

THE ANC — 1 FIM 14/12/90

THE CHIEFS GATHER

Negotiations, the armed struggle and sanctions will be at the core of discussions at this week's historic ANC National Consultative Conference in Johannesburg.

The conference, the first in SA in more than 30 years, will be attended by 2 500 people, including all the ANC's foreign representatives and from Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) camps in Tanzania, Uganda, Angola and Zambia.

The conference is certain to highlight the divisions between external and internal members — each group at present feels the ANC top brass is favouring the other.

Sanctions are expected to arouse the most heated debate. Delegates with international experience, particularly in Western countries, will urge the easing of sanctions before they crumble humiliatingly.

The other side of the sanctions lobby — particularly the youth and supporters of MK — will argue that the ANC holds only two cards (armed action and sanctions) and that to give up the second, while government still holds a full pack, will jeopardise the ANC's bargaining power.

A key issue is whether to push for rapid transition or slower transition while the ANC rebuilds itself internally. The leadership is clearly acutely sensitive to claims that it has been too soft in talks with government.

A confidential draft discussion paper, "Advance to National Democracy," calls for rapid transition: "Speed is an essential element ... the representatives of apartheid (want) to draw out the process of change to give themselves time to evolve schemes to compromise the depth of the process of democratic transformation."

The document continues: "We have entered negotiations as a viable mechanism for the transition to a new order, under the new situation, and we pledge to pursue the perspective of seizure of power — armed and/or otherwise — if the situation changes." Winnie Mandela, at a meeting in Alexandra at the weekend, echoed these sentiments when she told the crowd: "We want the government to know, if they continue to shoot, we will shoot back."

On the issue of armed struggle, the document notes: "The ANC decided to suspend armed actions. However, the armed struggle has not been terminated. The enemy still has the possibility to reimpose the conditions which necessitated that we resort to this form of struggle." Explaining the difference between armed struggle and armed action, a senior MK officer told the *FM* that armed action was the active use of bombs and firearms, for instance, whereas the armed struggle was the recruitment and training of cadres.

Apparently criticising current political methods within the ANC, the document notes: "The exercise of leadership in the transition means the ANC and the rest of the democratic movement must act as more than just a movement of protest ... It entails the building of people's organs from the lowest to the highest possible levels."

The document calls for "the maintenance of such economic sanctions as presently exist and the all-round isolation of apartheid SA."

Another ANC draft document, on sanctions (*Current Affairs* December 7), says: "The view has emerged that sanctions should be used further to strengthen the irreversibility of the process (towards a new constitution) as a whole by scaling them down, in tandem with the process of change in SA." Therefore, as a specific example, the lifting of the Group Areas Act would be rewarded by an easing of the sports boycott.

It points out that "sanctions are beginning to erode over a wide front" anyway and that if the ANC is not in step with international moves it will result in the "international marginalisation of the ANC ... it is important that the ANC re-establish its authority ... by providing the international community with a well-considered programme."

The paper says that though the arms and oil embargoes should remain, existing oil reserves should be sold "and the money (used) to address the socio-economic needs of the majority, under the direction of a properly representative interim government structure."

Charlene Smith

THE ANC — 2 FIM 14/12/90 ANOTHER MESSIAH 11A

The return of Oliver Reginald Tambo (73) to SA this week sees the return of the second of two "messiahs" of the liberation struggle — the other, Nelson Mandela, was released from prison on February 11.

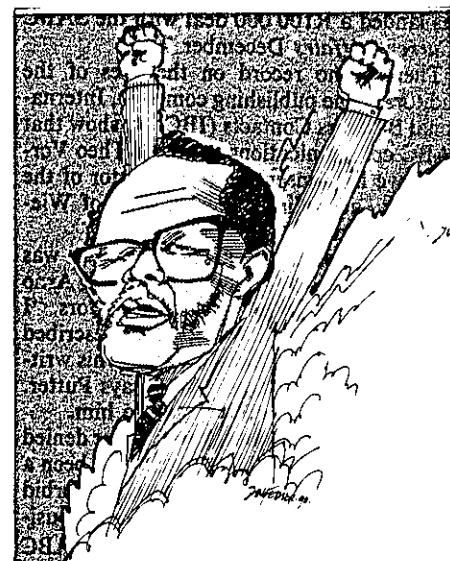
Tambo is a low-key man and a poor public speaker. He lacks the royal carriage of Mandela and the easy rapport his deputy president has with audiences. But he is the ANC president, a leader revered by the exiled community and viewed with awe by internal ANC members. Tambo, in exile 30 years, is said to have recovered well from a stroke. Before arriving in SA he was scheduled to visit several African countries.

"O R," as he is affectionately known among members of his organisation, is widely credited by exiles with having kept the movement united over nearly three long, difficult decades.

A unifying role is becoming increasingly

FIM 14/12/90

11A



critical in the ANC as internal and external figures jostle for key positions. Too much power is being held in the hands of too few and the organisation, as a consequence, is chaotic, unreliable and increasingly unaccountable.

Though Tambo is not expected to assume a public leadership role in the punishing world of internal politics, it is expected that he will play a powerful backroom role. Mandela — whom local political leaders often do not confront as frankly as might be desirable — respects his old legal partner and is more likely to bow to the judgment of Tambo than any other political leader.

In a speech read out on his behalf at the recent relaunch of the ANC Youth League, Tambo said: "It is no longer enough to criticise. Our true values should be measured by our level of creativity."

This would appear to suggest that the present internal policy of mass action is not as central, and not as universally endorsed, as some in the ANC have suggested. Indeed, a new draft document on the strategy and tactics of the ANC echoes Tambo's words: "The exercise of leadership in the transition also means that the ANC and the rest of the democratic movement must act more than just a movement of protest ... It entails the building of people's organs from the lowest to the highest possible levels. It also means the clarity and foresight to put forward and implement viable alternatives in all spheres of life."

What influence Tambo will have in the long run remains to be seen. But certainly in the immediate future he could prove the wise counsellor Mandela so badly needs. He is also likely to prove a necessary unifying figure from now until June, when the ANC holds leadership elections. ■

Tambo

FROM PAGE 1.

its course. It does not, however, mean that the Pretoria Government can assume instant international respectability. *Nov 15/12/90*

In his speech to the conference, deputy-president Nelson Mandela said "continuing pressure from the international community and the weight of mass mobilisation at home remain key factors in compelling the Government to honour the (Groote Schuur and Pretoria) agreements reached. These must be maintained."

While at first glance his statement appeared to be at odds with the Tambo approach, it is notable that he chose to use the word "pressure" rather than "sanctions".

Arm-twisting

"Pressure" can refer to diplomatic arm-twisting from world powers to persuade Pretoria to speed up the process of change, without necessarily involving punitive economic measures. Ironically enough, this was precisely the construction favoured by former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in her opposition to economic sanctions.

The verbal sleight of hand will meet with resistance from more militant delegates at the congress, but given the stature of those promoting it, will almost certainly be endorsed as a new strategy. Those who accepted the ANC's earlier shift on the question of armed struggle will be satisfied; those opposed will not.

Mr Mandela appeared to anticipate such disagreements, stressing in his speech that within the ANC

were represented at least four "different strands of experience ... they have the potential of enriching our movement greatly, provided we recognise the value of each and work towards weaving them into a robust cord so that they are mutually reinforcing".

He concluded: "We are aware that there will be differences among us. That is as it should be in any democratic discourse. Let us take up our tasks with a clear resolve to arrive at a consensus that will bind us all and serve as the basis for our programme of action."


The final programme of action, it is expected, will be militant in its approach towards the Government despite the sanctions shift.


Mr Tambo, who suffered a severe stroke last year, received an emotional welcome from the packed conference hall. Initially faltering and querulous, he appeared to be reinvigorated by his reception and delivered a strong, clear, and at times emotive speech.

He left no doubt that he, as ANC president, will not be encouraging his colleagues to soften their approach. "The massacres in the townships are a painful reminder that apartheid is still firmly in place," he said to extended cheers. "The struggle against apartheid should be intensified on all fronts."

Conference proceedings end at 1 pm tomorrow, after which Mr Mandela and Mr Tambo will address a mass rally at the FNB Stadium near Soweto. There they will present the conference's resolutions, which will map out the strategies and tactics to be pursued by the ANC until its full national congress, tentatively set for June.

Rethink sanctions — Tambo

Star 15/12/90 

No black
Christmas
Star 15/12/90
this year
 UDF
THAMI MKHWANAZI

THE United Democratic Front in the southern Transvaal has scotched rumours of a planned "black Christmas" this year.

And sources close to the ANC, PAC and Azapo also say there have been no plans for such a campaign.

"As far as the UDF is concerned, there is no black Christmas this year," the organiser of the UDF's Southern Transvaal region, Obed Nkosi, said yesterday.

The black Christmas rumour began to circulate as scores of black shoppers started streaming into city shops in preparation for festive season celebrations — a practice forbidden during the observance of a black Christmas.

"Certainly there's nothing to celebrate, considering the escalating death toll in the recent violence in Reef townships, but there's no campaign requiring people to abstain from spending the festive season in the normal way," said Mr Nkosi.

Confirmation that there were no plans for a black Christmas could not be obtained from official spokesmen of the ANC, Azapo and PAC yesterday, but sources close to the organisations knew of no plans for such a Christmas.

See Speak Out
— PAGE 2

A call was made to the nation not to celebrate Christmas when the Government imposed the state of emergency in the winter of 1985, resulting in the detention of thousands under emergency regulations.

The call was renewed with the re-imposition of the state of emergency the following year.



SHAUN JOHNSON

ANC President Oliver Tambo, in his first speech in South Africa for 31 years, yesterday stunned into silence delegates at the opening of the organisation's crucial Consultative Conference by proposing a major rethink on sanctions.

After telling the more than 1 600 official delegates — who were joined at the Nasrec conference centre near Soweto by a large contingent of observers and reporters — that the provisions of the Harare Declaration "should not be undermined", Mr Tambo dropped his bombshell.

He said: "However, in defending this document it is no longer enough for us to repeat trite slogans. We should therefore carefully re-evaluate the advisability of insisting on the retention of sanctions, given the new developments in this country and abroad."

The proposal, which clearly astounded delegates in the conference hall, is sure to be the subject of heated debate before final resolutions are drafted tomorrow.

Mr Tambo's statement is the clearest indication yet of a major strategic change in ANC thinking on sanctions, and certainly the most authoritative.

While technically his speech merely set down markers for consideration at the conference — and in theory his suggestions could be overruled — it carries tremendous weight and was certainly canvassed before delivery.

Mr Tambo's surprise approach to the previously immutable sanctions question received strong support in the ANC's remarkably frank draft discussion document on sanctions, "Managing the Period of Transition".

In this the authors argue that sanctions need to be "rediscussed", as the ANC "has done in the past when, for instance, it decided to call for the maintenance of the status quo rather than for an intensification of the sanctions campaign.

"Clearly, the time has not arrived when we should call for the lifting of all existing sanctions.

"It is, however, also clear that we cannot continue to call for the maintenance of existing measures without running the risk of placing ourselves in a position in which we will be seen to have suffered a major defeat, as the international community in fact acts in a manner which results in the erosion of sanctions.

"The critical objective should be that we take charge of the process of

Europe set to ease pressure

ROME — The European Community is set to relax investment sanctions against South Africa today as a result of strong pressure from Germany and Britain.

MIKE SILUMA
which is well-known — that sanctions against South Africa have, in any case, already begun to crumble," said a British source.

Late last night it emerged from diplomatic sources that the 12-member Community was divided 9-3 in favour of lifting some sanctions in recognition of reforms which have taken place in South Africa.

According to diplomats here, only Denmark, Holland and Ireland stood between the partial lifting of sanctions becoming a reality.

Ranged against them are Germany, Britain, Belgium, Luxembourg, France, Portugal, Greece, Italy and Spain.

British government sources said Britain would stick to its position that it was necessary for the Community to make "a gesture to President de Klerk".

"We are also putting forward our view —

Germany's Chancellor Helmut Kohl has already let it be known that he believes that, when they disperse from Rome today, EC leaders should have sent an unequivocal message to President de Klerk "acknowledging" political changes which have taken place over the past year.


With Chancellor Kohl having emerged as the EC's most powerful politician, the German stance is regarded as crucial in tilting the debate in favour of a relaxation of sanctions.

But the Dutch were still adamant yesterday that any major change in the EC's sanctions policy should be linked to spe-

TO PAGE 2.

P.T.O.

THE LIGHT CIGARETTE THAT REALLY SATISFIES

Rothmans 

No black Christmas this year

Star 15/12/70



THAMI MKHWANAZI

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The call was renewed with the re-imposition of the state of emergency the following year.

Although there was some intimidation, black communities heeded the call and refrained from making Christmas purchases in "white towns".

Shebeens in the townships were closed on Christmas day.

Paying a courtesy call to the Protea police headquarters in Soweto this week, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok thanked the police for their hard work under difficult circumstances this year.

Referring to severe criticism of the police in the past year, he said a survey carried out in September had indicated that 80 percent of the community did not believe anti-police propaganda and that the vast majority of people relied on the police to protect them. — Sapa.



BACK HOME: Oliver and Africa on Thursday.

Mixing

BUSINESS executives, the unionists, clergy and steelw Conservative Party strong delburg have created a uni to solve the town's problem

The community-based Forum, which has been run six months, has been set problems and improve ill town's communities.

Already it has the bless bishop Desmond Tutu, the some local CP councillors Many Transvaal towns

'It's an establishment

THE National Party, big business and the security forces share a common aim to weaken the ANC and the "rest of the democratic movement", according to a discussion paper presented at the African National Congress's consultative conference yesterday.

The object is to retain control of the transition process and protect the interests of "capital and the privileges of the white minority".

In its crudest form the attempt to weaken the ANC is manifest in the violence sweeping across the

country in general and in the densely populated PWV region in particular, the paper says.

It acknowledges that big business shrinks from deliberately fanning the violence, noting: "Big business cannot afford even short-term instability and dislocation caused by the violence."

But the paper insists: "The perpetrators form part of the State machinery. They are an arm of the establishment, with the backing or at least tacit support of forces from the highest government echelons..."

Entitled "Counter-Revolution in the Making", the paper contends that the timing of the violent episodes points to the orchestrating

Star 15/12/90
 Object is to weaken the (11A)
 ANC, conference is told

PATRICK LAURENCE

hand of State officials. It is alleged that:

- The first wave of violence on the Reef came after the ANC's decision to suspend its armed struggle and the start of its campaign to build up branches in the PWV.
- The attack on Sebokeng hostel dwellers occurred when members of the ANC-aligned trade

union, Numsa — many of whose members are hostel inmates — were on strike.

- The assault on squatters took place in the midst of an ANC-approved plan to occupy vacant land.
- The intensity of violence rose or fell, depending on whether President de Klerk was about to make a trip abroad or not.

The strategic objectives behind the violence are said to include:

inducing fear and dependency in the black community to cause it to start wondering whether the pre-February 2 situation was not better; portraying the ANC as an impotent force which is unable to control, still less stop, the violence; and creating an excuse for the introduction of repressive measures and then using them to weaken the ANC.

These steps, the paper says, mesh into another aspect of State strategy: the attempt to build an anti-ANC alliance under the aegis of the NP.

The decision to open the NP to all races coincides with, and is clearly related to, moves to revive the "National parties of over-

thrown puppet regimes in Transkei, Venda and Ciskei".

But, the paper continues, the ANC can take effective steps to counter the campaign.

One is to set up self-defence units and strike back against "roaming bandits". Another is for black people to close ranks and build a "patriotic front" to prevent the State from exploiting differences between them. A third is to win over black security forces.

Significantly, the paper stresses the need for a meeting soon between the ANC and Inkatha delegations under their respective leaders, Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Paper warns of Govt victory on sanctions

Star 15/12/90

230
11A

PATRICK LAURENCE

SANCTIONS are beginning to "erode over a wide front" and there is a danger of President F W de Klerk scoring a stunning propaganda triumph over the African National Congress unless it modifies its position on sanctions.

These points are contained in a discussion paper circulated at the ANC's consultative conference yesterday.

The eight-page draft document forms the immediate background to — and explanation of — yesterday's call by ANC president, Oliver Tambo, on delegates to "re-evaluate the advisability of insisting on the retention of sanctions".

The paper warns bluntly that "the perception will be created that the Government has scored a major victory over the ANC" unless the ANC changes its stance on sanctions.

It urges the ANC to provide the international community with a "well-considered programme for the de-escalation of the sanctions campaign" in order "re-establish its authority over relations

between South Africa and the rest of the world".

To set the tone for a revision of policy on sanctions, the discussion paper notes the ANC's stand has in fact changed over the years.

Whereas until 1987 the objective was to "isolate South Africa", after a special conference that year at Arusha, Tanzania, ANC policy aimed instead at the "isolation of apartheid forces and structures", thus opening the way for "interaction between the anti-apartheid movement inside the country and the rest of the world".

Right now, the ANC favoured the maintenance of sanctions rather than their intensification.

The paper is careful to add that there are limits beyond which the programme to ease sanctions should not go as long as power remains in the hands of the white minority — the arms em-

bargo should stay and so should the oil embargo.

The paper notes that an "important section" of the international community believes that the changes introduced by President de Klerk since February 2 are profound and irreversible and that the time has come to relax sanctions.

It then goes on to list some of the "factual elements" in the present situation.

They include:

- The ineffectiveness of trade sanctions, with South Africa still recording trade surpluses.
- The prospect, for the first time in decades, of an small net inflow of capital during the current financial year.
- The growth of economic links with African countries, manifested by the conclusion of trade agreements between South Africa and Madagascar, Mauritius and Senegal.
- Weakening of South Africa's diplomatic isola-

tion, as shown in President de Klerk's visits abroad and the decision by the Soviet Union to open an "interest section" in the Austrian Embassy in Pretoria.

The paper addresses the plight of poor, particularly in the black community, implicitly acknowledging that they are in part victims of the international sanctions campaign.

Reflecting on the socio-economic problems afflicting the poor, the papers says: "The movement should be seen by the masses to be addressing both their political and socio-economic aspirations."

The time has come to appeal for international aid, with the proviso that the aid should go to interim structures in which the ANC is represented, and not to the Government.

The paper effectively calls for an end to disinvestment, saying potential investors should support "black empowerment" as a means of redistributing wealth in South Africa.

ANC WINS ITS WAR OF WORDS IN THE UN —

AFTER weeks of backroom haggling, the UN General Assembly finally has before it a new South Africa resolution on which none of its members can any longer be bothered to disagree. Everyone will vote for it some time next week.

For Pretoria, the document represents progress — progress of the World War 1 variety. A metre or two has been gained to little overall effect. There can be no question that the ANC and its allies — principally now the Frontline states and the UN's anti-apartheid bureaucracy — continued to dictate the terms of battle. They, after all, drafted the original document and none dared offer an outright alternative.

Their one vulnerability was their de-

sire to achieve consensus, without which any resolution is nothing more than waste paper. This enabled the US and the EC, whose desire for consensus was slightly less palpable, to drive them from a couple of their most egregious positions.

The word "regime" for example, took a serious beating for the first time ever, being neutralised to "authorities" in all but three instances before the Western counter-attack ran out of steam. *S. Times 16/12/90*

Early drafts contained a number of blatant diversions, inserted to consume the West's energies before they could be concentrated on the ANC's bottom lines.

These included paragraphs accusing

Pretoria of continuing to "destabilise" Mozambique and Angola through Renamo and Unita, and specifically demanding the maintenance of the sports boycott — a position from which the ANC was signalling retreat at the very moment the "debate" got under way. Both fell away after token resistance.

Things then bogged down in epistemological mud.

ALTHOUGH it took them a little time, the Americans finally recalled that their President had described the process of change in South Africa as "irreversible". Whereupon their principal objective became to ensure that the final document did not contradict this.

Since the absence of irreversibility is

the the sanctioners' last redoubt, they were not about to let it fall. Washington had to make do with a clause declaring that "further substantive progress needs to be made to promote" irreversible change.

US officials argued, with the conviction of an Allied after-action report on the battle of the Somme, that the word "promote" was a victory. Did it not imply that the desired condition already existed?

Unfortunately, this interpretation was not supported by the rest of the text, least of all by operative clause number 10, which called for the use of "concerted... economic and financial" measures "aimed at applying pressure" on Pretoria.

The Europeans were scarcely more

successful in their chief endeavour, which was to knock out language critical of those (ie. themselves) who were not applying sanctions with quite the same vigour as they had been when they joined the consensus UN Declaration on Apartheid last December.

THE final text expressed "concern over departures that have occurred" from the declaration. Since most European Community members do not share that concern in the slightest, they have agreed to language that makes them liars.

The West was slightly more successful in obliging the other side to acknowledge that President F W de Klerk had made at least some "pro-

gress" (as opposed to mere "efforts") over the past year.

Its most signal success in this regard was the insertion of a clause "taking note of Pretoria's declared commitment to abolish the apartheid system".

Language calling for the removal of troops from the townships and for the "unconditional" return of all exiles was also excised, while the Groote Schuur and Pretoria talks were upgraded from mere "meetings" — as the ANC and its allies initially wanted — to "agreements".

So some ground was gained. However, from the ANC's point of view, the object of the exercise was to ensure that, in terms of rhetoric at least, the world still stood on its side of the argument. On the whole, it got its way.



**SIMON
BARBER'S
Washington
Diary**

Azapo next to hold its congress

THOUSANDS of Azapo delegates and supporters are expected to meet in Langa, Cape Town, next weekend for the organisation's annual congress. *CP news 16/12/90* **(11A)**

This follows similar meetings of the PAC and ANC, which saw both organisations take important decisions on programmes for the coming year.

Azapo general secretary Pandelani Nefolohodwe said the organisation would make important decisions on the idea of a consultative conference of all liberation movements early next year to decide strategies on how to work closer together.

Reports by CP correspondents, Sapa

ANC accused in police killings

SA Times 16/12/90



THE ANC is clearly implicated in a campaign of murder and violence against black town councillors and policemen in a study of violence released by the SA Institute of Race Relations this week.

The report said 409 incidents and attacks on councillors and policemen from January to July this year resulted in the deaths of six councillors and 22 off-duty policemen.

Because of the difficulty in determining motives for attacks on on-duty policemen, these were excluded from the study.

After assessing the roles and motives of different political organisations, the institute's report said:

"The ANC appears to be the only major grouping explicitly and purposely working for the destruction of black local authorities."

It also said that the ANC — more than any other political party — had demonstrated its capacity for significantly raising the nationwide level of violence.

By **LESTER VENTER**
Political Correspondent

These were among the elements identified in the campaign of violence:

- Councillors were attacked within days after the first black local authority elections in 1983;
- Attacks on certain councillors ceased after their resignations.

Claims

The report said "this suggests that the violence aimed at these municipal officials stems not so much from community disenchantment with the manner in which their duties have been performed, but that the violence is part of broader campaign aimed at rendering the townships ungovernable and introducing new, alternative local structures".

The report quoted from the ANC's official mouthpiece, *Sechaba*, and noted that Umkhonto we Sizwe, the military wing of the ANC, claimed responsibility for specific attacks.

The report dismissed claims by

the Pan Africanist Congress that it was responsible for a great number of the attacks.

The report's author, Wayne Sapiro, said that according to the PAC's own definition of targets and methods, the PAC could be held responsible for at most six percent of the more than 400 attacks recorded in the six months covered by the report.

The report also contained disturbing evidence of a lack of attention paid to the attacks by the media.

In the month when the greatest number of incidents took place — 99 in March — only 33 percent of them were reported in either the *Star*, the *Citizen*, *Business Day*, *The Sunday Times*, the *Weekly Mail* or the *Sowetan*.

Overall, only 38 percent of attacks on councillors or policemen were reported at all in the six-month period.

Apart from the six councillors killed, 87 had had their homes burned, stoned or had hand-grenades thrown at them, while 24 council offices were damaged.

By October 16 this year, 132 councillors out of 692 in the

Transvaal had resigned, citing intimidation as their reason for doing so.

In the Cape, 150 out of 636 resigned for the same reason; 119 out of 436 quit in the Free State, and one out of 104 in Natal (outside of KwaZulu).

This means black local authorities were running at 87 percent of their potential by mid-October, said the report.

Threats

Black local authorities were further threatened by the Civic Association of the Southern Transvaal (CAST) which had committed itself to their destruction.

Of the 409 recorded attacks, 111 were on councillors and 287 were on black policemen.

Insufficient evidence regarding the target of attack occurred in 11 cases.

Arson and petrol bombing were the most common form of attack — in 189 of the cases. Stoning accounted for 120 cases.

Hand-grenades were used in 45 attacks and shootings accounted for 26 others.

Hardline backlash on talks

S/Times 16/12/90

(118)

DIEHARDS in the ANC — many in the military wing — this weekend issued a strong challenge to moderates in the organisation's executive.

They proposed at the ANC's consultative conference a series of hardline positions on sanctions, negotiations and violence — positions which will put the settlement process under considerable strain.

Joe Modise, commander in chief of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, told The Sunday Times there was "a growing sense of disillusionment among ordinary members at the progress made through negotiations".

The backlash yesterday forced the ANC's national executive to maintain a tough position on sanctions against South Africa in spite of an earlier call by ANC president Oliver Tambo that the issue should be re-examined.

"It was a 'bottoms-up' decision," a senior ANC member said.

There was a spontaneous

By DRIES VAN HEERDEN

rejection of a draft document advocating a "selective de-escalation" of the international economic, cultural and sporting isolation of South Africa.

The hardliners were lobbying among the conference's 1 600 delegates yesterday for tough positions on a number of other issues.

"The talks with the government have not had the results we expected," Mr Modise said.

Dying

"We will have to consider seriously whether we should continue on this road or return to other methods."

Mr Modise, who was part of the ANC's negotiating team at the Groote Schuur summit, said he was "starting to doubt the sincerity of the government".

"While we are talking, our supporters are left defenceless against the violence perpetrated by agents of the state. They ask: 'Why can't they defend themselves? Why are we talking while our people are dying?'"

The ANC commander is still operating out of the Zambian capital, Lusaka, to keep in close touch with the approximately 22 000 ANC exiles waiting to return to South Africa — the majority of them trained members of Umkhonto.

Mr Modise's remarks contrast with the softer approach expressed by

ANC president Oliver Tambo, who reaffirmed in his first speech on South African soil in 30 years the ANC's policy on negotiations.

"If peaceful negotiations will result in the formation of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa, we are not only willing but ready to enter into such negotiations," Mr Tambo said.

He added that the ANC had suspended the armed struggle "to give peace a chance, as well as indicate our serious concern for the future of the country and all its citizens".

However, he also expressed concern that supporters of the ANC had become the victims of "ferocious attacks" and slammed "the government's apparent inability to bring those responsible to book".

Delayed

ANC sources said yesterday the leadership had come under a lot of flak for its decision to suspend the armed struggle and opt for negotiations. "This is not the time to make further concessions," the source said.

Hardliners insist there must be no concessions to government demands for an end to "mass actions" and recruiting for Umkhonto.

The three-day conference brings together 1 600 delegates from South Africa and abroad.

PRESIDENT Ronald Reagan was 72 when he took office — and a spry 80 when he left.

Prime Minister D F Malan was the same age when he stepped down, but at 80 he was ailing.

This week the senior leaders of the ANC, together in public for the first time at the ANC's congress, showed that they, too, could claim a tradition of political longevity.

Of the four men who launched the ANC's historic and emotional congress on Friday, one was born before World War 1, two during the war and another seven years afterwards.

Between them, they represent 208 years of political struggle — including 64 years in jail and another 28 years under banning orders.

ANC president Oliver "OR" Tambo is 73 years old. He has survived a stroke and his frailty was evident this week as he acknowledged the chants of "Tambo, Tambo, Tambo" by delegates.

Lively

His speech was laboured and at times disjointed. Some of his most important points, it was clear, failed to register on his audience — despite the most rapt attention.

Deputy president Nelson Mandela is 72. He is a lively, energetic man.

At the ANC congress, as is his style, he closely followed his prepared speech, breaking his reading occasionally to scan notes passed to him by party functionaries.

He, too, has been warned to watch his health. He takes short breaks when the pressure becomes inhuman — as it often does.

Walter Sisulu is head of the interim Internal Leadership Core.

He is 78 and has also suffered ill health. He gamely meets a brutal agenda but usually leaves evening functions early.

The youngest of the "Gang of Four" is Alfred Nzo, secretary general of



GETTING ON ... Oliver Tambo, 73, and Nelson Mandela, 72
Picture: JOE SEFALE

Young Turks wait in the wings for their chance

By BRIAN POTTINGER

the ANC, who is only 65.

The average age of the ANC's top leadership is 72. Thirty-seven percent of black South Africans are under the age of 14; 53 percent under 21.

In another society, such a two-generation gap between leaders and led might result in tensions — in the People's Republic of China, for example, or Kampuchea, where the Khmer Rouge were virtual children and the civil war was as much generational as ideological.

That is unlikely in South Africa, where there is a traditional respect for age.

But the question of succession cannot be far from the minds of those in the ANC hierarchy.

Even the most optimistic projection would hesitate to put these top men

still in active office beyond a decade.

What then?

Politics, for one, will miss an old-world courtliness.

Despite imprisonment, exile and long years underground, there remains a studied politeness, even graciousness, among the four.

Also a strong sense of propriety.

Harder

Two years ago a group of white South Africans visited Lusaka for a conference with the ANC.

Black youngsters, mostly refugees from the mid-80s unrest, good-naturedly cadged cigarettes, drinks and, in one or two cases, money from the visitors.

The incident reached

OR's ears. The next day he halted the conference and publicly apologised to the visitors on behalf of the ANC.

That is not to say there is no propriety among the younger generation of ANC leaders.

It is just that they come from a harder school — particularly the internal leaders, who have been part of the great violence from the mid-80s onwards.

It has been the personal chemistry between Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela, developed through 15 public and private meetings, which has largely held things together in recent times.

But there is a limit to what coffee consultations can do to keep the lid on a very turbulent country.

The younger men have less patience for such niceties. And, as they will in all likelihood be in the driving seat in a post-apartheid government, their views will affect the style as much as the content of the political debate.

That new team will, in all likelihood, be a much younger one.

Leaders

Some of them are already in senior positions: Pallo Jordan is head of the department of information and publicity; Thabo Mbeki is director of external affairs and Chris Hani is chief of staff of the military wing.

All three are 42 — born, in fact, within two months of each other.

There is a range of other young leaders in other spheres: the Youth League's 32-year-old Peter Mokaba, the 42-year-old communist Moses Mayekiso and the 38-year-old trade unionist Cyril Ramaphosa.

All of them make the National Party cabinet (average age of the top four men is 59) look positively elderly.

Thus, the ANC congress confronts not only a question of political change in the immediate future — but a generational one.

11/11
S/Times
16/12/90

'Form constituent assembly' call

THE PAC has challenged State President FW de Klerk to commit himself to a constituent assembly if he wants to get negotiations moving. (118)

The challenge came from Neville Leg, the PAC's chief representative in Australia, who left Cape Town on Friday after visting the city of his birth for the first time in 20 years. He was indemnified for seven days by the government to attend the recent PAC congress.

April 30 deadline set to meet preconditions for talks

ANC gets tough

From ESMARÉ van der MERWE
The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC has warned that it may break off talks and resume the armed struggle if the government does not stop the township violence and meet the organisation's preconditions for negotiations by April 30.

17/12/90
11/4

In a hardline declaration adopted yesterday at the closing of the organisation's historic consultative conference, the ANC said: "Our patience with this regime is running out."

The ANC's first national conference in South Africa in three decades was marked by a militant mood and severe criticism of the organisation's leadership.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, while rejecting some of the criticism as "totally and utterly unreasonable", promised that the leadership would make radical adjustments and even changes to its strategies.

There was no immediate reaction from the government today on the deadline set by the ANC.

Although the deadline appeared to be challenging, it is in line with the undertaking given by the government in the Pretoria Minute.

The Pretoria Minute stipulated that the report of the joint ANC/government working group should be completed no later than April 30 1991.

At a rally after the conference yesterday Mr Mandela told cheering supporters that the ANC had suspended the joint working groups between the government and the ANC with immediate effect.

INSIDE
Mandela calls for trust in the ANC national executive.
Oliver Tambo given a hero's welcome after 30 years in exile.
ANC to take up EC's decision on new investments.
Next year will be a year of mass action.
● See Spectrum on page 17.

mediate effect. He said the ANC would establish its own monitoring committees.

Senior ANC National Executive Committee members, however, denied today that the ANC had withdrawn from joint ANC/government working groups. They said the NEC would reconsider its position on negotiations after April 30.

Four conditions

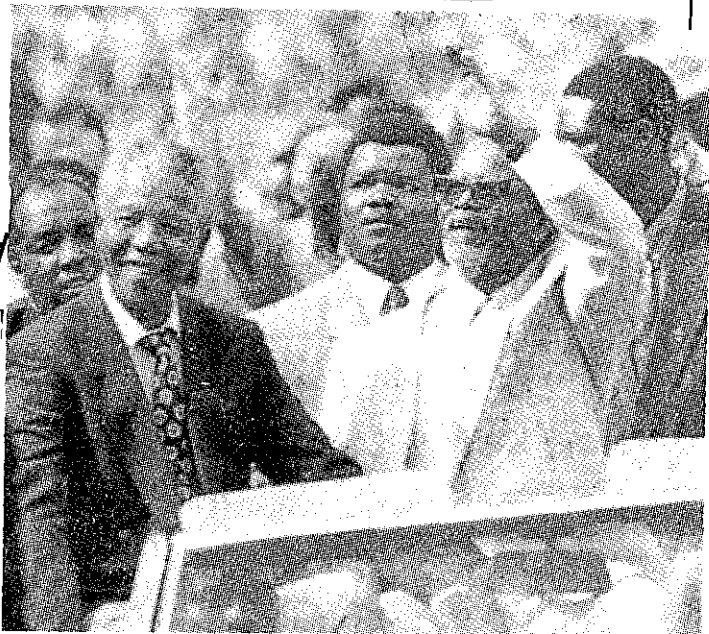
At the conference, the ANC said it would consider suspending negotiations with the government unless four conditions were met:

- The unconditional release of all political prisoners, including those on death row for political convictions.
- The unconditional return of exiles.
- The repeal of all security and repressive legislation.
- The termination of all political trials.

To effect this, next year was declared "a year of mass action for the transfer of power to the people".

Dealing with violence, the ANC said it wanted to "serve notice" on the government that armed actions could be reactivated if it did not stop the township carnage.

It said violence was a deliberate government strategy carried out by various agents, including the security forces, councillors, warlords, vigilantes, "askaris" and rightwing el-



WELCOME HOME: ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo (right) waves to a 50 000-strong crowd which gathered at a Soweto stadium to welcome him home after 30 years in exile. Beside him is deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela.

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Itumeleng Mosala

Azapo's economic policy

South
13/12
17/12/90

By MUSA NDWANDWE

THE Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) will reveal its economic policy at its national congress to be held at St Francis Centre in Langa next weekend.

But Azapo officials have emphasised that this is not a "blueprint" for South Africa's economy.

"We are worried about blueprints because we would then be tied down to specifics that might not necessarily work," said Mr Monde Ntwasa, Azapo's Western Cape vice-president.

Under the theme, "Defend the People, Resist Neo-Colonialism, Advance Socialism," the congress will attempt to address present political developments and the way forward.

Although the issue of negotiations with the government will be on the agenda, it would not feature prominently.

"Our position has not changed. We still insist on negotiating only in a forum like the constituent assembly," said Ntwasa.

The congress will also elect a new Azapo president. Sources indicated that the current president, Professor Itumeleng Mosala, would soon travel overseas on a study trip for three years.

● Dr A Sivanandan, director of the Institute of Race Relations and Editor of Race and Class in London will be the guest speaker at an Azapo fundraising dinner at the Devil's Peak Restaurant,



ANC president Oliver Tambo received a hero's welcome when he addressed the organisation's national consultative conference in Johannesburg at the weekend. With him are, from left, secretary-general Alfred Nzo, deputy president Nelson Mandela and ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma. Tambo — who returned from 30 years in exile last week — was also due to address a mass rally in Soweto yesterday.

81 Day 17/1/90

(11A)

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

Delegates criticise leaders

11A

April 30 is our talks deadline says the ANC

17/12/90

THE ANC's national conference yesterday adopted a number of hard-line resolutions, including one calling for the development of defence committees, assisted by Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres, and threatened to suspend negotiations with government unless all obstacles were removed by April 30 next year.

The conference was marked by a series of stinging attacks on ANC leadership figures. Deputy president Nelson Mandela, in his closing address, said one of the most disappointing features of the conference was that there had been hardly a word of praise for national executive committee (NEC) members.

According to the main resolutions, the ANC will:

- Engage in a programme of mass action aimed at getting government to remove obstacles to negotiations;
- Consider a return to armed action unless government takes steps to end violence; and
- Build defence committees in which Umkhonto we Sizwe will play a "facilitative role".

On township violence, the conference resolved to embark on mass campaigns to "pressurise the apartheid regime to bring an end to this carnage".

The resolution on violence called on the NEC and branches to initiate the building of "tight and disciplined defence committees and to ensure that the necessary resources are made available to these structures".

It continued: "Umkhonto we Sizwe must

MIKE ROBERTSON
and TIM COHEN

play a facilitative role in the defence of our people." It did not say what this entailed.

The conference resolved that while there was no opposition in principle to talks with Inkatha "and other surrogates of the regime", such talks must take place only after full consultation with all the regions of the ANC.

It called for a consultative workshop with the SACP, Cosatu and other organisations to set up a joint programme of action to counter violence.

A resolution on international isolation called for the existing sanctions campaign to be maintained, but hinted at a softening in regard to sports and cultural boycotts.

On the sports boycott, the conference resolved to support and promote "the positions of the democratic sports organisations in regard to the moratorium on international competition".

The resolution called for the creation of a viable non-governmental organisation to generate necessary economic resources, including those from the public sector, to create housing, education and health projects.

In an apparent acknowledgement of the EC decision to revise its call for an end to new investment in SA, the conference resolved to discuss trade sanctions with all affected interest groups.

The discussion, with business organisations and government, should take place with a view to tying the easing of trade

To Page 2 (11A)

Hardline ANC

17/12/90

From Page 1

sanctions to commitments to abandon apartheid practices.

The conference called for the maintenance of the arms and oil embargoes. It also called for a properly representative interim government structure to sell existing oil reserves to address the socio-economic needs of the population.

The resolution called on the ANC to organise urgently a national summit, as a follow-up to the Arusha sanctions conference, to devise new strategies on sanctions.

The conference recognised that negotiation was a form of struggle to transfer power and endorsed the negotiation strategy outlined in the Harare declaration.

It said government had failed to create a climate for peaceful negotiation, and endemic violence created further obstacles.

The conference mandated the NEC to proceed with talks about talks, and gave it discretionary powers to attempt to create a climate conducive to peaceful negotiations.

It insisted, however, that the NEC set up channels to involve the membership in any decisions taken on negotiations.

The NEC was also instructed to serve notice on government that unless all obstacles were removed by April next year, the ANC would consider suspending its involvement in negotiations.

The resolution adopted on negotiations and the suspension of armed action added that: "We hereby serve notice on the re-

gime that unless it ends this carnage the ANC will find it difficult if not impossible to adhere to the agreements entered into with the government, especially Paragraph 3 of the Pretoria Minute pertaining to armed action and related activities."

Mandela spent much of his closing address justifying positions the ANC had adopted.

He said there was much criticism about the ANC's decision to suspend armed action, its call for homeland leaders to join the liberation movement, and of his categorising President F W de Klerk as a man of integrity.

Mandela defended all these, and attacked delegates who criticised him for holding private meetings with government. People who criticised these meetings, he said, did not understand the nature of negotiations.

The ANC leadership, he said, would continue to hold private meetings with government as it was not prepared to neglect its duties because some people had expressed views which were totally unreasonable.

The bona fides of the NEC could not be challenged, he said. However, as a result of the frank criticism expressed at the conference, the ANC had emerged stronger. Delegates were leaving the hall closer to one another than when they arrived.

● Picture: Page 3

Militant conference sets four conditions

We are running out

of patience — ANC

By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

In a headline declaration, the African National Congress warned yesterday: "Our patience with this regime is running out."

The organisation threatened to break off talks and resume the armed struggle if the Government did not stop township violence and meet the organisation's four pre-conditions for negotiations by April 30.

The declaration was adopted at the closure of a three-day consultative conference, the ANC's first national conference in South Africa in three decades.

The proceedings were marked by a militant mood and severe criticism of the organisation's leadership. ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, while rejecting some of the criticism as "totally and utterly unreasonable", promised that the leadership would make radical adjustments to its strategies.

This was followed up by a bombshell announcement — made by Mr Mandela at a rally after the conference — that the organisation had suspended the joint working groups between the Government and the ANC with immediate effect.

He told cheering supporters that the ANC would establish its own monitoring committees.

The ANC would consider suspending negotiations unless four conditions were met by April 30.



Waiting for the leaders . . . An ANC marshal with a wooden AK-47 stands by for the start of yesterday's huge rally. Picture: Herbert Mabuza

Don't relax — Tambo

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff

ANC president Oliver Tambo yesterday called on the international community not to relax pressure on South Africa until apartheid was scrapped.

In his first public speech in the country in 30 years since his return from exile last Thursday, Mr Tambo told about 50 000 ANC supporters at a rally at the First National Bank Stadium outside Johannesburg that all South Africans had "an obligation to wage a relentless struggle against apartheid".

The ANC president told cheering ANC supporters that the struggle had to be continued "on all fronts".

He said the international community should not relax pressures against Pretoria "until apartheid has been removed".

Mr Tambo also made a strong appeal for an end to violence in the country's townships.

"Whoever you are, wherever you are, we implore you to realise that the violence is wrong and must end.

"It is up to us and others, especially the Government, to play our part in stopping it," he said.



Consultation time . . . The two ANC leaders, president Oliver Tambo and deputy president Nelson Mandela, in conversation at yesterday's rally at the FNB Stadium. Picture: Ken Oosterbroek.

- The unconditional release of all political prisoners.
- The unconditional return of exiles.
- The repeal of all security and repressive legislation.
- The termination of all political trials.

To effect this, next year was declared "a year of mass action for the transfer of power to the people".

This could bring the organisation into renewed conflict with the Government, which has repeatedly voiced its strongest disapproval of mass action.

The conference declaration said the Government had in recent months demonstrated that it was not committed to the objective of a democratic South Africa. It wanted to retain white domination in a new form, and had violated and distorted all undertakings to the ANC in the Grooté Schuur and Pretoria Minutes.

Mandela gets tough on internal strife within the ANC

Star 17/12/90

119

NELSON Mandela yesterday grasped the nettle of the ANC leadership, firmly telling restive delegates at the organisation's historic homecoming conference that they must trust the ANC National Executive Committee (NEC) and should not expect to be consulted on all initiatives involving the Government.

At the same time the ANC, by allowing delegates to sharply criticise their leadership and by not attempting to cover-up their criticisms, demonstrated its commitment to democracy within its own ranks.

In a masterly and authoritative speech at the end of the ANC's three day Consultative Conference, Mr Mandela showed that he had rolled up his sleeves and made the transition from being a revered symbol of resistance to assuming the

practical day-to-day leadership of a huge and still relatively unorganised political party.

To Mr Mandela fell the task of summing up and pronouncing on the key proceedings, which have set down markers for ANC activity between now and June next year when a full congress is scheduled.

His remarks left no doubt about the vigour — and heatedness — of the lengthy debates. The ANC leader implicitly but unmistakably rebuked those delegates who might have "tried to prove how revolutionary they were" by adopting intractable attitudes, saying they did not understand the nature of the process under way in South Africa.

Specifically, he rejected a call for the termination of confidential meetings between himself — or the ANC's nego-

tiating team — and President F W de Klerk and his aides.

"This statement could only be made by those who do not understand the nature of negotiations," he said, adding that had such meetings not taken place, there would be no negotiation process at all. Moreover, he reminded the conference, "the overwhelming majority (of delegates) support the negotiations between the ANC and the Government".

But he stressed that "no discussions on a new constitution will take place until all the obstacles (identified by the ANC) have been removed".

Confidential meetings were an essential element if further progress was to be made, Mr Mandela said, and would continue despite the objections of certain delegates. He distinguished between "confidential"

Nelson Mandela yesterday made the transition from being a symbol of resistance to assuming the practical day-to-day leadership of the ANC.
SHAUN JOHNSON and PATRICK LAURENCE report.

and "secret" meetings.

The ANC deputy president gave several examples of occasions on which he had initiated contact with Government figures in response to immediate developments. One was his intervention in violence at Tokoza; another was his initiative in securing the release of 18 ANC exiles — and delegates to the conference — who had been detained at Jan Smuts Airport.

He gently mocked those who sought to circumscribe this right of leadership: if their view had prevailed he would have been paralysed. "Before I took

any of those steps, I should have called a Consultative Conference... and consulted 1 600 people," he said.

Mr Mandela addressed in some detail the question of consultation, saying he and his colleagues in the National Executive Committee were firmly behind the principle of maximum consultation, but that practical limitations should be recognised if the leadership was to be able to act creatively and in the best interests of the ANC.

It was "one of the most disappointing features of the discussions that there has been hardly

a word of praise for our comrades in the NEC," he said.

He rejected criticism of the leadership's handling of the questions of President De Klerk's integrity, contact with homeland leaders, and treatment of political prisoners on Death Row.

He stood by his frequent affirmations of his belief in the integrity of the state president, he said, but these were being considered "out of context" by critical delegates. The sincerity — or lack of it — of individuals within the Government was irrelevant as far as the ANC's principal aims were concerned.

The movement's strategies were determined by the objective situation; the ANC's goal of a transformation of South Africa into a non-racial democracy was immutable.

Contact with homeland lead-

ers should also be viewed in its proper strategic perspective, Mr Mandela said. One of the objectives of the ANC was to pry loose the Government's erstwhile allies, and hence homeland leaders had been invited to "join the liberation movement".

The condition attached to the invitation was that they make peace with their own people, he said, and the ANC would not provide "an umbrella" to protect discredited leaders who failed to mend their ways.

Mr Mandela angrily dismissed claims that the NEC had failed to show sufficient interest in the fate of political prisoners on Death Row. He had personally visited Pretoria Central prison and spoken to the prisoners, he said, and NEC members had done the same.

Mr Mandela's unequivocal stance clearly carried the majority of delegates, and there

was frequent clapping from the floor. The proceedings indicated a major success for the ANC, in that it was able to deal frankly with a fractious membership and sensitive questions.

The ANC's commitment to internal democracy and unrestricted self-criticism, brought its own reward. Mr Mandela expressed the point eloquently.

"As a result of the frank criticism (we have heard here), and the very positive response of the chairpersons to it... we are leaving this hall closer to one another... We have emerged from the conference stronger than we were before."

At a press conference after his speech, Mr Mandela rejected a suggestion that the differences which had emerged indicated that the ANC leadership was "out of touch" with the rank-and-file.

Boycott call adds fat to the fire - Azapo

The Azanian Peoples Organisation yesterday distanced itself from calls for a black Christmas, saying such appeals often degenerated into "political banditry".

Azapo's Transvaal vice-president, Dr Gomo-lemo Mokae, said the concept of a black Christmas originated from the Black Consciousness Movement, which in 1976 called for the "oppressed and dispossessed" to mourn the fallen following the mass upheavals that year.

"However, the concept

was subsequently desecrated by elements which used mayhem and intimidation to steamroll the oppressed into abiding by their calls.

"Any call for a black Christmas will be akin to adding fat to the fires of violence."

● The Maokeng Democratic Crisis Committee of Kroonstad yesterday distanced itself from a pamphlet which it said was distributed in Maokeng township last Tuesday calling for a consumer boycott. — Sapa.

Plans to step up mass action

SAW 17/12/90
By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

The ANC has declared 1991 a year of mass action to step up pressure on the Government for the transfer of power — a decision which could lead to severe conflict in coming months.

A programme of action was adopted at the organisation's consultative conference which ended yesterday.

A campaign, to culminate on Solomon Mahlangu Day (April 6), will be launched for the release of political prisoners, the return of exiles and end of political trials and detention.

A programme of mass action will be organised at the time of the opening of Parliament on February 1 to highlight the ANC's demand for an interim government and a constituent assembly.

This will be followed by a mass door-to-door signature campaign to back these demands.

Workshops with the ANC's allies — particularly the SACP and Cosatu — will be held to thrash out a joint programme of action against violence.

Mass campaigns will be introduced to pressure the Government into ending the carnage in the townships.

The campaigns will be waged within the context of the demand for the removal of all the obstacles to negotiations.

A "patriotic conference" will be held on Sharpeville Day (March 21) to mobilise all anti-apartheid forces.

A mass education programme will be started to mobilise support for a common education system and for adequate funds for education.

ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo addressed 1 600 delegates attending the organisation's consultative congress in Johannesburg at the weekend. In his speech he said apartheid still remained intact but . . .

Freedom looms on horizon - Tambo

Sowetan 5/11/90 (11A)

'I salute you all in the name of all patriotic South Africans, especially those whose sterling contributions have made this day a reality.

Many of these have laid down their lives, and still countless others were maimed for life whilst on active duty in the service of their people and country.

It is thanks to these, to whom we shall forever be indebted, that today we are witnessing an epoch-making event.

It is thanks to these heroes and heroines of our struggle that we are able to attend the first legal ANC consultative conference inside South Africa after an underground existence spanning over three decades.

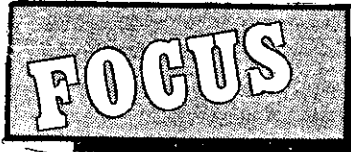
History

We are making history reshaping the destiny of our country, because many who are not able to be here have given their lives for this day to dawn. They perished so that the nation could live; they did not perish because they loved life any less.

It is thanks to you that today the dignity of a black person is being restored and, together with it, the dignity of our beloved country.

It is thanks to you that, at last, freedom looms large on the horizon. We, too, are finally seeing the light at the end of a long and dark tunnel.

Twenty nine years ago, on December 16, the ANC and its allies announced the formation of our army Umkhonto we Sizwe. Seen against a history of peaceful forms of struggle which congress had espoused and practiced since



its formation in 1912, the move to armed struggle was a radical departure which marked the opening of a new page in the history of our struggle.

This decision was taken only after the government had closed all doors to peaceful opposition by banning the ANC and other political organisations in the wake of the Sharpeville massacre.

Offensive

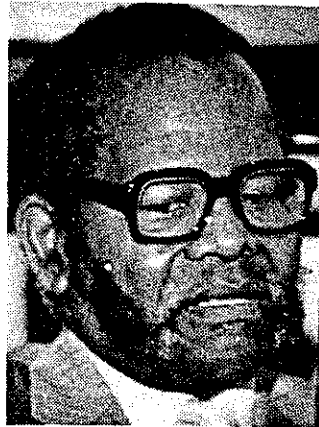
Having decided to fight, we managed to launch and sustain an all-round offensive which has finally brought the apartheid system to the brink of defeat.

At no time have a people heading warring camps in this country come together to find a common way out. This is happening for the first time in 70 years. Naturally, our hopes regarding the future of our country have been raised.

We, however, should remain vigilant and ready to confront new challenges with the same tenacity as before. The massacres in the townships and elsewhere are a painful reminder that apartheid is still firmly in place.

Accordingly, the struggle against apartheid should be intensified at all fronts. In this regard, our strategy and tactics should be informed by the objective situation internally and internationally.

Whatever form of struggle we have employed in the past, and may still have to employ in the fu-



OLIVER TAMBO

ture, the golden link is always, or absolute determination to regain our freedom.

On this we should never be found wanting. At no stage should anyone be left in doubt regarding our will and readiness to free ourselves.

On the international front we are at a point where political military and cultural and economic sanctions have been imposed. It is true that several Western countries have tried to undermine the sanctions movement. Nevertheless, the imposition of sanctions in the face of outright hostility from some countries is a victory of no small measure, given the crucial role of the international factor in our struggle.

We take this opportunity to thank the international community for standing solidly behind us. In particular we thank the anti-apartheid movement, individuals and governments, who supported us all these years.

Once again Pretoria's traditional allies are counselling that De Klerk should be rewarded for responding positively to our peace initiative.

In this regard, the Harare Declaration, which has since been

adopted by the United Nations, albeit with some modifications, should not be undermined. However in defending this document, it is no longer enough for us to repeat the tried slogans. We should therefore carefully re-evaluate the advisability of insisting on the retention of sanctions, given the new developments in the country and abroad.

No struggle has been won on the strength of wishes. Any contest for political power is serious business. It may be that in the months and years ahead, we could find ourselves relying more on mass action as the predominant form of the struggle.

Confidence

To this end we must build the ANC and other democratic formations as never before. No single town, village, street, or indeed house should be left unorganised.

The election of a constituent assembly would assist in restoring people's confidence in democratic processes. The new democratic constitution thus not only become workable, but would also enjoy legitimacy in the eyes of the majority of the people.

Apartheid has denied and continues to deny our people opportunities to learn and acquire skills and know-how. Because of the twisted logic of racism, our rulers would sooner import skilled white labour rather than educate blacks in the country.

The education crisis is a national calamity that should be tackled as such by all of us. The resolution of this crisis, especially black education, is a task that both black and white South Africans must undertake for their own sake.'

* This speech has been shortened.

ANC warns over talks

Sowetan
17/12/90

11A

THE ANC yesterday announced a programme of mass action and warned that unless obstacles to negotiations are removed, it will consider pulling out of the negotiation process.

At the end of its three-day

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN

consultative conference at Nasrec in Johannesburg, the ANC declared its commitment to the transfer of power to "all South Africans".

Mass action has been called around the time Parliament opens to highlight the ANC's demand for an

interim government and a constituent assembly and to demand the abolition of the tricameral and bantustan systems.

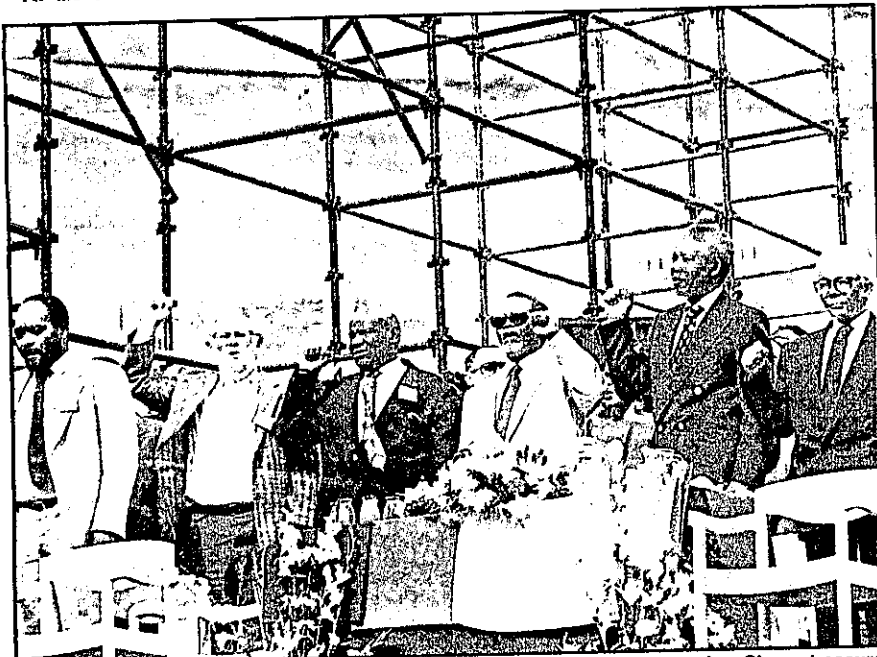
The conference decided that unless all obstacles to negotiations are removed by April 30, the ANC will consider suspending the whole negotiation process.

In a draft programme of action,

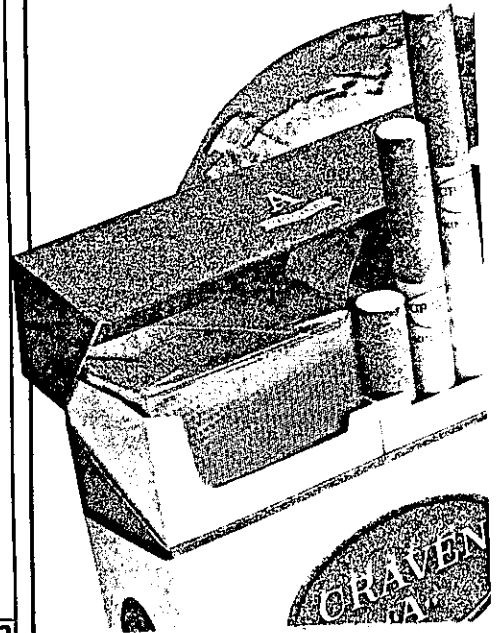
● To Page 2

World-famous CRAVEN

MENTHOL FRESH T



ANC top brass ... Natal chairman Jacob Zuma, SACP general secretary Joe Slovo, treasurer-general Thomas Nkobi, president Oliver Tambo, deputy president Nelson Mandela and internal leader Walter Sisulu at the FNB Stadium rally yesterday. Pic: MOFFAT ZUNGU



P.T.O.

PAC men hurry out of country

11A
Sowetan 17/1/90

SOME Pan Africanist Congress officials had to use taxis to dash out of the country when they could not get flights on Friday - because their temporary indemnity was due to expire at midnight.

A source close to the organisation said a message was sent through on Friday afternoon that some exiled PAC members could face arrest if they defied the indemnity period.

"Some people had to use taxis to go Tanzania via Swaziland because they could not get flights as they were fully booked," a source said.

Of the 33 PAC officials who came into the country under temporary indemnity, the expiry time for 24 of the members was midnight on Friday. The indemnity for the other nine was due to expire on January 31.

PAC officials were granted temporary indemnity to attend the organisation's second national congress in 30 years inside South Africa last weekend.

Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said PAC members whose indemnity was due to expire at midnight on Friday were liable for arrest if they were found inside the country.

Kotze confirmed that 24 PAC members had to leave the country on Friday. - Sapa.

End violence, Tambo urges

Tambo 17/12/90 *118*

By MOJALEFA MOSEKI

ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo yesterday called for an end to the violence sweeping the black townships.

Tambo was addressing about 50 000 people at a rally at the FNB Stadium in Johannesburg. He received a standing ovation.

The rally was held at the end of the ANC's first consultative conference within the country which started on Friday.

Tambo said those responsible for the violence should know they are "cutting their own throats".

He said it was an "emotional" occasion for him to address people who had made it possible for the ANC to return triumphantly into South Africa after 30 years of exile.

He deplored the fact that most of the exiles, including the "victorious" Umkhonto we Sizwe, were still in exile.

Tambo said thousands of South Africans had refused to accept their oppression as God-given and had fought for freedom over the years.

"As long as apartheid exists, all South Africans have an obligation to wage struggle against the system. The struggle must continue on all fronts."

Tambo said the ANC, SACP, Cosatu and others are as capable as anyone else of ruling this country.

He said more than any of the ANC's conferences before, the membership had shown that it had the capacity and political will to win freedom.

Tambo thanked heads of several African countries

for their stand against apartheid and the help offered to the ANC. He singled out Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda who offered assistance when Tambo became ill and chartered two planes which brought him to South Africa last Thursday as a "lover of mankind".

ANC Youth League president Mr Peter Mokaba handed Tambo the first membership card of the youth group. Tambo had earlier said he was still a member of the ANCYL.

"Once a youth, always a youth."

Mokaba also handed the ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela a spear and a shield in recognition of his contribution to the struggle, especially the formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe which celebrated its 29th anniversary yesterday.

Among the guests were the ailing wife of former ANC president Chief Albert Luthuli, Mrs Nokukhanya Luthuli, who was on stretcher. She had travelled from Natal to meet Tambo.

Mandela called her "The Mother of the Nation".

Mandela said it was a great let-down that the European Community had lifted sanctions on new investment. The ANC would make it its top priority to persuade South Africa's leading trading partners to retain sanctions next year.

He concluded with a rallying call: "Tighten your belts for the final assault, for victory is in sight. As a united people no force on earth can defeat us."

1990 — Year of Triumph



I'M HOME: Veteran trade unionist Ray Alexander returns home after more than two decades in exile



HISTORIC: ANC leader Nelson Mandela, flanked by president F W de Klerk, reads a statement issued after the historic Groote Schuur talks with the government in May

Joy and SORROW



DAY OF DEATH: Sebokong youths carrying an injured resident run for cover when police open fire on a crowd of marchers on March 26, killing 11 people



DEFIANCE: Boland priest Fr Michael Weeder, centre, and residents of Ashton sit defiantly in a clour of tears smoke after a march to the municipality to protest against racism in the small town

1990 ... one of the most momentous years in the history of South Africa. It was a year in which people took to the streets to celebrate the unbanning of the African National Congress, the Pan-Africanist Congress and the South African Communist Party.

Nine days later, millions of people across the world ex-



GRAND SPEECH: Nelson Mandela makes a few hours after being released from V

ph and Tears — 1990 11A



TAL SHOT: One of the hundreds of victims of violence in Transvaal townships



Above: ISLAND RELEASE: A tearful reunion as Mrs Zubeida Karriem greets her son Ashraf after he was released from Robben Island, having served a two-year sentence

perienced the joy of seeing Nelson Mandela walking to freedom through the gates of Victor Vester prison outside Paarl. It was also a year of grief and suffering as the death of thousands of people in violent clashes throughout the country cast a dark cloud over the peace process.

Right: UNKNOWN VICTIM: Mourners at the mass funeral for unknown victims of the Reef violence which claimed hundreds of lives



his first public address on the Grand Parade in Cape Town outside Victor Verster prison



ANC JOY: ANC supporters take to the streets to celebrate the unbanning of the organisation and the SACP

1990 — Year of Triumph and Tears

Labour uproar

South 18/12/90 - 17/1/91

HEIGHTENED political expectations and uncertainty were reflected in an upsurge in industrial action.

In response to the rapid pace of political events, the labour movement moved swiftly to ensure it would not be relegated to the role of observer.

In addition to attempts to flesh out its alliance with the ANC and the SACP, Cosatu concentrated energy on formulating workers' demands for a new constitution as well as investigating economic options for a future South Africa.

Long-held certainties gave way to new debates in the light of the fall of Eastern Europe.

Violence cast a bleak shadow over a year which began with the Germiston massacre of Sats strikers.

While the new political space meant unions could organise around new issues, they faced old spectres, not least the state of the economy.

Almost everyone downed tools. From previously subservient homeland workforces to public servants, workers asserted their claims for a slice of the pie.

By midyear, economists were scrambling over one another to issue dire predictions as a strike wave peaked with more than 40 000 workers around the country downing tools.

Dissatisfaction with wages were the trigger in most strikes, an increasing number of which were directed against small-scale employers - a trend likely to continue next year.

Industrial militancy was spearheaded by the recently-reunited South African Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union (Saccawu) and the Paper, Print, Wood and Allied Workers' Union (Ppwawu) which also, unsuccessfully, took on Barlow Rand subsidiary Nampak over centralised bargaining.

More than 3 000 members of Nactu affiliate, the National Union of Wine, Spirits and Allied Workers' Union, downed tools in the first ever national strike by liquor industry workers - only to return to work without visible gains.

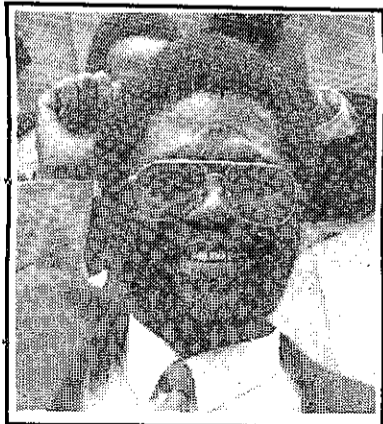
Unprecedented

From prison warders to House of Representatives clerks, public servants joined unions and downed tools at an unprecedented rate.

A hospital strike by the plucky independent union, the Health Workers' Union (HWU), saw the Cape Provincial Administration hospital services almost grind to a halt before the authorities made major concessions to the strikers.

HWU blazed a trail that hospital employees elsewhere in the country were quick to follow.

Flamboyant Cape Town municipal workers' leader Mr Salie Manie led



Numsa's Moses Mayekiso

Cape Town City Council workers on a strike which stunned the city.

As garbage piled up in the streets, the city fathers were forced to acknowledge the key role council workers played in ensuring the smooth functioning of the city.

A similar experience awaited other municipalities and, as the year drew to a close, Khayelitsha was crippled by strikers who downed tools to demand the

For trade unions, employers and the state, 1990 was a turbulent year in which the major actors on the labour front faced up to new and often bleak realities while coping with the shadow of old legacies. Political change also made an impact on labour in various ways, reports CHIARA CARTER:

resignation of the controversial Lingeletu West council.

A new giant union was born with the formation of the South African Democratic Teachers' Union, the end product of three often painful years of unity talks between teacher bodies.

Political changes saw union leaders juggling different caps as they assumed leadership positions in the ANC, SACP and PAC.

The ANC's international labour wing, the South African Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu), bowed out its cadres began to trickle back into the country and into Cosatu affiliates.

The Food and Allied Workers' Union (Fawu) entered the environmental arena with a fishing industry campaign which hit out against gill netters.

Settle

The bitter three-month-long strike by more than 24 000 members of the South African Railway and Harbour Workers' Union ended with a victory for Sarhwa that spelt the end of craft unions on the railways.

Despite hype about major strikes looming, Cosatu's big three - Num, Numsa and Sactwu - settled with the Chamber of Mines, Seifsa and Cape clothing manufacturers without resorting to strike action.

The spirit of negotiations teamed with the threat of mass militancy won the day when the major federations, employers and the state reached an eleventh hour agreement on labour legislation, staving

off a massive stayaway.

The tripartite agreement, which acknowledged in principle the right of all workers to collective bargaining, included a draft amendment to the LRA, bringing to a close a two-year battle against the controversial law.

New labour laws drafted for Ciskei and Transkei met with a mixed response from unions.

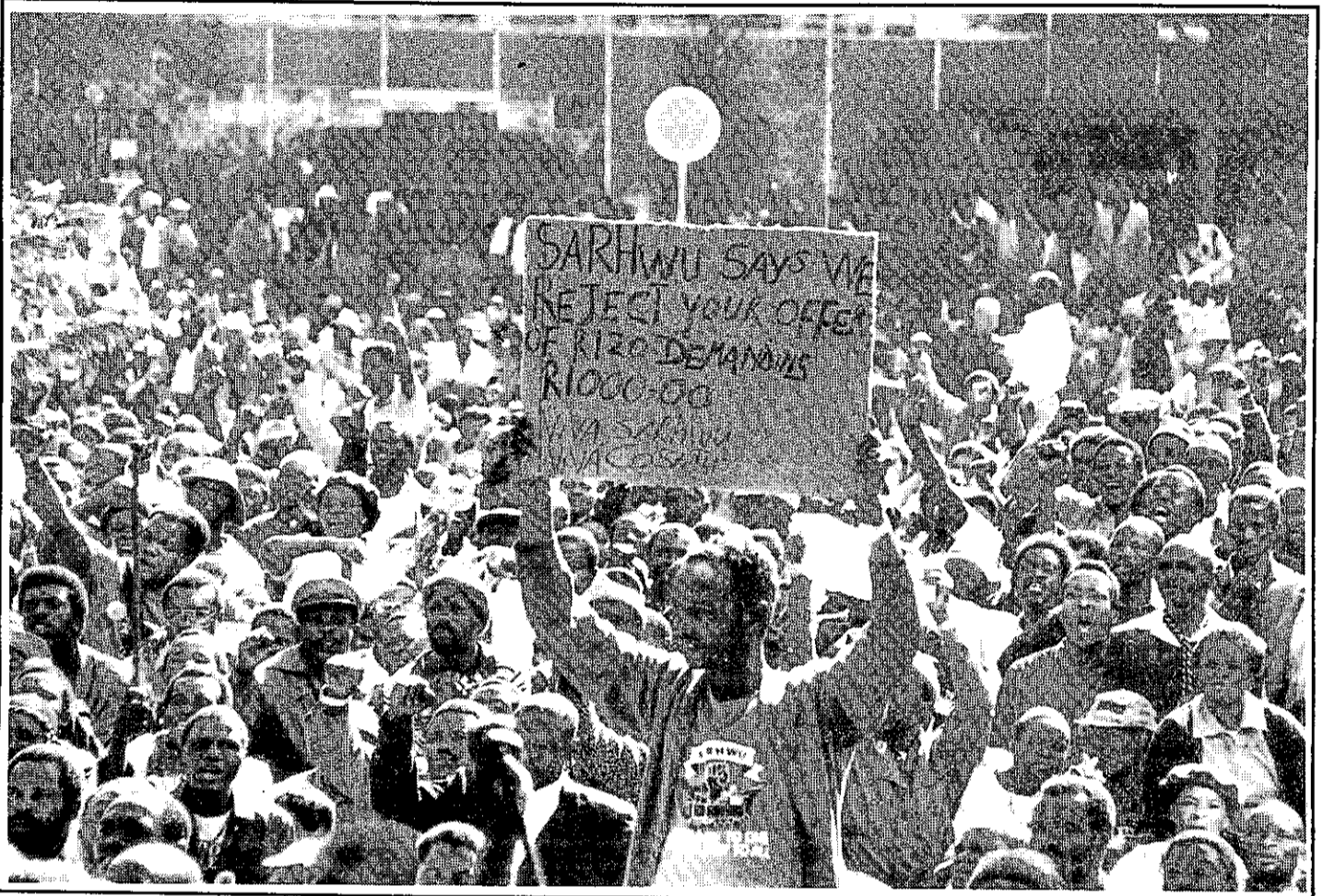


Cosatu's Jay Naidoo

Furious debate over the feasibility of a minimum wage law ended with an agreement to go back to the drawing board.

The government's privatisation policy posed the threat that a future government might find its cupboards bare and unions geared up to block moves to sell the "family jewels".

Employer moves to smash centralised bargaining forums met with unions joining forces in an ongoing campaign against corporate giant Barlow Rand.



MASS ACTION: Marches were widely used by workers to highlight their grievances

Five years after its formation, Cosatu restructured itself in an ongoing attempt to ensure greater cooperation between affiliates and organise largely untouched sectors like farmworkers.

Unions deepened their work around parental rights, provident funds, housing and educational schemes.

The South African Domestic Workers' Union continued to battle for legislative protection for domestic workers and an end to child labour.

Many strikes were marred by bloody confrontations, often triggered by employers' use of scab labour.

On the mines, white and black miners did battle - as did Xhosa and Zulu.

In Natal and the Transvaal, Cosatu unions were seriously weakened by the ongoing violence.

Realities

Unions, like employers, were forced to face bleak realities as South Africa's economy showed little sign of revival.

Factory closures, retrenchments and short time left many unions in a weak bargaining position and widened the gap between the employed and a growing army of jobless people.

Specially hard hit were the mining, metal, clothing and textile industries.

Cosatu continued to be weak in the Western Cape despite changes in leadership and the presence of Sactwu.

