for which Jerry Richardson stood trial and was sentenced to death for the murder of 14-year-old child activist Stompie Seipei.

His office confirmed yesterday that Mandela would stand trial with seven other people who previously appeared in the Soweto Regional Court. They are to appear there again on Monday.

The seven are Miss Xoliswa Falati (36), Mr Katiza Cebekhulu (18), Miss Nompumelelo Falati, Mr John Morgan, Mr Mpho Mabelane, Mr Sibusiso Mabuza and a 17-year-old youth.

Mr Thandanani Kubheka, an eighth person who had allegedly severely assaulted Stompie before he was taken by Richardson, is to be charged separately.

In a statement yesterday, ANC secretary general Mr Alfred Nzo



WINNIE MANDELA

said that while the organisation did not seek any special treatment for Mandela, it had to "protest this trial through the media".

"The matter is now in the hands of the courts and as such it would be improper for the ANC to make any comment on the pending judicial process," Nzo said.

Spectacle

However, he said "great publicity" had been given to allegations against the wife of ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela and the incidents connected with the investigations had been made "a spectacle", repeatedly aired on television and in the Press.

Von Lieres said he had reserved

his decision to prosecute Mandela when the decision to prosecute Richardson was taken in September last year.

Since then it had been claimed "in various quarters that Mandela has been unjustly victimised by being refused an opportunity to defend herself", he said.

"During a recent visit to the United States, Mandela was reported in the Press as saying she 'would welcome being charged with the murder of Stompie ... so she could appear in court and defend herself'".

Von Lieres said his decision was not taken in response to these various claims or statements, true or not, but because of his understanding of the facts, the law of the land and "my duty as Attorney-General to uphold and apply the law to all alike".

He said he had had the opportunity to study the matter and, after careful consideration of all the relevant facts, including possible implications beyond the normal legal ones, had taken his decision.

"Earlier this morning I conveyed my decision to Ismail Ayob who is Mandela's attorney.

"Should the necessary co-operation, as I have requested, be forthcoming, there will be no need to resort to strong measures to ensure Mandela's attendance in court," Von Lieres said.

Mrs Mandela was not available for comment yesterday.

REDISCOVER THE CLASSIC AMERICAN TASTE

PAC may not attend Azapo rally

AZAPO's plans to stage a peace meeting in Soweto today suffered another blow yesterday when one of its closest allies, the PAC, said it would probably withdraw from the event because the organisers had excluded vital components.

PAC general secretary Benny Alexander said his organisation was having serious doubts concerning its participation because the ANC had withdrawn and Inkatha had not been invited.

The Azanian People's Organisation on Sunday announced its plans to stage the peace meeting to end the violence on the Witwatersrand which has claimed more than 740 lives over the past six weeks.

The ANC on Monday declared it would not participate in the meeting, saying it had not been given sufficient notice.

PETER DELMAR reports that an ANC spokesman said yesterday the organisation was unable to send a high-level delegation in view of the national executive commit-

tee, which continued its emergency meeting today.

Azapo's Strini Moodley reportedly said Inkatha had not been invited out of deference to other political organisations.

Alexander said a peace meeting without Inkatha and the ANC — the two main parties involved in the Zulu/Xhosa clashes — would be ridiculous.

The PAC and Azapo have opposed the ANC on the issue of negotiations with government. Azapo at the weekend rejected a government invitation to exploratory talks on a new constitution.

Meanwhile, the UDF has invited its affiliates to a "general council" in Johannesburg on Saturday to discuss ways to end the violence.

UDF Southern Transvaal branch secretary Ronnie Mamoepa said yesterday representatives from the ANC, Cosatu and the SACP were also expected to attend the council. — Sapa.

Maduna attack suspect held

POLICE have arrested a man they suspect was involved in a recent assassination attempt against a senior ANC official.

The unidentified suspect was arrested after investigations into a gun and panga attack on Penuel Maduna, 38, in Soweto during July, police spokesman Maj-Gen Herman Stadler said in a statement.

Maduna is a member of the joint steering committee formed to deal with issues related to talks between the ANC and government.

Four attackers followed Maduna's car and launched the attack moments after he left a petrol station. A day later Maduna claimed the attack had been orchestrated by police. Police denied involvement.

Stadler said officers investigating the attempted murder were hunting for three other suspects. "These suspects are known robbers and they are also being sought in connection with other robbery cases," he said.

"In the light of the above, it would not be asking too much for Mr Maduna to publicly apologise for his unfounded attack on the police." Maduna had no concrete grounds on which to base his allegations of police involvement, Stadler said. — Sapa.

Politician wins lawsuit

PRETORIA — The Supreme Court has awarded R15 000 in damages to a former KwaNdebele chief minister, Majozi George Mahlangu, following publication of an article claiming he had tortured children and helped found a "murderous" organisation.

Mahlangu instituted a claim for R75 000 against CTP Limited, CTP Web Printers and Force Khushane — publisher, printer and editor of Pace magazine — after the publication of an article in the November 1988 edition of Pace magazine. — Sapa.

Azapo will talk

— but there are

a number of 'ifs'

By CASSANDRA MOODLEY

THE Azanian People's Organisation would go to the negotiating table only if State President FW de Klerk suspended the constitution and relinquished his position so a constituent assembly could be formed.

And the organisation is only prepared to "pre-negotiate with De Klerk on the technicalities of the constituent assembly".

"Meaningful negotiations can only take place at a constituent assembly," said the organisation amidst rumours that an invitation from De Klerk to Azapo to attend talks was imminent. Recently a similar invitation was received by the Pan Africanist Congress.

Azapo's position on negotiations was concluded at a central committee meeting last weekend and will be ratified at the organisation's national council in Pietersburg tomorrow, publicity secretary Strini Moodley said this week.

Moodley outlined the mechanisms of the constituent assembly Azapo was demanding. "De Klerk must resign or his government must vote itself out of power like the communist parties in Eastern Europe did."

Azapo also called for the suspension of the current constitution and the intervention of the United Nations to man security and policing.

According to the black consciousness organisation the UN must then "conduct a one person, one vote election on the basis of universal suffrage".

This will determine who the parties with constituencies are and will allow each organisation to have a proportional representation of delegates on a constituent assembly.

Azapo envisages straight party representation and not regional representation. "Any party with a constituency can participate in this process."

Azapo also accused De Klerk of carefully orchestrating the recent spate of violence, by "using police, informers, bussing in undercover agents and supplying weapons to encourage the hostel attacks".

rable kids
he future

S WINNIE FACES CHARGES

11A
SOWETO
2019-26/9/90



Winnie Mandela, on trial

JOHANNESBURG.—
The African National
Congress leadership
has rallied round
deputy president
Nelson Mandela
following the
d r a m a t i c
announcement this
week that his wife,
Winnie, is to be
charged with
kidnapping and
assault.

From MONO BADELA

The movement's Na-
tional Executive Com-
mittee was in the
middle of a crucial
meeting when the at-
torney-general of the
Transvaal, Mr Klaus
von Lieres, announced
the prosecution.

ANC sources said there
was "a lot of support and
sympathy for Madiba".

"There's already so much
pressure on him, and this is

only going to add to it,"
said the source.

Mrs Mandela, who is ex-
pected to appear in the Rand
Supreme Court on Monday,
has proved to be a doughty
fighter after having to con-
tend, for nearly half her life,
with harassment and perse-
cution.

Although much criticism
has been levelled at her
within the democratic
movement, she has many
sympathisers and support-
ers

Many of them believe the
charges are but another
hurdle she is bound to over-
come.

However, a lot of the
sympathy is also for her
husband. Mr Mandela on
Tuesday and Wednesday
concentrated on the emer-
gency NEC meeting.

The ANC's secretary-
general, Alfred Nzo later
said the NEC accorded Mr
Mandela and his family
"unequivocal support".

Protest

Nzo said the movement
did not seek any special
treatment for Mrs Mandela
"but we must protest
against trial by media."

The charges against Mrs
Mandela arises from inci-
dents which began on
Christmas Day, 1988 when
teenage activist, Mooketsi
"Stompie" Sepei (14), who
had been living with a
dozen other youths in a
Methodist Church manse in
Orlando West, was kidnap-
ped and taken to Mrs
Mandela's Diepkloof
house.

In January last year his
body was found on an open
veld in Soweto.

What occurred between
Christmas Day and the day
of his death was the subject
of a murder trial in which
42-year-old Jerry Vusi
Richardson was sentenced
to death last month.

Black groups urged to promote unity

11A
Sowetan
20/9/90

IT was the duty of every black organisation to actively teach its members that as the fight against white domination continued in South Africa they should try to create democracy within themselves, the deputy editor of the *Sowetan*, Mr Joe Thloloe, said yesterday.

Delivering a keynote address at Sabta's AGM in Sun City, Thloloe said: "We have the ANC, the PAC, Azapo, the Unity Movement, Inkatha, and a host of other organisations, each with the answer to our problems".

Thloloe, who spoke on unity, called on the organisations to stop the

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

"ugly bloody fights" where blacks killed each other and burnt each other's taxis and homes.

The organisations should stop quarrelling about "the strategies for grabbing the loaves from the table of the master who created apartheid", he added.

Thloloe said black organisations should try to create a democracy within themselves.

"That democracy starts with the people debating ideas and emerg-

ing with positions that benefit the nation and humanity as a whole.

"The culture of democracy needs to grow among the oppressed as they bring down the walls of apartheid.

"Without this culture, we open ourselves to manipulation by faceless third forces that have one interest only - to maintain white domination and control.

"It is the duty of organisations like Sabta to continue preaching among the oppressed and, ultimately, aim for na-

tional unity."

He said unity did not mean that blacks should wear the same uniforms and recite the same grey slogans.

"It means we all need to be committed to liberation. We need to be committed to the good of the South African nation and the good of humanity."

He said as long as one or other organisation imagined itself as the organisation to which all must belong or die, "we will continue slaughtering one another."

A similar call was made by Sabta's presi-

dent, Mr James Ngcoya, who said: "We, all of us, must do everything we can to lessen tensions and settle our difference in a civilised manner. In many ways, the world's attention is on us right now - and South Africa's too. We are an example of black business managing to triumph in spite of massive obstacles.

"Let us not be seen as an example of black achievement collapsing in a time of opportunity and hope."

Ngcoya called on the taxi industry to unite.

1971 25/10/70

PAC will decide on talks role

By Kaizer Nyatumba,
The Star's Africa News Service

HARARE — The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) is on the point of making the crucial and historic decision on whether or not to join exploratory talks with the Government.

PAC chairman Johnson Mlambo said the choice would be based on "whatever would advance the cause of liberation and relieve the plight of our people".

The PAC's external and internal wings are here for a four-day conference.

Mr Mlambo said that although any radical departure from PAC policy was unlikely, the possibility of the organisation deciding in favour of holding talks with the Government could not be ruled out.

The PAC's policies, he said, had remained "pretty much unchanged" since the organisation was formed in 1959.

However important decisions — based on events which could not have been predicted in 1959 — now had to be made.

Mr Mlambo, also asked leaders to redouble their attempts to seek an end to the terrible black-on-black violence.

He appealed to all those who had lost their relatives through the killings and "those who have lost limbs and property" not to retaliate.

Instead, he said, they should "try and turn their grief into vigorous efforts of bringing to an end the whole system of racist oppression and exploitation which is the main cause of our present sorrows".

ANC executive extends emergency talks on violence

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

The ANC has unexpectedly extended until today an emergency meeting of its full national executive committee (NEC) to discuss complications in the

peace process. *Star 20/9/90*

The meeting in Johannesburg was called to discuss the ANC's position following differences of opinion with the Government over the handling of the recent violence on the Reef.

Its outcome could crucially

affect the negotiation process in view of the war of words between the ANC and the Government on the stringent steps — codenamed Operation Iron Fist — to curb the violence.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela said earlier this week

that if the Government did not display the will to take emphatic steps to stop the township violence, the NEC would have to "take a decision that will reverse almost everything that was done since May this year".

He also said the ANC would not abandon the peace talks.

I welcome charges, says Winnie

By Dawn Barkhuizen and
Monica Nicholson

Winnie Mandela yesterday welcomed the chance to defend herself on eight charges in connection with the alleged abduction and torture of four youths in Soweto in 1988.

In her first public statement after the announcement that she would be charged with four counts of kidnapping and four counts of assault with intent to commit grievous bodily harm, Mrs Mandela said: "I am unable to comment about a case that has not yet taken place, suffice to say I welcome the decision that at last I will be able to stand a proper trial and clear my name properly."

"Up to now I have been tried and found guilty by the media in South Africa, for their own purposes."

Asked to comment further on a trial by media she said: "I will respond after the trial."

She was speaking after being allowed to leave Tokoza police station on the East Rand yesterday.

Mrs Mandela was held for about three hours after being found in possession of spent cartridges and one live cartridge at a SAP roadblock while en route to visit refugees at Phola Park at about 11 am.

Police public relations officer Colonel Steve van Rooyen said Mrs Mandela had been taken for questioning but not arrested.

Colonel van Rooyen said it was not unlawful to be in possession of spent cartridges, but Mrs Mandela had had one live 9mm cartridge.

East Rand police spokesman Captain Ida van Zweel said:

"Mrs Mandela apparently handed the shells to police at a roadblock. There is no crime involved."

Asked if she thought Mrs Mandela's actions were praiseworthy from a police point of view, Lieutenant van Zweel said: "Yes, I believe so."

As she left the police station, wearing black leather, Mrs Mandela told pressmen that Phola Park residents had given her the cartridges when she visited the devastated settlement on Monday.

Evidence

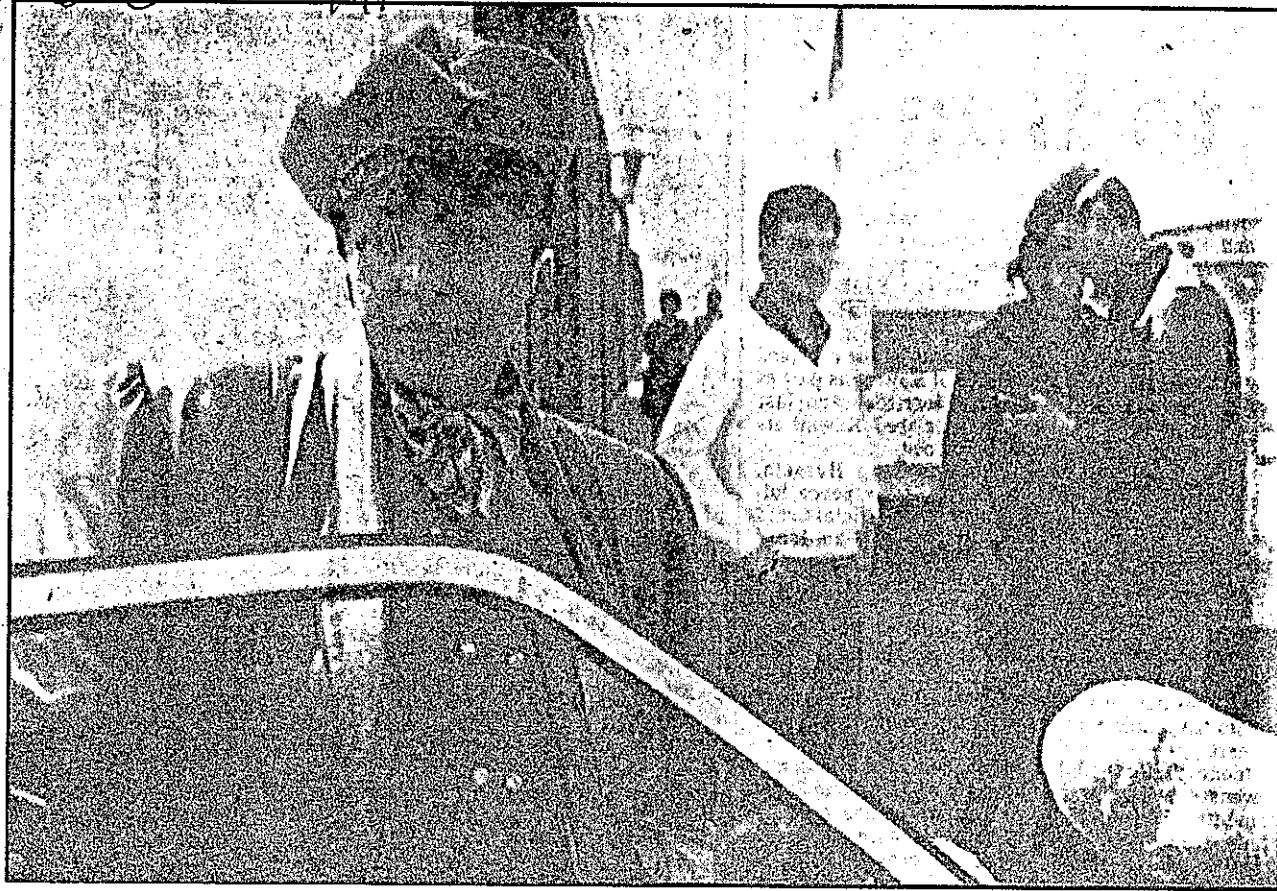
She had been intending to show them to her husband, Nelson Mandela, as evidence of the shootings that took place last week.

Police had told her that she had no right to be in possession of empty cartridges, she said.

She said: "Police harassment has never been a surprise to the Mandela family or to myself or to the oppressed people of South Africa. I know I have personally been their barometer for years and I know that for as long as the present situation exists I will always be their political barometer through which they can measure the wrath of the people."

She added: "It is quite clear that the dirty methods they have been using are nowhere near being stopped. The one issue is coming to an end, so they must precipitate other issues. It is just a continuing of what has been going on."

Mrs Mandela went on to address some of the homeless squatters at Phola Park. Speaking Xhosa, Mrs Mandela referred to their plight and bids to evict them from the area.



Winnie makes a statement . . . Winnie Mandela, wife of African National Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela, leaves Tokoza police station yesterday after making a statement about spent cartridges found in her car when it was stopped at a police roadblock. Mrs Mandela later spoke to Phola Park residents.
© Picture by Associated Press.

Blacks shift to socialism

Sta. 20/9/90

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Over the past few years, both the African National Congress and South African Communist Party have agreed that the black struggle should be conducted in two stages: first, national liberation, and second, for those who are disposed to pursue it, the socialist revolution.

This is the mainstream position of these organisations.

The implication of this two-stage approach has been that when negotiations on a post-apartheid constitution begin next year, the emphasis will be on political rather than economic structures, and the negotiations accordingly will be less obstacle-ridden.

Now academic, David Hirschmann has upset this reassuring view. Analysing in-depth interviews conducted with blacks, he concludes that resentment towards the capitalist system has been growing over the past 10 to 15 years, and that "positive interest" in socialism has shown a parallel increase.

Mr Hirschmann warns: "There are changes taking place among black South Africans which may already be altering the nature of the two-stage compromise and setting up demands on the leadership for accelerating the socialist agenda."

Mr Hirschmann, a South African currently teaching at The American

Dateline
London

Stanley
Uys



University, Washington, records his findings in the latest issue of African Affairs, journal of the Royal African Society, London.

One of the questions asked in the survey was: "Do you think anti-capitalist sentiment is gaining ground among black South Africans?" Of the 90 interviewees, 64 replied yes, 12 said no, and 14 gave conditional replies. To a question put to 74 interviewees, "In your opinion are black South Africans becoming more radical?", 64 said yes, one said no, eight gave conditional replies, and replied "Don't know".

In total, 110 in-depth interviews were conducted. About 70 of the interviewees supported the ANC/United Democratic Front (UDF)/Charterist group, 14 the Black Consciousness/National Forum/Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) group, and 10 Inkatha.

About 84 percent were men.

Mr Hirschmann offers an answer to the question why the failures of socialism in the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and Africa have had so little effect on black thinking in

South Africa.

He quotes a middle-aged priest: "Africans are becoming more socialist. We hear more and more about socialism from young people. They have become strongly anti-capitalist. This is not because of what they know of the African (continent's) experience, but because of their own experience."

If I interpret this comment correctly, it means the failures of socialism elsewhere have little relevance for many South African blacks at leadership, organiser and activist level. Their experience of capitalism has led them to reject the system, therefore socialism is the alternative.

Adapted

Socialism will be adapted to local conditions; and whether or not it works is a matter for future discovery.

The explanations Mr Hirschmann offers for the shift towards a more anti-capitalist and pro-socialist position among blacks are many and varied. There is anger and despair, leading to increased radicalism. There is hostility to foreign capitalist powers, particularly the United States. There has been the sustained support by the Soviet bloc of would-be socialist countries like Mozambi-

que, Angola and Zimbabwe.

Also, says Mr Hirschmann, there is the "depth and breadth of poverty" among blacks, the increasing dramatisation of the connection between apartheid and economic exploitation, the emphasis by both the ANC and UDF on a non-racial analysis and strategy, the growing number of visible black beneficiaries of the apartheid system, demonstrating that race does not provide all the answers, and the influence of white intellectuals, particularly at universities, in trade unions and at education agencies, who have "rethought, re-analysed, rewritten and re-taught South African history and social sciences".

Finally, Mr Hirschmann notes the enhanced leadership role of the youth and the black unions — the latter have become "the most viable and influential factor in black politics inside the country".

He does not claim socialism is a very developed concept in opposition politics, or that it has a mass following, or that there is agreement even at the leadership level about its content, or that it is inevitable.

But he does claim that there has been a shift in opposition politics in South Africa towards socialism and "this shift has altered the debate about South Africa's future".

12/1/90

Attackers hit top ANC man again

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

Top ANC official Penuell Maduna was yesterday attacked and seriously injured by gunmen in Soweto — for the second time in two months.

The ANC's department of information and publicity announced yesterday that Mr Maduna, a member of the joint Government/ANC steering committee set up after the Groote Schuur meeting in May, had been attacked at the Baragwanath bus terminus by three men carrying hand guns.

"He was sprayed in the eyes with a blinding fluid which has severely injured his eyes.

"The assailants then grabbed the car keys from him and sped off with his car."

Mr Maduna, who was assaulted and shot six times in July by a group of armed men, was currently receiving medical attention.

The matter had been reported to the police.

The ANC said police had announced on Tuesday that a suspect had been arrested in connection with the first attack.

"It is highly unlikely that this attack is purely coincidental.

"The entire incident smacks of retaliation, particularly since various radio stations in different African languages reported earlier yesterday morning that Mr Maduna had been assassinated," the organisation said.

Soweto police liaison officer Tienie Halgryn could not confirm yesterday's attack or say whether a suspect had been arrested in connection with the first attack.

BACKGROUND

Mandela will support Winnie as storm gathers

Star 20/9/90 (1A)

The kindest thing which can be said about Winnie Mandela, wife of Nelson Mandela, is that she is simply not up to the job of being married to a martyr.

For the 27 years of her husband's imprisonment, which ended in February, Mrs Mandela felt the brunt of Pretoria's fury.

She was banned, detained, and persecuted for her political beliefs.

In short, the Mother of the Nation — the title conferred on her by South African blacks — led an appallingly difficult life.

Now Mrs Mandela faces four charges of assault, and four of kidnapping in connection with the severe beatings of four young blacks at her home in Soweto in 1988.

Many blacks perhaps including Mr Mandela himself will believe that this is evidence that Pretoria is back to its old tricks of victimising the African National Congress. Some will think she has been framed.

But many others will feel she has shamed the black nation, whether or not she is found guilty as charged.

Among activists, Mrs Mandela has long been viewed as an embarrassment: time and again, she has taken public platforms to propound what she claims to be ANC policy, only to find ANC officials contradicting her equally publicly.

Dressed in the designer battle fatigues which have become her hallmark, Mrs Mandela — who was South Africa's first black social worker — appears more militant than the most radical township comrade.

She uses the sort of emotive language which most other ANC officials eschew, promising during the Mandelas' recent

PATTI WALDMEIR looks at the life and trials of the "Mother of the Nation".



Militant ... Winnie Mandela in the sort of outfit and pose which became well-known earlier this year.

trip to New York to "return to the bush" and take up arms against the white man.

She recently toured bloodied townships to encourage ANC supporters to fight when other leaders were working for peace.

Activists may dismiss Mrs Mandela as an irrelevance, tolerated because her husband would not have it otherwise.

But her comments regularly unsettle a white community already fearful of its future.

Many whites have never forgotten a speech delivered by

Mrs Mandela in 1986, when she defended the practice known as necklacing, placing a burning tyre around the neck of a victim as punishment for a range of perceived offences against the anti-apartheid struggle.

But the charges Mrs Mandela now faces are of a wholly different order: she is to be prosecuted for kidnap and assault with intent to commit grievous bodily harm.

The charges arise from the abduction of 14-year-old Stompie Seipei by members of Mrs Mandela's bodyguard, the so-called Mandela United Football

Club, in 1988.

Stompie was later found with his throat slit in a Soweto ditch, Jerry Richardson, the club's coach, was sentenced to death last month for his murder.

Mr Justice B O'Donovan, the Supreme Court judge who sentenced Richardson, found that Mrs Mandela was present for at least part of the time on December 29 1988, when four men including Stompie were assaulted at her Soweto home.

The court heard from some witnesses that Mrs Mandela took part in the assaults.

Mr Justice O'Donovan said it was alleged that Mrs Mandela had punched and whipped each of the abducted youths after declaring they were not fit to be alive. He added that the testimonies to this effect by the three men who survived corroborated each other in all material respects.

When news of Stompie's death first became public, anti-apartheid activists shunned Mrs Mandela and said they were outraged by her actions.

She has since been accepted grudgingly back into the fold, but precious few in the ANC leadership will be tempted to come to her defence now.

Few, that is, apart from her husband, who clearly adores his strikingly attractive 56-year-old wife.

Mr Mandela is said to feel deeply guilty for the troubles inflicted on Winnie because of his decision to dedicate his life to the fight against apartheid.

He has condemned Pretoria for failing to give her an opportunity to defend herself.

Now she has that chance. And Mr Mandela can be expected to stand firmly at her side while she does so. — Financial Times News Service.



Appallingly difficult life ... for 27 years Winnie Mandela endured persecution while her husband was in jail. In this 1977 picture, she fetches water to wash her clothes in Brandfort, the Free State dorp to which she was banished.

Thousands off work to attend mass funeral

By Shareen Singh
and Brendan Templeton

Thousands of workers from Soweto stayed at home today to attend a mass funeral for victims of the recent violence.

The stayaway was called by the Soweto Civic Association, Sayco, Cosas, Cosatu and the Federation of Transvaal Women to bury 12 people killed in the township during the past few weeks.

Impartial

Three demands were put forward by the organisations:

- The demolishing of the hostel system and creation of proper housing.
- The police and the army must be impartial.
- Warlords must be arrested and charged.

The organisations called on the youth and students to act

with responsibility and exercise discipline.

No incidents of violence were reported this morning. A police spokesman said the effect of the stayaway was minimal but transport companies operating in townships reported a significant reduction in passengers.

Putco was operating normal services, but buses were half empty, a company spokesman said.

The South African Black Taxi Association (Sabta) said most taxis were not operating in Soweto as drivers responded to the call for a stayaway.

A few taxi drivers went into the townships at their own risk, a Sabta spokesman said.

There were long queues at taxi ranks and most people went back home after waiting for about two hours, he said.

Spoornet management said they were trying to assess the extent of the stayaway at the time of going to press.

Thousands off work to attend mass funeral

By Shareen Singh
and Brendan Templeton

Thousands of workers from Soweto stayed at home today to attend a mass funeral for victims of the recent violence.

The stayaway was called by the Soweto Civic Association, Sayco, Cosas, Cosatu and the Federation of Transvaal Women to bury 12 people killed in the township during the past few weeks.

Impartial

Three demands were put forward by the organisations:

- The demolishing of the hostel system and creation of proper housing.
- The police and the army must be impartial.
- Warlords must be arrested and charged.

The organisations called on the youth and students to act

with responsibility and exercise discipline.

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Bid for black unity

118
South
20/9-26/9/90

THE Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) is hosting a consultative conference aimed at reaching consensus between liberation organisations on key political issues.

By REHANA ROSSOUW

In an interview this week, Azapo national president, Dr Itumeleng Mosala, called for unity among political organisations.

Mosala also outlined Azapo's response to a government invitation to his organisation to participate in exploratory talks.

He said Azapo was committed to resolving the conflict in South Africa through peaceful means.

Underlying this commitment was an acceptance that negotiations was a correct tactic.

Dictated

However, they believed that the terms of the present negotiations between the government and the ANC were being dictated by President FW de Klerk.

Unlike the ANC, Azapo has not placed preconditions on negotiations, but believes the government must remove apartheid to make the negotiations work.

"No political organisation or liberation movement automatically qualifies to have a mandate from the people of South Africa to discuss their future."

Azapo called for a Constituent Assembly where representatives would be elected on the basis of one-person-one-vote.

"The democratic process is important to ensure peace and make the negotiations genuine and meaningful."

Mosala criticised the talks between the ANC and the government, saying it isolated people from participating.

Respect

"Azapo has great respect for other liberation movements and has had talks with the ANC, PAC, Non-European Unity Movement and the South African Council of Churches on the violence," Mosala said.

"That is why we insist that the country needs a consultative conference on the future, so we can unite our ranks and agree on issues we have in common."

"A key issue at the conference would be our approach to drafting a new

constitution for our country.

"Of course we won't try to agree on the details of every issue but there are broad issues like the land and the economy, for instance, where we can all agree."

Mosala said there was already agreement by some liberation organisations that the consultative conference should take place, but because of the violence sweeping the country, it was imperative that it happened soon.

Organisations had to decide what key issues should be discussed at the conference.

Mosala said he would write a formal letter to the government outlining Azapo's response to the invitation.

Common approach on local bodies

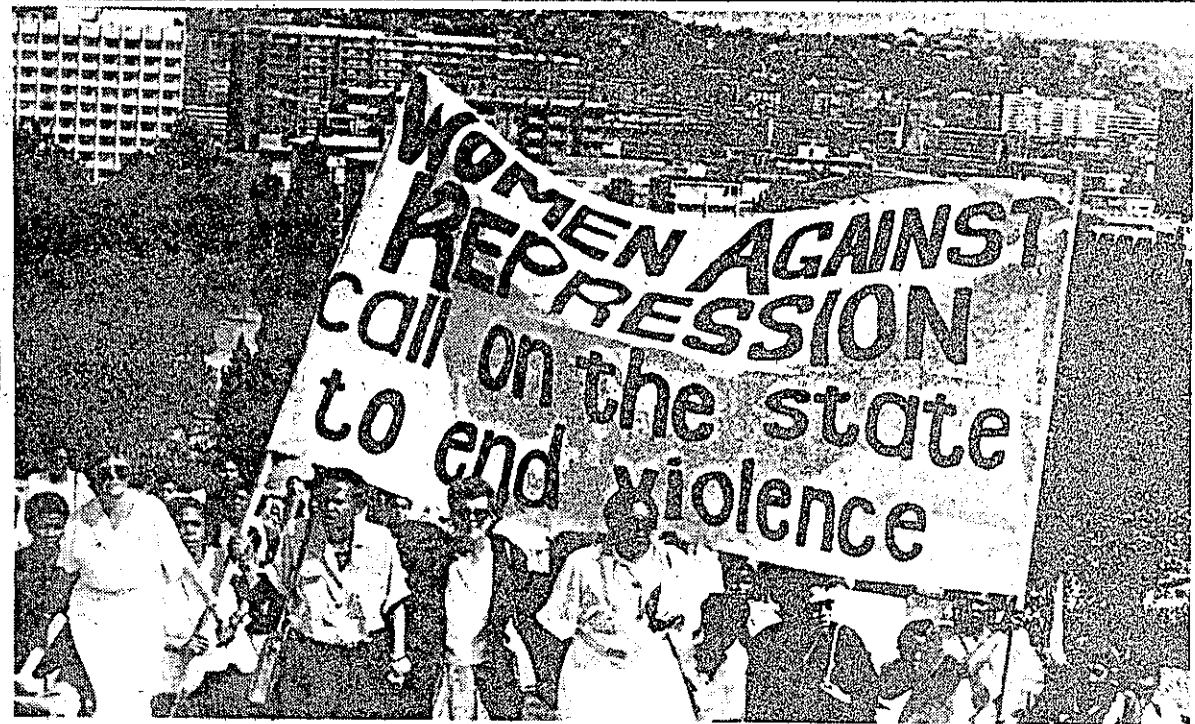
A STRATEGY on local government and planning is expected to emerge from a consultative conference organised by the African National Congress and the Centre for Development Studies (CDS) next month.

The conference, from October 5 to 7, is a culmination of workshops held on local government in the Western Cape, Eastern Cape and Transvaal.

It intends to formulate a common approach to all policy aspects of local government and planning and assess the needs of communities based on local and regional differences.

Last Sunday, members of the Civic Associations of Southern Transvaal (Cast) held a one-day workshop in preparation for the conference.

They agreed that the restructuring of local government in South Africa would require the dismantling of all apartheid cities and black local authorities.



CAPITAL PROTEST: About 130 people this week marched to the Union Buildings in Pretoria to present a memorandum to the government on the continued imprisonment of hundreds of political prisoners and the violence on the Reef.

ANC to put talks 'on hold'

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC is expected to declare a moratorium on talks with the government until the violence sweeping the country is brought to an end.

This is the response expected from an emergency ANC national executive committee meeting held over three days this week to discuss the continuing Reef violence which so far claimed about

800 lives. South 20/9 - 26/9/90

It is unlikely that the ANC will reverse their August 6 decision to suspend the armed struggle.

The NEC did, however, discuss a request by members for the provision of arms so that they could defend themselves against attacks by Inkatha.

A source close to the ANC said the NEC had considered "very carefully" whether to go ahead with the peace proc-

ess which had started in Cape Town in May.

During his trip to the Boland on Monday, ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela hinted that the ANC would consider withdrawing from the peace process because of its dissatisfaction with Operation "Iron Fist".

However, it has since become evident that the movement is unlikely to pull out of the talks it initiated.

Call for political tolerance

By SY MAKARINGE

AN emergency meeting initiated by the Azanian Peoples Organisation yesterday called for political tolerance in the black community to end the countrywide violence.

The meeting, attended by more than 80 delegates from at least 20 organisations and liberation movements, also recommended that truces between war-

ring organisations be established and solidarity promoted. (11A)

The African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress, major players in South African politics, did not attend.

The Inkatha Freedom Party was not invited.

Azapo president Professor Itumeleng Mosala said the ANC had sent a message saying it

could not attend the conference as it had prior commitments.

It, however, supported the move.

Organisations represented at the meeting included the New Unity Movement, the Workers Organisation for Socialist Action, the National Council of Trade Unions, the South African Council of Churches and the

South African Catholic Bishops' Conference.

In a statement released at the meeting, the organisations resolved to broaden further consultations by including organisations that were not represented at yesterday's conference.

Participants also asked Azapo to convene another meeting within two weeks.

South African
20/9/90

ANC fails to show up at peace talks

CAT 7/2/90 20/7/90 (111)

JOHANNESBURG. — The peace meeting called in Soweto yesterday by Azapo to halt the violence in the Witwatersrand ended without the African National Congress appearing, although the convenors had said in the morning they would be present.

Inkatha was not invited and the Pan Africanist Congress was not represented officially.

At a press conference late in the afternoon, Azapo president Professor Humeleng Mosala said that the more than 80 delegates, representing over 25 political, church and trade union organisations, had decided to meet again within the next two weeks.

Every effort would be made to broaden representation to include other organisations not present at yesterday's meeting, Professor Mosala said, referring to the ANC and PAC.

Asked if Inkatha would be invited he said the convening committee would make a decision after consulting with other organisations. "This is a

very sensitive issue," he said.

Yesterday's meeting made some general recommendations aimed at stemming the violence. These included:

- Working to encourage the fundamental need for political tolerance in the black community;

- Calling to (political) movements and organisations to establish immediate truces;

- Encouraging a code of conduct between organisations and groups in the community; and

- Challenging everyone to identify the "murderous agents provocateurs" and find a way of disallowing space for them to function in the black community.

Yesterday's meeting also identified several causes of the violence. These included:

- Underhand tactics intended, inter alia, to buy time for apartheid; and

- A calculated strategy to derail the liberation struggle. — Sapa

SEPTEMBER
1990

Sowetans reject night clamp

MOST Soweto residents last night dismissed the drastic seven-hour curfew, to be introduced on Tuesday, as an unnecessary measure which would interfere with their social lives.

However, there were those who felt the curfew, which is part of the SAP's Operation Iron Fist to curb the township violence, was needed and would save lives in the troubled townships.

The Government announced that from Tuesday a curfew confining residents to their homes between 9 pm and 4 am would take effect.

Miss Hazel Tshabalala of Pimville scoffed at the curfew: "Just when the violence has subsided the police implement their barbaric measures. It took more than 800 deaths to make them take steps."

T J Mokoena, a teacher from Meadowlands, said he wanted the violence to stop "whether the Government introduces Iron Fist or other tough measures". "If it goes unchecked it will mean total destruction, not only for the politicians, but for us all."

Joyce Moloi said the permits which people were supposed to carry after 9 pm did not accommodate residents who would be attending night vigils in the township.



JOVIAL RANTAO

Jacob Tshabangu, a Katlehong schoolteacher, was among the few who favoured the curfew. "I've lost a brother during the violence. I know the curfew will disrupt the social lives of many people but at least a few precious lives will be saved."

A Volorus resident who chose to remain unanimous said: "I know that people will go all out and criticise Iron Fist. But before it was introduced no one, not even the ANC, took steps to ensure the people's safety."

Said Herman More of Dube: "The only thing I want to say about Operation Iron Fist is that it will keep everyone indoors, thereby saving our lives."

A Sebokeng resident whose house neighbours a hostel last night telephoned Saturday Star to appeal for a curfew in his area.

Reluctant to reveal his name in fear for his safety, the man said: "Our area has been one of the worst hit. We are terrified. Surely we should have a curfew here. We want anything to stop this terrible violence."

British press applauds Mandela prosecution

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — There was saturation coverage of the decision to prosecute Mrs Winnie Mandela in the British press yesterday, with the trial being seen as potentially as sensational as the trial of her husband, ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, in 1963.

The general consensus, even among newspapers normally supportive of the ANC, was that the decision to prosecute Mrs Mandela was a good one.

The Daily Telegraph, which led with the story, said the move would "undoubtedly lead to one of the most sensational trials in South Africa's history, perhaps even rivalling the Rivonia trial in 1963, at which her husband, Mr Nelson Mandela ... was sentenced to life imprisonment".

But, it said, while the trial may equal the drama of her husband's, there the similarity could end. "Mrs Mandela will enter court as an already-shunned heroine, the former 'Mother of the Nation' whose

conceit, stubbornness and unpredictability have lost her an army of admirers."

The left-wing Guardian said in its front-page story the ANC would "greet the state's decision ... with some relief, based on the hope that it will end the long-running controversy, whatever the outcome".

Severely critical of Mrs Mandela was the Independent, who observed that the MDM "found (her) guilty of the Stompie affair long before yesterday".

The article recalled a statement made by UDF acting general secretary Mr Murphy Morobe in February last year, in which he ascribed the conflict generated in Soweto to "the reign of terror" conducted by the Mandela United football team.

The statement had added that the MDM was "outraged at Mrs Mandela's complicity in the recent abductions and assault of Stompie Moeketsi Seipei".

Mrs Mandela's prosecution was "a hard lesson that

no democratic movement can place itself above the simple rules of law", the Evening Standard said.

After describing the case which led to the conviction for murder of Jerry Richardson and the evidence that Mrs Mandela had taken part in the beatings, it added: "Only the blindest supporter of Mrs Mandela could believe that the charges against her are politically motivated."

The Sun didn't mince words: "To her neighbours and opponents in Soweto there is a darker, sinister side to Winnie Mandela, that is every bit as savage as the regime she seeks to topple."

According to Sapa, the Daily Express carried an inside article entitled "Mandela myth facing its greatest trial", which concluded: "Destiny in Africa never comes cheap. Most bets must now be off while South African justice pits itself against the romance of the continent's greatest love story."

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POLICE INTERVIEW AT THE SCEN

Winnie Mandela not held - police

11A

Sowetan 29/9/90

MRS Winnie Mandela, wife of ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, yesterday handed spent AK-47 rifle shells to police at a roadblock in Tokoza, police said.

East Rand police spokesman Captain Ida van Zweel scoffed at ANC claims that Mandela was arrested at the police roadblock for the illegal possession of the shells.

"Mrs Mandela apparently picked up the shells while visiting Phola Park

squatter camp, which borders Tokoza.

"She was stopped at a police roadblock where she handed them to a policeman. There is no crime involved," Van Zweel said.

Praiseworthy

Asked if she thought Mandela's actions were praiseworthy from a police point of view, Van Zweel said: "Yes, I believe so."

Mandela made headlines around the world on Tuesday when Transvaal Attorney-General Mr Klaus von Lieres an-

nounced that she was to be charged with kidnaping and assault in connection with the abduction and torture of four youths in Soweto in 1988.

One of the youths, child activist Stompie Seipei, was killed during or after the torture session, which took place at Mandela's Soweto home.

An ANC spokesman said Mandela was arrested after the shells were handed to her by Tokoza residents.

"She managed to contact us to say she had been arrested and was being held at Tokoza Po-



WINNIE MANDELA

lice Station," the spokesman said.

Van Zweel rejected the allegations and journalists at Tokoza confirmed that she had left the police station unescorted. - Sapa.

Call for political tolerance

By SY MAKARINGE
AN emergency meeting initiated by the Azanian Peoples Organisation yesterday called for political tolerance in the black community to end the countrywide violence.

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Swafelen 20/9/90

Voices of dissent echo within ANC over Winnie saga

By CASSANDRA MOODLEY (11A)
PRESSURE on the African National Congress is mounting on two fronts over the role of Winnie Mandela: internal opposition is growing to her appointment as head of the organisation's Social Welfare Department, and she now faces prosecution.

The ANC deputy president's wife was charged on eight counts this week — four of assault to do grievous bodily harm and four of abduction, related to the case of murdered teenage activist Stompie Seipei and three other youths.

More than 100 branches in the Johannesburg region have sent letters to the ANC protesting Mandela's appointment, and Western Cape branches are said to be considering similar action.

Sources have said that she was nominated for the position by ANC secretary general Alfred Nzo, who declined to comment after the National Executive Committee meeting this week on whether her position was being reassessed.

"While it is understood that the ANC is still setting up structures and a top-down approach may be inevitable at this point, the Winnie issue is a sensitive one," said a Johannesburg branch member, explaining that their objection was because of the "Stompie saga hanging over her". "It was also felt that for a long time she had acted outside the discipline of any organisation — irresponsibly," he said.

Another senior member of the Orlando West branch in which Mandela is active said: "I don't know why the ANC is not heeding the voices of dissatisfaction. I don't know what they are doing.

"She was not elected democratically,

and now she is wearing her name."

A delegation of ANC-supporting social workers also approached the organisation's leadership a few weeks ago protesting the fact that Mandela had not practised in the profession for years and pointing to the threat of prosecution.

Nelson Mandela, however, seems to be supportive of his wife. During the trial of Stompie's murderer Jerry Richardson, he said his wife was being besmirched by a case in which she was not the accused and so had no opportunity to defend herself.

Meanwhile, the director for the Centre for Applied Legal Studies, John Dugard, indicated that the Minister of Justice has the power, under South African legislation, to direct the attorney-general's decision this week to charge Mandela. According to section 3(5) of the Criminal Procedure Act, the minister may reverse decisions of the attorney-general.

An interesting development in the Winnie saga was the news that her legal representative would be Ismail Ayob. Two years ago Ayob, who is her husband's attorney, ceased to represent her because she often refused his advice.

Krish Naidoo took over as her attorney until February 1989 when revelations about the Stompie saga climaxed.

Ayob confirmed this week that he would be acting for Winnie Mandela but would not comment further. Both lawyers were frequently mentioned in the Richardson trial. According to evidence, Ayob had gone to Winnie's house saying he was instructed by Nelson Mandela to fetch the abducted youth — but Richardson refused to release them.

ANC holds its ^{11A} first conference in thirty years

W/Mat 2/19 - 27/9/90
By GAYE DAVIS: Cape Town

FIREWORKS are expected at this month's Western Cape regional conference of the African National Congress — the first ANC conference to take place within the country's borders since 1959.

At least 400 delegates are expected to attend the two-day gathering at the Peninsula Technikon in Bellville on September 29 and 30, the first of a series of regional conferences planned in the build-up to the ANC's national conference on December 16.

Conference co-ordinator Johnny Issel said there had been "tremendous complaints" about "a lack of democracy" within interim ANC structures.

"People feel they are not being adequately consulted or represented. There have also been complaints from the rural areas for a long time that they're getting a raw deal. We're expecting fireworks," he said.

Proposals to be tabled at the conference aimed at providing for "the fullest democracy" within ANC structures and correcting an urban bias which disadvantaged rural areas.

Part of the problem was organisers were working within the framework of a draft constitution due to be ratified at the national conference.

One of the proposals involved amending the constitution to provide for an expanded regional executive and other structural changes.

The present system of branches being organised into zones had caused problems. The proposal suggested dividing the region into sub-regions which crossed the lines of class and colour. Each sub-region would be represented on an expanded regional executive, Issel said.

So far 69 branches have been launched in the Western Cape, with a membership said to be 27 000. One of the largest branches is that in Crossroads.

question or the state of...
 will they participate; will they be back in time?
 If there is cause for optimism in the ANC, however, it
 is that there is an extremely high level of internal debate
 and self-criticism over these issues.

and authority. There is no clarity on who wields what
 power and how all these people fit together.
 Ask a UDF leader what role they are playing in deci-
 sion-making and you will get only a dismayed shrug of
 the shoulders and a confused explanation of how all
 was his call for a security force show of strength to deal
 Nelson Mandela to be put into a corner over his public
 pronouncements. The first instance was over his rela-
 tionship with Chief Mangosuthu Buthe, the latest

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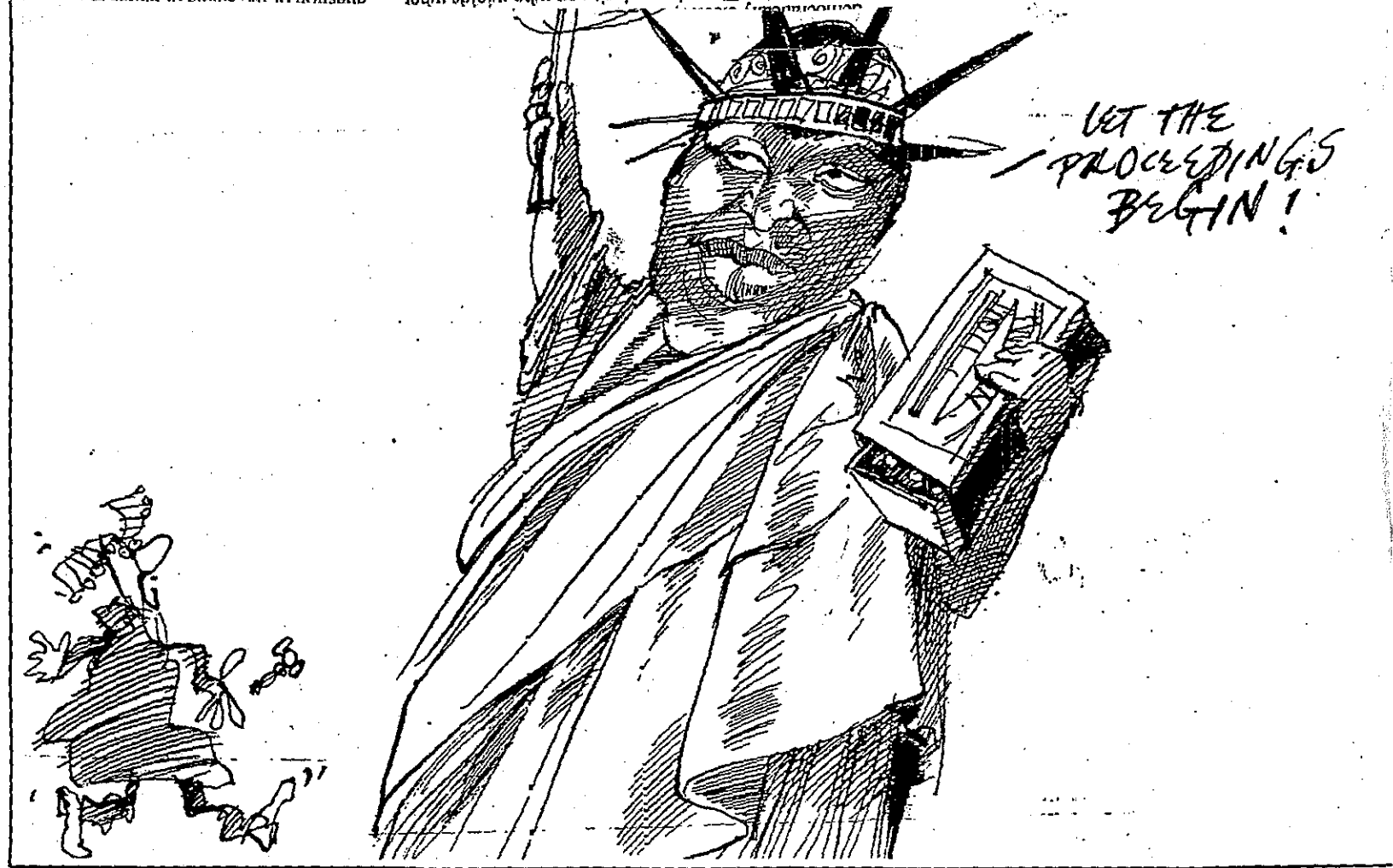
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Before you go
 out to war, call

EVERY Jew trembles when he thinks of that momentous event when the Law was given to humanity to be shared by all — the basis and the foundation of everything that is just and everything that is true.

Absolute truth, not relative truth.
 Absolute justice, not relative justice.

to me that I don't understand real politik.

If this is real-politik then I want no part of it.

I have a covenant, not with prime ministers and governments; I have a covenant with God. I have a covenant, not with political parties and organisations; I have a covenant with the history of the Jewish people.

I am the son of...

Handwritten: w/m and 2/19 - 27/9/90

ANC indaba on economy

Sowetan 21/9/90

11A

ABOUT 55 African National Congress economists will meet in Harare next weekend to discuss proposals which will enable the organisation to formulate a draft economic policy.

The ANC's department of information and publicity announced yesterday that the meeting of the organisation's department of economy and planning would also consider ways of restructuring the DEP to enable it

Sowetan Correspondent

to meet new demands placed on it.

The meeting, from September 27 to 29, would be a sequel to a meeting by the ANC and Cosatu on the economy held in Harare in May.

The ANC/Cosatu proposals would be considered at next weekend's meeting, as well as a proposal to establish an institute of economic

analysis in South Africa which could assist the ANC and the DEP to formulate and evaluate its economic policy.

"The outcome of the ANC/Cosatu meeting in May and other fresh input will, it is hoped, lead to the development of a draft economic policy document," the ANC said.

This draft document would be sent to the NEC

and grassroots ANC structures for discussion and comment.

Responses would be sent to the organisation's national congress in December, at which a final policy document would be drawn up.

The Harare meeting would be addressed by the head of the ANC's department of information and publicity, Mr Pallo Jordan, of behalf of the NEC. - *Sowetan Correspondent.*

Mandela's whirlwind visit averts revolt in the Boland

By GAYE DAVIS

IF African National Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela had failed to make it to the Western Cape this week, a Boland revolt of a different sort may have erupted.

In fact, he almost didn't come — but "forceful" representations, particularly from Worcester, ensured that he shoe-horned a whirlwind, one-day tour into his schedule on Monday, ANC officials confirmed this week.

In Ashton's tiny township of Zolani, for example, where intensive preparations went into Mandela's reception, cancellation would have led to disaster.

As it was, a lengthy programme had to be compressed into a brief, though still dignified ceremony during which Mandela unveiled a plaque renaming the township's community hall after him. Zolani and Ashton's young comrades spent four days decorating the hall, getting the plaque made, training marshalls and painting banners and posters — labouring all the while amidst persistent rumours that his visit had been called off.

It was a moment they had been waiting for ever since Mandela's release in February.

There was little anti-climax when it came, for at least he was there, wearing a blue suit and a broad smile, to receive the carefully wrapped gifts and specially ordered bouquet of flowers "for Winnie".

Mandela's messianic appeal carried the day among the thousands of people who thronged to see and hear him as he moved, in quick succession, from Bonnievale to Zolani, then on to Robertson and Worcester. At each step Mandela apologised for the change in his programme and promised he would return.

Most would have accepted his excuse that "the violence which has claimed almost 1000 lives in the Transvaal" meant he had to postpone the pleasure. But the Worcester activist who asked darkly why, in that case, he had been able to travel to Norway when the violence was already under way, reflected the perception that once again, the rural areas had been shunted to the bottom of the list of priorities.

In Robertson, people waited for an hour and a half before the motorcade surged into town, hooters blaring.

Many failed even to catch a glimpse of him as he was hustled through a side

door into an overflowing hall — the same hall where, a few short months ago, police injured some 180 people airing grievances at a civic meeting.

Scheduled to address a rally in Worcester at 3pm, Mandela arrived on the podium to screams of adulation at 6pm, after a lengthy meeting with local leaders. Despite leaden skies and a chilly wind, the 2 500-strong crowd had waited — with a marshal expectantly scanning the road leading to the stadium with binoculars.

He paid tribute to the battles waged in the Boland, addressed the need to organise farmworkers and end their exploitation, and moved on to the "brutal and senseless killings" ravaging the country.

The ANC's demand was for peace, Mandela told the crowd, yet the violence gripping the townships — orchestrated by a sinister third force a la Renamo — was bringing a daily stream of people to ANC offices "demanding arms".

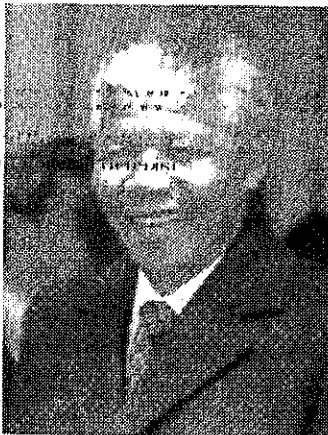
Such attacks made it easy for the ANC to "walk out of the talks" it had initiated in its search for a peaceful solution. But to abandon the talks now would be to play into the hands of that third force, Mandela said. It depended, however, on the government "playing its part".

In his speech, Mandela tried to set the record straight over his apparently contradictory remarks about the government's Operation

Iron Fist. SABC-TV news this week ran footage in which he called, in one segment, for the government to make use of its "highly skilled and professional" army and police force — and in another, condemned it for issuing its security forces with a "licence to kill our people".

Mandela said he had never asked, during his recent meeting with State President F W de Klerk, precisely what the "strong and comprehensive" measures were that the government intended taking — "and he never explained them to me". The impression created — that he had called for Operation Iron Fist and that the measures "had been discussed point-by-point" — was incorrect.

In asking the government to "use its capacity" to stop the violence, he meant it should "weed out bad elements in its own security forces" before using them to maintain law and order, he said.



Nelson Mandela

01/11/72 - 27/11/72
W/MC/P 21/19 - 27/11/72

Mandela warns as Soweto mourns

By Helen Grange

Soweto came to a near standstill yesterday to attend what may have been the country's biggest funeral in decades.

Well over 50 000 people gathered inside and outside the Jabulani amphitheatre to mourn the death of 12 of the people killed during the six weeks of bloodshed that has racked Reef townships.

Many relatives collapsed with grief during the ceremony. The crowd sang and waved ANC and SACP flags while a police helicopter circled above.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, who made a surprise

21/9/90 (11A) (11B)
appearance at the funeral service, arrived to a rousing welcome.

He was accompanied by ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu; Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Joe Modise; and Jackie Selebi, a youth leader and member of the ANC's national executive committee (NEC).

He told the hushed gathering that there was a growing demand from the people to be armed. He said the ANC regarded the demand as reasonable and the organisation would in future find it difficult to refuse.

"We are facing a bleak future and security forces are going to

continue to shoot our people.

"We warn the State President and the Government that, if they continue to drag their feet and listen only to the point of view of whites and do not listen to us, they have a tragedy coming in this country."

Mr Mandela said the ANC would appeal to its members for discipline.

He had been asked by the press to appeal for peace and to ask his followers to stop fighting.

Father Emmanuel Lafont, who has been fasting for nearly two weeks, told the gathering that a new climate of reflection and understanding had come about in Soweto since last

Thursday.

"Our people are more conscious, organised and less fearful. God has given us new strength, wisdom and unity.

"We must organise and plan in advance. We must create defensive mechanisms to defend ourselves and our organisations at all levels — in the streets, stations, on trains and in shops," he said.

Soweto residents, some holding their fists high and others supplying water to exhausted people going on foot, lined the streets as the procession moved slowly to Avalon cemetery.

The dead were finally buried late in the afternoon as relatives wept at their gravesides.

Better life is aim - Mbeki

Star 21/9/90 (11A)

The Star Bureau

LONDON — A leading member of the ANC has warned that any political settlement would not survive “unless it is underwritten by a similar transformation of the quality of the material life, especially of the black majority”.

Director of international affairs Thabo Mbeki yesterday addressed a conference of 150 business people from Europe and South Africa on the ANC's economic views.

Mr Mbeki said that despite the recent violence, the ANC

still believed it was possible to reach a negotiated settlement with the Government.

He said the ANC would seek “sustained economic growth and an equitable distribution of wealth, leading to a rising standard of living for all”.

Any attempt to generate economic growth and development would have to include accelerated education and training, especially for blacks.

The private sector, said Mr Mbeki, had a “central and critical role” in the mixed economy envisaged by the ANC.

SAP: minibus killings linked

'Train security not sufficient'

By Thabo Leshilo

Security arrangements to protect train commuters on the Reef in the wake of recent attacks in which they have been shot, stabbed and hurled from moving coaches still leaves much to be desired, according to a survey by The Star.

A train trip by The Star this week revealed that the only place at which Soweto commuters feel relatively safe was at stations such as Inhlazane, Merafe and Ikwezi, where there is a visible presence of armed guards.

A spokesman for Spoornet said there was security on trains, but referred The Star to the police for specifics.

Witwatersrand police liaison officer Colonel Frans Malherbe said police were patrolling the trains but he would not elaborate.

Passengers are warned to look out for a new breed of train crooks taking advantage of commuters' fears in the wake of recent attacks.

Sources say they trick commuters into jumping off trains, leaving their parcels, by shouting "Inkatha is attacking". They then steal the goods.

By Monica Nicolson

Police have good reason to suspect that many of the recent murders involving gunmen in minibuses are linked.

A pattern is emerging where men armed with AK-47s randomly roam the busy streets in a white minibus before picking out crowded gathering-points to gun down people.

CID chief Lieutenant General Alwyn Conradie confirmed in a statement on Wednesday that the fatal shooting of three men and the death of a shopkeeper, Maria de Abrasius, were linked.

In both incidents, the victims were shot by gunmen in a white minibus travelling down Nugget Street, central Johannesburg, in the early evening of September 12.

Other similar shootings include various incidents where men in minibuses have driven through Tembisa, Tokoza, Katshong and Soweto, firing random shots at passersby.

Police have pieced together the sequence of similar brutal shootings.

On September 6, six people were killed in Soweto by gun-

men in a minibus. Hours later, six more people were killed at Jeppe station.

Two more men died on September 12 when gunmen opened fire on a taxi rank on the corner of Polly and Anderson streets in central Johannesburg. Their vehicle was then seen travelling to Wolhuter Street and the men shot a man dead outside the Wolhuter men's hostel in Jeppetown.

Many people, including Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu, believe these mindless murders of innocent people by well co-ordinated and organised gangs.

Police liaison officer Colonel Frans Malherbe strongly denied that the shootings were well orchestrated or carefully planned.

He described the murderers as "a bunch of disorganised cowards shooting at very easy targets. It's just madness. Anyone can drive around the crowded streets mowing down innocent bystanders by shooting out of minibus windows with deadly rifles."

Gang in white minibus implicated in killings

JOHANNESBURG

- SEPT 6** Six shot dead at Jeppe station
- SEPT 12** Two shot at corner of Polly & Anderson streets

SOWETO

- Six people killed by gunman in Soweto.
- Woman shop owner gunned down in Nugget Street
- Man shot dead in Wolhuter Street

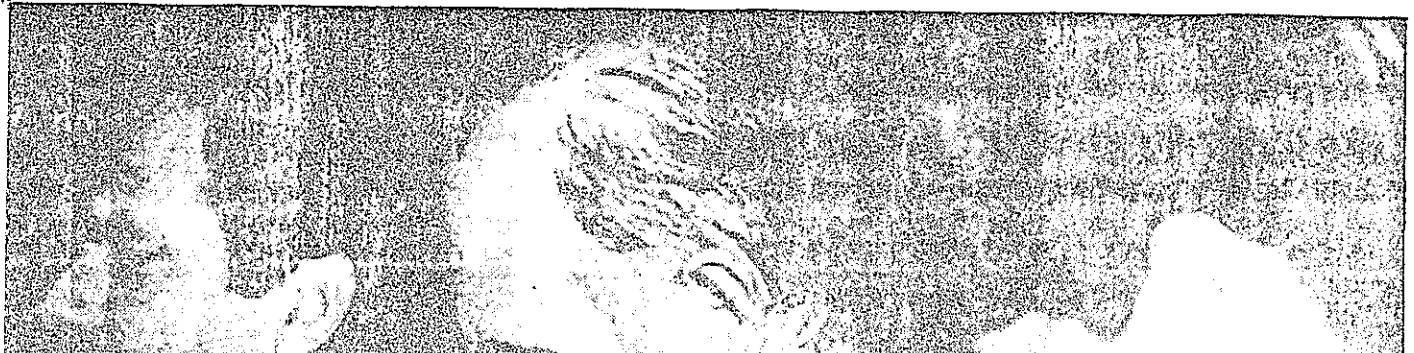
Graphic by Liz Warder

Iron Fist under way

Staff Reporters

The first steps of Operation Iron Fist were taken in Soweto yesterday.

Stringent security measures to curb fighting started with the sealing-off of a Soweto hos-



Anglicans pray at Jeppe Station

Staff Reporter

A group of about 50 Anglican prisoners and clerics, including the Bishop of Johannesburg, the Right Rev Duncan Buchanan, prayed at Jeppe Station last night.

innocent people by mobile hit squads point to a sinister plot by well co-ordinated and organised gangs.

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Six people killed by gunman in Soweto.

Woman shop owner gunned down in Nugget Street

Man shot dead in Wolhuter Street

Graphic by Liz Warder

of Polly & Anderson streets

Witwatersrand police liaison officer Colonel Frans Malherbe said police were patrolling the trains but he would not elaborate.

Passengers are warned to look out for a new breed of train crooks taking advantage of commuters' fears in the wake of recent attacks.

Sources say they trick commuters into jumping off trains, leaving their parcels, by shouting "Inkatha is attacking". They then steal the goods.



At the scene of slaughter . . . the Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, Duncan Buchanan (centre), and other priests prayed for an end to violence last night at Jeppe Station.

Anglicans pray at Jeppe Station

Staff Reporter

A group of about 50 Anglican parishioners and clerics, including the Bishop of Johannesburg, the Right Rev Duncan Buchanan, prayed at Jeppe Station last night.

They prayed for an end to violence and for peace in the country, "at the scene of the start of the merciless killings", said Mr Buchanan.

The prayer meeting, organised by the priest of Belgravia parish, the Reverend Andrew Dotchin, was prohibited by the acting chief magistrate on Wednesday.

Mr Buchanan told the police there that they would only pray for five minutes and the meeting would be very "low-key", and police gave their consent for it to go ahead.

Three truckloads of soldiers left the scene only minutes before the meeting started.

"Take from this country the need for bloodshed. Purge this place of the murder and evil, and claim it for Yourself," prayed Mr Buchanan.

Political Staff

The ANC and the Government are at loggerheads over Operation "Iron Fist" — over both its stringent security measures aimed to stop township violence and the way in which it was announced.

A statement issued last night by the ANC's national executive committee was mostly devoted to attacking the security measures.

Government sources said today they had been left "speechless" by some of the attacks.

Last night's ANC statement said: "The meeting noted that while the South African Government is evidently committed to political change in South Africa, it is becoming clear that it prefers that change occurs on terms most favourable to itself."

Government left 'speechless' by ANC allegations

It accused the Government of adopting a two-track policy "which, on the one hand, accepts the need to negotiate a settlement while, on the other hand, devises stratagems to weaken the ANC and other democratic formations."

"The Government has, consequently, adopted a *laissez faire* attitude towards the violence in Natal and in the Transvaal with the hope it will generate a climate of insecurity, fear and terror and thus make a decisive majority of our people more amenable to an authoritarian regime."

Last night's ANC statement said the body would seek a summit meeting with the Government "to discuss the gravity of the situation".

The statement said the ANC regarded the new security measures as being designed to repress legitimate political activity and reintroduce the state of emergency by guile.

President de Klerk was accused of acting in bad faith. The ANC said the joint Government/ANC working group devised to implement strategies for a ceasefire had among its tasks the disposition of weapons belonging to the ANC's military wing.

"The State President has deliberated until the political prisoners had been freed."

not due to any omission from us. "The second point is that quite apart from ANC arms caches, there are a lot of weapons circulating in the townships in the possession of other groups like Inkatha."

"These we had to get out of circulation. We couldn't wait for the report of the working group to do this."

The sources said the accusation that operation "Iron Fist" was intended to curb civil liberties had left them "speechless".

Mr Mandela has been criticised for calling for the State to end violence, and then hitting out at its "Iron Fist" measures.

He accused a police general of "jumping the gun" in his announcement of stern security measures to stop Reef fighting.

ambiguity," they said. The Government dismissed the ANC's charge that the measures announced this week to seize arms in the townships had pre-empted the findings of a joint ANC/Government working group.

One of the aims of the Government delegation on the working group was to try to persuade the ANC to point out arms caches inside the country.

"The point is that the working group didn't make the progress it was supposed to. It was supposed to have reported by mid-September but made little progress. And this was

Senior Government sources said if the statement meant that ANC supporters should "attack people to pre-empt attacks on themselves then it is obviously unacceptable".

If the statement merely meant ANC supporters should defend themselves when attacked, it was difficult to fault. "They should clear up this

Boost for peace hopes

Buthelezi

my friend:

Mandela

By Andrew Walker and Shirley Woodgate

ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela today expressed his friendship for Inkatha's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

This raised hopes for a formal ending to the Reef township-war, which has claimed more than 700 lives in the past six weeks, an end to the Natal conflict — and peace between the ANC and Inkatha.

Senior Government sources today welcomed the ANC decision to talk to the Inkatha leader to try to stop the township killing, and said this was what the Government had been urging for some time.

Indebted

Mr Mandela's show of public sympathy with Chief Buthelezi, made on television this morning, followed last night's statement by the ANC's National Executive Committee (NEC) stating the organisation had resolved to meet Chief Buthelezi as well as officials of other homelands.

Mr Mandela said today he was strongly in favour of talks with Chief Buthelezi.

"He was, and remains, my friend because of the tremendous support which he gave me in prison, demanding my release and that of my comrades, taking the view that he would not negotiate with the Gov-

ernment until the political prisoners had been freed.

"I remain indebted to him for his friendship and support," said Mr Mandela.

He added that the NEC aimed to call a three-day conference of all anti-apartheid forces as they were determined to "put out the fire".

In its statement last night the NEC, after a three-day special meeting called to discuss the violence which was threatening the negotiation process with the Government, said a meeting of all homeland leaders would be convened "to devise a joint strategy for ending the violence and seeking measures to prevent any future outbreak."

"The ANC in cooperation with its allies will, at the earliest possible date, also call a conference of the broadest spectrum of anti-apartheid and democratic forces with a view to discussing a common strategy to combat the forces of destabilisation and violence.

"In order that they can mount effective defence, the extended NEC (the meeting included Cosatu and United Democratic Front representatives as well as regional ANC officials) encourages all our people in the areas affected by vigilante violence to organise themselves for the purposes of self-defence."

The NEC welcomed "the successful exploratory meeting" between ANC and Inkatha officials in Durban on Wednesday.

Stc 21/9/90

11A 11B

A few days later he was aflame

By Gien Elsas,
West Rand Bureau

A Soweto man, who told The Star he was upset by the attitude of some Church leaders who visited Reef townships last week, was the same man who appeared in photographs days later being hacked, stabbed and burnt alive.

Last week The Star conducted an interview with Linder Tshabalala, who was upset by the action of church and other leaders after a visit to the area by church dignitaries.

A few days later South Africa was shocked by pictures of Mr Tshabalala being attacked, stabbed and set alight.

Mr Tshabalala had described himself in the interview as an apolitical resident who just wanted fairness and a chance to get on with his life in peace.

His brother said he was horrified at the way Mr Tshabalala had died as he had not been involved in any unrest.

Mr Tshabalala was an eyewitness during a visit by church leaders to Soweto last Tuesday.

He told The Star: "I am upset and horrified by what I experienced and now wonder if our leaders, church and otherwise, really do want to find a solution to our crisis or if they are just pawns dancing to the tune demanded by their particular audience at any given time."

"I was here when the unrest

in Soweto started. I read various articles and letters and saw television interviews in which different parties and organisations were held responsible for the unrest in Soweto.

"After it was announced in the media last week that the SAP was put in charge of the unrest areas, there was suddenly an increase in violence in these areas all over the Witwatersrand. In the meantime the Minister of Law and Order held discussions with several leaders in Soweto. After this, more accusations were flung at the feet of the SAP.

"The police in Soweto have undertaken several projects to help the community - from soup for the pensioners on pension day to the starting of a band for the youth. These are all projects aimed to improve the quality of our lives and they show me that the police are serious about their tasks and responsibilities," he said.

"Our State President jumped the queue and took the initiative by visiting Soweto. He was open and honest during discussions and admitted that the only force able to stop the disorder and install law and order was the police. Despite his visit, renewed violence broke out.

"I regard myself as an impartial resident and I, and many others, agree that the senseless murder of an innocent Zulu man who was on his way to work last Thursday was



1 Death sentence . . . Linder Tshabalala, accused of being a Zulu supporter of Inkatha, is pulled across a railway line by a group of ANC supporters.

the cause of the violence. "Suddenly the residents living in the western areas of the township grabbed the opportunity and made the police the scapegoats for the violence.

"Church leaders climbed on the bandwagon and tried to defend what leaders like Nelson Mandela, Sisulu and others were saying by carrying out 'Christian' visits to the area.

"Yesterday the Reverend Frank Chikane and his following visited the township. They went to the Tladi squatter

camp without the SAP. Then the honourable reverend wanted to visit the Merafe hostel.

"The police were asked to meet them on the way as they felt it was unsafe to go there without police protection. Two unarmed police officers accompanied the reverend through the hostel. I was there.

"Rev Chikane prayed for the hostel residents and moved across the road where he spoke to a group of youths. They asked him questions, especially concerning the police.

"The reverend actually replied fairly positively concerning his police escort and the police role in the township. He thanked the police in front of us for escorting him at the hostel and on his way to and from the hostel.

"Less than a half an hour passed and the reverend, his following and I went to the same church where the morning's activities had started.

"Several speakers addressed the dignitaries and church representatives. They slated the



2 Stabbed . . . An assailant stabs him in the head.

police and insinuated they were the scum of the earth. And without a word of contradiction the reverend, who had asked the police to protect him, agreed, through his silence, with what the speakers were saying.

"Where and how must we find a solution to the problems facing the new South Africa if we cannot even open our eyes and see what is happening before us? We must learn to stand by our convictions and at least give credit where credit is due," Mr Tshabalala concluded.



3 Second assault . . . Already bleeding from a number of wounds, he is systematically beaten, stoned and assaulted.

4 He is finally killed by being set alight with petrol.



● Pictures by Sebastian Balic.

September 21, 1990, 2

ANC agrees to meet Buthelezi

11A
Soweto
21/9/90

THE African National Congress last night said it would convene a meeting of all homeland leaders, including KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, to devise a joint strategy for ending the violence.

The African National Congress said yesterday members of its executive committee agreed to meet Zulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi following a

bloody six-week township war.

A spokesman said the ANC agreed on the move after a three-day emergency session.

Deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela probably would attend the talks, but it would not be the one-on-one encounter that Buthelezi, head of the Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom Party, has demanded.

"In order to get to the root causes of the violence and to secure

peace, the (ANC) resolved to convene a meeting with all homeland leaders, including Chief (Mangosuthu)

Gatsha Buthelezi, to devise a joint strategy for ending the violence," the ANC said in a statement. - Sapa-Reuter.

"A man may be one of integrity, despite the mistakes he makes" — Nelson Mandela, speaking at an ANC press conference last week, said of State President F W de Klerk. The words might just as easily be applied to Mandela — and, increasingly, questions are being asked about his political grip.

There is little doubt, if media conferences are anything to go by, that the ANC deputy president needs a hearing aid. He strains to hear questions and often it is apparent that either he has not properly heard or not grasped a question.

Despite his assertions that he lives in a township and speaks to his people all the time, Mandela does not always seem to relate to them. To a question about what assurances he could give township residents who live in fear in their homes and travel in fear on trains and buses, Mandela said people would be reassured to know that the ANC national executive committee would be meeting next Tuesday. How this was supposed to reassure people is hard to imagine.

Perhaps Mandela is suffering from a syndrome not unknown among leaders (Winston Churchill was a good example): the great man's followers become so paralysed by awe of him that they feel unable to contradict him and unable to keep him in touch with reality.

Mandela has also been inconsistent. Early in September, he called for government to use the "very strong, effective and well-equipped army and police force . . . If it does, the violence will be something of the past." Now that government is doing exactly that, he has roundly condemned the new measures.

Mandela and De Klerk have agreed that much of the violence has been orchestrated by "highly professional killers, people who are highly trained." What is also needed, then, is criminal investigations into who these silent, organised killers are. Mandela sees hints of Renamo-type operations; there has also been suspicion that extreme right-wing elements may have been involved in incidents such as the Jeppe train massacre, with a view to making negotiations impossible.

Meanwhile, the new measures appear to have put a lid on the violence and whatever Mandela says, the ordinary citizen will be grateful for that. However, there is a grave danger that calls for more guns (whether for police or ANC supporters) will only worsen the violence.

This is why it is difficult to understand Mandela's statements that "the demand



Township violence . . . blunting
the knife

from the people that they should arms themselves is a reasonable one" and that "there is no point in calling for peace in the townships because violence is caused by faceless elements. If I said anything to the people, it would be that they should defend themselves."

Township residents armed to the teeth and police bristling with machine guns is not a recipe for peace. Care should be taken on both sides, in word and deed, to avoid inflaming the position on the ground. We could do with less talk from Mandela about arming ordinary citizens — and no more pointed political statements from police officers.

All variations of anarchy have to be brought under control. The ANC and Cosatu must abandon the stayaway as a method of protest. It achieves nothing and has a serious effect on productivity, earnings, jobs and — most destructive — schooling. Surely a more original and constructive approach is possible? Rents must be paid, rates must be paid; residents must be encouraged not only to pay for what they have but to work as communities to uplift townships. And gov-

ernment must move swiftly to remove the remaining apartheid restrictions.

Mandela and the ANC should also remember that there is a powerful white constituency that the organisation is not addressing — and which is increasingly fearful of a future under the ANC. Mandela's visit to Temple Shalom in Johannesburg last Friday was an important but rare gesture.

While both De Klerk and his Law & Order Minister Adriaan Vlok have taken it upon themselves to visit black areas — at some personal risk — Mandela and his lieutenants should be doing the same in white communities.

The country seemed this week to have retreated a few steps from the edge of a precipice. The townships appeared calmer and the police achieved a much-needed boost with the arrest of rightwinger Piet "Skiet" Rudolph.

As the FM went to press, the ANC's national executive committee was meeting at a secret venue and there were hopes of a comprehensive endorsement of Mandela's earlier assertion that negotiations would not be diverted.

The leaders need to keep their nerve. The rest of us will just have to sit tight and remember the words of De Tocqueville: "Liberty is generally born in stormy weather, growing with difficulty among civil discords and only when it is already old does one see the blessings it has brought."

Before you go out to war, call out for peace

TIA

w/m and
2/19 - 27/9/90

EVERY Jew trembles when he thinks of that momentous event when the Law was given to humanity to be shared by all — the basis and the foundation of everything that is just and everything that is true.

Absolute truth, not relative truth.

Absolute justice, not relative justice.

The truth of God Himself was given to the people of Israel. And for generations they have carried it through in spite of everything that came upon them.

There isn't another people in the world that can tell the story of supplication, the story of fear and trembling, the story of massacre and murder, than the people of Israel. But the one thing that kept them together, the one thing that kept them alive was the Torah of their God — not even the scroll itself, but that which it stood for and that which it taught.

And it went from one dispersion to another, from one community to another. They shone with the light of God; they gave the absolute truth — that they live by and abide by — to the nations.

What happened to it? Are we the heirs of this remarkable history?

Do we live up to the legacy, to the last will and testimony of the millions who have given their lives so that we may uphold the truth?

We, the generation after Auschwitz, we who gave the price of six million because of racial discrimination and oppression, we who have suffered more than any other race are commanded by our religious laws and by our historical experience to stand in the forefront of every struggle against oppression, of every kind of discrimination, of every kind of hatred, whatever the cause of it may be.

And we are the ones who should be more careful than anyone else not to label people with self-induced labels, and use the word anti-semite too lightly and too easily.

We are a sensitive people and we have a right to be. But don't do unto others that which you would not have them do unto you.

Before we utter the word anti-semite, we have to go back in time and

RABBI ADI ASSABI caused a stir by inviting Nelson Mandela to speak at Temple Shalom. But perhaps even more controversial was the rabbi's own argument about the relationship between Judaism and Zionism. This is an edited version of his opening address

understand its true meaning. Anyone who is an anti-semite is anti-mankind. Anyone who is an anti-semite has no right to exist, because he doesn't allow other to exist. Anyone who is an anti-semite doesn't understand what Judaism and the semitic people gave to this world.

An anti-Zionist is not necessarily an anti-semite. For Zionism is this great ideology of salvation. Zionism is the implementation of a downtrodden people seeking their self-determination in their own homeland. Zionism is an ideology which in essence is pure. Zionism is one of the arms — and not the only arm — of Judaism.

But my friends, there is a major difference between what an ideology teaches and what those who act upon it and in its name do.

Judaism teaches one thing. Jews do another.

Zionism teaches one thing. Zionists do another.

We as Jews are concerned about the fate of Jews anywhere in the world, and we must be concerned about the



ANC leader
Nelson Mandela

oppressed anywhere in the world. We as Jews must believe that Israel is our true homeland — but do we have to agree with every Tom, Dick and Henry who happens to have a portfolio in the government?

The Zionist world with all its love for Zion is split down the middle, between those who agree with the current policies of the government and those who don't.

Am I an anti-Zionist? I don't agree with the policies of the government of the state of Israel. I don't believe in occupation. I don't believe in not implementing the absolute justice that we were taught in the Torah in our everyday life.

I don't believe that political expediency can change ideology. Call me naive. Call me out of this world. Say

to me that I don't understand real-politik.

If this is real-politik then I want no part of it.

I have a covenant, not with prime ministers and governments; I have a covenant with God. I have a covenant, not with political parties and organisations; I have a covenant with the history of the Jewish people.

I am the son of Auschwitz and Dachau. I feel the suffering and pain of everyone and anyone who is oppressed, and if anyone ever suggests to me that my government must be wrong or right and I must support it all times, I will tell him: that price I have paid already. No government is absolutely right. No one in the political game has the absolute truth.

A government is something we create to serve our purposes, and in a democratic society a government will represent our values. And our values come from one place only — the absolute, unquestionable word of God.

It is my conviction and I hope that you will hear it in a minute, that Mr Mandela, who in his lifetime has experienced a great part of Jewish history, cannot be labeled an anti-semite, and cannot be labeled an anti-Zionist. I believe that our emotionalism and hysteria is to be replaced by extending a hand of peace, of understanding, of love, of participation. This world can only be saved by peace.

As dozens and, God forbid, hundreds are being killed day by day, let us not raise a finger and accuse before we stand in their place. Let us be compassionate in our judgment. Let us be open to understanding that there may be other points of view, and let us remember that even if we decide to go out to war, whoever the enemy is, the Torah says: before you go out to war, call out for peace.

I call on all Jews in this country and around the world to become less political and more Jewish, to understand that our survival is at stake, to understand that we owe something to our past and that we have a vision of our destiny. And I call upon the government of the state of Israel to surpass itself, to extend a warm invitation to Mr Mandela to see what those who came out of Auschwitz managed to build and create for the glory of all of us.

PAC may vote either way on peace talks

Sowetan 21/9/90

HARARE - There was an equal chance of the Pan Africanist Congress deciding either for or against exploratory talks with President F W de Klerk's Government, said the organisation's chairman, Johnson Mlambo.

Mlambo and some of the PAC's externally-based central executive committee arrived on Tuesday for the four-day conference between its external and internal leadership.

The organisation will discuss De Klerk's invitation, the widespread violence in South African townships and the PAC's national congress in October.

Mlambo said although

a radical departure from PAC policy was unlikely, the possibility of the organisation deciding in favour of holding talks with the Government could not be ruled out.

Mlambo said the PAC would be prepared to sit at the same negotiation table with anybody who had been democratically elected into a constituent assembly, including Inkatha Freedom Party's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. What the organisation vehemently rejected was "the idea of a pre-pact table" around which De Klerk had guaranteed the presence of Buthelezi and other homeland leaders. - Sowetan Africa News Service

ezt meeting

CPA Times 21/9/90 (11A) ~~11A~~



SUPPORT . . . Mr Nelson Mandela with his wife Winnie and Mrs Albertina Sisulu at the Soweto funeral yesterday.

Mandela: I'll back Winnie

LONDON. — Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday pledged his wife Winnie "support and security" as she faces charges of abduction and assault.

Asked whether he thought there were any political motives in the charges, he said: "This is a matter which is now in the hands of the courts and

it would be improper for me to comment".

"My wife has been true and loyal to me during the long time I was in prison. While I was in prison, I was not able to give her the support and security which she is entitled to".

"Now that I'm free, I am in a position to offer her that support and security".

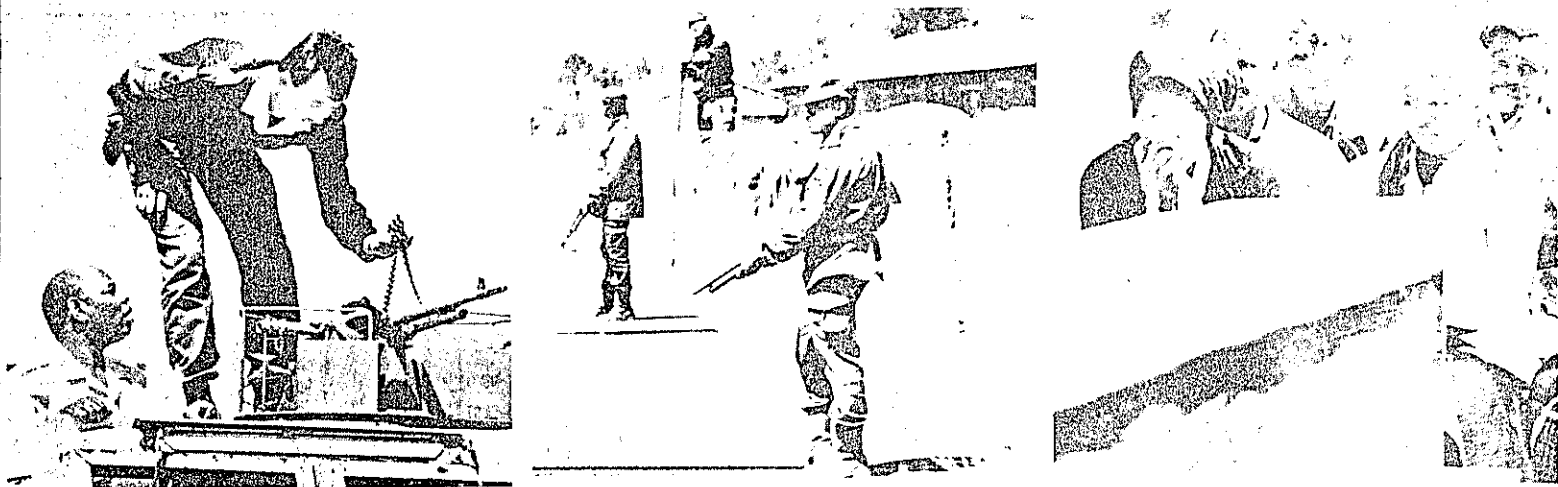
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ANC man's home raided

JOHANNESBURG. — The Dobsonville, Soweto, home of the ANC's spokesman on environmental matters, Mr Japhta Lekgetho, was raided in the early hours of yesterday by 10 men claiming to be policemen.

However, Captain Joseph Ngobeni at the SAP headquarters at Protea in Soweto said yesterday that he did not know anything about the raid.

According to Mrs Lekgetho, the "policemen" were uniformed and armed. — Sapa



TOWNSHIP REACTS ... Operation 'Iron Fist' started to take affect in Soweto yesterday as police mounted machine guns on an armoured cars (left) and stood guard outside hostels surrounded by razor wire (middle) as part of the government measures announced this week to stop the violence that has killed over 700 people on the Witwatersrand. For the people of Soweto it was a day of mourning as families (right) joined more than 30 000 residents at the funeral of 12 victims of the violence. **Report — Page 2.** Picture: REUTERS

ANC talks on

Opens way for Buthelezi meeting

Cap Times 21/9/90

(114) 21/9/90
Own Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — The African National Congress is to call an urgent meeting with all homeland leaders, including KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

A spokesman said last night that the ANC agreed on the move after a three-day emergency session of its national executive committee. Deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela "probably" would attend the talks, leaving the way clear for the long-awaited meeting between the two leaders. "In order to get to the root causes of the violence and to secure peace, the (ANC) resolved to convene a meeting with all homeland leaders, including Chief (Mangosuthu) Gatscha Buthelezi, to devise a joint strategy for ending the violence," the ANC said in a statement.

His 'friend'

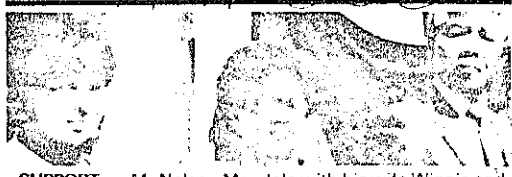
On British breakfast television yesterday Mr Mandela seemed cool about a one-on-one meeting with Chief Buthelezi. But he spoke with his unusual warmth on Independent Television last night of his "friend" Buthelezi. He told viewers he was committed to bringing the ANC and Inkatha closer together and said Chief Buthelezi was "an old friend and he is still my friend".

"I have made efforts for a meeting not only between the two of us, but also to bring the two organisations closer to each other," he said. "I will still try to achieve this objective, mainly because Chief Buthelezi has been one of those men who have fought for my release and that of other comrades, from prison."

Negotiations

Mr Mandela also said negotiations with the government remained on track "for the time being".

The ANC's full national executive committee (NEC) ended an extraordinary three-day meeting in Johannesburg yesterday by repeating the ANC view that recent township violence was threatening the negotiation process and resolved to seek a "summit" with the government. It unanimously rejected the "Iron Fist" measures announced by the SAP. The NEC believed they were de-



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Mandela: I'll back Winnie

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"My wife has been true and loyal to me during the long time I was in prison. While I was in prison, I was not able to give her the support and security which she is entitled to".

"Now that I'm free, I am in a position to offer her that support and security".

De Klerk leaves tomorrow for talks with Bush

Cap Times 21/9/90

PRETORIA. — President F W de Klerk flies out of Jan Smuts Airport tomorrow night for his historic talks in Washington on Monday with President George Bush.

The talks are the first between a South African and American head of state since Field Marshal Jan Smuts helped to draft the United Nations Charter in San Francisco in 1945.

Mr De Klerk is understood to be reluctant to be out of South Africa for too long because of the current wave of violence and the visit is confined to two working days, during which he will also meet top press representatives and businessmen.

He will be interviewed on two major television networks. More than 700 guests are expected for his address on Tuesday to the National Press Club in Washington.

After landing at Andrews Air Force Base on Sunday morning Mr De Klerk will go almost directly to a guesthouse at the National Presbyterian Church which has South African links. That evening he will have dinner with Vice-President Dan Quayle.

He will lay a wreath on the tomb of the Unknown Soldier at Arlington National Cemetery on Monday morning before going on to the White House and "eyeball to eyeball" talks with President Bush in the Oval Office.

This is to be followed by a working lunch with Mr Bush and his senior advisors.

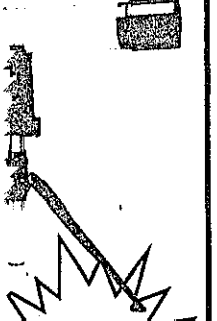
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DAILY LISTING — Page 8
STOCK PRICES — Page 10



BLONDE HIT ... Beauty queen Miss Nicola Rötter, 22, breezed into Cape Town on the Blue Train yesterday to start the week's holiday she won for being crowned Miss Johannesburg 1990 in August. Namibian-born Miss Rötter was the Cape Festival Queen for 1988.



SCOPE
OPTICAL POWER TING SCOPE



ANC, business clash over unrest

114
CAPL. Truif 21/9/90

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — There were sharp exchanges between ANC, government and business delegates yesterday attending a high-powered international business conference here, where discussion was dominated by the ongoing violence in South Africa.

The conference, attended by more than 150 delegates including a large contingent of South African businessmen, was closed to the media.

For the first time in London, a government minister, Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis, and an ANC representative, foreign-affairs secretary Mr Thabo Mbeki, spoke at the same venue.

Conference organiser Mr Graham Hatton, a former South African, said the latest outbreak of violence had been "the main topic of the conference, where we had sharp, acute exchanges of views — from the ANC's side, from the government's side, from the business side — to try to establish really what is at the root of it".

He said entrepreneurs would wait for the violence to settle. "Once it does, then I'm sure confidence in the country is going to start growing again."

American delegates were "talking about preparing for investment in the country — but obviously they can't do so while sanctions are there".

Mr Mbeki put across the ANC's concern that "forces that are opposed to this particular process leading to change are responsible for the violence — they have stoked it up, they have organised it and orchestrated it".

"And we expect the government to take action to ensure that the culprits are caught, to make sure that the violence doesn't spread."

He added: "Peace and stability in South Africa really has to be a consequence of the ending of apartheid."

In his speech, Mr Mbeki went over much of the economic and political ground covered by other ANC leaders in recent months, such as an assurance to the private sector that it had a "central and critical role to play in the mixed economy" and would obtain a fair return on capital.

He also committed himself to a degree of state intervention in education, housing, health and social welfare.



Twelve victims of the recent violence in Reef townships were given a mass burial in Soweto yesterday after a service attended by thousands of mourners at Jabulani Amphitheatre. Pic: Reuters

ANC warns on State's aim to disarm blacks

By **DON SEOKANE** and **Sowetan Correspondent**

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday said the measures implemented by the Government to quell the violence was aimed at disarming the liberation movements and black people while arming whites.

Mandela was speaking to more than 15 000 people at the service for 12 unrest victims at the Jabulani Amphitheatre.

The service was attended by an ANC delegation including Mr Walter Sisulu, national executive committee member Mr Jackie Selebi and Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Mr Joe Modise.

Soweto police spokesman Captain Joseph Ngobeni said no incidents were reported and the funeral service went on smoothly.

Except for the ANC, the service was dominated by priests, who in the words of one of them, gave "theological reflections on the orchestration of violence".