Nactu continued to be virtually non-existent in the Western Cape.

Rifts and rivalries continued in the Public Servants' League but, despite predictions that the PSL leadership was about to fall, the hierarchy endured.

Another long-awaited split failed to materialise when delegates to Nactu's conference managed to set aside their political differences, at least in the public gaze, and reiterate the federation's non-aligned position.

Little progress was made towards the formation of a single trade union federation.

Political tensions in the Food and Allied Workers' Union made headlines when expelled workers and dismissed organisers in the union's Cape Town branch waged a "campaign for democracy" against what they claimed were Stalinist union bosses.

Former general secretary Mr Jan Theron entered the fray with an article in the South African Labour Bulletin.

Political tensions also surfaced in the newly-reunited South African Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union.

Arguably the most efficient union in the country, Numsa, had to weather a rebellion in its ranks when Mercedes Benz rebels in East London downed tools to protest against a central bargaining forum - a cornerstone of Numsa, and Cosatu, policy.

In Cape Town the legacy of plant level



Jan Theron

bargaining surfaced in a range of wildcat strikes by Numsa members.

The South African Clothing and Textile Workers' Union merger seemed to cement itself in the course of the year, with once bitter enemies finding common ground.

Tentative moves were made towards forming a single union in the transport industry, and public sector unions drew still closer together.

1990 — Year of Triumph and Tears

'Funny world'

South 18/12/90 - 17/1/91

MARGARET Thatcher summed up 1990 perfectly on that freezing winter's day in London last month.

"It's a funny old world," the one-time "Iron Lady" reflected ruefully, shortly after Cabinet colleagues had persuaded her to step down as Prime Minister of the United Kingdom.

Thatcher's announcement on November 22 was totally out of character: there was no gleam of defiance in the eyes and no strident fighting talk.

In fact, to the surprise of many, the butt-kicking premier who had vowed to fight to the end to keep the keys of 10 Downing Street, succumbed in the tamest possible way.

There was rich irony in her demise, too. Who would have thought that Thatcher, the fervent anti-communist, would get the order of the boot in the same year that the political careers of many communist leaders in east European countries were also brought to a sudden end?

But as she so aptly put it: "It's a funny old world."

For instance, what sane person would have dared to predict, say, 18 months ago, that

- East and West Germany would unite;
- Most of the inhabitants of the countries of Eastern Europe would opt for multiparty democracies, free market-type economies and conservative-leaning governments;
- The leader of an increasingly disunited USSR would be awarded a Nobel Peace prize;
- The world's most famous political prisoner would be released after 27 years in jail; and
- The leader of a government which, in 42 years, fined-tuned one of the world's most "obnoxious" political policies — apartheid — would promise to scrap all forms of racial discrimination?

But, on the other hand, the more things changed in some parts of the globe, the more they stayed the same in other parts.

In Africa, millions of people, victims of famine and war, continued their grim battle to stave off starvation.

In India and Thailand, countless numbers of children under the age of 10 were sold by poverty-stricken parents into prostitution and slavery.

Destruction

In countries near the equator, the destruction of tropical rain-forests continued at breakneck speed despite the efforts of the conservationists; the ozone layer remained depleted; soil erosion turned large areas of land in northern Africa into worthless desert; and elephant, rhino and numerous other animals continued to be hunted towards extinction.

And all the time, the Aids time-bomb kept ticking away.

In the Middle East, the Arab-Israeli conflict continued in much the same way as it has since 1948, when the state of Israel came into being.

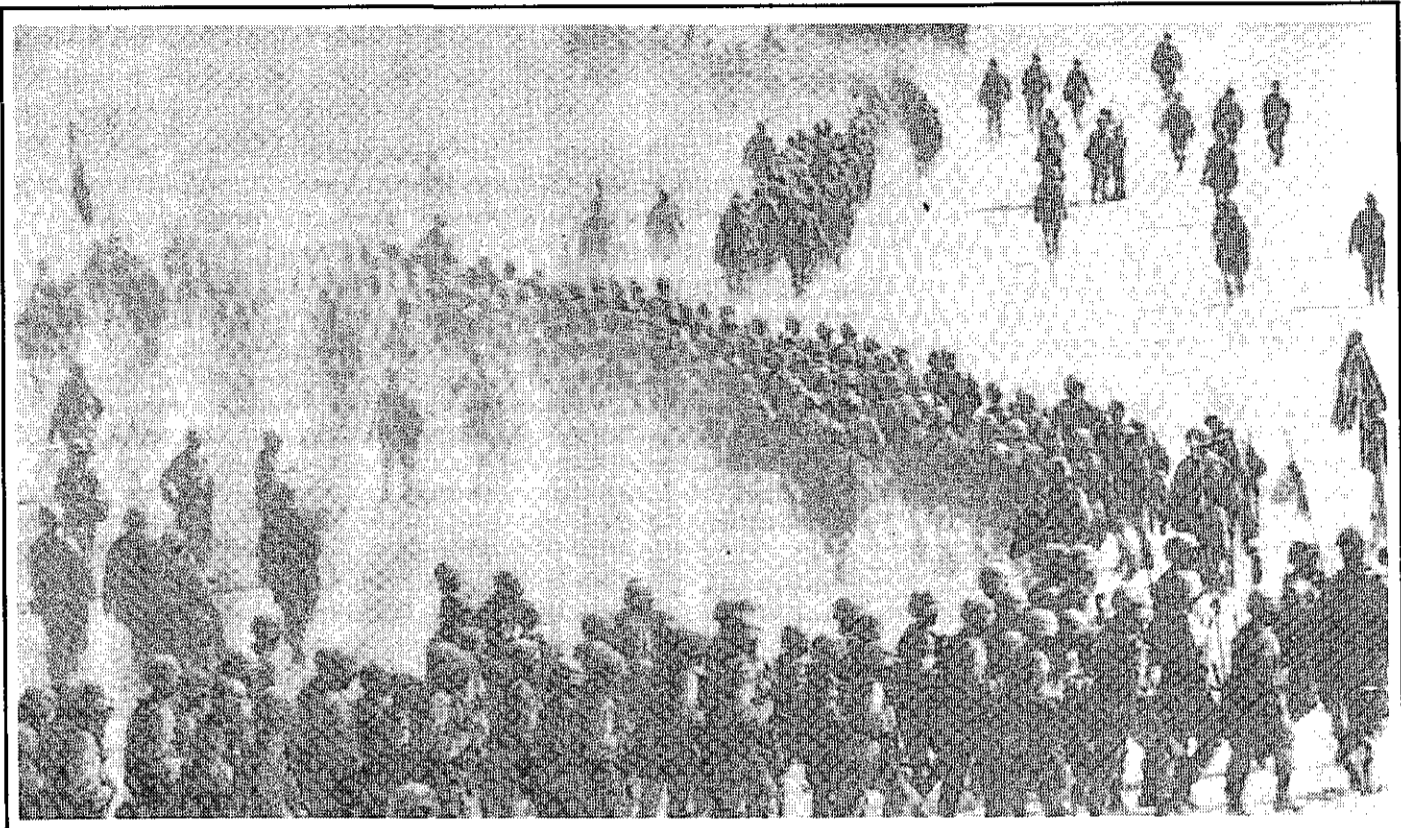
Conquer

Nevertheless, the goings-on in Israel, the West Bank and Lebanon were all fairly predictable — unlike the crisis that began on August 2 when Iraq sent its army to conquer tiny Kuwait.

More than 100 000 highly-trained, well-equipped attackers (and a million more to call on if necessary) versus 20 000 defenders: it was never going to be much of a contest, and within hours Iraq's battle-hardened troops had overrun the meagre defences of the oil-rich kingdom.

As elated Iraqis danced in the streets of Baghdad, Iraq's state television announced the Iraqi army had agreed to a request for help from the "revolutionary government of Kuwait".

Once the new government had been



CAVALRY CHARGE: American troops in the Saudi desert ready for war against Iraq

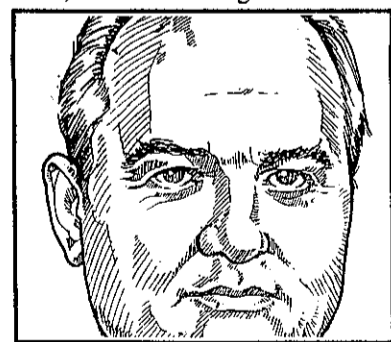
Former British premier Maggie Thatcher summed it up aptly when she was ousted last month: "It's a funny old world". Few could have predicted the major global political developments that happened in 1990. But the more things changed in some parts of the world, the more they stayed the same in others, writes DOUGIE OAKES:

properly installed, the troops would be withdrawn, the announcer said.

The West, led by the United States, reacted with alarm to the Iraqi attack. If the occupation was allowed to go unchallenged, Saudi Arabia and other territories vital to Western economic interests would be put at grave risk, analysts warned.

The weeks following the takeover were dominated by war-talk and soaring petrol prices.

Perhaps mercifully for the Western allies, the bitter exchanges between the



Mikhail Gorbachev

two sides helped to hide the fact that only a few years earlier the West had openly backed Iraq in its war with Iran.

As a worldwide trade embargo began to take shape against his country, Iraqi President Saddam Hussein warned that he would sooner wipe Kuwait off the face of the earth than surrender it.

Although Western media sources portrayed the Iraqi leader as a kill-happy

madman, Hussein often displayed remarkable adroitness at walking a political tightrope.

The Middle East was not the only territory to have played host to US soldiers.

In early January, Panamanian leader General Manuel Noriega handed himself over to the Americans who had invaded his country just before Christmas 1989.

The US military adventure followed claims that Noriega was a key figure in a drug cartel doing lucrative business in the US.



Manuel Noriega

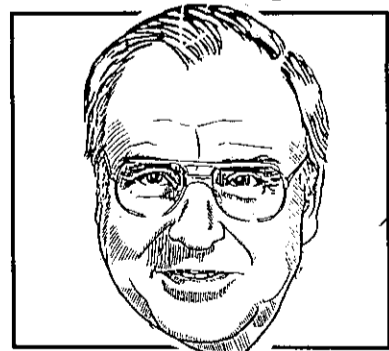
When US President George Bush ordered his soldiers into Panama, Noriega sought refuge in the Vatican embassy. But after holing out there for several days, he surrendered.

A spokesperson at the embassy said later the general had packed his bags after a staff member had asked: "Do you want nuns to wash your underwear for the rest of your life?"

In Nicaragua, meanwhile, President Daniel Ortega, one of the heroes of the Sandinista National Liberation Front that had swept the Somoza dictatorship from power in 1980, was himself ousted.

In a general election in February, the charismatic Ortega, whose presidency was plagued by a revenue-sapping border war with US-backed rebels operating from neighbouring Honduras, was easily beaten by Violetta Chamorro, a 60-year-old newspaper owner.

But for once, the revolutions and the revolutions-in-the-making in South



Helmut Kohl

America, the Middle East and Africa were eclipsed by the changing of the guard in Eastern Europe.

Take a little glasnost, mix it with some perestroika and throw in a liberal dash of sore feet caused by standing in long queues outside near-empty shops and you have all the ingredients for one of the world's greatest peacetime revolutions.

In Poland, Rumania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, East Germany ... one by one, seemingly entrenched communist administrations tumbled in 1990.

By far the most stunning spin-off of these incredible developments was the reunification of the two Germanies.

At midnight on October 2 hundreds of thousands of Germans gathered on Berlin's Platz der Republik and cheered in the new era of being one.

Once the honeymoon ends, however, the major problem all the former east European bloc countries will have to contend with is how to pull their stagnant economies out of the red, create jobs and stock up the empty shops.

Unpopular

In the short term, the new Germany stands the best chance of creating reasonably comfortable living standards for its citizens. But for most of the others it is going to be a long, hard and painful slog — as the Soviet Union is discovering.

One of the features of Mikhail Gorbachev's tenure as president of the USSR is that the more unpopular he has become at home, the more his popularity has soared abroad.

At the beginning of December, when his standing in the Soviet Union hit rock bottom, he was awarded the Nobel Peace prize.

It was not only drought, war, starvation and corruption that featured in the headlines on Africa this year.

On March 20, Namibia shed its "last colony in Africa" tag, becoming the United Nations' newest independent state, after 75 years of South African rule.

Elsewhere, the winds of change blew across several of the continent's most troubled countries, notably in war-ravaged Mozambique and Angola, where plans for multiparty democracies were announced.

In June, 15 people were killed and scores arrested in the Zambian capital, Lusaka, after a government decision to increase the price of maize by more than 100 percent sparked violent unrest.

Briefly...

- More than 40 000 people died in an earthquake that flattened the northern Iranian town of Rasht on June 21.
- On July 3 in Saudi Arabia, more than 100 pilgrims died after a stampede in a tunnel leading from a tent town to the holy city of Mecca.
- More than 600 people were killed in an earthquake that struck the northern Philippines on 15 July
- In Japan, Emperor Akihito formally assumed the 1 300-year-old Chrysanthemum throne on November 12.
- Jessica Tandy walked off with the Oscar for best actress for her role in "Driving Miss Daisy".

1990 — Year of Triumph and Tears

Newsmaker of the year



11A
South 18/12/90 - 17/1/91

HE was the darling of the world's press, the sweetheart of international leaders and the legend who became a man for millions throughout South Africa and the world

Nelson Mandela was the symbol of the anti-apartheid struggle and the fighting spirit of the ANC.

The man, who no one except his jailers and a few recent visitors had seen for 27 years, became the hottest news story of the decade on his release and before anyone even knew what he looked like.

^{South 18/12/90 - 17/1/91} NELSON MANDELA ^{11A}

The expectations of millions of people were high: Mandela was going to force the government to negotiate; Mandela was going to end unemployment in South Africa; Mandela was going to stop the violence in Natal.

But soon after Mandela's release, reality hit home. He was not a god or a miracle maker, but a dedicated member of the ANC who followed instructions from his organisation.

Besides, in the first few months after his release, Mandela had little time to work miracles. An exhausting whirlwind tour of Europe and the United States began — a fitting tribute to the world's foremost freedom fighter.

From ticker tape parades in New York, addresses to the United Nations and congresses to music concerts, the world celebrated the release of Mandela in a way few other leaders have received adulation from foreign countries.

Although it is the message not the man and the organisational structures and membership on the ground which forms the ANC, Mandela is still regarded both inside South Africa and abroad as the lynchpin of the ANC.

and the others who made the news ^{11A}

FW

DE KLERK

HE was the man who took South Africa across the Rubicon and back into the world's centre stage.

In a momentous speech in February, State President FW de Klerk unbanned long-silenced political organisations and announced his government's intention to free political prisoners, allow exiles to return, lift the state of emergency and media curbs and suspend the death sentence.

Later the same month, ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela walked free and the scene was set for talks about talks.

Tributes to De Klerk poured in from around the world and, despite the ANC's protestations, South Africa began the slow climb back to international acceptance.

De Klerk vied with Mandela for international attention and jetted off to foreign climes to win the support of world leaders for his reforms. South Africa began developing links with Eastern Europe, the USSR and the rest of Africa.

By the end of 1990 — despite the vast difference in vision of a future South Africa between the ANC and the Nationalists, the growing violence in the country and the continued existence of

apartheid — De Klerk had managed to convince most of the world that South Africa was on an irreversible path to democracy.

At home, however, his opponents are still waiting for him to deliver most of his February 2 promises. Critics charged him with deliberately stalling on political prisoners and exiles and tinkering with apartheid laws.

The security forces were repeatedly linked to the violence which racked the townships, increasing doubts about the government's sincerity.

CHRIS HANI

WHEN the Pretoria government finally opened its doors to the leaders of the ANC and other liberation movements earlier this year, the same doors were shut in certain individuals' faces.

These included Mr Chris Hani, Chief of Staff of Umkhonto weSizwe; Mr Ronnie Kasrils, senior ANC NEC member; Mr Mac Maharaj, South African Communist Party strategist — which immediately placed them a "cut above the rest" of the ANC's leadership.

Hani was dubbed the "ANC's most militant man" when he said the ANC might have to seize power if talks broke down.

In anticipation of this, he said,

Umkhonto weSizwe cadres would have to "remain in their trenches, awaiting orders from the ANC".

The government cited these utterances as an act of "militating against the spirit and word of the Groote Schuur Minute".

The withdrawal of his temporary indemnity was followed by him vowing never to leave South Africa.

GATSHA

BUTHELEZI

CHIEF Gatsha Buthelezi, Inkatha leader and chief minister of the KwaZulu homeland, featured prominently in media coverage of township wars.

When ANC deputy-president Mr Nelson Mandela called for Natal ANC members to "throw your weapons into the sea", many expected a similar call from Buthelezi to his followers.

When this was not forthcoming, it became clear that Buthelezi's interests lay with the protection of Inkatha members rather than ending the war. His insistence that Inkatha members have the right to "defend themselves" from attackers dented his image further.

Apart from township violence, other controversies featuring Buthelezi this year can be summed up as follows:

● Buthelezi's insisted on Ujundi, Inkatha's powerseat, as the only venue for Inkatha-ANC conciliatory talks. As

the ANC wanted a neutral venue, this position was seen by most commentators as a bid to thwart the peace efforts.

● The familiar scathing attacks on the ANC/UDF/Cosatu for what Buthelezi termed a "concerted campaign to ostracise Inkatha".

● The Inkatha leader's public embrace of Dr Andries Treurnicht's Conservative Party, a move seen by many as a desperate attempt to secure a place at the negotiating table.

● The refusal to attend any unity talk involving major political organisations in the country. This included Archbishop Desmond Tutu's indaba and the ANC-initiated summit of homeland leaders.

WINNIE

MANDELA

THE South African who received the unkindest media attention this year was undoubtedly Mrs Winnie Mandela.

Her "trial by media" regarding the circumstances surrounding the death of activist Stompie Moeketsi Sepele had her tried and convicted before she had been charged.

The "Mother of the Nation", who had long been admired for her stoic and dignified suffering during years of repression, banishment and single parenthood was vilified and scorned in the media.

Mrs Mandela maintained an aloof si-

lence throughout, showing the backbone which had once made her the most admired woman in South Africa.

ALLAN BOESAK

WHEN Dr Allan Boesak announced his resignation from church leadership from the pulpit of his church on July 8 it marked the end of an era for one of South Africa's most charismatic church leaders.

Within a few shattering weeks, Boesak moved from president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and moderator of the NG Sendingkerk to lay member of his church.

The circumstances surrounding the exposure of Boesak's friendship with TV producer Ms Elna Botha are still mysterious, but its effect was devastating.

Yet, despite the absence this time round of "We Stand by our Leaders" rallies and T-shirts, Boesak still maintained the support he had gained in the years that he was the most outspoken critic of apartheid and repression. Despite the upheaval in Boesak's personal life, invitations for him to address rallies and meetings continued streaming in.

Boesak has yet to join a political party, but all indications are that he will continue to enjoy recognition as a leading member of the democratic movement.

Govt refuses PAC indemnity extensions

CAPE TOWN 18/12/90 11A

JOHANNESBURG. — Applications for the extension of 24 PAC officials' 10 days temporary indemnity from prosecution — which expired on Friday last week — have been turned down.

PAC publicity secretary Mr Barney Desai confirmed yesterday that a number of officials applied for indemnity extensions after attending the recent PAC national conference here.

Mr Desai said information on the failure of applications reached them late on Thursday night, adding: "A number of people applied for indemnity on humanitarian grounds, but their applications were turned down and they had to leave the country."

● PAC administrative secretary Mr Joe Mkhwanazi said in Mbabane yesterday that schools should not be used as venues for violence.

Mr Mkhwanazi said the PAC firmly believed an educated generation was essential for building a new, peaceful and democratic South Africa. — Sapa

FW set to hit back

Capt Tinks 18/12/90

11A

Political Staff

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk is expected to respond in a televised state-of-the-nation address tonight to the ANC's threat to break off talks.

A spokesman for Mr De Klerk said yesterday the president would speak on matters facing the country, including the threat at the weekend by the ANC to withdraw from talks unless obstacles to negotiations were removed by April 30.

The obstacles to negotiations the ANC wants removed are the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles.

Moving his Christmas message forward by nearly a week and using the national television channel to respond to the ANC showed the seriousness with which Mr De Klerk viewed the threat, government sources said last night.

In his address after the 8pm news Mr De Klerk may respond to other hard-line resolutions adopted at the ANC's consultative conference, including the decision to form self-defence units in the townships.

Government sources said yesterday the April 30 deadline had already been agreed to by both parties in the Pretoria Minute and it was expected that Mr De Klerk would indicate that the process of removing obstacles was still on schedule.

A spokesman for the president also said last night that no request had been received from ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo to meet Mr De Klerk.

Mr Tambo returned to South Africa last week after being out of the country for 30 years. The two men have never met.

Group Areas

The United States State Department yesterday criticised the ANC's threat to suspend negotiations with the government if its conditions are not met as "regrettable" and said it may confuse South Africans about the organisation's intentions.

But the ANC's decision to endorse and continue its negotiations with the government was significant.

Referring to sanctions, a US spokesman pointed out that the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986 still governed US policy.

The act had laid down five conditions which South Africa had to satisfy before sanctions could be lifted.

Three of the conditions had already been met. Those not yet satisfied were the release of political prisoners and the repeal of the Group Areas and Population Registration acts.

There is widespread fear among police, churches and political parties that the recent violence is the precursor to an all-out battle over the Christmas period.

Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze, responding to the ANC weekend conference decision to form defence units, said the government would not tolerate private political armies or vigilantes usurping the functions of the police.

"Even the largest police force in the world cannot stop groups intent on killing each other," Captain Kotze said.



ROMEO AND JULIET... Visiting Italian boy the international grand prix, Riccardo Scarp Hofmann, hoist Delene Taylor, 23, of Newlan

From page 1

"We can only deal with the symptoms of the violence and try to keep the parties away from each other. The underlying causes must be negotiated by the feuding parties and the police endeavours are only a holding action," he said. *Capt Tinks 18/12/90*

● The Pan-Africanist Congress has come out in support of the ANC on the continuation of mass action and said Mr De Klerk should be isolated internally and internationally. *11A*

● The Democratic Party's spokesman on constitutional affairs, Dr Denis Worrall, said yesterday it would be a mistake for whites "to head off for a white political kraal" in response to decisions taken at the ANC conference.

"What the ANC rank-and-file showed over the weekend is that they don't accept that whites are committed to an apartheid-free and non-racial South Africa — hence the cynicism and suspicion.

"And the only way whites are going to break this down will be from a democratic vantage point or by throwing their lot with black organisations like the ANC or Inkatha, and so influencing them from within," Dr Worrall said.

Mr Nelson Mandela was correct in saying that the National Party could not be the referee and the party to the negotiating process, Dr Worrall said.

An independent facilitator was needed, key state functions like security and SATV had to be put under neutral supervision and multi-party commissions had to get cracking on major issues like housing, health, education and land reform.

● At Ulundi Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi criticised the ANC's weekend "war talk" and said the escalation of black-on-black violence "presents probably the gravest threat to peaceful negotiations that exists". "Violence must be de-escalated and the language of the ANC needs to be moderated for this to happen."

He said the ANC had given the impression it was being opportunistic about its involvement in the negotiation process.

"South Africa wants to know that the ANC will enter negotiations and abide by the consequences of agreements reached which are endorsed by the population, either in a referendum or in an election.

"To present either/or ultimatums to the South African government about the release of political prisoners, the return of all exiles and the ending of repressive legislation is just not called for in any objective political terms," Chief Buthelezi said.

400 4700 for a free card. No
queries or requests for cards
will be dealt with on any
other telephone numbers.

DAILY LISTING — Page 14
STOCK PRICES — Page 15

US gives
CAPE TOWN 13/12/70
ANC \$3m,
Inkatha \$1m

From SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON. — The
US administration in-
tends to give the ANC
\$3,73 million (about
R9,3m) of the \$10m
(about R25m) voted by
Congress last April to
promote democracy in
South Africa, and In-
katha's Action Group for
Democracy is to get \$1m
(about R2,5m).

According to the for-
mal proposal document,
which is under review by
Congress, the money is
to help the ANC
"strengthen its position
vis-a-vis the South Afri-
can government in the
process of negotiations".

It is to go towards
administration and trav-
el expenses and to help
pay the rent at the ANC's
national headquarters.

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ANC MEMBERS this weekend spent as much time examining their organisation as they did planning action to address the complexities involved in transforming the country into a democracy.

Only the most confident and self-assured national executive committee (NEC) members emerged from the national consultative conference sanguine about their future in the ANC's leadership.

One was Joe Slovo, who remarked: "It was wonderful. It was democracy in action."

This assuredness permeated through the rank and file delegates who, for the first time, felt they had got a grip on determining the policies and strategies of the organisation.

However, this week there will be many NEC members wondering — given the strong criticism directed at them — whether they will still hold leadership positions after a new executive has been elected at the June congress.

Deputy president Nelson Mandela complained that one of the most disappointing features of the conference was that hardly a good word was spoken in regard to the NEC.

However, in his closing remarks, perhaps his best speech since emerging from prison, Mandela also identified the reason for this — the failure of the leadership to properly consult, educate and prepare the membership about and for negotiations.

It is quite clear the leadership totally underestimated the deep anger that continuing violence has evoked amid the rank and file. It also failed to assess correctly the degree of confusion its decision to suspend armed action created. The lack of progress in the release of political prisoners and return of exiles — the quid pro quo for suspending armed action — has turned this confusion to hostility, and the conference directed this hostility at the NEC as much as at the state.

This angry mood manifested itself in the several hardline positions

ANC conference brings home a lesson in leadership

ALAN FINE and MIKE ROBERTSON

adopted at the conference — positions which have significant ramifications for the negotiation process.

Calmer, credible, heads in the organisation managed to tone down the most militant demands of the membership and keep the basic negotiation strategy in place, but several concessions had to be made to demands from the floor.

For example, a proposal from delegates that the ANC withdraw from negotiations if all obstacles are not removed by April 30 next year — the date set in the Pretoria Minute for the release and return of all political prisoners and exiles — was toned down to a resolution which stated the ANC would "consider" suspending its participation in the negotiations if all obstacles were not removed by that date.

Setting such deadlines in a complex negotiating process — potentially painting oneself into a corner — is not wise as it further restricts ANC negotiators who, as a result of the organisation's adherence to the Harare Declaration, already have limited room to manoeuvre.

Another example was the militant demand that armed Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) cadres be deployed to head up defence units in the townships to protect ANC supporters

against attack.

Realising that any resolution which came even close to suggesting this would immediately result in a major conflict with government, the drafters of the resolution on violence avoided any mention of arms. Instead the resolution spoke obscurely of the "necessary resources" being made available to units and of MK playing a "facilitative role in the defence of our people".

What this means is open to interpretation. Previously, senior ANC officials have insisted they did not envisage armed defence units patrolling townships.

But if, as ANC militants believe, it means MK soldiers armed with AK-47s protecting people, this will become one of the greatest challenges President P. W. de Klerk's government has yet had to face.

The tone of the conference brought home to the NEC the need for an entirely new style of leadership.

The imperious approach which might have worked in the '50s, and the conspiratorial approach necessary for fighting an underground struggle, are no longer good enough

for a membership which wants to be involved in as much of the decision-making as possible.

Mandela conceded as much when, in his closing remarks, he commented: "The leadership has grasped the principle that they are the servants of the people and that they must seek guidance from the masses in choosing important positions and in the formulation of policy."

However, he and his colleagues face a tricky task in balancing this with the continuing need to lead from the front.

He showed himself to be up to that challenge when he attacked "men and women who use the platforms of the organisations for unprincipled discussion, who play to the gallery, whose aim ... is to prove how revolutionary they are, who have no idea whatsoever of what a mass movement is, who are incapable of putting forward constructive ideas and who are quick to pull down what others have built".

While saying he hoped there were no such people at the conference, Mandela went so far as to directly contradict a phrase from the resolution on negotiations which mandated the NEC to continue with talks about talks "without any secrecy and confidentiality".

Opposition to confidential meetings with government, he averred, "could only be made by those who do not understand the nature of negotiations. ... We are not prepared to neglect our duties as a leadership because of views which ... are totally unreasonable."

In taking a stand against a strong sentiment held by many at the conference, Mandela is taking a risk that such meetings will, in future, bring material rewards. So far — in the eyes of delegates at least — this has not happened.

The leadership also faced a challenge on its dealings with homeland leaders, which manifested itself in a clause in the resolution on violence. The clause said talks "with Inkatha and other surrogates of the regime ... must take place only after full consultations with all the regions of the ANC, particularly those immediately affected by violence".

In a less than subtle reference to this, Mandela argued that certain (unnamed) governments neighbouring SA (obviously Angola and Mozambique) had refused to talk to their opposition for more than a decade. Their economies had been shattered by civil war and they were now talking.

Especially significant in view of the analogies the ANC has drawn between the local violence and Renamo, Mandela warned members to "take account of such experiences".

This ability to lead from the front and, equally importantly, to take the membership with him, ensured that at the end of the conference Mandela emerged strengthened.

He and other leaders are going to have to continue doing both if they are to succeed in their goals of building a powerful and disciplined political party and playing a significant role in the transition to a new SA.

Their foremost challenge — and government's, for the militant message is also directed at it — is to transcend futile exchanges of culpability for violence and begin developing structures to effectively address the root causes of the problem.

Maharaj's resignation from NEC confirmed

TIM COHEN

THE ANC yesterday confirmed that Mac Maharaj, a key figure in Operation Vula, had resigned from the organisation's National Executive Committee (NEC).

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said Maharaj had given notice that he intended stepping down from the NEC in June this year, but the resignation was only effective from November.

She said he had not informed the ANC that he was resigning because the organisation had failed to take practical steps to secure his release when detained in connection with Operation Vula, as had been reported.

Marcus said Maharaj had cited personal reasons, saying he wanted to spend more time with his family.

Maharaj, who is out on bail of R5 000, and Ronnie Kasrils, who is being sought by the police, were key figures in what was originally described as a "red plot" to establish underground structures in SA in case negotiations failed.

Maharaj was one of a number of senior ANC members who unsuccessfully stood in recent elections for the Natal regional committee of the ANC.

Marcus said he had not resigned from the ANC.

Handwritten notes: IIA, 14/11/90, 14/11/90

From MONO BADELA

THE African National Congress (ANC) last Sunday ended its most important conference in 31 years with a firm commitment to continue negotiations with the South African government, although it threatened to pull out of talks unless a strict timetable is adhered to.

Delegates voted to maintain all existing sanctions against Pretoria, although they agreed that consultations should begin on easing trade, academic, cultural and sporting sanctions.

Resolutions passed at the end of the three-day conference were couched in militant rhetoric, reflecting dissatisfaction among many of the 1 600 delegates — many of whom were youths — with concessions made by their leaders at the negotiating table.

Reflect

But Mr Nelson Mandela, ANC deputy president, appeared to have consolidated his authority over the radicals in the movement, with the resolutions appearing to reflect little significant hardening in the ANC positions on key issues.

However, the ANC did impose a timetable on negotiations for the first time. It warned that it would "consider the suspension of the whole negotiation process" unless Pretoria acted before April 30 1991 to halt township violence, release all remaining political prisoners, allow all exiles to return, repeal the remaining security and other

Deadline for peace

South 18/12/90 - 17/1/91 (11A)
"repressive" legislation and halt political trials.

Progress in these areas has been stalled for months because of a dispute between the two sides over the ANC's decision to continue recruiting and training guerrillas despite its agreement in August to suspend the armed struggle against Pretoria.

The conference also warned the government that it must act to end the violence which has left more than 1 000 people dead since August. Delegates threatened that the ANC would consider resuming the armed struggle if this was not done.

Defence committees are to be set up to counter the violence and will involve members of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto weSizwe, in what officials said was a purely defensive role.

This hardline position, which Pretoria will no doubt reject as exacerbating unrest in black townships, reflects consensus within the ANC that violence has been inspired by the State to weaken the anti-apartheid movement.

But Mandela stressed in his closing address to the conference that "the overwhelming majority of our people generally and the delegates in particular support negotiations between the ANC and the government". The statement was

greeted with applause from the floor.

In a masterful address at his most imperious, the ANC leader acknowledged criticism from the floor that the ANC had failed to consult its supporters sufficiently on major policy decisions.

"The leadership has grasped the principle that the leaders are servants of the people and must seek guidance from the masses," he said.

Incapable

But, in a remarkably candid attack, Mandela firmly put down radicals within the ANC "who play to the gallery, whose aim ... is to prove how revolutionary they are, ... who are incapable of putting forward constructive ideas and who are quick to pull down what others have built".

He defended the leadership's right to continue what he called confidential discussions with the government. In short, he staked his claim as a leader to be allowed to lead rather than having to pass every decision through lengthy democratic vetting procedures.

Senior ANC leaders, who acknowledged that criticism from the floor had at times been harsh, emerged from the conference with a broad mandate to proceed with "talks about talks" at their discretion.



FREED: Ms Nontembiso Ndabeni, released from prison last Saturday for guerilla activities, was a special guest at the ANC conference

Mass protests to coincide with opening of parliament (11A)

South 18/12/90 - 17/1/91
THE ANC's year of mass action — announced at its conference last weekend — will start to coincide with the opening of parliament next year and reach a peak on Solomon Mahlangu Day, April 6.

The ANC decision to step up pressure on the government for the transfer of power in 1991 could lead to severe conflict in coming months.

The campaign will be launched to highlight the ANC's demand for an interim government and a constituent assembly, for the release of political prisoners, the return of exiles and an end to political trials and detention.

The programme of mass action will in-

clude a mass door-to-door signature campaign to back these demands.

Workshops with the ANC's allies — particularly the SA Communist Party and Cosatu — will be held to thrash out a joint programme of action against violence.

Mass campaigns will be introduced to pressure the government into ending the carnage in the townships.

The campaigns will be waged in the context of the demand for the removal of all obstacles to negotiations.

A "patriotic conference" will be held on Sharpeville Day (March 21) to mobilise all anti-apartheid forces.

Get to know SACP

THE SA Communist Party's past and future will be the subject of one of the courses of the UCT's 1991 Summer School in January. ^{South} 18/12/90 - 17/1/91

UWC history professor Colin Bundy and Mr Jeremy Cronin, an SACP national executive member, will discuss the origins, character and role of the party. (119)

The course of five lectures will be held from January 14 to 18 and will include a panel discussion.

For details of registration, contact the Department of Adult Education and Extra Mural Studies. Tel (021) 650-2888.

Tragic, but give no quarter — Tambo

M665 (111)
19/12/90

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — South Africa was in the midst of one of the most tragic phases in the struggle for freedom, ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo said.

Mr Tambo was speaking at Watville Stadium near Benoni at a welcome rally for him and his family.

He said that although South Africa was at the threshold of freedom, apartheid-related violence had claimed more than 3 000 lives in Natal in the past five years.

The mindless violence continued, claiming more lives daily and spreading like wild-fire.

The East Rand had borne the brunt of the violence recently, he said to cheers from the crowd of about 2 000.

"Hasten the dawn of freedom by intensifying the struggle.

We must leave the enemy no quarter," Mr Tambo said.

The only way oppressed people could free themselves was by uniting in action.

Mr Tambo called on the youth to link hands with other political structures so the liberation movement could move forward as a united front.

His wife Adelaide urged young people to return to school and arm themselves with education. Education was the key to the future.

"We should therefore prepare ourselves to take charge of our lives when apartheid is gone," she said.

Earlier, Mr Tambo visited his hometown of Benoni to an emotional welcome.

Mr Tambo officially opened Tamboville, an informal housing settlement outside Benoni. He cut a black, green and gold ribbon on land given to the squatters this year.



Who gets what via US Congress grants

6/24/90
11A SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON — The US State Department and the US Agency for International Development have provided a breakdown of who will receive grants in a proposal to spend the \$10m set aside by Congress to promote democracy and negotiation in SA.

Nine grant requests were selected from 44 submissions for a total of \$140m. The US embassy in Pretoria was chiefly responsible for making the choices.

The ANC receives \$3,73m to enable its department of legal and constitutional affairs "to establish itself in SA". The funds are to be spent on a year's rent for the ANC's national headquarters, professional and administrative salaries, equipment purchases, conference costs and travel expenses.

Inkatha's Action Group for Democracy gets \$1m for a research and information department dealing with economic and constitutional policy, training in "management, political communications and election organisations", and office rent.

The National Republican Institute for International Affairs, a branch of the National Endowment for Democracy (NED), receives \$1,2m to conduct public opinion surveys, draft rules for the functioning of parties under a new constitution, and provide "political party training and infrastructure assistance".

Its sister group, the National Democratic Institute, gets \$1,2m "to enhance public awareness and understanding of the negotiating process".

The US Information Agency gets \$500 000 for projects providing "expertise" and "practical information", while the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace is allotted \$500 000 to administer a conference in SA on policy alternatives.

The Washington-based Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights under Law gets \$400 000 to help set up a legal and constitutional advisory committee in collaboration with the ANC, and to establish a constitutional law library at "a selected SA institution".

The Wits Centre for Policy is granted \$225 000 to "identify the social and political processes required for a negotiated transition".

The NED's Free Trade Union Institute receives \$45 000. It will assist the Co-operative for Research and Education to develop a workers' charter based on internationally accepted standards.

In addition, \$700 000 is set aside for a reserve fund "primarily to support the infrastructure requirements" of parties not yet eligible for funding because they "have not ... chosen to participate in negotiations" and have not renounced violence. If this money is not applied for by February 28, most of it will be reallocated to the ANC and Inkatha.

The NED, which is to oversee the transfer of funds, gets \$500 000 for administrative costs.

Unity major issue at Azapo congress

Capl Tuis. 19/12/90 Political Correspondent (11A)

EFFORTS to forge a common strategy among anti-apartheid organisations in dealing with the government will be one of the major issues debated at the Azapo national congress, to be held here at the weekend.

Azapo publicity secretary Mr Strini Moodley said yesterday that up to 2 000 delegates from across the country were expected to attend the organisation's 10th annual congress.

Mr Moodley said other key issues to be tackled included:

- The internecine violence sweeping the country;
- Azapo's demand for a constituent assembly to draft a new constitution, and;
- Sanctions, including the cultural and sports boycotts.

Azapo will also debate changes to its constitution, including its current system of regularly circulating leadership.

Azapo president Dr Jerry Mosala will open the congress with a "state-of-the-nation" address on Saturday morning.

The keynote address will be delivered on Saturday night by Dr Anbalavaner Sivanandan, the director of the British Institute for Race Relations and editor of the journal Race and Class.

The two-day congress will be held in the St Francis Church Hall in Langa.

From page 1

In only one year, the political process had been normalised and all political parties could operate freely, all political leaders could participate in national debate and all ideas and ideologies were openly examined and dissected. (11A) ~~11A~~ ~~11A~~

This had helped to change international perceptions and major strides had been made away from international isolation. *Art 7.1.15 19/12/90*

The opening up of society had aroused uncertainty and tension based on racial fears as well as dangerous and unrealistic expectations.

A state of fear had descended on many black townships, more than 3 000 people had died in violence, millions of rands' damage had been caused, hundreds of thousands of young people had lost a whole year's education and in some areas local government had ground to a halt.

"Intimidation is rampant. Too often people make decisions, not through conviction, but because they are terrified."

● Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer last night described Mr De Klerk's speech as "motherhood and apple pie".

"He says a great many entirely supportable things, and when he wishes us a merry Christmas, I am sure we all respond positively."

The DP leader said the recurring theme of the president's message was that the incidence of crime was unacceptable.

"Of course it is — every politician can confirm that the people are crying out for crime to be brought under control. But it is not the task of the DP to stop the crime. It is not the task of the ANC or of the Conservative Party.

"As long as Mr De Klerk runs the country it is his responsibility and that of his government."

It was all very well for the president to say that claims for an interim government or a constituent assembly must not be substituted for the negotiating process.

"We largely agree with him, but it is his responsibility to get the negotiations off the ground and running."

Tambo calls for intensified struggle against apartheid

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo told the crowd at his welcoming gathering in his home town of Wattville, near Benoni, yesterday to intensify the struggle against apartheid and to prepare to take full control of their lives.

"Let us hasten the dawn of freedom by intensifying the struggle — we must leave the enemy no quarter," Mr Tambo said to a ululating crowd of about 1 500 at Wattville Stadium.

Mr Tambo had just completed a day of reunions with family and friends in Wattville, where he lived before his 30 years of exile.

He said his return had come at one of the most

tragic phases in the history of the country.

"The violence that apartheid has unleashed on our people with blind fury has claimed countless lives in Natal."

He also expressed his sorrow to the families of victims of "the ruthless slaughter which has claimed over 3 000 lives since June".

Earlier he "officially opened" Tamboville — an informal housing settlement — as well as the land marked for his house to be built in the township early next year.

Both ceremonies were marked by Mr Tambo's cutting of black, green and gold ribbons while crowds sang, danced and shouted "Viva Tambo".

Mr Tambo was accompanied by his wife Adelaide, his two daughters, his son, grandsons, relatives and friends.

Tamboville was officially given to squatters and proclaimed an informal housing settlement after negotiations between the Wattville Concerned Residents' Committee and the Benoni town council earlier this year.

The council has provided water and mobile toilets and the area is extremely clean. There are not many residents yet.

Mr Tambo is expected to travel to his birth-town of Bizana in Transkei later this week. — Sapa

CAPL TRAF 19/12/90 11A



De Klerk ready to open doors for exiles

The government yesterday gazetted legislation which will allow most of South Africa's estimated 40 000 exiles to return to the country.

In notices published in yesterday's government gazette, President F W de Klerk granted unconditional indemnity to all people who illegally left the country before October 8 this year.

A separate notice unconditionally indemnifies people who were members of an unlawful organisation or who assisted an unlawful organisation materially.

The notices come just days after a resolution at the ANC's consultative conference which threatened to consider suspending the negotiation process if all obstacles — including the unconditional return of exiles — were not completed by the end of April.

It is believed that most exiles are guilty of only the offences covered by yesterday's government notice. Most estimates put the number of exiles at between 40 000 and 60 000.

"This will grant indemnity to a large number of people who have not committed any other offences," a Justice Department spokes-

man said yesterday.

People seeking indemnity will still have to make formal applications, as laid down in the working group agreement between the government and the ANC, and the blanket indemnity will not apply to those who committed other offences.

Although many exiles are now automatically indemnified, they still have to furnish the information required in the application form which appeared in a government gazette published last month.

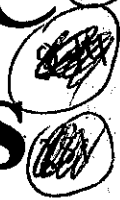
This would include details such as appli-

cants' identity numbers, whether they left without valid travel documents and whether they left at a place other than a legal port of exit.

Mr Brian Currin, national director of Lawyers for Human Rights, welcomed the legislation last night, but he said it would help the repatriation process if more categories of indemnity were identified.

Meanwhile, the South African Council of Churches yesterday announced that temporary indemnity had been granted to a group of 28 South Africans currently living in Kenya.

Police warn ANC on private armies

11A


REF

By Esmaré van der Merwe
 Political Reporter

Star 18/12/90

The police have warned that the ANC's intention to set up self-defence units in the strife-torn townships could lead to civil war.

It also labelled as totally unacceptable the ANC's plans for mass action campaigns next year, and dismissed the organisation's renewed accusations of State involvement in the township carnage as "nonsense".

A spokesman for the Ministry of Law and Order, Captain Craig Kotze, yesterday launched a scathing attack on hardline resolutions dealing with the security forces, which were adopted at the ANC's consultative conference in Johannesburg at the weekend.

Vehemently denying police partiality in the violence, he said only a "dramatic change in attitude" from the feuding parties would address the root causes of the violence.

Pretoria was silent yesterday on the ANC's ultimatum that it would consider abandoning talks if certain conditions were not met by April 30.

The Pretoria Minute sets this date as the latest date envisaged for the completion of the task of the joint Government/ANC working group which deals with the granting of indemnity to political offenders.

Senior Government members were locked in a State Security Council meeting in Pretoria yesterday, at which the ANC's newly-adopted measures were discussed. They would not, however, comment.

President de Klerk is expected to speak on the ANC's deci-

sions in his Christmas message on television tonight.

Observers believed the hardline policies adopted at the weekend were unlikely to endanger the peace process. They said the deadline was a compromise between the moderates and militants in the movement and was "fair" and could speed up negotiations.

In a long statement Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi criticised the ANC's warning that it might consider breaking off talks and resuming the armed struggle.

"I think it is rather sad that the ANC is talking the way it is about the possibility of resuming an armed struggle ...

"The escalation of black-on-black violence presents probably the gravest threat to peaceful negotiations taking place that exists."

Subvert

Captain Kotze said the police strongly disapproved of the formation of private political armies.

"These can only heighten the conflict in our communities and will inevitably lead to further confrontation and even civil war. These private political armies are completely unnecessary as it is the task of the SAP to protect everyone, including ANC members."

The police would not allow anyone to take over or subvert its law and order functions.

He said mass actions exceeded the bounds of legitimate democratic protest and was therefore completely unacceptable. Mass action contained immense conflict potential which had already erupted into vio-

lence in our townships and other areas.

"The SAP will strictly, yet with the necessary discretion, enforce the law in this regard."

Responding to a hard-hitting ANC resolution on police involvement in the violence, he said: "Wild allegations of this nature must be backed up with evidence."

"The SAP categorically denies it is involved in the violence or that it takes sides. The fact that accusations of partiality are leveled at the force from both the ANC and Inkatha makes a mockery of these claims."

"Merely repeating hackneyed allegations ad nauseum does not constitute evidence."

● Sapa reports that the commander of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging's commando units, Servaas de Wet, had no objection to the ANC's plans to form self-defence units provided "they remained in their own areas only and left the white communities alone".

Mr de Wet said the AWB had launched the countrywide commando units for white protection in direct response to the Government's release of ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela from prison and the unbanning of various political organisations. He said the "revolutionary climate" in the country had since increased and exposed many whites to danger.

Mr de Wet pointed out, however, that the training received by AWB commando members was "a lot less aggressive" than the training received by cadres of the ANC's Umkhonto we-Sizwe who had learned "to handle explosives, bombs, rocket launchers and other weapons used in revolutionary warfare".

Azapo's stance on Govt talks

Sowetan 18/2/90

THE Azanian Peoples Organisation is expected, after its national congress in Cape Town this weekend, to join the Pan Africanist Congress in declining to enter into negotiations with the Government.

Mr Strini Moodley, Azapo's publicity secretary, yesterday said the issue did not rank high in the list of items to be tackled at the congress as the organisation's position on talks was well known.

"There's very little to discuss on this issue except to reiterate our position," Moodley said.

Meeting

Azapo has, like the PAC, repeatedly said it would not enter into negotiations with the Government unless the process was preceded by an election of a Constituent Assembly based on one person, one vote on a common voters' roll.

The congress, to be held under the theme, "Defend the People, Fight for Neo-colonialism and Advance Socialism", is the most crucial annual meeting since the organisation was formed about 12 years ago.

"The congress is extremely important because of the obvious developments taking place in the country. It comes at a time when there are deep divisions among liberation movements and when the international community is giving the Nationalist regime a new lease of life," Moodley said.

(11A) (202)

Aid fund on way back after ban

Star Bureau Star 18/12/90

LONDON — The International Defence and Aid Fund is to transfer its activities back to South Africa, where it was banned nearly 25 years

ago, it decided at a special conference.
The fund plans to use resources to provide defence for those in court for opposition to apartheid, and to inform the world about apartheid.

PAC indemnity plea 118 for officials rejected

APPLICATIONS for the extension of Pan Africanist Congress officials' 10 days temporary indemnity from prosecution, which expired last Friday, were turned down. *Sowetan 18/12/90*

PAC publicity secretary Mr Barney Desai confirmed yesterday that a number of PAC officials applied for indemnity extensions after attending the organisation's national conference in Johannesburg.

Desai said information on the failure of applications reached them late on Thursday night and inadequate arrangements were made.

"A number of people applied for indemnity on humanitarian grounds but their applications were turned down and they had to leave the country", he said. - *Sapa.*

APR 1991

Govt slams ANC defence units move

Sowetan 18/12/90

HA
11A

THE Government believed the establishment of ANC "self-defence" units was "completely unnecessary".

Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said yesterday police were "completely opposed" to the formation of private political armies.

These armies could only lead to further polarisation and ultimately constituted a recipe for civil war, he said.

Kotze said: "The SAP will not allow the law to be broken in this regard. It is the task of the SAP to protect all the citizens of South Africa, including ANC members, and the formation of political military structures is therefore completely unnecessary."

He said only a drastic

change in attitude between warring groups would solve politically motivated violence.

Meanwhile, SAPA reports that the commander of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging's commando units had no objection to the ANC's plans for creating self-defence units in black townships - provided "they remained in their own areas only and left the white communities alone".

Mr Servaas de Wet, Sea Point's retired police station commander, started the countrywide Boer commando system seven months ago and was appointed its commander-general shortly thereafter.

He said the AWB had launched the self-defence units for white neighbourhoods in direct response to the Government's

release of Mr Nelson Mandela and the legalising of political movements.

"There now is a revolutionary climate in South Africa in which police stations are being attacked with impunity, police patrols ambushed and murdered and civilian communities left practically unprotected by understaffed police," he said.

Over the past two months, the commandos' membership had increased by 365 percent. The greatest growth was shown in the Vaal Triangle and the eastern Transvaal, he said.

"The AWB's central infrastructure and communications systems are now in place and our units are being trained countrywide in self-defence methods," he added.

The obstacle to change in South Africa is not the whites, argues The Economist

Mandela, not De Klerk, may need goading

(110) (2044)
Star 6/11/90

FOR an exceptional moment, South Africa was full of hope. From the day Nelson Mandela walked free in February to the night he suspended his movement's armed struggle in August, black and white South Africans were moving towards peace.

Since August the road has been blocked by township slaughter, the security forces' misconduct, and reprimand on all sides.

Political violence is killing 10 South Africans a day — three times as many as in past years.

Mr Mandela's meeting with President de Klerk on November 27 was the sourest they have had.

Outsiders need to decide who is to blame for this impasse as they consider whether their sanctions against South Africa should be continued.

The European Community may lift some sanctions — perhaps the ban on new investment? — at the EC summit that begins next Thursday.

The United States and the Com-

monwealth may follow suit next year. Official sanctions matter, not least because they influence where private money goes.

It has not been going into South Africa: lower exports and capital flight have kept real GDP growth below the 5 percent a year the economy needs to absorb all the young blacks pouring into the work force.

The only argument for imposing this degree of pain on South Africa — and disproportionately on South African blacks — has been that it was needed to prod whites into serious moves towards sharing power.

Mr de Klerk has made these moves. In particular, he has done the three things The Economist recommended six months ago as the condition for dropping sanctions: he has lifted the state of emergency, agreed to free political prisoners, and begun to let black exiles return.

He has also promised to rescind the Land Act (which reserves 86 percent of the land for white

owners) and the Group Areas Act.

The only argument for prolonging sanctions is that, ungoaded, Mr de Klerk will backslide.

Mr Mandela argues that he will. The African National Congress is starting to wonder, he says, whether Mr de Klerk has really abandoned apartheid.

He cites the President's insistence that, in return for permitting black exiles to come home, the ANC must stop organising demonstrations.

He points to the security forces, saying they shoot when blacks demonstrate and look the other way when whites beat up black schoolchildren.

He laments Mr de Klerk's refusal to hand over to a government of transition, or to accept the ANC's proposal for a constituent assembly.

Mr Mandela's complaints are not persuasive. Peaceful demonstrations are a normal democratic right; but in abnormal South Africa they often turn lethal.

The security forces are regard-

ed in many quarters as a menace; but Mr de Klerk is trying to control them, and often succeeding.

An interim administration sounds reasonable; but the Government already consults Mr Mandela's people frequently, and the ANC is shy of the responsibility even that brings.

A constituent assembly raises the question of how to elect it — and an answer would go to the heart of the constitutional issue before the assembly even met.

The surest guarantee of Mr de Klerk's genuineness about negotiations is that he has no way of turning back.

By uncorking black politics, he has destroyed the old white monopoly.

He must call an election within four years. If he has not first created a new security, based on reconciliation, the white voters will probably boot him out.

In fact Mr de Klerk has embraced change more thoroughly than the ANC has.

Whereas he swiftly persuaded

his party to accept non-white members, the ANC agonised about whether it really has given up its armed struggle (which, anyway, was a token).

The Congress has also delayed a meeting between Mr Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthezi, without which the end of township violence and the start of negotiations seem impossible.

Instead, the ANC talks of intensifying its (unarmed) "struggle", which includes the disruption of townships until sewage leaks on to the streets.

Perhaps it is Mr Mandela who now needs the goading.

The ANC sympathisers plead for time. If Mr Mandela moves too quickly, they say, hardliners will undermine him.

Yet dithering probably threatens him even more. Plenty of blacks are sick of demonstrations and boycotts. Far fewer are attending the ANC's rallies; on some estimates, the crowds are down to a tenth of their old size.

Some of the disillusioned may

have joined the radical Pan-Africanist Congress. But more — judging from the scanty evidence — now back faster reconciliation, in the shape of Mr de Klerk.

The ANC slowness is caused in part by simple disorganisation.

It is understandable that, after years of exile, banning and prison, the ANC wants to get its act together before taking on Mr de Klerk's negotiators, who bristle with fax machines and car phones.

It is understandable but not forgivable: South Africa's blacks have no time to spare.

As the days slip by more them get killed; more nurse dettas; tribal harmony becomes ever more remote.

And more blacks get violence and dithering businessmen, who are whether the new South good bet.

By the late 1990 government will invest. Who son to scrap san Economist News Service

of what is going on inside the hotel this week.

Nobody seems to have referred to the fact that the only technology pool of any size south of the

Mac Maharaj retires from ANC post

By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

ANC executive member Mac Maharaj, implicated in "Operation Vula", has "retired" from the organisation's leadership.

Both Mr Maharaj — the first senior ANC member to have been detained since the organisation's unbanning — and the ANC remained silent yesterday on rumours that he had quit the leadership in protest against the lack of "practical" steps taken to secure his release.

Mr Maharaj, who is also an SACP central committee member, was arrested in

July in connection with the alleged ANC/SACP insurrection plot. He was released on R80 000 bail in early November, but his indemnity from arrest has not been renewed.

Speaking from the Mayfair, Johannesburg, home of ANC organiser Mohammed Valli Moosa, Mr Maharaj yesterday declined to comment on the reasons for his resignation. He referred all inquiries to the ANC.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said yesterday Mr Maharaj had informed the organisation in June that he would "retire" for personal reasons in December. This was before "Operation Vula"

Star 18/12/90
had been exposed, she said.

She would not comment on speculation that Mr Maharaj had quit in protest against the ANC's inadequate efforts to secure his release.

Mr Maharaj was not on stage with the other members of the ANC's national executive committee at the organisation's consultative conference, which ended on Sunday.

An ANC source revealed on Sunday that Mr Maharaj had quit, and that the ANC would not make his resignation public at this stage.

Relations between the ANC and the Government turned sour after the Gov-

ernment in August refused to renew the indemnity from arrest of Mr Maharaj and senior colleagues Ronnie Kasrils (currently in hiding) and Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani.

Mr Hani was later given temporary immunity from arrest, while Mr Kasrils had been labelled "armed and dangerous" by the police and is still being sought.

In a declaration adopted at the consultative conference the ANC called on the Government to "stop hunting" Mr Kasrils and other "comrades in hiding". The ANC recommitted itself to "defending our comrades".

'ANC must choose peace or conflict'

Mass action is unacceptable, says De Klerk

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk last night challenged the ANC to choose between supporting the commitment of its leaders to peaceful negotiations and reverting to the old order of confrontation and conflict.

In a hard-hitting televised address to the nation, De Klerk rejected the ANC's programme of mass action as one of a number of undemocratic and unacceptable strategies employed by the organisation.

The ANC had refused to acknowledge that any fundamental changes had taken place in SA. However, "For the first time in 30 years they and their leadership could hold a conference, legally and without hindrance, within the Republic," De Klerk said.

He said the ANC continued to talk about the transfer of power while it knew the purpose of the proposed negotiations was to determine how power should be shared and domination avoided.

The organisation was trying to pre-empt the necessary negotiations and constitutional process by its demand for a constituent assembly and an interim government.

De Klerk said the ANC continued to advocate outmoded revolutionary doctrines and radical methods "knowing full well that these militate against a true commitment to peaceful solutions".

He said it was disappointing that some political movements were still caught up in undemocratic and unacceptable strategies and methods.

"It is also disappointing that at its recent conference the ANC appeared to have re-

BILLY PADDOCK

verted to outdated rhetoric and policies that fan the flames of confrontation."

The government would not allow a state of anarchy in the country, would not capitulate to radical pressure and would not shrink back from using all available resources to ensure stability, De Klerk said.

He said government would steer a firm and steady course of fundamental reform and orderly, constructive negotiation next year, but there could be no compromise on the protection of basic democratic and civilised values.

"We will continue to build a new SA in step with the free world ... which will assure peace, prosperity, progress and political participation for all our citizens."

TIM COHEN reports that an ANC spokesman said last night that the organisation stood by the decisions of its consultative conference, but that it would provide "clarification" of these decisions.

The spokesman said the ANC had taken note of the points raised in De Klerk's address.

If government required clarification or more information about conference decisions, it would be provided. The spokesman would not to comment further.

De Klerk said strategies that were undemocratic and unacceptable were:

- Violence to advance political objectives;
- Intimidation to terrorise others or to force them to act against their will;
- The incitement of racial hatred and slo-

To Page 2

De Klerk

gans such as "one settler, one bullet" and slogans urging violence against black South Africans;

- Non-payment for services;
 - Mass action aimed at the widespread disruption of society to force political concessions or which may result in violence.
- "Such mass action breeds confrontation and conflict. Some of those involved imagine that they can dictate the future of SA by inflammatory mass mobilisation. That is the road to disaster," he said.

Also unacceptable were the increasing incidence of crime and the role of radicalised youth who had caused or greatly inflamed many of the problems.

De Klerk spent a large part of his message addressing violence. He said while great strides had been made, the opening up of SA society had aroused uncertainty and tension based on racial fears among some, and dangerous and unrealistic expectations among others.

The high level of social unrest had too

often erupted in violence.

He said there was no excuse for such behaviour and genuine grievances could now be democratically aired with the road to negotiations open.

To ensure that progress to a new and just SA was not sabotaged by radicalism and chaos, government had already taken far-reaching steps, including strengthening the police force, the utilisation of the SADF, the declaration of unrest areas and the establishment of a R3bn fund to tackle socio-economic problems.

But it had become clear that more had to be done in the area of security action and positive initiatives and additional steps would shortly be taken, De Klerk said.

He said government would not be able to achieve its objectives solely by stepping up the activities of the police. "If we are to succeed in this endeavour we will need the support of all SA's of goodwill, and particularly of all major political and other organisations."

From Page 1

Tragic phase for SA, says Tambo

By Thabo Leshilo

South Africa was in the midst of one of the most tragic phases in the struggle for freedom, ANC president Oliver Tambo said in Wattville, near Benoni, yesterday.

Mr Tambo, who has been in exile for 30 years, was speaking at a welcome rally organised for him and his family by the local community. The rally was held at the Wattville Stadium.

He said that although SA was at the threshold of freedom, the violence that apartheid was visiting upon people had claimed more than 3 000 lives in Natal in five years.

The mindless violence continued claiming lives and had spread through the country.

The East Rand had borne the full brunt of the violence recently, he said, to cheers from the crowd of about 2 000.

"Hasten the dawn of freedom by intensifying the struggle. We must leave the enemy no quarter," Mr Tambo said.

The only way oppressed people could free themselves was by uniting in action, he said.

Mr Tambo called on the youth to link hands with other political structures so that the liberation movement could move forward as one united front.

His wife Adelaide urged the youth to return to school and arm themselves with education.

"We should, therefore, prepare ourselves to take charge of our lives when apartheid is gone."

Earlier, Mr Tambo visited his hometown of Benoni to an emotional welcome from friends.

Sapa reports that Mr Tambo officially opened Tamboville, an informal housing settlement outside Benoni.

In the shade . . . ANC president Oliver Tambo, watched over by a man identified by his badge as official umbrella-holder Chubby, addresses a welcoming rally at Wattville Stadium, Benoni, yesterday.

Picture: Alf Kumalo

Mass action plans and rhetoric slated

ANC direction a path to disaster, warns FW

By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

State President FW de Klerk last night accused the ANC of continuing to advocate "outmoded revolutionary doctrines and radical methods", and warned that the organisation's plans for intensified mass action campaigns next year would lead the country to disaster.

In his end-of-the-year address to the nation, broadcast on TV, Mr de Klerk expressed disappointment at the course taken by the ANC at its first consultative conference in South Africa in 30 years.

The weekend decisions appeared to be a step back towards "outdated rhetoric" and would fuel the flames of confrontation.

However, he indicated that the Government was aware that the ANC's top leaders, in adopting a hard-line attitude, had bowed to the pressure from militants.

Mr de Klerk said: "The time has come for the ANC to decide what they want. Are they really prepared to follow their leaders' commitment at Groote Schuur and Pretoria to peaceful and negotiated solutions; or do they want to revert to the confrontation and conflict of the past?"

He sternly warned that intimidation, violence and the disruption of municipal services would not be tolerated.

Mr de Klerk further criticised the ANC for:

- Continuing to talk of the transfer of power, while the organisation knew that the purpose of proposed negotiations was to determine how power should be shared and domination avoided.
- Continuing its demand for a constituent assembly and an interim government, thus trying to pre-empt the necessary negotiation process.
- Refusing to acknowledge that fundamental changes had taken place.

Stressing that the maintenance of law and order was not negotiable, Mr de Klerk said the Government was determined to take "whatever further action may be necessary" to ensure peace.

He announced that impartial policing activities aimed at restoring stability in violence-ridden areas would be stepped up shortly.

The Government also intended stabilising local government to enable the resumption of basic services to all black communities.

Responding to the speech last night, the ANC said should the Government need any clarification on decisions reached at the organisation's consultative conference at the weekend, it would be given.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said the organisation had "taken note of the points raised" in President de Klerk's address.



No longer a stowaway . . . Eastern Province cricketer Luvuyo "Shotgun" Gcezegana is the most talked at Permlazer Junior Cricket Week, which ended in Johannesburg yesterday.

Zimbabwe planning to 'confiscate land'

Star 19/12/90
HARARE — Multinational companies with farmland holdings in Zimbabwe would have them confiscated by the government in terms of the controversial new land programme, senior sources in the ruling Zanu (PF) Party said yesterday.

They quoted Witness Mangwende, the Minister of Agriculture, as telling the Zanu (PF) central committee at the weekend that legislation being drafted aimed expressly at taking the multinationals' land.

The sources, who spoke on condition of anonymity, said the decision was part of the government's new land policy which held that foreigners should not be allowed to own land.

The proposed legislation

follows parliament's approval last week of an amendment to the constitution which adds to the government's powers of confiscation by allowing it to choose its own price for compensation — and stops affected landowners from contesting the payment in court.

A Harare lawyer, Robin Hartley, said land values could be fixed at something substantially less than the market value and could cause banks to lose huge amounts owing to them which were unsecured and not payable.

A financial source said the main threat would be to the farming community as lower land values would greatly reduce bank loans to farmers. — Sapa.

TED matric examination results posted at schools tomorrow

Transvaal Education Department (TED) matric results will be posted at schools from 3 pm tomorrow.

The Star will publish a special matric supplement

with all the results in all editions on Friday.

A special telephone service will also be available at The Star from midnight on Thursday. For TED results, phone 633-2505 or 633-2293.

'Shotgun' aims to be a big hit

By Graeme Joffe

The cheerful stowaway they call "Shotgun" is on target to become one of the big hits of the Permlazer Junior cricket week in Johannesburg.

Luvuyo Gcezegana (13) is determined to make it to the top.

Three years ago, the Eastern Province selectors left Shotgun out of the OK Week under-12 side.

Selectors could not believe their eyes on arrival in Port Elizabeth when he climbed out from under a bus seat.

They played him in some of the games and since then he has made his mark as a batsman and bowler.

This is his second year at the Week and with a handful of wickets already to his credit, Shotgun, through the SACU's township scheme, has the opportunity to develop into a top all-rounder.

Eric Gqamane, chairman of the Zwide Cricket Union and Shotgun's coach for the last three years, along with EPCU's Adrian Birrell and Donald Mli, said that cricket had replaced soccer as Shotgun's first love.

"What always young



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PAC warns on sanctions

11A
19/12/90

WINDHOEK - The Pan Africanist Congress has warned Western countries that any relaxation of sanctions now against South Africa would constitute a "recipe for increased violence" in the country, PAC secretary for foreign affairs Mr Gora Ibrahim said yesterday.

"Any relaxation of sanctions now will not help propel the struggle in our country but rather it will constitute a recipe for increased violence.

"The Western countries will be responsible for the increased violence caused by the premature relaxation of pressures and sanctions against the apartheid regime," he told a media briefing in

Windhoek.

Ibrahim, who is based in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, attended the Africa Fund meeting in the Namibian capital last week after taking part in the PAC congress in South Africa.

He said the decision by the European Community this week not to prohibit new investments in South Africa was a violation of the United Nations consensus resolution adopted last December, "because the UN consensus resolution categorically states that all forms of pressure against the apartheid regime, particularly sanctions, must remain in place until apartheid is eradicated". - Sapa.

19/12/90
Sapa

Maharaj silent on why he quit ANC

Sowetan 19/12/90

11A

ANC member Mr Mac Maharaj yesterday refused to comment on rumours that he had quit the organisation's leadership and the SA Communist Party in protest against the lack of steps taken to secure his release from jail.

Maharaj, implicated in "Operation Vula", was arrested in July in connec-

tion with this alleged ANC/SACP insurrection plot.

Released on bail in early November, his indemnity from arrest has not been renewed.

Well-placed sources said it was widely believed in ANC circles that Maharaj's decision had been prompted by the failure of the organisation to intervene to secure his release.

The ANC had been surprised by the arrest, as

they had not expected the Government to detain members while the organisation was still negotiating with them and many political prisoners were being released far in advance of the completion of their sentences, the ANC sources said.

The rumours that Maharaj had resigned from the national executive committee started when he failed to appear or apologise for this at the ANC consultative confer-

ence in Johannesburg over the weekend.

He said yesterday he had nothing further to add to the statement made by the national executive committee on the subject.

In an apparent reference to reports that had also resigned from the SA Communist Party, Maharaj, who was reached at the home of Mr Nelson Mandela, also said: "The organisation will comment". - Sapa.

Initiation picnic at...



Tambo goes back to his Benoni roots

11A
Sowetan 19/12/90

By SY MAKARINGE

THE president of the African National Congress, Mr Oliver Tambo, yesterday returned to his hometown of Wattville, Benoni, after an absence of more than 30 years.

Accompanied by his wife Adelaide and other members of his family, Tambo briefly toured the township he last saw 31 years ago when he left the country to establish the then outlawed ANC in exile.

Frail and visibly weak, the 73-year-old ANC president, who walks with

the aid of a stick, told more than 2 000 ANC supporters at a hastily arranged rally at Wattville Stadium that the people would be faced with a challenge of protecting their gains once apartheid had been crushed.

"We must prepare ourselves to take full charge of our lives. In this regard education will play a decisive role," Tambo said.

He called on the people to intensify the struggle on all fronts.

"We can only free

ourselves if we unite in action and act in unity," he said.

After visiting his sister's home in the township, Tambo went to a newly-established squatter camp named after him to cut a ribbon to officially open the camp.

He also visited a site at Dube Street where his house is to be built in the near future.

The house is expected to be completed by June next year when he and his family finally return from abroad to settle permanently in the country.

Inkatha is alarmed at ANC units

THE ANC's stated plans to form self-defence committees in the townships were slammed by the Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday as "no more than a thin disguise for Umkhonto we Sizwe to rebuild its underground terror structures".

The IFP regional leader for the Vulindlela area, Mr David Ntombela, said in a statement that moreover, the African National Congress' self-defence plans for the townships had already been urged by the ANC's Natal-Midlands leaders

three months ago.

Ntombela said this weekend's announcement by the ANC was met by the IFP's Natal members "with considerable alarm".

He claimed that the ANC-Midlands chairman Mr Harry Gwala and the Cosatu branches had first mentioned setting up self-defence units in the Pietermaritzburg area in October. Gwala had allegedly issued a concerted call for ANC supporters in the Midlands area to "pay special attention to this task". - Sapa

Soweto
14/12/90



FW

Government will not capitulate to radicals - De Klerk

(Handwritten scribble)

Sowetan 19/12/70.

Warns

ANC

1109



FW DE KLERK

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk last night warned that the Government would not "capitulate to radical pressure".

By THAMI MAZWAI

He said this in a message to the nation on TV. From his address it was clear that as far as he was concerned the time for the mailed fist had come, and he would not hesitate to use it. In a tough and uncompromising stance, he said: "The time has come for the ANC to decide what they want.

frontation and conflict of the past?" He said his Government would not hesitate to use "all available resources to ensure stability".

He said in addition to measures the Government had taken this year - such as declaring unrest areas, strengthening the police force, using the SADF "where necessary" and the establishment of the R3 billion fund to tackle socio-economic issues - it would shortly announce more measures in regard to both security action and positive initiatives.

"Are they prepared to really follow their leaders' commitment at Groote Schuur and Pretoria to a peaceful and negotiated solutions; or do they want to revert to the con-

In a blunt warning to the PAC, he said slogans such as "one settler one bullet" were unacceptable. This is the first official reaction

by De Klerk to decisions taken at the recent ANC and PAC congresses, and to a renewed campaign of mass-mobilisation by the ANC. He singled out seven areas which he said were unacceptable. These were:

- * The countrywide violence;
- * Intimidation, which he said was irreconcilable with democracy;
- * The incitement of racial hatred through such slogans as "one settler one bullet". He said South Africans should not tolerate those who fanned the fires of racial hatred;
- * Non-payment of services and rents. He said some communities may be faced with the collapse of services;

● To Page 2

P.T.O.

Political change only is futile, says Mbeki

CAT Tints 20/12/90

JOHANNESBURG. — The implementation of political change not underwritten by economic change would be a futile exercise, ANC director of international affairs Mr Thabo Mbeki said last night.

Addressing a group of businessmen attending a National Federation of Transport Organisation dinner party, he said economic change could take place only with the training of blacks and the opening up of equal opportunities for them.

"We are presently talking to Spoornet and the SA Airways to consider restructuring their management schemes in preparation for the transitional phase," he said.

It was the responsibility of all South Africans to try to resolve "our differences without having to lose lots of lives". — Sapa

'Subdued' ANC response to FW

Political Correspondent

11A
CAPT T147 20/2/90
PRESIDENT F W de Klerk's hard-hitting state-of-the-nation address has met with a subdued response from the ANC.

In his televised address Mr De Klerk accused the ANC of fanning the flames of confrontation. He rejected the ANC's mass action strategy as undemocratic and unacceptable and charged that the ANC's demand for a constituent assembly was an attempt to pre-empt the negotiation process.

Mr De Klerk also said the ANC refused to acknowledge that any fundamental changes had taken place in South Africa and suggested there were divisions within the organisation between the leadership and the rank-and-file membership.

An ANC spokesman said yesterday that the organisation had taken note of the points raised by Mr De Klerk.

However, the organisation stood by the decision taken on a number of critical issues at its weekend consultative conference.

Should the government require clarification or more information about the conference resolutions or decision, these would be provided, the ANC spokesman said.

114

Times, Thursday, December 20 1990 5

Top PAC man for Azapo's city congress

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE PAC's vice-president, Mr Dikgang Moseneke, will deliver a message to Azapo's 10th annual congress in Cape Town at the end of the week.

This comes at a time of increasing moves towards unity among anti-apartheid groups and amid growing calls for black political organisations to form a "patriotic front" in confronting the government.

Attempts to forge a common strategy in dealing with the government in relation to proposed negotiations are expected to be a major theme at the Azapo congress.

Azapo, the PAC, the ANC, the New Unity Movement and the Workers Organisation for Socialist Action have demanded that a constituent assembly, elected on a common role, draft a new constitution.

There has been a growing tendency during the past year for these organisations to invite representatives from other parties to attend their congresses as observers.

The Azapo congress will be attended by a large PAC delegation, including its secretary for foreign affairs Ms Patricia de Lille, secretary for information Mr Barney Desai, Western Cape secretary Mr Madoda Myunda and Western Cape vice-chairman Mr Sisa Mhambi.

About 2 000 delegates will attend.

Cap Temp 20/12/1980

Hendrickse expects bid to oust him

11A

Political Correspondent

LABOUR PARTY leader Mr Allan Hendrickse yesterday said he believed a dissident group was planning "to do a Thatcher" on him at the party's 25th annual congress in the city next week.

However, he was confident he would weather any attempt to oust him.

Mr Hendrickse said the dissidents were a small group of "reactionary right-wing types" in the party. If such a challenge was mounted, it would be the first time his leadership was formally opposed at a congress.

He said the congress would largely deal with the LP's political future and a new political dispensation. The LP policy of a geographic federation would come up for thorough scrutiny.

President F W de Klerk will be the keynote speaker when the congress gets formally under way at the Goodwood showgrounds on Friday morning.

FW and Tambo hint at future meeting

Cape Times 20/12/90 Political Staff

A MEETING between President F W de Klerk and ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo seems on the cards — although no arrangements for talks have yet been made.

Both leaders hinted this week that a meeting between them is likely.

Mr Tambo, who returned to South Africa last week, told Agence France Press he might be willing to hold talks with Mr De Klerk.

And the president's office, after being asked about a meeting, told the Cape Times: "The president has not had a request to meet Mr Tambo.

"If such a request does come forth, it will obviously be considered."

As Mr De Klerk went on leave yesterday, a meeting is unlikely to take place in the near future.

Although President De Klerk has had a number of meetings with the ANC's deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela, he has never met Mr Tambo.

Senator slates US grant to ANC

SIMON BARBER

1143

WASHINGTON — The US administration's decision to give the ANC more than a third of the \$10m set aside by Congress to promote negotiations in SA is leading to calls that the so-called "Transition to Democracy Project" be scrapped altogether.

"Neither the SA government nor its opponents need US assistance to negotiate a fully representative, free market political system," Republican Senator Jesse Helms has told the administrator of the US Agency for International Development (AID), Ronald Roskens.

Helms is particularly angered by AID's decision to grant the ANC \$3,73m while giving Inkatha \$1m. *R 10m 20/12/90*

The ANC, he contended, could not get 37% support in its own country "without the use of violence, terror and intimidation".

Under the current proposal, the ANC, Inkatha and the Wits Centre for Policy Studies would, between them, receive about \$4,8m.

● Comment: Page 6

YEAR IN REVIEW/POLITICS



SACP's Joe Slovo



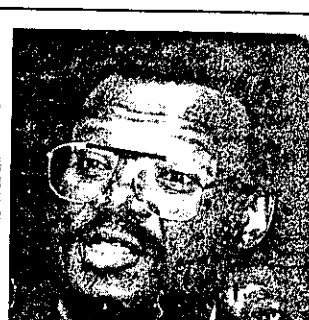
CP's Andries Treurnicht



PAC's Clarence Makwethu



DP's Zach de Beer



Inkatha's Mangosuthu Buthelezi

In the game of politics, the NP is streets ahead

11A

THE NEGOTIATION PROCESS/ BY GAVIN EVANS

wmail 20/12/90 - 10/1/91



Key player ... President FW de Klerk



Key player ... ANC leader Nelson Mandela

Party have slipped into irrelevance. The NP has also shown little sign of putting its decision to open its ranks to all races into practice.

THE ANC

Nelson Mandela's release 10 months ago gave the movement an enormous boost. For a few months it was swept along by the euphoria which this created, before being confronted by a sea of troubles which sometimes threatened to overwhelm it.

It would be unfair to place the bulk of the blame for the Natal and Transvaal violence on the ANC. At least in the Transvaal, in most instances it was ANC-supporting communities which were under attack.

But the ANC response has often not been adequate. The July stayaway and campaign to isolate Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi probably contributed to the decision by anti-ANC forces to unleash the violence in the Transvaal. Certainly the leadership of the ANC, Congress of South African Trade Unions and United Democratic Front underestimated the ability of Inkatha and "Third Force" elements to wreak havoc in its own hunting ground.

It also may have been wiser for the ANC not to have delayed indefinitely a meeting between Nelson Mandela and kwaZulu's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. And the situation was not helped by the differing tones of statements made about Inkatha by various ANC leaders.

Other than its local authorities campaign, few mass action openings were taken. There was little in the way of campaigns around fertile issues such as the return of exiles or the release of political prisoners or the remaining vestiges of apartheid.

Within the "talks about talks" the ANC made few clear gains recently. It has suspended the armed struggle but still has thousands of members in exile, jail or on trial.

Part of the problem has been that the government's working group negotiators are more experienced and better prepared — a situation compounded by the fact that the ANC's team are people newly returned from exile.

Shortly after the ANC was unbanned it predicted it would recruit a million members by the end of the year. Sources within the movement now concede the figure is less than a quarter of this.

And while it has succeeded in attracting thousands of white and Indian members, its support in the white community is negligible and there are signs that its Indian support is falling.

The movement's fledgling bureaucracy has not been efficient, and the speed of changes has meant that internal democracy has often suffered. Members inside and outside the country complain they read about decisions in the newspapers. For those in exile, particularly in military camps, the sense of isolation has been marked and contributed to strong criticism of several in the current leadership.

A related problem has been the difficulty some members have had with decisions taken by the leadership. For many the suspension of the armed struggle was a shock, and when the lifting of sanctions was proposed at the Consultative Conference the delegates balked at the idea — despite evidence presented that sanctions were failing. Compromises on issues such as the ANC's call for a Constituent Assembly could be even tougher to secure.

On the positive side ANC supporters can point to several developments

which augur well for its future. Despite tensions and differences within its ranks the ANC has shown no signs of splitting or splintering.

It has managed to make major changes in policy and strategy — on issues as important as how to win power and the nature of a future South African economy — without losing the bulk of its support.

Following its Consultative Conference there appears to be a more upbeat mood among its members. Delegates seemed hopeful that the problems in internal democracy could be resolved and were satisfied with the determination to resume mass action on a more concerted national scale.

In setting April 30 as the deadline for the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles (failing which it will withdraw from the talks) the ANC may have succeeded in putting the government on the spot for the first time in months.

THE SACP

A major problem facing the South African Communist Party is the key word in its name has been discredited internationally.

The party has yet to come up with clear answers of what socialism, let alone communism, is or might be. Its current membership ranges from hard-line socialists to closet social democrats.

Another challenge has been to define its relationship with the ANC and to move from being a clandestine party to having a mass membership.

In the five months since its public launch the SACP has maintained a high profile, launched six regions, held large rallies, and in the Transvaal and Eastern Cape has begun to set up branches. It has gone some way towards countering the claim that it is a

secret, white and Indian-led group by announcing the names of 106 national and regional leaders of whom 90 are men and 16 women, 74 African, 12 white, 11 coloured and nine Indian.

But already there is a large overlap between the SACP leadership and its "Revolutionary Alliance" partners, the ANC and Cosatu. Difficulties for the party could arise when challenges to the ANC leadership are made from below, or when SACP members want it to take positions not only distinct, but different from those of the ANC.

The pressure on the ANC (from friends and foes at home and abroad) to distinguish itself from the SACP will be another factor prompting more than a tactical separation.

The party experienced a setback with the Operation Vula arrests in July. Though "Vula" was an ANC project, at least three of those on trial are SACP leaders — Mac Maharaj, Billy Nair and Pravin Gordhan.

THE PAC

Despite its initial promise of taking the ground from under the feet of the ANC, 1990 has not been a happy year for the Pan Africanist Congress.

Within the country it has claimed baroque membership figures, on flimsy evidence. Though it has built structures in most major centres, in several areas it seems to have little presence.

Its rallies have failed to attract large numbers — even the funeral of PAC president Zeph Mothopeng drew a crowd of only 3 000 — and it has shown virtually nothing in the way of mass action against the state.

Its leaders have spoken of armed struggle as the "principal form of struggle" but there is scant evidence of the Azanian People's Liberation Army doing much in this respect. It has not been helped by the tendency of its members to use overtly racist rhetoric. For many PAC members there is no pretence that they are other than anti-white.

Outside the country the predicament is even more severe. The PAC is desperate for funding and is losing the support of one of its key frontline backers, Zimbabwe. The arrest of the PAC's Zimbabwe deputy chief on charges of using his host country as a launching pad for Mandrax sales hasn't helped.

In terms of policy its stress on worker shareholder schemes has attracted kudos from elements in business, and its strong stand on the return of the land to the people may yet win it support in the rural areas.

Though there are significant divisions within the PAC, what emerged from its congress was a strong stand against negotiations. What is not clear is where it can go from here or how it intends to put its rhetoric into effect.

INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY

In the course of 1990 Inkatha announced it was becoming a non-racial political party.

But its image — internationally and locally — took a dip with revelations about its role in the ongoing war with the ANC which extends from Natal to the Transvaal. Certainly few now take its claim to non-violence seriously and Buthelezi's image as a black liberal is a thing of the past.

And while it attracted a handful of white members, it has remained essentially a party of Zulu nationalism.

But while the violence might have hurt it in many ways, it may also have helped to consolidate its support

TO PAGE

P.T.O

ANC cleric accuses CCB of parcel bomb attack

By ANDREW MELDRUM *Wimail 20/12/90-10/11/91*
ANGLICAN priest and African National Congress member Father Michael Lapsley accused South African President FW De Klerk of responsibility for the parcel bomb which nearly killed the militant cleric in Harare this year.

Both Lapsley's hands were blown off and one eye destroyed by the April 28 blast which came in a book mailed to him from South Africa, according to evidence held by the Zimbabwe police.

Speaking publicly for the first time since the explosion, Lapsley addressed a protest demonstration in front of the South African Trade Mission in downtown Harare on Monday.

"It was the South African govern-

ment through its sinister Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB) which mailed that bomb to me," charged Lapsley, shaking the metal hooks that now serve as his hands.

"The bomb was not supposed to injure me, but to kill me. (11A)

"Ultimately De Klerk holds responsibility for those covert death squads. Pretoria still maintains a Department of Death, a department to kill the opponents of apartheid inside and outside South Africa."

Lapsley (43) urged the international community to maintain pressure on the South African government through sanctions.

"The international community is making a mistake if it thinks apartheid is gone just because Nelson Mandela has been freed and the ANC and the

South African Communist Party are now legal," he said.

Many in Harare believe that it was Lapsley's effective campaigning for sanctions in Canada, Australia and his home country of New Zealand, that caused him to be marked for assassination. (26) (11A)

Surveying the crowd of some 300 ANC exiles and a few hundred Zimbabweans holding anti-apartheid banners, Lapsley said: "I am surprised to see so many of my South African sisters and brothers still here. I thought you would have been in South Africa by now."

As a result of his injuries Lapsley went to Australia for several months for reconstructive surgery and therapy before returning to Harare last week.

ARLUS

20/12/90

11A

Azapo faces three main issues at its congress

THIS month has been a busy month for black political organisations in South Africa. Early in the month saw the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) holding national congresses in Ulundi and Johannesburg respectively.

POLITICS

Azanian People's Organisation must deal with several important issues when it holds its congress starting tomorrow. KAIZER NYATSUMBA, The Argus Correspondent in Johannesburg looks at some of the issues facing the organisation.

The PAC's congress, the organisation's first in the country in three decades, attracted more attention especially because one of the main issues on its agenda was the government's invitation to the PAC to hold exploratory talks.

Neutral venue

The PAC rejected the government's invitation, saying negotiations had to be preceded by a democratically elected constituent assembly. However, the organisation said it was prepared to talk to the government in "a neutral venue" about the modalities of a constituent assembly.

At its first consultative conference to be held in the country in 30 years, the African National Congress reaffirmed its commitment to the negotiation process and called for the maintenance of sanctions against South Africa.

The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), which has welcomed the demands for a constituent assembly from the PAC and the ANC, will hold its national congress in Cape Town this weekend. This will be Azapo's second congress in less than a year.

Three issues

Azapo, which received a "talks invitation" from the government after the PAC got theirs, was the first to reject the invitation, taking a position similar to that taken by the PAC.

Unlike the PAC, Azapo did not say it was prepared to enter into talks about the modalities of a constituent assembly.

There are at least three main issues to be discussed at Azapo's congress this week, according to the organisation's Transvaal vice-president, Dr Gomolemo Mokae.

These are: a linkage of the demand for a constituent assembly with a call for "free and unhindered political activity"; Azapo's recognition as a liberation movement by the Organisation of African Unity and the United Nations — which at present recognise only the ANC and the PAC; and the "consolidation" of the organisation's leadership and membership.

In an interview, Dr Mokae said Azapo was the first to call

for a constituent assembly, when other organisations were calling for a national convention. Azapo welcomed the fact that the PAC and the ANC had now joined the call for a constituent assembly, and believed the government would soon give in to the demand.

However, at its congress this weekend Azapo will link the call for a constituent assembly with a call for unhindered political activity. This, Dr Mokae said, was in the light of the recent violence he alleged was perpetrated by the government and the ANC.

Resigned

Dr Mokae confirmed rumours that Azapo president Professor Itumeleng Mosala had resigned his lecturing post at the University of Cape Town to take up a job he had been offered abroad. However, Professor Mosala has made himself available for the presidency; but so also have Nkosi Molala, Lybon Mabasa and others.

Although Dr Mokae refused to say if he was himself available, he is believed to be one of the favourites. His position as Transvaal vice-president is an added advantage, and in the past two months he has been granting interviews and giving statements on behalf of the organisation.

Dr Mokae said the congress, like all other major functions of Azapo in the past, would also be attended by members of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA). Azapo would not "publicly flaunt" these people, nor would it apply for them to be granted limited indemnity.

Violence

"We in Azapo believe the people who need indemnity are not from the oppressed class. They are from the ruling class and have been responsible for all kinds of violence for many years," he said.

Azapo, which prides itself in having been the first to call for a united front of the oppressed, is expected to once again express itself in favour of such a front. The PAC and the ANC have also endorsed the call for a constituent assembly.

Grim ordeal—but ANC emerges stronger

w/mal

20/12/90 - 10/1/91

(11A)

ANC CONFERENCE
BY PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

THE African National Congress' national executive committee members emerged from their consultative conference on Sunday looking like they had just had their wisdom teeth removed. It had been a grim ordeal, but nevertheless a worthwhile and necessary experience. The organisation had emerged strengthened for the challenging new year ahead.

The main value of the conference was that it permitted an airing of the grievances that ANC supporters have expressed with mounting frustration over the past year. The organisation came out with much the same policies and the same leadership, but NEC members have a compelling reason for listening to what was said: they face re-election in six months. The drawback is that this might re-

strain them in attempts to formulate the kind of strategic vision necessary to counteract the government. And, curiously, though the rank and file would have to become more democratic, the ANC emerged from this conference more dependent than ever on the skills of deputy president Nelson Mandela to keep the show on the road.

Still, the ANC surprised its critics, some of whom have attempted to relegate it to the status of a basket case political organisation. The searching self-examination that took place last weekend was a major advance for the movement, and it was balanced

by strong and frank leadership from Mandela, who ended the conference in top form, and firmly in charge of proceedings.

The leadership was exposed to the full blast of the militancy of the rank and file. The violence in the townships and the perceived intransigence and petty obfuscation of the government heated up the debate tremendously. There was also genuine anger at the leadership for not consulting, particularly over the suspension of armed struggle.

In his closing address, Mandela gave a lawyer-like summary of the arguments at the conference. The delegates had expressed serious reservations about the way the ANC had handled issues such as negotia-



ANC president Oliver Tambo returns just in time to open the ANC conference
Photo: JUSTIN SHOLK

●To PAGE 8

P.T.O.

Genial FW sets the tone for a clash with ANC

The state president's festive season message was gilt-wrapped — but it contained a strong warning. **JO-ANNE COLLINGE** reports

DESPITE the Christmas wrapping, President FW de Klerk's festive season message was one of no compromise and pointed to a head-on clash with the African National Congress in the not-too-distant future.

In genial tones, the National Party leader made it clear to his large television audience this week that the "purpose of proposed negotiations is to determine how, in the interests of all South Africans, power should be shared and domination avoided".

De Klerk firmly put the ANC's recent reaffirmation that it was striving to secure the transfer of power to the majority beyond the rules of the NP's negotiating game.

The president's speech reinforced the impression created by the ANC's recent consultative conference that 1990 — despite being a year of incredible change — had not fulfilled its early promise. And at a fundamental level, "the more things change, the more they remain the same".

From his bag of observations, De Klerk produced two promises for 1991:

- Intensified police activities to prevent "crime, disorder, unrest and intimidation".
- The stabilisation of local government so that basic services can again be supplied to these areas.

The latter raises speculation whether some form of interim local government — attempting to involve popular organisations and bridge the divide between township and white town — is in the pipeline.

Devoting perhaps a quarter of his speech to a critique of the ANC gathering — which made the continuation of talks conditional upon the government's removal of obstacles to negotiations by April 30 and the continued suspension of the armed struggle conditional upon the state's putting an end to political bloodshed — De Klerk expressed the view that the ANC "continued to advocate outmoded revolutionary doctrines".

Playing on the fact that the ANC's renewed militancy emanated from the rank and file rather than the national leadership, the president asserted: "The time has come for the ANC to decide what they want. Are they prepared to really follow their leaders' commitments at Groote Schuur and Pretoria to peaceful and negotiated solutions, or do they want to revert to the confrontation and conflict of the past?"

The prospects of heightened friction over mass action were confirmed by the president's attitude. In the face of the ANC's assertion at the weekend that 1991 would be a year of mass action for the transfer of power, De Klerk made it clear that the "normalisation" of political activity notwithstanding, he saw



No compromise ... President FW de Klerk

mass action as essentially linked to the disruption of society and the breeding of conflict.

"The maintenance of law and order is not negotiable," he warned.

In a bid to position himself in the "reasonable" middle-ground, De Klerk took a swipe at the political violence which has crippled the Reef in the latter part of the year, empathising with those touched by the "state of fear and terror (which) has descended on many of our black townships".

Assiduously avoiding identifying the initiators of this bloodshed, De Klerk nevertheless promised an "intensifica-

tion and extension of impartial policing activities aimed at restoring stability in the affected areas" in the new year.

Inkatha escaped the president's critical eye despite its well-documented role in escalating violence, and the main velvet-toned tongue-lashing was reserved for the ANC, the Pan-Africanist Congress and the ultra rightwing were rapped over the knuckles.

Said De Klerk: "The incitement of racial hatred is unacceptable. Slogans such as 'one settler, one bullet' and slogans urging violence against black South Africans are absolutely unacceptable."



No plan for De Klerk-Tambo talks

There appear to be no plans for a meeting between President de Klerk and ANC president Oliver Tambo. *Handwritten: 20/12/90*

Mr Tambo has been reported as saying he might be willing to have talks with Mr de Klerk.

He told a French news agency this week that such a meeting would be arranged by ANC

deputy president Nelson Mandela.

(11A)
The State President's Office said yesterday the suggestion had not yet been made.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said she was not aware of any specific plans for a meeting. —
Political Reporter.

'Keep violence out of politics'

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff

The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) will link its demand for a constituent assembly with a call for "free and unhindered political activity", says Azapo Transvaal vice-president Dr Gomolemo Mokae.

In an interview with The Star, Dr Mokae disclosed that Azapo would make the demands at its national congress in Cape Town this weekend. Only once these demands had been met would Azapo enter into negotiations, he said.

Azapo recently rejected an invitation from the Government to enter into exploratory talks with a view to paving the way for real negotiations, saying it would only negotiate within a democratically elected constituent assembly.

Now that other organisations, notably the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), had joined the call for a constituent

assembly, Azapo found it necessary insist on freedom of political activity, said Dr Mokae. This was specially necessary in view of the recent violence.

He said if this linkage were not made, the National Party and the ANC "with its history of violence and political intolerance", could end up being rewarded with "bloody votes".

Dr Mokae denied Azapo was moving the goalposts. He said a constituent assembly could take place only in a climate free from intimidation and violence.

The congress, the second to be held by the organisation this year, will start on Friday.

The second deputy president of the PAC, advocate Dikgang Mosenke, will personally deliver a message to Azapo's 10th annual congress on Saturday.

The PAC delegation to the congress will include internal foreign affairs secretary Patricia de Lille, Mr de Sai, western Cape secretary Madoda Mvundla and western cape vice-chairman Sisa Mhambi.

● Three issues facing Azapo

- Page 22

Star 20/12/90

Several times in his denial has got it wrong (some- 1986. □ solving the Palestinian issue, and the independent news service. □

Azapo must deal with three important issues

Star 20/12/90. 11A

DECEMBER 1990 has been a very busy month for black political organisations in South Africa.

The first weekend of the month saw the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) holding national congresses in Ulundi and Johannesburg respectively.

The PAC's congress, the organisation's first in the country in three decades, attracted more attention especially because one of the main issues on its agenda was the Government's invitation to the PAC to hold exploratory talks.

The PAC rejected the Government's invitation, saying negotiations had to be preceded by a democratically elected constituent assembly. However, the or-

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Groups slam De Klerk over speech

settler 20/12/90

11A

THE ANC and PAC yesterday re-affirmed their commitment to a constituent assembly despite strong criticism from State President FW de Klerk.

On the other hand, the Azanian Peoples Organisation dared De Klerk to use the mailed fist and repeated its call to all other liberation groups to get together to act against the Government.

The ANC's deputy head of information, Mr Ahmed Kathrada, said De Klerk's address to the nation on television on Tuesday night contained nothing new.

"The only significant thing about his speech is what he did not say. He said nothing about all exiles returning, when

political prisoners will be freed and when security legislation will be repealed," Kathrada said.

PAC spokesman Mr Barney Desai said his organisation still wanted a constituent assembly.

"Our policy is a peaceful one. All we want is a constituent assembly. Why don't they give us what we want instead of telling us it's impossible."

He hit out at De Klerk's criticism of the PAC slogan "One settler, one bullet", saying it was "nothing but hysteria".

"He is reacting to a guilt complex caused by their oppression of blacks. Our young people have grown up in a culture of violence so what else

does the Government expect from them? Instead of telling us what they are going to do, they must do it now," said Desai.

Azapo's publicity secretary, Mr Strini Moodley, said: "The time has come for the broad liberation movement to get together behind closed doors without the interference of De Klerk's lackeys so that we can plan a joint strategy to call his bluff."

The Federal Independent Democratic Alliance "noted with satisfaction" what it said was De Klerk's acknowledgement of the role other political groups had to play in the negotiation process.

The group praised De Klerk's statement on the curbing of violence.

Matter of fact ^(11A) *Sowetan 20/12/90*

THE Azanian Peoples Organisation has objected to a report which appeared in Tuesday's *Sowetan* under the headline: "Azapo's stance on Govt talks".

The report stated that Azapo was expected, after its national congress in Cape Town this weekend, to join the Pan Africanist Congress in declining to enter into negotiations with the Government.

The organisation has since brought it to our attention that the decision not to take part in negotiations was taken in March and endorsed at its national council meeting in September this year. The error is regretted.

PAC call for end to rising violence

CAC Trip 24/12/90
Political Staff 11A

THE liberation groups should put their heads together about the escalating violence and jointly find a solution, the president of the Pan Africanist Congress, Mr Clarence Makwetu, said yesterday.

He also called, in his Christmas message, for an intensification of sanctions on all fronts.

Mr Makwetu said 1990 was the year about talks for talks, the release of a few political prisoners and the return of a tiny group of exiles, but it was no use crying over what had happened — instead one should plan for 1991.

"The misguided slogan 'liberation before education' should be a slogan of the past," he said.

"Our education is in a crisis now. We should not only be thinking of doing away with Bantu Education but also of making those schools that claim to be open to be really open."

Mr Makwetu said the PAC trusted that the Azanian masses would turn 1991 into a happy new year "by destroying white domination and creating peace through justice".

CHL-TRICKS 21/12/90 (11A)

Azapo stays firm on negotiations

THE Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) would not budge from its refusal to take part in negotiations when its 10th national conference met in Cape Town this weekend, Azapo publicity secretary Mr Strini Moodley said yesterday.

"We are not going to waste our time negotiating," he told a press briefing.

Key issues facing the conference included strategies for stopping and discouraging violence in the black community and ways of preventing a "neo-colonial sell-out solution".

Mr Moodley said Azapo's opposition to talks with the National Party government had been endorsed at its March conference after consultation with the exiled Black Consciousness Movement of Azania.

Mr Moodley dismissed the decision of two Durban members to withdraw from Azapo and establish the Revolutionary People's Movement as "a bid to make mischief by little boys who are insignificant".

Mr Ambalavaner Sivanandan, director of the British Institute of Race Relations, will deliver the keynote address at the conference tomorrow.

The two-day conference takes place in the St Francis Centre, Langa, and starts at 10am today with Azapo president Professor Jerry Mosala's "state of the nation" address. It is open to the public. — Sapa

PAC message: it is time for education

TIM COHEN

THE misguided slogan "liberation before education" should be a slogan of the past, PAC president Clarence Makwetu said in his New Year message yesterday.

Education was in state of crisis, he said. "We should not only be thinking of doing away with Bantu education but also of making those schools that claim to be open to be really open." 510a-1 211290

He said 1990 was marked by talks about talks, the release of a few political prisoners, and the return of a tiny group of exiles.

Violence had been escalating in alarming proportions. While the PAC could not specify a solution, if liberation movements worked together, he was confident an answer would be found.

The PAC had called for a united front.

"We urge all those who have a contradiction with white domination, irrespective of political persuasion, to come together to devise means whereby racism in our country can be brought to an end."

The PAC was appealing for an intensification of sanctions, he said.

Argus
21/12/90
11A

Top Azapo men resign

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — High-ranking members of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) here have resigned to form the Revolutionary People's Movement.

In a statement issued on the eve of Azapo's 10th national congress, the chairman of Azapo in Durban, Mr Imrann Moosa and secretary Mr Monwabisi Vuza, said they were disillusioned with Azapo's position on negotiations because it was no different from those of the ANC and the PAC.

Mr Moosa and Mr Vuza dismissed the proposed constituent assembly as "a sham through which a new oppressive ruling class would emerge".

Bop expels doctor and ANC man

B10 am 21/12/90
A MEDICAL doctor and an ANC member are to be expelled from Bophuthatswana for activities "not conducive to the public interest" of the homeland.

Dr D A Green and ANC Mmabatho branch secretary Paul Daphne, who is an academic at the University of Bophuthatswana, have been served with warrants for their removal from the homeland by January 1 1991.

The ANC yesterday condemned the planned expulsion of its secretary and demanded the immediate withdrawal of the deportation order.

In a statement, a spokesman for the Bophuthatswana Ministry of Internal Affairs said both men had been operating on work and residence permits issued to them in terms of the Aliens and Travellers Control Act. On review, these permits had not been renewed.

In its statement, the ANC said Daphne had refused to sign the order.

It called for an end to "Mangope's systematic war against peaceful, democratic political activity" and said Daphne and his wife had both previously been detained without charge in Bophuthatswana.

Bophuthatswana's Department of Internal Affairs was unavailable for further comment. Green and Daphne could not be reached. — Sapa.

Public violence: 'offenders freed'

B10 am 21/12/90

11A

TIM COHEN

GOVERNMENT is releasing political prisoners who fall into the disputed public violence category, a move that is likely to affect a large number of prisoners, says ANC official Penuel Maduna.

Maduna is a member of the joint group working on the issue of political prisoners' release.

In an interview yesterday he said although there was still disagreement about the definition of some political offences, the ANC had the impression that people convicted of throwing stones or committing arson in unrest circumstances were being considered political prisoners.

However, Maduna stressed government still regarded as important the exact context in which a particular act of public violence was committed.

Criticised

Maduna said government had accepted a definition of political offences which covered these cases.

The ANC was expecting the release of more than 50 political prisoners by the end of the year, but criticised government for "not having the necessary will" to speed up the process, he said.

The ANC estimated that less than 100 out of 3 500 political prisoners had been released.

Maduna said the ANC had "flooded"

prisons with indemnity application forms and was beginning to get feedback from prisoners.

He denied reports that prisoners were hesitant to sign the forms, saying the response had been good and that prisoners wanted to come out to play a constructive role in the political process.

He guessed government was hesitant to release prisoners because of its "wrong perceptions."

"People in government think that if they release the commanders of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and allow thousands of militarily-trained people from outside to come back into the country, the situation will get out of hand.

"Once they disabuse their minds of this wrong perception that all hell will break loose once these people are out and once the exiles are back, things will move even faster."

He said the ANC felt it was not necessary for prisoners to be placed in a particular legal category.

"The government comes out with categories exactly because of its wrong perceptions."

Attempts to obtain comment from the Justice Department this week on political prisoners' release were unsuccessful.

Vlok rejects newspaper allegations

PRETORIA — Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok yesterday rejected newspaper allegations that police had abandoned two wounded men in the face of an alleged Zulu impi attack in Thokoza earlier this month. *B10 am 21/12/90*

The allegations, run in the Weekly Mail last Friday, were based on video footage taken in the township.

Weekly Mail co-editor Anton Harber said his newspaper had evidence that the two men were still alive when the police left. He asked why police had not bothered to contact independent witnesses during the past week.

A second area of contention centred on scenes of impi passing two stationary police vehicles. When the impi retreated

OWN

TO LINK

Buthelezi calls on whites to back FW

WILSON ZWANE

INKATHA Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday urged white South Africans to support President F W de Klerk to ensure the success of the negotiation process.

In a year-end message to whites, Buthelezi said it was the strength of the whites' commitment to negotiations that would prescribe "the speed with which we can begin notching up successes in practical applications of that which is negotiated at local, regional and national levels."

"And the more powerfully they back De Klerk, the more powerfully blacks will seek alliances with them to establish a SA in which we are glad to be with each other as blacks and whites."

He added that he and "many other black leaders" would be working next year to eliminate political violence.

They would be working towards a stabilised and normalised SA in which whites could make their mark as a "party to the salvation" of the country.

PAC message: it is time for education

TIM COHEN

THE misguided slogan "liberation before education" should be a slogan of the past, PAC president Clarence Makwetu said in his New Year message yesterday.

Education was in state of crisis, he said. "We should not only be thinking of doing away with Bantu education but also of making those schools that claim to be open to be really open."

He said 1990 was marked by talks about talks, the release of a few political prisoners, and the return of a tiny group of exiles.

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The PAC was appealing for an intensification of sanctions, he said.

Brokers sent scurrying as short circuit triggers blast

B10am 21/12/90 TIM COHEN

A BRIGHT flash followed by billowing smoke yesterday sent brokers scurrying for cover at the JSE annexe across the road from the main JSE building, prompting one wag to say the event took some of the sparkle off the gilts market.

The JSE had to be evacuated shortly after lunch following the electrical malfunction. Security officials feared the gas resulting from the blast might have been poisonous.

But the interruption only lasted about 30 minutes, after which the brokers drifted in.

JSE president Tony Norton said trading was not affected for long although power in the building had to be turned off for a short time.

Only the computers on the gilts floor had been affected for any length of time before the JSE's back-up power sources came into operation.

He said trading on the floor had been slow anyway, and rejected the suggestion that the power malfunction resulted from an attempt to inject some energy into the floor.

He also rejected the idea that the malfunction was the result of brokers attempting to make an early getaway before the Christmas holidays, saying the blast was "definitely unrehearsed".

"This is really irritating" he said, commenting on the fact that the JSE had just moved into the building on August 10.

He said the large box where the malfunction occurred, just outside the lift on the first floor, was burnt out from what had clearly been a short circuit.

Azapo labelled a sellout by breakaway branch

B10am 21/12/90

THE Durban branch of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) has withdrawn from the organisation and established the Revolutionary People's Movement (RPM), saying it had been apparent for some time that Azapo was "hanging onto the coat tails of the ANC".

Azapo's Durban chairman Imrann Moosa and secretary Monwabisi Vuza yesterday accused the organisation of being in no different a position from the ANC and PAC regarding a negotiated settlement.

A constituent assembly would be "a sham through which a new multicoloured, exploitative, oppressive ruling class would emerge", they said.

By late last night there had been no comment from Azapo on the breakaway.

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Azapo had formally adopted a position towards a meeting between liberation movements, involving the ANC, PAC and others, to move towards a consultative conference. — Sapa.

Azapo labelled a sellout by breakaway branch ^(11A)

8 Jan 21 12 190
THE Durban branch of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) has withdrawn from the organisation and established the Revolutionary People's Movement (RPM), saying it had been apparent for some time that Azapo was "hanging onto the coat tails of the ANC".

Azapo's Durban chairman Imrann Moosa and secretary Monwabisi Vuza yesterday accused the organisation of being in no different a position from the ANC and PAC regarding a negotiated settlement.

A constituent assembly would be "a sham through which a new multicoloured, exploitative, oppressive ruling class would emerge", they said.

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Police blow up Mandelas' gifts

THREE Christmas presents in a parcel sent to ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and his wife Winnie were blown up by police outside the ANC's national head office in central Johannesburg last night.

ANC security officials alerted police at 5.25pm that the suspicious-looking parcel wrapped in M-Net Christmas paper had been put through their X-ray screening machine. *6:00am 21/12/70*

The operator noticed what appeared to be wires in two of the gifts inside the parcel, a policeman on the scene said.

Police explosives experts arrived at the scene at 5.50pm and searched the Munich Reinsurance building which houses the ANC head office. Traffic officers cordoned off roads around the city block before the bomb squad blasted open the parcel with a small detonating device in the middle of

LINDEN BIRNS and
WILSON ZWANE

Sauer Street. *11A*

The parcel was found to have contained two desk lamps with M-Net inscriptions and a book entitled *The Holistic Smuts - A Study in Personality*.

Patrons at the Hotel Elizabeth, next door to the Munich Reinsurance building, were only slightly distracted from their sundowners, and gathered at the hotel entrance, drinks in hand, to take in the action.

It was unclear last night who had sent the gifts to the Mandelas. M-Net spokesman John Badenhorst denied that the TV station had sent lamps or books to anyone, including the Mandelas.

"Whoever sent those parcels to the Mandelas was not from M-Net," he said.

Unity is eluding liberation groups

11A
Sowetan
21/12/90

THE African National Congress calls it the "patriotic front", the PAC says it is the "principled united front" and Azapo dubs it the "consultative conference."

Whatever one chooses to call it is immaterial. What is important, however, is that at last there is a unanimous consensus among the country's three major liberation movements that unity is the best weapon for achieving political freedom.

They may not agree on the name, but they definitely agree, like never before, that a common strategy, with which to confront the Government, needs to be formulated in order to achieve what they had been fighting for all these years.

While they seem to have accepted the fact that none of them can claim to be the sole custodians of the struggle for liberation, they appear to be admitting that the time for political one-upmanship and intolerance, mudslinging and vilification must be a thing of the past if genuine democracy, peace and stability are to prevail in this country.

Afrikaner

Although one would not like to use the Afrikaner unity as a yardstick because it was based on racism, one cannot ignore the fact that the National Party achieved power through unity, drawn from the old Dutch slogan, *Een Dracht Maak Macht* (Unity is Strength).

When State President F W de Klerk unbanned the organisations on February 2, everyone was caught off balance. Many people thought De Klerk was committing political suicide.

But, as it later turned out, De Klerk had another ace up his sleeve.

He had, it now seems, capitalised on the disunity that was prevailing at the time.

His watershed announcement did more harm to black unity than ever before. Some organisations cried foul to the Government's in-

FOCUS

By SY MAKARINGE

tentions, but this was immediately dismissed by others as just rhetorical hogwash. The ANC, for example, was criticised for entering into "talks about talks" with the Government.

Political intolerance became the order of the day as the liberation movements tried to upstage one another by hanging their dirty linen in public.

There is no doubt that political intolerance, which stemmed from lack of unity, was a major contributory factor in the carnage that claimed thousands of innocent lives in recent months.

There were no winners, only losers.

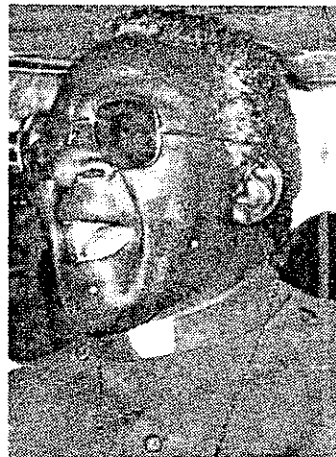
The savage way in which blacks butchered one another made everyone sit down and take stock of themselves.

Sanity prevailed when the liberation movements, despite their political differences, found their feet.

The initiative of a united forum was first mooted by Azapo when, concerned about the unnecessary bloodletting that was going on, the organisation invited the ANC and other movements to an emergency meeting at Funda Centre in September.

Political intolerance was at its peak at the time and the initiative hit snags when certain organisations refused to take part. Some said they would participate provided certain organisations also attended. Others said they would take part only if a certain organisation was not allowed to attend.

The meeting did take place but failed to bear any fruits as major players in the political arena did not even care to take part. Others made half-hearted efforts while



Tutu . . . took up the trend.

some gave flimsy excuses for not attending.

Undeterred by this, Azapo continued to press for a "consultative conference" of all organisations which fall under the ambit of liberation movements.

But the call for such a conference was a lone voice in the wilderness until the issue was taken up by the Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, the Right Reverend Bishop Desmond Tutu, when he called all black leaders to his Bishops Court residence in Cape Town.

Problem

The call for unity was soon echoed by the PAC, at least publicly, just before its national congress about two weeks ago. At its consultative congress at the weekend, the ANC also agreed on what it called the "patriotic front".

Although all three movements agree to this in principle, the big problem facing them is how to approach it. The problem is compounded by the fact that one of the players, the PAC, has set pre-conditions for such a front, saying it must be based on certain principles, including:

- * Encouragement of all forms of struggle, including the armed struggle.

- * Non-collaboration with Government-created structures.

* The acceptance of a democratic solution via a constituent assembly.

Another burning question is whether Inkatha Freedom Party, homeland leaders and 'so-called cultural movements such as Imbokodzo and Inyandza should be part of this unity.

There is argument in some quarters that Inkatha is a political party and therefore does not fall under the ambit of liberation movement. Others, however, argue that Inkatha should not be left out as it was an issue in the current violence.

As for homeland leaders and their structures, there is a strong feeling that they should not be part of this deal as they "committed crimes against humanity" by perpetuating the racist policies of apartheid.

As it emerged from its consultative conference, certain members of the ANC are dissatisfied with the way the leadership was luring homeland leaders into its fold.

The three major liberation movements already agree on certain aspects towards the attainment of freedom. These include the convening of a constituent assembly, which the Government firmly rejects.

The PAC and Azapo have declined to be part of a negotiating process while the ANC is considering pulling out of the talks if certain conditions are not met by April 30 next year.

The three also agree on the intensification of the struggle on all fronts, while the ANC says it may consider resuming the armed struggle if the Government did not remove the remaining conditions conducive to negotiations proper.

It is highly unlikely that such a front can be realised overnight. But if unity is to be achieved, the organisations should concentrate on issues which bring them together than on those they have differences. They can maintain their independence, but speak in one voice when the opportunity arises.

ANC role on SA culture is attacked

THE ANC's department of art and culture was "causing a great deal of concern and confusion" on the cultural front, the director of the South African National Gallery, Miss Marilyn Martin, said on Wednesday.

Speaking at a cultural convention in Cape Town that was hosted by World Vision and Pen International, she said the ANC's cultural boycott had "profoundly affected the scope and quality of the productions and exhibitions offered in South Africa".

"The national culture towards which this country is striving, and which contains the very process of nation-building and of national unity, will be poor and desperately lacking in substance if we have to fall back on our own undernourished and depleted resources alone."

Education

"And yet we should have enough faith in our own cultural production and potentialities to welcome outside influences," Martin said.

South Africans had

been deprived by an education system that did not provide adequate access to either Western or African cultural influences.

In addition, the efforts of the masses to express themselves culturally had been negated or actively opposed.

"We must remember the wealth of culture which we have lost, which has been destroyed and banned and we must prepare ourselves for the cultural enrichment which the returning exiles are bringing," she said. - Sapa.

R180 000 gold bar arrest

A CARLETONVILLE miner was arrested on the road between the town and Johannesburg on

Wednesday after police found a R180 000 gold bar strapped to his waist.

Captain Braam Wiid, of the Gold Unit in Randfontein, said the man was

He is a miner at Western Deep Levels Gold Mine.

Wiid said it was unusual to catch someone stealing a gold bar although miners were

Azapo meets in Cape Town

The Azanian People's Organisation would not budge from its refusal to take part in negotiations when it meets in Cape Town tomorrow, said Azapo publicity secretary Mr Strini Moodley.

Key issues facing the conference included strategies for stopping and discouraging violence in the black community and ways of preventing a "neo-colonial sell-out solution".

An "aggressive programme of political action for 1991 for members of Azapo to engage in at

grassroots level" would also have to be decided on, said Moodley.

The programme was meant to overcome the "paralysis and depoliticisation which the negotiations euphoria has produced".

Moodley said Azapo's opposition to talks with the National Party government had been endorsed at its March conference after consultation with the exiled Black Consciousness Movement of Azania.

Azapo vice-president Mr Peter Jones said the

organisation remained committed to a consultative conference between liberation organisations which would decide on future strategy. (11A)

Mr Ambatavaner Sivanandan, director of the British Institute of Race Relations, will deliver the keynote address at the conference on Saturday morning.

Moodley said Mr Sivanandan's writings had a "resonance among those who fight racism", including organisations like Azapo and proponents of black con-

sciousness.

Sivanandan, a Sri Lankan who has worked in the United Kingdom for the past 25 years, said he saw racial oppression as complementing class exploitation.

He asked the press not to refer to his doctoral title, as this was how "rightwingers" in Britain referred to him.

The two-day conference takes place in the St Francis Centre, Langa, and starts at 10am with Azapo president Prof Jerry Mosala's "state of the nation" address.

Two top Azapo officials resign

Sowetan 21/12/90
TWO high-ranking members of the Azanian People's Organisation in Durban have resigned from the organisation to form a new group, the Revolutionary People's Movement.

In a statement issued on the eve of Azapo's 10th national congress, the chairman of Azapo in Durban, Mr Imram Moosa, and secretary Mr Monwabisi Vuza, said

they were disillusioned with the organisation's position on negotiations.

They said Azapo's position was not different from those of the ANC and the PAC.

Contacted in Cape Town for comment yesterday, Azapo publicity secretary Mr Strini Moodley dismissed the RPM's allegations as "rubbish".

He said Azapo was busy with preparations for

its congress starting in Cape Town today and would respond to the allegations and the split after the congress.

Azapo and the PAC have rejected the Government's invitation for talks and the ANC is already involved in talks.

Moosa and Vuza dismissed a constituent assembly as "a sham through which a new multi-coloured, exploitative, oppressive ruling class would emerge".

They said that since about 1983 Azapo could hardly call itself a Black Consciousness organisation because "at the heart of BC lies action with and among the masses, and there was little evidence of this in Azapo's operations".

It had been apparent for some time that Azapo was "hanging on to the coat-tails of the ANC". - *Sowetan Correspondent.*

Sobukwe Forum meets Inkatha

NATIONAL unity and the escalation of violence were discussed yesterday at a meeting between the Inkatha Action Group for Democracy and the Sobukwe Forum, a group of Pan Africanist Congress dissidents.

In a statement from Ulundi, Inkatha president and KwaZulu chief minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi said agreement was

reached on the direction for a new South Africa.

The meeting also agreed that it is time to end "the traditional division between African nationalism and Afrikaner nationalism".

The statement said this would benefit the whole African continent.

The leader of the Sobukwe Forum, Prof Makhaola Bolofo, said

the forum was not a separate organisation but was instead a pressure group within the PAC.

He said the banning of the PAC had led to a "loss of constitutional direction".

Prof Bolofo called on the PAC to allow the national executive committee, elected in April 1959, to resume its functions. - Sapa.

Sobukwe Forum 21/12/90

11/17



Face the nation

The anti-apartheid struggle's US link

New Nation 21/12/90 - 3/1/90

11A

If one came across Lindiwe Mabuza in the streets of Newcastle, Natal where she was born, one would hardly imagine that she has cost apartheid a fortune.

She represents the ANC in the United States (US) and her job has been to preach the isolation of the apartheid regime.

But the work does not end there. It involves building an effective Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) and being able to provide all the answers to those who want to know about South Africa.

Mabuza explains that she does not feel unworthy of her job because she is an African woman.

She left the country in 1964 to further her studies in the US after completing a Bachelor of Arts degree at Roma University in Lesotho. She also taught for a while in Swaziland.

In the US, she studied for a Master's Degree in literature. She recalls that, because of racism, she was unable to go on to doctoral studies. A university professor told her that the university's literature department had never admitted an African.

Because of this, she said, she then registered for American Studies in order to concentrate on American literature so that she could be admitted to do a doctorate.

This gave her an understanding of American society and the lives of black Americans, from the days of slavery to the Civil Rights Movement. She also became involved in the struggle against racism in the US.

Mabuza completed her second Master's Degree and from 1969 to 1976 she lectured at Ohio University as assistant professor in the Department of African and American Studies. During this time she started writing poetry and short stories.

In 1976 she left her job to join the ANC in Lusaka, where she remained until she was appointed to represent the organisation in the Scandinavian countries, operating from Sweden.

In 1989 she was put in the hot seat, representing the ANC in the US.

FACE THE NATION tracked Mabuza down at the ANC's consultative conference last weekend

NEW NATION: How do you feel doing a job that some South Africans would regard as a man's job?

LINDIWE MABUZA: I do not think I am doing it as a woman. I do not think a man could do any more or any less. You have to apply yourself. I am a human being, I have capability. I am sure of that. I am quite sure that I am able



ANC US representative Lindiwe Mabuza: Black people in the US support us because they have their own form of apartheid.

to present the case of our people, which is the most important thing. This means bringing across their feelings, their pain, their hopes.

You need to have your ear to the ground, even in those distant lands, to have your focus correct all the time.

I do not think that men have anything special in them to make them leaders. I think all human beings, given equal opportunities and taking that opportunity, can become whatever they want to be.

Of course, I was very reluctant to take the position. But that had nothing to do with my being a woman. It was because I felt that I was relatively new in doing full-time ANC work. I think that is what any person would think.

I did reflect on the fact that the organisation chose a woman, out of thousands of people.

I thought that this was a statement by the ANC in regard to its non-sexist policy. It was not being made for the first time, though, because several women had represented the ANC in various countries before me.

NN: Did Nelson Mandela's visit to the US contribute to strengthening the Anti-Apartheid Movement there?

LM: I think you must have seen that from the publicity given to the visit. It had an enormous, electrifying impact on the people of that country.

We have never in our lifetime seen such an out-pouring of emotions over a black man and one who is not a native son of the US.

The last time we saw anything like that was in some of the rallies of Martin Luther King. But, even then, you never saw the kinds of crowds in every city, thousands of people filling stadiums.

This must be credited to the work of the AAM in the US. It had worked, some times without recognition, pushing paper, making phone calls, agitating, fighting administrations, whether it was in the schools or the trade union movement, to push our position.

I wish to emphasise the historical role that has been played by the trade unions there, by the churches. Because the whole question of disinvestment and sanctions became such a compelling moral issue that really took root firmly within the churches and the colleges.

Many people who had been involved in these struggles over many decades in the colleges had gone out of school and were in

various occupations, but still pursuing that course.

What the visit seemed to say to the people of the US was: "Your work was worth it. You insisted on the unconditional release of Mandela and all political prisoners. You accepted the positions of the ANC and you were correct. Here is one fruit of your labour."

In a way it was a culmination of many years of work, of sweat, of belief that these struggles are winnable.

I also think, though, that it is important to understand the character of the US. People have been struggling against racism there from slavery up to now. And for the oppressed black people in the US to see a black hero coming to their country, standing tall and side by side with the president of the US and responding brilliantly to questions put, they saw their leader. Identity and pride were palpable.

Indeed, they take the leadership of the ANC as their own leaders.

We have to understand that they have worked so hard because it is so clear to them, since they have had their own form of apartheid.

It was also surprising to see the US government coming out in support with material resources. Millions of dollars went into securing the visit, to make sure that nothing happens on American soil to our delegation, particularly to our deputy-president.

And this happened when the US is not even giving economic assistance to the ANC. But that fact alone that the government ensured through generous resources that the visit was successful... made it a state visit, even though, officially, it was not. I do not know what a state visit looks like if that was not one.

In the financial capital of the US, New York, business stopped because the only business of the day was greeting ANC leaders in town. I mean, that was history in living colour.

NN: Does the partial lifting of sanctions by the European Community mean that you will

have to redouble your efforts to convince Americans not to follow suit?

LM: When FW de Klerk was in the US, US president George Bush, unfortunately, announced that the process of change in South Africa was now irreversible.

Of course we know that this is not correct. The process is faced with many dangers. There are many changes we want to see before sanctions or any other measures in terms of the isolation of the apartheid regime are removed.

When Bush made that announcement, we knew that he was signalling to the EC that they could now begin rethinking sanctions, and of course, we saw the consequences.

He himself could not do it because he is tied up by American legislation. This legislation puts conditions that have to be met before sanctions can be lifted.

These include the repeal of the Population Registration Act and the Group Areas Act, which have not yet been repealed.

It also points out that free political activity must be achieved and by that it means that a climate must be created for a one-person, one-vote election.

We know there is a desire on the part of the Bush administration to assist the De Klerk regime by removing this legislation. But we know that there is going to be a lot of pressure from forces on the ground in the US, from the AAM and from Congress.

The situation here is not as easy as at the EC, because racism is part of what the American people also have to deal with in our situation.

They will question why it is so easy for De Klerk to get away with massacres. We have seen how they apply sanctions in the case of the Gulf. It is a very relevant example of how sanctions work when white people are not involved.

We know why sanctions are not working properly, because they are protecting a white minority regime.

has been to preach the isolation of
the apartheid regime

11A
2/12/90-3/1/91 New Nation
Azapo congress
to discuss
sanctions

New Nation 2/12/90
THE international community will receive a clear message that democratic formations in the country want the continued isolation of South Africa when the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) adds its call for the maintenance of sanctions.

Azapo holds its tenth annual congress in Cape Town this weekend on the theme "Defend the People, Reject Neo-colonialism, Advance Socialism".

Azapo publicity secretary Strini Moodley told NEW NATION that the critical issues on the congress agenda would be a program for united action; sanctions and other strategies of isolating

South Africa; and the consultative conference of liberation movements.

Recent conferences of both the ANC and PAC have called for the maintenance of sanctions.

Azapo wants liberation movements to develop a strategy for a common assault on the government.

The apparent shift towards lifting sanctions should be attacked and exposed for the opportunism it represents, Moodley said.

"Azapo will seek ways and means by which the international community can be confronted on its decision to give further credibility to the nationalist regime in the light of continued exploitation and oppression," he said.

The government had done "nothing" for the oppressed people, he said. The international community's collusion with the nationalist "regime" was therefore a

betrayal of the people of South Africa inspired by selfish motives.

Moodley said Azapo felt that the liberation movements and their armed wings should not only continue the armed struggle but seek ways to work out a strategy for unified action.

This need for a common assault on the government has inspired Azapo to motivate for a consultative conference for the liberation movements.

The idea has gained great currency, with ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela calling for "a patriotic liberation front" at last week's ANC consultative conference. The PAC has also called for a united front.

So far, Azapo has secured an agreement in principle for the organisations to come together.

Azapo intends to draw together those organisations determined to change the

status quo. This, according to Moodley, would include the ANC, PAC, SA Communist Party, New Unity Movement and Workers Organisation of South Africa.

However, homeland and other government-created structures would not be invited, which would exclude the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), he said.

● The keynote address at the Azapo congress will be delivered by Sri Lanka-born activist Anbavaler Sivanandan, the director of the Institute for Race Relations in London and an analyst on racism, socialism and related issues.

N Tvl
New Nation
boycott
2/12/90-3/1/90
still on
THE ANC Youth League and (ANC YL) the Consumer Boycott Committee

Sobukwe Forum meets Inkatha ⁽¹¹³⁾

NATIONAL unity and the escalation of violence were discussed yesterday at a meeting between the Inkatha Action Group for Democracy and the Sobukwe Forum, a group of Pan Africanist Congress dissidents.

In a statement from Ulundi, Inkatha president and KwaZulu chief minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi said agreement was

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He said the banning of the PAC had led to a "loss of constitutional direction".

Prof Bolofo called on the PAC to allow the national executive committee, elected in April 1959, to resume its functions. - Sapa.

21/12/90
Sobukwe Forum

UNEASY HEADS

It is going to become fashionable to argue that the position of perceived ANC moderates must be shored up by all who wish to see the emergence of a democratic SA.

Oliver Tambo, quietly questioning the shelf life of sanctions; Nelson Mandela, stating the case against impulsiveness; Thabo Mbeki so acutely aware of changing world perceptions of the ANC — these are the leaders who have to be supported against the rising clamour of militancy represented by the 1 600-odd delegates to the historic Consultative Conference last weekend.

We take the point. While it is difficult to see the ANC going “back to the bush” — as the khaki-clad Winnie Mandela puts it — there are already so many obstacles in the way of constitutional talks that the prospect of the old-timers being overthrown or weakened is depressing.

On the other hand, the kind of leadership shown by the National Executive Committee as it stands is also depressing. No new ideas, an apparent hankering for the pieties of Sixties revolutionism, incompetence — these are all elements in a picture of devastating muddle.

This is not good for government — or business — and it would be pleasant if it could all be wished away. The trouble is that the leadership is evidently resented most by many of

those it claims to lead and that the penalties could well include splits, palace rebellions and a defection to the Left, such as the PAC and its like.

Mandela referred to the impossibility of sounding out popular opinion within the ANC on every issue he discusses with F W de Klerk in unscheduled meetings. He is quite right — and should have spoken even more forcefully, since he has had to deal with rapid, uncontrollable events in a year beyond all our wildest dreams. He has a right to do so, since he has dedicated much of his year to travelling abroad in search of funds for the ANC; since, to much of the world, he *is* the ANC.

And since they made him their leader, they should allow him to lead. Consultation is one thing; taking orders from the bottom up is another.

Unfortunately, his and the moderates' position can hardly improve in the months ahead, once final obstacles to the return of the exiles and release of political prisoners are cleared away and the remaining apartheid laws are abandoned.

More militancy is likely to increase the precariousness of his position and he may well find his second year of freedom more difficult than the first. ■

ANC CONFERENCE FIM 21/12/90

11A

AFTER THE HONEYMOON

The lesson for government from the ANC Consultative Conference this past weekend is clear: if it wants to negotiate with radicals it should continue dragging its feet. But if it is serious about a negotiated peace it has to move fast to strengthen the hand of moderates within the ANC.

The meeting was the most significant in the history of the ANC and gave the clearest indication of the challenges it faces. To its credit, the organisation made no attempt to disguise the blood-letting; indeed, deputy president Nelson Mandela devoted an hour in the final session to discussing it. The fact that he ended in command was reassuring and a tribute to his leadership qualities.

The meeting was attended by 1 603 delegates from around the country and overseas. The average age was well under 30 and they dragged the leadership over the coals in unprecedented fashion.

A hardline attitude prevailed over pragmatism in several areas — in particular, the maintenance of existing sanctions and the formation of defence committees backed by Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK).

The conference revealed what many analysts have been saying: the ANC leadership is out of touch with its members inside the country, and its failure to include internal leaders at the talks tables was a serious mistake. Few National Executive Committee (NEC) members have dirtied their shoes by consoling the victims of violence in the townships, by visiting squatter areas, by consulting their constituencies.

The challenge for the leadership is to educate their followers politically. Slogans and war talk need to be diminished — even though the conference clearly wanted a harder line — and the niceties of diplomacy must be introduced.

The membership clearly does not understand the tactics the leadership is using. For instance, Mandela had to explain the subtleties of encouraging homeland leaders to work with the ANC. In a reference to this, and the fratricidal war with Inkatha, he referred obliquely to Mozambique and Renamo, who are now holding peace talks in Rome: "War has not brought about what they hoped to achieve. I would hope that our comrades would take cognisance of that and take measures to ensure that such tragedy does not befall us."

The cogent sanctions paper, written mainly by international affairs head Thabo Mbeki and calling for sanctions to be used with more tactical skill to force advances, was not even discussed. Apparently delegates refused to discuss the document and told the NEC they never wanted to see anything similar again.

The leadership acceded to these angry protests and a position paper that could have kept the sanctions initiative with the ANC was rejected and a hardline approach maintained. One gloomy member of the old guard admitted to the *FM* that the NEC had failed to get documents to regions early enough for discussion; instead of delegates seeing Mbeki's plan as a means of strengthening sanctions as a weapon, they regarded a removal of sanctions as a way of "rewarding De Klerk."

The debate on violence, according to delegates, was the most emotional and influenced all other discussion. The second lesson for government is that it must somehow find effective means "other than further oppression," as Mandela put it, to stop the violence. Once again, the actions and image of the police will be vital.

On the other hand, it was surely no coincidence that Mandela's wife, Winnie, came dressed in combat gear to the closing conference, where there was emphasis on the rapid establishment of defence units and the obliquely worded "facilitative role" MK will now play in the "defence of townships."

The townships are already more heavily armed than they have ever been. The line between defence and pre-emptive attacks or outright assaults is a very fine one: soldiers may understand the difference but do untrained citizens wielding pangas or AK-47s? The potential for civil war is terrifying. The ANC will have to proceed with extreme caution here.

The leadership did not mutely accept the hammering it received at the conference. While conceding certain points, Mandela

criticised "the men and women who play to the gallery . . . to prove how revolutionary they are, who have no idea whatsoever of working in a mass movement, who are totally incapable of putting forward constructive ideas and are quick to pull down what others have built."

The NEC accepted that there would be no discussions on a new constitution until all obstacles to negotiations are removed — the lifting of repressive laws (in particular the Internal Security Act), the release of all political prisoners and the return of exiles.

There seems to be no reason — beyond bureaucratic fumbling in his civil service or mutiny among his senior colleagues — that President F W de Klerk cannot fulfil his side of the bargain in these areas, before the ANC's deadline of April 30 (which is in fact no more than the deadline agreed to by government in the Pretoria Minute).

The capacity to get things done, to get beyond the fine words and ideas — this will be the ultimate test of De Klerk's leadership, as it will be of Mandela's. More than ever, while remaining intense adversaries, they need each other — and it is in the interests of each to avoid weakening the other wherever possible. ■

EMBASSY BLAST FIM 21/12/90

NOISES RIGHT

A Foreign Affairs official has been detained by the police in connection with the bomb blast which occurred at the residence of US Ambassador William Swing in October. The name of the official is P J Kruger, who has been working at the department's Development Co-operation section (which deals with foreign aid) since August.

Foreign Affairs spokeswoman Alayne Reesberg confirmed the detention to the *FM* on Tuesday. But "justice must take its course and the department cannot comment on the matter at this stage," said Reesberg.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha condemned the bombing at the time. He asked police to take steps to ensure that missions represented in SA get the necessary protection. "The investigation will continue until the culprits are apprehended," said Botha.

Swing was at home when the attack took place in the early hours of October 4 after he had been entertaining guests a few hours before. The home-made bomb was fastened to a gate which leads to the swimming pool, tennis court and braai area in the garden. No one was injured, but the blast caused considerable damage.

All recruits to Foreign Affairs are



Dissident ANC, PAC exiles back

1140
CMA 7/1/90 22/12/90

JOHANNESBURG. — Eleven exiles — mostly dissident ANC or PAC members — arrived here from Kenya yesterday afternoon expressing hope that their grievances with their organisations would be resolved.

"We had and still have some misgivings about the functioning of these organisations in exile. Many of these grievances still await resolution," the group said in a statement.

"Nevertheless, we are coming home with the spirit of reconciliation and in . . . hope that these issues will be attended to with the fairness they require."

Initially 18 returnees were expected yesterday, but some of them had dependants in exile who had not been registered with the National Co-ordinating Committee for the Repatriation of South African Exiles (NCCR) and thus did not have travel documents, according to the organisation's chairman, the Rev Frank Chikane.

The rest of the group are expected to arrive home tomorrow. In total,

about 34 exiles in Kenya are expected to return to South Africa by tomorrow.

In their statement delivered at Khotso House the group — most of whom were part of the "Soweto 1976 generation" and left the country around that time — expressed their dissatisfaction that apartheid was not yet totally eradicated.

There were scenes of jubilation at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday as families were reunited.

One of the returnees, Mr Peter Ngcamu, left the country in October 1976 and saw his son, Junior, who was born three months later, for the first time.

Those who returned yesterday are: Fikile Mdleleni and Bandile Ketelo of Cape Town; Mzwandile Bopheka of Bloemfontein; Zamxola Tthoma of East London; Isaac Mogotse of Alexandra; Peter Ngcamu, David Lephoto, Victoria Motaung, Themba Mazibuko, Mandla Ncala and John Seate, all of Soweto. — Sapa

LONDON. — A key anti-apartheid organisation, the London-based International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa (IDAF), has decided to transfer its operations to South Africa. The organisation was banned in 1966 in South Africa and moved to Britain.

The decision was taken at a recent special conference of the IDAF's international council of trustees in London, called to consider the fund's future in the new situation that existed in SA since the unbanning of the ANC and other organisations in February.

According to an IDAF statement, the conference expressed concern that progress in removing repression and implementing the Pretoria Minute had been slow.

Activist organisation to return to SA

CMT 7-7P
22/12/90

"Political prisoners had not yet been released in the numbers expected and political trials were still continuing.

"The conference agreed that the need for the work of the fund of providing legal defence for those in court for their opposition to apartheid, and aid for their dependants, as well as keeping the world informed

about apartheid, still remained ... but this work could now be better done in South Africa where it could be based in and be supported by the community."

The IDAF conference was addressed by ANC treasurer-general Mr Thomas Nkobi, Mr Achmet Dangor of the Kagiso Trust, and the Rev Beyers Naude, who presented the keynote address, giving his view of the situation in SA.

The Fund's objectives are to aid, defend and rehabilitate the victims of unjust legislation and oppressive and arbitrary procedures, support their families and dependants, and to keep "the conscience of the world" alive to the issues at stake.

Suzman berates black leaders

'Mandela and Buthelezi could have stemmed township violence'

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114 27/12/90



HELEN SUZMAN, former MP for Houghton, is now president of the South African Institute of Race Relations. She has never been known to mince her words. This also holds true for her opinions of players on the political stage. When they were imprisoned, banned or exiled, she fought for their rights. Now she does not hesitate to criticise them if she sees fit. THEO COGGIN interviewed her for Race Relations News.

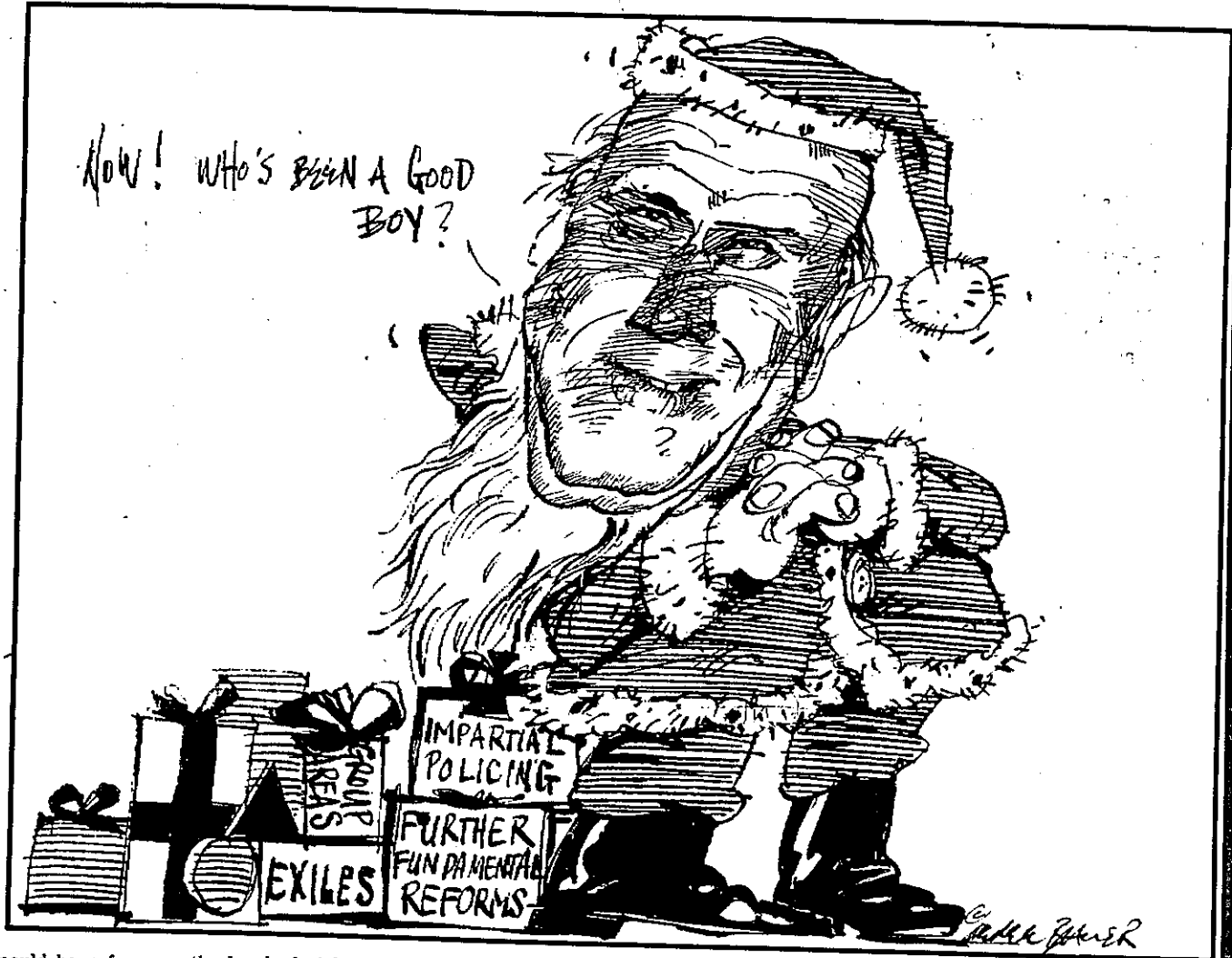
HELEN Suzman's outspoken views in defence of a just system know few bounds. This became clear when she had some tough things to say about black political leaders, among others.

For many, her expression of dismay at the lack of leadership displayed by black leaders will sound mild criticism compared with the tongue lashings she gave successive ministers of justice in her demands to have these very leaders released from the restrictions placed on them by successive National Party governments.

Hansard abounds with speeches and questions from this uncompromising defender of human rights, fighting for improved conditions in prisons, for the release of detainees, and the unbanning of such organisations as the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress.

Helen Suzman has always believed in giving credit where it is due and criticism when it is warranted.

SO, sitting in her moderately sized study in her home in Sandton, surrounded by shelves of bound volumes of Hansard, books and memorabilia from all over the world, as well as family photographs, Mrs Suzman has not



could have foreseen the level of violence that has occurred this year.

Yet the period of transition had to come and Mrs Suzman says: "I can assume only that Mr De Klerk realised that the cost in political and economic terms had simply become too great."

BLACK resistance had also become an issue, as well as a realisation that the changes occurring in Eastern Europe meant he could not use the excuse of the

uation without the emotionalism attached to issues such as that of returning exiles, or the almost sycophantic pursuit of some of the black leaders, who are given platforms to use without there being any discernment of the way in which they may abuse the privilege of being given a platform."

Helen Suzman's contact with the institute goes back to the mid-1940s when she served on its committees with such people as Rheinolt Jones, Ellen-Holmberg, Jan

Group Areas Act and the Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act — and laws that eroded civil liberties. As the lone Progressive Party member she found herself having to prepare speeches on a variety of subjects.

Because of various mergers during her political career, Helen Suzman represented five political parties. Throughout all the changes, however, she remained the MP for Houghton, beginning as a member

came clear when she had some tough things to say about black political leaders, among others.

For many, her expression of dismay at the lack of leadership displayed by black leaders will sound mild criticism compared with the tongue lashings she gave successive ministers of justice in her demands to have these very leaders released from the restrictions placed on them by successive National Party governments.

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SO, sitting in her moderately sized study in her home in Sandton, surrounded by shelves of bound volumes of Hansard, books and memorabilia from all over the world, as well as family photographs, Mrs Suzman has pertinent advice for black leaders like Nelson Mandela.

"My conviction is that if Mr Mandela spent more time with his own people in his own country and less time abroad it might have been possible for him to stem the violence in the townships."

But her attention is focused not only on Mr Mandela. Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi also comes in for due consideration from Mrs Suzman. She believes he could have "stopped the violence in Natal when it started some years ago if he had put his mind to it. Now it may be too late."

MR S U Z M A N has a somewhat pessimistic view of the immediate future. She doubts, for example, that total control can be imposed by anybody in the townships while large-scale unemployment continues and so many young people are not gainfully occupied.

The question of black education disturbs her greatly "because it appears that teachers and parents have lost control of the situation while the children themselves have rejected discipline of any kind".

However depressing the situation, Mrs Suzman has no doubt that the system she fought all her life had to be changed. But no one, not even President F W de Klerk,



could have foreseen the level of violence that has occurred this year.

Yet the period of transition had to come and Mrs Suzman says: "I can assume only that Mr De Klerk realised that the cost in political and economic terms had simply become too great."

BL A C K resistance had also become an issue, as well as a realisation that the changes occurring in Eastern Europe meant he could not use the excuse of the "total onslaught" threat.

Mrs Suzman is also convinced of the President's sincerity: "He'd have to be a very good actor to come across the way he does if he did not mean it."

There is no rancour in Mrs Suzman as she reflects on the changes of the past few months.

"I want to make it clear that I do not care who makes the changes or does the work. What is important is that it happens."