The people who were buried yesterday were: Benny and Martin Maboja of Tladi Camp; Abram Mlangeni and Benjamin Ramatlotlo, also of Tladi Camp; Mapule Motshwana of Orlando East; Sabata Makhanya of Mofolo South; Mickey Nyame of Naledi; Solomon Seema of Naledi Extension; Elias Theola of Mapetla; Lessy Moseithe of Moletsane;

David Motseme of Central Western Jabavu; and Benjamin Khanye of Mapetla.

The Vosloorus Crisis Committee said 10 victims of the recent violence in the township would be buried at a mass funeral tomorrow after a service at the local stadium at 10am.

Local ANC official official Mr Elliot Sogoni

expressed concern over the delay in post-mortems conducted on the bodies.

The people to be buried are Ntsheteka Zwane, Butiki Selebe, Nantu Chauke, Evaton Mathaka, Sipho Mathe, Vusi Shabangu, Amos Gama, Alfred Zulu, Armstrong Tsoke and Mbewu Tsotsojane.

Sogoni said 22 of the 89 hostel refugees living at a local hall would be integrated into the community and the rest, who were unemployed, would be sent to the bantustans.

CASINO is closed today Friday

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CASINO opens Sat. 22 with SPECIALS

After 11 years of silence: ANC ^{11A} ~~11B~~ and Inkatha talk

By CARMEL RICKARD: Durban ^{with mail} 21/9-27/9/90

ELEVEN years of official silence between the African National Congress and Inkatha were broken this week when high-ranking delegates of the two organisations met in Durban for talks.

About 4 000 people are estimated to have died in violence throughout Natal between supporters of the ANC and supporters of Inkatha.

But political considerations have prevented leaders of the two sides talking to each other — until Wednesday night.

In what could be a significant breakthrough, seven top officials from Inkatha and six of the ANC's national executive committee had talks which ended shortly before midnight.

NEC delegates to the talks flew from Johannesburg to Durban for the historic discussions at the end of the second day of this week's ANC summit.

The agreed statement noted the talks were the first between such high-ranking officials of the two organisations since a meeting in London in 1979.

ANC 'caught with its pants down' on exiles

By MARK GEVISSER

A CRISIS is looming in the Transkei where, according to church officials, hundreds of African National Congress exiles have returned without warning, and many more are expected.

Hlophe Bam, SA Council of Churches deputy secretary general in charge of repatriation, organised a high-level delegation of the National Co-ordinating Committee to visit the region this week because, she says, "we have been caught with our pants down".

According to the Reverend Gibson Ludidi of the Transkei Council of Churches (TCC), "there are probably already 300 exiles in the Transkei, and there has been no formal structure to receive them".

Social workers and health workers in the Transkei and Johannesburg have expressed discontent with the ANC for not giving them adequate warning but, says Jackie Selebi, the ANC National Executive Committee member in charge of re-

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11A
patriation, he knows of no more than 15 members who have returned to the region. "We haven't given anyone permission to go to the Transkei."

The TCC reports, however, that many exiles who have arrived at the council's offices looking for support say they were given the go-ahead by the ANC.

Sources say that because Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani is based temporarily in the Transkei, there has been a build-up there of MK cadres.

ANC Transkei Interim Regional Com-

mittee member Zola Dabula says there are three categories of exile returning to the region at present: MK cadres, ANC Head Office employees based in Johannesburg visiting family, and rank-and-file members who are back permanently. Because many ANC members in exile are supported entirely by the movement, they arrive at the ANC offices in Umtata expecting not only assistance, but money as well. "They received stipends from the movement outside, and it hasn't been explained to them clearly enough that they will no longer be getting these."

decision to have a peace summit with homeland leaders "can only help to create better understanding and car-

relations, however, about the use of Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres in keeping the peace. This had the potential of introducing an element of tension.

Give talks a chance, PAC urged

Argus Africa News Service

HARARE. — The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) should give talks a chance in South Africa and only pull out of them once the National Party government had proved itself untrustworthy, a senior PAC official was told here.

The PAC's Harare deputy representative, Mr Ramodi Maphai, had accompanied me to the Zimbabwean Ministry of Information, Posts and Telecommunications to get accreditation to cover the PAC's four-day consultative conference here when he was given the generous advice.

"You must talk to President De Klerk," the Zimbabwean government's public relations officer, Mar-

garet R. Kanongovere, said. "You must urge your leaders to give peace a chance, comrade."

"There comes a time when people have to stop fighting and talk to each other. Look at us (here in Zimbabwe). At last we had to talk to Ian Smith's government at Lancaster House.

"You, the ordinary cadres, must put pressure on your leaders to talk. It is easier for them to be exiles because they can fly to New York and London any time."

Responding to Ms Kanongovere, Mr Maphai said her remark was one he had been hearing with a greater frequency lately. However, the Nationalist government had proved a long time ago that it could not be trusted.

Inkatha, ANC to discuss Buthelezi, Mandela summit

PETER DELMAR 11A

A HIGH-level meeting between Inkatha and the ANC next week will discuss the mooted summit between ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The two organisations met in Durban on Wednesday night and agreed to meet again next week to discuss "grave, vital and urgent" issues. 10/21/90

The ANC's delegation included five national executive committee members while the Inkatha central committee delegation included three KwaZulu ministers and one deputy minister.

A joint statement described the meeting — the first at such a high level in more than a decade — as "historic".

Sources said next week's meeting would consider whether the meeting between Buthelezi and Mandela should take place.

The ANC has repeatedly declined to take up Inkatha's appeals for a meeting between the two leaders to address the violence between their supporters.

Yesterday's statement said matters discussed were mostly exploratory, adding that "each party sought to understand the other party's stance while explaining its own.

"Naturally, the issue of violence in Natal and elsewhere in the country was on top of the agenda and reports of the various local initiatives to defuse it came under the spotlight".

Buthelezi will be invited to talks

ANC to meet homelands on violence

B/1001 21/9/90

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THE ANC has resolved to call an urgent meeting with all homeland leaders including KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The organisation's full national executive committee (NEC) ended an extraordinary three-day meeting in Johannesburg yesterday by repeating the ANC view that recent township violence was threatening the negotiation process, and resolved to seek a "summit" with government.

It wanted to discuss "profound anxieties regarding the future and integrity of the peace process".

A statement issued last night encouraged ANC supporters to organise themselves for self-defence, and accused President F W de Klerk of bad faith over the recently announced "Iron Fist" measures to curb the unrest in which more than 750 people have died.

The statement said the meeting with homeland leaders would be held to get to the root causes of the violence and to devise a joint strategy to end it.

The ANC and its allies would also call a conference of all democratic forces to seek a common strategy on ending the violence.

Representatives of Cosatu, the UDF and all 16 ANC regions attended the meeting. The statement said the meeting was called to review the ANC's "strategic and tactical perspectives" in view of the unrest.

It accused government of adopting a "two-track policy". While accepting the need for negotiations, government had devised strategies to weaken the ANC and other democratic formations.

Government's attitude towards the violence was "laissez faire" in that it hoped

PETER DELMAR

this would generate a climate of insecurity and fear which would make a "decisive majority of our people more amenable to an authoritarian regime".

The NEC warned government that it would be responsible for derailing the peace process unless it took appropriate measures to apprehend and prosecute those responsible for the violence.

The "Iron Fist" measures announced by the SAP last weekend were unanimously rejected. The NEC believed they were designed to reintroduce a state of emergency. De Klerk was accused of "bad faith" and of undermining the work of the joint ANC/government working group which was considering issues relating to the ANC's suspension of the armed struggle.

One of the group's tasks was to consider the question of arms in the possession of ANC cadres.

"The State President has deliberately undermined this working group by preemptively criminalising the possession of such weapons.

"We cannot but interpret this as a measure directed against the ANC and its underground military structures. It does nothing to build mutual confidence between the ANC and the government."

Earlier yesterday, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela said trained ANC cadres would form defence units to protect people in townships.

WILSON ZWANE reports that when addressing a packed Jabulani Amphitheatre in Soweto at the funeral of 12 unrest victims, Mandela said it would be hard to

□ To Page 2

ANC B/1001 21/9/90

oppose ANC supporters' demands for arms.

"We are not going to arm everyone who wants to be armed. We have an army of trained people which will form defence units," he said.

His statements at the funeral came after De Klerk's announcement on Wednesday that government would refuse special negotiations with any organisation about the retention of arms.

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Law and Order Ministry spokesman Brig Leon Mellet said last night there was only one police force and anyone who broke the law had to expect prosecution.

"People wanting to join the police reserve are welcome to do this. They are also welcome to join neighbourhood watches. But vigilantes are vigilantes whether they are from the left or the right, and this is in direct contradiction of the law," he said.

● Comment: Page 8

'My friend Buthelezi'

— peace hopes rise

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela today expressed his "friendship" for Inkatha Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, bringing new hopes for peace between the rival organisations.

Hopes for a formal ending to the Reef township war — at present in an impromptu lull after more than 700 lives were lost in the last six weeks — and an end to the Natal conflict were given a boost today by Mr Mandela's expression of friendship with Chief Buthelezi.

The ANC stalwart's show of public sympathy with Chief Buthelezi, made on television this morning, followed last night's statement by the ANC's National Executive Committee (NEC) stating the organisation had resolved to meet the Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Buthelezi and officials of other homelands.

Mr Mandela said today he was strongly in favour of talks with Chief Buthelezi.

"He was and remains my friend because of the tremendous support which he gave me in prison, demanding my release and that of my comrades, taking the view that he would not negotiate with the Government until the political prisoners had been freed.

"I remain indebted to him for his friendship and support," said Mr Mandela.

He added that the NEC aimed to call a three-day conference of all anti-apartheid forces as they were determined to root out unrest.

In its statement last night the NEC, after a three-day special meeting called to discuss the violence which was threatening the negotiation process with the government, said a meeting of all homeland leaders would be convened "to devise a joint strategy for ending the violence and measures to prevent any future outbreak.

"The ANC, in cooperation with its allies will, at the earliest possible date, also call a conference of the broadest spectrum of anti-apartheid and democratic forces with a view to discussing a common strategy to combat the forces of destabilisation and violence.

"Organise yourselves"

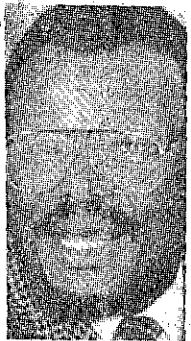
"In order that they can mount effective defence, the extended NEC (the meeting included Cosatu and United Democratic Front representatives as well as regional ANC officials) encourages all our people in the areas affected by vigilante violence to organise themselves for the purposes of self-defence."

The NEC welcomed "the successful exploratory meeting" between ANC and Inkatha officials in Durban on Wednesday.

● Government sources today welcomed the ANC's decision to meet Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to try to end the township warfare and said this was what the government had been urging for some time.



Mr Nelson Mandela



Chief Buthelezi

ANC economists to draft policy

Political Reporter

About 55 ANC economists will meet in Harare next weekend to discuss proposals for formulating a draft economic policy for South Africa.

The ANC's department of information and publicity said yesterday the meeting of the organisation's department of economy and planning would also consider ways of restructuring the department to enable it to meet new demands placed on it.

ANC indaba on economy

Sowetan 21/9/90

11A

Sowetan Correspondent

ABOUT 55 African National Congress economists will meet in Harare next weekend to discuss proposals which will enable the organisation to formulate a draft economic policy.

The ANC's department of information and publicity announced yesterday that the meeting of the organisation's department of economy and planning would also consider ways of restructuring the DEP to enable it

to meet new demands placed on it.

The meeting, from September 27 to 29, would be a sequel to a meeting by the ANC and Cosatu on the economy held in Harare in May.

The ANC/Cosatu proposals would be considered at next weekend's meeting, as well as a proposal to establish an institute of economic

analysis in South Africa which could assist the ANC and the DEP to formulate and evaluate its economic policy.

"The outcome of the ANC/Cosatu meeting in May and other fresh input will, it is hoped, lead to the development of a draft economic policy document," the ANC said.

This draft document would be sent to the NEC

and grassroots ANC structures for discussion and comment.

Responses would be sent to the organisation's national congress in December, at which a final policy document would be drawn up.

The Harare meeting would be addressed by the head of the ANC's department of information and publicity, Mr Pallo Jordan, of behalf of the NEC. - *Sowetan Correspondent.*

Peace summit snags as main players stay away

By SEKOLA SELLO
Political Editor

CSA 11A 11A

THE mini peace summit convened by the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) in Soweto this week to address the countrywide violence in black residential areas took off like a lead balloon.

Two of the major factors in the violence – the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party – did not take part in the talks, which involved several political organisations, trade unions, church organisations and prominent black individuals.

One observer at the meeting likened the absence of both the ANC and Inkatha to a wedding taking place without the bride and bridegroom.

While the ANC sent an apology for failing to attend, ostensibly because the meeting coincided with the organisation's emergency National Executive Committee indaba, Inkatha was excluded from these initial talks because, in the words of Azapo president Dr Itumeleng Jerry Mosala, their inclusion at this stage was "a sensitive issue".

The meeting made a number of recommendations and resolutions aimed at stemming the tide of violence which in a matter of weeks has claimed about 800 lives on the Reef. Among these was the need for political tolerance in the black community and a call to movements and organisations to establish immediate truces.

It was also resolved, as a long-term measure, to broaden this week's consultation to include other organisations. This is interpreted as indicating Inkatha could be included in future talks. Asked



Azapo president Dr Itumeleng Jerry Mosala . . . What is wrong with meeting Buthelezi?

By PISO TLADI KHUELE

about this possibility, Mosala said it has not been decided whether to include or exclude Inkatha.

However, it is known that Azapo is in favour of Inkatha being involved in peace

talks. Even a few days prior to the mini peace summit, Mosala stated on SATV that Inkatha's president, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, was "no worse a homeland leader than Transkei's General Bantu Holomisa". He charged that if some liberation movements – an oblique reference to the ANC – could "soil their hands by meeting Transkei's leader, what is wrong in meeting Buthelezi?"

The Azapo initiative, hailed by many as a bold move to bring together various black organisations, even if Inkatha was excluded, held the promise that if the ideologically disparate factions could get together to form a working relationship, then prospects of peace are nearer.

But the absence of the ANC has put a damper on this. The fact one of the ANC's powerful allies, the Congress of South African Trade Unions, also did not attend, further diminishes the possibility of the Azapo initiative achieving the desired results.

The PAC, which had earlier accepted the invitation to take part in the talks, did not attend and the reasons for their absence were not given.

However, it is believed the PAC decided at the eleventh hour not to attend because of the feeling that it would not serve any purpose if the ANC and Inkatha, the two organisations they see as being primarily involved in the current violence, did not attend.

Despite the setback caused by the absence of the PAC, ANC, Cosatu and Inkatha, the convenors are far from disappointed and are going ahead with the peace initiatives. A similar meeting is planned for within 14 days.

Azapo rejects FW's package for future

AZAPO will not enter negotiations with the South African Government unless it is through a constituent assembly, according to Azapo's national publicity secretary, Mr Strini Moodley.

Addressing an Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa luncheon in Durban on

Wednesday, Moodley said that his organisation rejected the notion of negotiation in current circumstances.

"We do not believe that the present package offered by the De Klerk regime comes close to what we understand as negotiations," he said.

"If it is a peaceful resolution of the conflict in this country that (President) De Klerk is asking for, then we agree with him because we also seek a peaceful resolution to the conflict. (11A) ~~(11A)~~

"However, to be able to resolve this conflict we need to

search for a democratic model through which peaceful transformation and a constitutional settlement can take place.

"That, as far as Azapo is concerned, can take place only through the constituent assembly," Moodley said. *Sowetan Correspondent.*

PAC poised to accept Govt's offer of talks

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BEAUTY QUEEN BLUES: Or in this case, a week long trip to Cape Town on the famous Blue Train for Nicola Rotter, Miss Johannesburg 1990. As part of her prize, Nicola will be staying for a week's holiday at a top hotel. She will be promoting tourism between Johannesburg and Cape Town and meet local dignitaries in the mother city.

© Photograph: Ken Oosterbroek

STAFF REPORTERS

SOUTH Africa's second oldest liberation movement, the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), is expected to announce tomorrow its acceptance of President de Klerk's invitation to participate in exploratory talks with the Government.

Top PAC officials in Harare this week conferred at length behind closed doors over the Government's three-week-old invitation to enter exploratory talks with a view to clearing the way for real negotiations early next year.

But while progress towards peace seems imminent on one front, it is teetering precariously on another.

The October 5 peace talks between Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi hung in the balance last night after the KwaZulu leader's insistence that he attend as president of the Inkatha Freedom Party — not as a homeland leader.

This follows an invitation from the ANC deputy-president to Chief Buthelezi to attend a meeting between the ANC and South African homeland leaders.

The invitation came after worldwide pressure on Mr Mandela to meet Chief Buthelezi. Mr Mandela has been avoiding such a meeting for several months.

Chief Buthelezi yesterday insisted on a meeting between himself and Mr Mandela as the respective leaders of the two main organisations involved in the violence.

He would, he said, have to "explore" whether the ANC's invitation to him as one of a group of home-

© TO PAGE 2.

South Africa's class

Apartheid's right-wing apologists believe township violence is fuelled by tribalism. JOHN CARLIN finds envy and resentment behind the bl

RIGHT-WING commentators in Britain and South Africa, having feasted long and well on the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe, are now turning their attention to South Africa, seeking still further opportunities to gorge themselves on righteous vindication.

All this violence in the townships shows that we were right all along, they say. Those white liberals have been exposed for what they are; dreamers deluded by their vision of a South Africa in which all races live in harmony. But, say the right-wingers, they never understood Africa the way we do.

We have always known that to understand Africa you must understand tribalism, they say. The historic conflict between the Zulus and the Xhosas is what the slaughter of the last five weeks has been all about. Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Inkatha's Zulu leader, has always understood this, the right-wingers believe. Nelson Mandela, the ANC leader who fraternises with communists, imagined that tribalism could be swept under the carpet and a non-racial unitary nation — as the slogan goes — forged. How naive Mandela and his white liberal acolytes have been.

Thus do they gloat. If only life in general, and in South Africa in particular, were so amenable to armchair definition.

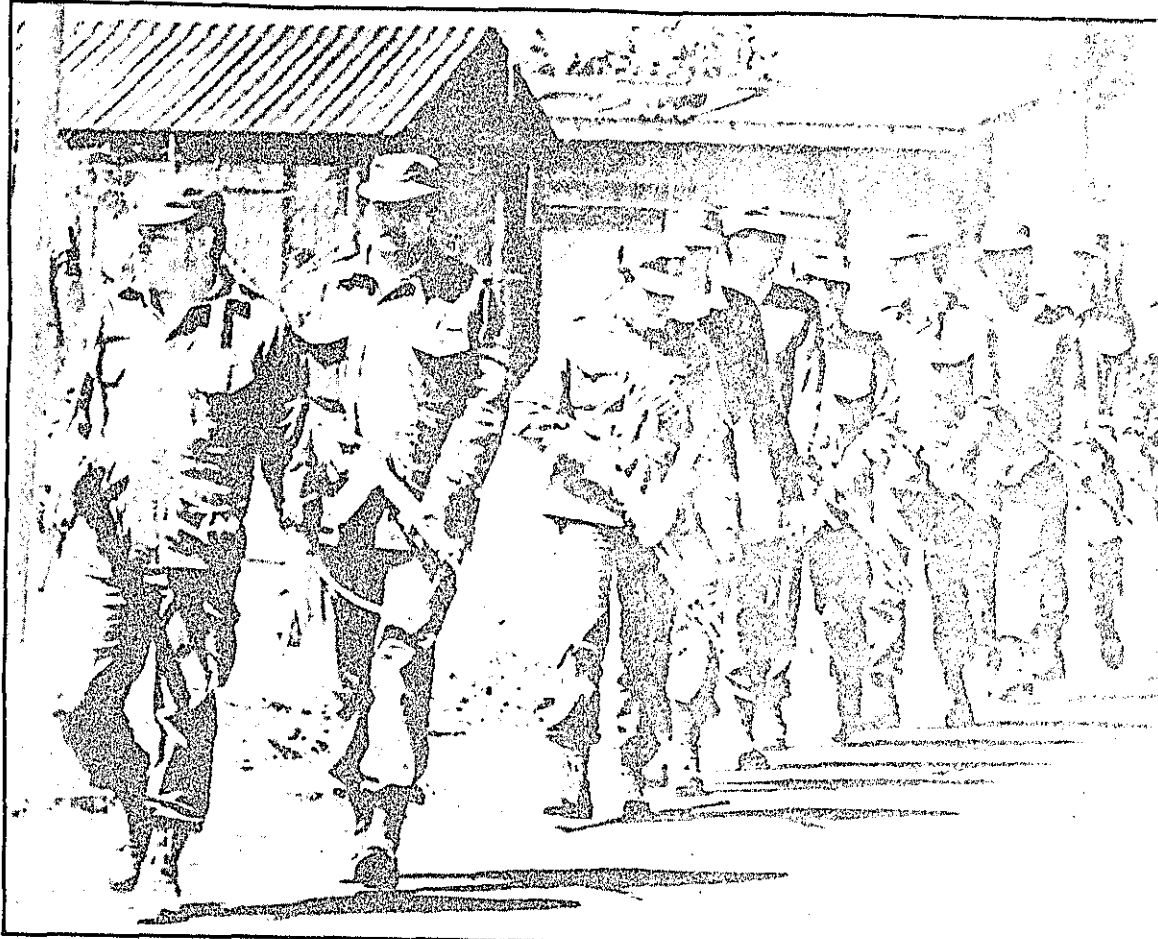
To refute the "tribalism" argument is so simple that it is almost embarrassing. The violence in the townships around Johannesburg has been an extension of the violence in Natal province, where some 4 000 people have died in the last five years. Those killing each other in Natal are all Zulus — Zulus who support the African National Congress and Zulus who support Inkatha.

Further undermining the notion of the Zulu tribe as a monolith led by one formidable leader, is the fact that when Mr Mandela, a Xhosa chieftain, appeared at a rally in Durban after his release from prison, 100 000 Zulus paid homage.

In Soweto, to name but one of the battlegrounds of recent weeks, Zulu residents make up approximately 40 percent of the population. They have been on the receiving end of the Inkatha hostel-dwellers' knives just as much as the Xhosas, Sothos, Shangaans and all the rest. Zulus have been patrolling streets of Soweto at night to defend their homes against attack by Inkatha warriors.

So if tribalism is not the problem, what is?

In essence, of course, it is about power — on this all would agree. The Government and the ANC thought that together they could hammer out the shape of post-apartheid South Africa and, in the process, end up sharing



SOWETO PATROL: The police, says the writer, have blatantly taken sides with hostel dwellers and made a mockery of their PR men

power between themselves. Chief Buthelezi, who has long cherished a vision of himself as an equal — at least — of Mr Mandela's, was not happy about this. Nor was the white right wing.

Violence, as in Natal, is the most effective instrument of political persuasion that Inkatha possesses. And again, as in Natal, the right-wing security forces — time-warped in the P W Botha era — saw a pleasing confluence of interests. The details of who schemed what and when have not yet been revealed. But that, in general terms, is the politics of what is going on.

A much more interesting question and a more difficult one to answer, is why individu-

als have shown such a savage propensity to kill innocent people? Just as interesting is why things have gone so out of control; why leadership has failed to impose order? The answers to both questions are related.

A more helpful term here than "tribalism" is "class" — social class. "Economics" and "education" are also useful terms of reference. The Zulu-on-Zulu war in Natal is being waged between rich and poor, educated and uneducated, the tribal and worldly.

It is in the rural areas and in the squatter camps on the fringes of the townships that Inkatha finds its support. The atavistic sense of loyalty to the tribal chief lingers there. But what spurs the peasant to become a warrior is his envy and resentment, his desire to have what his neighbour has.

As in the killing fields of Natal, so in the Johannesburg

townships. The Inkatha hostel-dwellers who have been terrorising the townships are migrant workers who come from the rural areas of Natal. More importantly, the hostels are perceived almost as leper colonies by the township residents.

On one side there is revision, on the other hatred. A spark ignites the hatred and transforms it into slaughter. The spark comes from Inkatha, which tells its people in the hostels that insult has been added to injury. As a spear-wielding Inkatha elder explained in the first week of the fighting: "The problem is Mandela because he is taken to be the king now, and Chief Buthelezi is not seen as the king any more. When they talk, they always say Mandela is the king and Buthelezi a sell-out."

More than a month on, the violence has acquired a logic of its own.

And the police have driven it

along, blatantly taking sides with the hostel warriors in a manner that makes a mockery of the PR men in Pretoria who scream that such allegations are malicious propaganda. The police dislike the townships residents, whom they associate with the ANC, only marginally less than the Inkatha men do. And they dislike the broader political transformation that is afoot just as much. Natural allies. A marriage made in heaven.

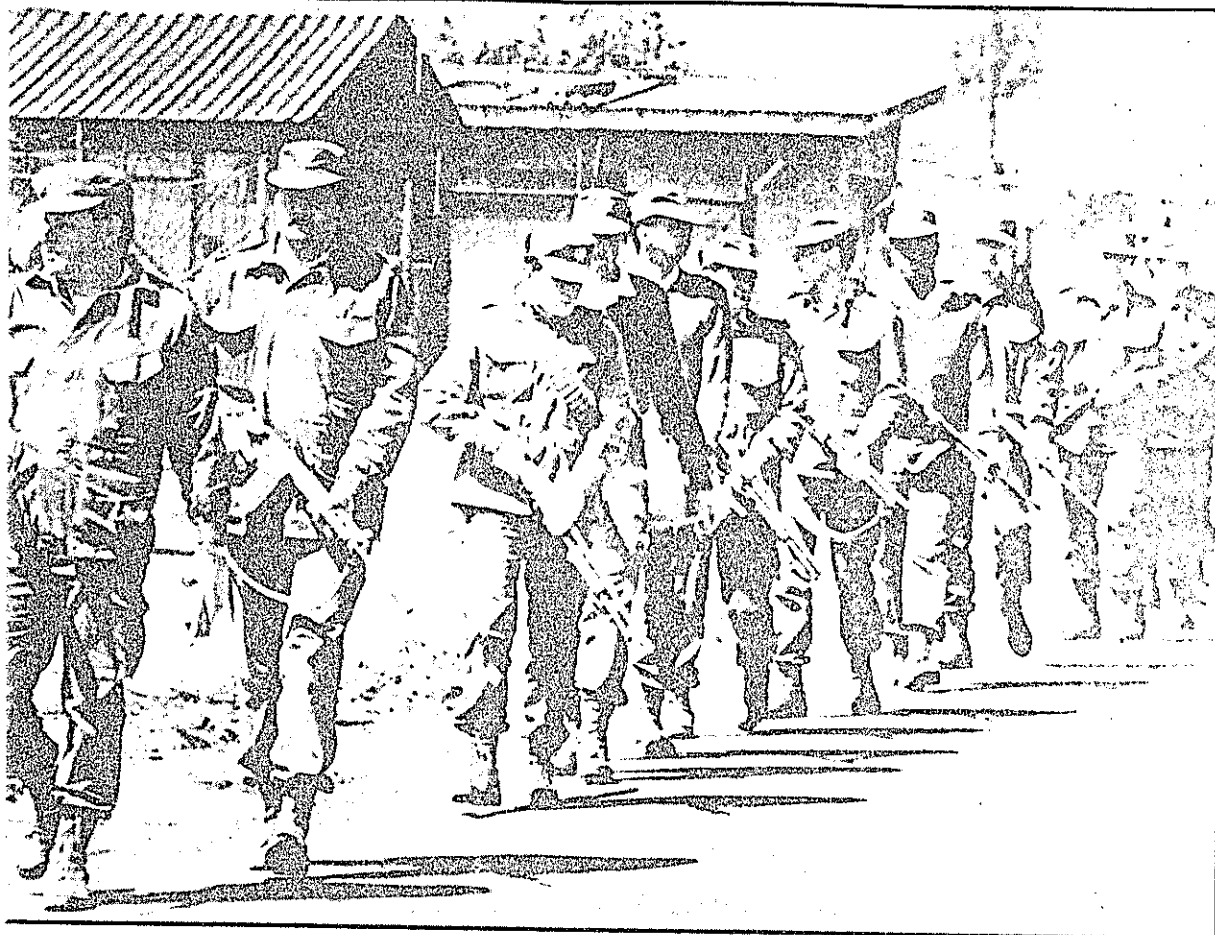
By contrast, a marriage facing much stress these days is that between Mr Mandela and President F W de Klerk. Inkatha and the right wing have much to cheer about. The political process of negotiations is seriously under threat — as the two men have been forced to recognise.

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South Africa's class war

Mr de Klerk's right-wing apologists believe township violence is fuelled by

tribalism. JOHN CARLIN finds envy and resentment behind the bloodshed.



PATROL: The police, says the writer, have blatantly taken sides with hostel dwellers and made a mockery of their PR men in Pretoria.

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As in the killing fields of Natal, so in the Johannesburg

townships. The Inkatha hostel-dwellers who have been terrorising the townships are migrant workers who come from the rural areas of Natal. More importantly, the hostels are perceived almost as leper colonies by the township residents.

On one side there is revulsion, on the other hatred. A spark ignites the hatred and transforms it into slaughter. The spark comes from Inkatha, which tells its people in the hostels that insult has been added to injury. As a spear-wielding Inkatha elder explained in the first week of the fighting: "The problem is Mandela because he is taken to be the king now, and Chief Buthelezi is not seen as the king any more. When they talk, they always say Mandela is the king and Buthelezi a sell-out."

More than a month on, the violence has acquired a logic of its own.

And the police have driven it

along, blatantly taking sides with the hostel warriors in a manner that makes a mockery of the PR men in Pretoria who scream that such allegations are malicious propaganda. The police dislike the townships residents, whom they associate with the ANC, only marginally less than the Inkatha men do. And they dislike the broader political transformation that is afoot just as much. Natural allies. A marriage made in heaven.

By contrast, a marriage facing most stress these days is that between Mr Mandela and President F W de Klerk. Inkatha and the right wing have much to cheer about. The political process of negotiations is seriously under threat — as the two men have been forced to recognise.

Both are lawyers by training. Both are men of peace who, until the middle of last month, were able to nurture the dream that together, in an environment of keeping with the solemnity of the courtroom, they would be able to pen the constitution of "the new South Africa" — a term each loves to employ.

Everything was on course. They already had clear in their minds the broad outline of the political system they wanted. Bargaining and compromise would resolve the details. The danger always was that they would be setting about their task far above the heads of their respective constituencies. Buthelezi — as is clear in retrospect — they thought they could wipe the slate clean. They thought they could factor out the country's history, the decades-old accumulation of hate and prejudice, of poverty and injustice.

They have been awakened rudely from the dream. Potholes were expected on the road of change. Some bloodshed, too. But nothing on this scale. What the violence has done is expose the gap between the two leaders and their respective constituencies, the organisations from which they believe they derive their power.

The police force, the security establishment on which government builds its authority, is not dancing to Mr de Klerk's tune. They don't want "the just new South Africa in which discrimination on the basis of race is a thing of the past". The question did not arise while the country was relatively at peace. But now one must ask, is Mr de Klerk in control? Is he in touch?

The same goes for Mr Mandela and the National Executive Committee of the ANC, the organisation's top leadership body, most of whose members are now home after long exiles. What capacity has Mr Mandela to restrain the angry township youth? The problem at hand requires shrewd thinking, not fighting fire with fire. To do battle with Chief Buthelezi on his own terms — the youth ask for weapons and the ANC threatens to provide them — is a recipe for disaster.

There has to be a clever way to deal with the chief, but the ANC leadership lacks the lines of communication to convey such a message to its militants. To look at the ANC now is to see a head without a body, or rather a body which is not responding to the dictates of the head.

Mr Mandela's problem and Mr de Klerk's are essentially the same. The class issue again comes into the picture. The two men are educated patricians, men of reason, pragmatists aware of the limits of the politically possible. But that is not the way in which politics have been conducted in South Africa. Not until now. The white policeman in the township offers a faithful and not-too-extreme political expression of much of white South Africa, and probably a majority of Afrikaners. The youthful militant has a monopoly on the energy of ANC liberation politics. Politics is about confrontations, about raw emotions.

All of this indicates that today the Inkatha leadership and the right-wing leadership are more in tune with their people than the ANC or the Government. Mr Mandela and Mr de Klerk face a political challenge now the likes of which they never anticipated. If they fail to rise to it, the new South Africa, as Archbishop Desmond Tutu said last week, is "for the birds". — The Independent, London.

ANC sees curfew as licence to hunt people

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THE African National Congress last night rejected out of hand the impending curfew slapped on strife-torn Witwatersrand, saying it gave police "license to hunt people as if they are game".

The measure, announced by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok yesterday, is part of "Operation Iron Fist", the police effort to stop township violence.

The steps have met with mixed reaction from township residents.

The Democratic Party's spokesman on law and order, Denis Worrall, welcomed the measures, saying drastic steps were required to rectify a drastic situation.

"While a curfew limits the movement of law-abiding citizens, it is a measure to keep the instigators off the streets," he said.

Violence subsided markedly this week following joint appeals for peace by King Goodwill Zwelithini Ka Bhekuzulu and Paramount Chief Tutor Ndamase, the Transkeian President, last Sunday.

The new Iron Fist regulations — to be imposed in Vosloorus, Tokoza, Katlehong, Soweto, Meadowlands, Diepkloof and Dobsonville — restrict residents to their homes from 9 pm to 4 am from Tuesday.

Employees can be exempted if they carry written proof from employers that the curfew will interfere with their work. However, police may arrest people without a warrant and detain them for 12 hours to verify the validity of their documents.

Anyone convicted of breaking the curfew may face a maximum fine of R1 000 or six months imprisonment.

In a strongly worded statement, the ANC said: "The 12-hour detention without trial on mere suspicion or opinion of a police officer is a return

STAFF REPORTERS

to the most barbaric form of repression. The curfew will have the effect of lessening the capacity of the people to hold meetings, build organisation and defend themselves from vigilantes. It gives licence to the police to hunt people as if they are game."

The curfew was not "aimed at the perpetrators of violence, but at the communities", the ANC said.

"We would not be surprised if the result of these measures is the outbreak of large-scale vigilante attacks on communities that we experienced at the beginning of the violence in the Transvaal."

Soweto community leader Sister Bernadette Ncube said: "This is like carrying a pass all over again. Just imagine the potential harassment".

Soweto teacher, Mr T J Mokoena, said: "I just want it (the violence) to stop. Whether the Government introduced Iron Fist, or any other tough measure, it must be stopped."

In Vosloorus women living in houses neighbouring a hostel welcomed the curfew if it would "cool down the horrible violence".

Soweto telecommunication technician Muzi Shongwe said the curfew was unreasonable and would not work. "The police won't stop the violence with this curfew. They can only worsen their poor relationship with township residents," he said.

A National Union of Mineworkers spokesman Jerry Majatladi said thousands of workers would be affected by a "recipe for disaster" that amounted to a serious violation of basic human rights.

National Taverners' Association chairman Lucky Michaels said while a curfew might assist in curbing violence, it would badly affect township business. "It will kill the shebeens, which represent 70 percent of the liquor industry and 90 percent of township trading," he said.

● Addressing a plenary session of the President's Council yesterday, Mr Vlok said that from June 1 to September 10 this year, 110 incidents of terrorism occurred. Of these, 82 acts were committed by suspected radical leftists and 28 by rightists. This was a sharp increase compared with the 77 incidents which occurred between January 1 and May 31 this year.

Boesak ma

w/lc ARGWS 22/9/90

king comeback

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

DR Allan Boesak, whose personal life was left in tatters because of his romantic involvement with television personality Elna Botha and his separation from his wife Dorothy, has started his political comeback.

His status as a key figure in the liberation struggle was endorsed by Mr Nelson Mandela at a rally in Worcester this week.

Mr Mandela named the United Democratic Front patron as one of the Western Cape activists who had played a prominent role in the fight for freedom.

Earlier, at lunch, Dr Boesak sat at the head of the table with Mr Mandela.

"He spoke to me as if I belonged there. There was no feeling of strangeness. We spoke about a number of things in a natural way," Dr Boesak said.

The enthusiastic reception Dr Boesak got when he introduced Mr Mandela at Songhe College, Worcester, earlier in the day certainly did not escape the ANC leader's attention.

Neither, for that matter, did the chants of "Boesak, Boesak".

ANC invitation

Dr Boesak said in an interview that the Worcester ANC branch had invited him to introduce Mr Mandela.

"I was not surprised by the invitation. I've been asked on a number of occasions to speak at ANC meetings. I have not been able to do this on all occasions.

"What is surprising is that this is Mandela. He's obviously a great leader of the movement and it seems as if people in Worcester wanted to make a point."

The chants of "Boesak, Boesak" — heard so often in the past but seldom these days — were wonderful, said the former moderator of the NG Sengkerk.

"It was quite an emotional moment for me because it was a reaffirmation of who you really are, of the people's acceptance and love. Since my personal crisis I have been absolutely amazed at the way people continue to encourage me and assure me that they love me.

"But still that was on a personal level. Monday's reception was on a political level. This was a political affirmation. It's hard to explain how I felt, but it was a good feeling. If the people want you this much you really have no right to sit back and mope and feel sorry for yourself. You have to go out there and do whatever you can to continue the work.

"There is a need for our people to understand exactly what these slogans are that we have been shouting so long. What do we really mean about non-racialism and how does one make that a reality in the day-to-day political life and the policies of a political party?"

Mandela
endorses
status
as a key
figure 11A



Dr Allan Boesak

A year ago he was one of the key figures in the defiance campaign. But he has taken a back seat since the release from prison of ANC stalwarts such as Mr Walter Sisulu last year and Mr Mandela in February.

Has he been hurt by people's treatment of him? "It is so obvious that people have noticed I had been discarded. It still does not make sense to me. It hurts very much. I despise self-pity, and you'll never find me sitting in a corner crying about yesterday's spilt milk. But there is no denying the fact that when I became aware of what was happening I was hurt. After all for the last 15 years of my life I have done nothing but fight this battle with my people."

On the other hand interim internal leaders had always said they would stand aside once political leaders had been freed from jail or returned from exile.

"This is not too much of a problem and we have to give the people the opportunity to get to know these leaders. They also need to the chance get to know people.

Waning euphoria

"But then it seems to me that the people have a democratic right to decide who their leaders are. We are entering a period in South Africa where the euphoria of having our leaders back home is waning. People want a clear democratic debate on the direction of the movement, how to approach important issues such as negotiations and a new constitution and how to solve the country's numerous problems."

Democracy, as always, is close to his heart. But he has gained the impression that organisations are often intolerant of the individual's right to question decisions.

"When you as an individual use your democratic right to question this decision, they call you disloyal or undisciplined. This right is something precious. We have fought for it, gone to jail, and were teargassed. I'm not prepared to give it up.

"Or people have fought so hard for this right and giving it up now would be a disaster. When I go out to speak, I tell people what I hope we'll have: a truly democratic, nonracial country."

ANC: Defend yourselves!

By SOPHIE TEMA

RESIDENTS must defend themselves against elements that stir up violence in the townships and kill innocent people, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela said this week.

Mandela was speaking at Soweto's Jabulani amphitheatre where a service was held for the mass burial of 12 people killed in the recent violence.

More than 15 000 people attended the service.

Other members in the ANC delegation were Walter Sisulu, Rev Frank Chikane, NEC member Jack Selebi and MK commander Joe Modise.

Mandela expressed his sympathy for the bereaved families and said their sacrifices were not in vain.

He said measures implemented by the government to quell the violence were actually aimed at disarming the liberation movements and black people, while whites were being armed.

Those buried on Thursday were Abram Mlangeni, Benny and Martin Maboja, Mapule Motswana, Benjamin Ramatlotlo, Sabata Mkhanya, Mickey Nyame, Solomon Seema, Elias Theola, Lessy Mosetlhe, David Motseme and Benjamin Khanye.

Pamphlets distributed outside the stadium called for the dismantling of the hostel system, impartiality of the police and army, and the arrest and prosecution of warlords.

Inkatha steps in to block Kagiso hostel demolition

By ELIAS MALULEKE

INKATHA is seeking an urgent interdict against the Kagiso Council over moves to demolish a hostel to make way for family units.

Deputy mayor MI Sengoera said the council had been prevented from demolishing the hostel by the interdict notice issued by lawyers acting for Inkatha leader Themba Khoza.

The council decided on the demolition last month following violence between residents and Inkatha supporters in hostels.

Sengoera said the notice was issued early this month when the council was due to demolish the hostel. Khoza has since been arrested under Section 29.

"Most of the legally registered hostel tenants had already left and were staying at the Durban Deep mine hostel near Roodepoort when Inkatha lawyers

issued the notice to restrain the council. At the moment the hostel is occupied by unemployed illegals," Sengoera said.

He said while the council was negotiating with Inkatha lawyers, the government had been drawn into the issue and was discussing its implications with the ANC and Inkatha.

"We will wait for the final decision from the government but will continue upgrading the Extension 10 hostel into family units because the project was started before the violence," he added.

In the East Rand townships of Thokoza, Katlehong and Vosloorus steps have already been taken to demolish the hostels and the issue is being tabled in the Tembisa and Daveyton council meetings this month.

Thokoza town clerk HA Combrinck said most hostels were beyond repair following attacks during the unrest and only three remained standing.

11A



Allan Boesak . . . met Mandela during his tour of the Western Cape.

Boesak now looks set for political comeback

CP Correspondent

ALLAN BOESAK, forced to resign recently from several positions in the Dutch Reformed Mission Church, is convinced he is on the way back as a political leader.

The UDF patron's stature was confirmed by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela during his whistle-stop tour of the Western Cape on Monday.

Speaking in Worcester, Mandela said Boesak had been a key figure in the liberation struggle.

Earlier, Boesak joined Mandela and community leaders at lunch in a Worcester hotel.

"He spoke to me as if I belonged there. We were not strangers and spoke about a number of things in a natural way."

Boesak said the Worcester ANC branch had invited him to introduce Mandela before

at Songwe Teachers' Training College, where he delivered a speech.

"I was not surprised by the invitation. I've been asked on a number of occasions to speak at ANC meetings. I have not been able to do this on all occasions."

Boesak was one of the leading figures in last year's defiance campaign, but he suffered a blow recently after reports that he was romantically involved with television personality Elna Botha.

The reports led to the breakdown of his marriage and his resignation as moderator of the Mission Church and president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches.

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been absolutely amazed by the way people continue to encourage and assure me.

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"If the people want you this much you really have no right to sit back and feel sorry for yourself. You have to go out there and do whatever you can to continue the work."

Since the release from prison of leaders such as Nelson Mandela, Boesak seems to have been discarded by the mass democratic movement.

"It hurts very much, but I despise self-pity. You'll never find me sitting in a corner crying about yesterday's spilt milk. But there is no denying that when I became aware of what was happening I was hurt. After all, for the last 15 years of my life I

have done nothing but fight this battle with my people."

On the other hand, interim internal leaders have always said they would stand aside once political leaders had been freed from jail or had returned from exile.

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"But then it seems to me that the people have a right to decide who their leaders are. We are entering a period in South Africa where the euphoria of having our leaders back home is waning.

"People want a clear democratic debate on the direction of the movement, how to approach important issues such as negotiations and a new constitution and how to solve the country's many problems."

PAC ponders vexed issue of participation in talks

By SEKOLA SELLO *Press 23/9/90* (11A)

THE government's decision to invite the PAC to enter negotiations, or more specifically the talks about talks, has placed the movement in a dilemma.

Since PAC president Zeph Mothopeng announced a few weeks ago that the government had officially invited them to participate, there has been great speculation about whether the movement will accept.

To take part or not is the million-dollar question which must be exercising the minds of the PAC leadership, both internal and external, during their crucial talks this week in Harare, Zimbabwe.

If the PAC accepts the invitation, what does it hope to achieve? But if the organisation rejects the invitation outright or with certain conditions, does it not risk being marginalised?

Hopes that the PAC may change its hardline stand were given added impetus following last week's reports attributed to the organisation's secretary of Foreign Affairs, Gora Ebrahim, who allegedly said they were ready to enter negotiations.

Earlier this week another PAC leader, advocate Dikgang Mosenke, said the Harare talks were a "watershed". This was interpreted as indicating the organisation was about to shift from its previous stance.

But while the statement attributed to Ebrahim and that made by Mosenke fuelled speculation that the government was about to break the deadlock between itself and the PAC, another member of the organisation put a damper on such expectations.

PAC secretary general Benny Alexander

attempted to play down the importance of the Harare talks, particularly on the issue of negotiations. He said the meeting in Harare was part of "an ongoing consultation" between the internal and external leaderships.

Alexander emphasised that, contrary to some expectations, the Harare meeting will not take a decision on whether to talk to the government or not. He says the internal leadership will "solicit the opinion" of the external leadership on the talks about talks.

Alexander further cast doubt on the authenticity of the statement attributed to Ebrahim. He admitted he did not know the source of the statement, which was reported in a Johannesburg morning newspaper.

According to Alexander, the official policy of the PAC is clear on negotiations.

"We are not taking part. If a major statement of this nature (the one attributed to Ebrahim) had been made last week at the UN, it would have been made by the organisation's chairman Johnson Mlambo."

The advocates of non-participation may have a stronger case at the moment. The ANC, which is still engaged in ongoing talks with the government, has been strongly criticised for conceding too much during the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes, while the government yielded little.

Apart from the ANC, there are others joining the queue to enter the talks. Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha has stated it is ready to negotiate with Pretoria. Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer has also made it known that he will approach the government to include his party in the talks.

The PAC would find its only fellow traveller being Azapo, which has already rejected



PAC secretary general Benny Alexander ... we are not taking part.

the government's invitation outright.

Given the attractions (not too many) of participating and the disadvantages (too numerous) of staying out, the PAC is in an unenviable position. The Harare meeting will test the leadership to the full.

Once more State President FW de Klerk has seized the initiative and created problems in the ranks of his opponents.