Nevertheless, the frightful scenes of the past few months have shown how easy it is for activists to take over if the great mass of people, the silent majority, allow them to do so, she says.

It is in this climate that the South African Institute of Race Relations still has an important role to play.

IT is one of the few objective institutions in the country, Mrs Suzman believes. All others seem to have a loyalty to one side or the other, whereas the institute has gained international respect "for the factual accuracy with which it reports developments in South Africa in such publications as the *Survey*, *RR News*, *Countdown* and *Update*".

"We need a steady eye to assess the sit-

uation without the emotionalism attached to issues such as that of returning exiles, or the almost sycophantic pursuit of some of the black leaders, who are given platforms to use without there being any discernment of the way in which they may abuse the privilege of being given a platform."

Helen Suzman's contact with the institute goes back to the mid-1940s when she served on its committees with such people as Rheinalt Jones, Ellen Hellmann, Leo Marquard, Z K Matthews, Edgar Brookes and Bernard Friedman.

TH E institute's critical role in fighting for universally recognised human rights has not changed since those early days. One of its strengths, Mrs Suzman believes, is that it is not identified with any particular political party.

"This is what gives it its objectivity. It criticises the government and has done so for many years. But, should it occasionally throw a word or praise the government's way, it is not being disloyal to any other political party."

Of her parliamentary days, Mrs Suzman says that the most demanding years were those as the solitary Progressive Party member in the House of Assembly. Yet she did not find the experience intimidating, even though she clashed bitterly with prime ministers H F Verwoerd and John Vorster (the latter also when he was minister of justice) and with Jimmy Kruger as minister of justice. She recalls how she was treated with great fairness by the Speaker.

S H E recalls, too, that the 1960s were a fertile period for the number of new bills, amendments to acts — such as the

Group Areas Act and the Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act — and laws that eroded civil liberties. As the lone Progressive Party member she found herself having to prepare speeches on a variety of subjects.

Because of various mergers during her political career, Helen Suzman represented five political parties. Throughout all the changes, however, she remained the MP for Houghton, beginning as a member of the United Party and ending as a representative of the Democratic Party.

She is forthright about the Democratic Party.

"I have no empathy with the Democratic Party really. Many of the original Progs, such as Ray Swart and Clive van Ryneveld, are no longer on the political scene and Jannie Steytler has died.

"W I T H the exception of people like Colin Eglin, Zach de Beer and Peter Soal, I have no real relationship with the newcomers who are late arrivals on the scene. This is simply because I cannot get over the fact that so many of them remained with the National Party during the worst years. They remained with them at the times of the forced removals and detention without trial. It took a long time for them to shed their old skins.

"But I do not impugn their sincerity, indeed, many converts will be more enthusiastic than the original members."

Despite her longing to "sink without trace", Helen Suzman will remain on the political scene for many years as the wisdom and experience gained during her 36 years in parliament are drawn on by the institute, journalists, diplomats and interest-groups throughout the world.

Political Staff

THE Pan-Africanist Congress yesterday told the government that it was prepared to enter negotiations at a neutral venue — but only on the question of constituent assembly elections.

The organisation also disclosed that it had turned down an invitation to speak at next week's Labour Party congress, telling it to dissolve and join the PAC.

The PAC yesterday released the text of a letter, signed by its deputy president, Mr Dikgang Moseneke, to the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen.

The letter, dated December 20, said the PAC believed the central issue to negotiations was a new constitution for South Africa and this constitution should be negotiated with a democratically elected constituent assembly, elected on the basis of one person one vote on a common voters' roll.

Mr Moseneke said the PAC congress had granted its national executive council a mandate "to pre-negotiate with you and other interested parties, at a neutral venue, the modalities of the constituent assembly elections.

"The PAC believes that peace will return to our country once the issue of

PAC says 'yes' to govt but 'no' to LP

CMT Trans (11/12)
22/12/70

political power, the question of the land and other resources, have been resolved by democratically elected leaders."

Dr Viljoen wrote to the former PAC president, Mr Zephania Mothopeng, on August 18, inviting the organisation to participate in the negotiating process.

In a letter to the Labour Party, PAC secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander said he was impressed the LP had invited him to address its congress, but that he was not in a position to accept the invitation.

The ANC's deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela, also turned down his invitation, but President F W de Klerk has consented to speak.

"Today, there can be no doubt that the life of the tricameral parliament is almost over," wrote Mr Alexander.

Mandela, FW in secret talks

Star 22/12/90

ESMARE VAN DER MERWE,
Political Reporter

Meeting in defiance of ANC ban

ANC deputy-president Nelson Mandela is said to have met President de Klerk on Monday this week, in clear defiance of an ANC ban on "secret" meetings with the Government.

Senior sources said yesterday the meeting had taken place on Monday, a day after the ANC's crucial consultative conference and a day before Mr de Klerk's hardline year-end address on television to the nation.

Mr Mandela is said to have been accompanied by the ANC's foreign affairs director, Thabo Mbeki.

meetings between the two negotiating teams would continue.

He said those ANC members opposed to the idea "do not understand the nature of negotiations", adding that had such meetings not taken place, there would be no negotiations at all.

In his year-end address, Mr de Klerk adopted a hardline attitude towards the ANC on matters such as its plans to intensify mass action next year and its demand for a constituent assembly and an interim government.

However, in an implicit acknowledgement of the ANC leadership's bona fides, Mr de Klerk said the ANC had to decide whether it was prepared to "follow their leaders' commitment" to peaceful and negotiated solutions to the country's political problems.

Observers said yesterday the fact that Mr Mandela and Mr de Klerk had met a day after the conference underlined the good working relationship and trust between the two men.

While praising Mr Mandela for having called to on his militant wing — he rejected some demands as being "totally and utterly unreasonable" — the observers expressed concern about Mr de Klerk's speech.

They said he had clearly played to his whites-only constituency, and had not crossed the bridge of party interest to the same extent as Mr Mandela.

Delegation (1A)

Our Pretoria Correspondent says Mr Mandela's delegation included Mr Mbeki, Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani and political committee secretary Valli Moosa. The government delegation included Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister General Magnus Malan.

ANC president Oliver Tambo apparently did not attend the meeting.

A spokesman for Mr de Klerk's office said she had no knowledge of such a meeting, while an ANC executive committee member said he would have expected Mr Mandela to give the national executive committee prior warning of such talks.

At the consultative conference, the ANC endorsed the concept of talks between the Government and the ANC, but passed a resolution that contact would take place "without any secrecy and confidentiality".

However, in his closing address to the conference, Mr Mandela said confidential

Aussie call to lift bans on sport

FOREIGN NEWS SERVICE

MELBOURNE — Australia's Opposition Leader, Dr John Hewson, on Thursday put strong pressure on the government to lift sporting bans on South Africa.

He urged that ending the 13-year-old bans should be the reward for the De Klerk government if it removed the two most notorious instruments of apartheid — the Group Areas Act and the Land Act.

Repeated

Dr Hewson said he expected these Acts to be repealed when the South African Parliament resumed in February.

After that, he added, the Australian government should take up the case for the Commonwealth to overturn the bans.

Dr Hewson's call received the usual reaction from the Government — that it was watching the situation closely but it was not yet time to begin relaxing any sanctions.



OFF TO DISNEYLAND: Thomas and Florence Kikine of Soweto are the lucky winners of a week in Disneyland. They receive two return air tickets compliments of Varig Brazilian Airlines and a week's accommodation at Stovall's Inn courtesy of TFC Tours and Best Western Hotels. Here Thomas and Florence celebrate at Fantasy Land with Mickey and Donald. Fantasy Land closes tomorrow so, if you haven't been there yet, go to Bezuidenhout Park (on the road between Yeoville and Bruma Lake) between 11 am and 10 pm for a day of fun. Entrance fee is R8.

The lessons the ANC must learn

Star 22/12/90

THERE were a number of notable features at the ANC consultative conference last week.

Firstly, reason, compromise and pragmatism, which were generally conspicuous by their absence, surfaced in unexpected quarters.

Both the President and Deputy President of the ANC, Messrs Oliver Tambo and Nelson Mandela, exhibited these qualities. These two gentlemen had every reason to be bitter, considering the long years of suffering they endured.

One returned home after 30 years of exile, a mere shadow of his former self as a result of a serious illness that struck him in the service of the liberation struggle. The other survived physical and mental torture during 27 years of imprisonment.

I had to ask myself: if these two gentlemen are still able to be reasonable and pragmatic, what justification have we (including the 1 600 delegates at the ANC conference) to profess bitterness and radicalism?

Rand and file

Secondly, it became very clear during the conference that Mr Mandela and his negotiating team have not begun to share the rules of the "negotiation game" with the ANC rank and file. As Mr Mandela himself later observed, some of the statements made and resolutions passed could only be acceptable to people who did not understand the negotiation process.

I find this rather disquieting and I sincerely hope that the ANC leadership will immediately take steps to introduce at least some of their rank and file members to the culture of negotiation politics. Then per-

Through
My Eyes

OSCAR
DHLOMO



haps they too will realise that the engine that drives negotiation is compromise.

Thirdly, one watched in disbelief as the ANC's 20-year-old and highly successful international sanctions campaign went up in flames as a result of unbelievable ineptitude in strategic planning. I am an ardent opponent of sanctions against South Africa, but I am mature enough to recognise and applaud success when I see it.

Through excellent diplomatic initiatives which cost a lot of energy and planning over many years, the ANC achieved an almost total isolation of South Africa internationally and contributed to the socio-political changes we are experiencing today.

Now the ANC is failing to make use of this success as it continues to call for the maintenance of sanctions, as it insists on forcing open doors that are already ajar and as it puts its forces on a state of military preparedness, presumably to fight a war that is no more.

The ANC is failing to take the initiative and lead the campaign to roll back sanctions with the same vigour and expertise it displayed in spearheading the campaign to impose them. The humiliation that has already started will see the international community unilaterally lifting sanctions regardless of what the ANC has to say. Victory can sometimes be more costly than defeat if the victor is unable to use it to his advantage.

Indemnity extended for Tambo

Star 22/12/90
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THE State President, Mr F W de Klerk, has extended the period of immunity from prosecution granted to 72 people under the Indemnity Act, including several ANC leaders.

In terms of a notice published in the Government Gazette yesterday, their temporary unconditional immunity has been extended from December 31 until February 15 next year.

Among those affected are African National Congress president Mr Oliver Tambo; the commander of the organisation's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe, Mr Joe Modise; his chief of staff Mr Chris Hani; the ANC's secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo; its head of international affairs Mr Thabo Mbeki and the leader of the South African Communist Party, Mr Joe Slovo. — Sapa.

'Bombs go off at six ANC houses'

BULAWAYO — The bomb blast at a Bulawayo house occupied by ANC members on Tuesday was seen as an act of "enemy agents" whose targets also included ANC houses in Lusaka, Ziana news agency reports.

Sources close to the ANC told Ziana yesterday that five other ANC houses, including that of the movement's treasurer-general Tom Nkobi, were bombed in Lusaka two weeks ago.

No one was injured in any of the blasts.

The blast at 117 Ullswater Drive in Morningside, Bulawayo,

went off at 9 am. The occupant, who did not want to be identified for security reasons, said he was waiting for "some people" before he could give more details on the matter. He was referring to ANC officials who were expected to arrive by today from Harare.

Other sources in Bulawayo said the Lusaka houses were extensively damaged and household goods destroyed.

"It must be a well-planned and executed move by enemy agents, because the Lusaka houses all belong to the ANC. All the bombs

were set to explode during lunch-hour for maximum destruction, as that is the time when most people return home," an unnamed source said.

"Had the explosions taken place 15 minutes later than they did, many people would have been killed or maimed," he charged.

An ANC official in Harare said he had not heard about the bombings in Zambia.

Bulawayo police confirmed the bombed house was occupied by South African refugees sympathetic to the ANC. — Sapa

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(11A)

(Blk)

Azapo 'militia' enter SA without indemnity

COMBATANTS from Azapo's external military wing, the Azanian Liberation Army, were at the organisation's 10th annual conference this weekend — without government indemnity.

The Azanla members were not identified by name yesterday, but an Azapo spokesman said their presence was "in defiance of the illegitimate Pretoria regime".

Azapo's deputy president, Maitshwe Aubrey Mokoape, made the surprise announcement after

8 Times 23/12/90

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

reading out a message of solidarity from Azanla.

Azanla is the PAC-Azapo equivalent of the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe.

"The Azanla freedom fighters have honoured us with their physical presence here today as an act of solidarity," he said.

"They will reveal themselves if and when it suits them. They are here without asking (F W) De Klerk or (Minister of Police) Vlok for permission to be on

African soil within Azania."

Three London-based organisations were also present and read their own messages of solidarity at the congress in Langa, Cape Town.

It was clear by yesterday afternoon that an even closer alignment between Azapo and the PAC was on the cards.

A similar symbiotic relationship as that within the UDF-ANC-Cosatu alliance exists among the Azapo-PAC-Nactu group.

Divided

Although the desirability of a unified front among black "liberation" movements was emphasised, there remained a clear divide over negotiations with the government.

The ANC and PAC, along with their affiliates, agreed on a call for a constituent assembly based on a one-man, one-vote system — a demand already shot down repeatedly by Pretoria.

In his opening address, Azapo's outgoing president, Professor Itumeleng Jerry Mosala of UCT, repeatedly mocked the significance attached in SA and abroad to President De Klerk's February 2 opening of parliament speech.

"February 2 has produced nothing but violence, misery and confusion in the black community," he charged.

"Apart from the South African Police posturing with black leaders in a bid to give respectability to their illegitimate presence in the black community, the De Klerk reforms have brought nothing but confusion among the politically untutored."

The conference continues today but it is already clear from the militant and strident tone of most speeches that the PAC and Azapo and their affiliates are determined to continue holding out against negotiations.

PAC urges LP to join its ranks

11A

St Times 23/12/90

By KURT SWART

THE Pan Africanist Congress this week declined an invitation to attend the Labour Party's annual congress.

Instead, it urged the LP to abandon the tricameral parliament and join forces with the PAC.

The LP has also invited President F W de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela to speak at its 25th annual congress in Cape Town next week.

Mr De Klerk has accepted the invitation, but there has still been no reply from the ANC.

PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander said he was "not in a position" to attend the congress.

Regret

In an open letter to the party, Mr Alexander recalled the decision of the ANC-aligned Coloured People's Congress in the 60s to dissolve and join the PAC "as indigenous Africans".

He said: "My advice to your party is to do the same. Take the bold step of pulling out of the system which will, in any case, drop you for a partner with a more visible and credible international image."

LP national spokesman Peter Hendrickse said the party regretted Mr Alexander's "unwillingness" to address the congress.

"But we appreciate the fact that he replied to our invitation. We also appreciate the tone of the letter.

"Though the PAC is unhappy with our policies, there is recognition of the role we have played."

Hani's men 'to help in townships'



Chris Hani

The Argus Correspondent

UITENHAGE. — Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) commanders are to be sent to black townships to help in the formation and strengthening of people's defence committees, MK chief-of-staff Mr Chris Hani has said.

He made the announcement yesterday while addressing a rally attended by more than 15 000 ANC supporters at Jabavu Stadium, Uitenhage.

Mr Hani said the move to send MK commanders to the townships should not be viewed with surprise as it was one of the resolutions taken at the recent ANC consultative conference held in Johannesburg.

Self-defence

"We are asking for no permission from the government because we were given a mandate by the conference, a supreme decision-making body of the ANC."

The people had a right to defend themselves, Mr Hani said.

"The government has allowed the existence of paramilitary groups like neighbourhood watches to defend white citizens, but when we build our defence units it is said to be illegal" he said.

He said no struggle or revolution could succeed without defence.

The government had been "running from pillar to post, not releasing political prisoners or allowing exiles to come back to their motherland".

He called for a constituent assembly and an interim government.

The government, he said, had to stop "ruling with brutal force" and the "white parliament" had to be suspended and replaced by an interim government.

'Let us vote'

"We are no longer prepared to be marginalised. Let us vote and talk about our parliament on the streets as this is the last white parliament... They cannot be players and referees at the same time" he said.

Present were Raymond Mhlaba, national chairman of the South African Communist Party and a member of the ANC's internal leadership, John Gomomo, national vice-president of the Congress of South African Trade Unions and an executive member of the SACP, and many MK commanders returned from exile to attend the ANC's consultative conference in Johannesburg last weekend.

Azapo blames ANC, govt for violence

Reform 'only to keep the system in place'

Political Correspondent

AZAPO yesterday barred the media and non-members from part of its congress during a sensitive discussion on whether the ANC or the state was primarily responsible for violence in the townships.

The press was originally invited to attend the entire two-day congress but was "recused" from proceedings when a commission report on the sources of violence highlighted different interpretations.

Delegates from the floor argued that allowing the press to be party to deliberations on delicate issues like violence could lead to hostile journalists trying to "destroy the movement".

An overwhelming majority of the 450 delegates indicated that they thought the press should go.

Earlier, during a report-back from the violence commission, it was noted that violence in the townships was politically motivated and dated from 1983 when the ANC had allegedly isolated categories of organisations to be "destroyed", including the Black Consciousness Movement.

The report noted that violence in the black community had manifested itself as a result of "intolerance of the views of other organisations" and mentioned the ANC and its bid to impose its "political hegemony".

A second source was the lack of political education, particularly among the youth, which was subject to coercion by one dominant political organization.

A third source of conflict was "provocative" songs, graffiti and slogans which tried to portray "every youth as a member of the ANC youth and every student as a member of the ANC-

affiliated) SA National Students' Congress".

The report added: "Reaction to this results in political violence."

Stayaway calls and school boycotts "in the name of mass action" also led to violence as these were often marked by coercion and intimidation.

However, the report noted that violence could not be blamed entirely on the ANC as the government was also "definitely involved" in perpetuating violence and benefited from the violence in the townships.

Turning to possible solutions, the commission urged that Azapo "reserve our right to self-defence and maximum retaliation".

It also suggested a political education and propaganda campaign in violence-affected areas "to expose the causes and possible people involved in acts of violence".

However, the report then stated that Azapo was "not making the ANC an issue or making any political organization our enemy".

It added: "We don't want to be caught up in reactionary battles that will end up isolating our organization from the community."

The violence commission's report ended with a discussion on the setting up of "defence units" and the training of marshals for "security and defence purposes" — which included a proposal for fitness programmes.

When the report was opened to discussion from the floor, Azapo deputy president Dr Aubrey Mokoape, said he had "no particular quarrel" with the report, but emphasised that "the violence our people are subjected to stems largely from the regime."

"We should consolidate the mindset that the violence that occurs is state violence," he told delegates.

Azanla soldiers slip into SA to attend congress

Political Correspondent

IN a gesture of bravado and defiance, guerillas from the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania slipped into the country to attend Azapo's 10th annual congress in Langa at the weekend.

Azapo deputy president Dr Aubrey Mokoape described the decision of members of the Azanian National Liberation Army (Azanla) to attend the congress as "a demonstration of physical solidarity" with Azapo members living inside SA.

Dr Mokoape said to loud cheers that the Azanla members had entered the country without asking for the necessary indemnity from the government.

"These people — as and how they choose — will be with us at this congress and not under Vlok and De Klerk's indemnity laws," he announced to extended applause, singing and dancing.

At the end of the congress, newly elected president Mr Phandelani Nefolovhodwe noted that Azanla was the armed wing of Azapo's sister organisation, the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania.

"Azapo does not have any responsibilities for the activities of Azanla," he said.

The congress, which had as its theme "Defend the people, resist neo-colonialism, advance socialism", was marked by militant rhetoric and outspoken resolutions.

Ex-Island prisoner is Azapo head

MR Phandelani Nefolovhodwe was elected Azapo president at its congress in Langa last night.

The 44-year-old former Robben Island prisoner, former president of the South African Student Organisation and outgoing Azapo secretary-general was the unanimous choice of the 450 delegates.

He replaces Dr Jerry Mosala, the UCT religious studies professor, who will be lecturing at Oxford University for the next three years.

Dr Aubrey Mokoape retained his position as deputy president of Azapo.

The other office-bearers elected are: Mr Don Nkadimang (secretary-general); Mr Peter Jones (vice-president — finance); Mr Victor Dlamini (vice-president — transport); Mr Mzwandile Thwalo (vice-president — Cape); Mr Molatshali Thale (political commissar); Mr Sini Moodley (publicity secretary); Mr Lybon Mabasa (projects co-ordinator); and Mr Fundile Mafongoal (national organiser).

THE AZAPO congress resolved that sanctions should be maintained to retain the isolation of South Africa.

The government had reformed the system only to keep it in place, said Azapo president Mr Phandelani Nefolovhodwe.

Besides the sanctions issue the congress adopted resolutions on a programme of action, support for cultural and sports isolation, a constituent assembly, violence, unity with other liberation organisations, the education crisis and negotiations.

Deputy president Dr Aubrey Mokoape dismissed claims by a former Durban member that the organisation had negotiated with the government.

The congress adopted a resolution that Azapo could not join the government in talks where "the regime was on its own terrain, subject to its own laws and its security forces intact", Dr Mokoape said.

Transfer of power

"However, at some time, when conditions are ready and the regime is ready to address the real problems centrally, we will consider (talking) — outside their terrain, their powers stripped and their security forces dismantled," Dr Mokoape said.

He said Azapo found it heartening that other organisations were taking up the demand for a constituent assembly.

However, Azapo's demand for such a constitution-making body had to be seen in the context of its central objective — the transfer of power to black people.

Dr Mokoape said all liberation movements had to sit together to adopt a programme of action against "the regime". — Sapa

Bombs won't win — ANC

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC said the destabilisation and violence permeating SA continued in the frontline states.

The comment came after bombs exploded at an ANC member's house in Bulawayo on Friday, and five other bombings in Lusaka.

The ANC said the bombings were designed to hinder the peace process, but would not succeed. — Sapa

11A
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FW, Mandela get group going again

CONFIDENTIAL 24/12/90

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — An ANC spokesman said yesterday the ANC-government working group on armed action was still on track.

The spokesman described last week's meeting attended by President F W de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela as part of a regular meeting of the group.

However, informed sources said the presence of Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela, who are not members of the regular group, was thought necessary to get the group "up and running again" after its work was suspended following its November 22 meeting.

The meeting, which was also attended by Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Mr Chris Hani, took place on Monday at the president's office in the Union Buildings.

ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo was not present at Monday night's talks, the ANC spokesman said.

The working group is expected to resume regular meetings after hitting what political sources termed "snags" over the ANC's announced intention to begin a mass mobilisation programme next year.

Informed sources said yesterday that since the suspension of the working group's activities on November 22 because of "no progress" being made in the interpretation of what constituted a related activity of armed action, more militant members of the ANC had been pushing the mass mobilisation policy.

Azapo ^(11A) reiterates opposition to talks ^{SKW 24/12/90}

CAPE TOWN — The Azanian People's Organisation recommitted its opposition to negotiations, support for sanctions and unity of the "black oppressed" at its 10th national congress in Cape Town at the weekend.

Neither would Azapo attend a recently mooted pre-negotiations conference suggested at talks between top ANC leaders and President de Klerk.

Veteran Black Consciousness activist Pandelani Nefolohodwe was elected to succeed Professor Jerry Mosala as Azapo president.

The congress adopted resolutions on a programme of action, sanctions, support for cultural and sports isolation, a constituent assembly, violence, unity with other "liberation organisations", the educational crisis and negotiations.

Re-elected Azapo deputy president Nchaube Mokoape dismissed claims that the organisation had negotiated with the Government.

Azapo could not join the Government in talks where "the regime was on its own terrain, subject to its own laws and its security forces intact", Mr Mokoape said.

Under these circumstances, talks could only be a sham, as had been shown with the pre-negotiation talks between the ANC and Government, he said.

"We do not believe the regime is ready to talk about freedom to black people.

"However, at some time, when conditions are ready and the regime is ready to address the real problems centrally, we will consider talking — outside their terrain, their powers stripped and their security forces dismantled."

On sanctions, Azapo resolved that the isolation of South Africa should continue.

It did not believe Pretoria should be rewarded for what the "international community says F W de Klerk has successfully carried out", Mr Nefolohodwe said.

On the cultural and sporting front, Azapo projects co-ordinator Lybon Mabasa said South Africans should be allowed to perform and play in other countries but the reverse should apply to foreigners. — Sapa.

Mandela calls for peace, prosperity

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

Soweto home this morning.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela has urged all South Africans to join hands and transform the country into a peaceful and prosperous land for all its people.

Mr Mandela delivered a short Christmas message to the country at a press conference at his

“Together let us walk this last, long gruelling mile to reach a non-racial, non-sexist society where all our people will be equal before the law, where all forms of racial discrimination are abolished, where a bill of rights protects every individual, where political tolerance prevails, and the existence of different political

parties is encouraged.

“Let us vow never to celebrate another Christmas in chains,” he said on the eve of his first Christmas as a free man in almost 30 years.

Mr Mandela said he trusted that all South Africans would join him in a prayer for peace, for justice and for all South Africans to be driven by the spirit of goodwill.

11A

MK to defend townships - Hani

By Brian Sokutu

9/11/90
24/11/90

UITENHAGE — Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) commanders are to be sent to black townships to assist in the formation and strengthening of people's defence committees, MK chief of staff Chris Hani said yesterday.

He was addressing a rally attended by more than 15 000 ANC supporters at Jabavu Stadium in Uitenhage.

Mr Hani said the move should not be viewed with surprise as it was one of the resolutions

taken at the recent ANC consultative conference in Johannesburg.

"We are asking for no permission from the Government because we were given a mandate by the conference, a supreme decision-making body of the ANC."

Mr Hani said the people had a right to defend themselves.

"The Government has allowed the existence of paramilitary groups like neighbourhood watches to defend white citizens, but when we bill our defence units it is said to

be illegal," he said.

He called for a constituent assembly and an interim government.

Among those present were Raymond Mhlaba, national chairman of the South African Communist Party and a member of the ANC's Internal Leadership Call; John Gomomo, national vice-president of the Congress of South African Trade Unions and an executive member of the SACP; and many MK commanders who had returned from exile to attend the ANC's consultative conference.

Azapo wants defence units

Sowetan 24/12/90 (11A)

Congress rejects negotiations

THE Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) proposed the formation of defence units to protect supporters of the Black Consciousness movement.

The proposal was contained in a commission report read by the deputy president of Azapo, Dr Aubrey Mokoape, at Azapo's 10th annual congress at Langa, Cape Town.

The commission also blamed the Government and the African National

Congress as the main perpetrators of violence in black townships.

Mokoape said the violence was creating confusion and division among liberation movements.

Meanwhile, a rejection of negotiations, calls for unity between liberation organisations and socialist policies dominated the start of Azapo's congress.

About 1 000 delegates

attended the conference in the St Francis Community Centre in Langa on Saturday and yesterday to discuss issues rising from the conference theme: "Defend the people; resist neo-colonialism; advance socialism".

Members of the exiled Azanian National Liberation Army (Azanla) were seated in the audience, according to Mokoape, "without asking for in-

demnity from the forces of the regime".

Azapo president Professor Itumeleng Mosala said the congress had to adopt a programme which aimed at intensifying the resistance of black people against the forces of "neo-colonialism" which "threaten to sell out the aspirations of blacks in Azania".

"It is our task in Azapo and the Black

Consciousness movement to defend our people, to resist neo-colonial betrayal of the struggles of our people and to construct a socialist project that will provide the wealth without which there is no real freedom."

While invited, the African National Congress was apparently not present at the congress and no message of support from the ANC was read.



PROF MOSALA

Mosala said he hoped the ANC had "a genuine reason for not being here".

Azapo was expected to release a statement after the congress last night.

De Klerk 'behind' violence

SOWETAN FOREIGN
STAFF

Sowetan 24/12/90
LONDON: There is "damning evidence" that President FW de Klerk is allowing his security forces to destabilise the African National Congress, according to a report here yesterday.

Allister Sparks, the former editor of the *Rand Daily Mail*, wrote in *The Observer* that De Klerk was either unwilling to risk confronting the security establishment or is following a "double agenda".

"One is hesitant to attribute such machiavellianism to a president who seems so decent compared with his predecessors, but there is damning evidence against him."

Evidence

That evidence includes the appointment of General Andries "Kat" Liebenberg as chief of the Defence Force, and the "whitewashing of the death squads" by De Klerk.

Sparks warned: "If the intention has been to destabilise the ANC, it has backfired.

"Only the ANC's moderate leadership has been destabilised, while its constituency has been united, angered and radicalised. (HA)

"The ANC leadership must now respond to the militant mood or be voted out of office at its congress next June."

Election

Sparks says initially it seemed clear that De Klerk wanted to strike a deal with Mandela that would lead to a coalition government of the ANC and the National Party.

But as the year advanced and the ANC gave the impression of inefficiency, "the idea began to take hold in National Party circles that the ANC might be defeatable; that by forming other alliances, the National Party might be able to win an election and stay in power."

A reason for De Klerk's "double strategy" would be, suggested Sparks, "so he can get the constitution he wants and, with his allies, win the elections".



The secretary general of the South African Council of Churches, the Rev Frank Chikane welcomes the PAC and ANC dissidents on arrival at Jan Smuts Airport. With him is an excited PAC dissident Mandla Mazibuko (centre) and friends.

Dissidents want peace talks

*Sowetan
24/1/90
11A*

THE 11 PAC and ANC dissidents who returned to the country last Friday want to have meetings with their former organisations to resolve their differences.

This emerged from a statement they made at the offices of the South African Council of Churches soon after touching down at Jan Smuts Airport, where they were met by jubilant relatives.

While they were happy to be back home with their families and relatives, the group's first priority was to "talk peace" with their former organisations.

They said they still regarded themselves as members of the PAC and ANC although they "suspended" their membership and activities because of certain problems.

"We are coming back home with hope that we will be able to talk our problems over with our respective organisations," they said. "There were certain things that we did not agree with.

"Those factors made us to leave our organisations while we were in exile.

"We want to stress that we did not

rebel from our organisations like it is made out. What we did was that we stayed away from them in protest," they said.

The ANC dissidents, most of whom fled the country during the 1976 Soweto disturbances, said they were "shocked" to learn that apartheid was still alive.

They said they had heard that there were some changes but they did not see anything to that effect.

The 11 are Fikile Mdleleni, Bandile Ketelo, Mzwandile Bopheka, Zamxola Tihoma, Isaac Mogotse, Peter Ngcamu, David Lephoto, Victoria Motauung, Themba Mazibuko, Mandla Ncala and John Seate.

They were met at the airport by the SACC secretary-general, the Rev Frank Chikane, whose organisation organised the homecoming.

The group was fetched from Kenya by SACC officials Mr Tom Mankhata and Mr Moss Chikane.

The 11 spent more than two hours with immigration officials before they were reunited with their families.

Group formed to protect returning dissidents

Smolew
24/2/90

114

AN organisation to look after the interests and safety of returning political dissidents has been formed.

The organisation, known as the Returning Exiles Co-ordinating Committee, was formed by Mr Mwezi Thwala, a former commander of the ANC's Umkhonto We Sizwe. He is the chairman of the organisation.

Thwala was among the first ANC dissidents to arrive in the country several weeks ago. Mwezi and seven other dissidents criticised the ANC leadership and accused it of having committed acts of

By IKE MOTSAPI

terror among members who spoke against it.

Speaking at the Jan Smuts Airport, shortly before the arrival of 11 PAC and ANC dissidents last Friday, Thwala said the organisation would protect its members from assassination and ill-treatment on returning home.

He said: "It is difficult to survive at the moment because our lives are in danger.

"There have been attempts to kill us since we returned from exile and

exposed the atrocities meted out to people who differed with their organisations. We are now living in fear of our lives. We also do not have money to see us through our daily lives.

"I believe we will relate well as a group of returned dissidents as this will boost our morale," he said.

"I want to appeal to the community to treat us as people. We have not committed any crime," he added.

Thwala stressed that RECC was not a political body but a social and cultural organisation.

Azapo congress gives talks the thumbs down

CAPE TOWN — A militant rejection of negotiations and calls for unity between liberation organisations and socialist policies dominated the start of Azapo's 10th national congress on Saturday.

About 1 000 delegates met in Langa, near Cape Town, to discuss issues under the theme Defend the People, Resist Neo-colonialism, Advance Socialism.

Azapo vice-president Aubrey Mokoape stated that members of the exiled Azanian Liberation Army (Azania) were in the audience "without asking for indemnity from the forces of the regime".

Azapo president Jerry Mosala said the congress had to adopt a programme which aimed at intensifying the resistance of black people against the forces of "neo-colonialism" which "threaten to sell out the aspirations of blacks in Azania".

Messages of support were received from the PAC, New Unity Movement, Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action (Wosa), the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania, Azania, City of London Anti-Apartheid Group and the Black Sash. None from the ANC was read and Mosala said he hoped the ANC had a "genuine reason for not being here".

Reforms

Richard Roques, of Britain's Revolutionary Communist Group, received deafening applause when he said: "Our struggles are united by a common goal — defeating British imperialism, resisting the apartheid regime and transferring power to the Azanian working class."

Guest speaker Ambalavaner Sivanandan of the London-based Institute of Race Relations, said President F W de Klerk's reforms were taking place at the behest of multinational corporations.

The fight against racism was also the fight against exploitative power. "You cannot negotiate your way into socialism. Those who have, do not give; those who haven't, must take. . . ."

"There is not socialism after liberation; socialism is the process through which liberation is won," he said.

PAC vice-president Dikagang Moseneke, reading a message of support from his organisation, said a united front had to be forged between liberation organisations to discuss violence and political strategies. A consultative conference needed to be convened and based on the principles that only the African masses were the vehicles of change; apartheid could not be reformed, only eradicated; and the armed struggle had to continue. — Sapa.

ANC-Inkatha talks crucial, says Mandela

CAPL Tuf 27/12/90 (11K) ~~EP~~

JOHANNESBURG. — A meeting between the ANC and Inkatha was a crucial step towards stopping violence, Mr Nelson Mandela said in a Christmas address.

The ANC vice-president said the ANC was confident that organisations which had declined to talk to the government — the PAC and Azapo — would at some time take the necessary steps towards negotiations.

He asked that people join him in prayer for peace and justice to prevail.

Mr Mandela said he had fears the culture of violence was becoming endemic, afflicting not only society, but also many in the security forces.

"Let us all commit ourselves to work together for peace, for the speedy

transformation of South Africa into a genuinely non-racial and democratic country.

"Let us vow never to spend another Christmas in chains."

But Mr Mandela said that despite a year of factional violence which had killed some 3 000 people and threatened to derail talks between the ANC and the government, he was confident of a peaceful future.

"We have confidence in the wisdom and good sense of the majority to share the hope with you that the New Year will bring all of us nearer to a situation of justice and peace for all the people of our country," he noted, apparently seeking to play down a recent war of words between the ANC and the government. — Sapa

Welcome for
Tambo on
Transkei visit

Tambo finds FW 'understanding'

CP 11-7415 27/12/90
11A

UMTATA. — ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo, 73, and his family were welcomed by military leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa and other Transkei government officials when they arrived here yesterday.

This was Mr Tambo's first visit to Transkei after 30 years of exile.

General Holomisa said Mr Tambo would be flown to his birthplace, Bizana, later in the day.

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday that he would join Mr Tambo today, and they would address a rally in Umtata on Sunday. — Sapa and UPI

PRETORIA. — ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo, who returned to South Africa earlier this month after 30 years in exile, met President F W de Klerk for the first time on Monday, in talks which ended in agreement that the country's conflicts should be peacefully resolved.

Mr Tambo, 73, described Mr De Klerk as "most pleasant and understanding" and their 60-minute talk in the Union Buildings as "useful".

He was accompanied by his wife Adelaide and Mr Jacob Zuma and Mr Joe Nhlanhla of the ANC. Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok assisted Mr De Klerk.

A government statement said the two leaders had jointly expressed a hope for a peaceful resolution of South Africa's protracted conflict.

"There was agreement that violence and intimidation should come to an end to enable proper negotiations to start," it said.

Mr Tambo said he hoped 1991 would be "a great year for South Africa" and also that the country would make a "full recovery from apartheid by next December". — UPI

ANC objections to all-party summit

PETER DELMAR

11A

THE ANC will not take part in a mooted all-party summit — to be arranged by government — on procedures for full-scale constitutional negotiations if this entails a rejection of its demand for a constituent assembly. *510 am 27/12/90*

An ANC spokesman said yesterday demands for a constituent assembly and interim government would be the "burning issues of 1991". She was replying to earlier reports that government was seeking to set up an all-party conference to find broad agreement on an agenda and procedures for negotiations.

She said the ANC remained committed to seeking a common strategy with elements of the PAC and Azapo to press for these demands — both rejected by government.

A senior PAC source said this week his organisation was still committed to a proposed summit involving the PAC, ANC, Azapo and other liberation movements being planned for early next year.

Former Azapo president Jerry Mosala said last weekend ANC participation in the proposed government conference would amount to "a betrayal" of the ANC's undertaking to join a consultative conference with other liberation movements.

Azapo deputy president Aubrey Mokoape said his organisation would not consider taking part in a conference attended by "forces of the enemy".

Tambo, FW hold 'pleasant' meeting

(11A) ~~3224~~ LINDEN BIRNS

ANC president Oliver Tambo met President F W de Klerk at the Union Buildings on Monday morning in what was described as a courtesy call.

Tambo, joined by his wife Adelaide and NEC members Joe Nhlanhla and Jacob Zuma, held mid-morning discussions with De Klerk and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok.

Afterwards, Tambo told journalists the meeting had been "most pleasant and in the spirit of understanding".

A statement issued by the President's office said the discussions had been of a general nature and had not focused on specific issues. *B1PCW 27/12/90*

The statement said De Klerk wished Tambo continued recovery. He also expressed appreciation for Tambo's call to the youth to return to school in 1991.

Both parties expressed the hope that 1991 would bring about more real progress towards peaceful solutions.

Sapa reports that Tambo and his family were welcomed by Transkei government officials led by Maj-Gen Bantu 'Holomisa' when they arrived in Umtata yesterday.



A member of the SAP President's guard fingers his service weapon while ANC president Oliver Tambo faces the Press after his courtesy call on President F W de Klerk at the Union Buildings on Monday morning. Tambo is flanked by ANC NEC members Jacob Zuma (on his right) and Joe Nhlanhla, while his wife Adelaide and two bodyguards look on from behind. Pictures: ROBERT BOTHA

Mandela fifth in 11A news poll

By David Braun
Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The release of Nelson Mandela has been ranked by US newspaper and broadcast editors as the fifth most important news event of 1990.

Mr Mandela was ranked as the fourth most important male newsmaker of the year.

A survey of 160 editors by news agency United Press International found that 124 selected Iraq's invasion of Kuwait and the stand-off with the US that pushed the two nations to the brink of war as the top news story of the year.

President Saddam of Iraq was voted as the top male newsmaker of the year. *Star 27/12/90*

The American editors were asked to rank news stories in order of importance from a list of 20 drawn up by UPI.

The top five news events were: Iraq's invasion of Kuwait and the US reaction to it, the reunification of Germany and the democratisation of Eastern Europe, the formal ending of the Cold War, the collapse of the US savings and loans industry — and the release of Mr Mandela.

27/12/90
11A

Plea for peace

A KENYAN newspaper, the *Daily Nation*, appealed to ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha head Mangosuthu Buthelezi to "rise above petty differences based on personalities", the SABC's Africa desk reports.

The newspaper said in an editorial that the problem in South Africa called for the ultimate effort in negotiating and bargaining.

The paper added that unless Mandela and Buthelezi could rise above petty differences based on personalities, they would be faced with the impossible task of convincing their people and the world to accept the violence engendered by their differences in place of that bred by apartheid. - Sapa

Tambo and FW have great hopes

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk and ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo have expressed the hope that next year would bring about more real progress towards peaceful solutions.

In a joint statement issued after they met at the Union Buildings in Pretoria on Monday, the two leaders said: "There was agreement that violence and intimidation should come to an end in order to enable proper negotiations to start."

Tambo was accompanied by his wife Adelaide and national executive committee members Mr Joe Nhlanhla and Mr Jacob Zuma.

Sowetan 27/12/90
De Klerk was accompanied by Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok.

The statement said discussions were of a general nature and did not focus on specific issues.

De Klerk wished Tambo continued recovery and indicated he was encouraged by Tambo's call to the youth to return to school next year.

Tambo, who briefly posed for photographers and answered questions, described the meeting as "most pleasant" and De Klerk was "pleasant and understanding". The ANC president added he had "a useful time" with De Klerk and the Government delegation.

Asked what he would like to receive as a Christmas gift, Tambo said: "Everything, everything. I came here for the first time in my want life. This is the day before Christmas. In a way I had the greatest Christmas present this year."

Asked whether his health would allow him to stand for re-election next year, Tambo said: "We all thought that the year 1991 would prove to be a great year for South Africa and it is with that expectation that we enter January 1, 1991."

Tambo is due to leave South Africa in the middle of January.
Sowetan Correspondent.



ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela at his home on Monday told journalists that a meeting between himself and Inkatha leader Mangosutho Buthelezi "was on the cards" and crucial to ending simmering violence in Natal and East Rand townships.

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

Mandela, Buthelezi to meet 'soon' on violence

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosutho Buthelezi are due to meet soon in a bid to resolve the conflict in Natal and Witwatersrand townships.

Speaking at a Press conference on Monday, Mandela said a meeting between himself and Buthelezi "was on the cards" but that it had been organised on the ANC's initiative.

"A meeting between the ANC and Inkatha is crucial if we are to end the violence," Mandela said.

He did not say when or where the meeting would take place.

In his Christmas and New Year message, Mandela called for peace and the "speedy transformation of SA into a genuinely nonracial democratic country.

"In such a democratic country there will be no international sanctions against our common motherland — our sports people, industrialists, diplomats and all our citizens will be received with open arms in all countries of the world," he said.

Mandela also reiterated his call for a bill of rights protecting individuals and the existence of different political parties in a politically tolerant society.

In his message, Mandela thanked all those who had contributed to peaceful change in SA regardless of their political affiliations and urged them to continue

LINDEN BIRNS

with "their noble efforts".

Mandela warned that "the culture of violence" was becoming endemic in SA society and criticised the security forces for using what he described as "maximum force as an instrument of the first resort".

"There is the violence of a social system which has produced for one section of the population massive unemployment, widespread poverty and death by starvation. In these circumstances violence becomes inevitable," he said.

Release

Mandela, reminiscing about past Christmases in prison, said last year he did not have an inkling of his imminent release.

"There were talks between myself and government about the unbanning of the ANC, but talks about my unconditional release only began in January," he said.

His first Christmas in prison changed his life: "On our first Christmas on Robben Island we were very miserable but we had many friends, one of them was the church, which brought us sweets, biscuits and dried fruits.

"I never cared for sweets in my life but from then on I found them most delectable," Mandela said.

23/12/1982
LAC/19

'Destiny compels us to work together'

W/E Arloes 29/12/90

HRP

QUESTION: If you look back over the past months, could you say what you found the most striking thing about South Africa, having come out of prison in February after 27½ years?

Answer: I would find it difficult to identify any single issue — I shall consider the matter from a combination of issues.

Firstly, on the day of my release I was struck by the large number of whites who seemed to be committed to the anti-apartheid struggle, especially around the area of the Victor Verster Prison as I travelled to the city of Cape Town ... and of course this was more evident when I reached the Grand Parade (where he addressed a huge crowd).

I also had the opportunity of coming into contact with the attitude and mood of the young people, students in particular, who were really the product of Bantu Education but who have become the most militant opposition to the policy of apartheid. This struck me tremendously.

Above all, I was struck by the high level of political consciousness of blacks. When I went to prison, although we had been brought up in a militant tradition, the level of political sophistication was far below what I found when I came out. Especially this was reflected in the dominant role which the African National Congress now occupied. It was interesting to observe that the government had tried during the last 41 years or so to suppress the ANC. Not only had the government failed, but the ANC had emerged to become the strongest political organisation in the country inside and outside parliament.

The achievements of comrade Oliver Tambo who led the organisation, of course within the framework of collective leadership ... his contribution was enormous, and that is what actually broke down his health — his commitment to the movement.

These are the issues that tremendously impressed me — and of course the overwhelming support from the international community. I have found this to be a unique development where you are unable to draw a distinction between the countries of Europe and those of Africa, Asia and Latin America, where you find conservatives, liberals all fully behind the struggle against apartheid. Although we differed very radically on strategy, nevertheless their commitment to the anti-apartheid struggle was never in doubt.

Question: Do you feel you have been treated fairly since your release?

Answer: I was quite surprised at the recep-

Nelson Mandela is approaching the end of the most remarkable year of his life. It brought him freedom after nearly three decades in prison, adulation among countless South Africans and world fame. It also brought a back-breaking programme inside and outside the country. **ANTHONY HEARD** spoke to Mandela about past events and his vision of the future.



tion I received when I came out of jail, both from our own people, black and white. I was even more surprised at the reception which we as an organisation received from the press as well as from the international community.

Now the amount of support we are getting from the press, of course, is not uniform. There are some who appear to be still committed to the status quo but there are many conservative newspapers who have supported us in the struggle against apartheid and who have given us fair coverage. So I think that as part of the liberation movement in this country I have received fair treatment from the country and from the international community. I think that my visits to Africa, Europe, Canada and America have been quite important and we have been able to raise large sums of money on our trips ...

Question: Looking to 1991, what do you reasonably expect negotiations can achieve on the ground during the year?

Answer: The next point in our discussions with the government is to chart a way forward and that is to consider how we should identify the people who are going to sit around the negotiating table and draw up a constitution. One thing to bear in mind here is that there can be no resolution of our problems without the involvement of the government and vice versa — there can be no resolution of our problems without involving the ANC. Whether we like it or not, destiny compels us to work together. We have covered some ground in that direction and in spite of the hiccups, some of which are very serious, I have reason to believe that we will be able to iron them out in due course and make the progress which the country and the international community expects from us.

Question: Do you feel "locked in" to negotiations with De Klerk?

Answer: Well, not really "locked in". I mean we are committed, I am committed, to negotiations. Although Mr De Klerk and his govern-

ment have done things which have raised doubt about their seriousness about negotiations, I have no doubt — especially when I bear in mind our discussions recently — that we have a powerful case and we will be able to persuade them to live up to expectations. As you know I have referred to Mr De Klerk as a man of integrity both in my political work inside and outside the country. That image has been bled a bit as a result of events of recent weeks, but we had friendly discussions recently and I think he is going to make every effort to ensure that the problems that threaten the whole process are settled.

Question: What sort of South Africa do you envisage?

Answer: Well, very simple: it is a South Africa which is based on the Freedom Charter, which is our basic policy ... a non-racial society where all population groups would enjoy equality before the law and where all forms of racial discrimination were abolished ... There will be a bill of rights defining the rights of citizens, entrenched by the ability of any person who considers his rights are threatened or violated to have access to an independent judiciary ... It is a South Africa in which there will be political parties, where political dissent will not be dealt with in a way which shows a lack of patience and of political tolerance.

Question: In what ways can your ideas and plans make various communities feel secure, in the drawing up of the constitution and in living under a new constitution? It seems to be a central issue this.

Answer: It appears to me that no community in this country should fear the future, if it looks at our policy as formulated in the Freedom Charter. It is the most progressive policy for the country and there is no other political organisation which has put forward the policy that we have announced. It makes sure that

there would be no domination of one group by another. This is an issue I dealt with when I handed a memo to the government before I met (former President) P W Botha (this meeting was before Botha resigned).

I said that one of the issues that would face the ANC and the government was the fear among whites that the implementation of majority rule would mean the domination of whites by blacks. We must assure them that they have nothing to fear in the future. It is not possible to speak in advance about the actual measures that will be adopted to reassure the various population groups that they have nothing to fear in the future. It is sufficient for me to say that we are well aware that this fear, although misplaced, is very genuine and we have to address it jointly with the government.

Question: How have you found the negotiating process with the government so far? Has it met your expectations? The hiccups you refer to — have they been worse than you expected?


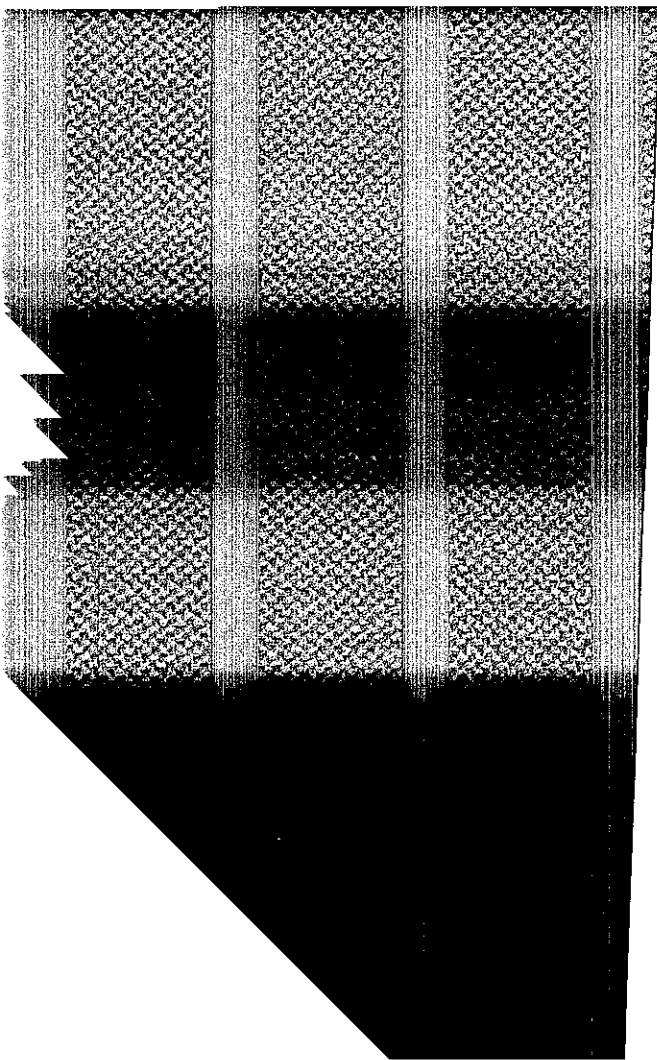
Answer: I think, on the whole, the discussions with the government have gone off very well. It would be unreasonable for anybody to imagine that, taking account of the background of our country, agreements would be reached overnight. If you bear that in mind, you will agree that we have made impressive progress. Difficulties have arisen — some of them, of course, which we did not expect ... But we are discussing those problems.

The fact that we were able to meet and discuss was itself an achievement ... I am confident we will be able to resolve all the issues — some of which will be very sensitive — that we are going to face during the next 12 months.

Question: It has been said by some that a constituent assembly implies a winner-takes-all situation after an election. Do you believe that?

Answer: No, I don't think so. All organs of government in democratic countries are based on free and unfettered elections. That is the foundation of democracy as practised in the western world, for example ... and there is no reason why we should have a different formula. If we want to draw up a constitution which is going to enjoy credibility and allegiance, then the people who are entrusted with the task of drawing up that constitution must be properly mandated.

Ensuring that the fears of the minorities are removed is (an aspect) we are addressing. I have no doubt that there is sufficient goodwill on the part of the ANC and the government to be able to address the question of how to reassure the various population groups in this country that their future will be guaranteed.



FLOWER POWER . . . A young girl pins a rosette on the lapel of President F W de Klerk as he arrives at the Labour Party's 25th annual congress at Goodwood yesterday. On the left is LP leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse.

Picture: OBED ZILWA

FW warns: No room for radicals

CMT 7145 29/12/90
119

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk yesterday warned that the disruption of local government and essential community services was presenting "a serious obstacle" to real constitutional negotiations.

Addressing the Labour Party's annual congress in Goodwood, Mr De Klerk slammed such "destabilising actions" as totally unnecessary and illegitimate.

In an apparent reference to the ANC's boycott actions and campaign to crush black local authorities, Mr De Klerk said that such disruptive actions cast serious doubt on the real intentions of those who "inflict unnecessary suffering on innocent people and communities".

He said negotiations about the future of local government should begin as soon as possible.

The government had already declared its commitment to replace the present system of third-tier government with a new and democratic system in which ethnic fragmentation would be avoided.

After receiving a rousing reception by more than 1 000 delegates and 3 000 LP observers, Mr De Klerk said that the government and the National Party were ready to negotiate the speedy establishment of a new South Africa.

He noted that he and the NP planned to become "part of the majority" in a new negotiated dispensation. He added that he was certain the LP would form part of this grouping, too.

Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk and the Labour Party found each other yesterday.

The adoring reception accorded Mr De Klerk at the LP's annual congress in Goodwood marked an end to years of bitter enmity that characterised relations between the LP and the leader of the National Party during the P W Botha era.

Mr De Klerk, the first NP leader invited to address an LP congress in its 25-year history, was given a rapturous reception — including five standing ovations — by the more than 1 000 delegates and about 3 000 observers at the congress.

Mr De Klerk — sporting a rosette in LP colours — responded in kind, lavishing praise on the role played by the LP and its leadership over the years.

"Seen against the background of the historical relationship between the LP and the NP, it marks another milestone on the road to a new South Africa," he said to whistles, cheers and applause.

However, the process of negotiation required an environment of orderliness and discipline.

Mr De Klerk said to applause that the government was committed to replacing the present ethnically based local authorities with new structures, but warned those who persisted in using violence to bring about such changes, that "South Africa will reject them and history will pass them by".

Mr De Klerk announced that in the coming months the police and defence force

would intensify existing measures and implement new measures aimed at ending the violence and restoring peace.

He said the time had arrived for all leaders not merely to condemn violence but to lead and discipline their followers away from violent and intimidatory practices.

Mr De Klerk said South Africa was coming to the crossroads of its history regarding the building of a strong consensus of moderates, in which there was no room for radicals.

"South Africa cannot wait forever. We want and we need all leaders on board.

"It will be a grave pity if some of them were to miss the boat."

Mr De Klerk said the first challenge facing the country was to build a broad national consensus for the new South Africa.

The first foundation of such a consensus should be freedom — from poverty, fear, suspicion, frustration, violence, intimidation and protest.

The second involved justice, and in this regard the government committed itself to the removal of all forms of discrimination. "In the new South Africa there can be no place for racism — all citizens will have to enjoy the same rights."

The scrapping of the Group Areas Act and the Land Acts would be a priority when Parliament reconvened next year. It was also important to improve the lot of those who had limited opportunities in the socio-economic realm, he said.

A democratic new South Africa would be achieved only if violence, disorder and discrimination were eliminated, Mr De Klerk said.

Where is South Africa's gold reserves? - PAC ^{11A}

clp/res 20/1/90

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk will soon be asked to account for South Africa's diamonds and gold believed to be kept in the vaults of Israel, Switzerland, the United States and Britain, PAC general secretary Benny Alexander said in Harare.

In a report by Zimbabwe's national news agency Ziana, Alexander said De Klerk would also be asked questions regarding the return of the land he claimed was stolen from "our forefathers".

De Klerk, he said, may also be confronted with questions like the transfer of power.

He said 1990 saw De Klerk being asked "peripheral" questions which he had answered "brilliantly", thereby establishing a good image in the world.

Alexander is in Harare paying a courtesy call on the PAC diplomatic mission there.

He criticised De Klerk's vision of a post-apartheid South Africa.

De Klerk, he said, had rejected the principle of one-person-one-vote in favour of a system that sought to co-opt "Africans" so that no one would have power over another.

"That means a situation of perpetual powerlessness, and that will be firmly rejected by the PAC," said Alexander.

He said the alternative would be for the PAC and the people to intensify the struggle "on all fronts".

Alexander expressed pessimism over the release of PAC political prisoners. Such releases, he said, would be made conditional and dependent on a concession in which the liberation movement should suspend its armed struggle prior to negotiations.

Commenting on the issue of a united front currently being debated inside South Africa, Alexander said his organisation had put forward five points of discus-

sion for creation of a front:

- That apartheid cannot be reformed but should be eradicated;

- That East/West collaboration should be kept out of the struggle in South Africa;

- That all forms of struggle should continue, including the sanctions campaign, with the armed struggle as the principal form of struggle;

- That the vehicle for social change was not the "racist settler colonialist regime" but the African masses; and

- That a democratic solution be sought through a democratically elected constituent assembly on the basis of one-person-one-vote on a common voters' roll.

"We believe these are principles the ANC and others will easily accept, and if they are serious, a united front could be on the cards in the first six months of the new year," said Alexander. - Sapa



The PAC's Benny Alexander



President FW de Klerk

June congress high noon for ANC

By SEKOLA SELLO

4 Press
30/1/79

THE ANC's first consultative conference held inside the country in more than 30 years is behind us and now the organisation is preparing for what most concede could be its toughest challenge – the national congress to be held in six months.

Given the many problems the organisation faced since its unbanning in February, the three-day consultative conference held at Nasrec outside Johannesburg could be said to have passed with a veneer of success. Serious differences were papered over.

However, some observers see this as only a temporary "truce" between hardline and more moderate factions in the organisation.

The conference passed hardline resolutions. These included the organisation's commitment to making this year "the year of mass action" – a resolution that could place the ANC on a continuous collision course with government.

The threat is to suspend ongoing talks-about-talks unless obstacles to negotiations are removed by the government. This includes the repeal of racist laws like the Group Areas Act, the release of all political prisoners and the



Alfred Nzo ... the old guard fighting for political survival?

return of exiles.

Government has been given until April 30 to meet these demands or else negotiations could well be scuppered. This will be two months before the all-important national congress.

Hard talk by the ANC, interpreted as a victory for the radicals, came as little surprise to political observers. Since the ANC started talks with government, it has been under extreme pressure from most of its militant members who believe it has conceded much without getting anything in return.

The hardline resolutions, it is said, were meant to placate these angry members – and from the look of things, this has succeeded so far. But it was not victory all the way for the militants.

Towards the end of the last day of the session which was open to the Press, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela addressed himself more specifically to the radicals among the 1 600 delegates.

While frankly admitting mistakes committed by the National Executive Committee, he took the hardliners to task for not acknowledging the good work done by the NEC under trying conditions. He made short shrift of allegations that the leadership was top-down and directives came from above without any consultation with members on the ground.

In short the moderates, personified by Mandela, made important concessions to the hardliners. But at the end of the day the overall impression was that between now and the June congress, the leadership is firmly in the hands of those around the veteran leader.

But if the Mandela faction won at the end of the day, the coming six months are going to be even more demanding on the ANC leadership. Unconfirmed reports mention that several factions within the organisations will be vying for power in June. The structure of these factions are not well defined.

There's the old guard who include veterans like treasurer Thomas Nkobi and secretary general Alfred Nzo. They are said to be fighting for political sur-

vival after several years of bad management in exile.

Although it is taken for granted the seemingly affable Nzo and by extension Nkobi are on the way out, there are those who advise against such simplistic conclusions. "Nzo and Nkobi did not survive all those years of bitter rivalry in exile unless they were good fighters."

The young cadres, mostly products of the 1976 June 16 uprising, are also said to be pushing for their own leadership and are not overly impressed with the current negotiations. The other problem which concerns these cadres, largely a logistical one, is that they are not well briefed about the day-to-day talks with government.

There are also Robben Islanders who are also said to be unhappy at some of the organisation's activities, including the current negotiations. Some cadres on Death Row also sent a memorandum to the conference detailing their grievances.

The memorandum was not made available to the Press. Mandela told a Press conference that if there were any members of the organisation for whom they were doing everything in their power to secure their release, it was the Death Row prisoners.

And of course there are the home-grown leaders of the ANC, those who rose to public prominence in various organisations sympathetic to the ANC like the UDF, Cosatu and the Mass Democratic Movement. These groupings, it is argued, feel they advanced the cause of the struggle more than others and feel they need to be well represented on the incoming NEC.

Bringing these various groupings together and forging some unity is what will tax Mandela to the full in the next six months. Mandela's leadership is unquestioned and with his friend and president Oliver Tambo incapacitated by ill health, it is a foregone conclusion that Mandela will be elected the new leader of the ANC.

These internal problems are going to demand more of Mandela and the ANC

leadership, but there are other problems to contend with. The current violence sweeping through the country has the potential to weaken the movement. After it was unbanned the ANC aimed at pushing membership to at least a million by the time of the consultative conference. However, it now claims to have 300 000 members and some put the figure at lower than that.

Serious financial problems, in spite of pledges by overseas governments, have also impacted on the organisation's growth. Lack of finance will put more strain on the repatriation of exiles and their reintegration into society.

But, more ominously for the ANC, the government seems to have gained the upper hand over its main rival and this must be a serious problem giving the organisation's leadership sleepless nights.

Can the ANC patch up the differences of its various factions; improve its growth rate; help bring violence under control and seize the political initiative?

If the current ANC leadership fails to achieve most of these things, the hardliners of the December consultative conference may rise to power. And what that might do to the negotiations process is anybody's guess.



Thomas Nkobi ... simplistic to say that he is on the way out?

New Azapo boss 'smiling hardliner'

By SEKOLA SELLO

AP ren 30/12/90

THOSE close to the newly-elected president of the Azanian People's Organisation, Pandelani Nefolovhodwe, say his easygoing manner disguises a hardline Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) intellectual.

Nefolovhodwe, who has a disarmingly deceptive smile, says he is unperturbed that his organisation is considered to have no real significance in the unfolding South African scenario.

He says Azapo's stand will be vindicated by history. "People are talking about negotiations taking place at the moment. What we are saying is that we are preventing a neo-colonialist solution triumphing," he says, smiling that smile.

His elevation to Azapo's top post has sent different signals to political observers: that Azapo is digging in

its heels on not negotiating with government and is adopting a more hardline stance and, on the other hand, that after the rhetoric has died down, Azapo will in fact join such talks.

Nefolovhodwe, a 43-year-old bachelor from Folvhodwe in Venda, has been in the thick of BCM activity since its inception.

He entered the University of the North (Turfloop) in 1969 when student affairs at the so-called bush universities were on the boil - soon after the launch of the South African Student Organisation.

The peasant's son who tended goats, cattle and sheep, was expelled from Turfloop a few months before completing his science degree and spent six years on Robben Island for organising the Viva Frelimo rallies in 1974.

He denies Azapo risks being marginalised if it does not accept the government's invitation to talks about talks now.

"We are said to be making radical demands and this will marginalise us. Look at what happened at the ANC conference. Most of the demands we are making were made by the delegates and the leadership



Azapo president Pandelani Nefolovhodwe.

had to accede to them."

Nefolovhodwe says whereas other organisations prove their existence by killing political rivals, "this is the last thing we are going to do. We are not going to show the world that we exist by killing rivals".

He will not give Azapo's numerical strength but says membership is growing rapidly.

"We have revived all the 186 branches which ceased to operate when we were banned."

Nefolovhodwe, who was Azapo's secretary general, will hold office until 1992. He says Azapo will have come into its own by then. But sceptics doubt it will have come out of the shadow of both the ANC and PAC.

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

THE Labour Party faces bankruptcy by April, treasurer Paul Kleinsmith warned in his annual report.

Revealing that the party's finances were in a critical state, he said: "Should the present state of affairs continue, financial ruin stares the party in the face."

He said that when he took over as treasurer last year "various financial records and documents were not available and are still outstanding".

"This is unacceptable, bordering on gross negligence."

Mr Kleinsmith presented his report behind

Labour Party on brink of financial ruin

Sitties 30/12/90

closed doors at the LP national executive committee meeting hours before leader the Reverend Allan Hendrickse opened the party's 25th annual conference in Cape Town's city hall on Friday.

In an overview of the party's finances, gleaned from the auditors' report, Mr Kleinsmith noted the

party earned a record income of R872 292 during its 25th year.

It earned interest on investments of R246 942 and an income of R380 875 from monthly pledges by public representatives, including MPs, MECs, members of the President's Council and ministerial representatives.

But several branches and individuals had issued dud cheques to the party, said Mr Kleinsmith.

He said the controversial R1-million credit line account — the source of great discord between the party and previous trustee Roy Williams, who was expelled from the LP at last year's annual conference — "is a severe drain on the party's financial resources".

In a desperate attempt to save the party from bankruptcy, Mr Kleinsmith recommended that consideration be given to the liquidation of the R1-million credit line, which was draining LP funds at the rate of R52 500 a month.

ANC venture into free market booms

By SHARON CHETTY

THE ANC has launched itself firmly into the free market arena with a new business named ANC Productions.

Based on sound supply and demand principles, it has done a roaring trade in the ANC's black, green and gold memorabilia — ranging from traditional T-shirts and badges to trendy quartz watches.

After a humble start as a mail-order enterprise, there are now plans for bulk sales to major retail outlets.

Bulk orders are contracted out to various manufacturers around the country and there is something for everyone — prices start at R2,50 and go up to R125.

Quality

The business, the brainchild of ANC finance department head Vusi Khanyile, was launched after the organisation registered the copyright on its flags, badges and emblems soon after its unbanning.

According to Mr Khanyile, the organisation saw this as a way of ensuring that good quality merchandise was available at reasonable prices while generating funds for the ANC.

Mr Khanyile said the products were selling "extremely well".

T-shirts and posters have always been popular among members and supporters, but now they are also able to buy ANC watches and key rings.

Said Mr Khanyile: "We found that, once the ANC became legal again, business people used our name and logo to sell a variety of items. The quality of goods was poor and prices high."



VUSI KHANYILE . . . doing a roaring trade in memorabilia in capitalism's marketplace

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Hendrickse warns on exiles

Political Correspondent
LABOUR PARTY leader
Mr Allan Hendrickse
warned the government
not to give returning ex-
iles preferential treat-
ment when it came to
housing and jobs.

Mr Hendrickse was
loudly applauded by the
1000 delegates at the
LP's congress when he
said that those who re-
mained behind should
receive priority in social
upliftment programmes.

"The government must
be careful and act cir-
cumspectly when it
comes to returning ex-
iles," he said.

Unite to end violence — PAC

HARARE. — South African liberation movements should unite in 1991 to map out a common strategy to end violence and forge a united front against the Pretoria regime, PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu said in his New Year message yesterday.

Mr Makwetu also said the black education crisis should be dealt with decisively, and that children should go back to school. He called for abandonment of the

"liberation now, education later" policy and asked the community to instead launch a campaign to "really open those schools claiming to be open" (to all races).

PAC general-secretary Mr Benny Alexander said yesterday that President F W de Klerk would soon be asked to account for South Africa's diamonds and gold, "kept in the vaults of Israel, Switzerland, the United States and Britain".

Mr Alexander said Mr De Klerk would also be asked questions regarding the return of land "stolen from our forefathers".

● In reaction to Mr Alexander's statement, Boerestaat Party leader Mr Robert van Tonder said Mr De Klerk had painted himself into a political corner.

"The PAC and ANC's demands for land could never be avoided if the entire South Africa belonged to everyone," he said. — Sapa

Tambo urges end to violence

Own Correspondent

CANL T.S.S

31/12/90

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UMTATA. — ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo yesterday urged the government and "all those concerned" to stop shifting the blame for the violence in the country, and realise the urgency of ending it.

Mr Tambo was addressing over 10 000 people at the Independence Stadium here.

He said the violence of the past five years was being fomented by certain sectors of the state to prolong the lifespan of the "doomed" apartheid system.

The ANC was willing to talk to anyone who could contribute to ending the vio-

lence which had plagued many parts of the country, but would not continue to watch its people being massacred in their thousands.

Mr Tambo restated the ANC's commitment to peaceful negotiations, but insisted on the formation of an interim government and the election of a constituent assembly to draw up a new constitution.

He urged intensified struggle and warned against divisions "on the eve of our freedom". He appealed to KwaZulu leaders to join hands with the ANC.

Mr Tambo spoke warmly of Transkei military leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa, who had earlier welcomed the

ANC president as "the distinguished son of Africa who has blazed a heroic trail across the entire globe in his quest for the freedom of our people".

After his speech, Mr Tambo was clothed in a tribal animal-skin and head-dress and given a shield, a similar honour to the one bestowed on Mr Nelson Mandela on his arrival in Transkei earlier this year.

Earlier, Mr Mandela had heralded Mr Tambo as a leader unequalled in modesty and humility, whose success was reflected in the fact that the ANC today had officially-recognised representatives in over 40 countries, Mr Mandela said. The government had been unable to compete with the ANC on the diplomatic front.



Readers prefer ANC to PAC, survey shows

Argus
31/12/90
11A

The Argus Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — A

survey among readers of The Sowetan newspaper shows a clear preference for the African National Congress over the Pan Africanist Congress.

The survey was conducted by Marketing and Media Research into the attitudes of a broad cross-section of a Sowetan readers.

It found that 75 percent would vote for the African National Congress in a general election, while only four percent would vote for the PAC.

Independent

Seventy-two percent of readers believed the paper was independent of political organisations; while 26 percent believed it supported a particular organisation.

Of the 26 percent, more than 80 percent believed the paper supported the ANC, while fewer than 20 percent believed it supported the PAC.

An overwhelming 94 percent of readers thought negotiation was a good thing.

As many as 97 percent of ANC supporters supported negotiations compared with 61 percent of PAC supporters. This means that 39 percent of PAC supporting readers did not back negotiation.

Nearly 80 percent of readers felt the ANC should be the primary party in negotiations.

Inkatha was included at the negotiation table by both ANC and PAC supporting readers, indicating that although there was distrust in Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, there should be a multi-party presence.

But Inkatha would only earn 0,7 of readers' votes and the SA Communist Party would get only 0,5 percent.

Sixty-eight percent of readers trusted and believed President De Klerk, while 78 percent trusted and believed Mr Nelson Mandela.

Mr Zeph Mothopeng of the PAC held the trust and belief of 22 percent, 78 percent of

which group were PAC supporters.

Most readers — 59 percent — felt very hopeful about South Africa's future, while 29 percent were not very hopeful. Asked how long it would take before a black government would be in power, 26 percent of readers replied that it would happen in six to 10 years. Another majority group gave it four to five years.

Education

Twelve percent of readers believed it would never happen, most of them — 52 percent — saying the reason was that blacks were fighting and killing each other.

Twenty-three percent of this group believed whites would never allow a black government, while 12 percent said blacks could not succeed without education and skills.

Most readers believed apartheid and equality for blacks and whites was the most important issue to be dealt with in order to save the country.

LP congress prepares for future alliance with NP

CA 7-14P 31/12/90

11A

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE Labour Party's 25th annual congress at the weekend went out of its way to lay the foundations for an alliance with the ruling National Party.

LP leader Mr Allan Hendrickse said at the end of the congress that there was "no doubt" that the LP and NP were now closer to each other than ever before.

Asked about the timing and possibility of a formal alliance, Mr Hendrickse said the LP still had to have further discussions with other parties.

There was a strong feeling among delegates that the party should retain its identity for the foreseeable future.

Mr Hendrickse was speaking after the LP congress in Goodwood instructed the party leadership to engage in exploratory talks for new political allies.

But the over 1000 delegates decided that it would be premature to settle on specific alliance partners at this stage.

The congress heaped praise on Mr De Klerk and his initiatives and many of the gestures were reciprocated when Mr De Klerk became the first leader of the ruling party to address a LP congress.

The tone and content of many of the 11 resolutions adopted was virtually indistinguishable from current NP policy.

The resolution on alliances noted that the LP believed that the future of South Africa would be determined by political alliances between organisations or parties with common goals and objectives.

A resolution condemning the

Political Correspondent

BANKRUPTCY and imminent "financial ruin" are staring the Labour Party in the face, according to the confidential treasurer's report presented to the party's national executive committee at its 25th annual congress.

LP national treasurer and MP for Elsie's River Mr Paul Kleinsmidt warns in his annual report that the party will be broke by April if the current state of affairs is allowed to continue unchecked.

Mr Kleinsmidt noted that since he took over as party treasurer last year various financial records and documents are still not available — a situation which bordered on "gross negligence".

However, LP leader Mr Allan Hendrickse told the Cape Times at the end of the LP 25th annual congress in Goodwood that the treasurer's report had shown that "the party is financially sound".

He said: "The finances of the party are sound and are being soundly administered by our finance committee and are under the watchful control of our treasurer."

countrywide violence called on Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela to meet.

The congress expressed "appreciation" for the police in trying to maintain order, but appealed to the security forces to exercise circumspection and operate in the interests of all South Africans.

A resolution on the Republic's continued sporting isolation appealed for international sports organisations to re-admit

South African sports bodies to the international arena.

There was also an appeal for an end to the cultural boycott. Congress decided that calls for sanctions amounted to "a crime".

Proposals for a constituent assembly were rejected on the grounds that all parties should be given an opportunity to make inputs to a new constitution.

In other resolutions the congress:

● Called on President FW de Klerk to abolish separate sittings and voting in Parliament, as well as the Own Affairs Ministers' Councils.

● Endorsed proposals for a non-racial geographic federation with two Houses of Parliament.

● Resolved that there should be a unitary education system with one minister in the cabinet.

● Urgently appealed to all LP MPs to strive to get the Group Areas Act repealed in the first three months of the coming parliamentary sitting.

● Welcomed the unbanning of political parties but restated the party's opposition to all forms of communism and totalitarianism.

● Reaffirmed the LP belief that a social market economy would serve as the best vehicle to remove inequalities and empower disadvantaged groups.

□ The Labour Party will donate R2 000 to the Red Cross to assist squatters who lost their shelters during a Christmas night fire, Mr Hendrickse announced at the weekend.

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TAP
31/12/70*

'White ants' in LP, says leader

(11K)

Political Correspondent
LABOUR PARTY leader
Mr Allan Hendrickse
said at the weekend that
he was tired of MPs in
his party trying to "white
ant" the LP leadership.

He was speaking after
a mooted challenge to
his leadership failed to
materialise at the LP's
25th annual congress.

Mr Hendrickse was
elected unopposed as
leader for the 13th time.

He said members
should either accept LP
policies or choose "an-
other" road.

Deputy leader Mr Mi-
ley Richards was also re-
elected.

CH-
Times
3/12/60
112

Indian Congresses urged to disband

JOHANNESBURG. — The international adviser to the Black Sections of the British Labour Party, Mr Benny Bunsee, jettied out of South Africa at the weekend with a strong message to the Natal and Transvaal Indian Congresses to disband and join "national African politics".

Speaking before his departure, Mr Bunsee expressed disappointment that "ethnic politics" continued to exist in South Africa.

"My travels here have illustrated the need for a national consensus among black people. There just has to be unity," he said. — Sapa

Blacks view future with more hope than whites — poll

31 Dec 31/12/90

11A WILSON ZWANE *20:00*

FOR the first time in eight years, urban blacks in SA are more positive about the new year than their white counterparts, according to figures released by the Markinor research group.

Forty-seven percent of urban blacks are confident the coming year will be better than this year, while only 34% of whites share the same view. The present level of optimism among blacks is the highest in eight years, says Markinor.

The poll, a part of an international year-end study conducted in 36 countries by Gallup International, was conducted last month among 2 500 urban adults — 1 000 whites and 1 500 blacks.

Markinor says among blacks optimism about the future is highest in Port Elizabeth (52%), East London (52%) and Cape Town (54%).

Among whites, those living in Durban (44%) and Cape Town (41%) are most optimistic about the future, says the research group, adding that English-speaking people (43%) are more optimistic about the coming year than Afrikaans-speakers (24%).

"Only 38% of English-speaking people feel that 1991 will be worse than 1990 while 50% of Afrikaans-speaking people share this belief," says Markinor.

People in the upper income brackets are also more optimistic about the future than those in the lower income brackets.

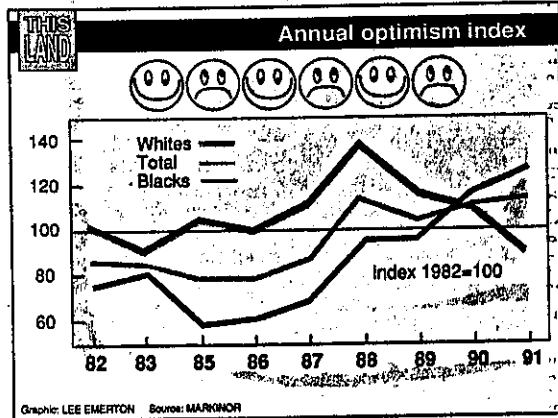
The Gallup poll was first conducted in 1982. During the years 1982 to 1985 optimism about the future plummeted, largely because of the introduction of the state of emergency.

That trend changed in 1986, with the election in 1987 having a positive effect on South Africans' view of their future.

Overall optimism took a dip again in 1988 and 1989 when township violence increased.

It was towards the end of 1989 that optimism among blacks started rising for the first time. Since then levels of optimism among blacks have continued to rise, particularly since President F W de Klerk began implementing his reform programme.

However, over the same period optimism among whites dropped dramatically, says the research group.



Liberation movements should unite against Pretoria – PAC

11A

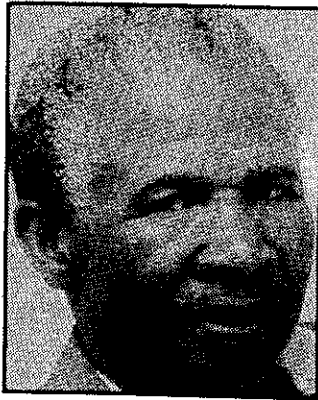
8hr 31/12/90
HARARE — South African liberation movements should unite in 1991 to map out a common strategy to end internecine violence and forge a united front against the Pretoria regime, Pan Africanist Congress President Clarence Makwetu said in his New Year message from Harare yesterday.

Zimbabwe's national news agency Ziana reported that the message was released by the PAC's diplomatic office.

Mr Makwetu also said the black education crisis should be dealt with decisively, and that children should go back to school.

The PAC president called for abandonment of the "liberation now, education later" slogan and asked the community to instead launch a campaign to "really open those schools which are claiming to be open" (to all races).

He further said the violence



PAC President Clarence Makwetu . . . "movements should map out common strategy".

in South Africa was escalating to "alarming proportions" instead of being reduced.

The PAC believed that if liberation movements put their heads together and jointly looked into the question of violence, a solution could be found.

"For decades now PAC has

been preaching the gospel of a united front.

"We urge all those who have a contradiction with white domination — irrespective of political persuasion — to come together to devise means whereby racism in our country can be brought to an end," Mr Makwetu said.

"At no stage are the oppressed expected to engage in talks-about-talks to bring this about. We are not at all obliged to make concessions to De Klerk to create such a climate."

In early December at its national conference — where Mr Makwetu was elected as successor to the late Zeph Mothopeng as president — the PAC had rejected a government invitation to hold exploratory talks.

Instead, the PAC had demanded a meeting at a neutral venue to discuss the establishment of a constituent assembly on the basis of one person, one vote. — Sapa.

Exile condemns black 'bloodletting'

Star 31/12/90
PIETERSBURG — Exiled black consciousness movement leader Mosibudi Mangena said in his New Year's message from Harare that no one had realised that the events in 1990 would be "a prelude to an orgy of bloodletting in the black community" (IA)

Mr Mangena, exiled chairman of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA) and commander-in-chief of the Azanian National Liberation Army (Azanla), said the year 1991 should see black people "resolving to rid themselves of all forms of senseless and cruel violence."

He promised that BCMA and Azanla would "continue with the struggle on all fronts until final victory".

Mr Mangena said black people "have killed more of each other during the period between February and December than they have killed the enemy" in 30 years of declared armed struggle against white minority settler rule.

"The African component of the black community is being brutalised by a combination of a component of the liberation movement, a puppet political group, the police and ultra racists," he said. — Sapa.

Do not shift blame for the violence, says Tambo

Star 31/12/90
UMTATA — African National Congress president Oliver Tambo yesterday urged Pretoria and "all those concerned" to stop shifting the blame for the violence in the country, and realise the urgency of ending it.

Mr Tambo was addressing a rally in his honour at the Independence Stadium in Umtata. It was attended by more than 10 000 people.

In his speech, the recently-returned president spoke warmly of Transkei and the homeland's military leader, Major-General Bantu Holomisa.

Mr Tambo's ailing health was evident as he slowly moved towards the podium using a walking stick and accompanied by his deputy, Nelson Mandela, and Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani.

Mr Tambo said the violence of the past five years was being fomented by certain sectors of the State — the aim being to prolong the lifespan of apart-

heid

"The ANC will not allow this to happen, because we are determined not to spend another year under apartheid rule."

The ANC was willing to talk to anyone who had a contribution to make towards the ending of the violence which had plagued many parts of the country, but would not continue to watch its people being massacred in their thousands.

Mr Tambo said the ANC had reaffirmed its commitment to peaceful negotiations in ending apartheid. However the organisation continued to insist on the formation of an interim government and constituent assembly to draw up a new constitution.

Mr Tambo also stressed the importance of education in enabling blacks to play a meaningful role in South Africa.

He made an appeal to the leaders of KwaZulu to join hands as the last phase of the struggle was entered. — Sapa.

PAC head gives his New Year message

11A
Sowetan 31/12/90

The Pan Africanist Congress says it will outline campaigns to address violence in the townships, and pursue "vigorously" talks already afoot between itself and the ANC on forging a united front of liberation movements.

In his New Year message PAC president Mr Mlamli Clarence Makwetu said 1990 was a year of great success and tribulations for the organisation.

"The year will be remembered for three critical things:

* The bold attempts by the present regime to change the face of racist

By
THEMBA MOLEFE

domination by embarking on a programme of "reform";

* The Grootte Schuur Minute and the Pretoria Minute, both of which failed to deliver what they were intended for; and

* The inordinate violence unleashed on our people by both the present regime and certain undisciplined sections of our community."

Makwetu said the PAC's message on violence would be in line with its slogan, "peace

among Africans, war against the enemy."

On the question of a united or patriotic front of all principal liberation movements, Makwetu said: "Never before has there been such a high level of consensus among the oppressed that our liberation movements can only maximise their gains if unity in action is achieved in order to ensure a total transformation of our society.

"In this regard it pleases us to announce that preparatory discussions between the PAC and ANC for the creation of a united or patriotic front are proceeding and

will be pursued rigorously in the first few months of the new year."

The PAC leader also lauded as triumphant resolutions taken by the PAC, ANC and Azapo at their annual congresses on unity in action and demand for a constituent assembly based on a one-person-one-vote on a common voters' roll within a unitary state.

Other measures to be announced early in 1991 will include a "clearly defined education policy and strategy".

Makwetu said in 1991 the PAC will maintain "all forms of struggle" until Azania was free.

Indians told to join ^(1A) black ^{Sowetan} parties ^{3/12/90}

The international adviser to the Black Sections of the British Labour Party, Mr Benny Bunsee, jetted out of South Africa on Friday night with a strong message to the Natal and Transvaal Indian Congresses to disband and join "national African politics".

Mr Bunsee made his comments at Jan Smuts Airport after ending a month-long fact-finding mission to South Africa. He is to report to the Black Sections - a lobby group recently recognised by British Labour Party leader Neil Kinnock.

Speaking before his departure, Bunsee expressed disappointment that "ethnic politics" continued to exist in South Africa.

"My travels here have illustrated the need for a national consensus among black people. There just has to be unity. While the two congresses have played a role in the past, their time is up.

"Already, there is a debate in the ANC about the continuance of such groupings, which include the 'coloured' Labour Party. Whereas the short term political expediency of such groups as the NIC, TIC and Hendrickse's Labour Party has been recognised in the past, the long term is now to create a national political thought. They must either get involved or be left behind."

Bunsee said South Africans of Asian origin could not believe in "Indianism".

"They are living in an African country on the African continent, their history is also one of fighting against colonialism and racism, and they, therefore, just cannot be allowed to continue with racial stereotyping", Bunsee charged.

The perpetuation of "Indianism", he found, had locked that community into parochial interests, which endangered the creation of a post-apartheid South Africa.

Sapa

Labour Party rejects constituent assembly

THE Labour Party yesterday rejected the idea of a constituent assembly to decide on a new constitutional system. *Sowetan 31/12/90*

Instead its 25th annual congress at the Goodwood showgrounds decided that all political groups should be allowed to make contributions to discussions on constitutional reform. *(11A)*

The congress also decided that the party leadership must investigate the possibility of alliances with other groups.

A resolution passed said the future of the country would be decided by such alliances.

They should between groups with common goals and objectives with each group retaining their separate identities.

The congress reaffirmed the party's policy for a geographic federation.

It condemned the recent waves of violence and called on all political leaders and parties to address the issue.

There was an appeal particularly to Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief *Cutha* Bhelezi to rise above their differences and to meet in the interests of the country.

The congress also called for the Group Areas Act within the first three months of the year. - *Own Correspondent.*

1990 prelude for blood, says exile

119
~~119~~

HARARE - Mosibudi Mangena, the exiled black consciousness leader, said in his New Year's message that no-one had realised that the events in 1990 would be "a prelude to an orgy of bloodletting in the black community". Mangena, the exiled chairman of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania as well as

SA PRESS ASSOCIATION

commander-in-chief of the Azanian National Liberation Army, said the year 1991 should see black people "resolving to rid themselves of all forms of senseless and cruel violence and re-dedicated to black consciousness and its in-

Sowetan 3/1/90
herent promotion of the dignity and sanctity of black lives".

He promised that the BCMA and Azania would "continue with the struggle on all fronts until final victory".

Mangena said black people "had killed more of each other during the period between February and December than they had killed the enemy in thirty years of declared armed struggle against white minority settler rule".

"The African component of the black community was being brutalised by a combination of a component of the liberation movement, a puppet political group, the police and ultra racists," Mangena further alleged.



ANC and PAC set to put up united front

ACCUS 11/12/90 114

By MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent

POLITICAL pressure is expected to mount on government negotiators in the new year over demands for a constituent assembly as the African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress prepare for talks to create a united political front.

And the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), which has long campaigned for black unity, is also expected to be drawn into the process.

Demands for a constituent assembly would form the basis of unity, according to a senior ANC source.

Democratic choice

The ANC, PAC and Azapo insist that the only way to create a new constitution is to give all people an equal vote on a single non-racial voters' roll to elect a constituent assembly. On this basis, these organisations argue, a new constitution drawn up by the assembly would reflect the democratic choice of the country.

The government argues that a constituent assembly would render negotiations unnecessary and the result would not be acceptable to all. It says that only the most powerful organisations in such an assembly would get their way.

The commitment to a constituent assembly could effectively unite both those organisations that have become involved in the present round of negotiations — including certain homeland leaders — and those who have so far resisted invitations to talks.

But disagreement could arise over matters such as economic policy.

The ANC source also cautioned that unless there was a clear basis of accountability within such a front, it would not be effective.

PAC foreign affairs (external) spokesman Mr Ahmed Gora Ebrahim said at a news conference in Johannesburg yesterday that a decision in principle to form a united front was taken at a meeting in Kampala in Uganda in September between ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, newly elected PAC vice-president (former external chair) Mr Johnson Mlambo and Organisation of African Unity (OAU) president Mr Yoweri Museveni. A date for the meeting had not been set.

Common interest

This was endorsed at the PAC's second national congress at the weekend.

It resolved that all organisations of the oppressed should find areas of common interest as well as common strategies, and that the PAC would "influence other political tendencies among the oppressed... to achieve the united front".

While rejecting participation in the present round of negotiations, the PAC was prepared to discuss the logistics of establishing a constituent assembly.

The Argus Correspondent in Johannesburg reports there is not likely to be a meeting between Kwazulu Chief Minister and Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Mr Mandela this year, according to ANC spokeswoman Miss Gill Marcus.

Miss Marcus said no arrangements had been completed for a meeting between the two leaders and she did not think it could be slotted in before Christmas.

Seatbelt saved me — deputy mayor

By DON HOLIDAY
Municipal Reporter

IF you want proof of the value of wearing a seatbelt, speak to Cape Town's Deputy Mayor, Mr Frank van der Velde — he will tell you it saved his life.

Travelling alone in his car on the steep and winding mountain pass between George and the Wildfyns, his right front tyre blew, he lost control and the car rolled three times.

Mr Van der Velde walked away with only a small cut on his head caused by the buckled roof.

THREE STITCHES

"I would have been dead if I had not been wearing a seatbelt. I would have been tossed around the car like a tennis ball. The cut needed three stitches but otherwise I was untouched. I did not even have stiff limbs afterwards.

"I have advocated the use of seatbelts ever since I was a university student. I came across an accident in which a youngster had gone through the windscreen. I literally held his face together while we waited for an ambulance.

"My message to motorists after my accident is: care for your tyres. Check not only the treads but also the walls. Tyres may be expensive but they're cheaper than a life. And wear a seatbelt.

"It saved my life," Mr Van der Velde said.

COUNTRY'S WORST

Traffic chief Mr Wouter Smit said people in Cape Town were among the country's worst bucklers-up.

"The number of motorists driving in Cape Town without wearing safety belts is far below the acceptable limit. Statistics prove beyond doubt that safety belts reduce the severity of injury in traffic accidents.

"Remember that wearing a safety belt can not only possibly save your life, but it can mean freeing medical staff to attend to others.

"We will be conducting selected operations to enforce the wearing of safety belts this holiday season, as we do throughout the year," said Mr Smit.



Pictures: HANNES THIART, The Argus.
BUCKLE UP: Cape Town's Deputy Mayor, Mr Frank van der Velde, says that wearing a seatbelt saved his life.



OUR CLIENTS OUT IN A C

BECAUSE WE DO ALL OUR SERV TO OFFERING THE MOST CONVEN EFFICIENCY IN INSURANCE TODAY GENERAL OFFERS THESE BENEFIT

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- 3 CONVENIENCE — you claim not by form. All that complicated paperwork is
- 4 DRIVE-IN CENTRE — no more run quotes. The minute you phone in assessment for repairs is confirm

Hunt for pilots

PAC, ANC pledge on a united front

8 Day 11/12/90 11A
THE PAC and ANC are expected to meet soon, after both organisations committed themselves yesterday to forming a united political front.

The envisaged front would also include other organisations.

PAC foreign affairs (external) spokesman Ahmed Gora Ebrahim said the proposed front was in line with a decision taken at a meeting between the PAC and ANC in Kampala, Uganda, in September.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and newly elected PAC first deputy president Johnson Mlambo met in the presence of, among others, OAU president Yoweri Museveni and Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, Ebrahim said.

"We agreed the SA organisations needed to meet and we will be pursuing that decision," Ebrahim said.

No date had been set for a meeting with the ANC, he said.

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said the ANC had been working on a united front with other organisations since 1987.

"There is a basis for working together on basic minimum demands and we hope organisations are not just paying lip service to this without commitment," he said.

PAC second deputy president Dikgang Moseneke said it was resolved at the

THEO RAWANA

national conference held at Shareworld at the weekend to form a united front. He said the PAC would initiate a forum "in which all organisations of the oppressed will consult with the purpose of finding areas of common interest and common strategies".

The PAC would also participate if the initiative for such a forum came from other organisations that had a "contradiction with the regime".

Moseneke said the PAC would not negotiate with government or relinquish its call for international sanctions and the cultural boycott until a constituent assembly was elected on the basis of one man, one vote on a common voters' roll. The organisation was prepared to talk only about the logistics of establishing such an assembly.

Ebrahim said government had given the impression that conditions had changed in SA. "The Population Registration Act, the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936, the Bantu Education Act, the tricameral Parliament and the homelands are still in force," he said. "The changes depend on the five pillars of apartheid, not on the smile on (President F W) De Klerk's face."

● Comment: Page 6



The ANC's British representative Mendi Msimang, left, in discussion with international affairs director Thabo Mbeki and Australian representative Eddie Funde, right, at yesterday's meeting of the ANC's foreign representatives. Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

37 foreign officials meet on home ground

6 days
11/12/90 **TIM COHEN** (11A)

THIRTY-SEVEN ANC foreign representatives met for the first time on SA soil yesterday.

The representatives, who came from as far afield as the US and Switzerland, are in SA for the ANC's conference of foreign representatives and for its consultative conference which begins on Friday.

The representatives were briefed by ANC international affairs director Thabo Mbeki.

The two-day conference of foreign representatives was opened yesterday by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela who congratulated the delegates on what they had achieved, ANC NEC member Yusuf Saloojee said.

Saloojee said Mbeki had briefed the conference on ANC meetings with government, violence, socio-economic issues and the need to refocus the foreign mission's external activities in the light of changes in SA.

The issue of sanctions was also on the agenda, as was fundraising and projects of the different external missions.

He said the conference also aimed to draw up a memorandum to assist discussion at the consultative conference.

The ANC's foreign representatives last met in February last year in Norway.

Tambo's homecoming tops the bill at ANC conference

MIKE ROBERTSON

ANC president Oliver Tambo returns to SA on Thursday after nearly three decades in exile.

Tambo, who has been sidelined from active politics since suffering a stroke 14 months ago, will give the opening address at the ANC consultative conference which starts at Nasrec on Friday. *6 days* 11/12/90

ANC spokesman Mohammed Valli Moosa said apart from the opening session, which would also be addressed by the organisation's deputy president Nelson Mandela, the conference would be closed. It would end with a public rally at Soccer City on Sunday afternoon.

He said 1611 delegates would attend. These included ANC representatives from 36 countries.

Provision had been made for recently released prisoners and newly returned exiles, who had not had an opportunity to integrate themselves into ANC structures, to attend the conference.

Observers from Cosatu, the UDF and the SACP would also attend and participate. (11A)

Moosa said the main issues to be addressed at the conference would be:

- Negotiations and the suspension of the armed struggle;
- Strategies and tactics;
- Violence;
- Building an organisation;
- International isolation; and
- The programme for 1991.

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Human rights lawyer Azar Cachalia and former DP MP Helen Suzman were speakers at yesterday's meeting in Johannesburg to commemorate International Human Rights Day.

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

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GERALD REILLY

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to allow a further deterioration
rossly to ignore this fact, Scholtz

nsport Department spokesman
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f Port Elizabeth and rehabilita-
N4 between Nelspruit and Ko-
The spokesman agreed the gen-
of roads this year "could have
d slightly".

every effort was being made
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structure was maintained and
le funds were used efficiently.
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oor and rapidly deteriorating
al roads.

parts, instead of tar-patching
e affected portions were being
k to dirt road status.

'Liberators' urged to observe democracy

WILSON ZWANE

A BILL of rights in a new SA would be meaningless unless all the liberation movements, including the ANC, built a culture of democracy within themselves, human rights lawyer Azar Cachalia said yesterday.

Cachalia was addressing a meeting in Johannesburg called to commemorate International Human Rights Day. *6/10 ay 11/12/90*

"The national liberation movement (the ANC, PAC, Azapo and others) needs to take concrete steps to rebuild a democratic culture within itself.

"The leaders are accountable to their organisations and should be recalled if they do not behave in an accountable way," he said.

He added that punitive action should also be taken against members who breached their organisations' expressed democratic principles.

Concrete steps

"We simply cannot accept political differences to be solved by violence or coercion," he said.

Cachalia also urged government to play its part in the creation of democratic culture by scrapping remaining "pieces of apartheid legislation" and by taking concrete steps to end the culture of violence which "apartheid has bred".

Former PFP and DP MP Helen Suzman suggested to the meeting that public servants be retrained to overcome past bias against blacks.

"It is also absolutely vital for the human rights organisations not to take part in party politics. They should stand between politicians and people," Suzman said.

The meeting was organised by the Black Lawyers Association (BLA), Human Rights Commission (HRC), Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) and the National Association of Democratic Lawyers (Nadel).

UDF backs call for black Christmas

Esmare
van der Merwe
Political Reporter

skw
11/2/90

The Civic Association of Southern Transvaal's (CAST) call for a black Christmas in certain Transvaal towns was yesterday backed by the United Democratic Front and the South African Communist Party.

But the ANC was reluctant to openly support the call, which is specifically targeted at black town councillors who have defied pressure to resign.

ANC information and publicity chief Pallo Jordan referred inquiries to the ANC's regional offices.

ANC PWV branch secretary Barbara Hogan said a decision on the matter would be taken at a regional executive meeting today.

UDF publicity secretary Titus Mofolo said his organisation supported the call because it was selective.

"We see the struggle against black local authorities as part of the wider struggle for democracy," he said.

An SACP spokesman said: "The SACP supports any disciplined, democratic actions to bring about the downfall of local authorities."

On the question of enforcing a boycott, CAST general secretary Sam Ntuli said his organisation condemned any form of intimidation.

Street and block committees would explain to residents the call to boycott certain shops.

Said Mr Ntuli: "The street and block committees will explain the boycott in a peaceful way. If some people don't adhere to the call, those structures will decide upon actions."

By Kaizer Nyatsumba
Political Staff

PAC takes tougher line after rejecting talks YIP

The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) is totally committed to the intensification of pressure against South Africa and to all "forms of the struggle", a press conference in Johannesburg was told yesterday following the PAC's weekend congress.

In addition to rejecting the Government's invitation to exploratory talks, the congress called for tougher sanctions and a blanket cultural boycott against South Africa.

Newly elected PAC second

SFR 11/12/90

deputy president Dikgang Moseneke said nothing had changed in South Africa. Consequently all pressures on Pretoria had to be maintained and even intensified.

Mr Moseneke and external PAC foreign affairs secretary Ahmed Gorah Ebrahim said political prisoners were still in prison, exiles had not returned and apartheid legislation such as the Group Areas Act was still on the statute book.

"To say we don't need sanc-

tions and other pressures now is to be fanciful about the situation," Mr Moseneke said.

In his response yesterday, Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen said those who were not prepared for negotiations were excluding themselves from meaningful participation in the building of the new South Africa.

Dr Viljoen said the Government's invitation to the PAC could still be accepted.

In three separate resolutions

passed at its three-day second national congress at Shareworld, the PAC called for the intensification of sanctions, and for "the struggle for liberation on all fronts" and the cultural boycott to be continued.

The organisation also reaffirmed its commitment to a united front "involving all forces who have a contradiction with the enemy".

The PAC would initiate a forum in which all "organisations of the oppressed" would

consult with the purpose of finding areas of common interest and common strategies. It would be prepared to participate in such a forum even if the initiative came from other organisations.

The PAC condemned the violence in townships around the country and called on "every African to oppose and expose all the elements in our society that promote the violence".

Not only would the organisation talk to other organisations

about the violence, but it would also hold regular seminars, workshops and peace rallies "for all Africans" to spread the message of "peace among the Africans, war against the enemy".

Other PAC resolutions dealt with unity within the organisation, its programme of action, the black education crisis, the "Uppington 14" who were sentenced to death on the "common purpose doctrine", the question of funds and the Australian government's charges against a senior PAC member.

● Keeping door open a crack —
Page 16.

1 600 to attend ANC talks

By Esmare van der Merwe
Political Reporter

The ANC's historic consultative conference at the weekend — the first of its kind on South African soil since the organisation was banned in 1960 — will be attended by 1 611 delegates, some of whom would travel to Johannesburg from 36 countries, it was announced yesterday.

ANC president Oliver Tambo and deputy president Nelson Mandela will open the conference which will start at 9 am on Friday at Nasrec, outside Johannesburg.

ANC organiser Mohammed Valli Moosa announced details at a press conference yesterday on behalf of the national preparatory committee.

Mr Valli Moosa said Mr Tambo, who would

arrive on Thursday, would deliver the opening address.

Thereafter, Mr Mandela would deliver a major political statement.

The rest of the conference would be closed to the media, although the final plenary session on Sunday afternoon might be open.

Decisions

Mr Valli Moosa said the six main issues, which would be debated by delegates in workshops, were negotiations and the suspension of the armed struggle, the strategies and tactics of the ANC, violence, building the organisation, international isolation and a programme of action for next year.

He said decisions taken at the consultative conference would be binding.

A rally would be held at the First National Bank Stadium outside Soweto on Sunday, with Mr Tambo and Mr Mandela as the speakers, he said.

Congress resolutions would be made public at the rally.

Participating observers from the SACP, UDF and Cosatu would attend the conference, as well as people who had not been taken up in ANC structures, such as recently-released prisoners and activists on trial.

The ANC women's league and youth league would also be represented, he said.

Exiled members from 36 countries had been elected as delegates.

Most of them would come from Tanzania, Zambia and Uganda, Mr Valli Moosa said.

Big welcome planned for Tambo

Political Reporter

A tumultuous welcome is being planned for ANC president Oliver Tambo, who will return home on Thursday after 30 years in exile.

But the ANC leader, who is recovering from a severe stroke, will make few public appearances during his three-week visit, after which he will return to London for medical treatment.

The ANC announced

yesterday that Mr Tambo — accompanied by his wife, Adelaide, family and aides — would arrive at Jan Smuts Airport from Lusaka at 11.30 am.

He would not address a media conference, although there would be a photo opportunity.

ANC organiser Mohammed Valli Moosa told a press conference in Johannesburg "certain members of the media would have the opportunity"

of meeting Mr Tambo during his visit.

Asked where Mr Tambo would be staying, ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said Mr Tambo would have preferred to stay in Wattville, the Benoni township where he had lived before going into exile 30 years ago.

"However, it doesn't look as if that preference can be accommodated. We are looking at various options," he said.

Keeping the door open a

Star 11/12/90

11A

crack

SHAREWORLD, the mecca of entertainment for many Sowetans, was a most unfortunate venue for a political organisation's national congress.

While the Pan Africanist Congress's congress was in progress from Friday morning to Sunday night, a hundred-and-one other events were taking place at the huge entertainment complex.

Not only was the place milling with people, but delegates also had to strain their ears to hear what was being said

So had the press when newly-elected PAC president Clarence Mlamuli Makwethu announced, at the end of the congress on Sunday night, his organisation's response to the Government's invitation to talks.

The press had other problems with the venue — no public telephone in the huge complex was working, and journalists could not contact their offices to brief them on delays and other developments.

However, as the place where the PAC held its second national congress and finally decided against accepting the Government's invitation to hold exploratory talks, Shareworld will be re-

membered for many years even beyond Africanist circles.

For most South Africans the main issue on the PAC congress's agenda was the Government's invitation to talks.

In its response, the PAC rejected the invitation, saying it was prepared to negotiate only if constitutional negotiations were preceded by elections for a constituent assembly on the basis of one-person one-vote on a common voters role.

Only a democratically elected constituent assembly, the organisation said, could draw up a constitution for "a free Azania".

The Government, PAC president Mr Makwethu said, had failed to meet the minimum demands laid down by the international community, and it was now incumbent upon it to create conditions conducive to negotiations.

The important thing, however, is that the PAC has not slammed the door shut in the Government's face. Instead, the organisation has — in what could later turn out to be an important face-saving decision — left open the possibility of contact between itself and the Government.

It announced it was prepared to talk to Pretoria "in a neutral venue" about the modalities of a constituent assembly. This, in effect, means that a somewhat low-key — or even a secret — meeting between the PAC and Pretoria in an African country could be on the cards shortly. Such a meeting could lead to some agreements between the two parties and might later be followed by high-profile meetings inside South Africa.

For the PAC itself, one of the most important challenges facing the congress was the question of leadership. A potentially divisive matter, the issue appears to have been well-handled.

There were said to be two front-runners for the presidency: former vice-president Mr Makwethu, who assumed the acting presidency when Zephania Mothopeng died of cancer two months ago; and former national chairman Johnson Mlambo, who is based in exile.

Another name mentioned was externally-based administrative secretary Joe Mkhwanazi, who arrived in the country last Wednesday to attend the congress.

As things turned out, however, Mr Makwethu won the presidency unanimously. In him, the PAC has a charismatic and stately man with physical features similar to those of ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela.

Mr Makwethu is not a rousing public speaker, but this shortcoming is more than made up for by the two men he has as deputies, Mr Mlambo and Pretoria-based advocate Dikgang Moseneke, both elected unanimously.

Mr Makwethu's ascendancy to the presidency means the two oldest liberation movements in the country, the ANC and the PAC, are now led by people from Transkei.

Mr Mlambo, the first deputy president, is credited with having held the organisation together in exile and having given it some respectability after it had gone through some internecine wrangling. Apart from being a good public speaker, he also has contacts with a number of African heads of states.

The second deputy president, Mr Moseneke, is a lawyer and a thoughtful and persuasive speaker. His meteoric rise to the top, in

an organisation in which he has played crucial behind-the-scenes roles for years, will give substance to the new PAC leadership.

Benny Alexander, a fiery orator who often plays to the gallery, retains his position as secretary-general. His former assistant, Philémon Tefu, is out and in comes the young Carter Seleka in his place. The election of Mr Seleka into the national executive council shows the strength and influence of the PAC's youth wing, the Azanian National Youth Unity (Azanyu), of which Mr Seleka was secretary-general.

Other members of the new national executive council are Barney Desai (publicity), Mike Matsubane (finance), Mahlubi Mbandazayo (political affairs), Fitzroy Ngucakana (culture), Willie Seriti (legal affairs), Dr Silva Sana (health), Victor Zamela (labour), Joe Gwabeni (education), Tomson Gazo (economic affairs), Patricia de Lille (foreign affairs), Temba Goti (youth affairs), Nomonde Kakaza (women's affairs), Mark Shinnars (projects and developments), Solly S'kosana (environmental affairs) and Paulos Manqangwana (national organiser).

All members of the externally-based central committee will be absorbed into the new national executive council, which will hold office for two years.

The PAC congress also marked the formal acceptance of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) as a libera-

tion movement. The IFP, long regarded as an organisation closer to the ruling National Party (NP) than it was to other liberation movements, finally came in from the cold.

Not only was the IFP represented at the congress, but the Transvaal leader of the party's Youth Brigade, Themba Khoza,

was given louder applause than the ANC's Patrick "Terror" Lekota when the congress opened on Friday morning. Mr Khoza was also given equally loud applause at the end of the congress on Sunday evening.

The congress was very well attended, and the PAC had representatives of a number of foreign

countries as guests of honour. Countries represented included Iran, Egypt, Yugoslavia, Zimbabwe, Togo, the United States and the United Kingdom. □

A day at the beach to prepare for protest



BUZZ GROUP . . . At a session on Saturday where people were prepared for "what could happen" at next Saturday's beach protest, Isobel Frye, Cheryl Spence and Peter Emmanuel form a "buzz group" to share experiences of previous protests. Picture: RICHARD BELL

By YVETTE VAN BREDA,
Cape Times Reporter
at the Workshop

"WILL you leave this beach and go to your own further down. This is a whites-only beach," a policeman said to me on Saturday.

I shook my head and said I preferred to be where I was as all my friends were here.

The policeman was in fact a middle-aged woman, and she and I were one of many groups of two who were assuming the roles of policeman and beachgoer at a session preparing people for the beach protest planned by the Mass Democratic Movement for Saturday, September 30, on the white beach at the Strand.

About 70 people attended the session at St Dominic's Church in Hanover Park which the Christian-orientated Standing for the Truth committee organised to tell

people what to expect on Saturday and how to deal with certain situations.

The session was run by Archdeacon John Freeth, Mr Alan Barnes, Mr Paul Hess and Father Basil van Rensburg, all co-ordinators of the planning committee.

People who attended were asked to form "buzz groups" consisting of two people and then assume the roles of beachgoer and policeman in various situations.

We were asked to pretend we were being stopped at a roadblock on the way to the Strand, that a "right-winger" was approaching us on the beach and that a policeman was approaching us on the beach.

In groups of eight, we were given 30 seconds to decide what to do when we saw a person throwing a stone or when we saw someone being arrested.

The group I was in decided

that a stone-thrower should be surrounded and subdued. Advice at the summing-up for someone approached individually by a right-winger or a policeman on the beach, was: "Be nice, not aggressive, and tell them that all God's beaches are for all God's people."

It was also suggested that white people join a black person who was being harassed as "whites were less likely to be harassed".

When confronted by the police and asked to disperse, beachgoers should link arms and stay that way for as long as possible.

When police arrested a particular person, others should support that person "and go with him if you want to". We were advised not to resist arrest and to demand the name of the arresting officer and the reason for the arrest.

Stone-throwers should be surrounded and prevented from

being violent. If dogs were let loose, we were warned "not to run and if it attacks you try and keep its jaws open".

Marshals could be identified they would be wearing "fr the beaches" sun shades. Intermediate marshals would be equipped with loud-hailer and two-way radios.

"A core group, consisting of Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Dr Allan Boesak and other clerics and lawyers, will move up and down the beach and negotiate with the police if necessary." They would also communicate with marshals and decide on any kind of symbolic action, "linking hands".

The local community, most of whom were elderly, were not to be provoked under any circumstances. "We want to include all these people in the new South Africa," Archdeacon Freeth said.

Cape Times 25/9/89

232 775

ANC cash is held up in the US

David Braun
Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — More than R10 million raised during the African National Congress tour of the United States under the leadership of Nelson Mandela last June has still not been paid over to the organisation.

According to the US organisers, only about \$2 million (R5 million) is so far available and about \$2 million more is being held up by accounting procedures.

The US promoters of Mr Mandela's eight-city tour had originally set an unofficial target of raising at least \$1 million at each of the ANC deputy president's stop-overs in America, making a total of at least R20 million for the tour.

Huge expenses, a lower-than-expected rate of collection and even some bounced cheques have, however, halved this total.

The money was originally supposed to have been properly accounted for and handed over by August 15, but this has proved to be impossible as each of the cities has worked separately.

In some cases, expenses exceeded funds raised specifically for costs, and local organisers are trying to find ways to settle these without dipping into cash raised for the ANC.

The ANC in the US is not perturbed. The organisation's chief representative there, Lindiwe Mabuza, said the ANC had never asked for any specific amount.

The ANC had asked its US supporters to give the organisation as much help as possible and it was grateful for whatever it received.

Professor Roger Wills



Ovation ... Nelson Mandela after addressing the US Congress.

kins, national co-ordinator of Mr Mandela's tour, refused to set a public target for the fundraising from the outset.

The tour organisers registered two separate US charities for receiving funds, Democracy for South Africa, to pay for the trip's expenses, and the Nelson Mandela Freedom Fund, to raise money for the ANC.

The ANC in turn set up a South African charity to receive the money as in terms of US tax laws political organisations may not receive money from American charities.

Local organisers in each of the eight cities toured by the Mandela party were asked to concentrate on fundraising events. More than a million dollars was said to have been raised in each of the cities of New York, Boston, Atlanta and Los Angeles.

In Detroit, Los Angeles and Oakland, individuals paid between \$5 000 (R12 500) and \$50 000 (R125 000) each to attend private functions with Mr Mandela.

Expenses included the charter of a Boeing 727 and scores of rooms in top hotels at each stop.

It's a sell-out, claims CP

Star 11/14/90

Political Staff -

The Conservative Party yesterday expressed shock at the revelation that the Government was planning to appoint a special negotiating team of senior Ministers, saying the Government was now giving in to the ANC's demand for an interim government.

CP deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg denounced the revelation — which has been dismissed as “mere speculation” by a spokesman in President de Klerk's office — claiming it was another example of the Government selling whites out.

Dr Hartzenberg said it was with shock that the CP had learnt that at the weekend the Government had, in principle, accepted to appoint a team of senior Ministers to negotiate on behalf of the National Party while it operated as “some kind

of an arbiter

“It is obvious that this idea is an attempt to meet the ANC's demand for an interim government,” said Dr Hartzenberg. “The result will be that the ANC will, to a certain degree, be brought in to Government structures with elements of an interim government.”

He also said the joint statement by Mr de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela condemning violence after their meeting in Pretoria on Saturday contrasted sharply with the statement by Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani on Sunday that the armed struggle had to be intensified.

Dr Hartzenberg said the two leaders' joint statement also contrasted with police intelligence information provided to the media in the past about the ANC's plans to engage in a “big scale revolution”.

11A

26/11/90

Inkatha calls for a 'grand peace pact'

Sowetan 11/12/90

THE Inkatha Freedom Party has called for a "grand peace pact" between all political parties in South Africa.

The IFP also called on President F W de Klerk to begin negotiating early next year with all those organisations who have committed themselves to such talks.

The calls were made during the party's three-day weekend congress in Ulundi.

Resolutions passed at the congress indicated that most South Africans were anxious for negotiations to get off the ground.

"They are anticipating major announcements in the State President's address to Parliament at its

opening early next year."

The congress also called on the United Nations and the European Community to normalise economic relations with South Africa and adopt a rigorous timetable to phase out sanctions as quickly as possible.

The EC should "hear the voice of the masses of South Africa who cry out for economic development and cry out for the investment and the incoming technology and management skills that investment brings".

The Organisation of African Unity should also re-assess what it needed to do to maximise the growth of democracy in South Africa, the resolutions said.

Regarding the "grand peace pact", the Inkatha resolutions said they wanted to make the reduction of violence in the country a top priority and called on the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress to declare 1991 a year of peace for negotiations.

One resolution slammed the rent, electricity and rates boycotts "which have brought unhealthy living conditions and near-bankruptcy to many black townships".

They called on all groups which wanted to pay rents and services needed for life and health "to have the courage to do what has to be done".
- Sowetan Correspondent.

PAC and ANC to hold talks on united front

Sowetan 11/12/90

11A

LEADERS of the PAC and ANC are to meet to discuss the establishment of a united front to consist of organisations representing "oppressed people" in South Africa.

This was disclosed at a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday by the PAC's foreign affairs spokesman, Mr Ahmed Gora Ebrahim.

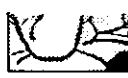
He said a decision on the matter was taken at a meeting in Kampala, Uganda, in September between ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, newly elected PAC vice-president Mr Johnson Mlambo and Organisation of

African Unity president Mr Yoweri Moseveni.

A date for the meeting had not yet been set, he said.

The PAC's second national congress in 31 years, held at Shareworld outside Johannesburg at the weekend, had endorsed the decision, Ebrahim said.

It had resolved that all organisations of the oppressed should find areas of common interest as well as common strategies and that the PAC would "influence other political tendencies among the oppressed to achieve the united front". - Sapa.



ANC branch is against meeting

11A

Soweto 11/12/90
THE southern Natal branch of the ANC does not support a one-to-one meeting between Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, according to the congress regional office in Durban.

Reacting to Press reports yesterday, ANC spokesman Mr Cyril Xulu said: "We are a movement of the people. We don't think it is going to crash the violence in any way if they meet, as Inkatha wants them to, one-to-one."

He said when and if the regional office recommended a meeting it would call for the ANC national executive to accompany Mandela and Buthelezi to be accompanied by his supporters.

"I don't think it is correct to say the time is right at the moment," said Xulu. - *Sapa*.

ANC hits at takeover reports

11A

Sowetan
11/12/90

WEEKEND reports about an alleged ANC plan to take over government was a "badly written piece of sensationalist twaddle", the movement's Dr Pallo Jordan said yesterday.

However, the report cannot be summarily dismissed because there is a serious aspect where the author, attributes the "hysterical" report to "a highly confidential" briefing given to senior Government officials by intelligence personnel, Jordan said.

"One is left to ponder how on earth the reporter who apparently is neither a member of the Government nor a senior intelligence officer, gained access to such 'highly confidential' information.

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN

"There could be one of two sources - either an inspired leak by a Minister or an off the record briefing by a senior intelligence officer," he said.

Jordan believes that the only reason behind such a leak was clearly to "create hysteria" and to arouse fears of ANC's real intentions among the public.

He said that it was also no co-incidence that the report comes at the beginning of the week during which the ANC will hold its first internal conference in almost 30 years.

"We cannot fault the newspaper for reporting what it considers to be a newsworthy story. We are, however, alarmed

that it appears to be lending itself to such an obvious ploy, which so closely resembles the earlier 'Red Plot' that proved itself to be without foundation," Jordan said.

President FW de Klerk had never mentioned the "Plan" to ANC deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela during any of the successive meetings the two leaders have had in recent months. Jordan believes, De Klerk would have told Mandela of an alleged plan for an insurrection.

He said that the ANC held Government and "its intelligence services" accountable for any untoward consequences that may arise from what he calls "these reckless actions".

Reports false, says ANC

Sanctions 11/2/90

By **IKE MOTSAPI.**

THE ANC has distanced itself from reports that the organisation is about to ease its call on sanctions on the Government. (11A)

A spokesman for the ANC yesterday denied that the organisation is to gradually phase out sanctions as from next year.

"Everybody knows that the ANC wants sanctions to be maintained until all the apartheid laws have been removed.

"We are not and will not be forced by anybody to change our stand on sanctions," he said.

Protect workers' interests - Nagfaal

THE advent of a new or black government in South Africa would not herald a struggle-free era for workers, the president of the Media Workers of South Africa Mrs Sandra Nagfaal, said at the weekend.

Addressing the regional congress of the union in Pietersburg, Nagfaal said a new government would also be forced to strengthen the economy of the country.

"When that happens, workers' problems would start all over again because the only way of strengthening the economy is to limit wage increases. This time it will even be worse because we will be dealing with our own people in government," she said.

Nagfaal said many workers in independent countries were still being oppressed after achieving

political freedom and installation of black governments.

"Trade unionists were being detained in many parts of Africa, indicating that only workers could protect worker interests," she said.

Nagfaal said there had existed a need in the past for trade unions to "promote our organisations like the ANC, BCM and PAC while they were banned.

"If we are part of these respective organisations, let it not hamper our dealings in our unions".

The congress elected the following regional executive: Mr Mathatha Tsedu (chairman); Mr Nathaniel Sefara (vice-chairman); Mr Maphuthi Mpai (secretary); Mr Sitabu Maphalla (treasurer); Mrs Jostinah Mokgothloa (additional member).

So water 11/12/70



Cape Times 12/12/90

11A

Mandela asks EC: Don't lift sanctions yet

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Mr Nelson Mandela has urgently called on European Community leaders, who meet in Rome this week, to postpone considering lifting sanctions against South Africa until he has held detailed discussions with them.

Mr Mandela says he wants to communicate a "common position" on sanctions "evolved" from discussions the ANC is having with "other democratic formations" in the country.

In a letter to EC heads of government on the eve of the Rome summit, Mr Mandela makes a "humble request" to the leaders to "postpone any decision on this matter (sanctions) until early in the new year".

The summit is expected to make an announcement on sanctions on Saturday.

Major changes

Mr Mandela asks whether the leaders would "find it within (their) power to direct a later meeting of (EC) foreign ministers in February or March to consider this issue and take decisions".

The ANC deputy president believes major changes will come in President FW de Klerk's speech at the opening of Parliament in early February, enabling the sanctions issue to be reviewed by EC foreign ministers soon afterwards.

Mr Mandela confirms in his letter that sanctions have been under serious review by the ANC, as was reported by the Cape Times last week following the leaking of a confidential ANC document on sanctions policy.

Despite the clamour by some EC countries, notably Italy and the UK, for the lifting of sanctions this week, Mr Mandela's appeal to the EC to wait a few more months could prove persuasive.

● The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said in reaction to the letter last night: "I do not think it will serve any purpose to respond to the ANC's lost cause."



Bid to limit airport welcome for Tambo

APC 12/12/80
11A

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The African National Congress and the Department of Law and Order are at loggerheads over arrangements for the reception planned for ANC president Oliver Tambo, who returns to South Africa tomorrow after 30 years in exile.

ANC spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma said yesterday the department had asked the ANC to restrict the welcoming party at Jan Smuts Airport to the 35-strong national executive committee.

He said the department had "refused" permission for thousands of supporters to go to the airport to welcome the ANC leader.

"They (the police) are simply making things impossible. We don't know what is going to happen. We have told the police that we will handle everything.

Agreement

"But no arrangements have been finalised. People will have to make up their own minds on whether they want to go to the airport."

A spokesman for the Department of Law and Order, Captain Craig Kotze, said the police and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela had agreed that the welcoming party be kept to between 50 and 60.

Captain Kotze said the ANC had failed to attend a planning meeting with the Deputy Commissioner of Police, General Mulder van Eyck, which was to have taken place at the airport last week.

"Their excuse was that they had confused the dates. It is not the police who are causing problems. We want everything to go smoothly and peacefully."

He said the police had since made several attempts — to no avail — to discuss the arrangements with the ANC.

'Homecoming'

"We are not standing in the way of a workable solution. The ANC's organisation apparently seems not to be of the best in this particular matter. ANC officials often don't show up for meetings," said Captain Kotze.

Prominent advertisements were placed in newspapers yesterday in connection with Mr Tambo's return.

Under the heading "A glorious homecoming", the advertisements read: "Oliver Tambo ranks among the greatest political figures of our times. His sagacity, maturity and humility are the marks of a towering personality imbued with a deep sense of justice and an inspiring love for the people.

"President Tambo's return to our country and people is perhaps one of the most important blessings to come our way as South Africans in this decisive period. More of us need to emulate his example."

Working group talks on armed action still stalled

B 12am
12/12/90 BILLY PADDOCK

11A

THE government/ANC working group on armed action has not met for three weeks because President FW de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela have not been able to agree on what constitutes activities related to "armed action".

Sources said yesterday the target date for the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles agreed to by both sides was now in doubt unless a breakthrough was reached soon.

This was because of Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee's decision that the return of exiles should be linked to progress made in resolving matters relating to the ANC's suspension of its armed struggle.

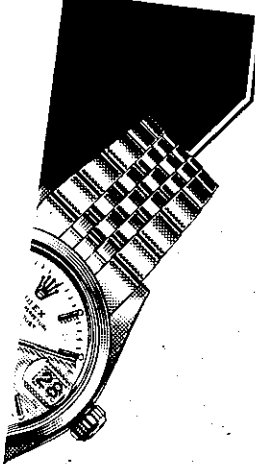
The ANC accuses government of tardiness in implementing other sections of the Pretoria Minute, such as the release of political prisoners, and is unwilling to compromise further than it has to on "related activities" until it sees progress in the release of prisoners and the return of exiles.

The working group's task bogged down over government's insistence that mass mobilisation and recruiting for the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe were related activities to armed action and contrary to the spirit of the Pretoria Minute, and the ANC's rejection of this.

Both parties decided three weeks ago to suspend their work until the two principals had reached agreement on the definition of a related activity.

The sentences of paragraph three of the minute which are in dispute are: "As a result of this, no armed actions or related activities by the ANC and its military wing MK will take place"; and "Both sides once more committed themselves to do everything in their power to bring about a peaceful solution as quickly as possible."

By Charles Schulz



ROLEX
the Rolex Collection at
The Mall
OF ROSEBANK
SHOP 21 LOWER LEVEL

60938/6R

Commission investigating constitutions

TIM COHEN

THE constitutions of African countries and the ANC's draft bill of rights were being studied by the SA Law Commission, deputy-chairman Mr Justice P J Olivier said yesterday.

He would be visiting Mozambique soon to study that country's constitutional developments, he said.

The commission had also discussed constitutional issues with professors from other African countries, including Nigeria.

African constitutional experts were very interested in Law Commission projects, he said.

Experts from African countries, many of which were undergoing their own constitutional development, apparently felt that they might be able to learn some useful mechanisms from the commission's work, Olivier said.

Commission members have already undertaken an extensive trip overseas, which included visits to Lisbon, Berne, Zurich, Helsinki, New York, Frankfurt and Paris.

The commission is finalising its proposals on group and human rights which will be handed to government early next year.

Row over Tambo's reception

By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

87-12/12/90
117

The ANC and the Ministry of Law and Order are at loggerheads over the arrangements for the reception which is being planned for ANC president Oliver Tambo, who returns to South Africa tomorrow after 30 years in exile.

ANC spokesman Saki Mazoni said yesterday the Ministry had asked the ANC to restrict the welcoming party at Jan Smuts Airport to the 35 members of the National Executive Committee.

He said the Ministry had "refused" thousands of supporters the chance to welcome the legendary leader.

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Excuses

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● The thoughts of Tambo —
Page 19.

The thoughts of Tambo

Star 14/12/90

IIA

WE know we have to pay for it in plenty of blood. But it will come."

Most South Africans have not read these prophetic words, for the man who uttered them has been banned in this country for decades.

They were published in The New York Times in 1982. The man being interviewed on his hopes for a democratic, non-racial South Africa was Oliver Tambo, president of the ANC.

He was first banned in 1954. The extreme to which the ban was exercised was illustrated by a R100 court fine imposed on The Star in 1983 for quoting Mr Tambo — as saying he could not be legally quoted.

Tomorrow, "Comrade OR" (his initials are OR) will receive a hero's welcome. Sadly, little will be seen and heard of this legendary leader during his three-week visit.

He is still recovering from a severe stroke he suffered in August last year. The revered ANC leader's speech has been affected and his right side partially paralysed.

Throughout the dark years of the ANC's struggle, Mr Tambo kept the movement together and acted as its roving ambassador, mustering international support for the organisation in all the world's capitals.

He is said to be a devoted Christian, an essentially non-violent person but an uncompromising proponent of the armed struggle, a sharp thinker, and above all, an eternal optimist about the prospects of a new South Africa.

The Star today publishes extracts from Mr Tambo's speeches and rare media interviews, compiled in book form by his wife Adelaide and published by Heinemann.

● ON negotiations (1987): If the key to negotiations were in our hands, we would long have used it to open the door. Such mea-

Tomorrow, Oliver Tambo comes home on a brief visit to the country he fled 30 years ago. Mystique surrounds the ANC president, banned for most of his political career. Political Reporter ESMARE VAN DER MERWE writes on his views, seldom reported in this country.

asures as have been proposed for us to adopt, namely the cessation or suspension of our armed struggle or the unilateral proclamation of a moratorium, will do nothing to bring about negotiations.

● ON ungovernability (1986): Our own tasks are very clear. To bring about the kind of society that is visualised in the Freedom Charter, we have to break down and destroy the old order. We have to make apartheid unworkable and our country ungovernable.

● ON violence (1986): We would much rather that no blood was lost, that the country was left intact. But not at the expense of our continued enslavement.

● ON sanctions (1957): Although one does not expect the Government to fall overnight as a result, hitting Nationalists in the sensitive region of the pocket may bring them to their senses more effectively than many more conventional protests which they have ignored.

● ON the impact of sanctions on blacks (1986): It is idle to say nothing should be done because blacks will suffer. That kind of argument displays lack of knowledge, lack of appreciation of what apartheid has been and continues to be. It is the pain of apartheid that we want to stop

by ending apartheid.

● ON mass mobilisation (1983): Because we could not rely on bases outside South Africa, we had to place more reliance on the popular masses in our country. We have had, as part of our struggle, to develop mass mobilisation, and do this with concentration and consistency.

● ON redistribution (1987): The issues as to how the wealth of our country is redistributed, how the economy of our country is remoulded in order that all South Africans may thrive and prosper, should find their solutions in the context of democracy. These are matters requiring the participation of the people; issues to be settled by informed debate and discussion in a democratic and sovereign parliament rather than through street battles. This is an enormous task but our approach has, as its starting point, our commitment to democracy. There are no glib answers and we are not to provide any.

● ON racism (1980): Racism serves to justify exploitative social relations. Therefore, while it is perfectly justified to wage a struggle against racism, it is also important at all times to seek a deeper understanding of this anti-human phenomenon to be able to remove its root causes rather than focus solely on the effects.

● ON black empowerment (1971): And who are the blacks in South Africa? They are the people known, and treated, as "kaffirs", "coolies" and "hot-nots", together with those South Africans whose political identity with the oppressed Africans makes them black in all but the accident of skin colour.

● ON black/white relations (1958): The political conflict is developing a dangerous black versus white complexion. Such a situation no doubt suits the present Government, but it does



ANC president Oliver Tambo . . . he is still recovering from a stroke that slurred his speech and left him partially paralysed. He returns to his country on a brief visit tomorrow, an ailing 73-year-old.

not suit the ANC and has to be avoided.

● ON destabilisation (1983): We must see destabilisation as part of the attempt by the South African regime to carry out their old ambition of dominating southern Africa economically and politically.

● ON relations with the USSR (1981): The enemy likes to squeal that we have been fighting with either Soviet-made weapons, or communist-made weapons. It does not matter what weapons they are. But we are glad to have them, and shall continue to use them if they are effective — and they are.

● ON relations with the SACP (1981): Ours is not merely a paper alliance (but) a living organism that has grown out of struggle. We are not the same. Our experience is that the two influence each other. The ANC is quite capable of influencing, and is liable to be influenced, by others.

● ON the PAC (1983): My attitude towards the PAC is that it is not really worth even discussing.

● ON Mandela's incarceration (1980): He and the other jailed national leaders have a presence in the consciousness of our

people and of the world public, so powerful, that it cannot be explained except in terms of the indestructibility of the cause to which they have surrendered their liberty and offered their lives — the cause of the oppressed majority in South Africa, the cause of Africa, the cause of progressive mankind.

● ON the Pretoria bomb blast shortly after the SADF's air raid on Matola in Mozambique (1983): One of the journalists did ask that question: What makes people carry out this kind of action? What is the matter with our system? That was the correct question.

● ON the deaths of civilians in armed attacks (1983): When that cause (apartheid) is removed there will be peace in the country. Otherwise the situation will continue to worsen, and they surely have not seen the last bomb attack. Changing the South African system is going to call for sacrifices from innocent and guilty alike, civilians and non-civilians alike. As long as the system is there, that is the price that has to be paid.

● ON self-criticism (1975): At least politically, the ANC is yet a force — it may be ill-managed, poorly directed and badly led — but still a force. □

Taking the slow road to

peace

PERHAPS the African National Congress consultative congress this weekend will help clarify the party's attitude to progress in negotiations with the Government.

But it is not apparent yet how serious the ANC is about achieving a new democratic order in the minimum time.

Following the march on the Union Buildings in Pretoria on Friday, ANC executive member and SA Communist Party leader Joe Slovo said the slogan 30 years ago had been "freedom in our lifetime", but this was "no longer good enough. We want freedom now."

The fact is that the ANC and the SACP could achieve "freedom now" a lot quicker by changing their tactics, but it is questionable whether they would have the political dominance they seek by doing so. Therefore, in spite of the ANC's marches and propaganda for instant freedom, the growing perception is that their actual priority is building up grass-roots support. Coming to the negotiation table to thrash out details of a new democratic constitution may happen when the party can do so from a position of strength.

To hold back on achieving prac-

tical reforms for the sake of a bargaining position would seem to increase the risks of negotiation being overtaken by violence.

Some even say that is the hidden tactic in the ANC's game plan, citing the likelihood that the ANC's relative political position would strengthen as negotiations break down.

Tactics and principle both have a place in the equation. There are questions such as whether universal freedom is more important than a party's attainment of power, whether any truly democratic system negotiated now is better than a new dispensation hammered out after first establishing political predominance, whether the fears and particular demands of minorities should count as being important compared with the wishes of a majority eager to grasp and exploit power for the first time.

Everything points to the ANC's having decided that assuring power is more important than anything — even if settlement is delayed for a considerable time.

This would explain why it has opted for mass mobilisation and strident rhetoric at a time when it had already established a healthy basis for negotiation with the Gov-

ernment. Mobilisation and projection of grievances inevitably increase areas of friction and makes the removal of obstacles to full-scale negotiation more difficult to achieve.

The question arises, however, whether a different tactic would have borne better fruit.

A quick transition to full adult suffrage, even with concessions to the Government's concern with guarantees for minorities, could have avoided many of the issues bogging down progress at present. Once a non-racial administration was in control, the question of exiles and political crimes would be settled by Cabinet decision-making, not by prolonged, often logjammed, negotiation.

While the return of exiles, release of detainees and political prisoners, and indemnity for political activists would all assist the ANC in building its strength for an election, they are matters that do not materially change the party's bargaining power at a constitutional conference based on consensus, open to all parties having an obvious constituency.

If the Government's plan were proceeded with for bringing a cross-section of political interests to the negotiation table, therefore,

Star 12/12/90

11A

the question of detainees, prisoners and exiles would be irrelevant to constitutional progress — provided an ANC delegation of its own choosing (including exiles and prisoners if they so wished) were allowed to participate.

Such a negotiation, however, would be bound by rules of consensus. Compromise would become the order of the day.

The system agreed to would be no less democratic — perhaps it would be more democratic because of the process — but it would not throw up an obvious winner to run it.

The ANC, it seems, is not into that game — for power reasons.

A constituent assembly would limit the number of participating parties at negotiations. And, if mobilisation can successfully heighten public awareness of the ANC as a powerful political instrument, it can increase the ANC's rating as the main opposition to the status quo to the point where it could really hope to obtain a commanding majority — a majority that would reduce the need for compromise.

While such tactics may damage the moral evaluation of the ANC

as a people's movement seeking justice, they are in other respects justifiable options for any political movement seeking power.

All the ANC is doing is ensuring it does not separate its bid for justice from its bid for power.

It could be argued that the Government, from its perspective, is doing the same — even while claiming a more moralistic position in appearing to seek no more than justice through the removal of privilege.

It improves the Government's case (if it chooses to be in opposition to the ANC) to be seen to be speeding up negotiations and to blame the ANC for delaying the arrival of democracy.

It improves the ANC's chances of attaining power if it builds its strength from the bottom up, if it becomes abrasive in its demands for redress of any perceived grievances, and if it cuts off from the high road of protest rival organisations such as the PAC, by marching to power on a wave of protest.

In spite of Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen's warnings to parties refusing to proceed with the negotiations

tions camp (and must be regarded as a conditional — and also a vitally necessary — participant) and the other in the protest camp.

On top of that, its demand for a constituent assembly to decide the new constitution is being echoed by most other extra-parliamentary groups, forming a lobby for

such an instrument of change to be conceded by the Government.

While the Government can to some effect exploit, with less radical groups, the ANC's delaying tactics, its best way of undermining the protest bandwagon on which the ANC is building its strength is to make a deal on the perceived obstacles to negotiation

as quickly as possible, to force the ANC to the negotiating table.

The ANC, frustrating as its tactics may be in delaying a democratic settlement, is well placed to succeed in what it is attempting. □

— that the Government will go ahead without them — there must be the strong realisation that constitutional talks held without some of the major players will not provide a solution.

The ANC, in spite of its balking tactics at present, is thus in a strong position.

It has one foot in the negotia-

No meeting this year, says ANC

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff

A meeting is unlikely this year between Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said yesterday.

Ms Marcus told The Star no plans for a meeting between the two leaders had been finalised, and she did not think such a meeting could be arranged before the end of the year.

It had been agreed last month that Chief Buthelezi and members of the Inkatha Freedom Party central committee would meet Mr Mandela and members of the ANC national executive.

The ANC's southern Natal branch has expressed strong opposition to the meeting.

ANC southern regional spokesman Cyril Xulu said he believed a meeting between Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi would not "crack the violence" in any way and that the organisation's Southern Natal region

did not think the time was ripe.

Ms Marcus said that if Chief Buthelezi was really committed to seeking an end to violence he would have accepted the South African Council of Churches' invitation to take part in a tour of battle-scarred East Rand townships with other leaders today.

Mr Mandela and Pan Africanist Congress president Clarence Makwetu had already accepted the invitation.

A spokesman for Chief Buthelezi, Godfrey Dlamini, told The Star Chief Buthelezi had not yet seen the SACC's invitation.

Ms Marcus also said the ANC was not opposed in principle to the PAC's call for a united front.

The ANC, Ms Marcus said, had been calling for a united front against apartheid for a long time. However, she did not think that a meeting between the two organisations was possible before the end of the year.

Call for constituent assembly

11A

POLITICAL pressure is expected to mount on government negotiators in the new year over demands for a constituent assembly as the ANC and PAC prepare for talks to create a united political front.

Another key movement, Azapo which has long campaigned for black unity, would also be expected to be drawn into the process.

Demands for a constituent assembly would form the basis of unity, according to a senior ANC source.

The ANC, PAC and Azapo insist that the only way to create a new constitution is to give all people an equal vote on a single non-racial voters role to elect a

constituent assembly. On this basis, these organisations argue, a new constitution drawn up by the assembly would reflect the democratic choice of the country.

The government argues that a constituent assembly would render negotiations unnecessary and the result would not be acceptable to all. It says that only the most powerful organisations in such an assembly would get their way.

The commitment to a constituent assembly could effectively unite both those organisations that have become involved in the present round of negotiations - including certain homeland leaders - and those who have so far resisted invitations to talks.

But disagreement could arise over matters such as economic policy.

The ANC source also cautioned that unless there was a clear basis of accountability within such a front, it would not be effective.

PAC foreign affairs (external) spokesman Mr. Ahmed Gora Ebrahim said at a news conference in Johannesburg yesterday that a decision in principle to form a united front was taken at a meeting in Kampala in Uganda in September this year between ANC (deputy president Nelson Mandela) newly elected PAC president (former external chair) Johnson

Mlambo and Organisation of African Unity president Yoweri Moseveni. A date for the meeting had not yet been set.

This had been endorsed at the PAC's second national congress at the weekend.

It had resolved that all organisations of the oppressed should find areas of common interest as well as common strategies, and that the PAC would influence other political tendencies among the oppressed to achieve the united front.

While rejecting participation in the present round of negotiations, the PAC was prepared to discuss the logistics of establishing a constituent assembly.



ANC to build posh house for Tambo

THE African National Congress has bought a huge site to build a posh house for its president, Mr Oliver Tambo, who returns temporarily to the country tomorrow.

The plot, in Tambo's home town of Wattville, Benoni, was originally zoned for a park.

Estimated to be about 3 000 square metres, the site was allocated to the ANC by the Wattville Council after it was rezoned in July, sources told *Sowetan* yesterday.

This ends months of speculation on whether Tambo and his family would return to their modest four-room Wattville home or buy a

By SY MAKARINGE

house in one of the plush townships on the Reef.

The ANC president will arrive to a hero's welcome at Jan Smuts Airport tomorrow to attend the organisation's consultative conference at Nasrec in Johannesburg this weekend.

He is expected to spend a few weeks in South Africa before returning to England.

The house, rumoured to be probably bigger than Mr Nelson Mandela's Orlando West mansion, is expected to be completed in June next year when Tambo returns to settle permanently in the country.

Sources said yesterday that Tambo's wife, Adelaide, appeared

satisfied when she inspected the site during her brief visit to the country earlier this year.

The site, at Dube Street, has already been fenced off in preparation for building to commence.

The ANC could not give details of the new home.

ANC spokesman Miss Gill Marcus said Tambo would return to Britain in a few weeks time and "any accommodation that will be arranged for him will be a temporary one".

"But I assume he has always expressed the wish that he would like to go back to his home town of Wattville when he returns to settle permanently in the country," Marcus said.

Sowetan
12/12/90

11A

SPECIAL FOCUS ON THE RETURN OF THE ANC'S PRESIDENT, OLIVER TAMBO TO PRESIDE AT ITS HISTORIC CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE

**ANC NEEDS
STRATEGIC CLARITY**Raymond Suttner
speaks on the issue

● See page 10

**TRIUMPHANT
HOMECOMING**Occasion of reunion,
triumph and nostalgia

● See pages 10 & 23

**JOE SLOVO
OPTIMISTIC**We must try to make it
happen

● See page 23

**ANC's
BALANCING ACT**Ensuring rapid change
democratically.

● See page 25

Return Of The 'Astute' Statesman

South 13/12-17/12/90

11A

IF the historical role of the African National Congress in South African politics is recorded, the the name of "OR" Tambo will feature strongly.

Known as the person that kept the movement together in its darkest days during the late sixties and seventies, his name has become inseparably linked the the ANC.

Oliver Reginald Tambo, who has been at the centre of South African political action all his adult life and has been in the forefront of all the innovations and developments within the African National Congress.

Tambo, 73, is five years younger than the ANC which marked its 78th anniversary on January 8 this year.

His strong leadership qualities have always been admired by all who have known and worked with him. He is received with honour by leaders and governments throughout the world to whom he is known as an astute statesman.

However, he was for many years in the eyes of the South African government regarded as public enemy No 1, as a blood-thirsty "terrorist leader" controlled by Moscow.

The prominent South African leader was born on October 5, 1917 in the rural town of Bizna, Transkei.

Tambo comes from a Christian family and is still known to be a Christian. (Continued on page 10)

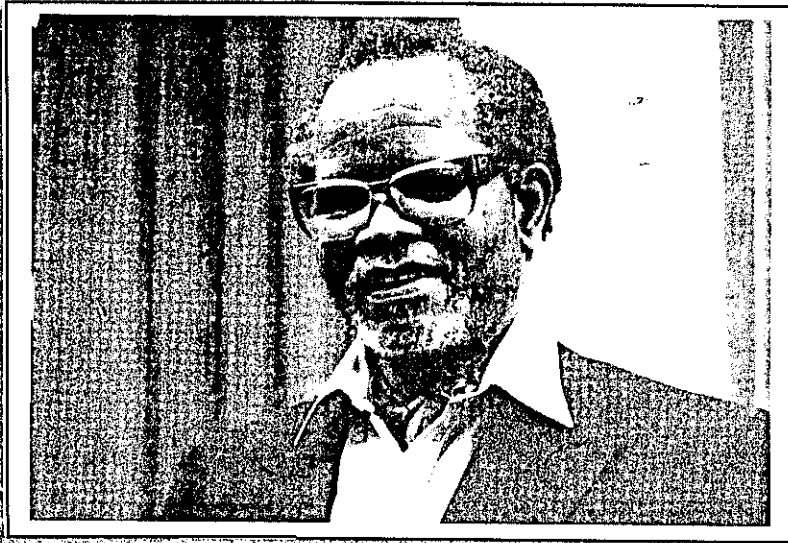


African National Congress

Youth League

South 13/12 - 17/12/90

118



A GLORIOUS HOMECOMING

Viva Comrade Tambo!

Across the length and breadth of our land, from every village and homestead, from the cities and towns, from the schools and campuses, let us together join in the celebration of the heroic return of a great leader and astute statesman.

The coming home Comrade President O R Tambo, at a time when a historic landmark in the history of our struggle has been reached, is in itself a clarion call for every South African who cherishes a new united and nonracial order, to engage more intensely in the transformative process. Our common resolve to triumph over the ills of apartheid oppression and artificial division should be emphasised more than ever before. Our watchword must remain unity in action!

"In our message to our people today, we call attention to the lesson of our history, our own times; to the reality of our own situation. Nothing will change except at the instance of the majority of our people of all races and social strata; Nothing will change without enduring and sustained sacrifice on our part. No force on earth can deny us the victory of our just and united struggle.

"We invite all our countrymen in their various organisational formations to seek to find ways of co-operation and collaboration in the quest for justice in our country, for liberation. The enemy of freedom for peoples has evolved a divisive structure which has found support among some of the victims of that structure." — O R Tambo, 1979.