If the PAC rejects the talks, their followers will demand to be given a clear direction to follow - and not just rhetoric. Similarly, if they enter the talks, they need to come with convincing evidence that this will be in the interests of their followers. These are not easy choices.

(11A) (circled)

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Allan Boesak... met Mandela during his tour of the Western Cape.

...mon factory.
The SADF will probe the blast

Accord for rent boycott agreement

press 23/9/90
THE signing of an accord to ratify an agreement ending the rent-and-service-charges boycott will take place in Soweto tomorrow. ~~SA~~ ~~SA~~ ~~SA~~

The accord will include the writing-off of arrears, the establishment of a metropolitan chamber to investigate the setting of regional, non-racial and democratic approaches, the creation of the Greater Soweto People's Trust and the creation of a joint technical committee in which the Johannesburg City Council will be invited to take part.

'Third force' ANC dissidents - Vlok

press 23/9/90
ALTHOUGH the matter was "still being investigated", it had been argued that the so-called third force in the violence might be a dissident group within the ANC, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok said on Friday. ~~SA~~ ~~SA~~ ~~SA~~ (iA)

Addressing the NP-dominated President's Council, Vlok said the "most worrying" aspect was that the moderate faction of the ANC leadership apparently did not know about this as it had "lost control of the militant youth who were in favour of this dissident faction".

However, he said police had so far found no proof of the existence of the so-called third force.

Reports by CP Staff, CP Correspondents and Sapa.

ANC's secret Zulu talks

A

By MANDLA TYALA

A TOP ANC man secretly met Kwazulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi two weeks ago to discuss a summit meeting aimed at ending the Reef violence.

ANC intelligence chief Jacob Zuma — the most prominent Zulu on the organisation's national executive committee — met Mr Buthelezi on September 7.

The summit meeting, scheduled for October 5, was announced by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela this week after a three-day meeting of the NEC.

The summit meeting also will be attended by other leaders of the six non-independent homelands.

The behind-the-scenes approach was made at a time when the ANC was refusing to allow Mr Mandela to meet one-to-one with Mr Buthelezi to discuss the Inkatha-ANC conflict which has claimed thousands of lives.

It has yet to be decided where the summit meeting will be held.

The ANC, anxious to deflect mounting criticism of its decision not to meet Mr Buthelezi, has decided to include the Zulu leader in ongoing consultations with other homeland leaders.

Other leaders expected to attend are Nelson Ramodike of Lebowa, James Mahlangu of Kwandebele, Enos Mabuza

of Kangwane, Hudson Ntsanwisi of Gazankulu and Kenneth Mopeli of Qwaqwa.

To soften the impact of the about-turn on supporters who have been told to isolate Mr Buthelezi, Mr Mandela reminded a TV audience that the Inkatha leader was not only a friend of his but had also stuck up for him while he was in jail.

But Mr Buthelezi, who says his invitation to the summit

was telephoned to him by Mr Mandela, is still insisting on a one-to-one meeting with the ANC leader.

Invited in his capacity as leader of the Kwazulu legislature, he said on Friday he welcomed the change of heart on the part of the ANC, but would attend the meeting as president of Inkatha.

"I will go as president of Inkatha to deliver a message which will highlight the fact

that the ongoing dialogue that there has been between Dr Mandela and other leaders of other regions has resulted in no effective steps to reduce violence and is unlikely to succeed in any such endeavour because:

"First of all, Dr Mandela and I must get together as respective leaders of the two dominant black political organisations involved in the violence.

"Then, secondly, my message to that meeting would be that meetings about peace must, as I have constantly said in the past, actually involve the leaders of our two organisations in the areas where violence has erupted.

"Peace moves must be on the ground, among the people who are involved in violence. Peace moves cannot successfully take place in rarified committees that talk about political principles," he said.

Mr Buthelezi also noted that the ANC had not announced in its press statement that there were ongoing discussions about peace between the Inkatha Freedom Party's top leadership and members of the ANC's NEC.

Milestone

He cited a meeting held in Durban on Wednesday between top-level delegations from the two organisations.

The Zuma/Buthelezi talks were a milestone for the ANC's peace drive in Natal.

On behalf of the ANC, Mr Zuma signed a regional peace accord with Inkatha to stop the violence in the Empangeni area — the first such pact in the current conflict.

●The ANC is also planning a conference of all democratic forces to formulate a strategy to end the violence. No date has been set yet.

Fragile peace bid heads for the rocks

By SEKOLA SELLO and SAPA

THE fragile peace efforts initiated by the ANC this week appear to be heading for the rocks amid fears that the violence — which has already claimed 700 lives on the Reef — could resume.

The ANC this week announced it would meet KwaZulu's Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and other homeland leaders on October 5.

But a major obstacle likely to torpedo the talks is Buthelezi's insistence that he meet the ANC as leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party and not as Chief Minister of KwaZulu.

The ANC, on the other hand, seems to be digging in its heels, saying Buthelezi goes to the talks as Chief Minister of KwaZulu — just like the other invited homeland leaders.

The ANC's Gill Marcus yesterday told *City Press* that "the stand of the ANC on Buthelezi's invitation is clear — he comes as stated in the invitation and so far there is no change on this position".

In another development yesterday, which further threatens the prospects of Buthelezi and the ANC edging closer to each other, the caucus of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly (KLA) endorsed Buthelezi's proposal that the ANC review its position and invite him as leader of Inkatha.

Soon after receiving the invitation on Thursday night to join other homeland leaders "to get

to the root causes of the recent violence and devise means to end it", the KwaZulu leader voiced doubts about the motives behind the invitation.

He said he would have to "explore whether or not the invitation to attend a meeting as one of a group of the leaders of the self-governing states ... is a continuing attempt to deny me my prime political identity as president of the Inkatha Freedom Party".

The ANC proposal for a meeting with Buthelezi and other homeland leaders was made this week after the organisation's National Executive Committee met in extended session over three days to discuss the violence on the Reef and in Natal.

The trading of accusations by both Inkatha and the ANC further complicates any chance of the two parties breaking the current stalemate and making it possible for Mandela and Buthelezi to meet personally (which is Inkatha's demand) and hopefully end the slaughter in the townships.

Meanwhile, acting State President Dr Gerrit Viljoen has reiterated the government's commitment to the negotiation process.

Speaking soon after the departure of President FW de Klerk to the US, Viljoen said the government remained committed to the negotiation process, no matter what other parties decided. This is seen as a reference to the ANC's threats that they may review their position on negotiations if Pretoria did not curb the violence.

Viljoen said the government was surprised that the ANC should question its good faith.

Let's take an adult view of the violence

STimes 23/1/90

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THE spectre of ethnicity has again reared its head and hundreds of innocent lives have been lost, and hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of hearts have been left bitter and aching.

The violence has spread outside Natal; and enemies of majority rule, both internal and external, are fully involved in trying to defeat the liberation of the African masses. The diabolical forces of violence and evil are dutifully at their posts, wrecking hopes for freedom, peace, fraternity and democracy.

What is lacking now? It is the positive forces of good, commonsense, humane concern, and political and moral boldness on the part of the political leadership of the African people.

The ANC, PAC, Azapo and Inkatha have failed, so far, to join hands as members of the African community, to stop this wanton and senseless violence.

It shall take a long time for ordinary African people to forget, or forgive, this dereliction of moral and political duty. The urgent word all around the country

Herbert Vilakazi urges adult black South Africans to reclaim the mantle of leadership and authority from the youth

is that ordinary men and women should assume responsibility for initiating efforts to put this fire out, and save our liberation struggle and the humanism which should be guiding and warming that struggle.

Now, what should be done?

Cease

First, we need to create a movement or spirit of reconciliation within the African community. We should stop asking what you were yesterday, or last week, or last year. The immediate need is to create political brotherhood and sisterhood among all the political movements.

Second — in the spirit of the recent peace agreement between the ANC and Inkatha, at Empangeni, and

the ANC's decision to meet homeland leaders — verbal assaults of one organisation by another, in African political life, must temporarily cease.

Inkatha must stop blaming the ANC for making the country "ungovernable" and the ANC must stop accusing Inkatha of being used by white rightwingers.

Third, we must try, by all means, to reinstate ordinary, adult African men and women in place of youths as the main carriers and force of our revolution.

Let us recreate the old situation — in the ANC and PAC, for example, before these organisations were banned — when the majority of people in meetings were ordinary, adult African men and women; when youth wings of the organi-

sations did not have prestigious, leading status equal with the adult wings in an alliance; when the front rows and stages were not filled by toyi-toying youth.

The banning of the ANC and PAC, the imprisonment of countless political activists and the flight into exile of many others, brought about the silence of African political life similar to the silence of grave-yards.

Powerful

It is then that the youth's anomalous, abnormally big influence in the liberation politics of this country began. It distorted and skewed the proper balance between the role and influence of the youth, on one hand, and of African adults, on the other hand.

We are still paying a deadly price for that distortion. All reports on the violence in African political life, so far, show that the most common and frequent perpetrators of violence and intolerance are youths. The style, impatience and subjective criteria of the youth still have predomi-

nant influence in the choice of tactics of our liberation movements.

Here lie the roots of the tension and conflicts between Buthelezi and the other liberation movements in the African community.

We must realise that the most powerful and reliable arm of our struggle is that of the millions of ordinary, adult African men and women — and two-thirds of these people are semi-literate and illiterate. Our struggle is still very much an elitist struggle, dominated by the youth.

We cannot win our struggle without getting down to these millions of people, urban and rural, without establishing the closest ties with them, without getting back to grassroots African people who are truly the main carrier and engine of our struggle.

We must imbue young activists, and the youth in general, with respect for the adults.

□ Herbert W Vilakazi is Professor of Sociology at the University of Zululand

It is imperative to reflect on the solutions we should embark on now that the situation in our townships has stabilised somewhat – after unprecedented violence claimed more than 740 lives leaving thousands injured and many homeless.

The Azanian People's Organisation, concerned about the lack of initiative from those directly involved with the violence, set the ball rolling this week by calling for an emergency peace summit.

The response was poor.

The ANC said they had prior commitments. The PAC did not see any need to attend if the ANC was absent, and Inkatha, the focal point, was not even invited.

Undaunted by this hiccup, Azapo is planning another summit in two weeks' time. On that occasion they hope all parties will attend, including Inkatha.

Judging by the latest developments, this summit may also hit a snag.

After a three-day meet-

MY WAY

With Khulu Sibiyana

Let's hear
one voice

C/ken 23/9/90



ing last week, the ANC announced their own plans.

They are exploring the possibility of inviting homeland leaders – and Inkatha – to a peace meeting.

Is Nelson Mandela's hand of friendship to Mangosuthu Buthelezi a sign of better things to come – or is it simply another political ploy?

It is difficult to say.

But one thing that is unfolding, is that extra-parliamentary organisations have come to realise the importance of Buthelezi's Inkatha as a necessary player if peace is to be at-

tained.

But one has to give credit to Azapo for their courage and commitment. They have at least showed concern about the need to resolve our complex situation. Despite their limited resources, they were able to get 82 delegates to the meeting.

People were able to speak freely about the need for discipline, especially among our youth.

The focus was not only on the causes of violence, as delegates also discussed how these problems could be solved.

I was impressed by the secretary of the South African Council of Churches, Rev Frank Chikane, who spoke at length about the lack of discipline and leadership among our youth.

Rev Chikane was with the church leaders who went to speak to hostel dwellers during the height of unrest. His first-hand encounter with violence placed him in a better position to give a clear analysis of what happened.

Rev Chikane is presently investigating allegations of a "third force". I'm sure all of us are waiting for

the outcome.

Whatever decision the ANC is likely to take following the now strained relationship with government, it should filter down to the ground level. Uncertainty about the future is the cause of restlessness.

That goes for Azapo, the PAC and Inkatha as well. Their leaders cannot take decisions without the support of their constituencies.

President FW de Klerk's reform policies are also hitting a wall, because he too has not explained fully to his constituency the path he has taken. His people, especially in the platteland, accuse him of selling whites down the road.

With the government now flexing its muscles, black political organisations, more than ever before, need to form a unifying front.

What a pleasure it would be to hear leaders of the ANC, PAC, Azapo and Inkatha speaking with one voice – the voice of all the people.

SOME call it the calm before the storm and others believe the thorny transitional period – which was to be expected anyway – has finally come and gone.

The police strongly believe the situation is now under control since the introduction of the Iron Fist measures. Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok said residents had called, saying they could sleep peacefully for the first time in weeks.

Whatever the contradictions, it is a big relief to most that the situation in our areas is finally back to normal. What remains to be done by the community is to pick up the pieces and rebuild our lost pride.

We should not wait until the curfew is lifted before we embark on a programme of action. While the possibility of another violent flare-up cannot be ruled out because the main causes have not been addressed, the time has come to seek unity in action.


We are already seeing signs pointing towards this elusive goal. Political foes, who in the past would not even be seen to be talking to each other, are today brave

MY WAY

With Khulu Sibiyi

It's time to seek unity

21/10/90



enough to appear together on public platforms.

A few weeks ago, at a private function held at advocate Dikgang Moseneke's Pretoria house, PAC general secretary Benny Alexander came face-to-face for the first time with ANC foreign affairs director Thabo Mbeki.

These two powerful politicians had never met before. It took Moseneke to bring them together. After friendly exchanges they both realised what kept them apart in the first place was sheer political idiocy.

The second largest trade union federation, Nactu, this week had both ANC general

secretary Alfred Nzo and Alexander as guest speakers. Although not aligned to any political movement, Nactu is known for its strong leanings towards Africanism. It was a commendable step indeed for Nactu to invite both the ANC and the PAC to their congress.

The meeting which will take place this Thursday between the ANC and homeland leaders is another sign of maturity among our people.

Through exchanges and discussions we will be able to see our way through. Calling other people collaborators and sellouts, as was the case with homeland leaders and

councillors, is not the solution and no strategy for unity.

I bet whatever negative thoughts Benny and Thabo had about each other do not exist any longer. But had the two appeared on a debate in front of the cameras, they would have torn each other to pieces trying to score political points.

That time will come. But for now, let us iron out our differences in private and also encourage our followers that to differ on strategy does not necessarily mean we are enemies.

Father Mlungisi Ntsele, head of the South African Council of Churches' hunger

and relief department, is concerned about the mass paupers' burials given to our people.

A number of bodies which remain unclaimed in government mortuaries will also be given given paupers' burials.

Ntsele believes the black community should avert further paupers' burials by community-based action.

Here are some of Ntsele's proposals:

- An ad hoc committee must be formed to bring local congregations together;
- These congregations must adopt a body or bodies for a decent funeral; and
- Any donations towards the burials or assistance for orphans would be put in trust.

This is precisely what I mean by unity in action.

Unconfirmed figures revealed that there are more than 80 unclaimed bodies at Diepkloof mortuary and more than 300 at Germiston. It is therefore important for the black community to look seriously into Ntsele's proposal.

Our culture demands we bury our dead in a decent manner.

ANC congress set

By NORMAN WEST

81 Times 23-1-70
THE historic first regional congress of the ANC since its unbanning on February 2 will take place in Cape Town next weekend.

The Western Cape Region Congress will pave the way for the national congress, scheduled for Bloemfontein on December 16.

One of the convenors of next weekend's congress, Johnny Issel, announced yesterday that the keynote speaker would be Thomas Nkobi, the ANC's treasurer-general.

He said various reports on a programme of rural action are expected to produce lengthy debates. (11A)

The ANC is clearly planning to improve its image and consolidate its presence in rural areas and "dorps" — the traditional stamping ground of the Labour Party.

Part of the ANC's land and housing programme is a campaign calling for the resignation of "coloured" management committees and "black" community councils.

Still friends

MOVES to end the rivalry between the ANC and Inkatha gained fresh momentum on Friday when Mr Nelson Mandela said he would hold a meeting with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, saying the KwaZulu leader was his personal friend. *Sowetan 24/9/90*

"He was one of those who demanded my release. And he took the position that he would not negotiate with the Government until political prisoners were freed.

"I remain indebted to him because of our friendship and the support that he has given to me,"

Mandela said in an interview with SABC TV. - *Sapa. (HA) (18)*

Court today on charges of assault

MRS Winnie Mandela, wife of ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, will today face four counts of kidnapping and four charges of assault when she appears with seven others at the Soweto Regional Court. (11A)

The Attorney-General of the Witwatersrand, Mr Klaus von Lieres, SC, announced last week that she will stand trial with seven other accused who have already been charged. Sowetan 24/9/90 (152)

The charges, four of kidnapping and four of assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm, are similar to those faced by the convicted former coach of Mandela United Mr Jerry Richardson although Mrs Mandela has not been charged with murder. - Sowetan Reporter

Mandela will go to East next month

11A

Sowetan 24/9/90

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, who returned to South Africa last weekend after a brief overseas trip, will leave the country again next month for a two-week visit to the East.

The ANC announced that Mandela will visit

India, Malasia, Indonesia and Japan from October 15 to 30.

His trip to the Western Cape, scheduled for last week, was postponed to later this month.

The ANC announced that Mandela would visit the Natal region from October 6 to 8 to meet "comrades for consultation".

He will address a public rally in the region on October 8.

Mandela's recent trip - to Norway, Libya and Algeria - caused much criticism, also within ANC circles, from people who believed he should rather have stayed home to solve the Natal and Reef township violence. - Sapa



Nelson Mandela seen with admirers. This may be the scene when he jets out to the East next month.

Mandela warns: Operation

Star 24/9/90

Iron Fist will fail on Reef

ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela warned yesterday that the Government's Operation Iron Fist could fail to stop violence on the Witwatersrand.

Mr Mandela said the fighting between Inkatha and ANC supporters was not yet over, despite the apparent calm prevailing in the townships in the past week.

"We suspect it is the calm before the storm," he told about 800 people at the launch of a new ANC branch at KwaThe-

ma, near Springs. (11A)

"The Government pretends that Mr de Klerk has put an end to the violence. That is not true," he said.

Mr Mandela also warned that the ANC would be forced to pull out of negotiations if the Government continued to apply double standards, referring to the "soft" way in which white rightwingers were handled while black protesters were deterred with force. — Sapa.

PAC still undecided on invitation to join talks

St 24/9/90 11A

By Kaizer Nyatumba,
The Star's Africa News Service

HARARE — The Pan Africanist Congress leadership has failed to reach "a firm decision" on the SA Government's invitation to take part in exploratory talks, but the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA) has decided to urge the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) to accept.

The PAC has referred the issue back to its structures for "exhaustive" discussions.

This emerged yesterday after a three-day meeting involving the externally based central committee and the internal national executive committee.

At a press conference yesterday, PAC vice-president Clarence Makwethu read a statement saying the PAC had discussed President de Klerk's invitation and would respond to it "after all structures have reported back".

Also present were representa-

tives of foreign governments such as the Soviet Union and Japan. They later expressed disappointment at the PAC's apparent inability to reach a decision.

At the opening of the talks on Friday, PAC president Zephania Mothopeng threatened to resign as leader of the organisation if it did not take a decision to which it would be committed.

● In its first response, the Government said it was "encouraging, meaningful and positive" that the PAC was still considering the possibility of entering into negotiations, reports Peter Fabricius, The Star's Political Correspondent.

Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Constitutional Development Minister, said "It would certainly promote the seeking of peaceful solutions if all players had their heads in the scrum rather than nit-picking from the sidelines."

● PAC conference ends in stalemate — Page 11.

PAC shelves decision over talks with State

Sowetan 24/9/90

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HARARE - The Pan Africanist Congress yesterday announced it had postponed its decision on whether to join the negotiations already in progress between the South African Government and the ANC.

The organisation made the announcement after a three-day consultation in Harare between the external and internal leaderships of the PAC.

Among those at the meeting were stalwarts Mr AP Mda and Mr ZB Molete, who flew in from

Lesotho.

PAC vice-president Mr Clarence Makwetu told journalists that as the matter was being discussed by the party's grassroots structures inside South Africa, a solid decision could only be taken at the organisation's national conference in November.

However, there was a possibility that the decision would be made before the national conference if the responses being received showed a unanimous inclination.

He added that the PAC remained "committed to realising national libera-

tion and self-determination, employing all methods of struggle, including armed struggle".

Commenting on a letter from President FW de Klerk to the PAC inviting the organisation to join the negotiations, Makwetu said the letter was being discussed in all PAC structures.

"The PAC's response will be given to the regime after the structures have reported back," he said.

On the return of exiles, Makwetu said there should be unconditional return of all political exiles. - *Sapa*.

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CPM trials 24/9/90

ANC forming its own army, says Winnie

114

WELKOM. — On the eve of her highly publicised trial on charges of kidnapping and assault, Mrs Winnie Mandela told an enthusiastic crowd that the ANC was still committed to the armed struggle.

Mrs Mandela was speaking at the launch of a new ANC branch in this Free State mining town which has the world's largest goldfield.

There was hope that conflict could be resolved through dialogue, she said, but that hope was tempered by the reality that the negotiation process might not work.

"It is for that reason we have not abandoned, but suspended, the armed struggle."

The suspension of the armed struggle meant cadres were confined to base, but the ANC had not promised to discontinue training Umkhonto we Sizwe members.

"Recruiting for MK continues, all those activities must continue. The ranks of MK must be swollen."

Mrs Mandela said the ANC was preparing its own army for a future South Africa.

"We are doing the same as the South African Defence Force — this must not be interpreted to mean this undermines the letter of the Pretoria Minute, it does not do so."

She said there could be no justice without equality.

"To talk of justice in the present set-up is a symptom of blindness to the reality of apartheid.

"The price of peace is high, it will be earned through the blood of our people."

Mrs Mandela was introduced to the singing and clapping crowd as the first black social welfare worker in South Africa. "She is a people's social worker," the speaker said. — Sapa

CAPE TIMES 24/9/90
11A

Race labels in reverse will not change past

From **WILLEM STEENKAMP** (Oranjezicht):

MR Barney Desai's reply to my September 11 letter on the subject of what he terms "settler-colonialists" proves little except that he is either rather fuzzy on the definition of this category of human being or guilty of some terminological inexactitude.

He explains exactly what "settler-colonialists" are, namely whites who oppressed "the African" — meaning, as far as I can see, every person who was not white in the period under review.

Now, while I am the last person to deny his-

toric injustices, I must take issue with his reasons for including me in the "settler-colonialist" category.

Namely I have a white skin in spite of what might be buzzing around in my genes, and live in a white group area.

I find his definition rather thin. One might even say it smacks of lynch law. In fact, it is about as logical a view as that of a white racist who would condemn a man because his skin is black and he lives in a black group area.

I could show him indisputable documentary proof that one of my ancestors openly protested to a government representative about the shooting of Bushmen in the last century, which, I assume, would lessen my inherited settler-colonialist taint.

I could offer proof that another ancestor's faithful henchmen in anti-Bushman expeditions in the 1780s were full-blooded Khoi, proving that the matter is hardly as simple as Mr Desai seems to think.

But I really think that this would distract our attention from the matter in hand: The use of racist appellations.

One is tempted to ask how, in terms of Mr Desai's categorising, a person of obviously white appearance would prove that he was not a "settler-colonialist".

A certificate from a licensed genealogist, to the effect that neither he nor his ancestors had taken part in perpetrating any of the injustices named by Mr Desai? A written undertaking admitting guilt and swearing to sin no more? A solemn oath, in the case of a person of mixed parentage, that he rejects the settler-colonialist part of his blood?

All this is ridiculous, of course, and so is a policy which can write off a whole category of

people under a denigratory label — for let us be honest, Mr Desai, to judge by the list of injustices you give it is patently obvious that you regard only white people as history's criminals, not the black and Arab slave-traders who sold so many Africans into captivity, not the tribal chiefs who wiped out or enslaved so many other nations, not the Khoi who warred so relentlessly against the Bushmen.

Mention these latter cases not because I want to absolve anyone of guilt but because I want to make that point that, historically speaking, no South African group's collective hands are clean. Harping on matters which we cannot repair will solve nothing.

So let us turn our backs on what is past — not forgetting, because a nation which forgets its past tends to repeat its mistakes — and say: "This is Year One of a new era. Let us correct what is wrong, and let our children discuss the things that we and our fathers and forefathers did wrong."

And a good way to start that process is to stop slinging indiscriminate racial epithets around. We are moving away from racial labels; applying them in reverse will not change the past.

PS: If whites can, in fact, join the PAC, I stand corrected. I should be interested to know what they have to do to qualify, short of applying for a blanket pardon for all their sins, actual and possible.

PPS: I never use the word "San" for Bushmen myself, as I have it on good authority that in translation it means "robbers". Not even a settler-colonialist should be that unfair to the earliest of South Africa's victims.

SA's future is not black and white

From **JOHN MURPHY** (Observatory):

I WAS gratified to see that Mr Barney Desai has made some attempt to deal with the concerns I raised in my letter (Cape Times, September 11). Regrettably, he does not come to grips with my main point. The point is — to discriminate between South Africans by parcelling them into groups labelled "settler" and "African" on the basis of indistinct and doubtful criteria is dangerous. It is dangerous because it lays the foundation for future negative discrimination. But more importantly, it is dangerous because coupled with a slogan like "one settler one bullet" it has the potential to contribute to the culture of violence.

No one can deny the catalogue of atrocities and human-rights abuses adverted to by Mr Desai. Unfortunately, a response of this kind does not adequately answer the question: Who is a settler and how does one come to be one?

Mr Desai links settler colonialists to a variety of oppressive acts perpetrated throughout our history. These, valid as they are, add little in the way of clarity for those entrusted in the future with the task of deciding who is a settler.

The Concise Oxford Dictionary defines a settler as "one who settles in a new colony, early colonist". That Mr Desai accepts this definition is in part evident from his description of the 1652 Dutch occupation. It is in that aspect that the classification becomes misleading because in effect it reduces the struggle for liberation to one between black and white. The present conflict is

clearly more complex and cannot be explained solely in terms of the earlier white conquest.

I accept Mr Desai's assurance that the PAC incorporates more than ancestry into the term settler and that one's "attitude and a commitment to freedom" count for something. But where does that take us? Added to the criterion of descent we now have "association" ie whether or not one is a settler depends on whose brand of freedom one commits to. Both the ANC and Inkatha like the PAC, profess a commitment to freedom. What we mean by freedom and how it is to be achieved is, of course, the essence of the debate.

I'm not asking Mr Desai to absolve white South Africa. All I ask is that we do not repeat the mistakes of our history.

We can no longer afford war-mongering like that witnessed at Mr Alexander's recent meeting at UDW, where the slogan: "Every time a settler is killed an African is liberated", was applauded.

As Gujerat's most famous son Mohandas K Gandhi once observed: "An eye for an eye leaves the whole world blind."

What is PAC doing for the struggle?

From **T GINYIBHULU** (Guguletu):

MR DESAI distances himself from the PAC slogan "one settler one bullet". But what is the official PAC stance on this slogan? Mr Desai has also gone on record as saying that by talking to the government the ANC is selling out. But when he and the PAC were in exile what were they doing for the struggle? What are they doing now to make the government heed their demand for a constituent assembly? Where did the PAC wage their struggle and where are they fighting now?

I am asking all these questions because nowhere have I seen in our townships or anywhere else any campaigns or struggles waged by the PAC and I have yet to hear of a single "settler" dying from PAC bullets.

As far as I am concerned it is not the PAC but the UDF, Cosatu and the ANC which are busy organising the masses in their struggles for houses, jobs, better wages. I have never heard or seen a campaign for houses, for example, waged by the PAC in the Western Cape.

CHM tent's 24/9/90

PAC not yet ready to join talks with govt

11A

Own Correspondent

HARARE. — After three days of discussions, the 40 members of the Pan Africanist Congress national executive and central committee yesterday deferred a decision on President F W de Klerk's invitation to join talks on South Africa's future.

The organisation hoped instead that a verdict will have come from its "grassroots" by November, when it plans its first national conference inside the country since its banning three decades ago.

PAC vice-president Mr Clarence Makwetu told a press conference at the conclusion of the Harare consultative meeting that there was also no firm response to Mr Nelson Mandela's appeal for a dialogue to end differences dating from the 1961 split.

The briefing was given, significantly, by the PAC's diplomatic vice-president, wearing a dapper three-piece suit, rather than its tough-talking septuagenarian president, Mr Zephania Mothopeng.

On unity with the ANC, Mr Makwetu regretted that Mr Mandela and Chief Gatsha Buthelezi had failed to respond to Mr Mothopeng's attempt to convene a meeting to end the current wave of violence in the country. Mr Mothopeng had received no response to the letters he sent several weeks ago, said Mr Makwetu.

Mr Makwetu said that in debating Mr De Klerk's invitation to participate in talks alongside the ANC, the Harare consultative meeting "appreciated that the letter was being democratically discussed in all PAC structures".

Mandela praises 'good friend' FW

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday praised his "good friend" President F W De Klerk, but also accused him of not being frank about problems within the government.

Mr Mandela made the accusation in a lengthy interview with former Rand Daily Mail editor, Mr Allister Sparks, published in the Observer newspaper under the headline: "De Klerk: Man of integrity beset with liars".

The ANC deputy president also claimed the decision to charge his wife, Winnie, was taken to placate the right-wing after the arrest of Piet "Skiet" Rudolph.

Speaking with great admiration for Mr De Klerk, Mr Mandela did however indicate he felt he was being "let down" by him.

"I still regard him as a man of integrity, and I think he feels the same way about me. We have developed enormous respect for each other."

PAC's position on talks 'encouraging'

ARGUS 24/9/90

11A

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — The government finds it "encouraging, meaningful and positive" that the PAC is still considering the possibility of entering into negotiations.

Dr Gerrit Viljoen, acting State President and Constitutional Development Minister, said so today in reaction to a statement by the PAC from Harare yesterday that it would probably make a decision in November whether or not to take part in negotiations.

The government wrote to the PAC more than two weeks ago to invite it to join negotiations.

Asked if he was optimistic that the PAC would join the

talks, Dr Viljoen said today the government meant the invitation to be taken seriously. The PAC had been invited because the government felt the negotiation conference should be as broad as possible and because it had detected "a new accent in their rhetoric".

"It would certainly promote the seeking of peaceful solutions if all players had their heads in the scrum rather than nit-picking from the sidelines."

PAC deputy chairman Mr Clarence Makwetu said in Harare that the question of negotiations would be discussed again by the PAC at its national congress in November.

Senior PAC sources indicated earlier that the PAC would not enter talks with the gov-

ernment about non-negotiables such as the repeal of remaining apartheid legislation, or the release of political prisoners.

It would not abandon the armed struggle, but would consider concluding a mutually-binding ceasefire.

Dr Viljoen also reacted to suggestions that negotiations with the ANC were bogged down, a perception created largely by the lack of progress by the joint working group on the "cessation" of the ANC's armed struggle.

Dr Viljoen said recently that negotiations could not proceed until the working group had finished its work.

Today he said that the working group was progressing "much more slowly than we expected".

Now Govt gets testy

GOVERNMENT negotiators have bluntly told the ANC and other organisations to "get their act together" and exert greater discipline over elements in their ranks who seem to be opposed to negotiations, Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Gerrit Viljoen revealed last night.

Speaking at a meeting in Bellville in the De Kullen constituency of Mr Myburgh Streicher, he said it was clear to the Government that

there were some elements in organisations involved in the negotiations who had a "double agenda", and seemed intent on destabilising the process through violence and intimidation.

"We have put it to the leaders of the ANC and others that they will have to get their act together. They must ensure that they can exercise effective control and discipline over their members.

"They cannot make agreements on violence

and give undertakings on the armed struggle if they are not in a position to apply them in a disciplined way," he said. (11A) (200A)

He also delivered a strong counter-attack to ANC claims that the police were partial, or were responsible for the violence, and that the Government was acting only because two white policemen had been killed.

In a speech devoted to outlining the Government's approach to ne-

gotiations - to which, he argued, there was no reasonable alternative - Dr Viljoen stressed the importance of making the process as accessible as possible and explained the National Party's opposition to the concept of a constituent assembly and an interim government, and its conviction that non-discriminatory minority rights were an essential ingredient if the new constitution were to be a workable and acceptable instrument of State.

'Iron Fist' is slated

AFRICAN National Congress leader Nelson Mandela warned yesterday that the Government's "Operation Iron Fist" could fail to stop the violence on the Witwatersrand and suggested the security measures were introduced mainly for the benefit

of President F W de Klerk's visit to the United States.

The ANC deputy president said the fighting between Inkatha and ANC supporters was not over yet despite the apparent calm in the townships in the past week.

"We suspect it is the calm before the storm," he told about 800 people

SO wafan 24/9/90

at the launch of a new ANC branch at KwaThema.

"They (Government) pretend De Klerk has put an end to the violence. That is not true," he added.

Warned

Mandela also warned the ANC would be forced to pull out of the negotiations if the Government continued to apply double standards, referring to the "soft" way in which white right-wingers were handled while black protestors were deterred with force.

In the same speech he said the ANC and the Government were compelled under the present circumstances and conditions to negotiate a peace-

ful settlement "though thick and thin". They (the ANC and the Government) were the two main political players in the country and there would be peace only while they talked to each other, he added.

"Only when the ANC and the Government are talking to each other will we have peace in this country," he said. "We are compelled to work together through thick and thin," he added.

The ANC leader said "Iron Fist" would not work to end the violence. The fighting would only stop when the security forces, whom he again accused of siding with Inkatha, laid down their arms.

"We hope the Government will come to its senses to solve the violence not through Iron Fist, but by putting their arms away," Mandela stressed.

Curfew

He said he feared many people would be killed in their homes and on the the trains while the curfew and other measures were in place.

He reiterated the security measures had been implemented to appease white views only after two white policemen were killed. He added the so-called "Third Force" responsible for the violence had gone underground "for the benefit of De Klerk". - Sapa

PAC response 'encouraging' - Government

Sowetan 25/9/90

11A
3007

THE Government finds it "encouraging, meaningful and positive" that the PAC is still considering the possibility of entering into negotiations.

Dr Gerrit Viljoen, acting State President and Constitutional Development Minister, said so yesterday in reaction to a statement by the PAC from Harare on Sunday that it would probably make a decision in November whether or not to participate in negotiations.

The Government wrote to the PAC more than two weeks ago to invite it to join negotiations.

Serious

Asked if he was optimistic that the PAC would join the talks, Viljoen said yesterday the Government meant the invitation to be taken seriously. The PAC had been invited, because the Government felt the negotiation conference should be as broad as possible and because it had detected "a new accent in their rhetoric".

PAC deputy chairman Clarence Makwetu said in Harare that the question of negotiations would be

decided by PAC members at its national congress in November.

Senior PAC sources indicated earlier that the PAC would not enter talks with the Government about non-negotiables such as the repeal of remaining apartheid legislation, or the release of political prisoners.

Denial

Viljoen also reacted to suggestions that negotiations with the ANC were bogged down, a perception created largely by the lack of real progress by the joint working group on the ANC's armed struggle.

Viljoen denied that last week's anti-weapons measures had by-passed or pre-empted the working group's functions. He said these measures were of far wider effect than the ANC's weapons and applied also to other organisations whose weapons contributed to the violence.

Overall violence had been identified by both the Government and the ANC as a factor which was delaying and might imperil the negotiations.

- Sowetan Correspondent.

Double vision over disorder

The horrific violence on the Witwatersrand has produced a deep gloom with respect to the prospects for a negotiated settlement in South Africa. Among whites there is clearly a sense of outrage that the ANC leadership refuses to help curb the violence and accept responsibility for restoring stability in the townships.

The question is increasingly being asked whether much purpose would be served in bringing such an organisation into government as a coalition partner.

Blacks within the ex-liberation movements see the violence quite differently. A long and sordid history of police and army dirty tricks both in South Africa and neighbouring countries has created a reflex reaction in which all unexplained political mayhem is attributed to security agents.

What is the purpose, these blacks ask, of entering into negotiations with a state whose police force is still so unprofessional and so openly biased in its conduct?

Apalling as they are, the recent events on the Witwatersrand serve a useful purpose in that they expose a major misconception about the current political scene. Much of the euphoria surrounding the February 2 speech and the meetings between the Government and the ANC was based on the mistaken assumption that politics is all about leaders who hammer out a deal between them on the national level and who then proceed to sell it to their followers on the local level (or stuff it down their throats).

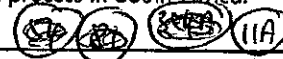
It was this leaderist assumption which prompted the State in the 1980s to believe in a conspiracy theory which attributed the black protests and resistance to a few radical leaders both inside and outside the country.

Understandably enough, the ANC encouraged this perception by claiming to be the force behind mass demonstrations against the authorities. In actual fact much of the township protests between 1984



HERMANN GILIOME, head of the Department of Political Studies at the University of Cape Town, discusses problems and new options to assist the reform process in South Africa.

Stac 25/9/90



and 1989 were driven by their own dynamics without any co-ordination or manipulation by ANC leaders.

If the Government over-estimated the ANC capacity to control the masses, the ANC too had a quite unrealistic conception of what leaders in government could accomplish. They fully believed the police could be disciplined immediately and the white right wing would be routed by the powerful State.

By now the public should realise the folly of depending on leaders to shape orderly constituencies quickly out of South Africa's distorted political form. The daunting difficulties of bringing about some political coherence are compounded by the fun-

There is wisdom in the saying of Disraeli that there is nothing as ridiculous as a statesman in a hurry.

damental differences existing between the NP and ANC leaders and within the camps of the major movements.

While Government spokesmen now talk the language of liberal democracy, there is a bottom line. The NP wants at least power parity and with it the ability to check any major changes which go against its will. However, for the NP the priority at the moment is to draw the ANC into negotiations and forms of joint rule.

The ANC, on the other hand, will resist carrying the responsibility of government until it knows that the process of transferring power to the majority is irreversible.

In an important article in an American publication *Journal of Democracy*, Alfred Stepan argues that democratic opposition movements which are ranged against an authoritarian regime must perform the following tasks if they want to retain their coherence and achieve victory: Resist integration into the regime, guard zones of autonomy against it, dispute its legitimacy, raise the costs of authoritarian rule, create a credible democratic alternative.

This seems to be the agenda of important voices in the ANC. Their influence shows in the ANC's refusal to support steps to restore order, its blaming of faceless elements in the security forces and Inkatha, and its continued demands for a constituent assembly.

Can negotiations then ever be got back on track? Two things are necessary. First, the NP leadership and President De Klerk in particular will seriously have to reconsider their intention of pushing for a negotiated settlement as quickly as possible.

There is wisdom in the saying of Disraeli that there is nothing as ridiculous as a statesman in a hurry. From the Government point of view, it would be far better to negotiate ultimately with a movement which has organised itself properly, which has some consensus on the level of both leadership and followers about ways to restore peace in South Africa, and has the ability to make deals stick.

For the foreseeable future, the ANC will lack this.

In the second place both the Government and the major opposition movements should investigate the desirability of an informal negotiat-

ing forum which should precede the actual negotiations. Something along these lines has been proposed locally by Professor Nic Olivier of the Democratic Party and in the United States by Harvard's Roger Fisher in an article on how to reach a settlement with Saddam Hussein.

As Fisher describes it, the objective should be to establish a private dialogue to clarify mutual legitimate interests, to generate options and to explore possibilities. At the early stages of this activity, known

The recent events on the Witwatersrand serve a useful purpose in that they expose a major misconception about the current political scene.

as Track Two Diplomacy, the talking should be done by middle-level people, well informed of the positions of the movements to which they are aligned, but with no authority to make commitments. The experience is that because of their limited authority, they have an added incentive opportunity to be creative.

Only if such a committee establishes the existence of sufficient common ground — and a lot of people are beginning to doubt this — can there be talk of actual negotiations and a committee of wise men acting as chairmen. After the recent events on the Witwatersrand, we know it will take much longer than we had thought to find the road to peace in South Africa.

Widespread and recurrent violence are always a major setback for the prospects of democracy. All the major parties now need to concentrate their minds on the question of how much the disorder — and their failure to address it — will cost them in domestic and international support. Only once there is a perception of rising costs, will the major parties engage in serious talks.

Winnie's trial date set for February 4

Star 25/1/90 (11A)

By Helen Grange

Winnie Mandela — "accused number eight" — arrived at Soweto's Protea Magistrate's Court yesterday amid a thronging, chanting crowd.



Her trial — with seven co-accused also charged with eight counts of kidnapping and assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm — was postponed to February 4 at her lawyer's request.

Winnie and Nelson Mandela outside court yesterday. ● Picture by Sean Woods.

Radiant in a navy blue matching skirt and jacket, Mrs Mandela arrived at exactly 9 am with her husband, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela.

As relatives and journalists piled into the courtroom, supporters dressed in ANC colours waited patiently outside. Scores of policemen kept watch over proceedings.

After legal argument between the prosecutor, Chris van Vuuren, and Mrs Mandela's attorney, Ismail Ayob, over a trial date in the Rand Supreme Court, the magistrate, T F Veldman, decided to grant Mr Ayob's request.

The trial date of October 30, suggested by the Attorney-General of the Witwatersrand local division, was inopportune, Mr Ayob submitted, as Mrs Mandela would not have sufficient time to prepare her case.

Secondly, Mrs Mandela's counsel, understood to be George Bizos SC, was not available for this date.

Mortuary like scene from a horror movie

Star 25/9/90

By Thabo Leshilo

The Sepedi saying that a human being is not like a dog whose body can just be thrown away to rot, might as well be amended, a visit to the Government Mortuary in Diepkloof, Soweto revealed yesterday.

The bodies of many victims of the recent Reef conflict, which have been kept at the mortuary, end up being buried as paupers.

When The Star visited Diepkloof yesterday, more than a 100 people from Tembisa, Vosloorus, Katlehong and Tokoza had come in an attempt to identify their relatives and prevent paupers' funerals.

Joyce Mbatha (42) had come all the way from Empangeni, Natal, to identify her son, Siphwe Ishmael Mbatha (20).

Siphwe went missing after he and fellow hostel dwellers

went out during a fight with Tokoza residents.

Although his death has not been confirmed, Mrs Mbatha harboured no illusions that her son was still alive.

She has been visiting the mortuary since last Monday and has seen dozens of bodies — but none was that of her son.

She said that although the trips were costing her a fortune, she was prepared to pay until her son's corpse had been found and buried decently.

The mortuary storeroom looked like a scene from a horror movie yesterday.

Bodies were lying on the floor, one on top of the other.

Most had turned black from decomposition. Many had gaping hack wounds and gouged-out eyes, making identification difficult.

Winnie 'may quit if' found guilty'

Star
28/9/90
By Chris Whitfield
The Star Bureau
LONDON — Nelson Mandela told British television viewers last night that his wife, Winnie, would resign from her position as head of the ANC's department of welfare if found guilty of the charges against her in court.

He also suggested that some of Mrs Mandela's recent controversial statements might have arisen from a misunderstanding of decisions by the ANC's national executive, but he said he was to blame for this.

Mr Mandela was being interviewed by David Dimbleby for BBC's "Panorama" programme. Mr de Klerk was also interviewed for the same broadcast.

Dimbleby asked Mr Mandela whether he thought it was correct to appoint Mrs Mandela to the ANC post at a time when she was facing charges of kidnapping and assault.

He defended the decision,

saying she was ir-
proved guilty, and added: "If my wife is found guilty I am sure she will be the first to say: 'In the light of the decision of the court I can no longer hold this position'."

Dimbleby asked if statements made by his wife about the suspension of the armed struggle represented the ANC view. Mr Mandela said they might have arisen from a failure to understand certain decisions by the national executive.

Implications

"People outside the national executive do not find it as easy to understand the decisions as we do."

Dimbleby asked whether this included his wife: "Yes, of course, because she is outside the national executive."

He added, however, that he sometimes failed "to do what I should", which was "coming back home and explaining to my wife the decision we have taken and its implications".

Mr Mandela, discussing the violence in the Reef townships, said the ANC had reason to believe groups were paid to "commit these massacres ... this was an independent force which was carrying out certain objectives, and orchestrated by certain people".

He repeated threats to lift the suspension of the armed struggle if the Government failed to suppress the township violence.

Mr de Klerk told Dimbleby the recent violence had stemmed from "a positioning for power within the black community".

He said, however, that massacres on trains and shootings from minibuses were "different", and "a form of terrorism".

He said the motives of such attacks was "to upset the psychological atmosphere, to create a general atmosphere of uncertainty and fear".

● Winnie's case postponed

— Page 6.

Secret paper on economy moots ANC policy shift

11A
B/25/9/90

PETER DELMAR

THE ANC's latest — and still secret — economic policy document contains a marked shift away from the ideology of a central statist approach, and emphasises the importance of creating growth through investment.

ANC economics and planning department deputy head Tito Mboweni said yesterday the latest "draft discussion document" had been discussed at a meeting of 50 ANC economists and members in Harare at the weekend.

The document, which he described as "very perceptive", still has to be submitted to the ANC's national executive committee (NEC) before being made public and will be further debated by all ANC regions and branches.

Mboweni said the word nationalisation was mentioned only once, in relation to public utilities which had been or might be privatised by the

state. These, he said, would be subject to "immediate re-nationalisation" by an ANC government.

Although unwilling to discuss specifics of the draft, Mboweni said the latest document attempted to steer clear of economic jargon.

He indicated the Harare meeting felt the ANC's previous economics position paper over-emphasised the state's role in the economy, and that a balance had to be found between the roles of the public and private sectors.

The recognition that growth should be encouraged through investment and not just through redistribution represented a "new direction in our thinking", Mboweni said, adding that the state would retain an important role in influencing private sector investment.