O R Tambo ranks among the greatest political figures of our times. His sagacity, maturity and humility are the marks of a towering personality imbued with a deep sense of justice and an inspiring love for the people.

President O R Tambo's return to our country and people is perhaps one of the most important blessings to come our way as South Africans at this decisive period. More of us need to emulate his example.

Fight! Produce! Learn!

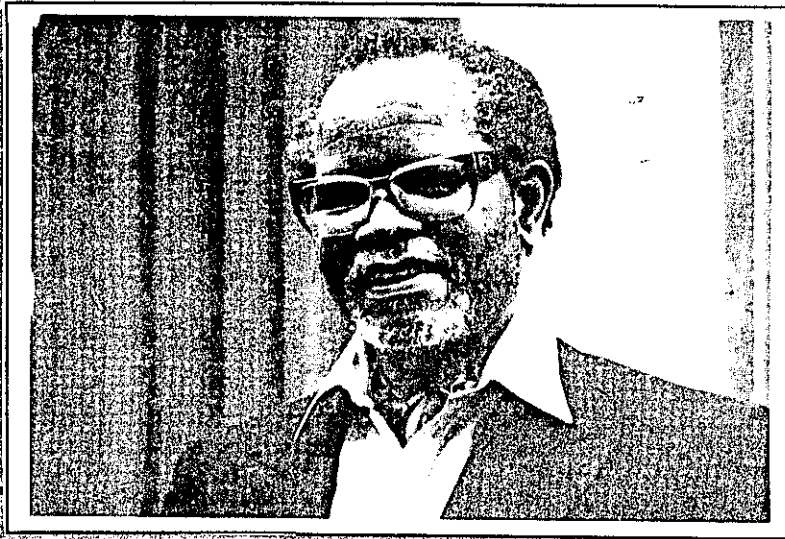
Placed by: Provisional National Youth Committee of the African National Congress Youth League, P O Box 31604 Braamfontein 2017. Telephone (011) 403-3452/6

African National Congress

Youth League

South 13/12 - 17/12/90

118



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Triumph

South 13/6/ - 17/6/90

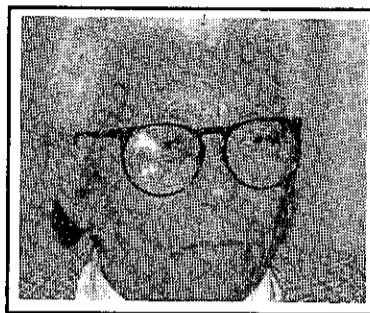
From MONO BADELA (11A) JOHANNESBURG. — The first conference of the African National Congress to be held inside South Africa since 1959 will be an occasion of reminiscences, homecoming and triumph. More than 1 600 delegates from throughout South Africa and 36 foreign countries will attend the consultative conference, to be held at the Nasrec conference centre in Johannesburg this weekend.

Reunions

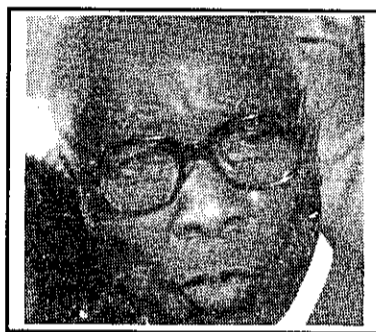
For many of the older leaders — such as ANC president Oliver Tambo, deputy president Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki and Alfred Nzo — there will be nostalgia everywhere with many reunions and reminiscences.

For many others, recently returned from exile with government permission to attend the conference, it will be a homecoming like no other.

For activists who have spent their



Walter Sisulu



Govan Mbeki

political lives inside the country building the ANC, it will be a triumph like few others in this country's history.

Tambo was due to return to a tumultuous welcome at Jan Smuts Airport on Thursday and give the opening address at the conference.

Initially the ANC had planned to

have a fully-fledged national conference this December.

However at its meeting in October, the National Executive Committee (NEC) and Internal Leadership Core (ILC) decided to postpone the national conference to June 1991.

Mandela is expected to deliver a major policy statement at the opening of the conference.

The conference was of "such a status that it could take decisions that could be binding on all ANC members," according to Mohammed Valli Moosa, an ANC spokesperson.

Observers

Participating observers from the SACP, UDF and Cosatu would attend the conference as well as people who had not been taken up in ANC structures, such as recently-released prisoners and activists on trial.

The ANC Women's League and the ANC Youth League would also be represented, Moosa said.

Exiled members from 36 countries had been elected as delegates. Most of these would come from Tanzania, Zambia, Angola, Uganda, Ethiopia and Mozambique.

HEROES WELCOME: Oliver Tambo is welcomed to Lusaka on his return by Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda last week

'I felt I abandoned you'

"Throughout my illness I agonised over your plight and the plight of other people at home. I could not help feeling that I had abandoned you at the time when we should all have been together.

But fortune has favoured us.

"Since I was taken ill, the ANC and other political organisations were unbanned. Talks about talks have started.

"Soon we shall all be returning home. I am sure many of us will be destabilised by the momentous events taking place in our country.

"I want to remind you that you are the ANC. Without any doubt the ANC is representative of the people.

"We have lived through 30 years, but it was the ANC that rallied us together and calls us together now.

Struggle

"Last year, we had a great event at home. Walter Sisulu and others were released after so many years.

"Their entry into the struggle became a new force and in February Nelson Mandela was released. At last he was out.

"The whole world could breathe again.

"After these two men were released we saw the biggest demonstration ever held in our country.

"But it is you who have brought the victory, who have scored. Our people will always remember your selfless contribution. You should therefore not be estranged.

ON his way home to South Africa, African National Congress president Oliver Tambo travelled to Lusaka where he addressed ANC exiles on Monday.

His 20-minute speech was a poignant reassurance to exiles that their years away from home was nearing an end.

SOUTH publishes the full text of Tambo's first address to ANC members since his stroke 15 months ago:

"It is true there are groups inside the country, white groups, who do not want change. But all the people here, they want change - and they will have it.

"We have suffered together in exile. We shall survive as well at home. I am sure that everything humanly possible will be done to ensure our smooth resettlement in the country.

"We have been a fighting movement. I remember in the early 60's we were not a fighting movement. We were a peace-loving movement.

"When Frelimo attacked, we were not attacking.

"When others attacked, we were not. We were still far from attacking.

"In our convictions we knew that when we attacked the world would know about it.

"And so, in the mid-60's we started attacking. As a result, our stature in the eyes of our people is very high indeed.

"The ANC has won impressive victories because of the calibre of its cadres. And now they are not attack-

ing. They have been advised to stop.

"As we return home to an even more difficult task, you will be required to maintain your discipline.

"No-one should be unmindful of the heavy challenges we are still to overcome.

"I am going home to our national consultative conference. It is my hope that this conference will address with the necessary urgency, all the issues pertaining to the current situation.

Solutions

"Because you are human beings, you have your strengths, you have your weaknesses. You have to answer to those weaknesses.

"There cannot be a situation which binds you which is without solutions.

"As I said, the national conference will address some of your questions.

"We should as a result be able to resolve some of our problems - both at a practical and theoretical level.

"Let us continue to keep the banner of our people high!"

ANC in need of strategic clarity

By JENNY CARGILL (11A) SOUTH 13/12/ - 17/12/90
THE ANC faces the pressing demand for a programme of action and greater strategic clarity, according to the ANC's political education chief, Raymond Suttner.

Overall, says Suttner, the consultative conference cannot be expected to go beyond "generalised statements" on the issues before it.

But there has to be an exception in the case of the formulation of a programme of action, he argues.

Weakness

In an interview, he highlighted a "lack of strategic direction" as the ANC's main weakness.

"Everything seems to have collapsed into talks in a way that has not harnessed the power of the people.

"I think one of the things we need to do is develop a programme of action that will involve the masses and give direction to all elements involved in the liberation struggle."

Suttner says there is a greater awareness in the national leadership about members' "dissatisfaction" with the negotiating process after the August 6 Pretoria Minute.

The need to review the way negotiations are being conducted, "particularly since the government is not abiding by its agreements", has also been accepted.

Suttner says the political context in which the conference is taking place



Raymond Suttner

is particularly important.

He reckons the ANC "may be poised for a breakthrough, a leap forward".

He says the growing number of elected ANC structures is now having an impact. He argues that last week's mass marches throughout the country are one effect of this new phase in the ANC. They were a symbol, he says, "of the ANC's power as an organised force".

"Listening to the responses to the speeches was very interesting.

The clapping was not over rhetoric but over participation in talks, no secret negotiations, the people's being involved and prisoners' being released."

SOUTH, December 13 to December 17 1990 23

E CONFERENCE



ant welcome

Support for 'freedom' campaign

From YASMIN KHAN

(119)

HARARE. — A campaign for "Peace and Democracy NOW" in South Africa is taking on a regional complexion with news here of a planned demonstration on December 17. South 17/12 - 17/12/90

The ANC has asked Zimbabweans, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and foreign embassies to participate and identify their organisations, and to carry banners calling for "Peace at Christmas" and "Exiles home for Christmas".

The ANC points out in its publicity brochures that the people of South Africa are the victims of the worst violence the country has ever seen, despite the current "peace process". The liberation movement states that only one percent of political prisoners have been released, while most exiles have not yet been allowed to return to their country.

The "Peace and Democracy NOW" campaign, which runs until the New Year, aims to link mass struggle to the negotiating process.

In South Africa the campaign began a week ago and is coordinated by a National Peace Committee with leaders from the tripartite alliance comprising the ANC, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) and the South African Communist Party (SACP).

Candlelight marches

There are also regional campaign committees made up of activists working directly for the ANC or attached to organisations allied to the organisation.

Issues at both national and community level are being taken up by the campaign.

Through candlelight marches, pickets, acts of defiance and letters to President FW de Klerk, the campaign will focus on the violence.

At community level the campaign will demand an end to local repression, the reinstatement of electricity and the right of communities to self-defence.

The campaign is expected to consolidate the relationship between the partners of the tripartite alliance.

Many believe that despite the huge Cosatu and SACP constituencies, the alliance has not been properly understood by the various sections within the ANC.

Alliance sources say they hope the campaign will not only provide the platform for a massive recruitment "blitz", but that it will strengthen and formalise the relationship between the ANC, SACP and Cosatu which, until the launch of this campaign, had been viewed by many activists as a "paper alliance". — AIA

ANC robbers to stand trial

CAPE TWP 13/12/90
OWN Correspondent (11A)

DURBAN. — Two ANC members, including an office-bearer, are expected to appear in court soon in connection with the R50 000 armed robbery of an agency of the Perm in Umzinto on Monday.

Police said the men, who are aged 27 and 43, are thought to be members of the ANC southern Natal region, but an ANC statement yesterday claimed they belong to the party's Umgababa branch.

The ANC confirmed that one of the men serves on the branch committee while the other is a member.

The suspects were arrested when a dramatic shoot-out and a high-speed chase ended with police recovering only R10 155 in cash and seizing an AK-47 rifle and a pistol.

The remainder of the money was snatched by pedestrians when it fell out of the thieves' bags which they apparently forgot to zip closed.

Arbca 13/12/90 11A

Brainchild of the Harare Declaration

From JOHN RYAN
Argus Africa News Service

IN the early 1960s, Oliver Tambo was invited to address the United Nations General Assembly on a subject of his own choice.

Mr Tambo spoke eloquently and at length on the inadequacies of the Bantu Education system.

When he had finished, to massive applause, the then South African Foreign Minister, Eric Louw, stood up. "That, gentleman," he said, "is an example of Bantu Education."

Whether he knew it or not, Louw was wrong. Oliver Tambo was not educated under the system. He went to St Peter's College in Johannesburg, a private school which produced many distinguished blacks of his generation.

In his first public appearance this month, after a stroke last year, Mr Tambo spoke again on education. He urged the South African youth, now that apartheid was being dismantled, to concentrate on education on their main liberation weapon.

If this suggests consistency of thought, Mr Tambo's close colleagues would say that consistency — or "purity of conviction", as one put it — is perhaps the greatest attribute of his leadership.

Mr Tambo is, by all accounts, foremost a moral man, a devout Christian who was deeply influenced by Father Trevor Huddleston. During the years he lived in Lusaka he attended the Church of England regularly, neat and dapper in his Sunday best.

Modesty

Much has been written about Mr Tambo's modesty and, indeed, he is usually self-effacing. But he can also be very persuasive when he feels the need to be.

It was "O R", as his lieutenants call him, who effectively put an end to the monstrous practice of necklacing.

That happened at the Frontline Children's Conference in Harare in 1987, where young victims of the Southern African conflicts were displayed to the world. Among them were limbless children from Angola and Mozambique, casualties of Unita and Renamo landmines.

Also present were several hundred ANC members from South Africa.

After the conference, Mr Tambo addressed them all. He told them necklacing was barbarous, inhuman beyond description, and was thus outlawed as far as the organisation was concerned.

Banning has denied South Africans knowledge of Oliver Tambo. Even to many ANC supporters, he is a political enigma.



A youthful Oliver Tambo, in Oslo for talks with the Norwegian government on action against South Africa, in 1962.

It is 30 years since he went into exile, since he cut the link with his more famous partner in a legal practice — Nelson Mandela. The one personality has grown in stature, though incarcerated. The other has spent that time, as far as most South Africans are concerned, in a limbo of publicity.

But talk to the cadres in the field, in Zambia and Tanzania for example, and hear their regard for the man who, by his stability, has held the various factions of the ANC together for so long. Even through revolutions, like the one in the Angolan camps in 1982.

An ANC official in Dar es Salaam told me recently, "O R has always been the leader in touch with us. There has been a lot of euphoria about Mandela since his release, but many of us consider Nelson Mandela yesterday's man."

Brainchild

Without a doubt, the Harare Declaration which preceded negotiations with the South African government was Mr Tambo's brainchild. Indeed, ANC lore is that he might have caused himself irreparable harm by the delivery of it.

The stroke happened soon after an intensive lobbying session about the document with Front Line leaders.

So Oliver Tambo is unlikely to be tomorrow's man in dealings with the De Klerk administration. He remains ill and debilitated by weight loss. His speech is impaired, though his mind may not be. He walks with a shuffle, and he is 73 years old.

Speculation is that he will hand over the ANC presidency to Nelson Mandela when he returns — as he has already tried to do from London — and then retire entirely from politics.

To do what? Most probably to listen to good classical music and dabble in watercolours, as has been his wont in this time of recuperation.

The essential difference is that he will be home.

Camp mayor 'willing to go'

Argus 13/12/90 11A

By VUSI KAMA
Staff Reporter

CONTROVERSIAL Crossroads mayor Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana says he is willing to resign from his post but does not want to "disappoint" followers who believe he can yet unify the strife-torn squatter camp.

This is one of the statements in a document outlining the minutes of a closed meeting of the Crossroads Town Committee and town clerk Mr Ricky Schelhase made available to *The Argus*.

In the document Mr Ngxobongwana said he had problems with the idea that joining the ANC would help him bring peace to the area.

In hiding

Mr Ngxobongwana, who went into hiding after his Crossroads house was torched by his rivals, said he would never join the ANC in spite of the fact that he agreed with a number of its policies.

"To him the 'struggle for freedom' and what to do with 'freedom' is still confusing if one follows the arguments and statements of the ANC", the document said.

In the meeting Mr Schelhase requested members to review their future participation in local government.

"Now with the government's decision to enter into a phase of negotia-

tion with its previous revolutionary enemies, with the view to their participation to form a new constitution for the country, the pressure upon local government has increased to the extent that it is forcing the existing structures into a state of virtual collapse."

While the the ANC and its allies had declared the present system of local government in black areas a stumbling block in the struggle for freedom, the government stood helplessly by and was employing the security forces to "salvage" an already hopeless situation.

However, the councillors who with the exception of one live outside Crossroads, refused to resign as they did not want to "yield to pressure"

One councillor, a Mr Ndzungu, refused point-blank as he felt they were not "toys to be pushed around".

Mr Schelhase declined to comment on the document and Mr Ngxobongwana was not available.

Battles

Crossroads has for almost a year been hard-hit by battles between Mr Ngxobongwana's supporters and rival ANC-supporting Mr Jeffrey Nongwe's.

Mr Ngxobongwana's Crossroads supporters had been forced to flee the squatter camp and many have formed a new squatter area at a nature reserve on the Faure Road.

Mr Nongwe, with the full backing of the ANC, is enjoying tremendous support among the squatters.

ANC, PAC to move closer at conference

CAT Tm's 13/12/90 11A

Political Correspondent
THE thaw in relations between the ANC and the PAC will be taken a step further this weekend, when senior PAC office-bearers will attend the ANC's consultative conference in Johannesburg.

The move follows the decision of the two organisations, announced after the PAC's national conference last weekend, to meet soon to discuss the formation of a united political front.

The PAC's national executive committee will send its publicity secretary, Mr Barney Desai, and its assistant general secretary, Mr Carter Seleka, to the conference as observers.

A senior ANC member, Mr Patrick Lekota, attended the PAC's conference last weekend.

Sources yesterday described the moves by the organisations as part of a "getting closer together situation".

Meanwhile, Transkei's

military leader, Major-General Bantu Holomisa, has been invited by the ANC to form part of a select welcoming committee when ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo returns to South Africa today, after decades in exile.

General Holomisa has also been invited, together with a variety of other leaders and dignitaries, to attend the ANC's consultative conference, which begins tomorrow.

in Thokoza rose to 124 yesterday, with police reporting that 52 people were killed on Tuesday.

A large SADF contingent was present in the township yesterday. Armed soldiers on foot and in dozens of Casspirs patrolled the streets and ringed the hostel and Phola Park squatter camp, the scene of the worst violence.

Mr Mandela and other members of the SACC delegation, including SACP general secretary Mr Joe Slovo, Mrs Helen Suzman, PAC general secretary Mr Benny Alexander and several foreign diplomats, toured the squatter camp on foot.

The visitors were mobbed by hundreds of singing and toyi-toying residents, many waving ANC flags and taunting police who were monitoring the tour from Casspirs.

Residents showed the visitors the burnt-out shells of several shacks, a gutted taxi and two other taxis riddled with bullet holes. They gave graphic accounts of the alleged Inkatha attack on the Phola Park squatter camp on Tuesday, claiming police stood by before raiding the camp themselves.

Mr Chikane said it had been a "healing" experience for victims to be visited, and that the visitors' experiences would make them more motivated to assist in ending the violence. He regretted it had not been possible to visit the hostel and hear the residents' views.

SA Institute of Race Relations director Mr John Kane-Berman said he was "not sure whether the exercise was a fact-finding mission or a photo-opportunity" as foreign television crews, reporters and chanting and toyi-toying residents hampered the progress of the delegation.

He said small groups of people spending time with members of the community would be a more instructive exercise.

Yesterday morning Chief Buthelezi said he had declined an SACC invitation to join the tour which had "totally bewildered" him.

He said he could have rescheduled his appointments if he had been consulted in time.

Chief Buthelezi and Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok arrived early in Thokoza and after brief discussions at the Thokoza municipality offices they toured the township and outskirts of Phola Park in two Casspirs, before the Inkatha leader addressed a crowd of 2 000 cheering supporters in the township's open-air auditorium.

Asked by reporters if it was not possible for him to join the SACC-organised tour as he was already in the area, Chief Buthelezi said it would be "madness" as he had to be back in Ulundi for a caucus meeting of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly over which he had to preside.

CPT

TCS

13/12/90

11A



At the age of seven he began his formal education at the Ludeke Methodist School in the Bizana district and completed his primary education at the Holy Cross Mission.

He then moved to Johannesburg, completing his high school education at St Peter's College.

After matriculating, he went to the University of Fort Hare in Alice and graduated with a Bachelor of Science degree in 1941.

It was at Fort Hare that his political career began.

Here he met Nelson Mandela, who was to become his friend, colleague and comrade.

He was expelled from the university for having led a student boycott and could not proceed with his studies for a BSc Honours degree. South 13/12 - 17/12/90

In 1942 Tambo returned to Johannesburg as a maths and science teacher at St Peter's.

Tambo soon became deeply involved in the ANC. He teamed up with other young mili-

tants like Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Ashby Mda, Anton Lembede, "Congress" Mbata, Nokwe, David Bopape, William Conco, Patrick Molaoa and Archie Gumede.

Tambo was instrumental in the formation of the ANC Youth League in 1944, becoming its first national secretary.

He then served as its Transvaal president and in 1948/49 was national vice-president.

In 1946 Tambo had been elected to the Transvaal ANC executive, and in 1949, he, Mandela and Sisulu were elected to the ANC national executive.



SACC's Thokoza tour turned back

Shouting mob ends Mandela visit to hostel

B/pam 13/12/90

MATTHEW CURTIN
and WILSON ZWANE

HOSTEL dwellers waving banners and shouting abuse forced a party of public figures, including ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, to abandon a visit to the hostel in strife-torn Thokoza township yesterday.

SA Council of Churches general secretary Frank Chikane was guiding Mandela, diplomats, politicians, and lawyers on a tour of Thokoza when a handful of Inkatha supporters blocked the road in front of the cavalcade as it approached the hostel.

The crowd screamed anti-ANC slogans. A placard read: "When will the SACC be brave enough to condemn the ANC when they are wrong."

The hostel dwellers forced ANC marshals to divert the two bus loads of dignitaries and a vehicle carrying Mandela away from the hostel.

One woman threatened marshals and reporters with a baton, hurled abuse at Mandela and his wife Winnie, and toy-toyed, hitching up her skirt and petticoat to demonstrate her anger.

In an address at the hostel earlier in the day, Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi called on his supporters to halt hostilities and lay down arms. But he added people were not precluded from defending themselves when attacked.

Sapa reports the death toll from the week's faction-fighting in Thokoza rose to 124 yesterday, with police reporting that 52 people were killed on Tuesday.

A large SADF contingent stamped its presence on the township yesterday. Armed soldiers on foot and in dozens of Casspirs patrolled the streets and ringed the hostel and Phola Park squatter camp,

the scene of the worst violence.

Mandela and other members of the SACC delegation, including SACP general secretary Joe Slovo, Helen Suzman, PAC general secretary Benny Alexander and several foreign diplomats, toured the squatter camp on foot.

The visitors were mobbed by hundreds of singing and toy-toying residents, many waving ANC flags and taunting police monitoring the tour from Casspirs.

Residents showed the visitors the burnt out shells of several shacks, a gutted taxi and two others riddled with bullet holes. They gave graphic accounts of the alleged Inkatha attack on the Phola Park squatter camp on Tuesday, claiming police stood by before raiding the camp themselves.

Chikane said it had been a "healing" experience for victims to be visited, and that the visitors' experiences would make them more motivated to assist in ending the violence. He regretted it had not been possible to visit the hostel and hear the residents' views.

Commenting on what he had seen in Phola Park, US Ambassador William Swing said he was "shocked and saddened", and expressed his concern about the effect the violence would have on peaceful transition in SA.

Slovo said he hoped the tour would provide moral support for the community in Thokoza although it could not solve any problems itself.

SA Institute of Race Relations director

□ To Page 2

Mandela

B/pam 13/12/90

John Kane Berman said he was "not sure whether the exercise was a fact-finding mission or a photo-opportunity" as foreign television crews, reporters and chanting and toy-toying residents hampered the progress of the delegation.

He said small groups of people spending time with members of the community would be a more instructive exercise.

Yesterday morning Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi said he had declined the SACC invitation as it had "totally bewildered" him.

He said he could have rescheduled his appointments if he had been consulted in time.

"I don't know when the plans were first drawn up but I do know that they were drawn up without any reference to me ... about my availability for such a tour," Buthelezi said. A fax from the SACC had been transmitted to him on Monday.

11A

□ From Page 1

Buthelezi and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok arrived early in Thokoza and after brief discussions at the Thokoza municipality offices they toured the township and outskirts of Phola park in two Casspirs, before the Inkatha leader addressed a crowd of 2 000 cheering supporters in the township's open-air auditorium.

Asked by reporters if it was not possible for him to join the SACC-organised tour as he was already in the area, Buthelezi said it would be "madness" as he had to be back in Ulundi for a caucus meeting of the Kwa-Zulu Legislative Assembly over which he had to preside.

He accused the ANC of fueling tension saying its document entitled Programme for Action was not a basis for peace.

Murmurs and hisses rippled through the crowd when Vlok said police had received strict instructions to be impartial.

● Pictures: Page 3

812cm 13/12/90 111

Hough: ANC must honour its pledge

PRETORIA — Transvaal Administrator Danie Hough yesterday called on the ANC to honour its undertaking to ensure eastern Transvaal residents resumed payment for rents and services and to stop calling for such boycotts.

A statement said he wanted to remind the ANC of its undertaking, made on September 28, to stand in for losses incurred as a result of non-payment of rents and services fees to local authorities in the eastern Transvaal.

"In the eastern Transvaal an agreement was reached between the ANC, the TPA and other parties on August 31 1990. As part of this agreement the ANC undertook to ensure that residents resumed payment for rents and services — the response has been very slight."

Attempts to blame the Transvaal Provincial Administration and CP-controlled councils for hardships experienced by blacks in the eastern Transvaal were "far-fetched".

Hough was reacting to a statement by ANC eastern Transvaal publicity secretary Jackson Mthembu, published in a Johannesburg newspaper.

Mthembu had warned that the ANC would call for a consumer boycott in the CP-dominated eastern Transvaal if essential services to affected townships were not reconnected immediately.

Hough said intimidation and coercion of people into withholding payments or joining consumer boycotts could not be reconciled with democracy and the freedom of choice that democracy was supposed to guarantee.

TIM COHEN reports ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said last night she had no knowledge of the undertaking referred to by Hough. — Sapa.

Ease isolation, says ANC Youth League

THE ANC Youth League, one of the organization's largest power-bases, has approved a plan calling for the phased lifting of sanctions. *B. Cohen 13/12/90*

The league's acting secretary-general Billy Mafetlha confirmed yesterday that the league was preparing a detailed response to the ANC's discussion document on international isolation.

The discussion document proposes that substantial reforms to the apartheid sys-

TIM COHEN

tem should be matched by a reduction of sanctions.

Although Mafetlha was reluctant to detail the contents of the league's response prior to the ANC conference, he said there was no difference in principle between the approach taken by the discussion document and that of the youth league.

To Page 2

Youth League *B. Cohen 13/12/90*

Youth League president Peter Mokaba said in a recent interview that the league had inherited 1.5-million members from the SA Youth Congress and said it hoped to triple this number.

Mafetlha said the league and the ANC's discussion document favoured encouraging government by reducing sanctions in tandem with the process of change in SA.

"Apart from the stick, we need to use a little carrot," Mafetlha said.

He said a problem to be discussed at the conference was which sanctions should be

(11A) From Page 1
lifted in response to which changes to the apartheid system.

He said the release of all political prisoners and the repeal of certain aspects of security legislation would be considered concrete changes to the apartheid system.

On the other hand, the youth league was not particularly impressed by the opening of parks and toilets, he said.

He said the Youth League did not believe sanctions were crumbling and added that this did not play any part in its decision.

Special briefing for ANC chief representatives

From MONO BADELA

South 13/12 - 17/12/90

11A

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC's diplomatic corps were recalled this week for a special briefing on negotiations and the preparations for the movement's consultative conference.

The 37 foreign representatives came from as far as South America, Scandinavia, the Middle East and Japan.



Solly Smith:
Chief Rep in
France



Edward Makhasi:
Chief Rep
in Kenya

During their three-day conference that began on Monday, the "diplomats" were briefed by ANC's international affairs director, Mr Thabo Mbeki.

Discussions included the talks held with the De Klerk government, current inter-racial violence on the Reef, socio-economic issues and the need to focus the movement's external activities in line with the changes in South Africa.

Mbeki said in an interview that the diplomats had looked closely at the ANC's foreign activities as the matter was an important item on the agenda at the consultative conference.

He said the outcome of their discussions would be presented at the conference.

An ANC representative in Australia, Mr Eddie Funde, said the ANC hoped to increase its number of diplomatic mission to 47 by the end of 1991.

Among those at the discussions were Lindiwe Mabuza, the ANC's chief representative in Washington, Billy Modise, who is based in Sweden, Mendi Msimang from London, Solly Smith from Paris, Simon Makana from Moscow, Tim Maseko from Denmark, Teddy Pekana from the European Economic Community (EEC), and Jerry Matsila from Japan.

SA'S other 'diplomats'

'We must make it happen' — Slovo

By JENNY CARGILL

THERE has not been an ANC conference quite as historic as the one which takes place at Nasrec in Johannesburg this weekend.

The gathering will also be an emotion-charged celebration of struggle, being the first legal ANC conference held in South Africa in more than three decades.

Delegates from throughout the country and from overseas — including ANC chief representatives — will attend.

ANC president Oliver Tambo will also be making his first public appearance in the country after 30 years in exile. Arriving back in South Africa just a day before the opening, Tambo

South 13/12 - 17/12/90
will complete the line-up of all the living leaders who led the movement into an armed struggle in 1961.

It will be a unique picture of old "comrades-in-arms".

Future governing

Certainly, the agenda includes only the most pressing matters, making the character quite different from that of the postponed national conference which had in its programme policy issues relevant to future governing.

According to the organisers, there are six major issues on the agenda — the ANC's strategy and tactics for what the organisation calls "this transition period", negotiations, violence, building the ANC's organisational base, South Africa's international isolation

and a programme of action.

The delegates will divide into six commissions or workshops to deal with these topics, and then present their recommendations to a plenary session on the final day.

The conference takes place against the backdrop of growing agitation among ANC members about the pace of the negotiations process and what they feel is government's failure to fulfil its side of the deal — specifically in relation to the return of exiles, the release of political prisoners, and the ending of the state and rightwing violence.

Therefore, as the situation stands at the moment, many ANC members are in no mood for conceding more

11A
to Pretoria — least of all on what they see as their main weapon, mass action.

The 10 months since the unbanning of the ANC have thrown up some very particular and difficult new problems. Negotiations have become an intense battleground in a way which the ANC perhaps never anticipated.

Says South African Communist Party leader Joe Slovo: "The other side is using the whole process (of negotiations) as a terrain of struggle, a phrase which we have always used to characterise what we should be doing".

Leading ANC sources believe Pretoria has been quite unrelenting in using its superior resources, manpower and government structures

against the ANC's "inevitable" difficulties in relocating its organisation inside the country.

They also regard the timing of the escalation in political violence with great suspicion. Just as its branches were about to be launched, the Johannesburg region was shaken by unprecedented violence, making effective political organisation almost impossible.

But, say the sources, the conference would run aground if it adopted a "woe is me" approach. All blame for the ANC's current problems could not be laid at Pretoria's feet, they say.

Slovo points to the need "to achieve greater clarity in our strategic perspectives".

Makwetu a veteran politician

From MONO BADELA ^{South} JOHANNESBURG. — Newly-elected president of the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania, Clarence Mlamli Makwetu, was a prominent figure in the 1960 march from Langa to Cape Town.

Makwetu negotiated with the police the peaceful end to the march even though he was later arrested.

Born of peasant parents in the district of Cofimvaba, Transkei, Makwetu is a veteran politician.

Imprisoned

He has been detained, imprisoned, restricted and banished.

He was drawn into politics during the 1952 defiance campaign organised by the African National Congress.

He joined the ANC Youth League in 1954 but by May 1959

13/12 - 17/12/90
he was part of the Africanist faction within the ANC which broke away to form the Pan Africanist Congress.

One of Makwetu's reasons for supporting the PAC was its commitment to restoring the land to its "rightful owners, the African people".

Following the break with the ANC, Makwetu was prominent when the PAC formed branches in the Cape Town townships of Nyanga and Langa as well as in the squatter areas at Windermere and Crawford.

Makwetu was detained from March to August 1960 after the government declared a state emergency.

In August 1961 he was arrested in Cape Town and escorted to the Transkei where he was again detained from September 1961 to February 1962.

Following his release he returned to Cape Town, but was arrested in May and sent back to Cofimvaba.

There he was arrested in September and held in detention until he was charged in April 1963 for furthering the aims of the PAC.

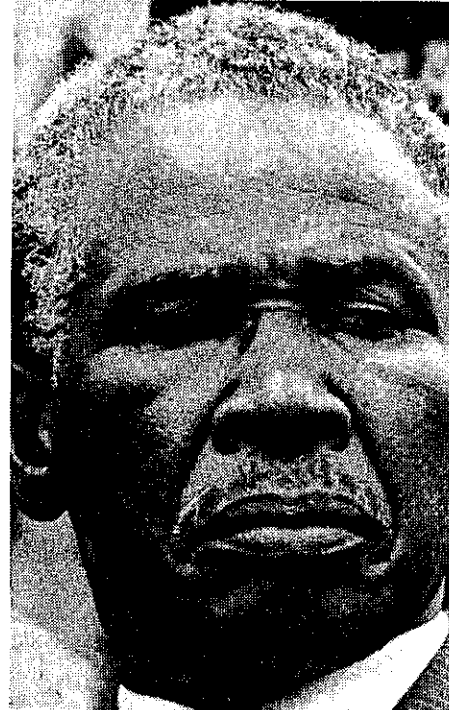
He was tried at Engcobo, Transkei and sentenced to five years imprisonment.

Banished

After he was released from Robben Island, Makwetu was taken to the Transkei where he was restricted for two years until 1970.

He was detained several times during the seventies and was again banished to the Libode area for five years.

Makwetu, like his father, Gqongo Makwetu, is a crop farmer in Transkei.



Clarence Mlamli Makwetu

ANC CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE

ALTHOUGH the ANC's conference this weekend has been "scaled down" from a congress to a consultative conference, the gathering will have to make some incisive decisions on the way forward.

The key task of the conference will be to determine strategies to maintain the moral high ground the movement presently occupies and methods of increasing its strength.

Strategies must be worked out to keep the negotiation process on track and to implement the ANC's demands for a constituent assembly and interim government.

Delegates will be expected to come up with tactics to build the ANC's membership, and keep them involved in campaigns and informed of political decisions.

Softening

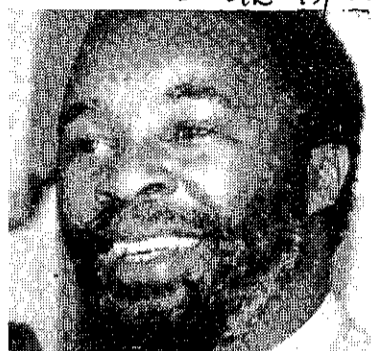
A discussion on the ANC's position on sanctions is expected to generate the most debate at the conference and may lead to a softening of the movement's stance on the isolation of apartheid South Africa.

The ANC has been extremely successful in its 30-year campaign to have mandatory and comprehensive sanctions imposed by governments and international organisations willing to make a contribution to dismantling apartheid.

But there seems to be a recognition now that it is time the sanctions campaign was re-examined.

When discussing its position on

Balancing act



The key portfolios of Chris Hani (military), left, and Thabo Mbeki (international) will be under discussion

sanctions, the ANC has to take into account the recognition achieved by President FW de Klerk in the international arena since February 2.

De Klerk's warm reception during his two major trips to the US and Europe this year was an early warning to the ANC that the world was willing to re-establish ties with South Africa.

De Klerk has also managed in recent months to forge economic links with the African continent, signing agreements with countries such as Madagascar and Mauritius.

Diplomatic ties have been re-established with Eastern European countries, and even the Soviet Union and Cuba have shown an interest in reopening

offices in Pretoria.

The South African government has also made major strides in persuading the world to lift sanctions, leading to calls from allies of the ANC for a rethink on the movement's position.

What will most likely guide the ANC's discussion is its assessment of the "irreversibility" of the negotiation process.

It is important that the ANC maintain its two "weapons" — sanctions and the armed struggle — to persuade the government to go all the way in transferring power to the South African people.

However, the conference will have to guide the ANC in how far its con-

The ANC has a balancing act between ensuring that the process of change is rapid but at the same time democratic. This is one of the tricky challenges faced by the more than 1 600 delegates to the movement's consultative conference to be held in Johannesburg this weekend, reports REHANA ROSSOUW:

cessions will go. There are already indications from ANC sources that there will be no compromise on some financial sanctions and the oil and arms embargoes.

What could emerge from the conference is a commitment from the ANC to enter into discussions with its allies internationally to decide jointly

on a timeframe for the lifting of some forms of isolation.

The ANC's approach to the period of transition in South Africa is expected to be discussed at the conference. Its bottom-line demand is the peaceful transition of power from a white minority to the majority of South African citizens.

How it will achieve this objective is earmarked for intense discussion.

Potential

Within its limited political space, the movement has the potential to harness the active support and goodwill of a range of individuals and organisations.

It has to ensure that every member and supporter is part of the process and that its organised force spreads throughout the country.

While the movement is committed to the country's problems being resolved peacefully, at the same time it has to remain vigilant of attempts by the state and reactionary elements to derail the process.

Key elements in its programme of action in the next six months until the annual congress, thus, is to recruit members and democratise structures.

The Foundation For Peace and Justice



Dear Brother

We, the staff of the Foundation for Peace and Justice, would like you to know how grateful we are that you have recovered your health.

We welcome you and your dear wife back to this, our beloved country, from which you were forced to flee the tyranny of an evil system so many long years ago.

You and all political exiles have a special place in the hearts and minds of the majority of South Africans because your commitment and belief in a just struggle for the liberation of our people was a constant source of inspiration to all of us here at home. You sustained us.

We cannot imagine what an exile's life really is, what effect it has on family life and how you kept it all together through difficult times specially in those uncertain, lonely early days. We salute you and your dear wife for your courageous sacrifice.

You have made an invaluable impact on South Africans and the international community as leader of our movement.

We hope that your leadership, your integrity and Christian faith will continue to inspire us in our struggle for a truly democratic and nonracial South Africa.

God bless you richly.

Welcome home brother!

Against the grain

Getting high on agendas

ONCE more 'tis the season to be jolly and I wonder what the connection is between this and so many political groupings having their national gatherings at this time.

I suppose for those whose way of life revolves around smoke-filled meeting rooms, who get high on agendas and resolutions and whose kicks came from voting for decisions that were already taken before the meeting, this is indeed a jolly season.

As for the rest of us, we'll revel in late-night shopping, getting pickpocketed in large crowds, spending our bonuses to the tune of jazzed up Christmas carols and telling our kids for the 15th time that no, we are not going to buy them another Ninja Turtle!

Huge stocking

Santa Claus has already brought a few small gifts like an open Mowbray, Woodstock and Observatory. There we all were with our huge collective stocking, hoping to receive an open South Africa, but with the recession, Santa must be a bit (morally?) hard up! Or maybe he's waiting till February 2 to dish out more presents.

I thought that I would enter into the spirit of the season and do my bit to boost the city's tourist trade, so off I went to join the Mayor at the airport to hug a few Vaalies.

On my way there, a beer-drinking driver with a NJP 432 T number plate nearly crashed into me. Then the occupants of another car from up north were casually relieving themselves along the road.

Safe to hug

But I didn't let these put me off my patriotic intentions to hug a Vaalie or two for the sake of our regional economy, good neighbourliness and to prove that in an age of Aids, it was safe to hug!

I was also a bit nervous because, although we were sort of in the new South Africa, I wasn't sure if we could comfortably hug across the colour line or if we had to play it safe by hugging one of our own. After all, I didn't have a mayoral gold chain around my neck!

I hadn't yet sorted out this moral dilemma when this huge stream of Vaalies descended on us from flight SA337 in search of beer, beaches and a hug.

Directly in front of me was what looked like someone who played rugby on Saturdays and who spent the rest of the week in the townships as a policeman.

I was about to shut my eyes and throw my arms around him in a new South Africa blindness when I noticed his AWB armband. It was then that I — quite involuntarily — brought up my breakfast all over his freshly-ironed khaki shirt.

Good sign

When I recovered, I managed to think up and splutter some explanation about having just swum in False Bay, that I must have got sick on the sewage being dumped there and that maybe this was a good sign to him as a Vaalie not to swim there.

He wasn't impressed though, not least because he couldn't swim any way. He wasn't down here as a tourist either; he had come to participate in an AWB march against open beaches. He said I was lucky not to be a black child on a Sunday school picnic, or he would have beaten me up.

At that point, I wished that I had a hug like that of Bles Bridges. You see, I'd just read a story about a singer who named his two little dogs Bles and Marietjie after they had adorned the front pages of a Sunday newspaper for a few weeks.

He later charged Bles with assault because Bles allegedly hit him when he heard about the doggie christening.



COMMENT

Shaping the destiny of new SA

11A
South
13/12-17/12/90

THE outcome of the congress of the Pan-Africanist Congress last weekend and the consultative conference of the African National Congress this weekend will play a large role in shaping South Africa's destiny.

Essentially, the issue faced by both the PAC and the ANC is how to proceed within the new political terrain in South Africa and adapt to fast-moving changes in the region and the rest of the world.

The reality of our situation is that the nature of struggle against an oppressive system and regime has had to undergo a major transformation, virtually under forced circumstances.

Resistance

Options like armed struggle had to be replaced by peace talks and new forms of resistance.

To a large extent, the political developments in South and Southern Africa are a spillover from the dramatic political changes in Eastern and Western Europe and the end of the

Cold War.

Against this background, the decisions adopted at the PAC congress at Johannesburg's Shareworld appear to be a flight from reality.

The congress adopted a predictable approach to the government — no compromise and no talks except over the "modalities" of a constituent assembly.

Easier

The decisions of the congress were obviously made easier by the fact that the PAC is not the largest liberation movement in South Africa and has no army of note or known training bases that could compromise a host country.

Internally, its organised branches are few and hardly active in any of the major centres in the country.

What is easiest is not always best. The PAC might have cause to regret its stance as the organisation becomes even more marginalised — an actor on the political stage who has been relegated to the

wings.

The congress failed to move the country in the direction of peace and a new South Africa — the fervent wish of the vast majority of its people.

Possible

The ANC dare not fail in the same way when its delegates meet at the Nasrec centre near Soweto this weekend.

They will have to bear in mind that "politics is the art of the possible" when they debate positions on sanctions, a programme of action, strategy and tactics.

A key issue they will have to look at is the state of the organisation. They will have to examine carefully how best to maximise the organisation's position and ensure the quickest possible road to a united, non-racial and democratic country.

Critical questions face the movement, not least how to regain the initiative in the negotiating process, how to strengthen itself, ensure mass involvement and outwit attempts to derail the demand

for a constituent assembly.

The ANC needs to internalise the change from protest politics to a pro-active approach which asserts the organisation's vision of the future.

Violence

The changes that have taken place in South Africa, themselves indicative of how the democratic movement has weakened the apartheid state, mean that delegates will have to acknowledge the move from a perspective of seizing power to negotiating.

While the delegates talk, the violence in black townships continues unabated, the country's economy is in a state of crisis and millions of people lack the basic necessities of life.

It is these realities of South Africa that underscore the immensity of the challenge facing the liberation movements and the urgency of a speedy resolution which is acceptable to the majority of the country's people.

Return of 'Mr ANC'

11A

South
13/12-17/2/90

By REHANA ROSSOUW

"O R" TAMBO, the president of the African National Congress this week stepped back into the South African spotlight after an absence of 30 years.

In spite of his ill health — he had a stroke 15 months ago — the 73-year-old leader adds a new factor to the South African political scene.

Tambo, with the experience of three decades at the helm of the ANC, is widely respected in the ranks of the movement and is expected to play a critical role in the ANC's strategic programme.

Instrumental in some the the major decisions of the movement, he is expected to strongly influence unity and cohesion in the ANC, particularly in bridging the gap between exiled and internal members.

The ANC denied this week that Tambo was stepping down as president of the movement to make way for Nelson Mandela.

Said ANC spokesperson Mr Tom Sebina: "It is not true that Tambo is going to leave the presidency as it has been claimed.

"If such a thing has to happen, it can only be done at a national conference, not a consultative as the one that is being held this week."

Tambo has been granted three weeks indemnity by the government and will return to London.

He will return to live in South Africa in June.

**TAMBO'S 1ST
ADDRESS
TO ANC
MEMBERS**
See page 10





CHRISTMAS PLEA: Relatives of political prisoners, including Mrs Patricia Jacobs, left, and Mrs Dora Scott, demonstrate outside St George's Cathedral on Monday

Death Row prisoners in freedom bid

South 13/12 - 17/12/90

By HENRY LUDSKI

DEATH ROW prisoners this week made a bid for freedom with at least 20 of them applying for indemnity in terms of the Pretoria Minute.

Among them are the Upington 14 who were sentenced to death last year for the murder of a municipal policeman in 1985.

Others are ANC cadres Mr Robert McBride, sentenced to death in 1987 for the bomb blast at the Parade Hotel in Durban, and Messina trialists Mr Mhetholeli Mncube and Mr Mzondeleli Nondula.

This was confirmed this week by a spokesperson for Lawyers for Human Rights in Pretoria.

A total of 52 political prisoners are being held at Pretoria Central prison.

Rightwing mass murderer Mr Barend Strydom, who shot dead eight people in November 1988, recently lodged a 1 000-page application for indemnity

on the basis that his actions were politically motivated.

The government — and the African National Congress — are under pressure to speed up the release of hundreds of political prisoners who are becoming increasingly impatient over constant delays in their release.

A Lawyers for Humans Rights spokesperson confirmed on Wednesday that political prisoners on Death Row would present a document at this weekend's ANC consultative conference in Johannesburg.

Campaign

It is expected that they will raise the issue of their release.

This week, as a campaign to get prisoners released before Christmas gained momentum, an office was set up in Pretoria to assist with the processing of indemnity applications from prisons.

The ANC believes that as many as 3 600 political prisoners are eligible for indemnity in terms of the Pretoria Minute of August 6 and the definitions of political prisoners as outlined by the government a month ago.



Itimeleng Mosala

Azapo's economic policy

By MUSA NDWANDWE

THE Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) will reveal its economic policy at its national conference

11A

South 13/12 - 17/12/90

Hundreds to greet Tambo on his return

Political Staff *star* 13/12/90

Hundreds were expected to meet ANC president Oliver Tambo at Jan Smuts Airport today on his return after three decades in exile.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said the ANC had not made transport arrangements for people, but expected a significant number to welcome the ANC president.

Mr Tambo, who is believed to have recovered considerably since suffering his stroke last year, will deliver one of the main addresses at the ANC's consultative conference at Nasrec, south of Johannesburg, which starts tomorrow.

Miss Marcus said between 60 and 80 people, including members of the ANC national executive committee, would be allowed on the tarmac under an agreement with the police.

ANC can see Govt 'seizing initiative'

Star 13/12/90
By Shaun Johnson

The basic document on strategy and tactics to be presented at the ANC's crucial consultative conference which begins tomorrow warns that the Government may be seizing the initiative as the primary "force for change".

The document characterises the negotiation process as a "theatre of intense struggle".

It indicates that the conference will be combative in its attitude towards the Government.

The document reaffirms unequivocally the ANC's commitment to mass action campaigns, the maintenance of "combat forces", an interim government, and the retention of sanctions.

The Star has seen a draft copy of the 23-page

document, "Advance to National Democracy — Theses on Strategy and Tactics of the ANC".

It is understood to be the work primarily of four senior ANC officials, including international affairs director Thabo Mbeki and Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani.

The document sets out a broad plan of action for the ANC and analyses developments since February 2.

It is argued that there is a grave danger that President de Klerk and his negotiators are seeking to supplant the ANC as the "force for change", and to buy time to "evolve schemes intended to compromise the depth of the process of democratic transformation".

● The question facing the ANC — Page 24.

ANC strategy is combative

11A

Sowetan 13/12/90

THE basic document on strategy and tactics to be presented at this week's crucial ANC Consultative Conference warns that the Government might be seizing the initiative as the primary "force for change", and characterises the negotiations process itself as a "theatre of intense struggle".

It indicates that the conference will be combative in its attitude towards the Government. The document reaffirms unequivocally the ANC's commitment to mass action campaigns, the maintenance of "combat forces", an Interim Government, and the retention of sanctions.

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The document, which will be hotly debated at the three-day conference opening tomorrow, sets out a broad plan of action for the ANC in the coming months, and analyses in detail the developments since February 2 which have led to the movement's commitment to a process of peaceful transition in South Africa.

It is argued that although the negotiations phase was brought about at the ANC's initiative, the situation is "fluid" and the "balance of forces" with the Government is subject to continual change. There is a grave danger that President FW de Klerk and his negotiators are seeking to supplant the ANC as the "force for change", and buy time in order to "evolve schemes intended to compromise the depth of the process of democratic transformation".

Constitutional trickery is being planned in this regard, the document argues.

FOCUS

The document proposes the retention of a hard line on:

- * The right to vigorously "mobilise the people" throughout the process of negotiations. This includes the right to demonstrate, strike, demand the repeal of repressive legislation, and secure the return of exiles and political prisoners - essentially, to "deepen the crisis gripping the apartheid system";

- * The demand for an Interim Government and the convening of a Constituent Assembly to draw up a new constitution, the establishment of Defence Units in townships;

- * The maintenance of Umkhonto we Sizwe "combat formations" and structures of the political underground until such time as a transfer of power is achieved;

- * The need to mobilise the broadest possible front of people, including those in the homelands and in state structures such as the army and police;

- * The need to strengthen and structure alliances, particularly with the South African Communist Party and Cosatu, but also with less committed allies; and

- * The continuation of pressure on the international community to maintain sanctions.

The document recommits the organisation to the provisions of the 1955 Freedom Charter, including the redistribution of wealth.

It acknowledges that strategic thinking has shifted on the question of a seizure of power in South Africa. Because of pressure on Pretoria, the document argues, circumstances are such that a transformation might be secured through negotiations. However, "While in the past we pursued the objective of seizure of power, and pledged to enter negotiations if the situation arose, the approach today has definitely changed. We have entered negotiations as a viable



Strategy and tactics ... Chris Hani (left) and Thabo Mbeki.

mechanism for the transition to a new order, under the new situation, and we pledge to pursue the perspective of seizure of power - armed and/or otherwise - if the situation changes."

The document acknowledges that the ANC's organisational capabilities require urgent attention, and says the leadership is duty bound to consult closely with its membership. The ANC also needs to "sharpen its strategy and tactics as well strengthening structures pertaining to negotiations in the narrow sense.

"This means, first and foremost, ensuring consistent political leadership to our negotiating teams, the mastering, on the part of the movement as a whole, of the art and science of parley, ability to assess and utilise a given balance of forces as well as consistency and flexibility at the negotiating table.

"In order to ensure that we give leadership to the whole process, and not find ourselves responding to initiatives from the other side, we need to deploy such resources as are necessary to the area of negotiations and act with deliberate speed in the formulation of our policies and approaches to various issues."

It concludes that South Africa "has entered a decisive stage in the struggle for national liberation. The strategy and tactics of the ANC must ensure that this advance is as rapid as possible, leads to genuine democratic change, and places the democratic movement at the vanguard of this process."

The "main tasks" facing the ANC during the transitional period are:

- * A rapid advance towards the transfer of power through the adoption of a constitution negotiated by an elected Constituent Assembly;

- * The establishment and maintenance of an Interim Government to supervise the transition;

- * The defence of gains won, particularly the ANC's recently achieved "political space" in South Africa; and

- * A stress on the involvement of "the masses", particularly with regard to "running their own lives and improving socio-economic conditions".

"It is primarily the strength of the ANC and its allies, and not the integrity or otherwise of the forces in power, which will guarantee the success of the process of transition," the document concludes.

ANC Women's League talks ^(11A)

Sowetan 13/12/90

THE national conference of the ANC Women's League will be held in Kimberly from April 26 to 29 next year.

The decision to hold the league's first national conference inside the country in 30 years, was taken at the league's consultative meeting.

The league said delegates noted with concern the "obvious absence" of women in ANC structures and in preparation for negotiations with the Government.

Delegates also observed that the ANC's policies of non-sexism and affirmative action insofar as women were concerned were not being ap-

plied by the movement, the league's statement charged. The "gender question", said the league, would be one of the issues to be raised at the ANC's consultative conference this weekend.

"Autonomy of the league and its structural relations with the organisation will also be raised by the league's delegation."

The consultative meeting also examined the league's state of organisation countrywide, including progress in its recruitment drive. The meeting also made preparations to launch a national campaign for a charter of women's rights.

Forum on economics

By ALI MPHAKI

1/18

FOUR black political organisations will present papers on their economic policies at a symposium in Johannesburg today. *Sowetan 13/12/90*

Representing Inkatha will be Mr Alf Mkhwanazi, secretary for economic affairs in the KwaZulu government and Dr Gavin Woods.

Mr Sipho Shabalala of the University of Zimbabwe will represent the PAC.

A member of the ANC's department of economic planning, Mr Tito Mboweni, will stand for the organisation, while Mr Matsala Molepo, of the University of the North, will represent Azapo.

SOWETAN BUSINESS

Rethink on sanctions against South Africa

Sowetan 13/12/90

[Handwritten scribbles]
11A

By ALI MPHAKI

AFRICA's drum beat on continued sanctions against South Africa is fast approaching a crescendo - signifying the continent's growing impatience for South Africa's entry into its markets.

There is encouraging realisation that there cannot be any talk of stability and security to Africa unless there is economic integration of South Africa into the continent.

South Africa is seen as a critical part of the development of African markets, and the emergence of new economic changes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe has spurred Africa to seek ways of avoiding further retrogression.

While South Africa is politically unacceptable to Africa, unofficially a lot of business has developed between South Africa and a number of African countries.

The invitation of South African black businessmen to the SADCC conference in Zimbabwe last week, underscores Africa's im-

patience to trade with SA and a need for South African black businessmen to position themselves strategically for a post-sanctions era.

It was not surprising to hear the SADCC's call for SA to be given immediate observer status within the organisation.

As Nafcoc president Dr Sam Motsuenyane, who attended the conference, puts it: "Despite their vehement condemnation of South Africa, practical difficulties make it impossible for African countries not to trade with South Africa. These have forced them to buy under the table with South Africa."

"As far back as last

year, we in Nafcoc said the question of bringing an end to sanctions had become imperative. Nafcoc should begin to talk to political organisations about the possibility of lifting sanctions.

"Although this was our position, we cannot as business people unilaterally call for an end of sanctions because we were not the first to talk about them."

The sanctions issue also came under the spotlight during an ANC meeting with 60 top black businessmen in Johannesburg last week. The businessmen called for the ANC to take the initiative to phase out sanctions because, "having brought the Government to the negotiating table,

sanctions no longer had a role".

Significantly, political developments within South Africa have evoked a willy nilly, favourable response from the world over. The release of Nelson Mandela has encouraged hitherto hostile foreign investors to rethink about investing in South Africa.

Stripped

Albeit, there seems to be a semblance of truth in the statement that black political organisations - having been stripped of their militancy - are clinging to the sanctions lobby as their last bargaining chip at the negotiation table.

Simultaneously, the draft ANC discussion

document on sanctions indicates the organisation could be on the brink of moderating its uncompromising support for sanctions.

There are proposals of a new look at sporting and cultural sanctions. Diplomatic isolations and trade sanctions, the document proposes, have little impact any longer.

Motsuenyane adds: "It has become apparent that the business people are seeking to help the future government of this country to formulate free market policies."

"We believe strongly that the business people should dictate to politicians when it comes to the economy because we have been involved in business and we have the

experience".

But former African Bank MD of African Bank and now director of Fabcos, Mr Gaby Magomola, does not believe business has the capacity to dictate to Government.

Optimism

"It has never happened anywhere in the world that business should dictate to government or political organisations. Business can only advise on economic legislation and nothing more."

Magomola, while conceding that Fabcos has not taken an official stand on sanctions, says there is growing optimism that discussion taking place by political leaders will

reach a point where sanctions will no longer be necessary.

"The general notion is that sanctions would be lifted sooner or later - within the next 12 months. People are positioning themselves for a post-sanctions era. The question is to what extent is our readiness to trade with the rest of Africa," he asked.

Magomola also cautioned that while Africa is anxiously looking for over the table trade with South Africa, there is also a fear of South Africa's economic imperialism.

While the sanctions debate continues, the ANC, PAC and Azapo, have unilaterally called for an intensification of sanctions.

An ANC spokesman yesterday said everybody knows that the ANC wants sanctions to be maintained until all apartheid laws have been removed.

"We are not and will not be forced by anybody to change our stand on sanctions," he said.

SOWETAN BUSINESS

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Sowetan 13/12/90

11A

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Mandela US visit has divided city

Sowetan
NEW YORK - THE
city of Miami is still
struggling with the
dissension caused dur-
ing Mr Nelson
Mandela's visit to the
city earlier this year.

Local politicians,
angered by the ANC
leader's praise for Cuba's
Fidel Castro, rescinded
plans for an official wel-
come for Mandela and his
wife Winnie, who were
then on a triumphant tour
of the United States.

Now, with arguments
still raging between
Miami's two major ethnic
groups, blacks and
Cubans, over the way
Mandela was snubbed, lo-
cal black groups, who are

demanding an apology,
are enforcing a boycott of
meetings and conventions
that will cost Miami, a
resort city and convention
centre, an estimated dol-
lars 4,5 million in
revenues.

Despite these pres-
sures, however, the
municipal officials have
refused to apologise. -
Sowetan Foreign Service



13/12/90

Thousands give Tambo a hero's welcome



TOP: Mr Oliver Tambo, with his family and Mr and Mrs Mandela, waves to the crowd yesterday.
ABOVE: Mr Tambo is embraced on his return. On the right is Mr Nelson Mandela.

AP/Tim B 24/12/90
JOHANNESBURG. — ANC president Oliver Tambo returned home yesterday, ending three decades of exile, and was met by ecstatic cheers from supporters and embraces from his deputy, Mr Nelson Mandela.

About 5 000 dancing and singing supporters roared their welcome when his chartered plane touched down two hours late at an overcast Jan Smuts Airport.

"Viva Tambo, Viva ANC, Viva Baba (father)," chanted the crowd, held back from the terminal

building by dozens of heavily armed police, many with dogs.

Mr Tambo, a symbol of the fight against apartheid, smiled broadly as he descended the steps of the aircraft that brought him from Zambia, via a brief stop-over in Zimbabwe.

The ANC's welcome-home delegation, including

To page 3

● Key ANC congress starts today — Page 5

P.T.O.

SA changes 'irreversible' — Mugabe

CAA 7005 14/12/90
11A

HARARE. — Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe softened his fierce criticism of the South African government yesterday by saying that its programme to end apartheid was irreversible.

Mr Mugabe said this during a meeting with Mr Oliver Tambo when the ANC president stopped over here on his way to SA.

"We are optimistic. The momentum has been there and there can be no going back," Mr Mugabe said.

ANTHONY JOHNSON reports from Johannesburg that the ANC will begin charting a course for a new SA when more than 1 600 delegates attend the organisation's first legal congress here since its banning in 1960.

Mr Tambo will set the tone for the ANC's future course when he delivers the opening address today.

His address will be followed by a speech by Mr Nelson Mandela, who is expected to spell out the main decisions facing the ANC.

Two issues are expected to dominate:

● The ANC's short-term strategic objectives in its negotiations with the

government — and other organisations — in 1991.

● Ways of beefing up the ANC's organisation and support base in an increasingly competitive political environment.

Other issues that will enjoy the attention of delegates include SA's international isolation (particularly sanctions), the violence and the ANC programme of action (including mass action) for 1991.

The conference is viewed by organisers as a way for rank-and-file supporters to make a more meaningful input into ANC decision-making — particularly the organisation's stance on negotiations.

The PAC, Azapo, the Democratic Party and diplomats have been invited to attend today's opening session as observers.

Neither the National Party nor Inkatha have been invited.

Arrangements have also been made for recently released prisoners and returned exiles who have not formally rejoined ANC structures to attend.

The conference will also be attended by representatives from dozens of ANC missions abroad.

UK paper calls for end to SA cultural boycott 'shambles'

Own Correspondent
C.M. 1-17

14/12/90

LONDON. — The cultural boycott against South Africa can no longer be enforced or understood, and has to be revised or abandoned. This was the conclusion of an in-depth review on the arts page of The Times yesterday. Editorial comment in the same paper said the boycott was a shambles and the ANC should vote to dismantle it at their conference in Johannesburg this weekend. The article on the arts page, posing the question "Time to Let the Music Flow Freely?" in its head-

line, raised the dilemma of the boycott which, while discouraging cultural exchange between South Africa and the rest of the world, at the same time contained within it "grey areas and contradictions" which made it possible for some artists to flout it while others felt themselves severely punished. It focused especially on the problems the boycott held for "the emotive and hotly-disputed" music industry — "the field in which black South Africa had the richest resources of its own".

Paul Simon's Graceland project and Johnny Clegg's problems with the British Music Union were highlighted in the article.

While some anti-apartheid campaigners viewed Graceland as an inevitable erosion of the boycott's credibility, others — including renowned jazz musician Hugh Masekela — took the opposite view and welcomed the exposure to South Africans. Clegg, who was born in Britain but settled in South Africa at the age of six, presented an equally "murky challenge to the apparently simple edicts of the boycott", said the article.

Although Clegg has always been fiercely anti-apartheid and closely associated with the ANC, he has been — unlike black South African groups like Ladysmith Black Mambazo and The Soul Brothers — obstructed by the British Music Union, who reasoned that no musician could choose to work in both Britain and South Africa. Denouncing the boycott, the leader article said many in the ANC had made a career out of being "cultural officials", and should the ANC "cultural desk cease to exist, they would be out of a job". The ten-year-old cultural boycott will be reviewed by the UN on February 1 next year.

Tambo is home



A hero's welcome to end three decades in exile

OLIVER TAMBO came home yesterday after 30 years in exile to a rapturous welcome from thousands of supporters.

Clasping both hands above his head — the left arm supporting the right one, weakened by the stroke he suffered last year — the 73-year-old African National Congress president gazed down from the balcony-like upper driveway of Jan Smuts airport at the exuberant throng below.

Earlier, Tambo was welcomed on the tarmac by a party of dignitaries headed by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and his wife, Winnie. Clutching a walking stick as he stepped out, Tambo found there was a second unofficial welcoming par-

ty — about 300 jubilating airport workers who encircled the plane.

En route from Lusaka, Tambo stopped briefly in Harare where Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe joined him in the airport VIP lounge, greeting him with a bear-hug. In rehearsal for the Johannesburg scene, hundreds of dancing supporters awaited Tambo in Harare.

Photograph: TREVOR SAMSON, AFP

For more about the Tambo family, see Pages 15, 16 and 17

ANC reacts to technology report

8/12/90 14/12/90
ZILLA EFRAT

THE ANC has criticised various aspects of the Department of Trade and Industry's draft report on technology policy and strategy.

In a statement released yesterday, the ANC's interim science and technology group called for a consultative, multipartite process of policy-making — particularly in the area of technology.

The group said no technology policy could be effective unless it came from a legitimate government elected by the people.

It believed the report was limited by its focus on the manufacturing industry and that it ignored various aspects.

The department's report, released towards the end of November, aimed at generating comment from the private sector to help

government formulate a policy on technology early next year.

The response to the report follows an ANC conference on technology held towards the end of November.

The group said a valid technology policy needed to develop out of the political priorities of government which would inevitably include jobs, education and urbanisation.

It also said the report ignored the considerable impact of various government policies on the public sector, including parastatals, and thereby their massive potential for the development of technology.

The group said it was crucial to strengthen the manufacturing sector of the economy as part of a

long-term strategy for economic development.

However, the underpinnings, namely education and infrastructure, transport and communications, were so weak it was essential to attend to these as part of a long-term strategy rather than to merely tinker with monetary and fiscal measures such as tax incentives and tariff barriers.

The ANC welcomed the emphasis on export promotion in the report, but said this should not occur at the expense of successful local industries.

The group said: "We see selective measures, rather than blanket policies, as essential in encouraging industries and creating jobs." Policy formulation was an ongoing process.

Shares for all, says PAC

THE PAC envisaged a post-apartheid SA in which companies would be "asked" to create funds to enable workers to buy shares, the organisation's Zimbabwe-based economist Siphoshe Shabalala said in Johannesburg yesterday.

Giving a PAC perspective at a seminar organised by the Wits Centre for Policy Studies and the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, Shabalala said to avoid over-capitalisation, existing shareholders would be asked to reduce their level of shareholding by selling part of their shares to workers.

Shabalala said new shares should be issued to workers where the problem of over-capitalisation did not exist.

"Here we are not talking about token share participation by workers; but sizeable magnitudes. The shares must also have voting rights attached."

The exact size and percentage could be

THEO RAWANA

investigated further with full participation by workers, management and government officials where considered necessary.

Saying the state would also directly or indirectly support the fund, Shabalala added: "The state might consider money contributed by existing firms to be tax-deductible within particular ranges of magnitude."

Legislation would be passed to ensure the involvement of workers in financing, investment and dividend/reserve decisions.

The right of workers to have access to information to enable them to participate fully in these decisions would also have to be legislated, Shabalala said.

Once the workers' needs had been seen

□ To Page 2

PAC

to, Shabalala added that direct taxation would be used to transfer income from companies to the state to enable it to effect the redistribution of wealth.

Through collective bargaining — subject to firms' capacity to pay, the need for employment generation and consideration of macro-inflationary effects — "income-denominated" wealth should be redistributed through wage increases in favour of African workers.

Shabalala said firms would be required to effect human resources training and

development programmes to enhance the skills of African workers and to open up promotion opportunities.

"Through the tripartite system and decision-making processes, it shall be made obligatory in labour terms for companies to contribute to the social benefits of their employees such as education of children, housing of workers, health and insurance, recreation facilities, etc."

The PAC-directed state would respect the articulation of workers' needs by the African workers themselves.

□ From Page 1

F W not sincere about reforms, says PAC exile

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN, Political Staff

PRESIDENT De Klerk will get negotiations moving if he commits himself to a constituent assembly, says Mr Neville Legg, chief representative of the Pan Africanist Congress in Australia.

Mr Legg, a former Cape Town resident, is back in South Africa after a 20-year absence. He was indemnified for seven days by the government to attend the PAC's national congress and leaves South Africa today.

He said: "I'm unhappy about my short stay. The regime is trying to force us into negotiations by saying that we have to come to the negotiating table if we want our exiles to return home and political prisoners freed."

He slammed President De Klerk's version of democracy as "tainted with a white veto".

"I don't think he's sincere about bringing democracy to South Africa. His democracy is not the kind known to the rest of the Western world.

"We are challenging him to commit himself to a constituent assembly, elected on the principle of one-person-one-vote. He will take up the challenge if he is sincere and get negotiations moving."

The changes introduced by Mr De Klerk on February 2 had not been motivated by a sincere desire for change. "His reforms were geared at getting sanctions lifted. Even now some governments are talking of rewarding him."

Mr Legg said that President De Klerk's reforms were making his job difficult.

"The media is pushing his changes. I don't think that the situation has changed that much for black South Africans. One can talk of real change once he starts dismantling the five pillars of apartheid."

He identified these pillars as the Population Registration, Group Areas and Land Acts; the government's "Bantustan" policy and "Bantu" education; and the tricameral system.

The ANC enjoyed a bigger support in Australia, but the PAC was allowed to spread its message on community radio in Sydney and Canberra.



Dhlomo pinpoints causes of violence

ARGUS 14/12/90

Political Staff

POLITICAL consultant Dr Oscar Dhlomo has identified sources of violence sweeping South Africa.

In an address in New York this week, he said the first level of violence was inter-group violence affecting political organisations such as Inkatha, the ANC, Azapo and the PAC.

"The violence that has persisted for almost five years is between Inkatha and the ANC/UDF/Cosatu alliance. This violence has been defined as an ideological power struggle, exacerbated by lack of a democratic culture of political tolerance and freedom of association among black political groups.

"Socio-political factors such as a scramble for scarce resources and criminality have also been cited as complementary causes of this violence."

Mass action

Dr Dhlomo said the second level of violence resulted from confrontation between State agents of law and order and ANC and civic association members involved in mass action to dismantle local government structures and force black town councillors serving in these structures to resign.

"This violence is driven by lack of consensus between the government and the ANC with regard to the interpretation of the Pretoria Minute. The government is of the opinion that

the suspension of the armed struggle by the ANC also implies the suspension of mass action. The ANC on the other hand maintains that armed struggle and mass action are mutually exclusive strategies."

The third level of violence was white rightwing violence aimed at black South Africans in particular and the government in general. "Some white rightwingers feel extremely threatened by the process of democratic transition which they perceive as a threat."

Such groups rejected constitutional negotiations as they alleged that the government wanted to sell out the white minority to the black majority through a negotiated democratic transition.



Dr Dhlomo

The fourth level of violence was criminal violence resulting from the breakdown of law and order, as well as the frustration and desperation of a "lost generation" of young people who had dropped out of the black schooling system.

Democratic transition was severely threatened by violence which had almost become endemic in some areas, he said.

Big crowd welcomes Tambo home

ARGUS 1

14/12/90

11A

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Ailing ANC president Oliver Tambo returned to South Africa after three decades in exile to a tumultuous welcome from thousands of supporters in what airport officials described as probably the biggest reception ever seen at Jan Smuts Airport.

A clearly elated Mr Tambo acknowledged the rousing welcome with continued clenched-fist salutes, but did not address the crowd, estimated by one police officer at 8 000.

On a day that will be recorded as one of the most memorable in South African politics, Mr Tambo and his life-long friend, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, stood side by side waving and smiling at the ecstatic crowd from a balcony at the airport building.

Helped out

Police and ANC marshals jostled well-wishers and journalists who crowded around the red Mercedes-Benz carrying the two leaders, and Mr Tambo was unable to get out of the car for some time.

Adelaide Tambo and Winnie Mandela, both dressed in elaborate African outfits, followed, but were temporarily cut off from their husbands in the melee.

After Mr Tambo was eventually helped out of the car, aides had to lift his legs to the ground, he moved ponderously to a makeshift podium. He is still clearly afflicted by the effects of the stroke he had in August last year.

Amid loud cheers, the two men fondly looked at each other, and smiled.

Catching the first glimpse of the legendary leader, the crowd responded with a thunderous "viva" and chants of "Oliver, Oliver".



I'M HOME: ANC president Oliver Tambo arrives at Jan Smuts Airport.

Mr Mandela briefly addressed the chanting, ululating and toyi-toying crowd, describing Mr Tambo as "one of Africa's greatest heroes".

He said: "The day for which we have all waited, has come. Comrade Oliver Tambo is here. He and his comrades have fought for the right to be here today. We have won that right."

"On Sunday, President Tambo will address you at the FNB Stadium. At present, he wishes to say he is happy to be here."

Mr Mandela then requested the crowd to disperse peacefully.

Huge banners were held aloft, one bearing the legend: "The people of Benoni welcome President O R Tambo back home". Mr Tambo has said he wants to return to Wattville, Benoni's adjoining township, when coming home permanently.

After savouring the spectacle of the large crowd for a few minutes, the two leaders, both wearing cravats in ANC colours, were driven away in Mr Mandela's car.

F/M 14/12/90

119

some members of the national executive committee (NEC) are trying to ingratiate themselves with Nelson Mandela in the hope of maintaining their positions.

At a meeting which followed the PWV region elections, a representative complained "that the regional leadership was not in control of the conference (and) NEC members were allowed to intervene. Clear political decisions and procedures taken were not adhered to — for example elections were not by secret ballot."

However, the other reason for the negative answer is the incredible inefficiency of the ANC. The president of Madagascar recently complained to a senior congress official that he had received no response to letters he has written to the ANC. Talks with the SA government have been characterised by the cancellation of meetings — fewer delegates than expected turning up — or the failure of delegates to arrive at all.

A recent working group on the cessation of armed action was cancelled after MK chief of staff Chris Hani reportedly forgot about the appointment. This past weekend ANC publicity reported that Hani would be speaking in King William's Town at noon and at Alexandra township — across the country — at 2 pm on Saturday. Either regions are deliberately misleading the public or someone



Chris Hani

in Hani's office is double-booking.

Similarly, new education chief John Samuel failed to arrive for a meeting last week with Education & Training Minister Stoffel van der Merwe.

Part of the problem is that the ANC has only about 100 senior leaders operational in SA and their work burden is enormous. A greater problem is that they are not drawing on the extensive skills of mass democratic movement activists and not delegating authority. Inter-

national leaders have been sidelined as external leaders attempt to grab all positions of power.

Jacob Zuma and Matthew Phosa are without doubt two of the most competent men in the ANC; but they cannot possibly adequately service all the portfolios they hold. Zuma is not only the intelligence chief of the ANC, he is now head of the southern Natal region, the congress's chief negotiator, and he holds positions on three working groups as well as being in charge of the ANC's peace effort in Natal. Phosa, a former regional MK commander and a skilled lawyer, is a member of three working groups, is one of the people responsible for report-backs from working groups, and has recently been elected head of the eastern Transvaal region.

So talent is stretched thin and the conse-

quences are beginning to be felt.

The European Community, for example, has withdrawn funding from Natal — a region desperately in need of aid — because it discovered that funds were going to ANC structures staffed by incompetents rather than to the projects for which they were earmarked. This is a problem that predates Zuma's appointment but indicates the need for tight regional control. Further EC withdrawal would without doubt cause others to pull out.

Cosatu — with the example of eastern Europe before it — is examining the advisability of union leaders holding key positions in political parties. Food & Allied Workers' Union leader and deputy president of Cosatu, Chris Dlamini, is on the executive of the SACP — and a growing lobby is against such duplication of roles.

Behind closed doors at this weekend's Consultative Conference there is certain to be bitter debate about the lack of consultation, report-backs and mandates. There will also be controversy about the lack of any internal leaders on the three working groups; the absence of women at the top table despite a policy of "non-sexism"; and accusations that people are often awarded positions not because they are the best for the job, but for proven loyalty.

This climate has stultified the growth and ambitions of would-be leaders. The folly of the territoriality of the leadership clique has not yet been grasped — and outsiders are largely unaware of it. A little more openness on the issue would be a healthy sign — but it seems the ANC is not yet ready for such openness. ■

Project Free Enterprise. This study showed the level of ignorance about free enterprise in the black community and suggested ways in which it could be changed. "It is only since then that I have understood how deeply entrenched apartheid has become, and how reluctant business has been to eradicate it," he says.

The three main CBM committees reflect traditional topics of "concerned" businessmen. One is the Development Forum Focus. According to Eloff: "Without a commitment to a development policy, which the ANC can take back to its constituents, negotiations will never get off the ground."

Then there is the In-House Change Group, which aims to show how changes can be carried out in companies leading to the best use of human resources available. "We need to show that we are not an economic autocracy," says Eloff. "Changes within companies are vital for the survival of business."

The newest committee, the Economics Project, according to a pamphlet on the subject, is more concerned with development goals, wealth distribution and ownership and control than with the efficient working of the economy. It is even debating the old chestnut of concentration of ownership and will address itself to "the extent to which current patterns promote the most efficient use of resources."

Bethlehem says one debate will be on the nature of the mixed economy. "I am hostile to interventionism and, if the mixed economy is the surrogate of the interventionist economy, I am against it. But the mixed economy is a *fait accompli* in this country already. The State controls 50% of the country's fixed capital stock. The State's role may be too big but to expect it to withdraw entirely from the economy is unrealistic."

Compromise features highly in the CBM. Premier's Wrighton, who is the CBM's Transvaal chairman, admits that the fact that 85% of Premier's customers and work force are black has made it essential for him to address their concerns. He also notes: "Business people can make the future work, or they can shun the process."

Bethlehem asks: "Should the business of business be business only — or should it recognise its role in the broader business environment which includes political and social change that can impact heavily on business?"

The consensus talk of the CBM is clearly more congenial to the ANC than the more gloomy realism dished out by the SA Chamber of Business (Sacob), which has outlined the immense problems involved in economic transformation in its own Economic Options paper. Sacob chief economist Ben van Rensburg says: "The CBM is an enthusiastic organisation so it isn't surprising that it gets carried away by its own optimism from time to time. We wanted to bring some reality to temper the high expectations which politicians are raising and to show the enormity of demands for equality compared with what

we can afford. We suggested that the most realistic way in which to address poverty is through a 10-year programme."

Van Rensburg says there is room for both Sacob and the CBM, as long as it is realised that the CBM cannot speak for business. "Sacob is mandated and its policies are developed in a series of subcommittees, committees and conferences. The CBM, on the other hand, can express views without these constraints." Inevitably, because of its mandated nature, Sacob takes a more sober approach than the CBM.

The CBM's credibility with black organisations, its supposed major strength, was addressed for us by Joe Manchu, a black business consultant. He says the CBM should strengthen its links with black business. "The CBM is a white organisation at this time and it should change into a more broad-based movement with all races."

But, he says, the organisation is at least trying to speak in language which blacks can understand. "Some businessmen have reacted unfortunately to demands for a more socialist economy. They say that socialism has failed in eastern Europe, so there is nothing to discuss. This just serves to confirm that business does not want to change. The CBM at least is not slamming the door."

The Black Management Forum's Lot Ndlovu says the CBM has been willing to confront contentious issues in a way organised business has never been prepared to do. "Whether they will support the substantive changes which society needs is another matter, but they are at least willing to talk."

Where the CBM claims notable success is in the regions. It has played a pivotal role in persuading the ANC and Inkatha to discuss violence in Natal.

If the CBM sticks to its brief, it must have a limited lifespan. When negotiations and discussions are second nature at all levels it should quietly disappear. That's the theory. But perhaps those of its more pragmatic leaders who reason along those lines are being short-sighted. They might not have



CBM founder Nel ... a debate in the real world

SA'S SUPER-RICH

Draw up a list of SA's 15 richest families. Chances are you'll get the first four or five right but after that you'd be in for some surprises. For the full list — comprising families with holdings on the JSE worth more than R50m — read the *FM* next week.

The listing has been prepared exclusively for the *FM* by McGregors On-Line Information, based on research into complex JSE holdings. It will show the number of shares held by each family and their value, calculated at the ruling price on November 29.

Some families maintain such a low profile that their names are virtually unknown to the public. Indeed, since we publicised this project last week, McGregors has discovered a new family which meets the criteria for inclusion.

taken adequately into account the need for a bureaucracy to perpetuate itself. The temptation to go back and write another work programme when it should be writing itself out of a job might be overwhelming.

The CBM lost a great deal of its relevance after February 2. As an icebreaker it had its use, but in its need to avoid becoming a vehicle to negotiate for business, or to avoid dabbling in the formation of public policy, it could be talking itself out of existence. There is a danger, too, that in an effort to achieve consensus it might set unfortunate precedents or perpetuate economic myths impossible to achieve.

For instance, by accepting that wealth distribution is as important as wealth creation there is a tacit admission that there is an economic or moral ceiling to the accumulation of individual wealth or property. Private property and freedom of contract are the very crux of classical liberal values. While they inevitably give rise to markets — which are the interactions of buyers and sellers for the purposes of exchanging ownership titles — they are values that are absolutely necessary to peace, prosperity and liberty. That is not a theory. It is a matter of observable fact.

Moreover, mixed economies that include substantial social security systems have persisted only because they first concentrated on the creation of wealth before attempting to redistribute it, as Frank Vorhies argues in another part of today's issue (see *Business*). "Wherever the process has been attempted in reverse, the system has quickly failed.

If the CBM is facing these harsh economic and social realities in its fireside chats with the comrades, no one can argue that it is selling business out.

But if the statements of its spokesmen in this article are taken at face value, pragmatism might be in danger of becoming a euphemism for appeasement. ■

Chanting crowds and confrontations greet Tambo at

Jan Smuts (11A)

BOISTEROUS crowd, delays, confusion, procession of dignitaries and confrontations with police marked the return yesterday of ANC president Oliver Tambo after 9 years in exile.

Tambo was met on the tarmac of Jan Smuts Airport by the ANC's entire national executive committee and other dignitaries after his chartered plane touched down in Lusaka two hours late at 1.30pm.

A crowd of about 5 000 chanting ANC supporters waited outside the airport for the return of the 73-year-old leader, who is still suffering the after-effects of a stroke.

Tambo was warmly greeted by the dig-

nitaries, among them ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, several diplomatic representatives, former DP MP Helen Suzman, SACP leader Joe Slovo and lawyer George Bizos.

He was then taken in Mandela's Mercedes Benz to the first-floor off-loading area where he waved down at the crowd.

Mandela, who called Tambo "one of Africa's greatest leaders", announced to the crowd that the ANC had fought for Tambo's return, and Tambo wanted to say he was happy to be back.

Mandela told a disappointed crowd Tambo would not be addressing them. But,

B10ay14/12/90

TIM COHEN

he said, the ANC president would address a welcome-home rally at the First National Bank Stadium in Soweto on Sunday.

A small police contingent was present at the airport.

● Picture: Page 3

More than 20 people were bitten by police dogs in several incidents. A police statement said stones were thrown and riot police were summoned after several pistol shots were fired by someone in the crowd.

Tambo

B10ay 14/12/90

Oliver Tambo coming home today I feel our freedom cannot be far away."

Hani called on all South Africans to give Tambo a hero's welcome during his three-week stay in the country.

"I call on the whites of this country to accept that men like Oliver Tambo are a fountain of peace and justice."

Earlier in the day, Tambo met Zimbabwe President Robert Mugabe at Harare Airport, where he was also given a tumultuous welcome, Sapa-Reuter reports.

(11A)

□ From Page 1

Mugabe told him the SA government's programme to end apartheid was irreversible.

"We are optimistic ... there can be no going back," he said.

Meanwhile, it was reported from Bisho that the head of Ciskei's Council of State, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, had extended an invitation to Tambo to visit Ciskei.

He said: "We all owe this man a great debt for keeping the fires of liberation burning."

Police insisted on the removal of a number plate bearing the inscription "ANC 1" which was attached to the silver Mercedes Benz due to convey Tambo. ANC members complied but later replaced it.

Police also confiscated a South African flag from an ANC member who had removed it from a flagpost. He replaced it with an ANC flag, which was also removed.

After the crowd had dispersed peacefully, the police arrested a man who they said was drunk and who had sworn at them.

A small media pool was allowed on the tarmac to record Tambo's welcome.

One of them, a Sapa journalist, reported

that after disembarking from the plane, Tambo got into Mandela's car. When the dignitaries arrived, he got out of the vehicle assisted by Mandela, to be greeted.

Walking slowly with a slight limp, he warmly embraced Slovo. He then greeted the dignitaries lined up alongside the aircraft.

A smiling Tambo said he felt "fine, fine, fine" when he was asked about his health.

About 300 airport workers encircled the plane, ululating.

Sapa reports that Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani said earlier: "With

□ To Page 2

Natal's SACP leaders named

By GAVIN EVANS ^{14/12/90} ^{19/12/90}
TWO of the Operation Vula accused are among the 10 members of the South African Communist Party's Natal leadership structure announced yesterday.

Billy Nair (61) and Pravin Gordhan (43) were both recently released on bail and are facing charges of terrorism under the Internal Security Act following the Operation Vula detentions.

Former Natal United Democratic Front leader Gordhan, who was allegedly assaulted during his recent four-month detention, has been appointed a member of the Natal interim leadership group's political committee. Nair, who was released after a heart attack, is also a member of the SACP's central committee and national interim leadership group and will serve on the Natal structure in an ex-officio capacity.

The convener of the new structure is the Congress of SA Trade Unions' southern Natal secretary Thami Mohlomi, African National Congress Natal deputy chairman Jeff Radebe is the secretary and former

Robben Island prisoner Blade Nzimande his secretary. Treasurer is University of Natal politics lecturer Dr Ian Phillips, who also serves on the ANC Natal executive. (11A)

Other members of the political committee include Ben Martin, Important Mkhize and Maggie Govender, while ANC Natal Midlands leader Harry Gwala is an ex officio member.

SACP representative Geraldine Fraser said the committee would cover the whole of Natal, but that separate offices would be set up in Durban and Pietermaritzburg. The names of additional members will be announced later.

ANC, Inkatha move closer to Natal peace

By CARMEL RICKARD: Durban

WHILE the battle rages on the Rand, prospects for peace in Natal have improved significantly with renewed commitment to efforts at ending the violence coming from both the African National Congress and Inkatha.

After a meeting of delegates from the southern Natal region of the ANC last weekend, officials said for the first time all Natal regions were now agreed on a "multi-prong strategy" including the need to continue talks with Inkatha.

Even talks between ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi would get the approval of the ANC in the province, provided they were part of a wider meeting involving executives of both

sides, and not "one-on-one" talks.

Meanwhile in Ulundi at the official launch of the new-look Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), the conference resolved to call for a "great peace pact" among all political parties which would aim at reducing the violence.

It also called on the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress to declare 1991 "a year of peace for negotiation".

The IFP also expressed concern that continuing violence was preventing national negotiations from getting off the ground and called on all political

parties as well as the South African government "to make the reduction of violence a top priority".

Delegates said people were impatient for talks to begin and resolved to give a message to State President FW de Klerk from "black people across all ethnic and across most political lines" that negotiations "must now get off the ground with those who have committed themselves to negotiations".

The question of negotiations also featured at the ANC's southern Natal region meeting.

Vice-president Jeff Radebe said the ANC had been active in assisting the negotiation process and in helping overcome obstacles.

On the question of violence, delegates approved a resolution laying the blame on

apartheid, urging the government to stop the violence and giving members the go-ahead "to defend themselves".

A key resolution undertook to build "effective defence committees" as a key element in community response to the violence. All the resolutions from the meeting will now go to the ANC national consultative conference.

It is the first time that all Natal regions of the ANC have reached a common position on the question of talks with Inkatha and this is seen as a significant development.



Mangosuthu Buthelezi

A HERO'S WELCOME FROM A ULULATING CROWD



w/mailed 14/12-19/12/90 (11A)

Home at last ... ANC president Oliver Tambo touched down on South African soil for the first time in 30 years yesterday. Among the welcoming party was Winnie Mandela
 Photograph: JUSTIN SHOLK

The last mile to freedom

w/mailed 14/12-19/12/90
JO-ANNE COLLINGE reports
 from Jan Smuts Airport (11A)

THE African National Congress president, Oliver Tambo, came home yesterday after 30 years in exile to a rapturous welcome from thousands of supporters.

Clasping both hands above his head — the left arm supporting the right one weakened by the stroke he suffered last year — the 73-year-old leader gazed down from the balcony-like upper driveway of Johannesburg's Jan Smuts Airport at the shrill and exuberant throng below.

His face reflected pure open-mouthed joy as the two-handed salute gave way to left-handed waves and clenched fist salutes. Above the crowd fluttered two gigantic banners — one a welcome from the young Pioneers, the other a declaration to "Comrade OR" that "together with you we aim to walk the last mile forward to the majestic heights, freedom and liberation".

Tambo's wife, Adelaide, stretched over the balcony to greet the crowd as the Tambo children and grandchildren were pushed forward to fill out the picture.

Earlier Tambo had been welcomed on the tarmac by a party of dignitaries headed by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and his wife, Winnie.

Clutching a walking stick as he greeted dignitaries, Tambo found there was a second, unofficial, welcoming party — about 300 ululating airport workers, who encircled the plane in uncontrollable joy.

En route from Lusaka, Tambo had stopped briefly in Harare where Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe joined him in the airport VIP lounge.

In Johannesburg diplomats, political leaders and churchmen mingled with rank-and-file in the long wait for Tambo's plane.

After the appearance on the balcony, Mandela took the megaphone to address the welcoming crowd.



Tight security ... a marksman keeps watch
 Photo: KEVIN CARTER



Celebration ... part of the huge ululating crowd which welcomed Tambo

(11A) Photo: KEVIN CARTER

"The day for which we have all waited has come. Comrade Oliver Tambo, the president of the African National Congress, is here," Mandela began.

"He and his comrades have fought for the right for him to be here today. He has won that fight," Mandela declared, adding that he was confident that he spoke for all in welcoming Tambo back "with open arms as one of the greatest heroes of Africa".

The crowd growled in dissatisfaction when it became clear that Tambo was not going to address them and Mandela appealed for them to disperse peacefully and wait for Sunday's rally at First National Bank stadium near Soweto to hear the president speak.

Then they turned and poured through the parking lot to the buses. The official entourage took a turn through the crowd, which burst into chants of "ANC! ANC!" and "Tambo! Tambo!"

Near the terminal building after the crowd cleared, an ambulance remained. It contained people who had been bitten by police dogs during the tense build-up to Tambo's arrival.

One of the medical workers estimated that they had treated at least two dozen patients.

Some victims claimed they had been bitten as they attempted to comply with police orders to move back.

According to Sapa, a section of the crowd pulled down a South African

flag outside the civil aviation building and replaced it with an ANC flag.

At the domestic flights entrance police denied black people access, allowing whites to pass automatically.

Only one person was seen taken into custody. This occurred as the crowd dispersed and witnesses claimed that the arrested man was bleeding profusely from the head as he was bundled into a police vehicle.

Tambo's first official duty will be to open the ANC's three-day consultative conference.

The conference — to be attended by 1 611 delegates from ANC structures and by participating observers from the South African Communist Party,

the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the United Democratic Front — will be empowered to take binding policy decisions.

The bulk of delegates have been elected by local branches of the ANC, but representatives from ANC structures in 36 countries are expected.

Only today's opening is an "open" session. According to Mohammed Valli Moosa, apart from Tambo's keynote address, Mandela will make a "major political statement".

The renewed Tambo-Mandela partnership will be on show to a much wider audience after the conference, when the two will speak at the rally at 3pm on Sunday.

FOCUS ON THE PRESIDENT, OLIVER TAMBO

The return of Tambo, the gentle inquisitor

SOUTH AFRICA'S exile-of-exiles returned this week in the greying person of Oliver Tambo.

Every exile's return is a poignant event. The return of the weakened and slightly disabled African National Congress president is particularly moving, the stroke he suffered in 1989 a reminder of how nearly Tambo did not come home and of the many whose lives ended in exile.

It is also a signal that the political wheel has come full circle, when the man charged with establishing the external mission of the ANC returns 30 years later to a situation where his organisation commands centre stage, along with the government, in the process of negotiating a new constitution for the country.

Tambo's homecoming will undoubtedly be heralded by a militant generation who were not even born

Oliver Tambo's homecoming after 30 years is reflected in his own words:

It bears the scars of yesterday but also the seeds of the future.

By JO-ANNE COLLINGE

when Tambo left South Africa — a generation typified by some 200 young activists who broke cover during the harshest days of the Emergency in October 1987 to celebrate the "Comrade President's" 70th birthday in the ill-fated Khotso House in Johannesburg.

No matter that Tambo shuns the revolutionary rhetoric on which this generation was raised; that he speaks in even and muted tones suited to the legal profession which he eventually ditched for politics; that he has expli-



The exile of exiles ... ANC president Oliver Tambo finally comes home

●To PAGE 41

The Transport and General Workers' Union, Construction and Allied Workers' Union and South African Harbours and Railway Workers' Union

**WELCOME HOME
THE PRESIDENT OF THE
AFRICAN NATIONAL
CONGRESS**

**COMRADE
O.R. TAMBO**

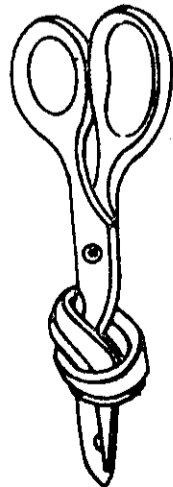
We say your dedication, commitment and sacrifice to the liberation movement will remain an ongoing source of strength and courage for all of us as we continue to struggle for political and economic power.

We wish you and your family good health and best wishes for the future.

**SACOS and its affiliates
extend a warm welcome
home to Comrade Oliver
Tambo**



SACOS



**ANTI-
CENSORSHIP
ACTION
GROUP &
CAMPAIGN
FOR OPEN
MEDIA
WELCOME
HOME**

OLIVER TAMBO

THE INDEPENDENT PAPER FOR
A CHANGING SOUTH AFRICATHE
WEEKLY MAIL

Volume 6, Number 48, December 14-19, 1990

SAP and Thokoza:
What impartiality?

THE South African Police have a few questions to answer following the video footage taken in Thokoza and reproduced in part in *The Weekly Mail*.

● Why do police abandon two injured men, alive but wounded and helpless, to be beaten and stabbed to death by an "impi" of hostel dwellers?

● Why do police take no action against an "impi" that is self-evidently about to attack the township with a lot more than "traditional weapons"?

● Why do police only act when the "impi" is forced to retreat, and then act only against the "comrades"?

● Why do police disappear from a scene of conflict at the most critical moment?

● It is evident from the video the "impi" knows it can operate without police interference. No attempt is made even to hide its purpose or its weapons. Why?

Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok has said *The Weekly Mail's* video can be subjected to various interpretations. We have shown the video to a number of lawyers, human rights activists and journalists: none of them has come up with acceptable answers to the questions it raises.

The video does give an answer to the most important question of all: why is it that a powerful and efficient police force is unable to contain the East Rand violence? The video suggests that police on the ground may not have the will or the desire to do so.

If there is an explanation for this extraordinary police behaviour, then we are eager to hear it and carry it in our newspaper. In the absence of that, however, Vlok must take the strongest possible action to ensure that police do their job.

The real SABC News

THIS newspaper has taken a close look behind the scenes at the SABC's television news department. What emerges is a picture of an organisation at best riddled by incompetence, and at worst unchanged in its devotion to twisting the news in favour of the government and against its opponents.

It is clear there is no acceptance in Auckland Park of some of the basic precepts of fair journalism: hear and reflect all points of view; always give people a chance to answer allegations against themselves; and, quite simply, try and reflect what actually happened.

Few media in this country have an impeccable record of impartiality. In the heat of conflict, almost all have slipped to some degree at some time. But few have reached the depths of the SABC — a subsidised public service.

There can be only one conclusion: what is needed is not more open-mindedness or liberalism, but the creation of a more representative structure of control and the appointment of a respected management that can shake the very foundations of this ivory tower.

Welcome home, OR

OLIVER TAMBO'S arrival at Jan Smuts Airport is bound to be an event of enormous importance, second only to the release of his colleagues from prison. As the man sent to start the ANC's mission in exile, his return signals the completion of a three-decade cycle of struggle.

Tambo is valued not for his charisma, but for his quiet and consistent strength. His authority stems not from his office nor from his dynamism, but from wisdom and consistent skill. He has led not by wielding the power of his presidency, but by a slow building of respect among his peers.

In this unusual manner, he has been the glue that has held together an unwieldy movement through the most difficult of times. He maintains respect among the young and the old, the militant and the moderate, his supporters and his rivals.

All his skill and experience will be needed to assist the ANC when it is finding great difficulty in re-establishing itself inside the country and keeping up with the pace of events.

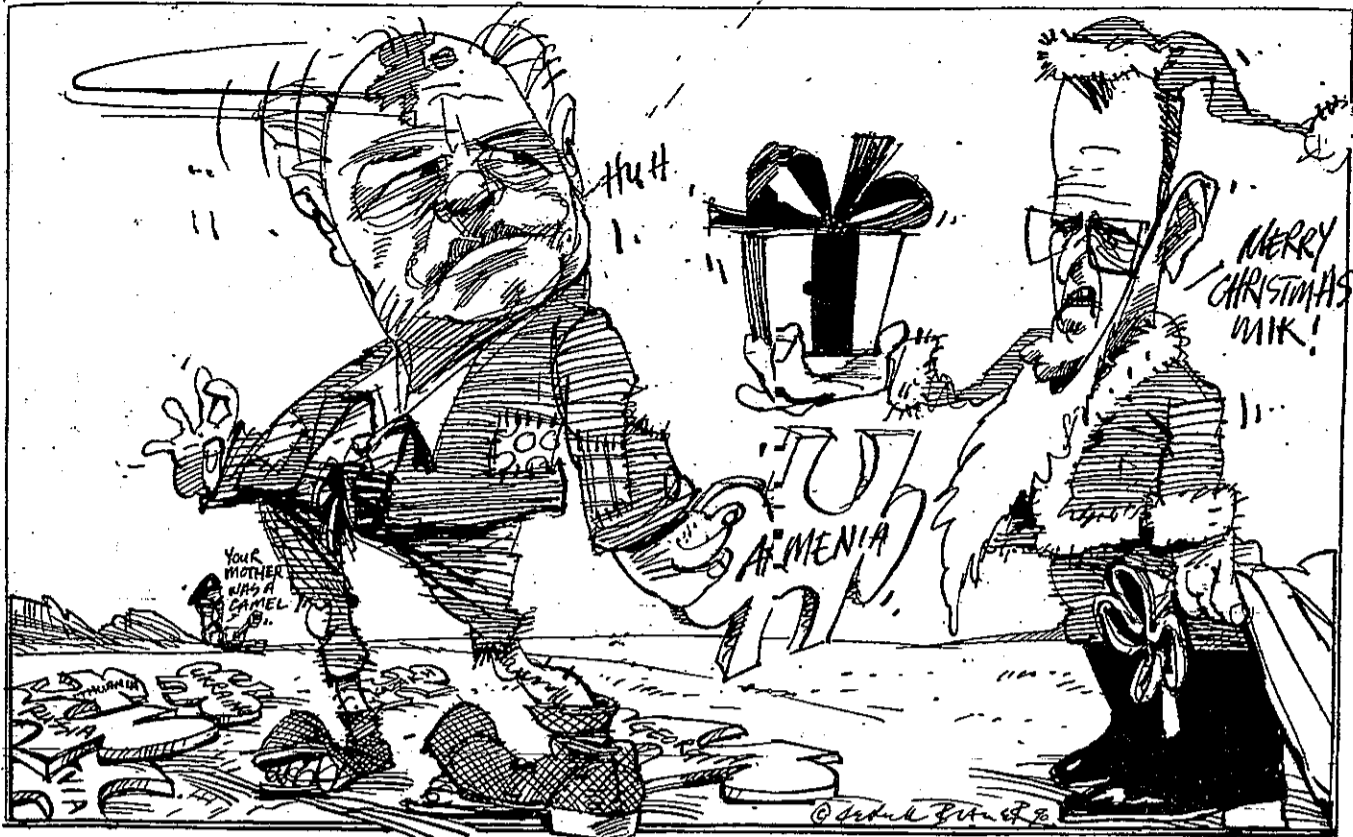
Welcome home, OR.

LAST WORD

"CHANGING the South African system is going to call for sacrifices from innocent and guilty alike, civilians and non-civilians alike. As long as the system is there, that is the price that has to be paid."

— Oliver Tambo, 1983

DEREK BAUER'S WORLD

PAC's stand on talks
dries up its meagre funds

W/Mail 14/12 - 19/12/90 (11A)

It became abundantly clear this week that the Pan Africanist Congress had no funds.

The organisation resolved that every working member should donate 3,3 percent of their salaries to its coffers. This was one of several resolutions taken at the PAC's three-day national congress held over the weekend at Shareworld entertainment arena outside Soweto.

The organisational bankruptcy could be attributed partly to its smaller membership compared to the rival African National Congress. But the main reason is that its ideology and policies, contrary to the ANC, do not generally curry favour with the world.

And the PAC gained no more acceptance and popularity after its "highly successful" congress, at which the organisation categorically turned down the government's invitation to participate in preliminary negotiations.

Prior to the congress, it appeared that massive pressure from pro-negotiations quarters could force the organisation to change its anti-negotiations stance with the government. Observers predicted that the PAC would give in under threat of "marginalisation" by pro-negotiations bodies.

A different pressure was also exerted internally by youth affiliates — the Azanian National Youth Unity and the Pan Africanist Student Organisation.

Sources told *The Weekly Mail* that members of the youth organisations had threatened to break away from the main body should it accept the invitation to negotiate.

While over 1 200 delegates engaged in "serious and sharp" debates inside the venue, rank-and-file members were outside — locked in ex tempore discussions about the invitation.

Perhaps the mood was summed up by a youth who said: "No liberation organisation was formed to negotiate. They are formed to liberate the oppressed masses."

The youths — "revolutionary watchdogs" — were aggressively impatient and wondered why the debates inside had to drag on when one simple decision had to be taken: no negotiations; and the blanket intensification of the struggle until the enemy had capitulated.

They also reminisced adoringly about the late president Zeph Mothopeng and PAC stalwart Jeff Masemola — both of whom died this year.

The organisation said it could only enter into negotiations if they were preceded by a democratically elected constituent assembly based on one person one vote in a common voters roll.

A new constitution could only be drawn up by the assembly, new president Clarence Makwethu

Prior to the PAC's national congress last weekend, speculation was rife they might change their stance on negotiations. They didn't. This may prove a deathknell for the financially-troubled organisation as big business hostility towards it mounts.

By TSHOKOLO wa
MOLAKENG



New PAC president, Clarence Makwethu

ence Makwethu said at the end of the congress on Sunday.

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As a result the PAC resolved to intensify and strengthen the sanctions campaigns, and condemn efforts aimed at undermining sanctions.

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national community included, admits that sanctions contributed to the existing small changes," Ebrahim said. "We cannot remove them until the system has been destroyed."

In the same light the cultural boycott had to be maintained, the organisation resolved.

The new national executive council also pledged to hold workshops and peace rallies for all Africans — irrespective of political persuasions — in order to spread the message of "Peace among the Africans, war against the enemy".

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The PAC-Inkatha camaraderie raises questions about the proposed PAC-ANC united front as there is no love lost between Inkatha and the ANC.

Interestingly, Ebrahim announced this week that the PAC and ANC were to meet at an unspecified date to discuss the front. The decision, he said, had been made by the organisations in September at Kampala, Uganda. Whether Inkatha would be included remains to be seen.

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AFTER THIRTY YEARS ...

OLIVER TAMBO is due to return next June to set up house in Wattville, a small and neat township south of Benoni.

A brand-new house should be ready by then on a plot whose 262m fence was completed last Tuesday on part of a playing field in the township that has avoided the carnage on the East Rand.

The grand old man of African National Congress politics is referred to simply as *umnumzana* (master) in Wattville. He lived there from the late 1950s after giving up being a house-master and science teacher at the elite Johannesburg boarding school, St. Peter's, to study law and then practice it with Nelson Mandela. One of his former students — we all called the housemaster "Brother T" — is Diza Phutini, now chairman of the local ANC.

It was to Wattville that Tambo brought his bride, the nurse Adelaide, and where his only son, Dali, was born. Their two daughters were born in exile after Tambo's escape to Botswana and then Ghana in an aircraft

A place for the president in Wattville's park

WMA/14/12-19/12/90
The ANC leader had one desire — to return to the Benoni township of Wattville. And the residents ensured his wish came true. By **ARTHUR MAIMANE**

provided by President Kwameh Nkrumah in 1960:

It was a cloak-and-dagger operation that is still remembered with regret by neighbours. Emily Mahlangu had been his neighbour for only a few years but her eyes misted with nostalgia last Tuesday when she remembered the gentle and be-whiskered man who had "one day just simply disappeared without a goodbye".

Number 2883 Maseko Street is now the home of another old woman, Nelly Mtswene, who says Tambo told her

he was moving to Natalspruit.

She has extended it from a four-room matchbox into a comfortable, three-bedroom home with a living-room that must take up half of the original. She hopes the Tambos will have time to spend a night there during their visit.

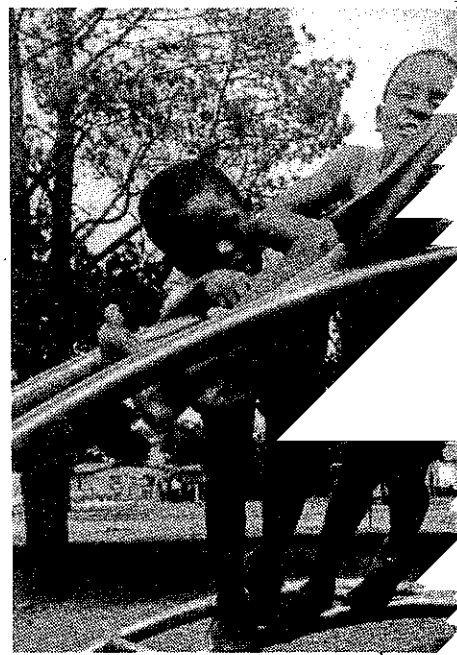
Adelaide Tambo did visit the house when she made her first trip back this year for the launch of the ANC Women's League. And now maMtswene is looking forward to meeting the husband again — and so is the rest of Wattville. The township's council has allocated a section of a playground for his retirement home.

There will be a white addition to the Tambo family and, if time allows, a goat will be slaughtered for the London banker who married the eldest

daughter, Tembi. He has already learned to address older African exiles as "uncle" — which is not a very British custom.

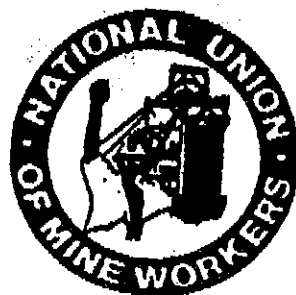
Arrangements for Tambo to settle back into Wattville are being coordinated by Cleopas Nsibande, treasurer of the local ANC. He was, with *umnumzana*, the other Benoni accused at the first mass, and marathon, treason trial that started at the Johannesburg Drill Hall in the mid-1950s. They were re-united in Lusaka during 1986 when Tambo exclaimed, "I can still remember when we last met: 24 years and six months ago." Nsibande spent a week at the Tambo home in north London last June to discuss the family's return to their favourite township.

For the parents it will be a sentimental home-coming; for the children it's more likely to be discovering a faraway — but very familiar — land. It's been a long time and a long road for them, which might be the reason the youngest daughter is called Tselane: a little road.



Children play in the park next to

MINEWORKERS SALUTE COMRADE PRESIDENT O R TAMBO



We the oppressed and exploited mineworkers of South Africa salute and warmly welcome the people's hero and leader Comrade OLIVER REGINALD TAMBO as an outstanding fighter of our freedom struggle.

Your return to our country after 30 years of exile is a resounding victory for the oppressed masses of our country.

Through your unflinching commitment to justice, freedom, democracy and peace you inspired millions to battle against the inhuman system of apartheid.

Through your political insight and maturity you guided our liberation movement through almost insurmountable barriers until the racist government was

forced to open prison and border gates.

Our country is still governed by a racist white minority supported by monopoly capitalists.

Forces of counterrevolution have been unleashed in defence of white supremacy and privilege to maim, torture, intimidate and murder freedom-loving people of our country.

We are fully behind you and the noble ideals you stand for. Your presence in our midst will lend new quality to our liberation struggle.

We commit ourselves to redouble our efforts in making a non-racial democratic South Africa a reality sooner than expected.

**FREEDOM NOW!
TAMBO IN! DE KLERK OUT!
LONG LIVE ANC-SACP-COSATU ALLIANCE!
AMANDLA! MATLA!**

O.R. is coming home!

After 30 years in exile, the President Congress (ANC) is coming home. Comrade Tambo has been leader of the arrest of the ANC leadership at the time of the ANC's banning. When the ANC was banned our Comrade Tambo, continued the struggle. Heroes Day - Umkhonto we Sizwe people's army.

President Tambo was instrumental pressure that resulted in the Apartheid government being isolated. Through his effort Apartheid was ended. Through his effort humanity by the world community. Today the ANC is regarded by the government to the Apartheid regime both at home and abroad to the Oliver Reginald Tambo.

Now Tambo is finally coming home. People from all over the country, welcome Comrade O.R. home.

- Come & celebrate O.R.'s return report-back;
- Learn about the ANC's Congress
- Let us give Comrade O.R. a
- Cultural activities: Blondie and Mizwakhe

**WELCOME
HEROES DAY
FNB STADIUM**

...THE LEADER WHO LISTENS COMES HOME

The gentle inquisitor, Tambo, finally returns

W/Mant 14/12-19/12/90
 ●From PAGE 15



Oliver Tambo's house will be

Photograph: KEVIN CARTER

city expressed his opposition to the practice of "necklacing". Oliver Tambo remains a hero with the youth.

It was no accident that the ANC Youth League chose his birthday on which to relaunch earlier this year, saluting him on its posters "for making us realise our role in the struggle" and acknowledging: "Your unequalled role in the struggle is a source of inspiration to all the 'Young Lions'."

James Maseko, former secretary of the South African Students Congress (Sansco) — and recently elected as assistant secretary of the National Education Co-ordinating Committee (NECC), comments that for the present generation Mandela was the distant jailed "cause" for whose liberation one struggled; Tambo was the more proximate reality, the leader whose words and ideas penetrated the veil of censorship from time to time.

Few, too, will have forgotten that Tambo's path into the ANC executive in 1949 was via the Youth League, in which he played a key founding role and held various regional and national offices.

Maseko is one of a minority of South Africans who awaits Tambo's return with a personal sense of the man. Earlier this year, while passing through London, his seemingly outrageous request to meet Tambo was granted.

The meeting took place in the wake of February 2 and "Tambo emphasised very strongly the need to build the ANC into a strong movement" not only with a large formal membership but with an ability to mobilise its supporters.

Maseko's recollection of the promised five-minute meeting which stretched into 30 minutes was of the quality of communication — a characteristic mentioned also by Tambo's long-standing associates and evidently unquenched by the stroke.

"He consciously chooses his words — very consciously. I thought I'd get a lecture, but this was a real discussion," says Maseko.

Members of the ANC national executive committee (NEC) speak of Tambo as the leader who listens, rather than the commander who issues orders. They describe a gentle but firm inquisitor who enables the process of collective decision-making and conveys his expectations clearly.

Those who have known him less closely are left with the same impression. "He is a man who is always ready to listen and to take the advice of others seriously. This makes him the near-perfect democrat," says Father Smangalis Mkhathshwa of the Institute of Contextual Theology, who was a student in Belgium when he first encountered Tambo in the 1970s.

He discerns in Tambo a toughness of sorts. "His great achievement was not just keeping the ANC together over 30 years, but building it into an effective machinery."

This required a great measure of endurance — through the bravely mounted but ill-conceived Wankie Campaign of Umkhonto weSizwe when an attempt was made to infiltrate guerrillas through Rhodesia; the turbulent years of restructuring at the end of the 1960s and the breakaway of the ANC (African Nationalist) faction in the mid-1970s; the waxing and waning of the tide of the 1976 resistance, leaving in its wake a greatly enlarged MK but dashed hopes of a popular rising.

No weak leader could have remained at the helm through all this. The fact that Tambo did — with increasingly weighty titles — speaks of an iron determination. Speculates



MaMtswene hopes the Tambos will come and spend a night at her place

Photograph: KEVIN CARTER

Mkhathshwa, it is Tambo's compulsion to serve the dispossessed that has forged this unbending quality.

Certainly, Tambo's speech on Radio Freedom shortly after the declaration of the partial State of Emergency in 1985 has the ring of steel. "Our own tasks are very clear. To bring about the kind of society that is visualised in the Freedom Charter, we have to break down and destroy the old order. We have to make apartheid unworkable and our country ungovernable ..."

"No longer should white South Africa live with the idea that it can continue with its business as usual, while our people are perishing in their hundreds, out of sight of the white families that have sent their sons into our townships, armed to the teeth and with one intention only, to kill, kill and kill."

Yet Mike Olivier, of the Five Freedoms Forum who led 115 white South Africans to meet the ANC in Lusaka in 1989, recalls a man of gentle authority. "I was impressed with the leadership aura he held over the rest of the people there, especially the NEC. He was held in awe."

Not that Tambo's voice dominated the four-day encounter, recalls Olivier. He often held his silence, redirecting questions to others. And at an official reception, he insisted that Olivier share the task of welcoming dignitaries. "He introduced me to every one — and, throughout, he would not let go of my hand — except to shake hands with guests."

It is Tambo's measured and informed style that is widely credited for the ANC's success in wooing Western governments which shunned the liberation movement for the first 25 years after its banning in 1960.

Within the ANC, it is Tambo's shrewdness in assessing the interests of these powers in a negotiated settlement in South Africa that is portrayed as a central factor in the ANC's own initiatives on negotiations: the ANC claims that it made the first move on talks with the intention of preempting other initiatives with less-than-democratic designs.

Tambo piloted the ANC's proposals on the negotiating process

through the channels of Organisation of African Unity, which adopted them in the form of the Harare Declaration of August 1989. The United Nations resolution of December 1989 was closely patterned on the Harare Document — though Tambo himself had suffered a stroke and was convalescing in London by the time the UN debate took place.

Cassim Saloojee, of the ANC Transvaal regional committee, glimpsed of Tambo's visionary qualities when he addressed an international conference in England on the eve of the signing of the Nkomati Accord. Saloojee retains an impression of Tambo's "sheer eloquence" — and of a sure predictive quality to the talk, which emphasised the futility of Pretoria's strategy of destabilisation of frontline states.

It was a cross border raid by Pretoria on the Lesotho capital of Maseru which brought Tambo painfully close to home in December 1982. He came to Lesotho for the burial of the 42 victims of the raid — 30 of whom were ANC members — in an act of outrage and solidarity regarded as foolhardy by his NEC colleagues who feared his plane would be shot down over South Africa.

Others viewed Tambo's presence in Maseru as the act of a wise man. One such might be Beyers Naude who was struck by the "profound insight" of Tambo into the needs and the situation of his organisation.

The insight, based on years in harness, appears undimmed by physical affliction. But it can no longer find expression, and achieve its amazingly unifying effects, in acts like the defiant flight to mourn the Maseru dead.

That is the sadness that tinges the historic homecoming this week of Oliver Tambo, the man who told a New York audience in early 1987: "The immediate conditions of life demand of the people that they act in particular ways. And yet each day carries both the burden of its past and the seeds of the future. Our day bears both the scars of yesterday and the potential for human development whose basis has been laid by present and earlier generations."



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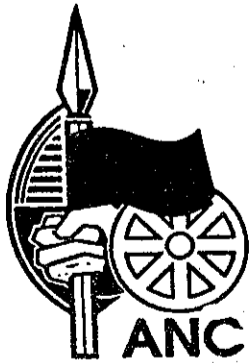
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PAC's stand on talks dries up its meagre funds

W/Mail 14/12-19/12/90

11A

It became abundantly clear this week that the Pan Africanist Congress had no funds.

The organisation resolved that every working member should donate 3,3 percent of their salaries to its coffers. This was one of several resolutions taken at the PAC's three-day national congress held over the weekend at Shareworld entertainment arena outside Soweto.

The organisational bankruptcy could be attributed partly to its smaller membership compared to the rival African National Congress. But the main reason is that its ideology and policies, contrary to the ANC, do not generally curry favour with the world.

And the PAC gained no more acceptance and popularity after its "highly successful" congress, at which the organisation categorically turned down the government's invitation to participate in preliminary negotiations.

Prior to the congress, it appeared that massive pressure from pro-negotiations quarters could force the organisation to change its anti-negotiations stance with the government. Observers predicted that the PAC would give in under threat of "marginalisation" by pro-negotiations bodies.

A different pressure was also exerted internally by youth affiliates — the Azanian National Youth Unity and the Pan Africanist Student Organisation.

Sources told *The Weekly Mail* that members of the youth organisations had threatened to break away from the main body should it accept the invitation to negotiate.

While over 1 200 delegates engaged in "serious and sharp" debates inside the venue, rank-and-file members were outside — locked in *ex tempore* discussions about the invitation.

Perhaps the mood was summed up by a youth who said: "No liberation organisation was formed to negotiate. They are formed to liberate the oppressed masses."

The youths — "revolutionary watchdogs" — were aggressively impatient and wondered why the debates inside had to drag on when one simple decision had to be taken: no negotiations; and the blanket intensification of the struggle until the enemy had capitulated.

They also reminisced adoringly about the late president Zeph Mothopeng and PAC stalwart Jeff Masemola — both of whom died this year.

The organisation said it could only enter into negotiations if they were preceded by a democratically elected constituent assembly based on one person one vote in a common voters roll.

A new constitution could only be drawn up by the assembly, new president Clarence

Prior to the PAC's national congress last weekend, speculation was rife they might change their stance on negotiations. They didn't. This may prove a deathknell for the financially-troubled organisation as big business hostility towards it mounts.

By TSHOKOLO wa MOLAKENG



New PAC president, Clarence Makwethu

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To this effect, the congress has instructed the new national executive council to appoint a campaigns committee by the end of January. Its task would be to implement "mass action" campaigns which would hasten the constituent assembly.

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They were: the Population Registration Act, the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936, Bantu Education, the tricameral parliament and the "homeland" structures. Said Ebrahim: "These pillars still exist — but they say De Klerk has changed."

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Benny Alexander was re-elected secretary general and his assistant will be ex-Azanyu secretary general, Carter Seleke.

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Back home . . . Under the watchful eyes of the world media, police and security officials, ANC president Oliver Tambo and his wife Adelaide (in pink headress), prepare to venture into South Africa after 30 years in exile. The Tambos received probably the biggest welcome seen at Jan Smuts Airport. Picture: Herbert Mabuza

Tambo jets in for indaba

Political Staff ^{Star} 14/12/90

More than 1800 ANC delegates today gathered at Nasrec outside Johannesburg for the first national consultative congress since being unbanned in February.

High on the agenda of the three-day congress will be the party's attitude to continuing negotiations, the armed struggle, the intensification or relaxation of sanctions, the party's internal organisation, and the return of exiles and release of political prisoners.

Much of the congress proceedings are being held behind closed doors, but the approved direction of the party is expected to become clear at a rally in Soweto on Sunday, to be addressed by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and president Oliver Tambo, who returned yesterday after three decades in exile.

116
 Alling Mr Tambo returned to a tumultuous welcome from thousands of supporters in what airport officials described as probably the biggest reception seen at Jan Smuts Airport.

An elated Mr Tambo acknowledged the rousing welcome with continued clenched-fist salutes. He did not address the crowd.

Mr Tambo and his lifelong friend Mr Mandela, stood side-by-side, waving and smiling at the ecstatic crowd from a balcony.

Police and ANC marshals jostled well-wishers and journalists who crowded around the Mercedes-Benz transporting the two leaders.

When Mr Tambo was helped out of the car — aides had to lift his legs to the ground — he moved ponderously to a makeshift podium. He is still clearly afflicted by the stroke he suffered in August last year.

Catching the first glimpse of the legendary leader, the crowd responded with a thunderous "Viva!" and chants of "Oliver, Oliver".

Addressing the crowd, Mr Mandela described Mr Tambo as "one of Africa's greatest heroes".

Mr Tambo's plane touched down shortly before 1.30 pm. He was met by ANC executive members, diplomats and resistance leaders. No Government representative attended the reception.

Asked how he felt, the ANC president answered: "Fine, fine, fine."

He spoke slowly and deliberately and one side of his mouth drooped slightly when he smiled. He walked with a limp and used a stick.

Several scuffles broke out during the day between the police and ANC supporters. A few people had to receive medical treatment after being bitten by police dogs.



Big shift in style of PAC leaders

11A

Sowetan 14/12/90

By SY MAKARINGE

THE Pan Africanist Congress has shown a major shift in its leadership composition - it has moved away from the grass-roots, workerist-type of leadership to an Azapo-style hierarchy where intellectuals dominate.

The executive, elected at the end of the PAC's national congress at Shareworld in Johannesburg at the weekend, boosts, among others, two medical doctors and two lawyers.

Some of them have been elected into vital positions in which their skills and their wealth of knowledge will be greatly needed to help bolster the organisation's image as it faces the crucial years ahead.

Heading the list of intellectuals in the 19-member committee is Mr Dikgang Moseneke, a well-known Pretoria advocate who was elected as the second deputy president of the organisation.

Moseneke, who represented many people in political trials, is respected for his oratory skills and is seen as an excellent choice for the position he assumed after the congress.

Secretary

Mr Willy Seriti, of the Pretoria-based Seriti, Mavundla and Associates law firm, was elected as secretary of the legal affairs, a position which was until hitherto held by unionist Mr Phillip Dlamini.

Dr Selva Saman, a Durban medical practitioner, was appointed to head the organisation's department of health, while Dr Solly Skosana was elected to the position of secretary of environmental affairs.

But its outlook as a liberation movement is evidently clear as most of the people on the executive still bear scars of their fight against the system.

Many served lengthy jail sentences on Robben Island in their struggle for freedom and total emancipation of the "oppressed, dispossessed and exploited African majority."

Besides being harassed and terrorised, Mr Clarence Makwetu, the man who took over the reins following the death of president Zeph Mthopeng, spent several years on the island for his beliefs in "Pan Africanism and African nationalism."

He was banished to the remote area of Comfivaba



CARTER SELEKE



DIKGANG MOSENEKE



CLARENCE MAKWETU

in the Transkei in an attempt to break his spirit, but he weathered the storm and continued his fight for freedom.

Mr Mark Shiners, secretary for projects, also spent several years on the island after he and other leading PAC members, including Mthopeng, were convicted of treason in the marathon Bethal trial in 1978.

Secretary for finance Mr Mike Matsobane and national organiser Mr Mpolose Mangqangwana also had lengthy spells on the notorious island.

Although he had not been to Robben Island, Mr Carter Seleke, general secretary of the Azanian National Youth Unity and newly-elected assistant general secretary of the mother body, also had his fair share of detention without trial.

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14/12/90

Activists slam rival AAM as 'sectarian'

TWO British anti-apartheid activists, in the country on a fact-finding mission this week criticised the London-based Anti-Apartheid Movement as a sectarian organisation.

By SY MAKARINGE

The activists, Mr Andre Schott and Miss Jenny Winter, are members of the rival City of London Anti-Apartheid Group.

They arrived in the country last Wednesday at the invitation of the PAC and Azapo

The group broke away from AAM in 1985 due to "bureaucratic reasons."

Schott and Winter were granted observer status at the PAC's national congress at the Shareworld entertainment complex at the weekend. They have also been invited to Azapo's national congress in Cape Town next weekend.

In an interview this week, Schott criticised AAM for not reflecting the aspirations of the black majority in South Africa, saying that they should call themselves "the ANC support group."

Hostile

He said AAG supported all liberation movements, including the African National Congress, although "its office in London is hostile to us."

He said when AAG put forward its position as a non-sectarian organisation, they were themselves branded "a sectarian movement" and accused of splitting the solidarity movement against apartheid.

Schott said they would hold talks with groupings such as the National Council of Trade Unions, the Black Lawyers Association, the Azanian National Youth Unity, the Pan Africanist Students Congress, the Azanian Youth Organisation and the Azanian Students Movement during their stay in South Africa.

They will also visit the Upton 14 at the Pretoria Central Prison within the next few days.

Schott said arrange-

ments were also being made to meet with representatives of the ANC and the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

He said although AAG was one of the most active anti-apartheid movements in Britain, its activities were either ignored or played down by the British media.

Row brews nuclear sit

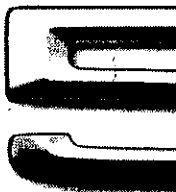
EARTHLIFE Africa is up in arms at an announcement by Eskom that it had completed a study to establish a second nuclear reactor about 70km east of Hermanus in the Cape.

It said in a statement on Wednesday the study was "universally decried as the area is known as an international heritage site".

"Of greater concern to Earthlife, however, is the proximity to the holiday resort of Hermanus. Although the town is beyond the 50km exclusion zone recognised by the Council for Nuclear Safety (which does not account for Koeberg -

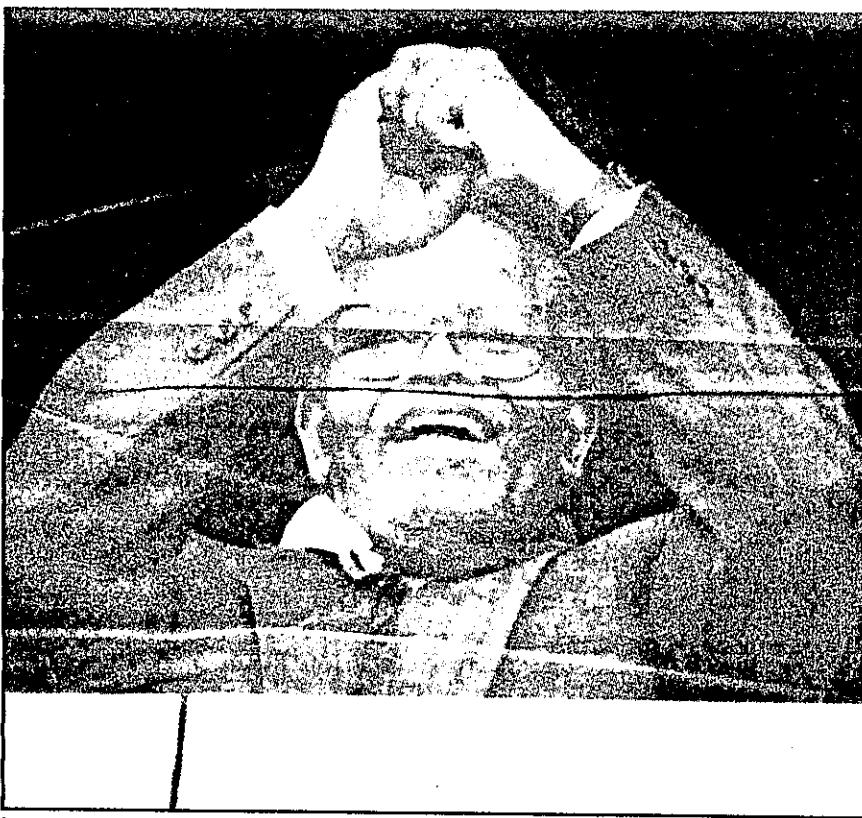
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African National Congress president Oliver Tambo claps his hands as he faces his supporters who welcomed him back home at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday. See pages 2 and 3.

Pic: Reuters

Tambo back home

Sowetan 14/6/90 (11A)

Wild scenes as ANC leader returns

OLIVER Reginald Tambo is back home.

The 73-year-old president of the African National Congress received a tumultuous welcome at Jan Smuts International Airport yesterday afternoon after spending nearly three decades in exile.

More than 5 000 ANC sup-

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN and SY MAKARINGE

porters waited patiently outside the airport building for Tambo's chartered jet to arrive. Many had been waiting for the ANC president since 8am.

Visibly frail, Tambo sent the jubilant crowd into ecstasy when he finally appeared on the first-floor balcony of the airport shortly

after 2pm.

He was flanked by his wife, Adelaide, ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela and his wife, Winnie.

The septuagenarian, his right side partially paralysed after suffering a stroke early this year, shuffled to the balustrade and slowly raised his right fist with his

● To Page 2

P.T.O.

PAC envoy Mogadi dies

By MONK NKOMO and SAPA

THE chief representative of the Pan Africanist Congress in Germany, Mr Phillip Mogadi, has died, the PAC announced yesterday.

His body is to be flown to Johannesburg and he will be buried in Mamelodi, outside Pretoria.

An announcement of the date of his burial will be made soon. *Sowetan 14/12/90*

The PAC did not say how old Mogadi was or give the cause of his death, but said he had been in exile since 1963.

Immunity

11A

Meanwhile 13 exiled senior leaders of the PAC, whose legal stay in the country ends today, have applied for extension of immunity until January 4 next year.

Their lawyer, Mr Moss Mavundla, yesterday confirmed that they had submitted an application to the Ministry of Justice this week requesting the extension.

The exiles include the organisation's foreign affairs

● To Page 2

Mogadi

11A

● From Page 1

airs secretary Mr Gora Ebrahim. *Sowetan 14/12/90*

Mavundla said there were several reasons why they could not leave the country yet. "Members want enough time to attend to their personal and family matters before they go back," Mavundla stated in the application.

A spokesman for the Ministry of Justice in Pretoria, Mr D Swanepoel, confirmed receipt of the application yesterday morning.

"The request will be processed in the normal manner and the State President will make the final decision on whether the extension of immunity was granted or not," Swanepoel said.

Mavundla said they had requested the authorities to respond to their application soon.

Police raid home of exiled PAC man

Sowetan 14/12/90

By PHANGISILE MTSALI

THE Kagiso home of exiled PAC member Mr Jimmy Matsapola, currently in the country, was raided by West Rand police early yesterday morning.

Police searched the house and questioned his 63-year-old mother about his whereabouts. They also wanted to know whether Matsapola was in the country legally.

"I was told of the raid when I telephoned my mother to notify her I was on my way," Matsapola, a lawyer in the United States, said.

"I returned home later and received a message to phone an officer

Odendaal at 8am.

"Before I could telephone him I got another message while at my sister's house that the police were visiting again. I was advised to consult my lawyer in Pretoria."

Police liaison officer for the West Rand Captain Hester Bester confirmed yesterday the raid had taken place.

Rule

"As a rule the SAP does not confirm visits to premises during the course of their duty," she said.

"However, we confirm that the house was

visited. The after-hours visit was necessary because he (Matsapola) could not be located during the raid," she said.

A member of the firm of attorneys representing Matsapola telephoned the police on his behalf and he was told they suspected Matsapola was inside the country illegally.

"They wanted to know whether he had indemnity," he said.

Matsapola, who left the country in 1974, is one of 18 PAC members who were granted immunity to attend last week's congress.

Attempting to discredit ANC is shortsighted

UNTIL last week's discussions between the government and the ANC, a noticeable deterioration in the relationship between them appeared to have occurred which threatened to delay further, perhaps even to rule out altogether, any early start of negotiations on a new constitution.

This deterioration had much to do, in the eyes of many whites, with a conflict which seemed to be raging within the ANC itself, between pragmatists on the one side and strategists and revolutionary ideologists on the other, over leadership and the nature and direction of the liberation struggle.

In broad terms, pragmatists on both sides of the NP-ANC divide can be defined as those committed to a negotiated way out of the South African political cul-de-sac, because they have come to accept that the country cannot afford another 10 years of economic stagnation. This would be assured by further violent confrontation and sanctions.

Negotiations mean an eventual government of transition in which the NP and the ANC have to be the senior, although not exclusive, partners.

Both strategists and ideologists reject this view. For them, the party opposite, whether the ANC or the NP, remains an enemy eventually to be destroyed. What differentiates them, therefore, is only a matter of degree. Strategists will use the negotiation process to first weaken, and then crush, the other.

Ideologists remain committed to crushing directly through a deliberate use of force. Revolutionary ideologists on the ANC side (Ronnie Kasrils & Co?) remain committed to the conviction that all that is needed is a little more of a revolutionary shove to push the minority state into the abyss.

Victory

White racial ideologists remain convinced that white minority domination can be perpetuated if whites are prepared to use the state force that they still have at their disposal without restraint or apology.

The now public acceptance by Mr Nelson Mandela himself of "mass mobilisation" as a centrepiece for action (in the place of "armed struggle") represents a victory in the ANC for strategists and ideologists over pragmatists.

All whites need to come to terms with certain realities about the ANC, argues RONNIE BETHLEHEM, group economics consultant at JCI and author of Economics in a Revolutionary Society.

It is a victory which could assist strategists and racial ideologists against pragmatists on the government's side also. If it did, it could push Mr FW de Klerk further in the direction of believing, or hoping, that out of a discrediting of the ANC (which such ANC posturing necessarily involves with large numbers of whites and others) he will be able to achieve a coalition of anti-ANC support that would give him victory in an eventual open election.

That would be a dangerous delusion. Whatever its shortcomings, the ANC remains the only organisation that could possibly deliver the support of a large majority of blacks on a negotiated settlement on a new constitution, just as it is only the NP that could do the same with whites. (That in no way detracts from the importance of others — Inkatha, PAC, DP, Labour Party or Solidarity — to the talks process.)

There are four realities about the ANC with which Mr De Klerk and, indeed, all whites need to come to terms before indulging in thoughts

about its future dispensability.

First, whether they like it or not, the ANC is big stuff! It does have mass black support and this is unlikely to go away in the foreseeable future. Outside Natal, 80% of blacks identify with the ANC or ANC-orientated organisations. Even in Natal it is large and growing. Hence the conflict with Inkatha.

Unreadiness

Second, and this is a reality the ANC itself needs to come to terms with, it is nowhere near being ready to govern. It can even be argued that it is not yet properly ready for a partnership role in a government of national transition.

The continuing confusion of its policy statements, the contradictions between the public utterances of its leading spokesmen, the inability of senior leadership to exercise control over junior officers, and their inability to exercise control over a highly radicalised, often violent, rank and file, confirm its unreadiness.

In short, the ANC continues to flounder between the need to offer its huge, deprived constituency something realistic and meaningful regarding poverty and inequality, and having to reflect radicalism from below in order to maintain its authority or credibility.

Third, and for whites this is very important because it is contrary to all the beliefs most of them have about the organisation, in its top leadership and also in its middle strata, the ANC embraces the broad philosophical and personal values that whites also share.

In a sense, and this is not meant disparagingly, the ANC is very middle-class. Its non-racialism, its anti-sexism, its obsession with the wrongs of domination of all kinds (though some would want to remind it of its inclination often to slip into a domination mode itself) are not only hon-



Mr George Bush



Mr Michael Dukakis

ourable and decent, they are values all should want for South Africa.

In short, in terms of what it stands for beyond its policy on the economy, its advocacy of interventionism, etc, the ANC is really no more out of step with the NP and the DP than Neil Kinnock is with Michael Heseltine, Douglas Hurd or John Major, or George Bush was with Michael Dukakis. This should provide grounds for hope about the future.

However, the fourth reality about the ANC which Mr De Klerk and whites generally need to come to terms with, the most important reality of all, is that they need the ANC, and need it badly. One could almost say that if the ANC did not exist it would be necessary to invent it.

Disastrous

Rather, therefore, than being bent on its discrediting or destruction, which is what the strategists and racial ideologists on the government side are still preoccupied with achieving, they should be doing as much as they can to prevent it from falling apart.

A falling apart of the ANC could have disastrous consequences for South Africa, for it would only happen in the worst of all possible circumstances and would, therefore, most likely presage a lurch into heightened violence and disorder.

After nearly 30 years

of exile and internal banning during which time the government did all it could to break down the ANC, it would have been a lot to expect that the organisation establish itself in a short time with an unchallenged authority among followers. Now it must be helped to achieve coherence and maturity.

Control over the black dimensions of South African society has been lost by the government and the business community, and both need a credible partner with whom they will be able to work to bring about the political transformation that has become a precondition for liberation of the economy.

If South Africa can be stabilised socially and politically, there are few countries that will hold a candle to it in terms of real economic performance in coming decades, if a reasonable expansion of the global economy can be sustained. South Africa is rich in resources and it will be starting from a low base. But it has to get its own house in order first and the ANC will have to have a share, and a big share, in that.

So when next you feel tempted to tell an anti-ANC joke, so much the vogue in certain white circles at present, think twice. And when next you watch TV and witness the continuing portrayal of the government as the only good guys, and the ANC as the most frequently bad, or the spoilers, think yet again.

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War on strong-arm tactics

By VIVIEN HORLER
Weekend Argus Reporter

MR Nelson Mandela has denounced ANC supporters who use intolerance and "strong-arm tactics" to bully rivals into silence.

These tactics were completely contrary to ANC policy, he said. "The handful of misguided individuals who engage in such actions, claiming to be acting in the name of the ANC, should take this as a clear warning that we shall vigorously pursue the objective of ending all acts of violence that are perpetrated against the people."

Mr Mandela was speaking at a special graduation ceremony at the University of Cape Town last night, at which an honorary doctor of laws degree was conferred on him by the chancellor, Mr Harry Oppenheimer.

Mr Mandela said the ANC was determined that talks with the government succeed so that remaining obstacles to negotiations for a new South Africa would be removed.

"We even took the bold step of unilaterally denying ourselves a key weapon in

Mandela warns ANC 'misguided' supporters

the struggle against apartheid — use of arms.

"The question we wish to pose is: Can it in all honesty be said that ours has been matched by an equal commitment, at all levels, on the side of the government?"

"Peace, we believe, can be secured only when there is justice."

Reiterating a call for an interim government and a constituent assembly elected on the basis of one person, one vote, he said such an assembly would give every party the opportunity to canvas

support for its view of the future constitution.

"An assembly elected in this manner will have the virtue of representativity and the added bonus of conferring legitimacy on its final product."

Mr Mandela said an elected constituent assembly able to negotiate and draft a new constitution would be the best means of achieving a speedy transition in South Africa.

Referring to the University of Cape Town, he said the composition of the university council should more faithfully reflect the community in which the university operates.

"The challenge that faces our universities today and for the foreseeable future is that of transforming these great centres of learning into institutions that will have relevance for the lives of the dispossessed and disinherited."

He said the university's admission policies needed "recasting to increase access to this institution by those who are deprived" and called for the faculty and student body ultimately to reflect the demographic make-up of South Africa.

Knee-bending? Unnecessary, sir!

By VIVIEN HORLER
Weekend Argus Reporter

MR Nelson Mandela did not kneel before Mr Harry Oppenheimer, chancellor of the university of Cape Town and former Anglo American chairman, during a controversial graduation ceremony yesterday.

Mr Mandela said afterwards: "I was prepared to kneel, but the chancellor was kind enough not to make it necessary for me to do so."

Controversy had preceded the ceremony, at which Mr Mandela was awarded an honorary doctor of laws degree, after student and worker bodies claimed that UCT graduation ceremonies were exclusive and unavailable to the community.

They also said that Mr Mandela could not bend his knee to Mr Oppenheimer, who they described as the "arch-capitalist".

There were several meetings between the students, the workers and the university authorities before it was agreed that the ceremony would take place on the

university's rugby field instead of the usual venue, Jameson Hall, which seats just 1 250.

But the issue of who was to confer the degree was always non-negotiable, Dr Saunders later told the university staff. And the question was never raised by Mr Mandela himself, "one of the most courteous people I have ever met".

Not customary

After yesterday's ceremony Dr Saunders said it was not customary for UCT graduands to kneel while being capped.

"Mr Oppenheimer did not kneel when I conferred an honorary degree on him, and I didn't kneel when he conferred one on me."

Mr Oppenheimer declined to comment.

One of the most vociferous of the student bodies, the South African National Students Congress (Sansco), issued a statement "enthusiastically" welcoming Mr Mandela to the campus, adding that it

regarded "this landmark occasion as an acknowledgement by UCT of the inevitable process of democratic transformation of all facets of the university".

More than 4 000 people attended yesterday's ceremony, although some seats remained empty. The weather was still and fine, and the sunset behind the university buildings and Devil's Peak made an impressive backdrop to the proceedings.

Security, provided by the university and ANC cadres, was tight and everyone arriving at the rugby field had to pass through a metal detector.

The decision to confer the degree was taken by the university council almost exactly a year ago, while Mr Mandela was still in prison. Welcoming him yesterday Dr Saunders said: "We hoped we would not have to confer the degree in prison and so it is with particular joy that we can be here today to honour a man whose life and whose very freedom symbolise so much."



Picture: BRENTON GEACH, Weekend Argus.
Dr Nelson Mandela ... It was a moment that even the visionary Cecil John Rhodes could not have foreseen ... an opponent of colonialism and deputy leader of a movement committed to democracy awarded an honorary doctorate of laws by the university he helped to found.

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'Weapon of the future'

LONDON. An obviously frail but broadly smiling Oliver Tambo, president of the African National Congress, made his first public appearance here after a stroke 15 months ago.

His message last night, delivered at a freedom of the town ceremony in north London through his wife, Adelaide, was for the black youth of South Africa to concentrate on education as their main liberation weapon now that apartheid was being eradicated.

Surrounded by anxious aides and supported by his wife, Mr Tambo, 73, who is to return to South Africa on December 13 after three decades in exile, used a walking stick to slowly mount the steps of the Tottenham Town Hall in north London, where the leftwing Haringey Council presented the couple with the Freedom of the Borough.

Haringey was the London suburb where the Tambo family settled and became well-known in the neighbourhood nearly 30 years ago when he escaped into exile from South Africa after the ANC was banned.

Mr Tambo, who can still walk although his right hand side is apparently crippled, made no speech, and reporters were told by aides the ANC leader would answer no questions because he was

saving his first public words for months for the moment when he arrived on South African soil.

When a children's choir sung *Nkosi Sikelele iAfrika*, Mr Tambo was the only one in the room besides reporters who did not raise his clenched fist in the liberation salute, although he did stand up unaided.

Speaking on his behalf, Mrs Tambo said apartheid was being eradicated and urged the youth of Britain and, more specifically, South Africa, to concentrate from now on on education as their weapon for future liberation.

Mrs Tambo told about 150 guests that the future belonged to their children.

She and her husband, and others, had left South Africa "because we were damned if we were going to let the evils of apartheid deprive our children of what they deserve".

"We are (now) eradicating apartheid and your new weapon must be education.

'On your knees'

"You (the youth) must be armed with your education and skills so that you don't need to go on your knees before anybody.

"Education is the weapon of the future," she said. — Sapa.



ANC president Oliver Tambo's wife Adelaide applauds him after he was awarded the Freedom of the London borough of Haringey.

Plan for mini-summits

S/Times 2/12/90
PRESIDENT FW de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela have agreed to a series of private "mini-summits" in coming weeks to resolve political stalemates.

This is the upshot of this week's two-hour meeting in the Union Buildings which was afterwards described in a joint statement as "productive and very cordial".

However, sources say the discussion was of a very general nature and that the "real issues" were only briefly touched upon.

A series of private meetings between the two leaders is planned for the coming months. Talks on substantive constitutional issues through joint working groups will also begin soon.

President De Klerk and Mr Mandela decided on this strategy through go-betweens before their meeting in Pretoria on Tuesday.

Sources say the talks are expected to begin soon, and a number of meetings are likely before the ANC's national consultative conference starts on December 14.

Among the matters to be resolved are:

- Differences on the definition of "related activities" included in the Pretoria Minute in the light of the ANC's suspension of the armed struggle.

Boycotts

The government argues that the definition also includes mass action, marches, boycotts and stayaways, while the ANC claims these are the only methods available to broaden its support base.

- Clarity on whether the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, will be allowed to recruit new members. The ANC claims

By DRIES VAN HEERDEN
and LESTER VENTER

there is nothing in the Pretoria Minute that forbids this.

The question of recruitment is the only matter left unresolved by the joint government/ANC working group (called the Vlok-Hani committee). It can, however, be expected that the ANC will come forward with a proposal that will state clearly that recruiting should not be used to propagate violence to change the political order.

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- Hitches in attempts to grant indemnity to ANC prisoners in jail and members in exile. ANC national executive member Aziz Pahad said a decision by Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee that the return of exiles should hinge on progress in the suspension of the armed struggle was "totally unacceptable".