He said the document recognised

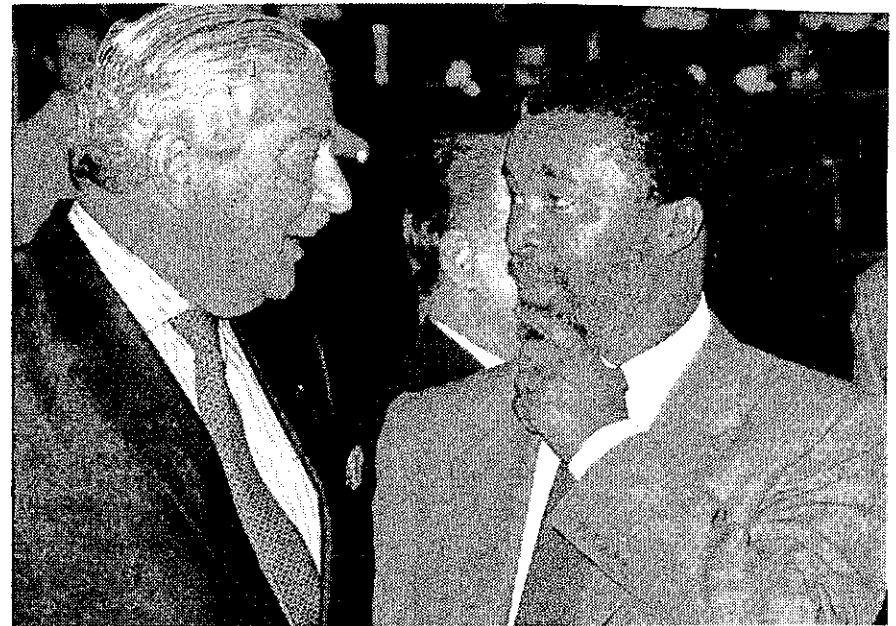
the important role the private sector would play in a post-apartheid economy.

The Harare meeting also proposed the establishment of an ANC institute of economic policy.

The unit would co-ordinate "an evolving programme of economic policy research as well as conducting research and publicising it".

Mboweni acknowledged it was "highly unusual for a liberation movement to establish such an institute", but said this was needed because of the organisation's exclusion from most economic and political research in SA.

He said he envisaged the institute — which still had to be approved by the NEC — being staffed by a director and at least eight research fellows. Salaries would be comparable with those offered at universities, he said.



The ANC's Thabo Mbeki chats to Frankel Kruger Vinderine chairman Leslie Frankel during a visit to the JSE by ANC representatives yesterday.

Picture: CATHERINE ROSS

JSE 'paper chase' fails to impress politicians

11A
CHARLOTTE MATHEWS and ZILLA EFRAT

AN ANC delegation ventured into the heart of SA capitalism yesterday but was not taken with "the paper chase" on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange.

ANC international affairs director Thabo Mbeki, his deputy Stanley Mabizela, deputy economics head Tito Mboweni and Cosatu assistant general secretary Sydney Mafumadi visited the JSE at the invitation of stockbrokers Frankel Kruger Vinderine (FKV).

FKV MD Sidney Frankel said there had been a strong and sometimes heated exchange of views. After lunch with representatives of institutions and FKV clients, the delegation wandered down to the trading floor.

A whirl in the gold price came at an opportune moment, boosting share prices and providing some action on what had been a deadly dull floor.

Mboweni said the ANC saw the JSE as a place where paper money chased paper money instead of being used for productive activity such as manufacturing.

"The JSE plays a useful role in showing the level of productivity of the large corporations. But the final emphasis must be on putting money into actual production," Mboweni said. B/25/9/90

Frankel said the invitation was aimed at a cross-pollination of thoughts. FKV would invite anyone who would play an important role in the new SA to meet its clients. In June FKV invited National Union of Mineworkers general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa.

While Ramaphosa found the JSE visit "mind-boggling", it did not convert him to capitalism.

ANC's plan for better schools

Own Correspondent

APARTHEID education has eroded the learning culture in South Africa, creating a bitter and deeply alienated youth, according to Mr John Samuel, director of the South African Council of Higher Education (Sached).

Mr Samuel, who has been appointed head of the ANC's education department from next year, was giving the opening address at the Idasa-sponsored Schools for the Future conference at the University of Cape Town.

Delegates

About 350 delegates representing 50 schools, universities, training colleges, education departments and major educational organisations like the National Education Co-ordinating Committee (NECC) attended the weekend conference.

Mr Samuel said South Africans had witnessed the most devastating effects of the apartheid education system over the past 15 years.

The most immediate and challenging task of building a new education system was to rebuild and revitalise the learning culture.

Anguish

"The legacy of apartheid confronts us on a daily basis. We see it in the pain and anguish of parents: in the anger, frustration and suffering of the students; in the deep disillusionment of teachers and in the despair of our societies," he said.

A secondary consequence of the erosion of the learning culture had been the alienation of the community from education.

"Parents and teachers have been excluded and denied their involvement with education."

Campaigns

A climate of learning had to be encouraged and developed, and educational campaigns like the NECC's "Back to School" move had to be supported and spread, Mr Samuel argued.

It was also clear that the State had to provide for a new educational system.

"Only a strong intervention by the State can redress the imbalances, redistribute resources and develop national guidelines for a democratic education system."

But this strong central role in educational provision should not extend to educational control.

"The State must support and create an enabling political environment to encourage the development of democratic education in South Africa," he said.

Vlok details insurgents' arrests

B10am 25/9/70
BELFAST — No one, including the ANC, could give any reasons for resorting to violence as government was dismantling apartheid and people were now able to call each other "comrade", Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok said at a public meeting in this Transvaal town last night.

At a public meeting, Vlok said police had evidence of ANC contraventions of the Pretoria Minute.

He cited 37 incidents of terror since the August 6 signing of the Pretoria Minute in which the ANC agreed to suspend the armed struggle.

He also said nine of 40 externally trained ANC insurgents arrested since February 2, when the ANC was unbanned, had been caught after August 6.

He said the latest incident occurred on September 14 and 15 when two foreign-trained ANC members were arrested in Natal.

These people had admitted they had orders to recruit people in SA to undergo training so violent measures could be

adopted if negotiations broke down and also to increase the violence in Natal.

Vlok gave his assurance that the police would track and catch perpetrators of violence. "Nothing they plan or do will remain a secret to the police," he said.

He called on the ANC to accept its responsibility and control unruly members.

119 Intimidation 25

He also called on the organisation to stop calling for a show of force by the authorities and then complain about it when this took place.

"We will take whatever steps necessary to maintain order and to make the country safe for all people."

Government was dismantling apartheid, people could gather freely, intimidation was unnecessary and communism was dying in the rest of the world, but the ANC/SACP alliance wanted to bring it to SA and it was for these reasons no one had to resort to violence. — Sapa.

PAC says its army is involved in Reef war

GUERILLAS of the Pan Africanist Congress's military wing, the African People's Liberation Army, have been involved in the recent wave of violence which claimed more than 800 lives in townships on the Reef, according to PAC defence secretary Mr Sabelo Phama.

In an interview with the *Sowetan* in Harare, Zimbabwe, on Sunday after the PAC's three-day consultative conference, Phama said there was a direct involvement of APLA forces in the recent violence on the Reef.



Ordinary residents

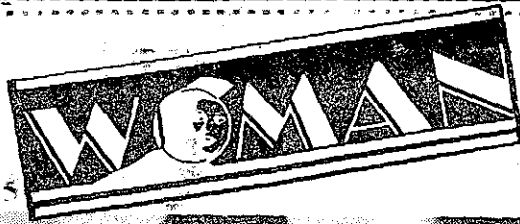


However, Phama said APLA's targets in the violence were not ordinary township residents, but "the police, soldiers and enemy agents who are in the first line of our operations".

"Our involvement in what has been going on in the townships, it must be clear, is not an anti-negotiations position. *Sowetan 21/9/90*

It is not our intention to use APLA forces to stop the talks between the Government and the ANC," he said.

Phama said the PAC believed "in a people's war which is meant to increase our people's fighting capacity".



Wave of violence in Reef townships cause worry to mothers

Women call for peace

Sowetan 26/9/90

11A

By JOSHUA
RABOROKO



BLACK women have a major role to play in bringing about political change and peace among the warring groups in the trouble-torn townships in South Africa.

They have reached a crucial stage in the liberation struggle against apartheid that their voices must be heard calling for peace, unity and safety among their communities.

This message came from marketing administrator of the National Black Consumers Union Mrs Cynthia Chabeli in an address to the wives of the South African Black Taxi Association at Sabta's annual meeting.

Peace call

Chabeli said the present violence that had claimed the lives of more than 700 people was disturbing to "mothers who must pull up their socks and help make peace" with the perpetrators.

She said that for far too long black consumers had been intimidated, too apathetic and ignorant of their right to fight back.

"However, things are

changing and people are learning to stand up and be heard and black women are no exception," Chabeli said.

The NBCU, which is an affiliate of Fabcos, was formed from representatives of various women's organisations who came together and identified the need for a single, unified organisation representing black consumers.

Roll

Chabeli said: "The role of our organisation is to educate guide and protect black consumers, especially mothers who most of the time do the buying for their families.

"We are teaching the people how to avoid the pitfalls of signing contracts without realising what they are committing themselves to. We also train women how to shop wisely, how to stop being easy targets for unscrupulous traders and how to resist unfair price increases."

For that reason, the

NBCU had introduced a "smart card" for members to buy at a discount from various retail, furniture and other businesses.

From its inception the NBCU had recognised that the values, principles and standards underlying the universal policy of the free enterprise system had been sacrificed because of the discriminatory laws of apartheid, she said.

She attacked apartheid as the system which had worked to the detriment and retardation of the progressive development of the more than 22 million black people in South Africa.

Discounts

Her association had refused to recognise any sectarian or ideological divisions in the black community.

The marketing director of NBCU, Mr Johnny Dladla, said the smart card would entitle members to get discounts of between 10 to 62 percent on certain goods. They were negotiating other discount benefits with major stores.

Wives of Sabta's executives attending a special session of their annual meeting at Sun City last week. They were told that women can play a leading role in ending violence in the townships.

Azayo congress will focus on violence

By RUSSEL MOLEFE

11A

THE internecine violence wracking the black community will be high on the agenda at the national congress of the Azanian Youth Organisation to be held at Seshogo, Pietersburg, at the weekend.

Announcing this, the organisation's publicity secretary, Mr Mbulelo Ketye, said the black nation was experiencing the worst setbacks in the liberation struggle since the wars of resistance began years ago.

He said the unbanning of organisations by State President FW de Klerk on February 2 and the lifting of restrictions on several leaders caused more divisions among the major liberation movements than ever before.

Sowetan 26/9/90
"We witnessed a drive of supremacy and domination escalating in an unprecedented scale. We therefore strongly feel that this issue needs to be addressed genuinely and strive to enhance black solidarity as we witnessed in the 70s," Ketye said.

He added that the congress whose theme is "Fighters arise and seize the time for a socialist Azania" will deliberate on all issues with this background in mind.

Concern over ^{11A} talks ^{Sowetan 26/9/90}

THE South African Youth Congress is concerned that the Chief Minister of KwaZulu and leader of Inkatha, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, may not attend the meeting of black leaders set up by the ANC.

It is scheduled for October 5 and follows a telephone call to Buthelezi from ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela last Thursday.

Sayco welcomed the ANC's decision to hold discussions with the leaders of self-governing homelands "to devise a joint strategy to end the violence and pre-empt further outbreaks of such violence". - *Sowetan Correspondent*

Slabbert pleads for an SA Untag

Star 26/9/90 (11A)

How can one expect past agents of violence to become non-partisan peacekeepers? Idasa executive director Dr Van Zyl Slabbert (right) proposes a domestic equivalent of Untag.

Idasa executive director Dr Van Zyl Slabbert has made an urgent plea for a South African equivalent of Untag, the United Nations Transition Assistance Group, to maintain law and order while political organisations negotiate a new constitution.

In an interview in Johannesburg, he said none of the country's existing "agents of violence" — including the SA Defence Force, the SA Police and the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe — had the legitimacy to maintain stability during the difficult process that lay ahead.

Stability

The current crisis of violence had the very real potential of derailing the peace process.

"You cannot negotiate effectively — you cannot even try to normalise the situation — if you don't seriously address the problem of stability.

"One cannot just ignore the past. You can't pretend that you're negotiating in an entirely fresh situation. You have a history which comes into this process of negotiation."

The process itself, Dr Slabbert said, was an attempt to negotiate away white minority domination and find an acceptable constitutional alternative.

"In these circumstances, who is going to maintain stability while the parties negotiate?"

"We haven't got an Untag that can say to the different sectors: 'We will provide the stability. You sort out the poli-

tics," he said.
 "In the South African context you have to develop a domestic equivalent of Untag because we certainly haven't got international agents that can provide us with that."

The overriding question now, however, was "how do you develop a domestic equivalent of Untag in a situation where we've come out of polarised confrontation between the different groups that are opposing each other?"

"What, of course, has happened, was that at the end of the 1980s we'd reached a state of deadlock — the country was coming to a standstill and we couldn't move," he said.

"Now, with this movement to a negotiated transition, you suddenly have a situation where the regime or the Government has opened up political space and said to people that they want to negotiate.

"But you can't just ignore the past," Dr Slabbert stressed.

"I draw a very clear distinction between what I call constitutional and unconstitutional agents of violence.

"Constitutional agents of violence in any country will be the defence force, the police force. They're constitutionally legalised to be instruments of violence. In the South African sense we have a crisis of constitutional legitimacy. And that crisis relates also to the agents of violence — the SADF and SAP."

But they were faced with the impossible task of coming from a past that had been polarised politically, and now had to present themselves as non-partisan agents of violence. It was precisely that dilemma which had to be resolved.

"In exactly the same way you can't say that MK, vigilantes, 'witdoeke', Apia (the PAC military wing) have no past. They also bring their past into this process of change. They



are unconstitutional agents of violence — they haven't got the legality of the system."

The biggest dilemma facing South Africa in the immediate future was how to marginalise what Dr Slabbert called "rogue violence" and reach a new situation of stability where all parties readily accepted that those who were responsible for stability could maintain law and order.

While the ANC had accused elements within the SAP and SADF of destabilising the peace process, senior members of the Government — last week it was Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Gerrit Viljoen and Law and Order Minister

Adriaan Vlok — maintained there were elements in the ANC intent on destabilisation.

"Against the already very volatile situation, these different agents of violence — whether constitutional or unconstitutional — do not trust one another, and that aggravates the situation."

What was immediately necessary was for the different parties to first agree on how they were to create a situation of non-partisan stability.

"In other words, how do you sort out those people who are responsible for maintaining law and order?" Dr Slabbert said.

"It doesn't help to blame one another. It doesn't help to

blame one another. It doesn't help to question one another's motives or intentions, because the more you do that, the more you simply highlight the inability to agree on what kind of stability there must be.

"And if you can't agree on that, then it's just self-delusion to think you can seriously begin to discuss how to develop a new constitution or a new civil service, or how to negotiate anything in the economy, or housing, or education.

"If the major players avoid coming to terms with this crisis, it has the potential for derailing the discussions.

"Let me put it to you quite bluntly: Last year this time a young constable in the SAP could more or less be quite sure of promotion if he killed (MK chief of staff) Chris Hani on sight. Now it is expected of him to protect Hani when he comes for talks at the Pretoria Union Buildings or Tuynhuis in Cape Town.

Suspicion

"Last year this time a young cadre within the ANC's resistance movement (MK) would be expected to kill agents of the SAP and the SADF. It was deliberate policy.

"Now it's expected of him to calm down and wait for people to negotiate transition.

"So, you have a history of suspicion. You have a history of mistrust. You have a history of deliberate hostile action towards one another. You can't pretend that that has suddenly evaporated, because you've suddenly discovered the word 'negotiation,'" he said.

The problem had to be addressed immediately: "You have to say: Let us first talk about the fact that we've had these hostile attitudes to one another. Let us agree how to solve that, and then move ahead." — Sapa.

Govt hopes to talk to a weakened ANC - Lekota

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — It was unfortunate that President Bush had made the observation that President de Klerk's reforms were irreversible when the negotiations in South Africa were in the balance, Patrick Lekota of the ANC said here yesterday.

Mr Lekota, in the US for a conference, told a news briefing at the National

Press Club in Washington that recent actions by the South African Government had indicated it wanted to negotiate with a weakened ANC. The Government had been content to allow the violence in the country to continue unchecked because it intimidated ANC supporters and undermined their confidence in the movement.

He said it was true that violence had subsided in the

country in recent days, but this could be only in order to allow Mr de Klerk to have a successful US visit.

"We remain certain the assault on the ANC will continue," he said.

Mr Lekota said that in many parts of Natal ANC members were too scared to carry their party membership cards or to wear T-shirts which identified them with Nelson Mandela or the

movement.

He said the ANC did not object to Mr de Klerk's visit to the US. It hoped the US authorities had impressed upon the President the need to act in good faith.

If the situation in South Africa did not improve, he added, the ANC would have to consider whether it should take the responsibility of defending its members in their communities.

This would be a serious development as it could derail the process of negotiation.

If the ANC felt there was inadequate pressure on Pretoria it might be obliged to revert to the armed struggle, he warned. One could therefore argue that sanctions were good for the De Klerk government in that they added pressure for a peaceful settlement in South Africa.

SLC 26/9/90 (11A)

'PAC involved in violence'

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff

Guerillas of the Pan Africanist Congress's military wing, the African People's Liberation Army (Apla), have been involved in the recent violence on the Reef, according to PAC defence secretary Sabelo Phama.

In an interview with The Star in Harare, after the PAC's three-day consultative conference at the weekend, Mr Phama said there

was a direct involvement of Apla forces in the recent violence. Sep 26/9/90

However, he said Apla's targets were not township residents, but "the police, soldiers and enemy agents who are in the first line of our operations".

"Our involvement in what has been going on in the townships is not an anti-negotiations position."

Mr Phama said the PAC

intended to intensify its armed struggle until a ceasefire had been signed between the Government and the PAC.

In a separate interview, PAC administrative secretary Joe Mkhwanazi appealed to the international community to understand the organisation's decision to defer its response to the Government's talks invitation until it had been discussed by all its structures.

VIOLENCE and the responses of various parties to it have all but put paid to prospects of real negotiations beginning by the year end.

Also delaying negotiations, ironically, is the very success achieved by negotiators in removing obstacles identified by the ANC.

In the brief period between August 6 and the onset of Reef violence, government spokesmen confidently predicted real negotiations would be under way by the year end. It is now seven weeks since the signing of the Pretoria Minute in which the ANC agreed to suspend armed action and there is still no sign of so-called "talks about talks" to explore matters such as participation and structuring of negotiations.

Violence on the scale witnessed on the Reef in past weeks would always have threatened what is a fragile negotiation process. Coming as it did at a time when neither of the parties to the Pretoria Minute had had an opportunity to sell to their respective constituencies compromises that were acceptable to negotiators, it has been especially disruptive. It is also not surprising that ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela sees the hand of a "sinister third force".

Government and the ANC proved at Pretoria that leaders were able to negotiate with each other. There has since been little proof that the ANC has been able to sell what was agreed to its more radical elements. On the other hand, while government spokesmen deny it publicly, they admit in private that they do have a problem in getting elements of the security forces to accept the Pretoria Minute.

In addition, while neither side ever claimed that the Groote Schuur and Pretoria rounds were intended as anything more than talks to remove obstacles, the success achieved and the degree of trust built up, particularly between President F W de Klerk and Mandela, aroused suspicions of "exclusivity" or a "deal between the two main parties".

The DP's Zach de Beer and Denis Worrall complained of this as, in a rather more histrionic manner, did Inkatha's Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

He complained about being ignored when, after the signing of the

Time now to get the smaller players around the table

MIKE ROBERTSON

Pretoria Minute, US President George Bush congratulated De Klerk and Mandela on their role in ending violence. The Inkatha leader went on to call for "pressure on the SA government to move away from the divisiveness which separate talks (are) resulting in".

Government's chief negotiator Gerrit Viljoen has since pointed out that it has held as many if not more talks with Buthelezi, both directly and as part of larger delegations of homeland leaders, than with the ANC. This, however, does not detract from the fact that Buthelezi felt excluded.

Post-August 6 we had a situation of growing confidence in relations between government and the ANC and mistrust about this relationship on the part of other potential participants. Violence and the various parties' responses to it have resulted in mistrust all round.

Government erred badly in not reacting sooner to accusations of security force misconduct or partiality. The appointment of an "independent, highly respected" person to investigate these allegations would have been an appropriate response at the outset. It is only now being considered by De Klerk.

Defence Minister Magnus Malan's repeated attacks on the ANC and Mandela reflect a level of general annoyance in government.

It is argued by some in government that these attacks are intended

to address fears among more conservative elements in the army. If so they must then be seen in the same light as the provocative speeches of Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani, which are said to be aimed at placating more radical elements in the ANC. It was, after all, Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer who pointed out, in reference to the utterances of Hani and Winnie Mandela, that controversial statements aimed at placating certain elements had the effect of antagonising almost everyone else.

Nelson Mandela has also done his bit to undermine trust built up in the run-up to and on August 6. Contradictions abound in almost every public statement he makes. An example is the speech he made in Soweto on Sunday in which he again raised the threat of pulling out of negotiations, only to add that the ANC was forced in present circumstances to negotiate through thick and thin.

Underlying these remarks is again a concern to keep in check more radical elements in the movement by holding out the possibility of a return to the armed action. The reality, however, is that so-called armed struggle amounted to very little. In any case, the police uncovering of "Operation Vula" has all but smashed the ANC underground.

Mandela went on to talk of the so-called third force having gone underground for the benefit of De Klerk's visit to the US. At the same time he absolves De Klerk of any involvement with this so-called force, which he believes is sponsored by right-wing elements in the security forces who want to undermine negotiations. The explanation as to why this force should then go underground for De Klerk's benefit was not forthcoming.

It is not just government and the ANC that by their actions or inaction have undermined prospects for real negotiations. Buthelezi, too, is far from blameless. He has pushed for a meeting with Mandela without ever spelling out why such a high-profile media event would achieve more than the patient, lower-level meetings which have recently resulted in the signing of peace accords in parts of strife-torn Natal.

Now that the ANC national executive committee has called for a meeting with all homeland leaders, he says he will attend only as leader of Inkatha.

At a Shaka day rally at the weekend Buthelezi talked of both Inkatha and KwaZulu being represented in negotiations. He is both KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha leader and talks with the ANC are part of broader negotiations. If he really believes a high-profile meeting between him and Mandela will contribute towards ending violence, why quibble?

The other major black political organisation, the PAC, after tiptoeing tentatively towards talks with government, has now put off a decision to enable it to consult its membership. Given its past demand for government capitulation before negotiation, Viljoen is perhaps correct in interpreting this as a positive move. It is difficult, however, to take seriously an organisation whose leader Zeph Mothopeng talks as he did at the weekend of "delivering the last blow to overthrow white domination" and of the PAC winning and "taking power".

Confidence in negotiations has been severely shaken but De Klerk is right when he points out that despite the violence, more progress than could have been hoped for a year ago has been achieved.

Mandela still maintains that there will be peace only while the main political players — government and the ANC — talk to each other. That takes us back to August 6. Harsh experience has shown that this is not enough.

The political process has to be broadened and broadened quickly. If that means compromising on issues such as a constituent assembly it must be done. A sensible compromise being floated by some in government entails the basic principles of a new constitution being worked out in negotiations in which all parties with a proven constituency participate. Then only are elections held with those elected empowered to fill in the details.

Given that all major parties except the PAC and CP have committed themselves to a negotiated settlement, it would help too if leaders started considering the future of all South Africa rather than the interests of their supporters when engaging in public debate.

Throughout the violence, the government/ANC political offences and "armed action" working groups have continued not only to meet, but to agree on recommendations to be made to their principals.

This is a sign that while negotiations have suffered a setback, they are far from dead. The challenge now is to achieve the same results with all parties and not just the so-called main players.

Zach puts education for masses high on his list

THEO RAWANA

A SOUND education with a greater emphasis on technical education and training for the masses was needed for the creation of a climate conducive to free enterprise and growth, DP leader Zach de Beer said in Johannesburg last night.

Addressing the Islamic Business Chamber, De Beer said SA would need to rely more on manufacturing — particularly for export — for future growth, as the gold mining industry was on the wane and agriculture would always be limited by poor soils and inadequate rain. B104 26/9/90

"First and foremost, manufacture demands an educated work force, and I need not tell this audience how far behind we are in this regard.

"Secondly, it demands excellent worker-manager relationships; and this presents an especially difficult challenge in SA.

"Thirdly, government must play the role of an expert coach while strictly refraining from taking part in the actual game; and this will demand from the future SA government behaviour quite different from that of its predecessors," De Beer said.

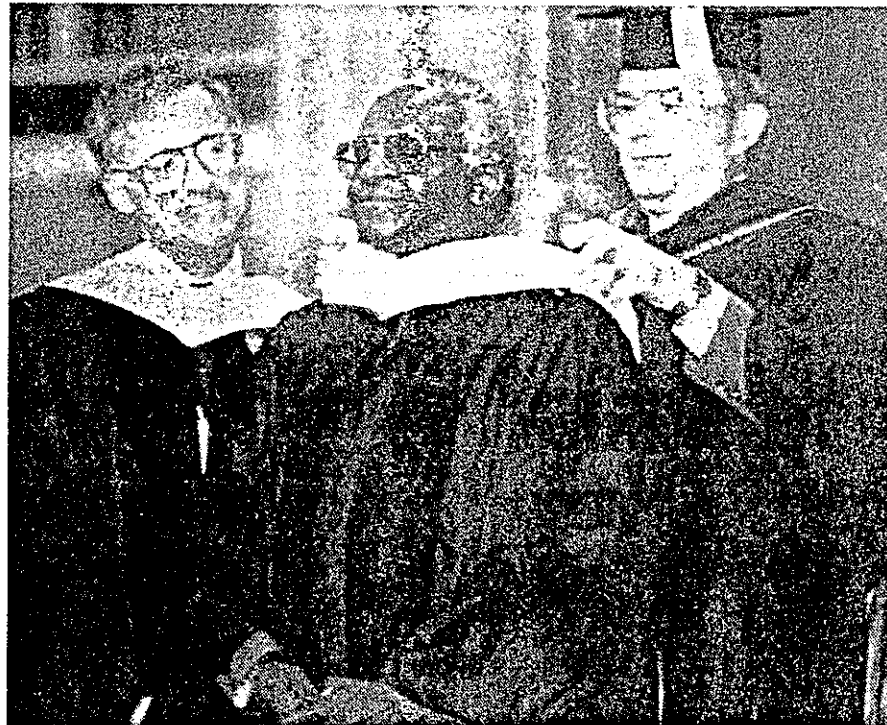
Long-term prospects for growth in SA depended on the way in which resources, human and material, were developed and deployed.

At the top of long-term requirements was a sound education for the masses, with the balance tilted more towards technical education and training than hitherto, said De Beer.

Next were housing and services planned and designed to provide a decent, secure quality of life.

"Third, an outward orientation in all that we do: free markets, minimum tariff protection; thorough market research to seek opportunities for exports; and intelligent international representation on the business as well as the political level.

"Above all, a unity of national purpose: the understanding that we are one nation and that we shall sink or swim together," De Beer said.



Archbishop Desmond Tutu receives an honorary doctorate of human letters from the University of Missouri, Kansas City. He is flanked by university president Peter Magrath, left, and chancellor George Russell.

Picture: REUTERS

HARARE — The PAC was castigated by Zimbabwe's semi-official national daily newspaper The Herald yesterday for failing to take up President F W de Klerk's invitation to negotiations on SA's future.

At a weekend meeting in Harare, the PAC central committee and national executive deferred a deci-

PAC is given some confusing advice

MICHAEL HARTNACK

sion on De Klerk's invitation until November, when it hopes to have the opinions of the organisation's members at its first national conference to be held in SA since it was banned in 1961.

President Robert Mu-

gabe's ruling Zanu (PF) party has close and long-standing ties with the PAC and Senior Political Affairs Minister Didymus Mutasa caused a diplomatic sensa-

Commonwealth experts to probe needs of new SA

LONDON — The Commonwealth has set up an expert group to study the needs of post-apartheid SA, says Commonwealth secretary-general Chief Emeka Anyaoku.

The group, announced yesterday, will identify priorities for advanced education and work experience, says the Commonwealth. It will also recommend future actions for the Commonwealth and suggest ways of getting greater support from the Commonwealth and the international community.

The first meeting is scheduled for November in London. B104 26/9/90

An interim report will be made in December, while the final report is expected to be presented to Commonwealth heads of government at their summit in Zimbabwe in mid-1991.

The Expert Group on Human Resource Development for a Post-Apartheid SA is chaired by John Harker, vice-chairman of the SA Education Trust Fund, the Canadian branch of the Commonwealth-wide "Skills for SA" network, and will have two SA members.

The expert group was suggested by the Canadian government at the meeting of the Commonwealth committee of foreign ministers on southern Africa in Nigeria in May.

The group was endorsed by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, who was present at the meeting, the Commonwealth said. — Sapa-AP.

an invitation, the PAC now did not seem to know what to do with it.

tion last year when he suggested Zimbabwe would prefer to see the PAC as the governing party in a post-apartheid SA.

The Herald said in an editorial that the PAC had no choice but to join talks. Having appeared to solicit

But apparently contradicting its advice to the PAC, The Herald also suggested: "The PAC can afford to procrastinate and watch the possibly devastating effects of the ANC's hurried agreement to 'suspend' the armed struggle."



GEORGE BUSH

Bush is jumping the gun - ANC

11/11

Sowetan 26/9/90

UNITED States President George Bush's description of change in South Africa since February 2 as irreversible was jumping the gun and premature, the ANC said yesterday.

After his meeting at the White House with President FW de Klerk on Monday, Bush accepted De Klerk's assurance that the changes which had taken place in South Africa since February 2 this year were irreversible.

The ANC, which maintained that all forms of pressure on Pretoria had to be maintained until it declared political changes irreversible, took exception to Bush's statement.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said anyone in South Africa knew that the changes which had so far taken place were not irreversible. Apartheid was still alive and there

was a long way to go before it was completely eradicated.

"So we would say President Bush's statement was jumping the gun a little bit and is therefore premature.

"The peace process in South Africa is now at a delicate stage that is presently being threatened. All pressures on South Africa should be maintained," Marcus said.

Mandela takes blame for Winnie's 'slip-ups'

11A

Sowetan 26/9/90



LONDON - ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela said on British television on Monday night he was to blame for some of the contentious statements made by his wife, Winnie, because he had neglected to properly explain to her decisions of the organisation's leadership.

He was asked by

David Dimbleby of the BBC's Panorama programme if she was speaking with an authentic ANC voice when she, for example, threatened to go back to the bush and fight the white man.

Not easy

Mandela replied that when the ANC's National Executive Committee took decisions, it was not easy to explain these in

such a way that everybody attached the same interpretation to them as committee members, who had taken part in the discussions beforehand.

"People outside the NEC do not find it so easy to understand the decisions as we do...yes, including my wife.

"Sometimes myself, I do not do what I should be doing, of coming back

home and explaining to my wife very carefully the decisions we have taken and the implications."

Proud

Mandela reiterated he was very proud of his wife and would stand by her during her coming trial.

On her controversial position as ANC welfare

chief, he said although the mass media had already found his wife guilty, she was innocent until proven guilty in court.

If she was found guilty, which he doubted, he was sure she would be the first one to suggest she step down from office.

"We, as a family, have no doubt in the innocence of my wife." - Sapa.

PAC's young blood will debate stand on talks

By SY MAKARINGE

THE PAC's stance on negotiations is to come under sharp focus when the Witwatersrand region of the Pan Africanist Students Organisation - its student wing - holds its annual congress at the Soweto campus of Vista University on Saturday.

The debate comes a few days after the PAC leadership failed to reach a "firm decision" in Harare on the Government's invitation to take part in exploratory talks.

The organisation instead referred the issue back to its structures, of which Paso is one, for "exhaustive" discussions.

The organisation also decided to postpone the issue until its national congress in November.

Mr Mandla Matiko, organiser of the Wits region of Paso, yesterday confirmed that the invitation by Dr Ger-

rit Viljoen, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, would be one of the major issues to be discussed at the congress.

Matiko said PAC's position on negotiations was clear, but agreed that it would be up to the membership to decide on a new position. He, however, pointed out that this was unlikely. *Sowetan 26/9/90*

National congress

Saturday's congress is in preparation for Paso's two-day national congress to be held in the Free State on October 6 and October 7 where the matter is expected to be pursued further.

Matiko said Paso's Witwatersrand regional congress would also debate at length the current education crisis and the anti-graduation campaign. He said students from a wide range of political persuasions were free to attend.

The meeting starts at 9am.

11A

26/9/90

Klaaste's idea starts to grow branches

11A

Sowetan
26/9/90

AT the launch banquet of Nation Building in 1988, Aggrey Klaaste referred to the almost endless cycle of violence that was tearing communities and families apart throughout the country.

Sharpsville in 1960, the 1976 riots in Soweto and the outbreak of violence in September 1984 were "terrible explosions" which planted the germ of an idea in Klaaste's mind.

"Blacks lost many things. Worst of all we all lost the innocence of our children," he said in his speech.

He said then that there was a silent preparation by blacks for the next inevitable explosion and that somebody had to do something to stop the madness.

Carnage

And the next explosion took place on the Reef two weeks ago.

Klaaste said the outbreak of violence was the

TWO years ago on October 21, Sowetan editor Aggrey Klaaste delivered his dramatic Nation Building speech at Shareworld. Since then, October has been dubbed Nation Building month.

tion Building Festival has been planned for the month of October.

Nation Building Week in 1989 comprised more than a dozen social and cultural events in and around the PWV region

and about 50 000 people took part.

This year, the Festival is a month long and has been expanded to 40 events throughout the Transvaal. The emphasis is still on the main theme

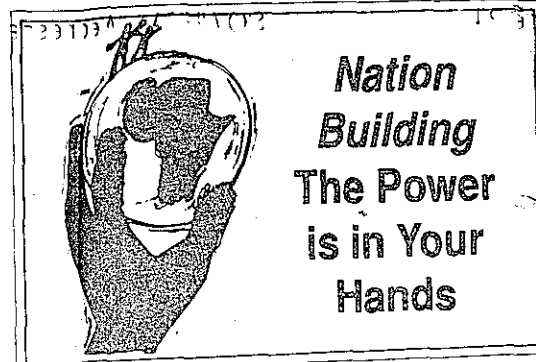
of Nation Building: "To rebuild the structures that have collapsed in our communities."

The first event is a talk by a psychologist and a nutritionist on the crisis facing the nuclear family

in the townships.

This talk will be presented at community centres in Pietersburg, Daveyton, Bloemfontein, Mamelodi, and Soweto.

Other events on this year's Nation Building Festival calendar include a lecture on the job market; a small business exhibition; a school choir festival; a Press seminar;



**Nation Building
The Power
is in Your
Hands**

a mas choir festival; a woman of the year luncheon; a business competition; and a soccer day and pop festival.

Nation Building is "not ideologically based", Klaaste says, but he hopes to get the "okay" from leaders of all political groupings for

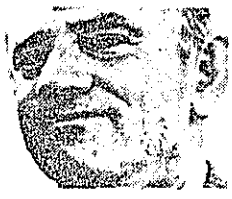
the Nation Building initiatives.

Speaking two years ago, Klaaste said Nation Building was something like a unilateral declaration of independence in style, in shift of thought and in the crucial role that blacks would play in this country's future.

the problem of home-made
are rather primitive and others
ill of them deadly.
this police have seized 340 of
Natal.
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are obviously being manufac-
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W de Klerk also announced an
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178645
26/9/70

Mr Dave Dalling



DP MP's wife joins the ANC

The Argus Correspondent and Political Correspondent

MRS Zelda Dalling, wife of Democratic Party MP for Sandton Mr David Dalling, has joined the ANC — and her husband issued the cheque for her R12 membership fee.

Mrs Dalling's dual membership of the ANC and the DP, which is not permitted by the DP, came to light yesterday when someone claiming to be an employee of First National Bank in Sandton sent a copy of the cheque to the Star in Johannesburg.

Mrs Dalling and her husband today dismissed her ANC membership as "a storm in a very small teacup".

Mr Dalling said: "Zelda's membership of the ANC was never a secret, but I am naturally unhappy that it should become public in this sensational way."

"It is not of any great moment. It is not an issue in regard to my membership of the DP. It has no effect on that at all."

Mrs Dalling said: "I joined the ANC when it was unbanned and never thought there would be a problem belonging to the DP and the ANC until the DP national congress two weeks ago."

"I will now write to my MP, Rupert Lorimer, and resign from the party."

NO CHEQUE BOOK

Mrs Dalling said her husband issued the cheque because she did not have a cheque book.

Mr Dalling was one of the DP members who argued strongly at the congress in favour of joint strategies with the ANC.

After a heated debate, the constitution was amended to terminate automatically the membership of any DP member who joined another party or organisation without the approval of its national committee.

Approval can be given only in special circumstances.

The origin of the copy of the cheque sent to the Star is a mystery. The Dalling's believe the cheque was intercepted before it reached the bank.

Mrs Dalling said: "We firmly believe it did not come from the bank. The cheque has not gone through the bank yet, it has not even been deposited by the ANC."

An FNB spokesman confirmed it could not have been handed in to the bank because it did not have a bank stamp.



VIEWPOINT

by FARID
ESACK

GR 7/13
26/9/90

IN PAKISTAN, which I have been visiting, former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto is being accused by the interim Prime Minister, Mustafa Jatoi, of engaging in an Indian conspiracy against Pakistan. Bhutto has meanwhile accused a minister in Jatoi's Cabinet of being a spy in the employ of the Indian secret service.

Reading through a respectable Pakistani daily yesterday, I found the word "conspiracy" or variations of it 78 times.

In the east conspiracy theories abound. For most Pakistanis it's the Jews and/or the Hindus. The problem can range from the dismissal of Bhutto's government to a woman's inability to conceive, the answer is guaranteed to remain the same.

The former premier said: "The dismissal of my government is the result of a conspiracy against the people of Pakistan... Our problem has never been one of incompetence, but one of overcompetence."

The truth is, of course, that Bhutto has blown it. Ethnic violence in her home province, Sind, reached new heights during her term, members of parliament were sold off to the highest bidder. (Just before a no-confidence debate both the Opposition and the ruling Pakistan People's Party had to detain their MPs incommunicado in some far-flung resorts so that the other side could not buy their votes.)

Bhutto's husband, Asif Zardari, acquired the unwelcome nickname "Mr Ten Percent" as a result of his widely

Winnie: ANC members falling into the Benazir Bhutto trap?

believed insistence on 10% commission on all profits of projects which he okayed.

Feminists bitter

The Left in Pakistan feels betrayed by Bhutto's incompetence, her willingness to succumb to the interest of feudal lords and her persuasion of dynasty politics. (Her mother became Senior Minister and father-in-law Controller of Public Expenditure.)

Feminists are privately bitter about her betrayal of all their hopes. She failed to revoke even one of the anti-women laws (all disguised as Islamic Shariah) and set an unwelcome example of being a permanently pregnant premier. After all she is, as she has often claimed, the PPP. (Two and a half years of marriage sees her pregnant with their third child.)

The sense of betrayal experienced by the Left is whispered and private. In public, Bhutto's fall from power is denounced as part of a conspiracy. The Left, of course, is too sophisticated to blame the Hindus and the Jews. We blame the Zionists and the imperialists.

And what welcome proof it was when, just three days after Benazir's fall, the interim government decided to despatch 5 000 troops to support the imperialist invasion of the Gulf!

"We cannot criticise Bhutto openly," the argument goes. "We have an election to fight and we are doing so against an array of feudal lords and obscurantist priests on the one hand and on the other the east is being recolonised by the Americans."

Concern

"We must close ranks and, besides, never condemn a comrade when he/she is down and out. As for never having criticised her before she was elected, well, we had a struggle to wage against former President Zia ul Haq's mar-

tial law regime and they would have used it against us."

A similar kind of logic — if it can be described as that, for conspiracy theories spawn their own discourse beyond the pale of logic — I suspect, imprisons many members and supporters of the ANC in the wake of the state's decision to charge Winnie Mandela with assault and aiding kidnap.

All of us have known for a long time that Winnie Mandela was "blowing it". Concern was expressed privately about her numerous indiscretions and several times prominent clergy were dispatched to have a word with her. Publicly, not a word was uttered until the Stompie murder threatened to blow our world apart.

The state's decision will no doubt be seen in conspiratorial terms and I do not wish to exclude that possibility. (The CIA is real, the Zionist lobby is immensely powerful, the Gulf is important to imperialism, there was a baboon foetus in Desmond's garden, Anton Lubowski was murdered and Comrade Albie did get his arm blown off.) What I am, however, concerned about is what this knee-jerk resort to conspiratorial theories does to us as people and to the cause of truth.

Disgusting idea

Rallying to the defence of someone to contain political damage may be forgivable if it is accompanied by determined efforts to correct that person's indiscretions — something clearly not done in Winnie Mandela's case. (I also insist on talking about political indiscretions for she is only now being charged with a criminal offence.)

One got the impression that people hoped her indiscretions would disappear after the release of her spouse or, alternatively, that he would tame her — a disgusting idea for all

genuinely progressive people.

What does it do to Winnie Mandela as a person when she cannot be criticised for public indiscretions in public? What does it do to Nelson Mandela as a person when I cannot voice my disquiet about his red Mercedes in public? What does it do to me as a person when I have to contain my truth — the truth as I see it — to contain political damage?

It spawns a culture of deception, self-delusion and sycophancy — the kind that destroyed the dreams of millions of Muslims at the time of Pakistan's founding, millions of socialists in Eastern Europe and is now threatening to destroy our own dreams.

Death sentence

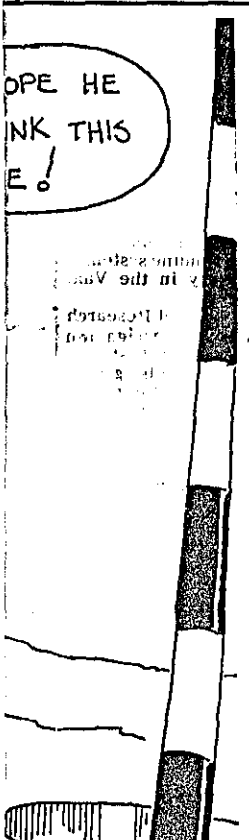
I for one do not believe that it is a state or right-wing conspiracy to prosecute Mrs Mandela. That, however, is not the point. The point is that the truth, like freedom, can be abused. However, like freedom, its potential to be abused cannot become an excuse for deception and tyranny.

One truth that we must face is that Stompie's death was essentially criminal and that little protest was raised when Jerry Richardson was charged with his murder and sentenced to death. Protesting now when the wife of our leader is being charged with assisting in that same crime is going to reflect our hypocrisy and cynicism of the worst kind.

Respect for Winnie Mandela as a person also implies respect for her as an individual capable of acting on her own and assuming responsibility for her actions. I, for one, refuse to believe that a woman must bury her identity underneath that of a husband on marriage — even if her husband is a person as illustrious as Nelson Mandela.

□ Moulana Farid Esack is a leading figure in the UDF in the Western Cape.

HOPE HE
INK THIS
E!



SACP role in ANC cohesion

CAPT T1475 26/9/96 HA
Political Staff

THERE were indications that the ANC leadership with its moderate views would lose between two and three million radicalised young people without the South African Communist Party and its radical political views, two Potchefstroom University academics have concluded.

They also said it looked as though the Democratic Party would lose its constituency to the National Party or the ANC and that it was "probable" that Inkatha would enter into an alliance with the NP.

The two academics, Dr Theo Venter, deputy director of the Institute of Futures Research, and Professor Lou van Wyk of the Department of Economics at Potchefstroom, expressed these views in a briefing sheet for the stockbroking firm Davis Borkum Hare.

Although the ANC had placed a hold on violence in the Pretoria Minute, questions remained as to its capacity to enforce this decision on its membership.

"The SACP remains an enigma within the ANC and there are considerable indicators that without the SACP and its radical political views, the current ANC leadership, with its more moderate attitudes, would lose between 2m and 3m radical youths.

"Cosatu forms an important element of the ANC strategy, but among Cosatu leadership, questions remain uncertain about the political leadership of the ANC."

Dr Venter and Prof Van Wyk said the left-wing Africanist group, which included the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu) were marginalised by the ANC and UDF and as a result considerable tension existed.

"The PAC can be regarded as a growing force, so continued political violence and terror can be expected from its armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army."

ANC in commitment to Budget restraints

GRETA STEYN

THE ANC had noted the destabilising effect of excessive state spending in redistributing wealth in other countries and would realise the limitations of the Budget, economist Fuad Cassim said yesterday.

Cassim, who delivered a speech on ANC economic policy without mentioning the word "nationalisation", told an Institute of Directors' conference in Johannesburg yesterday the ANC wanted to avoid large Budget deficits. 15/04 26/9/90

An ANC government would break from the present practice of using loans to finance current spending and would strive for redistribution without inflation.

The state Budget was, however, a major instrument for redistribution and savings from eliminating racially discriminatory structures would be used to this end.

An ANC government would consult the private sector first before dismantling major conglomerates, he said.

But it would not "shirk its responsibility" to reduce "the extreme centralisation" of economic power in SA. If no co-operation on the issue was forthcoming from business, the ANC would go ahead with dismantling major conglomerates.

"The conglomerate structure is detrimental to the achievement of balanced economic growth. A democratic government would be obliged to address the issue of extreme centralisation of economic power."

● See Pages 3 and 8

Opium ^(1/A) of the *South 27/9-31/10/90* People?

MR Joe Slovo, general secretary of the South Africa Communist Party, will be one of the speakers at a conference on religion and society to be held at the University of the Western Cape.

The conference, with the theme "Religion: Opium of the People?", will take place in lecture theatre S1 on Friday October 5 and Saturday October 6.

Ms Cheryl Carolus of the ANC and Mr M Mbandazayo of the PAC will also deliver speeches.

Perspectives of Islam, Hinduism and Christianity on the subject will also be aired.

Ms Denise Ackermann from the University of the Western Cape will speak on "Religion: Opium for Women?"

ANC, Inkatha agree on unrest monitoring

Own Correspondent
Ste 27/9/80 (11A)

DURBAN — Peace in Natal took a further step forward last night when senior members of the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party agreed on joint unrest monitoring and visits to strife-torn areas "in the near future".

Dr Frank Mdlalose, KwaZulu Minister of Health, revealed late last night that "some people" had been ap-

pointed to investigate all aspects of joint monitoring projects.

He was speaking after the second session of top-level peace talks between the ANC and Inkatha in Durban last night. They first met at a secret meeting in the city last week as part of their attempts to bring peace to Natal.

The delegations said a very good spirit had prevailed.

In a joint statement issued after the meeting, the delegations said they believed it was vital that they continued to meet and to agree on practical steps to end the violence, not only in Natal but elsewhere in the country.

They welcomed the reduction in the level of violence "achieved through local initiatives and the intervention by His Majesty the King of

the Zulus and the President of the Transkei", and said they would encourage similar initiatives in all affected areas.

"The meeting agreed that at its next session it would consider any additional steps it should take to ensure the involvement in the search for peace of as many of their respective members as possible," the statement said.

Sept 27/9/90

Process of change not yet irreversible, says Mbeki

The process of change in South Africa was not yet irreversible, ANC International affairs head Thabo Mbeki said in Pretoria yesterday.

Speaking at the University of Pretoria at the invitation of the Centre for Human Rights Studies and the National Association of Democratic Lawyers, Mr Mbeki said sanctions should not yet be dropped.

"Sanctions have been an important element in bringing us to where we are now," he said.

"I won't contest that President de Klerk is irreversibly committed to change. This does not mean the process itself is irreversible."

Mr Mbeki said that many things, including the recent violence, could derail the process.

The violence was not erupting spontaneously, Mr Mbeki

said, adding this was not idle speculation but a reflection of information the ANC had received.

He said the "Iron Fist" measures aimed at stopping the violence were misdirected. "It is aimed at ordinary people. It is not ordinary people initiating the violence."

Mr Mbeki said the ANC was committed to finding a negotiated settlement. "The first thing to decide is a set of constitutional principles which will provide the framework for a new constitution."

He said it was also essential to discuss the economy.

"There is an enormous amount of poverty in the country. It is useless to deliver one man, one vote if you can't deliver at least one meal per day per person.

"A political solution must include an economic one."

Before the meeting, about 30 right-wing students burnt the ANC flag outside the venue where Mr Mbeki was due to speak.

Wielding tyres, described by one student as the "toys of the ANC", the Vierkleur flag-waving students burnt two ANC flags while singing, "The Song of Young South Africa".

After his address, six of the protesters presented a petition to Mr Mbeki condemning the ANC. Mr Mbeki remained silent while the students read out a statement.

Afterwards, he accepted the petition with a smile and shook hands with each of the students.

Only one student refused to shake his hand. — Sapa.

ANC and Inkatha in peace pact



ANC director of international affairs, Thabo Mbeki

TOP-LEVEL talks between the ANC and Inkatha have ended in an historic peace initiative which could end the carnage in Natal and Transvaal. *South 27/9-31/10/90*

Leaders of the two organisations left a four-hour meeting in Durban on Wednesday, optimistic that progress has been made to stop the bloodshed which has claimed thousands of lives in the past few years.

In an interview after the meeting, held at the offices of the Inkatha Institute for Research, Inkatha Central Committee chairperson Dr Frank Mdlalose told jour-

nalists:

"We are making headway. We have already appointed some people to look into the aspect of joint monitoring."

Mdlalose refused to disclose further details.

The ANC delegation was led by John Nkadameng and included intelligence chief Jacob Zuma, director of international affairs Thabo Mbeki, treasurer-general Thomas Nkobi, security chief Joe Nhlanhla, NEC member Gertrude Shope and publicity officer Joel Netshitenzhe.

Also in the eight-person Inkatha dele-

gation were Kwazulu Minister of Interior Steven Sithebe, and Inkatha Youth Brigade chairperson Musa Zondi.

The meeting was a sequel to a meeting held by the two parties last week.

High-level discussions between ANC and Inkatha were last held in London in 1979.

In a joint statement, the two parties said, at the next meeting on October 15, they would consider additional steps "to ensure the involvement in the search for peace of as many of the respective members as possible".

ANC on future economy

From MONO BADELA JOHANNESBURG. —

A draft document which could serve as a blueprint for SA's economic future will be debated by the National Executive Committee of the ANC next week. *South 2719-3/10/90*

The document, discussed by about 50 ANC economists and members at a workshop in Harare last weekend, is said to present a "new direction in ANC thinking".

Balanced

Delegates were drawn from the ANC's Department of Economic Policy (DEP) structure abroad and most of the ANC regions within South Africa.

ANC economist Tito Mboweni said the document recognised that growth should be encouraged through investment and not only through redistribution of wealth.

He said a balanced economic growth would have to be in the interest of all the



Tito Mboweni of the ANC's Department of Economic Policy

people of South Africa.

However, he added that the State would still retain an important role in influencing private sector investment.

He said the document recognised the important role the private sector would play in a post-apartheid economy.

The document had been prepared for debate within the ranks of the ANC.

"It does not represent an agreed policy but rather

seeks to contribute to a democratic process of formulating our movement's economic policy," Mboweni said.

The ANC believed that economic policy should address itself to the demands and needs of the majority of the people and that active discussion and debate were essential.

Mboweni said the ANC had long recognised the necessity for political liberation and constitutional changes to be accompanied by socio-economic transformation.

Research

He said both the Freedom Charter and the constitutional guidelines recognised the need for economic restructuring to be part of the process of constitutional change.

He said the Harare workshop agreed to propose the establishment of an ANC institute of economic policy research which would coordinate research.

The document will be made public next Friday af-

ter the NEC has debated its content. (11A) (11A)

It will then be sent to all ANC regions and branches.

Responses to the document from all ANC regions and fraternal formations would be brought into the formulation of a draft economic policy to go before the ANC's National Conference in December.

Responses are expected to be submitted by mid-November.

The document is divided into eight sections which include "The Heritage of Poverty", "The Necessity for a New Growth Path" and "The Overall Goals of Economic Policy".

Talks still in balance

Lekota tells Americans

WASHINGTON - It was unfortunate that President Bush had made the observation that President de Klerk's reforms were irreversible when the negotiations in South Africa were in the balance, Mr Patrick Lekota of the African National Congress said here yesterday.

Lekota, in the US for a conference, told a news briefing at the national Press Club in Washington recent actions by the South African Government had indicated it wanted to negotiate with a weakened ANC. The Government had been

content to allow the violence in the country continue unchecked because it intimidated ANC supporters and undermined their confidence in the movement.

He said it was true that violence had subsided in the country in recent days, but this could be only in order to allow Mr de Klerk to have a successful US visit.

Scared

"We remain certain the assault on the ANC will continue," he said.

Lekota said that in many parts of Natal ANC members were too scared to carry their party membership cards or to wear

T-shirts which identified them with Mr Nelson Mandela or the movement.

He said the ANC did not object to Mr de Klerk's visit to the US. The organisation hoped the US authorities had impressed upon the State President the need to act in good faith.

If the situation in South Africa did not improve, he added, the ANC would have to consider whether it should take the responsibility of defending its members in their communities. This would be a serious development as it could deal the process of negotiation in the country.

Lekota urged the inter-

national community not to think of easing sanctions against South Africa.

If the ANC felt there was inadequate pressure on Pretoria it might be obliged to revert to the armed struggle.

His view

Lekota said he did not believe the so-called Third Force in the country emanated directly from the ranks or officers of the security forces, but the supply of equipment and training of persons responsible for Third Force killings were most likely connected with the security forces. - *Sowetan Foreign Service.*

Sowetan 27/9/90



SPECIAL FOCUS: ANC REGIONAL CONGRESS



COMMENT

Major task to build democratic structures

THE first launches this weekend of the Western Cape and PWV of the African National Congress regions are the culmination of feverish planning and activity undertaken by the ANC barely five months ago to build a mass-based organisation and to sign up at least one million members by December 16 1990.

The problems of the ANC in transforming itself from a mission-in-exile to a "legal" political organisation in South Africa after its unbanning on February 2 have been immense and the source of much criticism.

Criticism came from within the organisation — cadres in prison who were not fully-informed, members in exile who have lost touch now that the entire national leadership is based in downtown Johannesburg, and people in media unable to obtain comment or information as the movement's understaffed Department of Information and Publicity tried to settle down. The logistical and practical problems were a nightmare.

In political terms, the Groote Schuur talks started a dizzy rollercoaster ride that gained in speed. Difficult report-backs to infant structures had to be effected, sensitive issues like the suspension of the armed struggle had to be explained to rank-and-file members and the return of a burgeoning number of exiles had to be coordinated.

Severe Strain

The national executive committee and fragile grassroots structures in Vaal townships and in Natal were put under severe strain by bloody violence which had claimed the lives of hundreds of people in recent months.

It is not farfetched to believe that a motive for the orchestrated violence was to disrupt the ANC's recruitment drive at grassroots level.

Adding to the pressure were the high expectations of its followers and all kinds of constituencies — ranging from business people to tribal chiefs, huge organisations to individuals — wanting a piece of the ANC.

Its offices all over the country later resembled township doctors' surgeries.

While the ANC has weathered this "baptism of fire", a more stern test lies ahead — to develop into a truly democratic political organisation.

The challenge to the regional congresses is to ensure the full participation of the branches in all the activities of the ANC and to creatively harness the enthusiasm and excitement of its new members — most of whom had never been involved in politics.

In spite of all its difficulties and blemishes, the ANC is seen by millions of South Africans as the only means to a democratic, unitary and nonracial South Africa.

If it fails to build a democratic movement, there is — in fact — no hope for this country.

Back to the future for ANC stalwarts

By MONO BADELA and CHIARA CARTER

THE ANC regional congress in Cape Town this weekend holds a nostalgic significance for ANC interim committee member, Mr Christmas Tinto.

While many of the delegates to the congress are part of the youthful generation of mass democratic movement activists who emerged over the past decade, others like Tinto represent an old guard of ANC stalwarts whose membership dates back to before the ANC was banned.

For them, the first ANC congresses to take place inside South Africa in more than 30 years are indeed a case of "back to the future".

South 27/9 - 3/10/90
Key issues

This weekend's historic PWV and Western Cape congresses are the first in a series of regional congresses leading up to a crucial national conference in Johannesburg on December 16.

About 400 delegates are expected to attend the two-day Western Cape congress at the Cape Peninsula Technikon.

The delegates will represent about 70 branches in areas ranging from Namaqualand to Plettenberg Bay in the Southern Cape.

The congress begins on Saturday morning with an open session during which ANC treasurer Mr Thomas Nkobi will give the keynote address.

Key issues to be discussed in commissions during the closed sessions include a programme of action, affirmative action for women, the Women's League and the Youth League, rural areas, a code of conduct and how to strengthen the ANC in the region.

ANC stalwart Mr Walter Sisulu will deliver the main address to the PWV regional congress and the ANC's chief of intelligence, Mr Jacob Zuma, is billed to talk on the current violence in the townships.

Congress convener Ms Barbara Hogan said delegates would discuss the current violence and formulate a programme of action.

The PWV area has more than 31 000 signed-up members.

The region has more than 60 branches in Evaton, Sebokeng in the Vaal Triangle, Atteridgeville and Mamelodi in Pretoria, Tembisa, Katlehong, KwaThema, Daveyton, Actonville/Wadeville in Benoni, Brakpan, Duduza, Vosloorus, Thokoza and Delmas on the East Rand.

Soweto alone has 23 branches and other Johannesburg branches include Johannesburg Central, Johannesburg North East, Mayfair and Yeoville.

According to Hogan, the ANC is being adversely affected by the violence that is sweeping the townships, specially in Katlehong where a workshop was cancelled last weekend because of the fighting.

"The curfew is going to make it impossible for branches to hold meetings," Hogan said.

"People will have to be very creative in shaping this era."

Meanwhile, the Eastern Cape is gearing up for its congress next month.

ANC convener for the Eastern Cape region Mr Mike Xhego said the regional congress will take place on October 13 and 14. About 50 branches have already been launched in the region and a further five are due to launch this weekend.

The Eastern Cape has set itself a target of 50 000 members by the time the national conference is convened.

Xhego would not say how many members have already signed up.

This weekend, the ANC is undertaking a door-to-door membership drive in an effort to double the membership.



STALWARTS: ANC stalwarts Mr Christmas Tinto and Mr Oscar Mpetha, will "go down memory lane" on Saturday at the launch of the Western Cape region of the ANC

The Foundation for Peace and Justice

Tel: (021) 948-9150. Fax: 9514334. PO Bpx 318, Kasselsvlei 7533, South Africa

Hallo Young People!

When I wrote to you the other day I said that we need qualified people to raise above mediocrity that the present educational system and political deprivation has forced us into.

However, I realise that a changed mental attitude and a new perception of our own role in our new society is not enough to prepare us for the examinations. Time is of the essence. Time is what we now require to give us a fair chance of proving to ourselves and others that we are indeed capable of taking responsibility for our own future.

I call therefore on the authorities to heed the request of the NECC to postpone the examinations. This can surely only be a small investment in a South Africa which will proudly be able to take its rightful place among the nations of this world.

DR ALLAN BOESAK



South 27/9 - 3/10/90

The Back to School Student Support Campaign



Countdown to exams: week 6

NECC statement

At the beginning of the year the NECC called on all students to return to school. The outcome of this was that a significant amount of students registered for the 1990 school year. Many of our students had previously been excluded by the State's education departments for reasons such as political involvement and previous failures.

As a result of this mass enrollment the limited resources available to the State were pushed to the limit. To this day the situation has not been addressed. Students have not yet received textbooks or the DET study aids.

The NECC says:

All students must take responsibility that the 1990 school year is not entirely lost and that the maximum number of our students successfully complete this year. This must be done through effective learning and teaching, discipline and a commitment to passing.

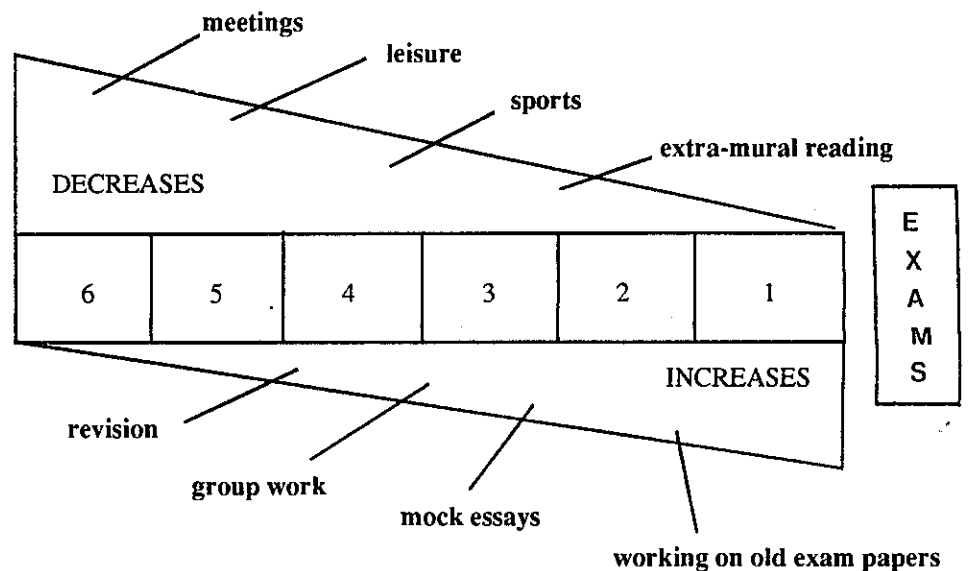
FORWARD TO PEOPLE'S EDUCATION FOR PEOPLE'S POWER

Issued by Cosas, Sayco, The National Teachers Unity Forum, Cosatu, Udusa, Sansco and Nusas.

IN THE NEXT 6 WEEKS THE FOLLOWING TOPICS WILL BE COVERED:

WEEK	TOPIC
Week 6	Countdown Timetable Activities Barometer
Week 5	Setting realistic study goals Drawing up personal study timetable
Week 4	Active study / Revision
Week 3	Organising and working in study groups
Week 2	Previewing / summarising / revising
Week 1	Exam techniques - Exam paper Exam questions / time budgeting
	EXAMS!!!

As the exam date approaches, reduce extra activities and increase study time, as shown below:



Below are some questions which we hope will give you some guidelines for exam preparation. Think about them - next week we will give more suggestions as well as examples. We will go through the process of setting up your own time-table.

THINK ABOUT YOURSELF AS A LEARNER

1. What is your best time of day for studying?
2. For how long can you concentrate at a time?
3. What steps do take to be ACTIVE while studying, not passive?
4. Have you taken steps to form a study group?

THINK ABOUT YOUR LEARNING ENVIRONMENT

1. Can you find a quiet place where there are few distractions?
2. Can you ask for the support of your family, or from those with whom you live?
3. Can you ask a teacher for help with a particular subject?
4. Can you say "no" when people are making too many demands on your time?

THINK ABOUT YOUR SUBJECTS

1. What are your subjects?
2. Which are your strongest?
Which are most difficult and require more attention?
3. Can you work through some old exam papers so that you can start practising answering questions?

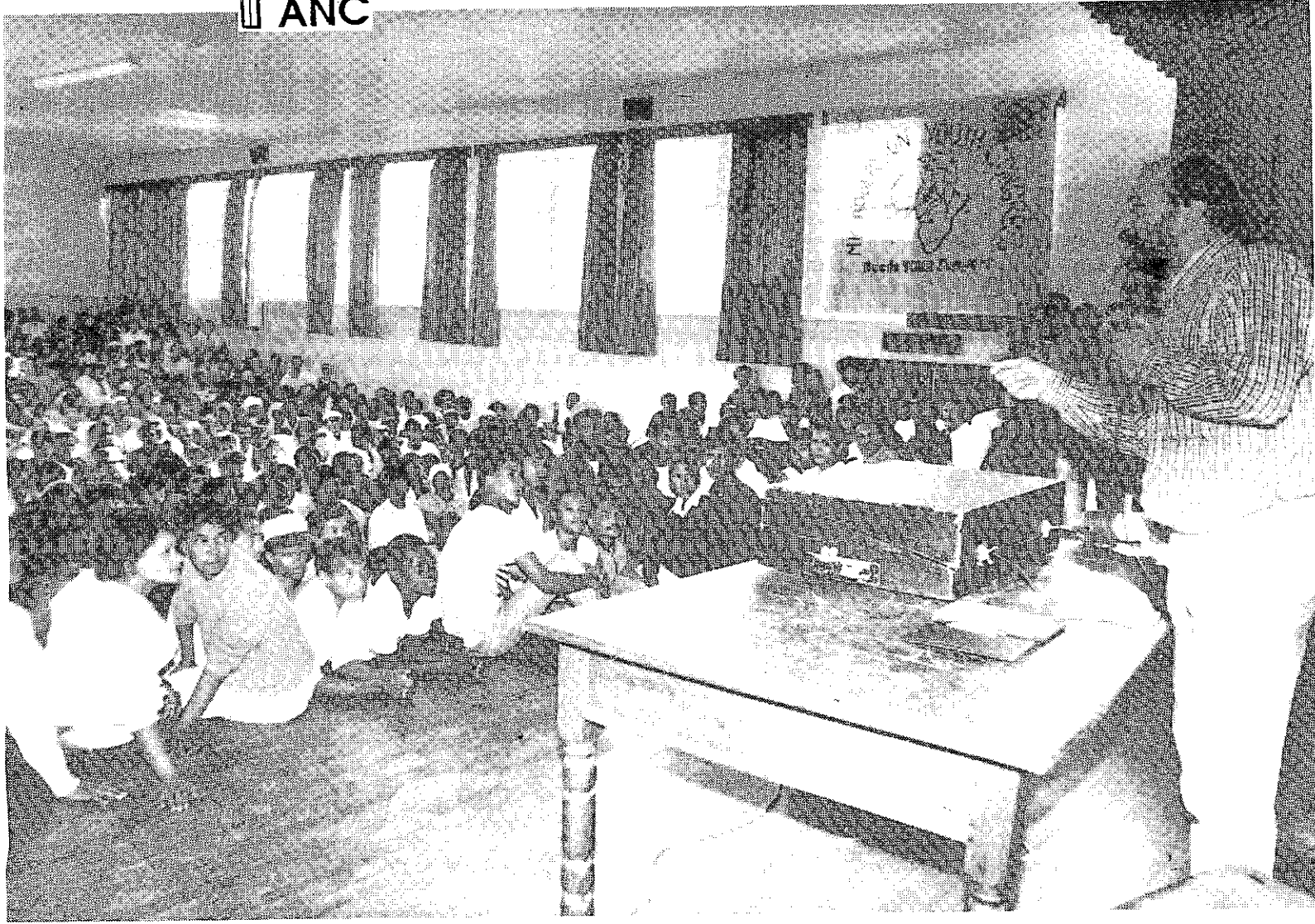
THINK ABOUT LOOKING AFTER YOURSELF

1. Are you eating regular and balanced meals?
2. Do you get enough sleep?
i.e. 6-8 hours every night?
3. Can you find the time to do some exercise eg: walking or jogging?

Acknowledgements: EIC, Khanya College, ESP, TELIP, Teachers.



SPECIAL FOCUS: ANC



RURAL DEMANDS: ANC regional executive member Trevor Manuel speaks at a meeting in the Boland — one of hundreds of engagements

Rural

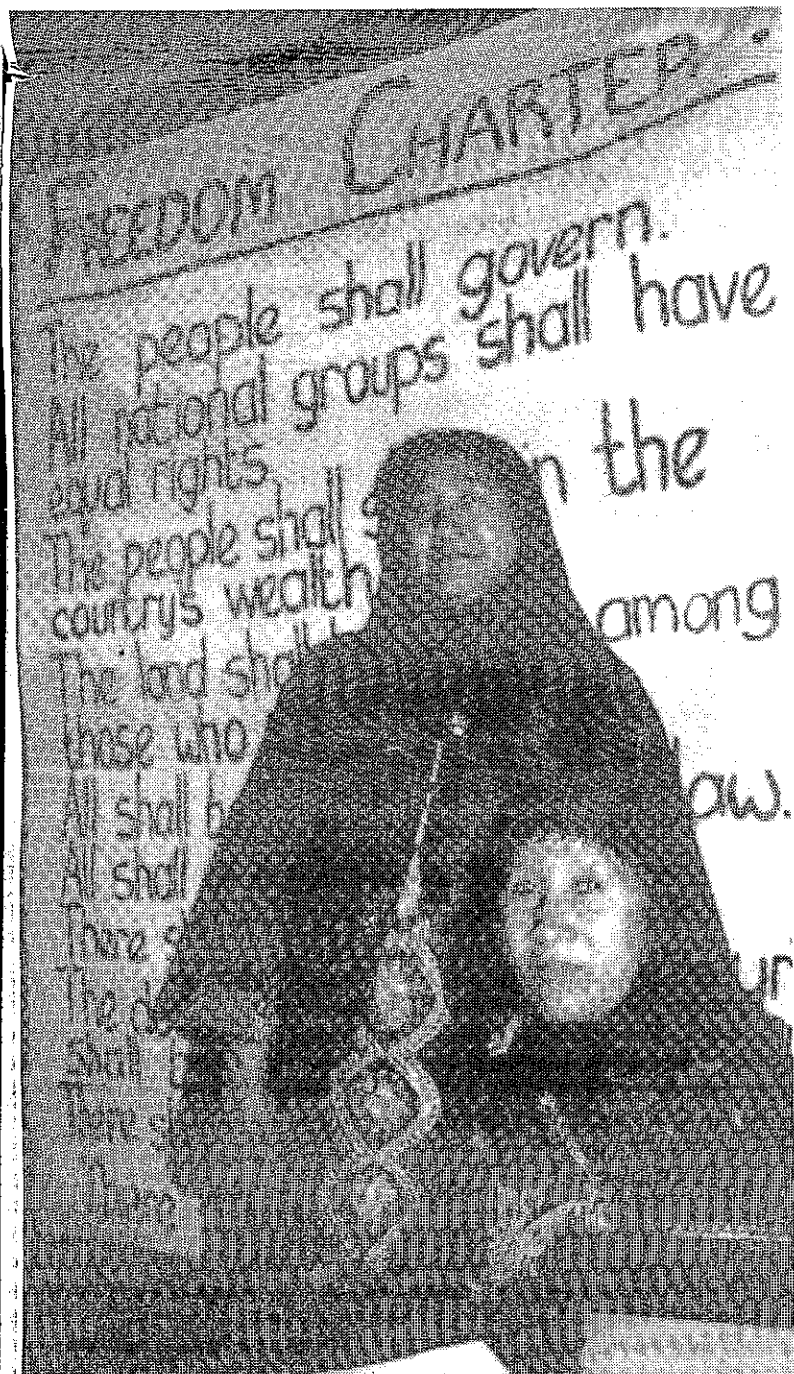
A DISCUSSION on "affirmative action" to develop the rural areas is high on the agenda of the ANC's regional congress.

Although the ANC has branches in the West Coast, South Cape, Langeberg, Namaqualand and the Karoo, members in these areas complain that the organisation gives preference to urban areas.

ANC members complain that because of a high percentage of rural dwellers being farm workers with low educational standards, the task of building



RHYTHM: Khayelitsha gumbi Westridge, Mitchells Plain, b



SISTERLY COMRADES: Mitchells Plain sisters Mrs Wadooda Kamaldien (standing) and Mrs Mymoena Richards who are chairperson and treasurer respectively of the Rocklands branch of the ANC

AFTER travelling thousands of kilometres throughout the Western Cape and addressing more than 600 meetings, the interim regional committee (IRC) of the ANC in the Western Cape is about to stand down.

Since their appointment in April, the 10 members of the IRC were faced with the exhausting task of establishing branches in the biggest ANC region in the country.

Their task of recruitment and establishing branches began a mere five months ago.

Turbulent

The start was rather turbulent. The IRC — which was appointed rather than elected — invited 500 activists to a meeting at the Peninsula Technikon on April 21 to get the process of building the ANC underway.

Although some activists were dissatisfied with the manner in which ANC activities were started, they quickly swung into action to begin the task of recruiting 100 members in each area to start the process of launching branches.

For many members, this task involved at least two ANC meetings a week and hours of door-to-door visits to recruit new members.

When the ANC Women's League was launched, extra effort was required from female members to bring this organisation into fruition.

The IRC coordinated all these efforts, acting as an interim regional executive committee.

Despite the fact that nine out of the 10 IRC members were employed full-time outside of the ANC, in the five months of

Commitment laid ground

By REHANA ROSSOUW

their operation they managed to address more than 600 meetings.

These included meetings of the ANC, supervising branch launches, national gatherings, and meeting diplomats and allies.

The IRC also acted as organisers for the ANC, mediated in conflict situations, monitored violence in accordance with the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes, convened inter-branch meetings and workshops and planned regional events.

Mammoth

They were also given the mammoth task of providing logistical support for national executive committee members when they came to Cape Town for the Groote Schuur talks in May.

"It was very exciting, most of our work was high-adrenalin events," said IRC member Mr Trevor Manuel.

"Most importantly, we were able to break

new ground in areas where previously mass democratic movement organisations had

no presence.

"For me the work in the rural areas was the most exciting."

All the IRC members in the Western Cape were drawn from the Peninsula.

Advantages

While this had certain advantages, like the ability to meet frequently, rural areas were not adequately represented.

This compelled IRC members to make frequent visits to the rural areas.

"We haven't touched every rural town, but I believe we have the capacity to establish a branch in every town," Manuel said.

"We could not reach every town only because we did not have sufficient time to do so."

In building the ANC in the Western Cape, the initial emphasis in the region was on zonal structures.

The IRC identified 20 zones, 11 of them in the Peninsula.



REGIONAL CONGRESS

areas need special treatment

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and maintaining branches is practically impossible or, at best, extremely difficult.

They argue that it will be necessary for the ANC to practise "positive discrimination" towards these deprived communities.

Factors impeding progress in the rural areas included a lack of infrastructures, the distance between areas, and a lack of transport and funds.

Skills training seldom took place in rural areas and ANC media was published only in English, although most rural dwellers spoke Afrikaans and Xhosa.

lished only in English, although most rural dwellers spoke Afrikaans and Xhosa.

The congress will also examine a code of conduct for the ANC, including omissions in the present constitution.

The present interim constitution is silent on several important issues, specially gender, exploitation and the environment.

The most important discussion at the congress will centre on drafting a programme of action for the ANC in the region.

Campaigns already identified for the ANC to take up include violence, the demand for a constituent assembly, land and housing, building structures, gangsterism, a living wage and privatisation.

ANC members will be asked to build campaign structures which would be able to respond quickly to issues and mobilise people around events.

The organisation will have to examine its effectiveness in keeping its members and the broader public informed of its

activities.

Programmes for recruitment will also be examined, making the ANC more accessible to people who wish to join.

Political education is another important area for discussion at the congress, with suggestions that monthly discussion forums be held where members can debate contemporary issues.

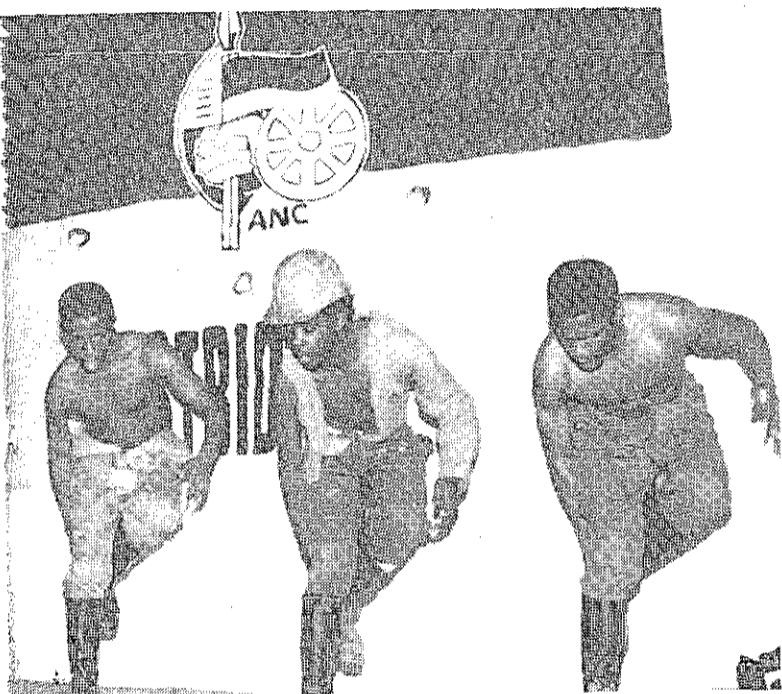
Relationships with other organisations will also be discussed. This will include relationships with allies such as the SACP and Cosatu, other mass democratic move-

ment organisations and other political organisations.

A timetable for ANC activities in the Western Cape should emerge at the end of the congress.

Also identified for discussion at the congress is the relationship between the ANC and its Youth and Women's Leagues.

While these structures will recruit people who are already members of the ANC, it is suggested that they operate autonomously of the organisation.



Not dancers provide a cultural interlude at the launch of the branch recently

ee of 10 indwork

South 27/9-3/10/90

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"Some zones have done exceptionally well in facilitating the establishment of branches, like Khayelitsha which has yielded 13 branches and Helderberg which has delivered six branches," Manuel said.

"Other zones, constrained by distance and other factors, yielded fewer, like the South Cape and Karoo.

"In yet other zones, like the Overberg, there were too few contact people to initiate any branches."

Despite the unequal development in the rural areas, the IRC is pleased with the progress in the region, Manuel said.

After branches were launched in the region, the collective leadership of the ANC in the Western Cape totalled more than 700 people.

Priority

A priority for the ANC is to put the leadership through a training process which will enable them to "speak with one voice".

"While we agree that our leadership

should have freedom of speech, it is important that we build a structure that is impervious to any state initiative," said Manuel.

"It must also have the capacity to reproduce itself and leadership at every level."

Manuel said when the IRC members were approached about the appointments, it was with the understanding that they would perform a caretaker role.

The region would elect their leadership at the congress this week.

Elections

IRC members also wanted to stress that they were not in an advantageous position over others because of the role they played; elections were open to all.

"For us, the past five months have certainly been extremely tiring and we would not have been able to perform our task without the tremendous support from others.

"All of us may not want to serve on the regional executive committee and I wish those who are elected good luck," Manuel said.

Who's where in the ANC Western Cape

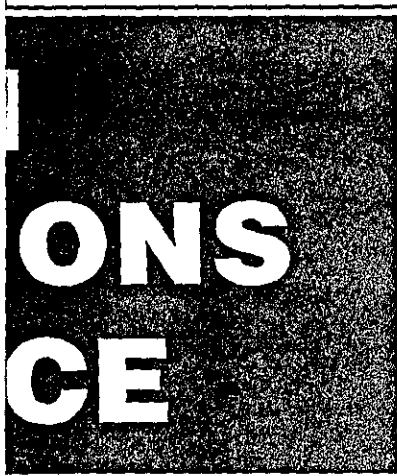
South 27/9-3/10/90		Total 777	Karoo 11A
ATHLONE	360	TOWNSHIPS	Beaufort West 125
Athlone	360	Toise Township (Brown's Farm)	1 134
CAPE TOWN		Crossroads	963
Cape Town Central	180	Guguletu - Section 1	286
Kensington/Factreton	105	Guguletu - Section 2	927
Observatory/Mowbray	216	Guguletu - Section 3	364
Woodstock/Salt River	125	Guguletu - Section 4	219
	Total 626	KTA - Mascindane	885
KHAYELITSHA		Miller's Camp/Lusaka	932
AB Kulani Park	303	New Crossroads	302
Dora Tamana (Z&C Block)	111	Nyanga	720
FG Khanya	10	Tambo Square	345
Griffiths Mxenge Park (Town 2)	424		Total 7 077
Mandela Park	443	GRAND TOTAL (urban) 14 841	
Mxolisi Petane Square (Site C)	400	BOLAND EAST	OVERBERG
Nobuhle	150	Zwelethemba	Hermanus 168
Sabata Dalindyebo Park (Greenpoint)	74		Total 249
Site D&E	116	BOLAND WEST	SOUTH CAPE
Sol Plaatjie (Thembani)	142	Groot Drakenstein	George 120
Trevor Vilakazi Park (Site B-South)	1 000	Mbekweni	Mossel Bay 110
Victoria Mxenge Park (Site B-North)	540	Paarl-East	Oudtshoorn 217
	Total 3 804	Wellington	120
MITCHELLS PLAIN			Total 1 388
Colorado/New Woodlands	70	HELDERBERG	GRAND TOTAL (rural) 3 362
Eastridge	130	Blue Down	
Lentegeur	70	Kuilsriver	109
Rocklands	90	Mfuleni	53
Strandfontein	93	Strand	172
Westridge/Portlands	145		Totals 404
Woodlands	35		GRAND TOTAL (urban and rural) 18 203
	Total 633		
NORTHERN SUBURBS		BELLVILLE ANC BRANCH	
Belhar	130		
Bellville	123	Venue: BELLVILLE SOUTH CIVIC CENTRE	
Crammix Brakenfell	70	Time: 7.30pm	
Elsies River	167	Date: 3rd October 1990	
Kraaifontein	61	PROGRAMME:	
Ravensmead	354	ANC CENTRAL SPEAKER	
	Total 905	Poetry, Music, Cape Flats Players	
REST OF TOWNSHIPS		Mix Masala.	
Langa	450		
Manenberg	101	For Further Info Contact:	
Surrey Estate	108	Newton Adams (w) 6968451 (h) 951	
	Total 659	2063 Fax: 6968537.	
SOUTHERN SUBURBS			
Claremont	167		
Fairways	108		
Heathfield	102		
Lotus River/Grassy Park	198		
Retreat/Steenberg	101		
Wynberg	101		

ANC seeks backing for peace talks with Gatsha

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Southern
27/9 -
31/10/90

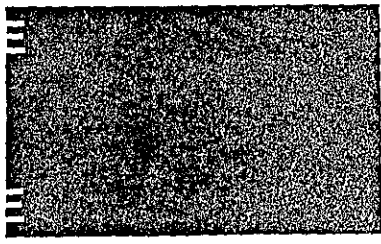


REFERENCES TIATIONS

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DURBAN. — ANC Deputy President Nelson Mandela will visit Natal next weekend in what appears to be an attempt to muster membership support for peace talks with Inkatha chief Gatsha Buthelezi.

The ANC national executive committee (NEC) decided last week to invite Buthelezi to a meeting of homeland leaders on October 5, and, according to an Inkatha source, the Kwazulu Chief Minister is likely to attend.

Power

Mandela will address a mass rally at Stanger next Saturday after visiting Chief Albert Luthuli's grave.

On Sunday he is expected to address a rally in Pietermaritzburg.

Most ANC supporters in Natal are not opposed to a meeting with Buthelezi provided it does not take place at his seat of power, Ulundi.

However, there is widespread dissatisfaction at the way the NEC decision was taken with little consultation or report back to the region.

Mandela's visit is seen as an attempt to rectify this.

ANC NEC member, Mr Jacob Zuma, held a one-to-one meeting with Buthelezi earlier this month.

Gesture

At the meeting Zuma extended an invitation to Buthelezi to attend the October 7 meeting — a gesture which Buthelezi welcomed.

Inkatha sources said Zuma's invitation to Buthelezi was significant in that it was the first indication that the ANC did not want Buthelezi cut off from the negotiation process.

This week also saw the second round of a meeting between ANC NEC members, led by Zuma, and Inkatha Central Committee (ICC) members led by their chairperson, Dr Frank Mdlalose. The meeting focused on ways to begin a local peace initiative.

The success of local peace initiatives could lead to a one-to-one meeting between Mandela and Buthelezi.

Azapo calls for meeting on consumer boycott

11A

From VUYELWA QINGA

EAST LONDON. — The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) has called for a local consultative conference to discuss the current consumer boycott here which it opposes.

The call follows a similar attempt by Azapo in the Transvaal to convene a consultation on the violence.

The local boycott coordinating committee is expected to respond to an Azapo invitation when it reviews the boycott.

The invitation came after several Africanist and black consciousness organisations voiced their opposition to the

boycott.

They claimed the decision to launch the boycott had been taken undemocratically.

Azapo's local political commissar and projects coordinator, Khumbulele Mnikina, said the invitation was an attempt to get the committee's views on the issue and present the viewpoint of those opposed to it.

Organisations opposed to the boycott have formed an alliance. The boycott, now in its third week, was endorsed by the African National Congress, the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

The chamber of commerce has said it is between 60 and 80 percent effective. — *ELNEWS*

South 27/9 - 3/10/90

UNIVERSITY

Mandela to address PE youth on negotiations

11A

South
27/9-3/10/90

From XOLA SIGONYELA

PORT ELIZABETH. — ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela is due to address a regional conference on negotiations organised by the South African Youth Congress (Sayco) in Port Elizabeth this weekend.

Sayco has invited a range of youth groups, including those opposed to negotiations, to the conference. ANC security chief, Mr Joe Nhlanhla, will also attend.

A Sayco spokesperson said preparations were being made to accommodate more than 1 000 delegates from all centres of the Eastern Cape.

He said invitations had been sent to all fraternal organisations, and positive feed-

back had been received.

"What we want is the youth from other groupings to seek clarification from the ANC's leadership on negotiations."

Other issues to be discussed during the conference include the role of the youth during the negotiations process.

Areas expected to send delegates include the Albany zone, Great Karoo, Port Elizabeth and the Midlands district.

According to the spokesperson, invitations had been sent to the Azanian Students Movement (Azasm), Azanian National Youth Unity (Azanyu), Azanian Youth Organisation (Azayo), Pan Africanist Students Organisation (Paso) and the Democratic Party Youth. — PEN

Mbeki faces protesting students

ANC flags set alight



Thabo Mbeki

PRETORIA. — About 30 conservative students at the University of Pretoria yesterday burnt two African National Congress flags outside the venue where the ANC's head of international affairs, Mr Thabo Mbeki, was due to speak.

Wielding tyres, described by one student as the "Toys of the ANC", the Vierkleur-waving students also sang "Die Lied van Jong Suid Afrika" (The Song of South African Youth).

Some of the demonstrators were wearing red headbands and one student waved a placard which read "I love Inkatha".

They said they were members of various right-wing organisations including the CP of Tuks, the Afrikaner Studente Front and Die Afrikaner Volkswag.

Mr Mbeki was asked by the

Centre for Human Rights Studies at the university and the Pretoria branch of the National Association of Democratic Lawyers (Nadel) to speak on negotiating human rights for all in South Africa.

He was not fazed by his cool welcome and emphasised that everyone had the right to protest.

In his speech, Mr Mbeki said the process of change in South Africa was not yet irreversible and that sanctions should not be dropped as "they have been an important element in bringing us to where we are now".

"I won't contest that (President FW) De Klerk is irreversibly committed to change. This does not mean the process itself is irreversible," Mr Mbeki said.

Many things, including violence, could derail it. Violence was not erupting spontaneously, he said. "It is organised, orchestrated and inspired by people opposed to the reform process."

He said the Iron Fist measures were misdirected. "They are aimed at ordinary people. It is not ordinary people (who are) initiating the violence."

The ANC was committed to finding a negotiated settlement as soon as possible, Mr Mbeki said. "The first thing to decide is a set of principles which will provide the framework for a new constitution."

He said it was also essential to discuss the economy.

"There is an enormous amount of poverty in the country. It is useless to deliver one-man, one-vote if you can't deliver at least one meal per day per person.

"A political solution must include an economic one."

Afterwards, right-wing students presented Mr Mbeki with a petition. He shook hands with all of them except one who refused to do so. — Sapa

Ramodike's ANC honeymoon ends

Sowetan 27/9/90

11A

11B

FOCUS

By MATHATHA TSEDU

LEBOWA Chief Minister Mr Nelson Mogoboya Ramodike, faced with a huge strike, must be asking himself what it is he did or did not do to deserve the harassment by his civil service.

Up to nearly two years ago, almost all bantustan leaders except Mr Enos Mabuza of KaNgwane, were roundly condemned as puppets and collaborators by all liberation movements.

Mabuza, then the only "comrade puppet", was welcomed as a comrade by ANC aligned organisation who feted in the country and in Lusaka when it was still very fashionable to undertake that trip.

Black Consciousness and Africanist formations, however, never differentiated between what they regarded as puppets.

Then came the generals and their coups and the era of comrade generals had arrived.

Applauded

These men of uniform applauded efforts of the ANC and declared their willingness to join hands with the organisation.

For most of these bantustan leaders, this was sufficient to get even the situation at home cooled.

And so it was that the coup in Venda in April left local ANC supporters in a tizzy.

When the then Colonel Gabriel Ramushwana was invited to Lusaka, it sealed his acceptability and led to a dramatic cooling down of strikes and killings in the bantustan.

This was again the same with generals Bantu Homolisa and Oupa Qqozo in Transkei and Ciskei respectively.

Ramodike also did the same. He embraced the ANC. He went to Orlando West after Mandela's release and even intervened when Sayco president Mr Peter Mokaba was detained by Security Police in Pietersburg.

When State President FW de Klerk called all bantustan leaders to a meeting in Cape Town in what was seen as an attempt to rope them onto his side for the negotiations, and when Mandela

telephoned each one of them to ask them to boycott De Klerk's meeting, Ramodike dutifully obliged.

But for him there has been no peace at home. Strikes by civil servants have been going on intermittently since February.

First it was Lebowakgomo's Civic Association which called for a work stayaway by civil servants over lack of school books.

Discriminated

Then came the personnel of officers who said they were discriminated against. Of late, hospital workers, including doctors and nurses, have been staging wild cat strikes.

When the Lebowa show was due to open early this month, the Lebowakgomo branch of the ANC called for a boycott, precipitating a stinging rebuttal by Ramodike.

He has even had consultations with senior ANC members, leading to the issuing of what was termed the "Lebowakgomo Minute", calling for restraint among ANC members in Lebowa in their dealings with the bantustan government.

Last week, the civil service came to an abrupt halt.

Magistrate's offices are deserted and woe unto those who get arrested now, for theirs will be a long stay in prison without court appearances.

Labourers joined the strike on Monday, leaving many essential services such as rubbish removal and basic maintenance unattended to.

Clerks all over the 13 districts are also out on strike. The present action has brought the entire civil administration to a standstill.

While other bantustan leaders "are having it nice" without undue problems from mainly ANC activists, Ramodike is plagued by controversies.

Why is it so? What is the magic that the others have that he lacks? We tried to get Ramodike's opinion since Wednesday last week without success. He was at all times said to be either busy or not available.

The second most senior member of his cabinet, Chief MM Marishane, told this reporter through his secretary on Monday that he had authority from Ramodike to speak to the media about the strike.

The strike was called by the Northern Transvaal Public Service Union, a union formed earlier this year and dominated by ANC supporting activists.

There are, however, also Black Consciousness activists in the steering committee.

In trying to unravel the missing link in Ramodike's formula of acceptability, we spoke to officials of both the LCA and Notrapsu.

Mr Godfrey Selepe, a civil servant, executive member of the ANC and official of both the LCA and Notrapsu, said Ramodike ignored grassroots structures of the ANC and preferred to deal with the organisation's head office.

Aggressive

Ramodike speaks the language of the ANC when he deals with national leaders but is aggressive and bullying when he deals with the lower ranks of leadership, says Selepe. To his credit, however, Ramodike has met numerous delegations from ANC-supporting structures in the bantustan who until recently, were to be seen besieging his office daily with various petitions and memorandums.

According to Notrapsu Press liaison officer, Ms Cebile Khanye, the strike has nothing to do with politics.

Had the cabinet, which met the union last week Tuesday, been prepared to listen to the grievances of the workers, the strike might have been averted, she said.

Instead, Ramodike and his cabinet colleagues came into the meeting and pulled rank, said their piece and walked out without listening to the union.

Ramodike also allegedly ac-

cused Notrapsu of being involved in political programmes of the ANC, according to Notrapsu's general secretary, Mr Mpho Mogale.

Both of them insist that their strike is strictly work related. To back this up, they point to their demands which led to the strike. These include:

- * Union recognition;
- * Labourers who are treated as permanently temporary should be taken on staff;
- * An end to alleged unfair dismissal, transfers and "misuse of both casual and permanent staff;
- * Promotion of merited officers should be effected forthwith;

* An end to preferential treatment of white officials and the implementation of study schemes where other officials are allegedly punished for not being in the good books of their seniors;

* Maternity benefit for women;- * Parity in salaries with other civil servants in other bantustans and central government employ as well between blacks and whites within the Lebowa service; and

* An end to favouritism in housing subsidy allocation and a right to contract out of the medical aid scheme.

Requested

The union requested that these demands be met before September 7. When this did not happen, the workers downed tools last Wednesday. The demands themselves show no political inclination.

Whether the whole matter has any political connotation or not, to the ordinary citizen who pays his taxes to the government and expects services, the reality is that today, there is no one to repair the blocked drain or collect the rubbish.

Could another approach by Ramodike last Tuesday evening, instead of the allegedly bullying tactics, have averted the strike?

This is uncertain as it is not clear whether his government is able to meet all or most of the demands. What is clear is that for now, all is bleak in the bantustan with no hope of a solution.

Azapo calls for meeting on consumer boycott

11A

From VUYELWA QINGA

EAST LONDON. — The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) has called for a local consultative conference to discuss the current consumer boycott here which it opposes.

The call follows a similar attempt by Azapo in the Transvaal to convene a consultation on the violence.

The local boycott coordinating committee is expected to respond to an Azapo invitation when it reviews the boycott.

The invitation came after several Africanist and black consciousness organisations voiced their opposition to the

boycott.

They claimed the decision to launch the boycott had been taken undemocratically.

Azapo's local political commissar and projects coordinator, Khumbulele Mnikina, said the invitation was an attempt to get the committee's views on the issue and present the viewpoint of those opposed to it.

Organisations opposed to the boycott have formed an alliance. The boycott, now in its third week, was endorsed by the African National Congress, the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

The chamber of commerce has said it is between 60 and 80 percent effective. — *ELNEWS*

South 27/9 - 3/10/90

ANC wants summit talks with govt

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC hopes to hold a summit meeting with the government within the next week.

The decision to request a summit on the scale of the one that led to the signing of the Pretoria Minute was taken by the organisation's national executive committee when it met last week.

However, Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen said yesterday that no discussions on a summit had taken place yet.

It is understood any decision on a such a meeting has been put off until the return of President F W de Klerk. But it is most likely the meeting will be held next week as ANC deputy leader Mr Nelson Mandela leaves on an overseas tour on October 8.

The ANC welcomed President De Klerk's declaration at the National Press Club in Washington that voting in a new South Africa would probably take place on a basis of one man, one vote on a common voters' roll, but was now looking for this kind of statement to filter down into the National Party's constitutional proposals, spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma said yesterday.

It was important, he said, that Mr De Klerk accepted that all votes should have equal value in a new South Africa.

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht asked if Mr De Klerk had gone back on his promise of a white election or referendum by telling Mr Bush that the last all-white election had already taken place.

The CP leader said that as a white South African he felt humiliated by Mr De Klerk and Mr Bush.

CAA trials 27/9/90 (11A)

Cap

Political Correspondent
MYSTERY continues to surround the identity of the individual who disclosed that Mrs Zelda Dalling, wife of Sandton MP Mr Dave Dalling, had decided to join the ANC.

ANC: Who split on Zelda Dalling?

A photocopy of a cheque signed by Mr Dalling for his wife's R12 annual ANC membership fee was sent to a Johannesburg newspaper this week by someone claiming to be an employee at First National Bank in Sandton.

However, it emerged yesterday that the information could not have

been leaked by the bank as the cheque had not yet been deposited by the ANC.

Mr Dalling said last night: "Having investigated the matter I am satisfied it has nothing to do with First National Bank."

There was speculation that a "spy" within the ANC might have leaked

the information in a bid to embarrass Mr Dalling or his wife.

However, both said yesterday that they were not at all embarrassed by the ANC membership issue and emphasised that it was, in their view, "no big deal".

Mrs Dalling said yesterday: "I am not in any way upset about the reports about my joining

the ANC and I have no problem about people knowing about my membership.

"I just don't see what the fuss is about. It's not as if there is something to be ashamed about."

Mrs Dalling said she would write to her Bryanston MP, Mr Rupert Lorimer, to cancel her membership of the DP since the party lead-

ership had made it clear they did not favour dual membership.

Commenting on his wife's decision to join the ANC, Mr Dalling said: "That is her prerogative and I support her.

"Zelda has exercised her democratic right in line with her conscience and that is good enough for me."

Mr Dalling, who made a strong plea for closer links between the DP and the ANC at his party's recent congress in Johannesburg, said he was not an ANC member and had not applied to join the organisation.

ANC wants summit next week ^(11A) before Mandela travels again

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ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela leaves on an overseas tour on October 8.

ANC members said they felt a summit was necessary to attempt to restore trust, and repair the working relationship with government which had come under severe pressure as a result of the township violence and the various parties' responses to it.

A summit was also necessary in terms of the Pretoria Minute.

Last week's NEC meeting instructed the ANC delegation to meet government to "bring to government's attention our pro-

MIKE ROBERTSON

found anxieties regarding the future and integrity of the peace process". The delegation was also instructed to demand that government take steps to end the activities of pro-apartheid armed groups.

In terms of the Pretoria Minute, the political offences working group was to have submitted a plan for the phased release of ANC-related prisoners before the end of August.

The group has submitted a report which has since been considered by principals on

both sides but has yet to be ratified.

The Pretoria Minute stipulates that the granting of indemnity to categories of exiles and release of categories of prisoners start from October 1.

The "armed action" working committee appointed in Pretoria was to have reported by September 15. However, because of controversy following government's decision not to renew Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani's indemnity, the committee has been able to submit only an interim report. Apparently all that has been agreed on so far is an agenda of issues to be

discussed.

The ANC is hopeful that the Hani issue can be resolved at a summit meeting.

The Pretoria Minute also stipulated that exploratory talks on negotiations be held before the next summit, "which will be held soon".

Delegations led by deputy Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC international head Thabo Mbeki were appointed to hold these talks, but because of the violence the groups have met only once. The delegations apparently agreed on a list of topics to be discussed.

NEWS IN BRIEF

PAC economy talks ^{11A}

HARARE - The PAC will meet the South African-based Consultative Business Movement in Tanzania tomorrow. Zimbabwe's news agency Ziana reported yesterday. *Sowetan 28/9/90*

A statement by the PAC's external headquarters in Dar es Salaam said the CBM delegation would consist of 13 members, including executive directors and representatives of Caltex, Barlow Rand and Anglo American Corporation.

The one-day meeting would concentrate on the PAC's economic policy for a post-apartheid South Africa. - *Sapa*.

Hani gets exemption

UMKHONTO we Sizwe Chief of Staff Mr Chris Hani has been granted further temporary immunity until December 31 after an assurance that he was committed to the letter and spirit of the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes.

This was announced yesterday by the Ministry of Justice. The Ministry said in a statement the African National Congress leadership was of the firm view that Hani "is now committed to stability and to a peaceful process of

negotiations".

The government revoked Hani's temporary immunity on August 19. As a result he has been unable to lead the ANC team at meetings of the joint ANC/government working group dealing with matters arising from the suspension of the armed struggle.

The working group met in Pretoria yesterday for a third round of talks. The Ministry disclosed that Hani's immunity was granted after a letter was received from ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela.

11A

STRANGE, TENSE TIMES

A tense peace appears to have been achieved in the townships by the security operation known as Iron Fist — but the calm could be deceptive. Ironically, one of the sparks for future unrest could be government's measures to stop violence. Defiance campaigns were being mooted as police began to enforce curfews — which have been angrily denounced by the ANC as providing opportunities for "hunting parties" against township residents. The allegation seems absurd but perceptions can be as inflammatory as facts. Whites, on the other hand, seem to have become markedly more impatient with what they regard as the ANC being difficult.

Yet an air of unreality pervaded the political scene this week. There was President F W de Klerk's triumph in Washington and the ANC's contradictory position on security; Winne Mandela made a preliminary court appearance on charges of kidnapping and assault; and it was announced that Northern Transvaal would play the Barbarians in a goodwill rugby match at Soweto's Orlando Stadium. Seven bodies were found next to a railway line in Soweto and right-wing detainee Piet Rudolph reportedly abandoned his hunger strike.

A shaky accord was reached between the Transvaal Provincial Administration, town councils and civic associations in an attempt to resolve the crippling rent and services boycott; the Democratic Party agonised over whether to defend one of its own seats in a by-election.

In such conditions it is difficult to read the political wind but, whatever happens, De Klerk cannot allow more violence to divert his hard-won gains.

□ The ANC is not sure how many members it has and is unlikely to know for some time. The organisation is looking for money to buy a computer to facilitate the streamlining of membership lists. The R12 annual membership fee is still under debate; recruiting methods are still being discussed.

What is clear is that membership is not up to expectations. Barbara Hogan, PWV regional organiser, blames the recent violence for seriously impeding the formation of branches. The curfew is also expected to affect recruitment.

Though there are three branches in "white" Johannesburg — Houghton, Mayfair and Yeoville — with a fourth soon to be launched (Melville), recruitment in white areas has been almost non-existent. Most white members are drawn from the ranks of known activists and sympathisers.

DP member and former Prog MPC Selma Browde is one of those DP members who is also a member of the ANC — which is against DP policy. Other white members of



Mandela and wife ... problems with the law

the ANC include novelist Nadine Gordimer, singer Jennifer Ferguson, actress Grethe Fox and lecturer Wilhelm Liebenberg.

The organisation has launched 60 branches in the PWV region, with more than 31 000 members. Soweto has 10 000 members in its 22 branches (Orlando East with 804 members is the biggest).

One of the largest and best organised branches is Katlehong with 1 500 members. The Pretoria sub-region has about 3 000 members in nine branches; the West Rand has 480 in two branches; and the East Rand has 3 500 in nine branches.

Johannesburg (including Alexandra and the "coloured" townships) has 3 337 members in 11 branches. ■

DET INQUIRY — 1 *FM 28/9/90*

MORE WORMS

The Treasury condoned irregular deposits of more than R500 000, made by the Department of Education & Training (DET) to private camp owners — in a manner which indicated that treasury officials could not have known what they had condoned. This is the finding of Justice Leo van den Heever. In her latest report on the DET youth camp scam, which was first exposed by the *FM*, she severely criticises the lax role played by the Treasury.

"The Treasury's conditional approval (of the deposits) was non-inquisitive (*onnuuskierig*) and is evidence of a 'passing-the-buck' attitude," says Van den Heever. The Treasury may also have known that the Auditor General does not necessarily come across things that are wrong within a department, she says.

PAC to open external branch

11A
Sowetan 28/9/90

By SY MAKARINGE

THE Pan Africanist Students Organisation is to launch its first external branch tomorrow - becoming probably the first South African student organisation to have branches abroad.

The branch will be formed in Harare, Zimbabwe, and will have an initial membership of 300, consisting mainly of students studying in and around the Zimbabwean capital, according to Mr Lawrence Nqandela, the organisation's general secretary.

Nqandela said the need to open branches abroad came "as a result of the growing membership of our organisation and our commitment to uniting students throughout the continent" under the ideology of Pan Africanism.

He said the move would not tamper with the activities of Pan Africanist Congress's external mission "as all our activities will be coordinated within the discipline and programmes of Pasa."

ANC, PAC clash at congress

By Brendan Templeton

11A stepped up. 8/28/92

A constituent assembly was needed if a credible democratic future government was to be created in South Africa, top spokesmen from liberation movements said yesterday.

They were speaking at the third biennial congress of the National Council of Trade Unions at the Nasrec show-grounds outside Johannesburg.

The general secretaries of the African National Congress and the Pan African Congress, Alfred Nzo and Bennie Alexander, received warm applause from the 200 delegates.

Although they agreed on the need for a constituent assembly, Mr Alexander slammed the ANC for negotiating with the Government and said the armed struggle needed to be

"No liberation movement, party or organisation has the right to make promises to workers on the basis of an economic policy if it does not at the same time intend to control effectively state political power to such a meaningful degree that it is able to implement that policy without obstructions," he said.

Mr Nzo said the ANC was quite aware of the Government's attempts to ensnare the movement in negotiations while "trying to weary us" but said the movement knew its strength lay in mass action.

He described the State's recently imposed "Operation Iron Fist" as an assault against the communities it was supposed to be protecting.

28/9/90 (A)

ANC set out to crush us: Inkatha man

By Stan Hlophe

The ANC was always a common denominator in the violence in Natal and on the Reef, according to a member of Inkatha's Central committee, Musa Myeni.

Mr Myeni was a guest speaker of Liberal Student Action at the Rand Afrikaans University on violence yesterday.

The Inkatha executive member said the ANC would either be involved in a violent conflict with Inkatha, PAC, or Azapo. He added that in all conflicts in which the ANC was involved, the police were blamed. Inkatha also bitterly complained about the police role.

He believed that Inkatha and the National Party were on the centre stage as they faced violence from the Left and Right. However there was hope for peace after the accord signed in Natal between the ANC and Inkatha recently.

And he maintained that if Chief Buthelezi and Mr Mandela had held joint rallies in Natal, peace would long prevailed.

Outlining the origins of violence Mr Myeni said the ANC had resolved to crush Chief Buthelezi and Inkatha after he had rejected a proposal to be swallowed up by the ANC in 1979. And when the ANC rejected Inkatha's hand of friendship after the the UDF was formed in 1983, the war started.

He appealed to the media to refrain from "bombarding" the public with one organisation at the expense of others.

"ANC, Inkatha, the PAC, Azapo and the CP should be given equal space and attention," he emphasised.

SEP 28 1990 (14)

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Government and ANC to hold further talks

A HIGH-LEVEL delegation of the ANC, possibly comprising the same men who signed the Pretoria Minute agreement with the Government on August 6, will meet a senior Government team soon for further talks over the country's future, the ANC said yesterday.

ANC spokesman Ms Gill Marcus said the meeting, the third formal contact between the Government and the ANC since they first met in Cape Town in May, will take place before October 8 when ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela will embark on a month-long international tour.

First meeting

The historic first meeting between the two groups at Groote Schuur in Cape Town yielded the Groote Schuur Minute which led to the release of a number of political prisoners.

The second resulted in the signing of the Pretoria Minute on August 6, the day

Sowetan Correspondent

on which the ANC announced the suspension of its armed struggle.

Marcus said the next round of talks would focus on the next stage of the negotiation process and seek to find out "how we proceed from here".

Also to be discussed at this meeting will be the violence in the country and the way the Government was dealing with it.

Five men

She said the two teams would again consist of five men each, and the ANC delegation would again probably include Mandela, foreign affairs secretary Mr Thabo Mbeki, Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Mr Joe Modise, secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo and South African Communist Party chief Mr Joe Slovo. - *Sowetan Correspondent.*



THABO MBEKI



JOE SLOVO

Withdrawn

THE State has withdrawn its case against 28 of the 42 accused who appeared in the Welkom Magistrates' Court yesterday in connection with the death of two white mine officials this year. - *Sapa.*

Mandela goes to Australia and Russia next month



28/9/90

Sowetan 28/9/90

SYDNEY - African National Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela will visit Australia next month to hold talks with Prime Minister Bob Hawke and thank

Australians for supporting the anti-apartheid movement.

The trip also includes planned stops in the Soviet Union, India, Singapore and Japan between October 8 and No-

ember 2.

The ANC's Australian representative, Mr Eddie Funde, said yesterday that Mandela would meet Hawke and government ministers in Canberra on October 23 before going to Sydney and Melbourne

for meetings with union, church and business groups.

Asked if the three-day visit was aimed partly at firming up the government's commitment to economic sanctions against South Africa, Funde said: "I think they have been firm but we need them to stay firm."

He said there were moves around the world to ease the sanctions to "reward" South Africa for recent reforms.

The visit also was intended to lay the groundwork for assistance with problems in the "post-apartheid" era when the black movement's focus would be on the economic gap between the races.

Problem

"There are legacies - like the gap in the social conditions between black and white," Funde said. "Unemployment is quite a large problem, and we have enormous economic tasks to overcome."

Highlights of the visit will be a rally in Sydney in the forecourt of the Opera House and an ecumenical service at St Mary's Cathedral.

In Melbourne, there will be a chorale and a State reception.

A Foreign Affairs Department spokesman said yesterday that the visit was the result of a long-standing invitation by the government.

Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Gareth Evans had met Mandela in Nigeria

earlier this year and reconfirmed the invitation.

Mandela (72) was released from jail in February after serving 27 years for sabotage and threatening to overthrow the South African Government.

He has just completed a six-week tour of Africa, Europe and North America. - Sapa-AP.



Robert Blum

Art. Times 28/9/70 (11A)

73rd ANC branch

THE seventy-third branch of the ANC was launched in Heideveld last night with a pledge by the organisers to quadruple membership figures within a year.

ANC feud in city

11A
CM Trips 28/9/90



Mr Issel Ms Carolus

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
ANC stalwart Mr Christmas Tinto has been brought in to defuse the growing rivalry and conflict between supporters of two ANC heavyweights in the Western Cape — Ms Cheryl Carolus and Mr Johnny Issel.

The rival factions have formed two competing ANC branches in Bonteheuwel — landing the ANC with a giant

headache on the eve of its crucial first regional congress in Cape Town this weekend.

Mr Issel, one of the conveners of the congress, has been a high-profile activist in the Western Cape for a number of years and is a salaried adviser to the Churches Urban Planning Mission.

Ms Carolus, who formed part of the ANC's delegation at the Groote Schuur talks, is also a member of the SA Communist Party's central committee.

Sources yesterday said the conflict between the two factions was fuelled when the "Isselite group" arranged to launch the ANC's Bonteheuwel branch and in-

stall him as chairman while Ms Carolus was attending the SACP's launch in Johannesburg earlier this year.

Questions were raised whether the Bonteheuwel launch was constitutional as some claimed that insufficient members attended to constitute a quorum.

Disgruntled supporters of Ms Carolus then decided to form a rival ANC branch in Bonteheuwel, setting the stage for the present conflict, sources said.

Yesterday UDF Western Cape president and ANC interim leadership figure, Mr Christmas Tinto, confirmed that he had been asked to mediate in the conflict which he described as "a misunder-

standing".

Mr Tinto said it was not clear at this stage who was the ANC's leader in Bonteheuwel and how large the respective factions were.

He did not believe the issue would be formally raised at this weekend's congress.

He hoped to get to the bottom of the matter when he met the different parties next week.

Asked if he was confident about resolving the differences, Mr Tinto responded: "Nothing is impossible in politics."

● Platteland problems — Page 2

Cape Times 28/9/80
**Youth leader
shot in raid**

JOHANNESBURG. — The general secretary of the SA Youth Congress, Mr Rapu Molekane, has been detained after he was shot and wounded during a raid on his home in Soweto on Wednesday, police confirmed yesterday.

They were quoted as saying they confiscated firearms during the raid.

The ANC has protested against his detention. Mr Rapu is now being held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act, the organisation said. — Sapa

Armed struggle: PAC speaks out

CNE Tents
28/9/70

Political Staff

PAC prisoners on Robben Island this week defended their support for the armed struggle, denying they had resorted to such support because it was the last option open to the "oppressed people".

This was disclosed last night by the PAC's Western Cape co-ordinator Mr Barney Desai, who, together with the organisation's secretary for foreign affairs Ms Patricia de Lille, met 17 PAC members — who are jailed on Robben Island — at Pollsmoor Prison this week.

A message from one of the prisoners, Imam Achmat Cassim, was read out at a meeting commemorating the death in detention 21 years ago of Imam Abdulla Haron.

It said the PAC resorted to the armed struggle because "every human being and animal has a legitimate right to self-defence; we are non-violent to non-violent people only.

"Our minimum demand is for a just social order and our maximum demand is for a just social order."

Chris Hani can come in from cold

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The government has renewed the indemnity of Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Mr Chris Hani until the end of the year following representations by Mr Nelson Mandela, the Justice Department said yesterday.

According to a department statement, Mr Mandela said in a recent letter he had no doubt that Mr Hani remained "committed both to the letter and spirit of the Groote Schuur and Pretoria minutes".

Mr Hani and two other senior ANC members, Mr Mac Maharaj and Mr Ronnie Kasrils, lost their indemnity from prosecution when the government renewed the immunity of 41 ANC leaders last month.

Since then he has remained in Transkei and recently refused to take up a 41-hour indemnity offered for him to confer with the ANC leadership.

On being told of his renewed indemnity, Mr Hani said from Umtata yesterday the news was unexpected and added he did not "know whether to laugh or cry".

Own Correspondent

WASHINGTON. — President FW de Klerk was refusing to institute an independent judicial inquiry into the latest violence because "he knows it will expose him and his strategy", National Union of Mineworkers general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said here yesterday.

Speaking to a packed audience at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace after Mr De Klerk's widely applauded visit here, he said the government had "embarked on a sophisticated programme to destabilise the democratic movement".

The violence, which he described as a "reign of

NUM tells US of 'reign of terror'

terror" instigated by the police and an Inkatha determined to "shoot its way" to the negotiating table, was being "used by De Klerk as a strategy to emasculate the ANC and MDM" and strengthen Inkatha as a potential "alliance" partner.

While admitting he had no evidence that would stand up in court

he also alleged that a "Renamo-type" of organisation is being established in South Africa which might involve "actual Renamo personnel".

He argued that the government had adopted a "two-track policy" — to negotiate, on the one hand, and, on the other, to "devise stratagems to weaken the ANC, UDF and Cosatu".

Despite his tough rhetoric, Mr Ramaphosa also hailed Mr De Klerk as "courageous enough to carry on regardless" of the fact that the NP was ruling "without the consent of its constituency". And he admitted that ANC supporters were not entirely blameless in the killings.

Now Winnie's fans resort to gay-bashing

Winnipeg 28/9 - 4/10/90
By MARK GEVISSER

SOME of Winnie Mandela's supporters have resorted to gay-baiting in an attempt to clear her and members of her football club of the charges against them.

Among the banners being waved by the 200-odd people outside court was one that said: "Homosex is not part of black culture!" Another said: "Homosexual youths need church discipline!" and a third called for the trial of the Methodist minister accused of running a "training camp for homosexuals", and from whose custody Stompie Moeketsi and three other men were abducted.

In the trial of football club coach Jerry Richardson, the accused claimed that he had removed the boys because of allegations of homosexuality. The three survivors of the abduction and assault testified that they were beaten and told to confess to sexual relations with Reverend Paul Verryn. The court found that there was no evidence to substantiate any claims of sexual misconduct.

While the homophobic placard-wavers clearly identified themselves with the African National Congress, the ANC yesterday declined to comment.

Lawyers in the ANC have, however, been considering the insertion of a clause forbidding discrimination based on sexual orientation into its constitutional guidelines. At a recent seminar on the subject held in Lusaka, there was agreement by the Constitutional Committee and the Women's League that because gay rights was a human rights issue, it should be addressed by the ANC.

Nelson Mandela himself has said, with specific reference to gay rights, that "I will personally see to it that the rights of all people shall be discussed". And, in 1987, Thabo Mkebi (ANC director of international affairs) said the protection of human rights "must surely extend to the protection of gay rights".

Simon Nkoli, the ANC member and former Delmas treason trialist who is co-chair of the Gay and Lesbian Organisation of the Witwatersrand, said: "There have always been homosexuals in black culture ... My personal existence disproves such nonsense. The reason why conclusions are otherwise drawn is the oppression against gays in black society has meant that black gay people have tended to stay in the closet."

We can talk and fight at the same time, says Sayco

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From PAGE 1

elements within the police."

He said there had been many attempts to trap Sayco into a course of action contrary to the ANC's policy of suspending armed struggle. Provocateurs had come to the Sayco office saying they were "people who want to join MK and who do not have passports". Sayco had refused to help them, and would not be prised away from the leadership of ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela.

But at the same time "we cannot negotiate with barrels of guns facing us". To safeguard talks, Sayco would fight back by means of mass mobilisation, he said.

"We need to go back to our people and point out that the government has double standards, using both its hands. We have to correct the impression that now that we have entered into the peace process we will pursue it at all costs."

According to a statement issued by the police division of public relations in Pretoria, the search at Molekane's home followed their discovery of two men in possession of a machine pistol.

"Members of the police tried to take a suitcase from a cupboard in the house. During this an RG handgrenade was grabbed out of the suitcase and a member of the force wounded the person who grabbed it in the left forearm," police said.

Molekane's attorneys, who were able to visit him in hospital, said their client had emphatically denied an attempted escape or attack on the police.

They said that their client alleged he had been kicked and slapped after being shot. Seven grenades, one AK-47 and one Scorpion pistol were found during the search, police say.

ANC member Lyndoll Shope Mafole, who was with Molekane at the time of the raid, has also been taken into custody. A recent returnee, she has been granted temporary indemnity against prosecution by the government.

Molekane's attorney said he was presently being held under the Criminal Procedure Act but it was possible he would soon be detained under section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

Hani gets indemnity until end of this year

By GAVIN EVANS 28/9 - 4/10/90

MK chief of staff Chris Hani has been granted indemnity from prosecution until the end of the year ahead of a third summit between the government and the African National Congress. The meeting, aimed at putting the fragile peace process back on track, is expected to take place early next week, government and ANC sources confirmed yesterday.

The ANC, which has become increasingly unhappy with the government's response to the PWV violence, requested the meeting in a bid to help restore trust between the two parties. Government representatives yesterday confirmed their approval for the meeting.

According to ANC representative Gill Marcus there has been contact at the "highest level" to set up the summit, and it is possible that President FW de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela would meet to plan the agenda.

"The decision to request the meeting was made by the ANC's National Executive Committee on September 20, and its purpose is to discuss the peace process." She said the ANC "looked forward to Chris Hani's free and unhindered participation" at the meeting.

The ANC should stop retreating to the past

W/M/W 25/9-4/10/90

11A

CAN we move to a "new South Africa" while the ANC remains so firmly embedded in the old one?

Eight months after February 2, many who greeted that day with euphoria have subsided into predictable dependency.

Their present gloom is as misplaced as their euphoria was then.

It was always going to be hard to move from decades of apartheid to a stable democracy; the last few months have shown how hard. They have also shown how heavily the past weighs upon us.

Eight months ago, we lived in a society which was deeply polarised, in which most people had never experienced free political activity, which "boasted" the most unequal income distribution in the world, in which millions had been denied the education they need to take part in a free political system.

We still do. Events since February 2 brought into the open obstacles to democracy and peace which were hidden for decades.

Many of these events were as inevitable as they are tragic. As other societies have found too, the problems created by the old order always make it difficult to enter the new.

Since our current problems are a legacy of the past, it obviously makes no sense to return to that past. If the problems are to be solved, the society will have to continue moving to a future in which it will be possible to reduce the tensions and inequalities which make a new order so difficult to achieve.

But that can only happen if the key forces in our society, including the major political actors, decide to begin building the future rather than seeking shelter in the past.

Despite the traumas of the past few months, some key groups are doing that by negotiating agreements which might begin to create the democracy and greater equality which February 2 promised.

The unions and employers who

lence.

Instead, peace may have been achieved by the government. More galling for the ANC may be that it was not it which drew tens of thousands to a rally to call for peace but the king of the Zulus and the president of Transkei who, months ago, seemed to be men of little influence over anyone in the townships.

The ANC's response has been a retreat to the rhetoric of the past. That may satisfy many of its activists. But it may not satisfy many township residents who want peace and know the ANC hasn't got it for them.

The second issue, highlighted by

FW de Klerk's visit to the US this week, is foreign pressure.

The ANC, which has enjoyed much foreign exposure recently, has used it to repeat the well-worn rhetoric of the past — to insist that pressure must be maintained if apartheid is to be ended.

The argument that a democracy will only be born if foreign pressure continues unabated is unconvincing.

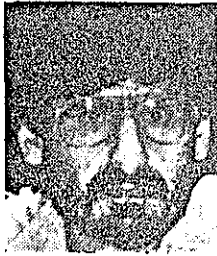
If all foreign pressure ended tomorrow, what is the government likely to do? End negotiations so that pressure can resume? Return to politics to fight an election it may lose?

The government is committed to negotiation because it has nowhere else to go. A relaxation of foreign pressure would probably not alter its direction — but it might ensure that the government takes a bigger part of its constituency with it.

And, at a time when community organisations are beginning to win a say over how inequality is to be redressed, strategic foreign investment might help them do that.

The ANC's insistence on continued pressure may be designed to show its influence in world politics. Ironically, it might be having the opposite effect.

Pressure may be reducing despite the ANC's efforts — Mr Mandela's tour of America may not have stopped its government supporting an International Monetary Fund loan for Pretoria.



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But that can only happen if the key forces in our society, including the major political actors, decide to begin building the future rather than seeking shelter in the past.

Despite the traumas of the past few months, some key groups are doing that by negotiating agreements which might begin to create the democracy and greater equality which February 2 promised.

The unions and employers who have just persuaded the government to enact a labour relations system which they negotiated, the civic leaders and provincial authorities who this week signed a pact which might begin creating democracy in Soweto and Johannesburg are two examples.

But the ANC, which, before February 2 was expected to be a force in building the future, lags behind them. Two issues suggest it is missing important opportunities to shape the future.

In both cases, the future may be happening without it. Because it still enjoys such great symbolic support, it may well benefit from that future, perhaps by becoming the government.

But, if it does fail to shape it, it may find that future much less worth having. So might the rest of the society.

The first issue is township violence. Whether it has now ended is unclear. But, if it has, the ANC played no part in ending it.

In the past, the longer violence continued, the more the state was weakened because it was supposed to preserve peace. Now the ANC is also weakened because it is partly responsible for peace.

To show its strength, it would have had to exert enough influence over the warring parties to end or reduce vio-

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Friedman

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The ANC's insistence on continued pressure may be designed to show its influence in world politics. Ironically, it might be having the opposite effect.

Pressure may be reducing despite the ANC's efforts — Mr Mandela's tour of America may not have stopped its government supporting an International Monetary Fund loan for Pretoria.

Foreign governments seem to be concluding that the time has come for a more flexible attitude to Pretoria. The more the ANC insists on ignoring that by retreating into the past, the more it misses the chance to shape that attitude.

Just as its failure to resolve the violence may leave it — and us — with tensions which will be far harder to heal in a democracy, so might the ANC's failure to devise a more flexible foreign strategy leave it — and us — less able to influence the attitudes of local whites and foreign governments when apartheid goes.

There is a common thread in the ANC's attitude to both issues. In both cases, it implies that it is still powerless — that only the government can end violence, and that only foreigners can achieve change. But it need not be powerless — it now has the chance to shape events rather than be shaped by them.

The ANC's present problems may show how much it, too, is still a victim of our apartheid past in which it was largely powerless.

But, the longer it takes the ANC to overcome the past, the longer will it weigh on it — and us. And the more likely will it be that the legacy of the past will follow us into the future.

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The battle hymns of the people's republic

By MONDLI MAKHANYA (118)

"MANDELA says, let's arm and go to war" is a message that still resounds at political funerals and rallies — almost two months after the signing of the Pretoria Minute.

The call to arms dominates many resistance songs.

Most freedom songs are punctuated with references to "shooting the boers". A favourite target of the songs is Inkatha President Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The militarism of resistance songs may be due to the fact that many originated in MK training camps.

The tunes are derived from traditional ethnic songs and church hymns.

In the past freedom songs reflected current campaigns and the issue of the day. For instance in the early years of the rent boycott a popular song went: "ESoweto akekho noyedwa okhokh'

^{w/Man 25/9 - 4/10/90}
irenti, joyina mtanami." ("In Soweto there's not one person who pays the rent, so join the struggle, my son.")

When residents of coastal cities invaded white beaches as part of last year's Defiance Campaign the rallying call was "MDM, thina silwela amalungelo. Sisho nase beach, thina silwela amalungelo." ("We're the MDM and we're fighting for our rights. Even on the beaches we're fighting for our rights.")

At their first mass rally at Soccer City after their release last October, Walter Sisulu and the other seven Rivonia trialists were welcomed with a song especially composed in their honour: "Walter Sisulu, Walter Sisulu ahona o tswana le yena." ("Walter Sisulu, Walter Sisulu, there's no other like him.")

The peace campaign in Natal also received a cultural boost after Nelson Mandela's "Weapons into the sea"

speech in Durban earlier this year.

Days later young township warriors marching on the streets sang: "U Seshil' u Mandela, uthi masiyek' ukubulalana sodw' isitha sethu sisePitoli." ("Mandela says let's stop killing each other, our real enemy is in Pretoria.")

Despite the fact that no pangas washed out into the Indian Ocean, the message of peace was nevertheless being propagated by those in the frontline. Why then are "negotiations" and "the Pretoria Minute" not becoming part of the grassroots music?

South African Youth Congress's Parks Mankahlana said the militaristic nature of current songs was not a reflection of a rejection of the peace process: "We have said that the armed struggle has not been abandoned but merely suspended. The songs people are singing are in line with our movement's policies."

PAC on talks: Yes, No, Well maybe. Wait till November

W/Max 28/9-41 1990

By ANDREW MELDRUM: Harare
THE Pan Africanist Congress has been unable to formulate a response over how to respond to President FW de Klerk's invitation to talk with the government.

Disagreement between hardline opponents and more conciliatory PAC members has prevented the movement from deciding whether or not to enter into talks, according to party insiders. After a three-day consultative meeting of internal and external members in Harare last week, PAC vice-president Clarence Makwetu said the movement would not respond to De Klerk's invitation until "all the grassroots structures have been consulted and reported back". Makwetu said the PAC would continue its "armed struggle" against apartheid, but when questioned by journalists he would not describe any recent PAC attacks.

Some PAC officials suggested an answer to De Klerk could be expected in about three weeks, but Makwetu said a final decision would come from the national conference the PAC intends to hold in South Africa in November. He called for the government to issue permits for the PAC's exiled leadership to be able to return and meet with internal structures before the congress. Ironically, the PAC is debating whether or not the De Klerk government has met the five conditions of the Harare Declaration, in order to create the climate for talks.

When the ANC-drafted declaration was issued in Harare in August 1989, PAC president Zephania Mothopeng and other leaders of the movement indicated they did not value the five point declaration.

Now the PAC is alleging that the ANC has abandoned the Harare Declaration for its talks with the government. "We are surprised that the very people who formed the Harare Declaration are now working against that," said Makwetu. "The PAC grassroots will be discussing whether the five points have been met so talks can get under way."

But a split within the PAC itself kept the movement from reaching a decision on the talks issue, according to those close to the PAC's Harare meeting. Recent outspoken anti-talk statements by some PAC leaders have encouraged "young radicals" inside the country to take a hardline position against talks. For instance, PAC external administrative secretary Joe Mkwana last month accused the ANC of "betraying the struggle" by entering into talks.

Other external PAC officials do not want to see their organisation left out of the current talks and hope to convince those inside the country to take a more flexible position. Traditionally Zimbabwean government-owned *Herald* newspaper. But after the PAC has been very supportive of the PAC particularly in the government-owned *Herald* newspaper. But after the PAC postponed any decision on the talks issue, even the *Herald* showed impatience and wrote an editorial titled "PAC has no choice but to join talks".

Slate of ANC women to stand in local elections

By PHILIPPA GARSON

(11R)

AT the African National Congress' first PWV regional conference to be held this weekend, a 12-member regional executive will be elected.

More than a thousand delegates from various branches in the PWV will be voting at the East Bank Hall in Alexandra tomorrow.

An all-woman slate of 12 will stand on one ticket as a tactic to get more women into key positions in the ANC, according to one of the nominees, Beta Lipman. *W/M 28/9 - 4/10/90*

Other nominees include Barbara Hogan (nominated as chairperson), Audrey Coleman, Sheila Sisulu, Amanda Kwadi and Feroza Adam. "It is time women played a more prominent and active part in this slightly paternal and patriarchal organisation of ours," said Lipman.

ANC Vaal representative Bavumile Vilikazi said the drive to get more women into executive structures was "basically a good thing. We have always been non-sexist and non-racist," he said.

11A
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28/9/90

Platteland problems at ANC congress

By BARRY STREEK

The ANC will give priority to "nuts and bolts" issues at its two-day Western Cape congress this weekend, according to its regional interim committee.

Organisational issues as well as ANC policy, planning and structures will be discussed.

One of the problem areas on the agenda is the feeling among rural branches that the ANC in the region is showing "favouritism" towards urban areas.

A rural areas commission, which consulted branches in the West Coast, South Cape, Langeberg, Namaqualand and Karoo regions, concluded: "We can say that our position within the ANC has not changed in any way which would allow us to talk about a transitional phase."

The fact that no ANC offices had been established in rural towns was causing tension between the regional interim committee and rural zones.

Telephones, fax machines, typewriters and photocopiers were seen as luxuries in all towns and the fact that these facilities were only used by a small group meant that thousands of rural towns were not reached, the commission concluded.

About 500 delegates, including 100 from the rural areas, who represent 70 branches are expected to attend the conference at the University of the Western Cape, much of which is to be held behind closed doors.

Details of decisions taken and the names of people elected to the new regional executive are to be disclosed at a press conference on Sunday afternoon.

The ANC has 18 203 signed-up members in the Western Cape, 3 362 in the rural areas, and 10 881 in Khayelitsha and other townships.

Govan Mbeki spells out ANC's 'new SA'

The Argus Foreign Service

Argus 28/9/96 11A

LONDON. — Mr Govan Mbeki, an African National Congress national executive councillor, has pledged a "humane, nonracial, non-sexist democracy" for South Africa, with a future that belongs to all.

He said such an ideal would take time, however, and there were many problems — not least the fact that blacks had "yet to be reassured that our perception of the new South African society is one that is entirely shared by the Pretoria regime".

Plans of the past

He warned that "powerful elements" were activating long-laid plans of the past to destabilise the country, including the arrest and assassination of black leaders.

Delivering the Canon Collins Lecture in London last night, Mr Mbeki paid tribute to the "inevitable, yet courageous, step" taken by President De Klerk in unbanning the ANC, Communist Party and other organisations, which "opened the window of opportunity for a relatively peaceful and negotiated settlement of the conflict in South Africa".

However, he repeated warnings of a "third force" at work in South Africa. "A lot of difficulties are being put in the way of our vision of the future by forces similar to those that supported Renamo and Unita.

"South Africa is on the threshold of change. In the course of our struggle we have travelled a long

and difficult road. Yet, the last mile may be the most intractable and difficult."

The violence wracking the country was "unacceptable" and reflected "powerful elements within the State structures opposed to a negotiated settlement".

Mr Mbeki appealed for international pressure to help bring about the release of leaders still in prison in South Africa, and urged the continuation of sanctions in order not to send "the wrong signals" to those who exercised economic and political power.

The Argus Correspondent in Durban reports that Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Mr Chris Hani has been granted further temporary immunity until December 31 after an assurance that he was committed to the letter and spirit of the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes.

'Committed to stability'

This was announced yesterday by the Ministry of Justice, which said in a statement that the ANC leadership was of the firm view Mr Hani "is now committed to stability and to a peaceful process of negotiations".

The government revoked Mr Hani's temporary immunity on August 19.

As a result, he has been unable to lead the ANC team at meetings of the joint ANC/government working group dealing with matters arising from the suspension of the armed struggle.

The working group met in Pretoria yesterday for a third round of talks.

MIKE ROBERTSON

FOREIGN governments are encouraging KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi to attend the October 5 meeting of homeland leaders called by the ANC to devise a joint strategy for ending violence.

Diplomatic sources said yesterday that foreign governments, including major EC countries with which Buthelezi has a good working relationship, believed the meeting could play a role in ending violence and were encouraging him to attend.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus yesterday would not comment on whether the organisation had received a formal response from Buthelezi.

She said details of the meeting were still being worked out.

Buthelezi could not be contacted for

Go to peace talks, Buthelezi urged

Blom 28/9/90
comment. A spokesman said he had issued no further comment since Friday when he stated he would have to consult the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly caucus.

He said he would be in contact with ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela to "confirm that the ANC's intention is genuinely to attempt to bring about the lessening of violence". He would then attend the meeting as Inkatha president. (11A) (11B)

In a later statement that caucus urged Buthelezi to seek a one-on-one meeting with Mandela.

Star 29/9/90 (11A)

Mandela for second world tour

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela will visit seven countries during a 22-day international tour in October, the ANC announced yesterday.

Mr Mandela will leave South Africa on October 8 and will return on November 2.

He will visit France, the USSR, India, Malaysia, Brunei, Australia, Indonesia and Japan on his

POLITICAL REPORTER

second major international tour.

Mr Mandela will be accompanied by his wife, Winnie. The ANC could not confirm who else would accompany the deputy president.

The itinerary provides scant details of Mr Mandela's schedule, but says

he will meet France's President Francois Mitterrand on October 9.

It could not be confirmed whether he would meet Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev during a five-day visit.

The Australian Government confirmed that Mr Mandela would hold talks with Prime Minister Bob Hawke.

ANC stops delegate

Star 29/9/90

OWN CORRESPONDENT

DURBAN — The World Bank has declined an offer to send a delegate to a conference organised by the Durban City Council after being urged to boycott it by the ANC.

This was disclosed last night by city councillor, Mr Peter Corbett, who said the World Bank's refusal had been confirmed by the office of the Town Clerk.

The call was made by the ANC because of the way the so-called "ultra-right" on the City Council had ousted more liberal councillors from positions of power in last week's council committee elections, said an ANC statement.

The ANC called on all delegates not to attend the conference and made a special appeal to the World Bank.

The conference was to be followed by an international seminar next year designed to bring overseas and local investment to the greater Durban region.

ANC puts out feelers for staff

THE African National Congress has gone on an extensive employment drive.

The organisation, which was unbanned on February 2 this year, is also looking at ways and means which will ensure that an equal number of people inside and outside the country are employed within its structures.

In an interview with Saturday Star, ANC spokesman Jill Marcus said there was a dire need for manpower within the organisation's structures.

She said the finance department in particular needed skilled people.

"We are in need of staff all round. At present we have a not-enough staff of 120. We are looking at ways of ensuring that exiles as well as people in the country will be employed equally," Ms Marcus said, adding the process might take a long time.

She said exiles who would be employed by the ANC would be those who wished to stay with the organisation. "Some of them might want to take on other jobs as part of an orientation to their

mother country," she added.

Ms Marcus said prospective ANC employees would be taken into employment only on the basis of their skills — and not according to "who knows who".

The number of posts available depended on the amount of money the organisation had.

Two weeks ago, the ANC advertised 24 positions in a weekly newspaper.

Vacancies advertised varied from secretaries, an information systems manager to a national accountant. Most of the posts advertised were in the ANC's treasury department.

Asked what kind of salaries the ANC paid its employees, Ms Marcus replied: "Our objective is to pay people a living wage and we try very hard."

She told Saturday Star the ANC had started 350 branches countrywide.

The number would increase, as many new branches were in the pipeline.

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JOVIAL RANTAO

(117)

Police siding with ANC — Khoza

WITWATERSRAND Inkatha Youth Brigade chairman Themba Khoza yesterday accused the South African Police of using the Government's "Iron Fist" strategy to harass Inkatha members, thus siding with the African National Congress in the conflict.

Mr Khoza told a press conference in Johannesburg that it appeared the police, who had now "gone beyond merely disarming our people", were taking sides with the ANC.

He said his arrest together with about 136 other Inkatha supporters in Sebokeng on September 4 — "when they had not done anything illegal" —

29/9/90
KAIZER NYATSUMBA
Political Staff

was clear evidence of this latest police harassment of Inkatha members.

The Inkatha members' lawyer, May Mosseison, told the press conference that although no formal charges had yet been drawn up against his clients, the Attorney-General had indicated that they faced charges ranging from public violence to attempted murder.

About 100 of them have since been released without being charged and the rest were released on bail and are due to appear in court on October 31.

111A

ANC disputes 'rivalry'

Members confirm

Bonteheuwel rift

By DAVID MARRS and ANTHONY JOHNSON

THE ANC yesterday rallied to present a united front amid a row over reports of growing rivalry and conflict between competing ANC factions in Bonteheuwel.

After ANC stalwart Mr Christmas Tinto confirmed to the Cape Times on Thursday that he had been asked to mediate in the dispute among ANC supporters of Ms Cheryl Carolus and Mr Johnny Issel, the ANC's regional interim committee yesterday called a press conference to deny there was any rift.

In a strong show of solidarity, the Athlone press conference was attended by almost the entire interim leadership of the ANC in the Western Cape, including Ms Carolus and Mr Issel.

The two, who sat next to each other, dismissed suggestions that there had ever been any animosity or a power struggle between them, and smilingly posed for photographers with their arms around each other.

Mr Trevor Manuel, who chaired the conference, said that reports about rivalry in the organisation were "grossly unfair".

However, a number of Bonteheuwel residents, including ANC members, yesterday told the Cape Times that tensions

and power struggles were indeed a feature of ANC politics in the area.

A member of the Bonteheuwel branch of the ANC, Mr Andre Robertus, said the ANC did not have two branches in the area. "There is only one branch — with internal conflict," he said.

One source closely involved with the ANC in the area said that there had been "a lot of fights" relating to the election of office-bearers, because insufficient numbers of paid-up ANC members were present when the original election took place earlier this year.

'More united'

When asked at yesterday's press conference to describe her relationship with Mr Issel, Ms Carolus dismissed the question with a joke, while Mr Issel said the report that Mr Tinto had been called in to mediate between factions loyal to them had "come as a big shock and surprise".

Mr Manuel said the Bonteheuwel branch of the ANC was "now more united than ever".

He denied that Mr Tinto had ever been given the brief to sort out the rivalry between ANC members in the area.

But Mr Tinto, who could not be reached for comment last night, earlier expressly told the Cape Times that he had been given such a task.



COM-RADES IN ARMS ... Prominent regional ANC personalities Ms Cheryl Carolus and Mr Johnny Issel hug for press photographers after denying reports that they are involved in a power struggle for the leadership of the Bonteheuwel branch of the ANC. The meeting was attended by virtually the entire interim leadership of the ANC in the Western Cape. Picture: BENNY GOOL.

'State wants ANC weak'

29/9/90
ANC
members

11A

By FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Weekend Argus
Political Correspondent

A TOP African National Congress official today accused the government of calculated moves aimed at weakening the ANC and "destroying our spirit of resistance and defiance."

Mr Thomas Nkobi, ANC treasurer-general and a member of the movement's national executive committee, told the ANC's first Western Cape regional congress in Cape Town: "They want us to bow down to their bayonets and jackboots."

He said the government had a double agenda: on the one hand to negotiate with the ANC in response to international pressure, and on the other hand "promoting nation-wide violence in order to weaken the ANC."

Basic rights

"They have used the violence as an excuse to introduce 'Operation Iron Fist'. This move is aimed at controlling the movement of black people. It is not aimed at finding the perpetrators of the violence. It is being used to strip our people of basic civil rights."

Mr Nkobi said the continued detention of ANC national executive committee member Mr Mac Maharaj and other activists was "another obstacle the regime is placing in our path".

The movement's "enemy" would not allow the process of rebuilding the ANC to continue unhindered. "They are using every vile tactic possible to weaken our movement."

Mr Nkobi called on members to frustrate such attempts and to build the ANC.

He said 315 ANC branches had already been launched and recruitment had been "very successful" throughout the country.

Stompie's mother still seeking truth

Struggle
to hold
back
tears as
she tells
of son's
wish
to be a
lawyer



Maninki Seipei, mother of murdered activist Stompie ... she says she sees him in her dreams and longs to know how he died.

By NOMAVENDA MATHIANE
Weekend Argus Correspondent

OUTSIDE Tumahole township in Parys, Free State, a shanty town is mushrooming near the garbage dump. Its inhabitants have called it Mandela Village.

Among the many shacks of corrugated iron, hardboard and plastic sheets of all colours is one belonging to Maninki Joyce Seipei, mother of the murdered 14-year-old activist whose name became known round the world, James "Stompie" Moeketsi Seipei.

She lives with her common-law husband and their four-year-old daughter, a little girl who hardly remembers the elder brother murdered in Soweto on New Year's Eve in 1988.

Ms Seipei is lonely in her grief, but not alone. She is guarded by youths, apparently to "censor" her verbal contact with people like reporters. But she says she has no need for that.

Ridiculed

Ms Seipei tells of having been ridiculed by groups of youths the day after her son was buried. They taunted her and claimed it was not Stompie she had buried, but a grown man with a full beard.

They claimed to have seen the body, and her claims that she had buried the child activist were an attempt to make money.

"My son's death has nothing to do with the African National Congress, and it could never harm the organisation. I do not care even if they appear not to be on my side. I do not need anybody on my side. What I want is justice."

She speaks reverently of Nelson Mandela, deputy president of the ANC. She says: "The old man was not around when my son died. He has nothing to do with it."

Ms Seipei has never set eyes on Mrs Mandela, who was not there when Stompie was buried in his home town.

At the time Mrs Mandela insisted Stompie was alive, and there were wild claims — officially denied by Botswana Police and the Dukwe refugee camp — that the youngster had fled to a camp for fugitives in Botswana.

Ms Seipei says she has dreamt about her son many times.

She says: "At times he is laughing and teasing me, though in many cases I dream he is crying. In real life he never cried."

Wanted to be lawyer

"I remember once when the police came to pick him up. One of them told him to bid me goodbye because they were going to lock him up for a long time. He looked at me and laughed."

"He was a brave boy who loved school. He wanted to be a lawyer but I told him we were too poor for him to entertain that dream."

"He was a very talkative child. It was 'Mama this' and 'mama that', all the time telling me about the struggle. I would ask him why he was doing all those things and he would say 'for the Freedom Charter'."

She feels her son died for the nation. But she also asks: "Why would a boy that young be obsessed with freedom? Look where we live, look at my shack. End of the month we must pay R17 for services. What services?"

The shack town where she lives has no electricity, no sewerage, and no running water. There are also no toilets, and its inhabitants must go for relief to neighbouring Tumahole or head for the bushes.

Get into trouble

Ms Seipei's dream is to lay her hands on a photograph of Stompie; "I have seen one in a newspaper where his hair was in a perm. I would love to have a copy of that photograph."

She has developed heart problems, she says, since her son's death.

Initially she was reluctant to talk to us.

She was upset and battled to hold back the tears, and told us her refusal to speak was "because I get into trouble and get accused of saying things I have not said."

She had refused to be interviewed at her shack, and disclosed she had been given instructions to hold interviews only at the advice centre in town. When we arrived at the office with her, one of the youths called her outside for lengthy discussion.

On her return, she was more upset. The same youth held a telephone conversation with someone he said was Ms Seipei's lawyer. But she was not aware of any lawyer acting for her and, in fact, seemed in desperate need of one.

Ms Seipei kept looking around, clearly scared to talk to us. But as the ice thawed she told us she had expected Winnie Mandela to have at least done what Jerry Richardson had — come and see her and tell her what had happened.

'Nobody knows'

She said: "If anything happens to anyone staying at my house I am bound to explain to their next-of-kin what happened. It is in that vein that I expected Mrs Mandela to come and tell me what happened to my son while he stayed at her house. As Stompie's mother I deserved to know."

Ms Seipei is not at all excited or moved by news that Mrs Mandela will be prosecuted on allegations relating to her murdered son's abduction and assaults on him before his death.

She says quietly: "That will not bring my son back, though I still want to know the full story. And until that happens I cannot see any of us being at peace."

One of the youths in the Parys office interrupts.

He says, without being asked: "We do not know

who murdered Stompie. Nobody knows. And we are not going to allow Mrs Mandela's name to be dragged in the mud. There are a number of anti-Mandela people around here. They are responsible for all the rumours about Stompie's death. They and the police are responsible for anti-Mrs Mandela graffiti on walls."

Richardson, former "coach" of Mrs Mandela's "soccer" club, has been sentenced to death for the murder of the young activist, who was abducted from the Methodist Church manse in Orlando West on December 28, 1988, and was murdered three days later.

Richardson was sentenced to 28 years jail for kidnapping, assault, and for the attempted murder of another youth.

As the youth continues talking Ms Seipei says she does not know exactly how her son died, but never expected him to die at the hands of black people.

self to a non-sexist South Africa. Is this mere lip service to ideals or is the organisation seriously addressing the issue of women?

Some critics charge that the organisation itself is steeped in sexist practices.

Lending support to this view is the way male speakers dominated the launch of the Women's League in Durban earlier this month.

There were only two female keynote speakers at the launch, one of whom — Adelaide Tambo — read a message from her husband, ANC president Oliver Tambo.

Another example is a recently-appointed ANC constitutional committee where only one of the 20 members is female.

Gap

Women's League activist Frene Ginwala acknowledges there is a gap between policy and practice in the ANC, but she says it is important to acknowledge the major strides the ANC has already made in addressing the issue of gender repression.

Ginwala describes herself as a feminist as she "addresses the issue of gender repression as structured in society".

She says the ANC is the only political organisation with a detailed policy on gender repression.

"The ANC has excellent policies. It has acknowledged that the issue is not a by-product of the national liberation struggle or the struggle for socialism but a matter to be addressed in its own right," Ginwala says.

She also questions why so many critics concentrate on the repression of women in black society and in the liberation movements to the exclusion of male domination in white South Africa.

In June this year, the ANC's national executive committee (NEC) released a far-reaching policy statement on the emancipation of women — a move Ginwala describes as a "major step".

The statement followed an ANC women's workshop on the constitutional guidelines the previous month.

The recommendations are explicitly

Some comrades are more equal than others

There is still a gap between ANC policy and practice on sexual equality, says Women's League activist Frene Ginwala. However, the organisation had made major strides it counter gender repression. CHIARA CARTER reports:

non-sexist, dealing with the nature of gender repression and its legacy. It says the state is responsible for implementing a programme of combatting sexism.

They recommend that discrimination against women be declared unconstitutional.

They also address the question of removing patriarchal rights from the family and, in a major breakthrough for women, assert that the land should belong to those who work it — which in most cases means women.

Wife-beating

The recommendations also look at the judicial system and chiefs' rights

They assert that, while cultural rights should be guaranteed, such rights cannot exist at the expense of women.

The ANC also has a code of conduct dealing with issues like sexual harassment and wife-beating.

Ginwala says, while it is unfair to say nothing is being done in the ANC about gender repression, it would be a fair assessment to say that not enough is being done.

She agrees there is a gap between policy and practice.

"It is not enough to have a statement. We must look at implementing this.

"There is a legacy of patriarchy and this continues in people's attitudes, including ANC members'," Ginwala comments.

She says the league launch was plagued with difficulties.

The meeting was cut short for fear of an Inkatha attack on a nearby hostel and this precluded other women from speaking. The main speaker, ANC representative in America Lindiwe Mabuza, was delayed.

Ginwala does, however, acknowledge that the preponderance of male speakers reflected just how few women are in leadership positions within the ANC.

There is a move afoot to amend the ANC constitution to ensure that women make up at least 30 percent of the NEC.

Male domination

Ginwala says the solution lies in women becoming involved in the ANC and challenging the organisation to live up to its policies.

"Change comes through struggle, not least by women," she says.

Women within the ANC have challenged male domination.

The constitutional guidelines released for discussion last year were produced by an all-male committee.

This evoked a storm of protest from the Women's Section.

But, says Ginwala, the newly-appointed constitutional committee is again a male affair with only one woman appointed, while there are 19 men on the body.

"How can these men serve on such a committee? If there were 19 whites and one black, they would have refused to serve. Did they not notice that they represent the minority of the South African population?" asks Ginwala.

Another example which she cites is that the revisions to the constitutional guidelines agreed at the women's seminar have still not been circulated.



FRENE GINWALA: Women must challenge the ANC to live up to its non-sexist policies

Ginwala believes change will come about through women actively challenging sexism. This will be a process which will have to include education.

She views the formation of the Women's League as another major move forward, particularly because it will not be a department of the ANC but an autonomous body with ANC members.

While the league will take up local

issues, it will also campaign nationally for a constitutionally-enshrined Women's Charter.

Ginwala says it is important for the charter to be drawn up from grassroots level with the demands of ordinary women as a starting point.

The league will hold a major conference in October which will pull together policy recommendations.

DIVINE intervention is sometimes wished for to get South Africa's fractious political groups to agree on a single issue.

Although former Supreme Court judge Jan Steyn is too modest to claim such powers, he has been able to gain the support and participation of a wide political spectrum in a R2-billion development scheme for the country's disadvantaged and poor.

Steyn has a logical explanation:

Vicious

"Poverty knows no ethnic, territorial or political barriers. Its eradication is something no person can argue against.

"I echo what the ANC's Thabo Mbeki said recently that the battle against the vicious cycle of poverty can serve as a rallying point for all South Africans."

Steyn was interviewed at the IDT offices housed in a small but historic building opposite the Cape Town Supreme Court buildings where he used to practise as an advocate.

He said he was surprised

Steyn's R2-b touch

South 30/8 - 579190 (11A)



Jan Steyn

when the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, phoned him earlier this year with an offer to head the scheme.

"If ever I'd a wish or had to go on my knees to pray for something, it would be to have access to this kind of resource which will enable one to do something

about deprivation and poverty in our country.

"I, no doubt, immediately expressed an interest in what the Minister had to offer."

Steyn said, however, that he set two conditions.

First, the trust must be set up independent and free of government ideology. Sec-

The United Democratic Front and other groups have agreed to a state-funded R2-billion development scheme for the disadvantaged in South African society. Former judge Jan Steyn is heading the Independent Development Trust (IDT) to oversee the scheme. SOUTH's editor MOEGSIEN WILLIAMS spoke to him:

ond, the government had to give an undertaking that all discriminatory legislation be removed.

"Good development anywhere in the world can never take place in a bad political environment."

He said he had also requested, before an announcement was made, to approach as many people as possible.

"I consulted with people, without mentioning names, in leadership positions across the political spectrum."

Steyn said his career was based on an independent approach to matters.

"So, I did not seek people's endorsement for the scheme but their participation.

"Likewise, the people chosen as trustees are my choices entirely and, although they're representative of the community as a whole, they don't represent organisations."

Steyn said, however, he was mindful that the scheme would be useless and rejected by the people at whom it was directed if

there was no participation by them.

"So far no decision has been taken on structuring except the establishment of 'focus committees' which will look at ways to involve the representatives of communities in every aspect of the trust's development activities.

Bureaucracy

"The size of the IDT's office is deliberately small, with space for only four officials, to prevent the growth of a bureaucracy which will absorb resources intended for development."

He rejected the notion that the scheme should be rejected because it was "funded with government money".

"Yes, the government took the decision to allocate the funds for this specific purpose.

"But it's the taxpayers, the people's money, and it presents an enormous challenge to use it in a dynamic way.

"I hope that the trust, by the injection of resources, can assist in rebuilding and revitalising these organisations so they can take their rightful place in our society.

"There is also the structural defects in the allocation of resources. Housing subsidies, for instance, in my view purely stimulate demand and supply.

"We hope to use the leverage of the trust to redress the housing problems of the very poor.

"The issue of redistribution is essentially going to be decided on the ground and the key challenge is to ensure that the resources — that circulate essentially within a first world economy — break free and penetrate to levels where poorer people have access.

Proud

"I'm confident that if as South Africans we stand and work together we will, by the end of this century, see a change from the faceless shacks all over the country to homes people can be proud of."

Steyn said he was motivated by the need to create a more just South Africa.

Justice and democracy would never flourish in South Africa if the high levels of deprivation and poverty continued to exist, he said.

Toekomsrus residents air their grievances

Sowetan 12/9/90



A PEACEFUL crowd of about 1 000 Toekomsrus residents handed over a petition of grievances to the Randfontein Town Clerk Mr Louw Brits yesterday morning.

Toekomsrus Crisis Committee secretary Shadean Butler said Brits had been given an

ultimatum to reply to the petition within a week.

There was a strong police and SA Defence Force presence along the road from the township playing fields into town but there were no incidents.

White residents along the way kept a low profile.

Another Toekomsrus resident, Mr Cecil Byron, said high rents were the main source of unhappiness in the area.

For a four-roomed house "very old, nothing more than a matchbox",

said Byron, residents paid R380 a month.

Another woman said although many residents in Toekomsrus had bought their homes, electricity and water rents were cripplingly high - R400-R500 a month she claimed.

Another resident from this Western Transvaal township, Mr John Eland, said Labour Party leaders the Rev Allan Hendrickse and Mr David Curry were desperately needed to help the community. - *Sapa*

Bold move on Gatsha needed

South 30/8 - 5/9/10

BEING prepared to take bold steps and calculated risks usually separates great political movements and leaders from the ineffective and the mediocre.

Some bold and principled decisions are required from the ANC specifically and the MDM as a whole to end the horrible bloodletting we have witnessed in Vaal townships over the past few weeks — and in Natal over the past four years.

There seems to be consensus that a Nelson Mandela/Gatsha Buthelezi meeting will not stop the violence. This may be so.

Buthelezi will undoubtedly exploit such a meeting to enhance his own image as a leader and a person to be reckoned with when it comes to deciding the future of South Africa.

But what are the long-term implications for the ANC?

Squander

The ANC's greatest advantage over any other political movement is that it has been entrusted with the hopes and wishes of millions of South Africans to bring about justice, equality and peace.

It faces the gravest danger if this trust is ever squandered because of short-term tactics.

Its image as a harbinger of peace took a severe knocking this week. Instead, "peace" was seen to be restored by a ring of steel thrown around the townships of Thokoza, Kagiso and Vosloosrus.

FW de Klerk, custodian of the most violent political system in the world (in the eyes of many South Africans), is being seen as a greater man of peace than Mandela.

Why is the ANC squandering this advantage simply because it does not want to meet Buthelezi?

The ANC may have to review its stance of not speaking to Inkatha leader Gatsha Buthelezi if it wants to retain its image as harbinger of peace:

South Africans, especially those living in the affected areas of Natal and Transvaal, want peace.

They are tired of the grim headlines and the ongoing statistics of death and destruction.

The toll of four years of civil war in Natal is measured in thousands, while a few weeks of fighting in the Transvaal have already cost more than 500 lives.

While the analysts debate the whys and wherefores of violence, and political leaders fling accusations at one another, the killing continues.

Hotchpotch

It is only with peace that the country will be able to begin to address the damage done by decades of apartheid.

It is only with peace that a sound economy to serve as an engine for development in this troubled sub-continent can be built.

While the roots of the fighting are complex and deep, at a political level there can be no doubt that a meeting between Mandela and Buthelezi would go a long way towards easing tensions.

Mandela has the necessary stature and authority within the democratic movement to allow him to meet Buthelezi without losing face.

A bold move, albeit risky, is required.

Certainly, the experience of the UDF and Cosatu in Natal — where there have been numerous failed attempts at peace missions and joint monitoring — gives weight to the view that nothing will be achieved on the ground.

One viewpoint holds that it is precisely because the MDM stuck to a peaceful line that Inkatha has been able to flourish, and it would have been bet-



Gatsha Buthelezi

ter to declare war on the organisation years ago.

On the other hand, it is difficult to understand what the ANC has to lose from a meeting with Buthelezi.

The ANC has met with a range of groups — from the right-wing to the discredited Labour Party.

Unlike such groups, Buthelezi undoubtedly has a base, although the extent of this support is questionable.

Strategic

While a meeting between Mandela and Buthelezi would undoubtedly give the Kwazulu leader the national stature he wants, it would also give the ANC the moral high ground.

Beyond strategic considerations, the ANC has a duty to make every attempt to end the violence.

If it is difficult to understand why the two leaders do not meet, it is still more difficult to understand how Mandela could leave for Algeria while a war is waging in his backyard.

The spreading of the killing fields carries serious lessons for both the govern-

ment and the ANC.

The first is that both sides are in grave danger of losing control of the situation.

This underlines the urgency of achieving a just political settlement soon.

The second is the danger of delaying calls for some form of election in which the support of the various political groups can be tested.

The negotiation process has so far been between two players — the ANC and the government.

Left out in the cold, other political groupings have to assert themselves or face obscurity.

The ongoing conflict between comrades and their counterparts in the other liberation movements calls for greater political tolerance — a quality which has never distinguished South African politics.

Failure

The MDM needs to face the fact that its strategy has failed in two key areas — Inkatha and the white working class.

While there is little doubt that to a large extent Buthelezi has chosen to go it alone, the fact that the liberation movement has been unable to bring him within the broad front is a major failure.

This might have had the effect of neutralising his bid for power in the townships and brought him under the discipline of the front organisations.

During their bid for a negotiated settlement, the ANC needs all the allies it could get, and trying to win Buthelezi's few thousand members makes more sense than trying to woo Hendrickse or Boshoff.

This country needs peace.

If the ANC has acknowledged that it can be attained by talks with the National Party, which has also been responsible for decades of violence, perhaps they should consider meeting Buthelezi as soon as possible.

PAC to ^(11A) launch two *South 3018-519/90.* branches

THE Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) is launching branches in Stellenbosch and Old Crossroads this weekend.

The Stellenbosch launch will take place at the AME church in Idas Valley at noon on Saturday.

The Crossroads branch is scheduled to be launched at the Nxolo school at noon on Sunday.

PAC secretary Mr Bennie Alexander is the guest speaker at both launches.

Alexander will also address students at a lunchtime meeting at the University of the Western Cape on Friday.

The meeting has been organised by the Pan-Africanist Student Organisation.

The PAC intends holding two mass rallies in Cape Town next month.

The Khayelitsha branch will hold a mass rally in the township next weekend.

Another rally is scheduled to take place at the Hanover Park Civic Centre on September 15.

The theme of the meeting is "Unity or negotiations. Which comes first?"

The meeting will be addressed by members of the PAC, New Unity Movement, Azanian People's Organisation, Qibla and the Workers Organisation for Socialist Action.

Unions pile on pressure as four out of 10 workers put out of a job

SANCTIONS: ANC U-TURN

S/Times 30/9/90

By DRIES VAN HEERDEN
and LESTER VENTER

THE ANC is poised to call for the lifting of sanctions amid mounting pressure from trade unions over horrifying levels of unemployment.

The way could be eased for the ANC to dump one of its most controversial and damaging policies by dramatic concessions from the Government — including the early suspension of the Population Registration Act.

Top ANC sources said this week that the organisation's official position remained pro-sanctions.

But senior ANC men have already opened discussions with foreign businessmen about investing in South Africa after sanctions are lifted — which could be soon.

Other sources indicated the ANC is desperate to find an excuse to dump sanctions because of soaring unemployment and growing union pressures.

Latest statistics disclosed in Business Times today indicate 250 000 jobs in the

THE JOBLESS PIT
See Business Times

formal sector have been lost in the last 15 years.

Only 1.2-million jobs were created during this period for 4.7-million new work-seekers. Unemployment in the po-

Reading
and
writing
the news
with
Ellen
in the
hot seat!

By STEPHANIE HULL
GOLDEN girl Ellen Erasmus is set to revolutionise newsreading in South Africa.

The bubbly blonde who takes over the hot seat from Gillian van Rouben as news anchor on TV1 said yesterday she would be writing a lot of news scripts herself.

The SABC news team will be moving away from



Ken Owen is the new
Sunday Times editor

S/Times 30/9/90
KEN OWEN, editor of Business Day and former editor of the Sunday Express, has been appointed editor of the Sunday Times.

Mr Owen, 55, succeeds Tertius Myburgh, who is taking up a diplomatic post abroad. Mr Myburgh relinquished his job on Friday. He is taking early retirement.

Mr Owen, who served as assistant editor of the Sunday Times from 1977-1981, and later for a brief period as managing editor of the Rand Daily Mail, is widely known as a political columnist. He spent 10 years in the United States representing Argus newspapers.

From 1986 until this week he was editor of Times Media's financial daily Business Day. His column on Mondays quickly became the most talked-about political commentary in any newspaper. Mr Owen said yesterday: "The Sunday Times is a great challenge."

"The role of a newspaper, especially during a time of transforming change such as we are now entering, is to discern and define issues so that its readers can make informed judgments."

"However, the Sunday Times is an institution. It is a complex and varied



NEW CHALLENGE
Ken Owen



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dj
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Other sources indicated the ANC is desperate to find an excuse to dump sanctions because of soaring unemployment and growing union pressures.

Latest statistics disclosed in Business Times today indicate 250 000 jobs in the



formal sector have been lost in the last 15 years.

Only 1,2-million jobs were created during this period for 4,7-million new work-seekers. Unemployment in the potential workforce is now 41 percent.

Thabo Mbeki, the ANC's director of External Affairs, conceded this week that his organisation had already started negotiating with foreign governments and major international companies about ending the sanctions and disinvestment campaign and re-investing in South Africa once the negotiation process was completed.

"We appreciate that major economic decisions cannot be made overnight," he said.

Concern

"Top companies will have to plan in advance for such an eventuality — sometimes up to 18 months ahead."

However, he said the ANC was not yet in a position to call for the lifting of sanctions or an end to disinvestment.

"We do not yet believe the process of change is irreversible — in spite of President De Klerk's statements," he said. "It may be true that he and his Government may be 'irreversibly' committed to reform, but there are a number of things that still have to be done before the process becomes irreversible."

A member of the ANC's National Executive, Aziz Pahad, confirmed that "a series of discussions have taken place between ANC delegations and foreign governments and business".

Mr Pahad said the ANC was seriously concerned about the state of the economy and rising unemployment.

"We have never seen sanctions as a weapon to destroy the economy — but rather as a means to pressure the Government to change its course," he said.

According to Mr Pahad, the ANC had recent discussions with "major US foundations" about investment possibilities in the "new South Africa".

Discussions were also conducted with the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund about a possible "Marshall aid plan" to help develop the region.

Trade

"We realise that this country will need a major influx of foreign reserves to stimulate economic growth to provide for the needs of the population.

"We hope that the time will arrive soon when investors can be encouraged to return to South Africa and South African trade will again be acceptable abroad."

Mr Pahad said the economic needs were "one of the main reasons" why the negotiations should get underway as soon as possible.

The most important concern now was "to get the violence issue out of the way. The longer we delay, the longer it will take to get agreement on other important issues," he said.

The timing of the call to lift sanctions has been a subject of intense, sometimes

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Escaped fighters

call for end to violence

By DE WET POTGIETER

TWO young ANC members who fled from their camps in Tanzania and Zambia this week called on Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Nelson Mandela to join hands and stop the bloodshed in South Africa.

The two, a Zulu who escaped from an ANC camp at Dakawa in Tanzania on February 28 and his Sotho comrade, were extradited to South Africa this week after Namibian police found them at Katimo Mulilo in the Caprivi.

In an interview with the Sunday Times, the two young men said the exiles in the camps were homesick and tired of the struggle.

The Zulu appealed to Mr Buthelezi to make a public pledge to all Zulus in exile that they would be allowed back into Inkatha if they returned.

"Our place is with our people and the Zulu in exile wants to come back to take part in building the new South Africa," he said.

Uncertain

The two men, who asked not to be named for fear of reprisals against their families, said several other exiles had escaped from the camps and had taken other routes back to South Africa.

They said young exiles were upset because they had left the country to be educated — but received only military training.

"What is going to happen to the thousands of young comrades coming back to the new South Africa?" one of the men asked.

"There is a lot of unemployment in the country. Our comrades are concerned about their future in the country in these uncertain circumstances."

They also complained about the way Xhosa members in the ANC received preferential treatment in the camps.

"They are saying the struggle is for the Xhosa and we — the Sothos, Zulus, Shangaans, Pedis and Ndebeles — are just the manpower," explained one of the young men.

ANC ready to throw down gauntlet to Nats

A MAJOR recruitment drive among whites was unveiled at the ANC's historic first Western Cape regional congress since its unbanning in Cape Town.

The Western Cape's chief co-ordinator of the ANC and executive member of the SACP, Reggie September, who recently returned from 27 years in exile, told the 500 delegates representing about 100 ANC branches in the area that the white population was "not only the preserve of the existing white NP, DP and CP political parties".

"We shall have to challenge these parties and win the allegiance of people in the white community," he said.

The ANC was moving from the "politics of protest to the politics of challenge for power".

The tone of Mr September's speech indicated that the ANC was

By **NORMAN WEST**
Political Reporter

about to throw down the gauntlet to the NP and try to block its attempts to form alliances with black and coloured political and civic groups.

Mr September said that, in the process of opening their ranks to blacks, the NP would no doubt "be looking to converts among the Labour Party and coloured management committees.

"We need to take positive steps to counter these moves — and ensure that the NP ideology and deception is totally unwelcome within our communities by ensuring strong ANC leadership and organisation in these areas."

Mr September encouraged ANC members to participate in civic

structures to attain the goal of "One City, One Council".

He strongly denied any form of religious intolerance, saying that "the Church, the Mosque and the Synagogue" played an important role in the life of the community. The defence of freedom of religion was "crucial".

Treasurer-general Thomas Nkobi also said the ANC remained committed to a Constituent Assembly and "the peaceful transfer of power".

He assured the delegates that "the people's flag will be flying over the Union Buildings and Parliament much sooner (than is thought)".

The ANC in the Western Cape was planning a campaign to recruit a million members before

the national congress in Johannesburg in December, at a date to be announced.

On the ANC's commitment to a Constituent Assembly, Mr Nkobi urged the stepping up of a campaign for an interim government.

"We cannot allow the Government to be a player in the negotiations process and be the referee," he said.

"That is why we must push for an interim government to oversee the peaceful transition of power.

"In the elections for a Constituent Assembly, all parties will have the opportunity to air their views."

Both Mr September and Mr Nkobi were critical of "Operation Iron Fist", saying that the sole purpose of the security operation was aimed at "the controlling of the movement of black people — not at finding the perpetrators of

the violence, but to strip blacks of their basic civil liberties".

He also said the continued detention of Mac Maharaj, who holds dual ANC and SAPC executive positions, coupled with the detention of other activists "is another obstacle the Government is placing in our path".

He accused the Government of having a "double agenda".

S/ Times
30/9/70

One, he said, was to negotiate with the ANC for the purpose of responding to international pressure and the other was to promote nationwide violence in order to weaken the ANC.

The names of the 10 Western Cape regional Exco members, the first to be elected at an ANC conference and who will replace the nominated interim committee,

will be announced this afternoon.

Meanwhile, at an ANC regional conference in Johannesburg, internal leader Walter Sisulu said yesterday that pressure should be stepped up for the Government to create the right conditions for negotiations and peaceful transfer of power to the black majority.

In a keynote speech to the conference, he said the time was ripe for the Government to transfer power to black people, but warned that blacks would have to be judicious.

"We must continue campaigning for the creation of a climate conducive to the peaceful transfer of power," he told about 1 500 delegates in his speech entitled, The Nation and the Road Ahead.

"The period we find ourselves in is ripe for the transfer of power to the people."

Pretoria invites PAC to join negotiations

w/Man 31/8 - 2/9/90

IN an attempt to obtain fresh support for negotiations, Pretoria has extended a formal invitation to the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) to take part in talks on a new constitution. (11A)

Pretoria's move was revealed yesterday by PAC president Zeph Mothopeng, who said his organisation had not yet rejected the invitation, but would make its stance known once its formations had discussed it.

"A letter dated August 17 1990, and signed by the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, was hand-delivered at my home," said Mothopeng.

"After consultation with members of the National Working Committee, I decided that the matter should be referred to all PAC structures and Africanist formations for discussion.

The PAC leader said receipt of the letter had been acknowledged and pointed out that a decision would rest on the shoulders of the members of the organisation.

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 African National Congress to receive a formal invitation to talks.

Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) national organiser Lusibe Ntloko said Azapo had as yet received no indication of an approach from the authorities.

"I (spoke) to Azapo president Dr Itumeleng Mosala and nothing came up about an invitation. If the government has (extended an invitation) or is in the process of doing so, we are completely unaware of such a move," said Ntloko.

The invitation to the PAC is surprising considering the organisation 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.

— Sapa

Concern over Winnie's new post

By ELSABE WESSELS

A GROUP of African National Congress social workers met on Tuesday with ANC leaders to register their concern about the appointment of Winnie Mandela as head of the organisation's Social Services department.

The ANC's department of information and publicity yesterday confirmed that the meeting had taken place, but would not comment further.

Mandela's appointment has sparked controversy in welfare circles. Social workers are unhappy that existing welfare groups were not consulted about the

setting up of the social services department. *WMA 31/8 - 2/9/90*

Several Mass Democratic Movement-affiliated medical and social workgroups this week declined to comment on the controversial appointment.

The South African Black Social Workers Association, South African Health Workers Congress, and Namda said they regarded the matter as an "internal ANC-matter."

Child Welfare director Adele Thomas has indicated that she would pursue the matter in her capacity as a member of the Action Group on Social Services.



Albie Sachs ... truce was welcomed
Picture: Afrapix



Jeremy Cronin ... practised poetic art
in the spirit of artistic freedom
Picture: WIP



Kelwyn Sole ... defends position of
engagement
Picture: Jeff Lok

Albie's truce could lead to war

w/ Mail Suppl

31/8 - 21/9/90. (11A)

I WAS one of those who, with relief and excitement, welcomed the argument of African National Congress constitutional expert Albie Sachs for the retraction of the revolutionary doctrine of culture as an instrument of political struggle. This was a call, from an unexpected and potent source, for a truce which we hoped would curb radical attacks on artistic independence.

But I wish now to voice an anxiety arising from Sachs' decree. We may be heading for a useless and wasteful antagonism between two different kinds of artists abetted or led by their defenders.

It is difficult to find appropriate labels for the two kinds that will avoid begging questions that deflect attention from the main issue. I might suggest "cultural workers" as against "artists", which has the virtue of acknowledging that members of the second category don't usually think of themselves as makers of culture but merely as poets, actors, sculptors, musicians and so on. "Culture" is a term usually left to anthropologists, corporation PROs, politicians and watchdog bureaux. However, to suggest that "cultural workers" are never artists would be arrogant and would confuse the issue.

Another pair of labels is "engaged" and "free", but participants in the "liberation struggle" may well take offence at the suggestion that they are dissociated from freedom. So I propose "committed" and "uncommitted" as provisional labels.

The larger majority of committed artists will be members of an oppressed community whose consciousness of their circumstances, backed by communal expectations, will tend to dictate that they dedicate their talents to the political struggle against that oppression, and act not as individuals but as instruments of a collective. To them their dedication is hardly a matter of choice and becomes a necessary and cherished article of faith. Moreover, only the exceptionally talented among them will be moved to find how to combine craft, originality and beauty with the essential function of committed art — which is, to cry out against intolerable conditions and so serve as an ingredient in the cement of revolutionary solidarity.

The approach of these representatives of the conscientised oppressed earns them particular kinds of attention and neglect, specific satisfactions and specific disadvantages (among the last, their extreme susceptibility to communal pressure).

On the other side there will always be, as I believe, individuals to whom the free and unpredictable disposition of their talents, under the hegemony of personal choice, is the essence of their creativity. Though some of these, moved by conscience or a special vision, may elect, permanently or tem-

porarily, to engage their artistic talents in the struggle for a political cause (as others may in the interest of a religion), I am designating this category the uncommitted. To them originality and beauty are prime considerations, and they put themselves in line for a different kind of attention and neglect, rewards and penalties.

(I am deliberately leaving the vast category of the "artists of the market" out of the discussion, since most of them are skilled at keeping aloof from debates about the politics of art and "culture".)

I believe there is too little common ground between the "committed" and the "uncommitted" to permit of a fruitful debate. If they confront each other the result is bound to be a spiral of destructive antagonism rather than a debate that may produce some illumination.

In a healthy situation, I suggest, the two kinds would go about their business without being overly conscious of each other. But the debate around Sachs' call may be causing disproportionate distress to committed artists who, on the one hand, experience a bewildering questioning of deeply felt principles from the side of their leadership (against whom they can't easily and freely react), and on the other, feel beleaguered from the side of the triumphant uncommitted (against whom they can and need to fight back).

Such feelings would not be justified. Albie Sachs, surely, did not lay down a law of cultural production, but merely urged the cancellation of an imperative which he saw to be hampering creativity. His call must have been addressed primarily to cultural administrators, rather than to artists themselves. And to the extent that committed artists are not affected, his message is not, "Thou shalt not" but merely "You need not".

As for an attack from those I have called the uncommitted, I speak as one of them, yet I well understand (as surely most of my colleagues do) how issues of survival under the cruelty of conditions and the agonies of conscience will compel artists into commitment. I can see no reason in most circumstances why the committed artists should feel affronted or threatened by the work of the uncommitted artists, and vice versa.

When it comes to their defenders, however, the case seems to be different. Critics identified with either category are likely to deal unsympatheti-

cally with works representing the opposite position. The best critics know how to produce the distinctions they must make in the spirit of disinterested inquiry, and affirm the values they believe in with passion but without gratuitous affront. Some, however, apparently prompted by convictions arising from topical theories rather than the inherent insights that tend to guide artists, are more combative. When such critics attribute exclusive correctness to the artistic approach they are advocating, an authoritarian and provocative belligerency follows.

Jeremy Cronin, Kelwyn Sole and Michael Chapman are three defenders of the position of engagement who at times appear to have decided that any different position is incorrect and even somehow malign, and to have constituted themselves the shock troops against the party of the uncommitted. (I acknowledge, with bewilderment, that Cronin and Sole have at times apparently practised their poetic art in the spirit of artistic freedom. And up to two or three years ago Chapman was a critic who concerned himself with questions of form, style and subtlety of meaning.)

For convenience of expression I have said "party", but a crucial point is that there is no "party of the uncommitted artists". These are individuals struggling to do what they have to do to be right with themselves according to their *weltanschauung*. Since in the nature of things they cannot but respect each artist's right to be different (even if they happen to dislike much of the resulting work), they would not be fairly represented by an excessively gleeful reception of Sachs' liberal wisdom, leading to its stiffening into a counter-imperative backed by an aggressive and contemptuous militancy. Such a stance (besides betraying the principle of respect for choice, even if some choices are expressions of collective sentiment and were induced by socio-economic conditioning, ie the choices of the people "with no choice") could not avoid producing a sense of insult and exclusive divisions, which in turn would provoke a defensive opposition on the political side in the form of a reinforced determination to regiment artists behind the lines of "relevance" and ideological conformity.

However it might be instigated, a continuing quarrel between uncommitted artists and the adherents of a different, more externally disciplined approach would be futile and speak of nothing but weak-minded, low-spirited intolerance. Now that Sachs has given notice that some in the ANC leadership feel that their struggle may be able to get by without the regimentation and coercion of artists, the quarrel is less than ever justified, for either side. I think the democratic South Africa we are hoping for would have a better chance without such a "debate".

W/Mand 3/18 - 2/9/90

Mandela delays his return for a visit to Luanda

AFRICAN National Congress 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, an ANC source said 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 yesterday.

"Mr Mandela is using the opportunity of stopping over in Zambia to hold meetings with our exiled membership in Lusaka and to consult President Kaunda before he returns to South Africa on September 3," 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 African countries during this tour.

Mandela's secretary at the 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 Algeria. — Sapa

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NEGOTIATIONS: Man to head peace talks team is fugitive MK chief

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11A

Hani to head ceasefire talks

By JO-ANNE COLLINGE

UMKHONTO weSizwe chief of staff Chris Hani — the man Pretoria reckoned was too hot to guarantee against prosecution — will soon be working out the nuts-and-bolts of the liberation movement's suspension of armed struggle alongside Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok.

The African National Congress announced yesterday that Hani would head its team on the joint ANC/government Working Group set up in terms of the Pretoria Minute to finalise details of the ceasefire announced by the ANC on August 6.

According to the ANC, the Working Group is to meet next week. Late yesterday it was still an open question whether Hani would be under threat of arrest and prosecution when leading the seven-member team into the meeting.

Hani took refuge in the "independent" Transkei when the government refused to renew his indemnity against prosecution on August 19. Last night, however, there were strong rumours that he had left his sanctuary in Umtata. He could not be reached by *The Weekly Mail* at a contact number in the Transkei capital.

This development heightened speculation that his indemnity would be proclaimed in a Government Gazette later today. A spokesman for the Department of Justice was unable to confirm this by the time of going to press.

LATE FLASH — Indemnity for a day

■ A 41-HOUR indemnity has been granted to Chris Hani, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee said in a statement last night. Coetsee said the indemnity had been granted so Hani could consult National Executive members. He 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.

MK commander Joe Modise is an ex officio member of the Working Group. Other ANC members on the ceasefire Working Group are National Executive Committee (NEC) members Thabo Mbeki, Jacob Zuma, Joe Nhlanhla and Pallo Jordan, and legal expert Mathew Phosa.

The government representatives, according to an ANC statement, are: Vlok, Deputy Minister of Constitutional Affairs Roelf Meyer, General BJ Beukes of the Security Police, Johan Geyser of the Department of Justice, Dr HP Fourie of the Department of Foreign Affairs and M Spaarwater of the National Intelligence Service. Among the matters likely to be addressed by the Working Group are the condi-

tions attaching to the continued suspension of armed activity by the ANC. The specification of conditions is likely to lend a more bilateral character to the suspension of armed struggle and to cast it more closely in the mould of a formal ceasefire.

The ANC's decision to release details of the Working Group breaks a silence maintained to date by both parties. Its statement that the first meeting of the group is to take place next week appears to conflict with an earlier comment by a government source that the group was already "functioning".

It has until September 15 to accomplish its brief of resolving "all outstanding questions" arising from the ANC's decision to suspend "all armed actions with immediate effect" and to report back to the principals.

The other Joint Working Group, set up in terms of the Groote Schuur Minute to address questions of amnesty and indemnity, has completed its report on the planned release of ANC-related prisoners and the phased return of exiles. ANC executive committee member Jacob Zuma has announced. He said the report would be submitted to his organisation's NEC. Any further announcement would be made jointly by the ANC and the government.

Releases of political prisoners in terms of the Pretoria Minute are scheduled to begin on Saturday.

Jagged edge to suffering of war victims

AN UNOFFICIAL WAR: Inside the conflict in Pietermaritzburg
by Matthew Kentridge
(David Philip, R29,95)

IT is history told from the darkness of a torched shop, observed through the shattered windows of a kwaZulu transport corporation bus, weighed in the stench of a soggy Natal cemetery where fresh graves gape.

Matthew Kentridge's *An Unofficial War* is remarkable for its capacity to lift individuals above the terrible monotony of violence and death in Natal; to create them in flesh and habit; and to restore an edge, a jagged edge, to the suffering endured by black residents of Natal.

It is a collection of perspectives, rather than an unbroken narrative. The focus switches from Inkatha's "brass people", to "Mr Average Journalist", to church leaders, political activists, Inkatha warlords and a police brigadier. The scene moves from the graveyard to the schoolyard; from the court room to the news room; and, naturally, into the hills and valleys, where settlements are sharply divided, owing allegiance either to Inkatha or to the United Democratic Front/Congress of South African Trade Unions.

Kentridge has been accused of bias. Indeed, he states in his conclusion that "of alternative histories of a decade of conflict between Inkatha and the UDF and its forebears, the non-Inkatha account is more plausible. It has fewer omissions and fabrications, and unlike Chief (Mangosuthu) Buthelezi's rendition it avoids any appeal to conspiracy theory".

The greater part of the book is devoted to UDF/Cosatu-sympathetic accounts of the conflict. But they are certainly not all from UDF/Cosatu sources. A fair number of academics, journalists, service workers and even representatives of business embody or incline to this position.

The fact that they do, suggests that Kentridge's stance is not an inflexible one, adopted *a priori*, but a function of the process of investigation and of the nature of the war itself where the only available statistics put ratio of attacks by Inkatha to attacks initiated by the UDF at about 4:1.

The story is undoubtedly told with emotion. But this in no way debases the store of factual information at the heart of the writings.

The anecdotal presentation is deceptive — and it is a deception that keeps the reader turning the pages. Within the give-and-take of interviews, under the vivid smatches of description, lie many of the central themes and serious questions of the Natal war.

The central dynamic of the war — as a struggle for territorial sovereignty which brooks no neutrality and swallows the political innocents along with the rest — permeates the book.

The constantly frustrated peace initiatives are related sequentially and treated with rare coherence.



The complete erosion of the rule of law, the gagging of the press and the allegations of police constituting a "third force" in the conflict are substantially discussed in *An Unofficial War*

WIM supp 3118-217190 (11A)

The complete erosion of the rule of law, the gagging of the press and the allegations of police constituting a "third force" in the conflict are substantially discussed.

The notion of the hackneyed phrase "Inkatha warlords" is held up for inspection.

The characterisations of the antagonistic forces are precise. The summing up of available explanations and political interpretations of the conflict is accessible.

But there are two things that make the book special and potent. One is Kentridge's willingness to make transparent his interaction with those he interviews — to disclose some of the bias of which he stands accused, and allow the reader to take it into account.

The second is his capacity to focus on minute visual detail.

For the reader who is not prepared to trust the researcher, to regard him as a divining stick, *An Unofficial War* might be hard to swallow. But for the reader who recognises a ring of authentic-

ity in Kentridge's meticulous detailing of chronology, in his resort to court records and in his attempt to speak to officials who are clearly dismissive of his research, the book brings her or him within smelling distance of the bloodletting.

The book starts with the almost incidental killing of Gladys Sangweni, a woman who "had an idea that she was about 75 years old". It restores a measure of self-hood to the old woman, who died while groping her way to the outside toilet, her body left sprawled outside, her nostrils stopped with "blood and earth".

It tells of a woman who treasured her kettle for 50 years, whose "radio from the 1960s stood on the starched white tablecloth, its plastic cover was dry and cracked, and a child had once snapped the aerial. In a corner, flanked by low-backed wire-seated chairs, there was a foot-pedal sewing machine, which she had not used for many years. She had a Bible somewhere too.

"On the bed there was an album with a few photographs and many more postcards and

cuttings from magazines which she had gathered over the years. Three mats in green and yellow, white and red, woven from supermarket bags, lay on the floor and on the door she had strung a calendar, new with the year."

In the back cover blurb to the book, it is stated that the political implications of the war are not the author's main focus. One cannot help thinking that the author has much in common with the British war poet who declared that "my subject is war and the pity of war. The poetry is in the pity."

Take, for instance, Kentridge's thoughts in Mountain Rise cemetery. "Within a pathetically short time the 'fallen' disappeared into anonymity as their crosses fractured and their graves became overgrown. But that, after all, is what this war, like any other, is all about: living people with their histories, thoughts and passions simply vanishing into the hillside."

Jo-Anne Collinge

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Give ANC a chance to review nationalisation - Pik

DURBAN: It was unfair to blame the African National Congress for being committed to nationalisation, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha said yesterday. *W/Mant 3118 - 219/90*

"I want to urge the private sector to talk to the ANC about this," he told the Natal National Party congress. "It is my impression that Mr Nelson Mandela stands ready to be persuaded."

Botha said he had told Mandela that, even if sanctions were lifted, South Africa would not easily obtain funds because of the violence.

"I told him we should set aside our ide-

ological differences and send clear message that our future cannot be determined through violence.

"I warned him that we are all doomed if we cannot create jobs or provide houses for his followers. If we don't get our act together, we'll have nothing to govern".

Botha predicted less stark differences on the African continent.

"The will to survive will force us together to move Southern Africa into a new future. In that frame, the security of whites is ensured. That security lies in making ourselves indispensable."

He said the State President, FW de

Klerk, had taken severe risks when making his February 2 speech, but he had taken South Africa out of its isolation and was giving it international respect again.

"We may not smell of roses yet, but we are no longer the polecat of the world. I am aware of the growing doubts and even despondency of our followers, but there was no smooth or easy way to do what we did ... It had to be like this.

"We were on our way to becoming a bankrupt state where effective military force could have been used against us."

— Sapa