However, senior ANC members were this week confident that the negotiating process was still firmly on track.

"The big problem was infrequent contacts and gaps in communication," an ANC source said. "Once meetings take place on a regular basis, most of the friction points can be removed."

PAC indemnity given

^{51 Times 2/12/90}
TEMPORARY indemnity has been granted by President F W de Klerk to 18 members of the PAC, including 14 externally-based leaders whose indemnity applications were rejected last month. (11A) (S2)

The group applied for indemnity so they could attend the PAC's national congress and the funeral of PAC president Zephania Mothopeng.

ANC: How we'll punish the racists

SI Times 2/12/90 11A

A MAJOR new ANC discussion document suggests individuals, rather than parties, should be prosecuted for racism in a future South Africa.

The document, compiled by the ANC's committee on constitutional affairs, warns that the prosecution of parties that support racist policies might merely drive them underground. "Education is a better way of dealing with this problem," says the document.

The proposal has particular relevance for the CP, HNP and other right-wing groups like the AWB, whose policies are labelled racist by the ANC.

The new document is to be circulated for debate.

On minority rights and group protection, the document says President F W de Klerk's government is considering a directly-elected, regionally-based upper house with the same legislative powers as the present assembly.

Opposed

It could include special representation for groups and Bills on certain matters may require the support of a weighted majority (say two-thirds) to become law.

The document says: "It is obviously hoped, in this way, to make strong provision for the protection of minorities.

"The ANC is opposed to proposals which will have the effect of constitutionalising ethnicity and is opposed to special powers which entrench unequal power and privilege in the hands of racial groups.

"The elected representatives of the majority should have the right to decide.

"Effective government is not possible without an acceptance of this principle.

"The majority should not be able to ride roughshod

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

over the constitutional rights of citizens and the minority should not have the power to prevent the government from legislating — which is why the ANC's constitutional guidelines make provision for an entrenched and justiciable Bill of Rights."

The ANC committee considered the possibility of UN-supervised elections to a non-racial parliament, but concluded this would be "probably too expensive".

The document suggests the establishment of a powerful electoral commission, made up of respected people acceptable to all South Africans, with wide powers to supervise and administer all aspects of the elections.

Since 1910, it continues, white voters have used the "first-past-the-post" system.

Seats

It points to the drawbacks of this, expressing concern that constituency boundaries could "be manipulated or gerrymandered" to ensure safe majorities for the government in power.

The ANC appears to favour proportional representation which, the document says, closely relates the number of votes to the number of seats.

THE ANC'S draft Bill of Rights published this week promises every South African the right to work. *S/Times 2/12/90*

It does not say who will provide the job or pay for it.

Neither does it explain who will guarantee the other rights the document demands, such as health, minimum wages, nutrition and education.

The real problem with the document — although it does contain many good principles — is that it tries to write into a Bill of Rights what should really be the policy of the government of the day.

The document proposes a series of clauses which entail not merely the right to be protected from government action but the right to demand something of government.

The ANC, in line with many contemporary human rights charters, argues for what it calls a "minimum floor" of such rights.

Here the ANC's document draws heavily, and not unnaturally, from the Freedom Charter, the guiding document of resistance groups since the 50s.

This is where the real debate lies.

Impulses

Mr Justice Didcott of the Natal Bench once warned that a Bill of Rights that zealously protected private property and thus entrenched privilege would never gain legitimacy. It must remain "neutral", he said, leaving it to political process to choose the economic policy.

Many recent draft bills of rights may be considered "neutral". The KwaZulu/Natal Indaba Bill of 1986, the Business Charter of 1987 and the seminal report of a working group of the SA Law Commission in 1989 do not go much beyond proposing the basic right of opportunity to work, conduct business, hold property, make profits and join trade unions.

But for the ANC such "neutrality" amounts to an entrenchment of existing inequalities. Any political organisation which has a largely impoverished constituency, such as the ANC, cannot but genuflect to the impulses of its supporters.

Yet how does one enforce these rights? Who does one sue if one is without a job or a house or is hungry? How does the state give relief if it has no money?

The mere meeting of its obligations in terms of the Bill of Rights in one area (such as education) may mean the state is unable to meet obligations in another (housing, for example). Is it in the public interest to have

A right to work, but who pays the wages?

BRIAN POTTINGER discusses the weak spots in the ANC's draft Bill of Rights

government funding policies dictated by law?

The ANC does not say. In its preface to the draft Bill of Rights it merely observes: "Exactly how the economy is to be organised and how revenue is to be raised is a matter for the parties to argue about and for the electorate to decide upon."

That is not the only area of likely dispute.

Article 17 of the SA Law Commission's first proposed Bill of Rights, now being substantially reworked, refers to "the right of every person or group to disassociate himself or itself from other individuals or groups".

This section drew the most opprobrium, with the Law Commission being seen by many critics as the back-door to a form of neo-apartheid.

Courts

The ANC document, conversely, places emphasis on breaking down groups: all organs of government are committed to dismantle structures and practices which "compulsorily divide the population on grounds of race, colour, language or creed".

An interesting side-bar to this, however, is that within the resistance groups themselves there is some confusion on the exact role of groups.

Cosatu's recent draft Workers' Charter appeals for the recognition of collective rights in the constitution otherwise "it may well result in constitutionally protected individual rights being used by the courts to strike down collective interests".

The issue of political group rights as opposed to merely cultural, religious or linguistic rights is thus still very much alive.

A VERY lively debate is raging within the ANC on the need for decentralising political power.

The need to bring governmental powers and decision-making closer to the people is being recognised.

There is a general feeling that, although the central government must have some control over the issues that are vital to the conduct of national policy and must ensure uniformity of standards, regional and local authorities must be given some leverage in exercising a choice.

The present debate underlines the fact that stronger regional government and larger local authorities would be able to conduct their affairs more efficiently.

They would be better able to amass and manage local resources and provide better services than the central government — and, thus, be better able to fulfill an important objective of national policy.

As such, they could easily act as development agencies in the regions, with an integrated structural and social plan.

Effective

There is a general consensus that the "bantustans" should be discarded in favour of regional governments.

But there is a danger that, in that case, white local authorities would become the dominant powers.

For this reason the recently released policy document by the ANC and Cosatu, *The Economy Beyond Apartheid*, emphasises that "state policies would include the integration of towns and cities into metropolitan management structures and an end to separate black local authority 'structures'".

Any reliance on present structures will result in all-black and all-white local authorities, with distorted tax bases.

For this reason, the ANC-Cosatu document advocates that the idea of making poor communities financially self-sufficient be abandoned and that divided urban areas be integrated, with a single tax base.

Technical questions of efficiency should be considered no less important than political questions.

The recent ANC Consultative Conference on Local Government, held in Johannesburg in October, stressed the need for flexibility in future policy formulation.

It also called for the setting up of "temporary regional and local structures for areas which are



by Zola Skweyiya

Giving the people power

SI Times 2/12/90

and will be undergoing major changes, to address the specific problems which arise in the transitional period".

The goals would be:

- to create the basis for the reunification of South Africa by incorporating the bantustans;

- to promote national reconciliation, establish the basis for a more just and equitable allocation of resources and to rectify the legacy of apartheid;

- to foster economic growth, democratise government and empower communities;

- to develop efficient and effective structures to plan for rapid urban growth and service delivery and to support smaller local authorities and rural areas.

The conference stressed the need for regional governments to facilitate and co-ordinate the process of restructuring local authorities.

It warned that such a process

should not take place in abstract but should have a clear political direction aimed at empowering the people.

In conclusion, the ANC sees a definite need for some form of intermediate government between national and local government, but such regional government should not detract from the creation of a unitary democratic, non-racial South Africa,

While we reject federalism and decentralisation as a strategy to retain privilege, we see the need to create new forms of regional government which recognise and address the problems of apartheid settlement patterns and the current uneven development across the country.

□ Dr Skweyiya is the director of the ANC's Legal and Constitutional Affairs Department. This is an extract from a speech delivered at Stellenbosch this week.

CMG Text
3/12/90
TIA

ANC to stand by mass action

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC would never back down from its campaign of mass action, Mr Nelson Mandela said at a funeral yesterday for a man killed in police action two weeks ago during a march through Johannesburg.

Mr Mandela told the 300-strong crowd at Wits University that mass action was accepted as normal in democratic countries.

Mr David Tshoga later became the first black person to be buried in Johannesburg's West Park cemetery. — Sapa

ANC Midlands elections

3/12/90
Own Correspondent *114*

MARITZBURG. — The first Natal Midlands conference of the ANC in 30 years took place at Cedara at the weekend and elections were held for a new regional executive committee.

The present chairman, Mr Harry Gwala, was again voted in, with three new faces elected to positions of vice-chairman, treasurer and secretary. They are respectively, Mr Anton Xaba, Mr Jethro Ndlovu and Mr Shakes Moses Cele.

At a brief press conference, Mr Gwala said the most important achievement was the "spirit, unity and comradeship" which had prevailed.

UNTIL last week's discussions between the government and the ANC, a noticeable deterioration in the relationship between them appeared to have occurred which threatened to delay further, perhaps even to rule out altogether, any early start of negotiations on a new constitution.

This deterioration had much to do, in the eyes of many whites, with a conflict which seemed to be raging within the ANC itself, between pragmatists on the one side and strategists and revolutionary ideologists on the other, over leadership and the nature and direction of the liberation struggle.

In broad terms, pragmatists on both sides of the NP-ANC divide can be defined as those committed to a negotiated way out of the South African political cul-de-sac, because they have come to accept that the country cannot afford another 10 years of economic stagnation. This would be assured by further violent confrontation and sanctions.

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Ideologists remain committed to crushing directly through a deliberate use of force. Revolutionary ideologists on the ANC side (Ronnie Kasrils & Co?) remain committed to the conviction that all that is needed is a little more of a revolutionary shove to push the minority state into the abyss.

Victory

White racial ideologists remain convinced that white minority domination can be perpetuated if whites are prepared to use the state force that they still have at their disposal without restraint or apology.

The now public acceptance by Mr Nelson Mandela himself of "mass mobilisation" as a centrepiece for action (in the place of "armed struggle") represents a victory in the ANC for strategists and ideologists over pragmatists.

Attempting to discredit ANC is shortsighted

Capt TMS 3/12/90 IIA

All whites need to come to terms with certain realities about the ANC, argues RONNIE BETHLEM, group economics consultant at JCI and author of Economics in a Revolutionary Society.

It is a victory which could assist strategists and racial ideologists against pragmatists on the government's side also. If it did, it could push Mr FW de Klerk further in the direction of believing, or hoping, that out of a discrediting of the ANC (which such ANC posturing necessarily involves with large numbers of whites and others) he will be able to achieve a coalition of anti-ANC support that would give him victory in an eventual open election.

That would be a dangerous delusion. Whatever its shortcomings, the ANC remains the only organisation that could possibly deliver the support of a large majority of blacks on a negotiated settlement on a new constitution, just as it is only the NP that could do the same with whites. (That in no way detracts from the importance of others — Inkatha, PAC, DP, Labour Party or Solidarity — to the talks process.)

There are four realities about the ANC with which Mr De Klerk and, indeed, all whites need to come to terms before indulging in thoughts

about its future dispensability.

First, whether they like it or not, the ANC is big stuff. It does have mass black support and this is unlikely to go away in the foreseeable future. Outside Natal, 80% of blacks identify with the ANC or ANC-orientated organisations. Even in Natal it is large and growing. Hence the conflict with Inkatha.

Unreadiness

Second, and this is a reality the ANC itself needs to come to terms with, it is nowhere near being ready to govern. It can even be argued that it is not yet properly ready for a partnership role in a government of national transition.

The continuing confusion of its policy statements, the contradictions between the public utterances of its leading spokesmen, the inability of senior leadership to exercise control over junior officers, and their inability to exercise control over a highly radicalised, often violent, rank and file, confirm its unreadiness.

In short, the ANC continues to flounder between the need to offer its huge, deprived constituency something realistic and meaningful regarding poverty and inequality, and having to reflect radicalism from below in order to maintain its authority or credibility.

Third, and for whites this is very important because it is contrary to all the beliefs most of them have about the organisation, in its top leadership and also in its middle strata, the ANC embraces the broad philosophical and personal values that whites also share.

In a sense, and this is not meant disparagingly, the ANC is very middle-class. Its non-racialism, its anti-sexism, its obsession with the wrongs of domination of all kinds (though some would want to remind it of its inclination often to slip into a domination mode itself) are not only hon-



Mr George Bush



Mr Michael Dukakis

ourable and decent, they are values all should want for South Africa.

In short, in terms of what it stands for beyond its policy on the economy, its advocacy of interventionism, etc, the ANC is really no more out of step with the NP and the DP than Neil Kinnock is with Michael Heseltine, Douglas Hurd or John Major, or George Bush was with Michael Dukakis. This should provide grounds for hope about the future.

However, the fourth reality about the ANC which Mr De Klerk and whites generally need to come to terms with, the most important reality of all, is that they need the ANC, and need it badly. One could almost say that if the ANC did not exist it would be necessary to invent it.

Disastrous

Rather, therefore, than being bent on its discrediting or destruction, which is what the strategists and racial ideologists on the government side are still preoccupied with achieving, they should be doing as much as they can to prevent it from falling apart.

A falling apart of the ANC could have disastrous consequences for South Africa, for it would only happen in the worst of all possible circumstances and would, therefore, most likely presage a lurch into heightened violence and disorder.

After nearly 30 years

of exile and internal banning during which time the government did all it could to break down the ANC, it would have been a lot to expect that the organisation establish itself in a short time with an unchallenged authority among followers. Now it must be helped to achieve coherence and maturity.

Control over the black dimensions of South African society has been lost by the government and the business community, and both need a credible partner with whom they will be able to work to bring about the political transformation that has become a precondition for liberation of the economy.

If South Africa can be stabilised socially and politically, there are few countries that will hold a candle to it in terms of real economic performance in coming decades, if a reasonable expansion of the global economy can be sustained. South Africa is rich in resources and it will be starting from a low base. But it has to get its own house in order first and the ANC will have to have a share, and a big share, in that.

So when next you feel tempted to tell an anti-ANC joke, so much the vogue in certain white circles at present, think twice. And when next you watch TV and witness the continuing portrayal of the government as the only good guys, and the ANC as the most frequently bad, or the spoilers, think yet again.

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Dismay over ANC's mass action vow

ARL 3/12/90

11A

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The government reacted with dismay today to ANC deputy-president Mr Nelson Mandela's vow yesterday that the ANC would intensify its mass action campaign.

The mass action strategy has become the major point of difference between the ANC and the government and has contributed largely to bringing the negotiation process to a halt.

Mr Mandela's strong public call comes while he and President De Klerk are involved in what is expected to be a series of secret one-on-one meetings to try to resolve the mass action issue and other problems obstructing negotiations.

The government seems to be dismayed that Mr Mandela is continuing to make public statements after an agreement to handle the problem low-key.

Mr Mandela and President De Klerk met last week in Pretoria to discuss delays in negotiation and agreed to meet again.

Secret meetings

It is understood their subsequent meetings might take place in secret as both the government and the ANC believe the high expectations created by their meetings often lead to dashed hopes, which hinder the progress of negotiations.

Senior government sources today expressed shock over Mr Mandela's statements in support of mass action

at the funeral of Actstop official David "Oupa" Thoga, 26, yesterday.

They said the government had no objection to mass action, such as peaceful protests, meetings or marches which were acceptable as democratic activities.

"What is unacceptable to the government is mass action resulting almost consistently in violence and intimidation, which results in stayaways or boycotts and mass action with the intended aim of the ungovernability of government structures.

"While negotiations are taking place the maintenance of sound administration by existing structures should continue until the negotiated structures take their place."

'No backing down on mass action' 11A

THE ANC would "never back down" on its campaign of mass action, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

He told about 300 people gathered for a funeral at Wits University that mass action was a right and accepted as normal in democratic countries.

"Mass action is going to remain an important part of our policy," Mandela said. He added that the ANC would apply for permission for all marches, giving government "the responsibility of refusing permission".

If no permission was received, or if it was in an unacceptable form, the demonstrations would go ahead anyway.

The body of David Tshonga, who was killed by police during a march in Johannesburg on November 17, was before him because "the perception is that the life of every black man is very cheap", Mandela said. 81021 3/12/90

He said he had informed President F W de Klerk of what the ANC saw as the cause of the violence, namely the involvement of the National Intelligence Service and Military Intelligence.

In addition, he had given names of officials in the security forces who had "tortured" recent detainees, he said. No action had been taken, nor had any investigation been launched.

Mandela welcomed the fact that the PAC would be holding its annual congress inside SA, and he hoped it would consider

□ To Page 2

Mandela 81021 3/12/90.

the call for a united front in "the struggle against apartheid".

On the subject of his wife, Mandela said he was encouraged by the level of support she had received.

He criticised the conduct of police investigating her alleged offences. "This is no ordinary case," he said.

He accused the media of having found his wife guilty before she appeared in court.

United Democratic Front general secretary Popo Molefe, in calling for mass action to be intensified, accused the police of

being "trigger happy" and "racist".

He said Inkatha marches were tolerated but "our marchers are mowed down like flies".

Molefe said the police and the security forces should be put on trial and that society should be free of "legalised killers" like the CCB.

Actstop's Cas Coovadia said people should bury David Tshonga with "discipline and dignity, but also with anger". The anger, he said, should be channelled into "intensifying the mass struggle". — Sapa.

● Picture: Page 3

11A From Page 1

SACP 'to protect Transkei'

By Brian Sokutu

Star 3/12/90

UITENHAGE — The SA Communist Party yesterday warned it would step up pressure against the Government should it interfere in Transkei.

SACP general secretary Joe Slovo told a rally attended by about 20 000 at the Jabavu Stadium in Uitenhage that Transkei Military Council chairman General Bantu Holomisa deserved praise.

"We warn the Government that we will not tolerate interference on people like Holomisa," Mr Slovo said.

His organisation would use "everything at our disposal to protect Transkei". Attempts to

topple Transkei would not succeed.

Mr Slovo said there was nothing illegal about having an underground structure as the Government also had "an underground structure, the Broederbond, which operated for almost 50 years".

Strikes

Mr Slovo called on President de Klerk to contribute to the peace process by forcing two Cabinet Ministers — Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister Magnus Malan — to resign.

"There is no country in the world where Malan and Vlok could

have survived as Ministers following their involvement in the killing of our people."

He warned that people would meet violence with violence if legal methods of dissent such as consumer boycotts, strikes and other forms of mass action were closed.

Mr Slovo said President de Klerk had to prepare to hand over power to ANC president Oliver Tambo and his deputy, Nelson Mandela.

Another member of the SACP's central executive and national vice-president of Cosatu, John Gomomo, warned the Government not to cut off aid to Transkei.

PAC calls for unity of liberation movements

Sowetan 31/12/90

By MONK NKOMO

Liberation movements should first unite on specific issues and discuss strategies to end white minority rule in South Africa before any negotiations could be held with the government, advocate Phisoang Moseneke, deputy president of the PAC, said at the weekend.

Addressing mourners at the funeral of PAC chief representative in West Germany, Mr Phillip Mkgadi (53), in Mamelodi on Saturday Moseneke said: "There should be no engagement with State President F W de Klerk unless on a democratic and legitimate basis of a constituent assembly".

Mkgadi, who died in West Germany on December 10 was described by Moseneke and other speakers as "a fighter, a soldier and a diplomat". Other speakers at the funeral were: Mr Baso Makhato of the ANC, Mr Thembu Nyathi of Azapo, and Mr Obedi Mhlatshi of the Mamelodi Civic Association.

Moseneke urged PAC members to join civic associations and ensure that the structures were not controlled or affiliated to any particular political organisation. "If these civic associations are sectarian then let those who run them tell us so. But we are going to depoliticise them. No de-

isions on marches or stayaways should be taken without you (the people)".

Amid chants of "One settler, one bullet" and "Peace Among the Africans - War Against the Enemy", Moseneke said the PAC was committed in unity with other liberation movements on specific issues which included the call for a constituent assembly before any negotiations could be held with the government.

He added: "The struggle must be intensified on all fronts. We are a dispossessed nation. We have lost the land of our forefathers. We have no political power. We are subjected to social degradation, exploitation and oppression by the racist minority, settler regime".



Pan Africanist Congress members in full cry at the funeral service of Mr Phillip Mkgadi, the PAC's West Germany's chief representative who was buried in Mamelodi on Saturday. Photo by Mbuzeni zulu.

Police in Bop disrupt meeting

109

The African National Congress at the weekend alleged Bophuthatswana police disrupted an ANC branch meeting in the Winterveldt and arrested 56 people.

Police said they arrested two people after dispersing an illegal meeting.

ANC Pretoria spokesperson Mr Ronnie Mamoepa said police disrupted the meeting and went house to house arresting ANC members.

Bophuthatswana police spokesperson Col D A George said two people were arrested, and one released almost immediately. - Sapa.

Azapo's plans for year ahead

Sowetan 31/12/90

The Azanian Peoples Organisation (Azapo) President, Mr Pandelani Nefolohodwe declared 1991 a year of struggle on all fronts, including military, in his New Year message.

Nefolohodwe said people must completely remove the idea from their minds that reforms are meant to enhance the status of black people, on the contrary reforms are meant to replace naked racism and exploitation with subtle forms of racism and exploitation.

Azapo believes black people are entitled to know their role in the economy and what happens to the products they produce and how profits are distributed, he said.

Nefolohodwe said the

new year comes at a time when people are ruthlessly murdered by the forces of darkness.

He said the (violence) situation is exploited by those who seek power above liberation and are prepared to use human life in order to gain their nefarious objectives.

"New forces are emerging and new alliances across the (political) divide are just being formed to maximise the power of the state against our people," Nefolohodwe said.

"This is the road through which neo-colonialism enters at the time when the oppressed masses are preparing for final victory," he said. - Sapa.

PAC says FW has SA gems in foreign vaults

Sowetan 31/12/90

HARARE - President F W de Klerk would soon be asked to account for South Africa's diamond and gold believed to be kept in the vaults of Israel, Switzerland, the United States and Britain, PAC general secretary Mr Benny Alexander is reported by Ziana national news agency as saying in Harare.

Alexander said De Klerk would also be asked questions regarding the return of the land, he claimed was stolen from

"our forefathers".

The State President, he said, may also be confronted with causes such as the transfer of power and the ownership of South Africa's economy.

He said 1990 saw De Klerk being asked "peripheral" questions which he had answered "brilliantly", thereby establishing himself a good image in the world.

"Only one man can ask him these questions... (PAC president) Clarence Makwetu," said Alexander.

Alexander is in Harare paying a courtesy call on

the PAC diplomatic mission here.

He criticised De Klerk's vision of a post-apartheid South Africa. De Klerk, he said, had rejected the principle of one-person-one-vote in favour of a system that sought to co-opt "Africans" so that no one would have power over another.

"That means a situation of perpetual powerlessness, and that will be firmly rejected by the PAC, the Azanian," said Alexander.

He said the alternative would be for the PAC and

the people to intensify the struggle "on all fronts".

Alexander expressed pessimism over the release of PAC political prisoners. Such releases, he said, would be most conditional and dependent on a concession in which the liberation movement should suspend its armed struggle prior to negotiations.

"Scoundrels, murderers and thieves fear to go to prison. Since the days of the Biblical Apostle Paul to the current PAC leadership, men of principle did not fear to go or remain in prison."

Alexander said. - Sapa.

FACTFILE - by Morris Mabin



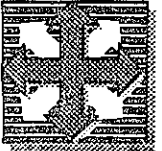
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Rest in peace . . David Tshoga, an official of Actstop who died during a demonstration in the city centre on November 17, yesterday became the first black person to be buried at West Park Cemetery in Johannesburg. Picture: Alf Kumalo.

Mandela ignores Govt, vows 11A to intensify ANC 'mass action'

By Shehnaaz Bulbulia and Monica Nicolson

The ANC vowed yesterday to intensify its "mass action" campaign in spite of Government threats that it could hamper negotiations.

Deputy president Nelson Mandela was addressing more than 400 mourners at the funeral of Actstop official David "Oupa" Tshoga (26), who died during a demonstration in Johannesburg on November 17.

Mr Tshoga made history as the first black to be buried at the West Park Cemetery, made possible by the city council.

"In a country where the majority don't have the vote, live under oppressive conditions and are killed daily, the Government cannot expect

the ANC to call off its mass campaign," Mr Mandela said.

A well-founded perception was that the Government and its security forces did not respect the life of a black person.

"The freedom struggle is filled with massacres. Blacks have been slaughtered by Government agents, so much so that the masses believe the slaughter to be a part and parcel of their existence," he said.

It was difficult discussing peace with the Government when it did not take steps to end police violence.

He had met Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok to discuss alleged torture of detainees and the treatment of recently released detainees such as SACP official

Mac Maharaj.

Not a single action had been taken against the police, nor had the Government instituted investigations of the alleged torture of detainees.

Much of Mr Mandela's speech extolled the virtues of his wife, Winnie.

He commended Actstop for passing a resolution which articulated total support for his wife, and accused the press of finding her guilty before she had appeared in court to prove her innocence. He condemned the State and its security forces for her political persecution.

"My wife has been true and loyal to me for 27 years. While I was in prison I could not protect her, but now I'm out," Mr Mandela said.

Kaizer Nyatsumba assesses the viability of a united front of liberation movements

A struggle that defies unity

Star 3/12/90

(IA)



CALLS for the formation of a broad united front of South African liberation movements or anti-apartheid organisations have come and gone unheeded countless times in the past decade.

The calls, which tended to originate mainly from bodies such as the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) and some African countries, were directed mostly at the two oldest liberation movements, the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), in the foreign capitals from which they operated.

The calls for a united front have been seen as a wise strategic move to enable the liberation movements to speak with one voice on black aspirations and exert maximum pressure on Pretoria to ditch apartheid and give way to a new democratic order. Various African leaders, including Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe, have expressed support for such a front.

These persistent calls, however, have largely been ignored by the

two organisations, and accusations and counter-accusations have abounded as to which organisation has constantly scuttled the calls, thus effectively ensuring that the front was still-born.

Top PAC leaders interviewed in Harare in September pointed accusing fingers at the pre-February 2 ANC leadership, which was based in Lusaka, saying it had constantly poured cold water on plans to form a united front. This, the PAC leaders said, was because the ANC believed itself invincible at the polls and therefore saw no reason for a united front.

ANC leaders have denied these allegations, and since his release on February 11 this year, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela has been consistent in his calls for the formation of a broad front to speak with one voice at the negotiating table. Mr Mandela, who paid a tribute to PAC acting president Clarence Makwethu, made this call again before African heads of state in Swaziland last month.

Mr Mandela told the Swaziland

conference that since Mr Makwethu took over from the late Zephania Mothopeng last month, prospects for unity between the two organisations had never been brighter. Mr Makwethu rose to the occasion, telling the conference he was in favour of a joint approach with the ANC to President de Klerk's reform initiatives and that the PAC would decide at its second national congress in Johannesburg next month whether or not to join the ANC in a united front.

But until calls for a united front emanate not only from the leaders but also from the different organisations' members themselves, the proposed united front will not take off. Significantly, while Mr Mandela's position in the ANC is quite secure and he is quite likely to assume the ANC presidency when Oliver Tambo bows out of active politics next year, the same cannot be said with certainty about Mr Makwethu.

The PAC leader stands on shaky ground, and there is the December 7-9 PAC national congress which

will determine whether to confirm Mr Makwethu in office.

In spite of the uncertainties, the leaders of the different organisations, including the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), are optimistic that such a front will get off the ground. The ANC's Gill Marcus said her organisation had repeatedly stated that "to move forward, we have to get the oppressed together". It was for this reason the ANC had held talks with a variety of organisations, including homeland leaders.

Miss Marcus said all organisations which stood for peace, democracy and "the transfer of power to the majority" would be welcome in such a front, and this did not exclude the ANC's arch enemy, the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), if it subscribed to the same ideals.

PAC general secretary Philemon Tefu was equally optimistic.

The PAC, he said, had always stood for "unity in action" among the oppressed, and it now welcomed Mr Mandela's pronouncements on the need for a constitu-

ent assembly and an interim government.

Like Mr Tefu, Azapo president Professor Itumeleng Mosala said his organisation had "always been pushing for unity among the oppressed". This was the reason Azapo had constantly called for a consultative conference of all the liberation movements, and he hoped the foundation for the formation of the united front would be laid at the meeting convened last week by Archbishop Desmond Tutu in Cape Town. The successful outcome of that meeting will strengthen those hopes.

Despite the optimism expressed by the leaders, the united front's success will depend on its acceptance at grassroots.

The three organisations are all aware of this, and have pledged themselves to selling the idea vigorously to their followers.

The other serious issue presently dividing the potential partners is the question of negotiations with the Government. The ANC fully endorses negotiations and takes pride at having initiated the

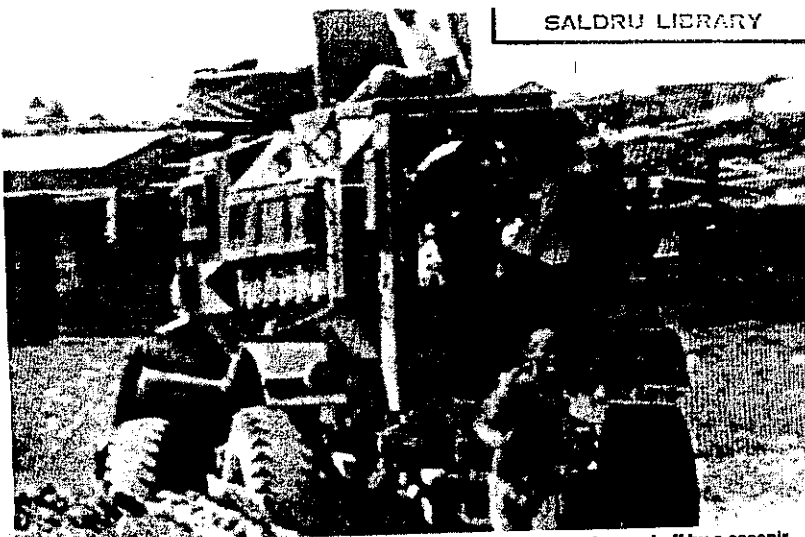
"peace process", but Azapo has rejected the Government's invitation to enter into exploratory talks, and the PAC has yet to announce its response to the invitation. Unless these organisations adopt the same position on negotiations, the planned united front could be short-lived.

The ANC's recent insistence on the need for a constituent assembly and an interim government is the only thing the three organisations now have in common.

What unifies these organisations, however, immediately puts them in direct confrontation with Inkatha, which argues that the situation in South Africa is different from that in the pre-independence

Namibia and consequently rejects both a constituent assembly and an interim government.

But if all these organisations do indeed establish a united front, the National Party is unlikely to relish the prospect of sitting opposite a sea of black faces at the negotiating table. □



A scene from the video with an alleged Inkatha supporter being dropped off by a casspir.

It's ANC propaganda, claim police

Vlok blasts video

*Sowetan
3/12/90*

(Handwritten mark)

11A

LAW and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok yesterday dismissed video material released by the African National Congress at the weekend alleging police support for Inkatha as a "crude and thinly disguised propaganda campaign against the police".

Speaking at a Press briefing in Pretoria, Vlok said he had viewed the video and after ascertaining the facts had arrived at a conclusion diametrically opposite to that claimed by the ANC.

Vlok said he was informed about the video by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela last Tuesday. Mandela had promised to submit the video to him but failed to do so.

Vlok said he was perturbed by newspaper reports which alleged that the video contained footage indicating police collusion with Inkatha members.

He said there were discrepancies in the video material and "it is clear that it has been edited and rear-

By MONK NKOMO

anged selectively to suit the political propaganda of the ANC".

He said police acting as mediators in an ANC/Inkatha clash in the East Rand squatter camp of Zonk'izizwe provided two casspirs to transport Zulu and Xhosa representatives for talks on violence on November 12 in attempt to diffuse the situation.

"These representatives were dropped off in the same casspirs at separate points in the camp after the talks. It is obvious that whoever compiled the video chose not to show police transporting Xhosa representatives," Vlok said.

Serious

He requested the video from Mandela yesterday morning after reading about it in the newspapers.

"I regard these allegations in such a serious light that I intend discussing the matter as soon as possible with the ANC."

Also present at the briefing yesterday was Ms Gill Marcus of the ANC's department of information.

A gigantic step towards peace

Sowetan 3/12/90

11A

FOCUS

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN

A single leap of faith by a prelate, ended in a giant leap for peace in South Africa when leaders of black liberation movements sat in the shade of Table Mountain to discuss collective strategies to oppose Government.

At the end of last Thursday's meeting at Bishops court, the official residence of the Archbishop of Cape Town Desmond Tutu, the leaders of the ANC, Azapo, the PAC and at least three homelands agreed that the meeting called by the prelate was "a breakthrough".

The homeland of Bophuthatswana was conspicuous by its absence and, for the day at least, it appeared that the homelands would dissolve in to a unitary state.

Many of the leaders had never met each other before and during the short meeting and at the end of the day's talk they all agreed to meet again and Tutu was asked to convene whatever meetings were arranged.

With regard to the homelands specifically there was unanimity: "We request homeland governments currently involved in discussions with the government about new regional structures which are seen to perpetuate balkanisation to review their position in the light of their commitment to the dismantling of the homelands."

A commitment was made by all in attendance to the struggle for total liberation of the people in the country.

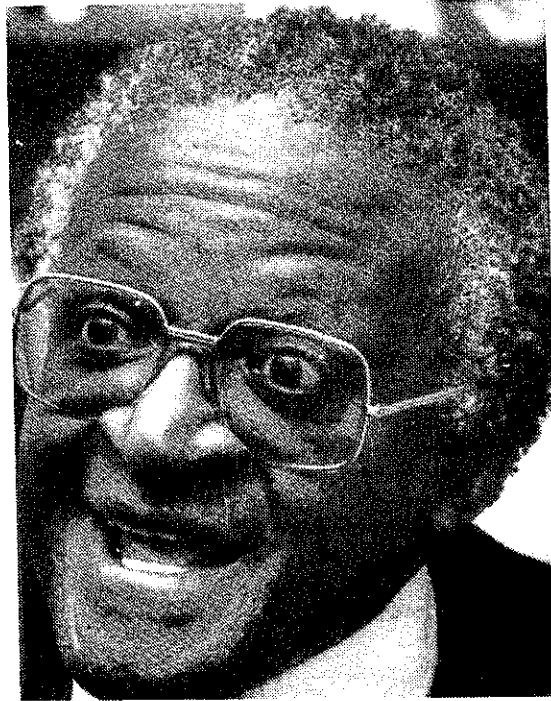
"Today we exchanged views with the aim of bringing about unity among black leaders in the struggle for total liberation of our country," the joint communique said.

"We are unanimous in our desire for a democratic, non-racial, non-sexist government in one country. We believe there is an urgent need for fundamental human rights, including those of freedom of association, freedom of speech and freedom of assembly to be respected including the 'homelands'," the communique read.

While the liberation movements welcomed the agreement by homeland leaders on the aforementioned, it was emphasised that the activities of the homelands' administrations should reflect the verbal commitments "more urgently, more stridently and within specific time frames".

The roots of the current violence in the country was said to lie in the more than three centuries of white domination and oppression which culminated in the vicious system of apartheid.

The spiral of violence was perpetuated by a "third force" which, according to the Bishops court communique, included



Archbishop Tutu ... hosted conference.

least elements of government security forces" which were stoking violence to sabotage peaceful initiatives for a democratic society.

"We reject the characterisation of what is happening as 'black on black' violence as a racist ploy. Violence in countries with largely white populations is never described as 'white-on-white'.

"We must also emphasise that there is no clearer example in our country of the violent expression of political intolerance than the death squads of the South African Police and South African Defence Force" the communique said.

It was at Thursday's meeting that unity was achieved in resolving to issue a "passionate and urgent" call upon the people of South Africa to

strive for peace.

Only the enemies of the people, counter-revolutionaries and those opposed to black liberation stood to gain from recurrent violence in black communities, the leadership agreed.

"Some of the violence is the result of political rivalries. We wish therefore to issue and appeal to our followers and our people for discipline in order that we may develop a culture of tolerance. If we cannot establish such a culture, there is a danger of Renamo-type forces developing in our country.

"We urge our people to make free choices, without coercion, in political activity. Specifically we call on them:

* To respect the right of people to join collective

political action, such as boycotts and stayaways, and their right not to join it.

* To allow people to belong to organisations of their choice

* To recruit members only on a voluntary basis,

* To work for the expression of political differences in vigorous but peaceful debate.

It was also decided that political leaders would consult each other when calls are made for mass action "to avoid intimidation".

"We also call on leaders to avoid abusive and acrimonious attacks on one another.

"Our call for tolerance includes one for respect and for the rights of those returning from exile under the repatriation programme," the communique stated.

Political leaders during the course of the meeting raised the question of perceptions that assistance given to organisations by aid agencies - including religious service organisations - was allocated in a partisan way.

The meeting agreed to call for allocation of aid on a strictly non-sectarian basis.

Observers said it was the country that stood to benefit from last Thursday's talks. They noted that it was now up to the followers

of Bophuthatswana's President Lucas Mangope and Inkatha's Chief Buthelezi - both of whom failed to attend - to demand that peace be given a chance on the subcontinent.

ANC will not yield on mass action

The ANC will "never back down" from its campaign of mass action, according to Nelson Mandela. *11A*

The ANC deputy president told a crowd of about 300 gathered for a funeral at Wits University yesterday that mass action was a right and accepted as normal in democratic countries.

"Mass action is going to remain an important part of our policy," Mr Mandela said. He added that the ANC would apply for permission for all marches giving the government "the responsibility of refusing permission".

3/12/90
If no permission was received, or if it was in an unacceptable form, the demonstrations would go ahead anyway, Mr Mandela said.

He said the body of David Tshonga, who was killed by police on November 17 during a CAST march in Johannesburg, was before him because "the perception is that the life of every black man is very cheap".

If the government does not stop the violence, then the ANC would find it difficult to proceed with the negotiation process, Mr Mandela said.

Mr Mandela said he welcomed the fact that the PAC would be holding its annual congress inside South Africa, and he hoped that the PAC would seriously consider the call for united front in "the struggle against apartheid".

Indemnity for PAC 14 welcomed

Southern 3/12/90.

114

MBABANE - The PAC has welcomed the granting of temporary indemnity by the Government to 18 exiled members of the organisation.

The Department of Justice announced at the weekend that temporary indemnity from prosecution had been granted to 18 PAC members, including 14 who had earlier been refused immunity.

An announcement on the indemnity will be made in the Government Gazette today.

PAC secretary for ad-

ministration Mr Joe Mkhwanazi yesterday said the decision was the result of the PAC's determined struggle against discrimination.

He was interviewed in Manzini, Swaziland, where a delegation has been waiting for permission to enter South Africa to attend the PAC conference in Johannesburg this coming weekend.

Correct

Mkhwanazi however said State President FW de Klerk's decision was correct if the Government was genuine in its call to

all parties to enter peaceful negotiations aimed at establishing a new peaceful democratic South Africa.

Mkhwanazi said the decision would enable leading exiled members of the PAC to take part in the conference.

Among other matters, the conference on December 7, 8 and 9 will decide the PAC's response to De Klerk's invitation last month to participate in negotiations. - Sapa.

THE former ANC representative in Lesotho, Mr Japhe Ndlovo, has arrived in Lesotho to register the ANC members still resident in the country and to supply them with application forms for indemnity from Pretoria, reports SABC radio news.

The radio quoted Ndlovo as saying he had already met the South African trade representative in Lesotho, Mr Gemus Geldenhuys, to check on those already granted indemnity.

Ndlovo was among more than 400 ANC supporters deported to Lusaka in Zambia in 1986 after the military takeover led by Major-General Metsing Lek-

ANC applies for indemnity

Sowetan 3/12/90

hanya.

On his return, he was met at the airport in Lesotho from Lusaka by senior government officials.

Offices

He disclosed the ANC plans to open offices in all neighbouring countries of South Africa and representatives have already been appointed for Botswana and Swaziland.

The radio meanwhile reports that a heated debate is taking place in the Lesotho Constituent Assembly.

The Minister of Constitutional Affairs, Mr Kelebone Maope, proposed an amendment that the commander of the Lesotho Defence Force should also be a member of the cabinet after the country returns to civilian rule in 1992.

Several politicians opposed the amendment and a former Minister of Trade and Industry, chief Moaki Molapo, said the military in Lesotho should give the Basutu nation a true democracy and no military man should become a member of the civilian government.

The debate, according to the radio, has gone on since last week. - Sapa

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Vlok seeks meeting on ANC video

THE Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, is determined to clear up allegations of police collaboration with Inkatha — but no definite meeting date has been set up yet with the ANC to discuss the matter.

Mr Vlok rejected ANC allegations that a video, filmed in Zonkezizwe township on the East Rand, showed that the police were collaborating with Inkatha and described the video as crude and thinly disguised propaganda.

A Law and Order spokesman, Captain Craig Kotze, said yesterday that Mr Vlok had requested a meeting with the ANC on the issue.

The ANC had not yet responded to the request, he said.

Mr Vlok said on Sunday that he viewed the reports in a serious light and he would raise the matter as soon as possible with the ANC.

The footage, which was shown on SATV on Sunday night, shows

118
SAP-7175 4/12/90 278
a man with a red bandanna alighting from a police Casspir and marching with others.

However, Mr Vlok said the police provided two Casspirs to transport three representatives of the Zulu community and four representatives of the Xhosa community for talks on violence on November 12.

The man shown in the video was one of the Zulu peace talk delegates.

Brief indemnity for PAC officials

PETER DELMAR

GOVERNMENT has backed down on its demand that 18 exiled PAC leaders commit themselves in writing to peaceful political solutions before receiving indemnity which will allow them to attend the organisation's national conference this week.

Temporary indemnity for the 18 — until December 14 — was gazetted yesterday.

Government's apparent about-face is understood to be the result of intensive negotiation. *Monday 4/12/90*

A brief Justice Department statement said the PAC leaders had satisfied government that granting temporary immunity "would be conducive to the promotion of peaceful constitutional solutions".

The PAC disclosed last month that government had refused indemnity for 14 top members because they had refused to "subscribe to the principles of peaceful solutions and developments in SA".

Unlike the ANC, the PAC has refused to

suspend its armed struggle. A formal decision on whether to accept government's invitation to constitutional negotiations will be taken at this week's conference.

Government's earlier refusal to grant indemnity was seen by many people as making it almost impossible for the conference to approve negotiations.

Those named in yesterday's Government Gazette include foreign affairs secretary Gora Ebrahim, administrative secretary Joe Mkwana, economic secretary Mlanasekhaya Goobose and welfare secretary Agatha Boo.

Sapa reports the PAC's chief UN representative Count Pietersen will return to SA after addressing the General Assembly's annual debate on apartheid. However, his name was not among those gazetted yesterday.

Slovo calls for township defence units

By Patrick Laurence

The South African Communist Party yesterday urged township residents to form well-disciplined self-defence units.

Its call, made in response to continuing township violence and the apparent inability of the authorities to check it, was linked to a demand for the resignation of Defence Minister Magnus Malan and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok.

In an interview with The Star, SACP general secretary Joe Slovo said: "We consider

these units as purely legal organs (devised) for purely defensive purposes."

He compared the SACP's proposed self-defence units to neighbourhood watches and civic guards, arguing that it was quite legal to defend oneself against attack and to use "commensurate force".

In a statement, the SACP labelled the continued presence of General Malan and Mr Vlok at their posts "astonishing", saying: "Their records show them to be either incredibly incompetent or reluctant to take the

necessary steps against warlord and death-squad violence."

It noted that the death rate was now running at 10 people a day, with at least one person a day being killed directly by the SAP or SADF.

The SACP appealed to "patriots" in the SAP and the SADF to emulate rebel policeman Gregory Rockman by coming forward to expose those elements in the police and army, no matter how high-ranking they were, who were part of the "sinister third force".

Mr Slovo later cited circumstantial evidence which, he said, pointed to the existence of a third force responsible for orchestrating the violence. It was drawn from "elements in the security forces".

He denied that the SACP was conducting a vendetta against the SAP and SADF. But, he said, they had changed minimally either in composition or leadership since President F W de Klerk's February 2 speech promising a new beginning and a new South Africa.

7. Appointment of Examiners of Masters Degree Candidates.
8. Cancellation of Registration for Higher Degrees.
9. Re-registration in 1988 of students for Higher Degrees.
10. List of Excluded Students readmitted in 1988 on appeal.
11. Academic Concessions.
12. 1987 Annual Report of the Faculty.

Section B: For Information

Mandela's turnabout (11A) shocks Govt

Star 12/196
Political Correspondent

The Government reacted with dismay yesterday to ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela's vow on Sunday that the ANC would intensify its campaign of mass action.

Mr Mandela's strong public call came while he and President de Klerk are involved in what is expected to be a series of secret one-on-one meetings to try to resolve the mass action issue and other problems obstructing negotiations.

Senior Government sources yesterday expressed shock at Mr Mandela's strong statements in support of mass action at the funeral of Actstop official David "Oupa" Thoga (26).

They said the Government had no objection to mass action, such as peaceful protests, which were acceptable as democratic activities.

NEWS IN BRIEF

Top PAC exiles return 11A

PAC external foreign secretary Mr Gora Ebrahim and chief representative of the organisation at the United Nations Mr Count Pietersen return to South Africa on Thursday *Cowden 4/14/90*

They are among 18 PAC members granted immunity from prosecution to attend the organisation's first national congress inside the country in 30 years. - *Sapa*.

Gwala is Natal leader 11A

SOUTH African Communist Party member and convenor of the interim committee of the ANC in the Natal Midlands, Mr Harry Gwala, has been elected chairman of the new executive committee of the ANC in the region.

Sowetan 4/12/70
Gwala heads the 11-member committee elected at the organisation's first conference at the weekend. - *Sapa.*

Single student union planned

Handwritten notes: "S", "Bouwen", "4/12/90", and "11A" in a circle.

A SINGLE, national, non-racial student organisation is on the cards, senior ANC national executive committee member, Mr Ahmed Kathrada, said on Sunday night.

He was delivering the keynote address at the ninth annual congress of the SA National Students Congress at the University of Natal in Durban.

Kathrada said there was a strong probability that the two largest student organisations - Sansco and the National Union of South African Students - would merge.

At present, Nusas' membership is exclusively white, while Sansco draws its membership from black students.

"The ANC has ex-

ploded on to the scene and is occupying the centre stage of South African politics," Kathrada said.

He warned that the ANC would seek to intensify its campaign of "mass action" saying that in neither the Groote Schuur nor the Pretoria minutes had the ANC agreed to suspend "mass mobilisation".

Until the government agreed to all demands made by the ANC, the process of "mass action" would continue, Kathrada said.

He said there was a campaign to weaken the ANC through the use of a "hidden hand", and that the organisation would do everything in its power to defend itself. *Sapa.*

Vlok wants to meet the ANC

IIA

MINISTER of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok has requested a meeting with the ANC following reports backed by video footage of police collaborating with Inkatha by transporting a "warlord" in a Casspir to lead a march, a spokesman confirmed yesterday.

Vlok rejected the weekend reports and labelled the video footage, filmed at Zonk'izizwe squatter settlement on the East Rand and released by the ANC, as crude and thinly-

disguised propaganda.

The footage shows a man with a red bandanna alighting from a police Casspir and marching with others.

Vlok said in Pretoria on Sunday the SAP had provided two Casspirs to transport three representatives of the Zulu community and four representatives of the Xhosa community for talks on violence on November 12.

The man shown in the video excerpts was a Zulu representative to the

peace talks, he said.

Whoever had compiled the video material chose not to show the Xhosa representatives, he said.

Vlok said he viewed the matter in a serious light and would raise it as soon as possible with the ANC.

Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze confirmed they had requested a meeting with the ANC on the issue.

The ANC had not yet responded to the request. - Sapa.

50 copies 4/12/90

50 PAC exiles back this week

By SY MAKARINGE

MORE than 50 Pan Africanist Congress exiles are expected back in South Africa tomorrow and Thursday to attend the organisation's first national congress in the country in almost three decades.

The three-day congress, under the theme "Forward to a Democratically Elected Constituent Assembly", will be held at Shareworld, Johannesburg, this

weekend.

PAC general secretary Mr Benny Alexander said yesterday that among those who would be returning for the conference were administrative secretary Mr Joe Mkhwanazi and secretary for foreign affairs Mr Gora Ebrahim.

The others are welfare secretary Mrs Nomvula Boo; economic affairs

secretary Mr Mfanasekhaya Gqobose; chief representative to Uganda, Mr TM Ntantana; chief representative to Nigeria, Mr Maxwell Nemazivhanadzi and Mr Count Pietersen, chief representative of the observer mission to the United Nations. (11A)

Observers at the congress, which will be attended by some 2 000 delegates, will include the founder-member of the original ANC Youth

League, Mr AP Mda, two representatives of the ruling Zanu-PF party in Zimbabwe and diplomats from around the world.

Alexander said an exiled leader who would not attend was chairman Mr Johnson Mlambo, who is also chief commander of the military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army. (11A)

He described the Government's decision to

●To Page 2

PAC exiles return this week

●From Page 1

grant indemnity to the 14 leaders as "positive". (11A)

He said the organisation's lawyers were finalising indemnity applications for about 30 others to enable them to

attend. Sowetan 4/12/90
Alexander said, however, that he was disappointed by the Government's refusal to allow internal PAC leaders to consult with their members on Robben Island.

"It's a case of opening

one door and closing the other," he said. (11A)

Alexander said the congress would put the PAC "on a structural footing to meet the challenges of continuous struggle, pressure as far as negotiations are concerned and mass action".

He said the organisation would have to come out very clear on a "principled united front", as it could not afford to isolate itself.

Other issues that will be discussed include the continuing internecine violence and political intolerance.

Alexander said the organisation would also draw up a programme of action.

Upstaged UDF considers options for a changed role

8/10/91 4/12/90

(11A)

PRETORIA — The future role of the United Democratic Front, whose existence has been in question since the unbanning of the ANC, is under discussion by its affiliates throughout SA.

The UDF, an umbrella organisation of anti-apartheid organisations endorsing the ANC's Freedom Charter, recognised the vanguard role of the ANC at its inception, and acknowledges it cannot compete with the ANC for leadership.

A paper on the transformation of the organisation, presented at the UDF's NEC meeting last month, will form the basis for discussion until a decision on its position is made at a national conference in February.

While the options in the paper are vague and do not outline clear structures, they suggest different roles and objectives for a transformed front of anti-apartheid organisations.

Arguments in favour of the dissolution of the UDF are:

- It was a stand-in for the ANC and should now step back to give the ANC its rightful place;
- Its growth circle is complete, and there is little chance it will win over organisations like Azapo and the PAC.
- Its resources and best leaders should be deployed in the building of the ANC.

Those in favour of a transformed UDF recognise that the adoption of the Freedom Charter alienated a number of anti-apartheid organisations.

The UDF's objective is still the transfer of political power from the minority to the majority, but it realises a broad front of anti-apartheid organisations is necessary to achieve this objective. A restructured UDF would therefore not stipulate the endorsement of the Freedom Charter as a condition of membership.

One of the options being discussed is that it should be a proactive organisation concentrating on development

EDYTH BULBRING

and reconstruction rather than on the weaknesses of the authorities.

There are a number of service organisations dealing with issues like education and health, but there is very little co-ordination and co-operation between the groups, and therefore duplication arises.

A changed UDF, it is claimed, would pull in organisations like church groups, health groups and progressive lawyers' organisations which previously identified themselves with the Mass Democratic Movement but did not affiliate to the UDF.

While the UDF would not take charge of the technical work of development, it would provide political guidance and formulate priorities and strategy.

Foreign funds

An argument in favour of this model is that foreign governments have refused to fund political parties, but would apparently not be against funding projects not associated with the ANC or other political parties.

A second option is a united front of anti-apartheid organisations with a higher political profile than the first option. It would consist mainly of organisations that attended the Conference for a Democratic Future.

It would be united by a set of common principles, and its role would be to co-ordinate mass action against apartheid, rather than concentrate on reconstruction and development.

Those in favour of the latter option accept that any ANC or SACP presence could alienate organisations which oppose apartheid but do not necessarily see the ANC as their political home. The emphasis for membership of this United Front is therefore on organisations rather than political parties.

A new UDF could be restructured to include components of the first two options, thereby combining mass action and reconstruction.

The last option provides an overtly political role for the UDF in a Patriotic Front spearheaded by the ANC. This front would include political parties like Inkatha, Azapo, the PAC and homeland parties.

The role of this Patriotic Front would be to concentrate on constitutional matters. It would call for a constituent assembly.

LRA clauses on farm labour 'to be dropped'

MATTHEW CURTIN

THE National Manpower Commission (NMC) has set to shelve clauses which include agri-industrial workers in the new labour relations legislation due for promulgation in the first 1991 parliamentary session, it was claimed at the weekend.

Mandela's appeal for consensus on peace

CAF T/9/ks
12/90

11A

As renewed violence takes a dreadful toll of lives in the Transvaal, NELSON MANDELA has called for the building of national consensus on the need for peace. These are extracts from his address at UCT last week.

WE WANT to appeal to all South Africans to join us in calling for an end to violence. We invite all our compatriots of whatever political persuasion and irrespective of race, to join us in building national consensus around the need for peace, for it is a matter in which all of us, while disagreeing on other matters, share a common interest.

Our own commitment to peace, as the ANC, cannot be doubted. It was in pursuance of peace that we sought talks with the government. We are determined that these talks will succeed so that the remaining obstacles to negotiations for a new South Africa are removed. We even took the bold step of unilaterally denying ourselves a key weapon the struggle against apartheid — use of arms.

Can it, in all honesty, be said that our commitment has been matched by an equal commitment, at all levels, on the side of the government?

Peace, we believe, can only be secured when there is justice. Certainly those who suffer deprivation, hunger, poverty and unemployment as a direct consequence of the policies of apartheid are impatient to move as quickly as possible to achieve redress of their disabilities. Moreover, in the eyes of the majority of South Africans our country is ruled by a government that derives its mandate from less than 14% of the population. To the disenfranchised, it sounds like frivolous quibbling to deny that such a government is illegitimate and has no moral right to exist, regardless of the government's seriousness about the need for change.

The illegitimacy of the government, in the eyes of the majority, cannot be disassembled into discrete compartments. It affects every facet of government and is underscored by the brutal actions of its security organs and their auxiliaries which have been the object of severe judicial strictures.

Eroding confidence

If therefore we want lasting peace, we must commence from the premise that the continued exclusion of the vast majority of the population of our country from the centres of power is a prescription for conflict and provides dry tinder for violence.

A commitment to peace and an end to violence demand a great deal more than fond wishes and vociferously expressed hopes. It must entail, in the first instance, a determination to eradicate the inequalities that foster and fan the flames of conflict, root and branch.

On the surface, it would appear that the majority of political parties in our country have come to accept the need to dismantle apartheid and establish a democratic system of government. Despite this apparent agreement on broad principle, there is no doubt that vastly different meanings are ascribed to this commonly shared objective.

The ANC, for its part, has insisted and shall continue to insist on a process that is inclusive. We welcomed the expressed willingness of Dr Carel Boshoff and his colleagues to engage in the national dialogue about the future of our country despite our vastly differing perspectives of what that future should be. It is consistent with this principle that we have called for an interim government and a constituent assembly as two indispensable instruments to effect the transition from minority domination to democracy.

Given the reality that the majority of South Africans have no reason to accept the legitimacy of a wholly unrepresentative government, continued insistence that one of the parties to the negotiating process should exercise exclusive control over the levers of State power, can only have the effect of eroding confidence. Popular confidence in the authorities will both enhance the possibilities of peace and will guarantee the integrity of the negotiations themselves by removing the temptation to abort the entire process by a unilateral deployment of military forces.

Speedy transition

It has been often repeated that no player can also seek to be referee. The matter is even more serious if the player/referee periodically seeks to change the rules of the game and claims exclusive control over the playing field!

It is clearly insufficient that every political grouping, large or minuscule, representative and unrepresentative, be accorded a seat at the negotiating forum. By calling an election for a constituent assembly on the basis of one person, one vote, every party will be given the opportunity to canvass support for its view of the future constitution. An assembly elected in this manner will have the virtue of representativity and the added bonus of conferring legitimacy on its final product. We want to see a speedy transition that will set the democratisation of South Africa irreversibly in motion.

An elected constituent assembly, which will negotiate and draft a new constitution for South Africa, in our view, will be the best means of achieving this.

The process of building democracy must involve also, the steady penetration of a democratic political culture into all facets of life, including universities, colleges, schools, factories and other workplaces. The universities could set the pace by adopting democratic practices that will empower all sectors of the university community. Meaningful student and worker representation on its decision-making bodies will not impair, but will enhance their effectiveness and legitimacy. The composition of the university council should faithfully reflect the community within which this university operates.

PAC denies 'plan' to attack whites

COM 7/14/80 5/12/80
Own Correspondent

UMTATA. — The Pan-Africanist Congress yesterday described reports on a rumour that the PAC was planning to attack white holidaymakers in Transkei during the festive season as a propaganda campaign against the PAC and Transkei.

The SABC yesterday reported that the SA Department of Foreign Affairs was "monitoring" the rumours.

The chairman of the PAC in Transkei, Mr N S Zamela, said the report was aimed at discrediting the PAC and emanated from "forces wanting to destabilise Transkei, evident since the abortive coup".

He said any member in PAC colours who threatened anyone would be dealt with severely.

Transkei's military ruler, Major-General Bantu Holomisa, dismissed the rumour as an "ongoing campaign against Transkei by certain mischievous individuals".

He declined to elaborate on who the "mischievous individuals" could be.

The Transkei Police assured holidaymakers they would be safe.

ANC members could get posts

Campaign to recruit black diplomats

B/Day
5/12/90



MIKE ROBERTSON

THE Foreign Affairs Department has embarked on a rigorous campaign to recruit black South Africans into the service, and is not ruling out the possibility that members of the ANC and other organisations active abroad could be appointed to positions.

Foreign Affairs director-general Neil van Heerden said in an interview yesterday that the foreign service would have to become representative of the population and political realities of SA.

While the foreign service had to serve the government of the day, it would also have to open doors to other organisations which were active abroad.

Van Heerden said he did not foresee an amalgamation of the foreign service and ANC international representatives. Rather, he added: "We will be talking to all the parties — expanding contact with all parties in the extra-parliamentary arena."

In addition to this the department had embarked on an active recruiting campaign to draw black South Africans into the service. These appointments would not be at the beginners level only. There would also be "lateral entries" into middle and senior positions.

In the past year, and especially since February 2, the number of countries with which SA had diplomatic ties had grown by a third. In order to staff these new missions the department had received additional funds from government's R2bn contingency fund. It had also rearranged priorities and some missions, like La Paz, Reunion and Sydney, had been closed.

Van Heerden described as "miraculous"

the extent of the thaw in SA's relations with the international community.

The most remarkable breakthroughs had been achieved in Eastern Europe. SA already had a mission in Hungary and missions in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Poland and Bulgaria would be operational within six months.

Compatibility between the economies of SA and Eastern European countries would not be achieved overnight, he said. However, the political realignment of these countries would fundamentally affect the operation of the Non-Aligned Movement.

The non-aligned group, with these central European countries at the fore, had hitherto formed an effective anti-SA bloc in dealings of bodies such as the UN and the International Atomic Energy Agency.

He said there were concrete signs that the Soviet Union wanted to have diplomatic ties with SA. However, given the remaining ideological framework within which the Soviets worked, it was difficult for them to do so. Developing ties between SA and the Soviet Union would be a long, steady process, although there had already been a number of commercial deals.

Since February 2, SA had also achieved a number of significant breakthroughs into Africa and the department had been given funds to open new missions in Madagascar, Mauritius and the Ivory Coast.

Van Heerden said it was difficult to put a time frame on when SA would develop diplomatic ties with large African coun-

□ To Page 2

Diplomats

□ From Page 1

tries like Kenya and Nigeria. He added, however, that as with sanctions resistance in the OAU to developing links with SA was being eroded.

There would be important contact with Nigeria when SA jurists visited the country to study its constitution. The Nigerians had invited the jurists as they believed SA could learn something from their federal constitution.

He was not able to provide figures but said there was an enormous escalation in trade with Africa. In many countries SA was replacing France as the main supplier.

While economies of countries like Ango-

la were in a poor state, they had commodities like oil, which SA needed, which would enable them to pay for imports from this country. The same applied to countries producing tea, coffee and hard woods.

While President F W de Klerk's visit to Morocco had been an important breakthrough in contact with the Arab world, little other progress had been achieved. This was not because SA did not want greater access to the Arab world, but because of its close ties with Israel.

It was hoped De Klerk would pay a visit to the Far East next year. The main focus of this trip would be Japan and Taiwan.

He said China had just announced that SA tourists would be welcome to visit.

PAC unlikely to budge on negotiating stance



PAC legal affairs secretary Phillip Dlamini, left, makes a point at yesterday's media briefing on the PAC's national congress which is to be held in Johannesburg at the weekend. With him are national organiser Walter Tshikila and health secretary Nana Moabi. Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

ACTING PAC president Clarence Makwetu was virtually assured of his organisation's leadership and the movement would probably stick to its refusal to enter negotiations, senior members predicted yesterday on the eve of the PAC's second national congress.

Representatives of 500 PAC branches will gather at Shareworld near Soweto this weekend for the organisation's first congress inside SA in 30 years.

PAC publicity secretary Benny Ntoele told a media briefing yesterday the PAC would apply for temporary indemnity for 34 of its exiled members after government on Monday granted 18 immunity.

Issues to be discussed will include government's invitation to constitutional negotiations; township violence; the education "crisis"; and a proposed anti-apartheid front, possibly including the ANC.

PAC leaders declined to disclose the decisions of the PAC's 18 regions on the negotiations issue.

However, it was predicted that the PAC would continue to insist that government agree to a constituent assembly before the PAC would negotiate.

In another development, it was disclosed that the foreign-based chairman of the

PETER DELMAR

PAC's central committee Johnson Malambo — earlier considered Makwetu's main rival for the presidency — would not attend the conference.

Malambo's non-attendance was explained by the fact that the PAC had to look after its members in exile during the conference. Malambo has also not been nominated for the presidency.

Struggle

Others mentioned as likely contenders, Mark Shinnars and Mahlubi Mbandazayo, have not yet been nominated and are unlikely to enter the race.

Asked if the PAC's armed struggle would be re-evaluated at the congress, Ntoele said the struggle would continue on all fronts.

Secretary for legal affairs Phillip Dlamini yesterday denied claims that PAC cadres planned to attack white South African holidaymakers in Transkei.

Dlamini said the PAC's armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, had directed attacks only against the security forces and never against a "wimpy bar, hotel or holiday resort".

Plan to attack whites denied

Staff Reporters

The Pan Africanist Congress yesterday denied allegations that it was planning to attack white South Africans visiting Transkei during the festive season and blamed unknown individuals for trying to besmirch the organisation's image.

At a press conference in Johannesburg, PAC legal affairs secretary Phillip Dlamini said: "It is the policy of neither the PAC nor our military wing, the African People's Liberation Army, to attack civilians. All Apla

attacks have been directed at the police and the army."

He was reacting to allegations in a circular from Transkei deputy commissioner of police Major M Z Nongadla saying he had unconfirmed information that the PAC planned to attack white South Africans visiting the homeland and to seize guns and other valuables.

Transkei's Consul General, Victor Mditshwa, said yesterday it was safe to travel through the territory.

PAC set to discuss Govt's invitation

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff

The Government's invitation to the Pan Africanist Congress to hold exploratory talks will be one of the main issues on the agenda at the PAC's second national congress at the weekend.

PAC publicity secretary Benny Ntoele said in Johannesburg yesterday that the organisation's response to the invitation would be announced at the end of the three-day conference.

Mr Ntoele said other issues to be discussed in-

cluded policies and programmes "for the realisation of a united front" on the black education crisis in the country and inter-organisational violence.

A new PAC leadership, including a successor to the late Zephania Mothoeng, would be elected.

Among the 500 delegates attending will be 14 externally based PAC leaders who have been granted limited indemnity, including administrative secretary Joe Mkhwanazi and foreign affairs secretary Ahmed Gorah Ebrahim.

Mandela gets grant from US Jews

By Marika Sboros

ANC leader Nelson Mandela has accepted a grant of R52 000 for the M C Weiler School in Alexandra from an American organisation which fosters relationships between blacks and Jews.

Mr Mandela received

a cheque in Johannesburg last week from Leslie Bergman, outgoing chairman of the Southern African Union for Progressive Judaism, which organised the grant from the Kovler Institute in Washington.

Mr Mandela said he was delighted with the contribution.

11/11/70
S.A. 5/1/70

Lucky 13 as Tambo's exile ends



OLIVER TAMBO

LONDON - African National Congress President Oliver Tambo will return to South Africa next week after 30 years in exile, the ANC representative in Britain said this week.

Mendi Msimang said Tambo, who has been in London undergoing rehabilitation after suffering a stroke, would arrive back home on December 13.

He may start his journey later this week, visiting one or two countries on the way.

Tambo (73), who left South Africa in 1960 after the ANC was banned by the Government, came to London in April this year from Stockholm.

Reformist President FW de Klerk legalised the ANC in February this year and shortly afterwards released Nelson

11A Sowetan 5/12/90
**ANC leader
back in SA
next week**

Mandela, now ANC deputy president, from 27 years in jail.

Tambo has been president of the ANC, South Africa's oldest anti-apartheid movement, since 1969.

During many of his 30 years in exile, he was based in Lusaka, Zambia, where the ANC had its headquarters.

But he travelled widely, becoming a roving ambassador for the black nationalist cause. - Sapa-Reuter



ANC is urged to open up to all members

11A
Sowetan
8/12/90

LONDON - The leadership of the ANC has been urged to broaden democracy within the organisation's structures in order to enable members to play a greater role in its future direction.

The call, said to reflect the thinking of a growing number of the ANC leadership, is made in a confidential document being circulated in the ANC, says the London-based journal, *Front File*.

According to *Front File*, the anonymous document severely criticises the ANC for failing to involve members in "political struggle" and in some cases risking alienating allies such as the powerful Congress of SA Trade Unions.

Failure

Among the ANC's weaknesses it lists:

- * Its failure to provide leadership over the main issues that concern its followers, such as township violence and the land question.

- * The development of a style of leadership "which excludes the masses and reduces politics to dialogues with the regime, working groups and endless post-apartheid specialist discussions".

- * The failure since February 2 to "cement the revolutionary alliance between the ANC, the South African Communist Party and Cosatu".

Warning

The document is quoted as warning that the alliance is now merely symbolic, with Cosatu, for example, having had "no real input into the negotiations process".

"If we look at the area of economics, most of the ANC's statements are directed at distancing itself from nationalisation."

"Without demands for nationalisation, which one knows to be the position of some of the major unions, our policy formulation is skewed," the document cautions.

It urges the ANC to urgently give bold leadership on a wide range of issues while at the same time ensuring that its members were actively involved in its decision-making processes.

- *Sowetan Correspondent*

PAC denies claims of attack plans

11A
~~11A~~

Sowetan 5/12/90

THE Transkei government and the Pan Africanist Congress yesterday rejected allegations the movement was planning to attack white people on holiday there this month.

"South Africans are assured of a peaceful and quiet holiday in Transkei," the homeland's leader, Major-General Bantu Holomisa, said yesterday.

He attributed the allegations of a sinister PAC plan to a propaganda campaign launched by people wanting to destabilise Transkei and make it a "no go" area.

He did not identify those he thought responsible.

Holomisa said South Africans were free to travel in Transkei and should direct any enquiries they had to his government.

He said officials would probe the allegations. "But at this point, in the light of good relations we have with the PAC, I would classify that information as a smear campaign.

"The Transkei government has a good understanding with the PAC. The PAC also publicly denounced the attempted coup in Transkei recently. So I find it difficult that a group of people like them would engage in such a mischievous exercise."

He was responding to a letter purportedly from Major MZ Nongaola of the Transkei Security Police to branch commanders.

Letter

Holomisa did not deny the existence of the letter but said his officials would interview the major to ascertain the source of his intelligence.

The letter read: "Information at the disposal of this office which has not been verified reveals that military trained Pan Africanist Congress members are planning to attack white holidaymakers in Transkei during the December 1990 holidays."

A PAC spokesman said yesterday the allegations were not in line with PAC policy or with the policies of its military wing.

He said the PAC had never attacked whites or holidaymakers. Their attacks had always been aimed at the police and the South African Defence Force.

A Department of Foreign Affairs spokesman said yesterday it would approach the Transkei government over the alleged threat. - *Sowetan Correspondent.*

ANC marches get go-ahead

Sowetan 5/12/90

THE ANC's "Peace and Freedom Now" marches in Johannesburg and Pretoria will go ahead tomorrow as planned after permission was received from the authorities.

Johannesburg's chief magistrate and the city council have given permission for the march and the Pretoria City Council has approved a second application after the march was initially banned.

Final permission still has to be obtained from Pretoria's chief magistrate

but ANC sources said they did not anticipate any problems.

The organisers have appealed for calm and restraint from marchers and the authorities to ensure there was no repeat of the bloody clashes on November 17 between police and marchers in Johannesburg, which resulted in two deaths.

"We are calling for people to conduct themselves in a peaceful and orderly way and for the authorities to act with restraint and flexibility," said ANC spokeswoman Barbara Hogan.

In Pretoria, marchers will gather at Cosatu House in Brown Street at 10am.

They will proceed at noon to Du Toit, Vermeulen and Administration streets to Government Avenue to present a memorandum at the city hall.

In Johannesburg, marchers will gather at the corner of Plein and Wanderers streets at 10am.

They will proceed along Plein Street at 11am to Harrison Street. A memorandum will be handed over to officials at the city hall.

Marchers will continue to Commissioner Street and John Vorster Square where a second memorandum will be handed to police.

The memorandum calls for the release of detainees and political prisoners, an end to political trials and the granting of indemnity to all exiles before Christmas.

It also calls for the creation of an interim government and constituent assembly, the repeal of security legislation, an end to violence and the reincorporation of Bophuthatswana into South Africa.

Security inside

C

ANC stands firm on video film footage

Spoken 5/12/90
THE African National Congress yesterday stood firm on its claims that last week's video recordings at Zonk'izizwe squatter camp had proved there was collusion between the police and "vigilantes".

The organisation said the visual evidence it showed the media last week was "irrefutable" and called on Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok to make "a credible official explanation".

It rejected Vlok's denial, saying this was not the first time that evidence of police collaboration with "vigilantes" had been presented to him for investigation.

Police said yesterday the video "conveniently"

By SY MAKARINGE

avoided showing footage of "Xhosa negotiators" in another Casspir.

Vlok yesterday authorised the release of 25 photographs, taken by a police photographer at Zonk'izizwe on the same day, "to finally put the matter in perspective".

Addressing a Press conference in Pretoria where the photographs were released, Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said the photographs clearly showed that both "Xhosa negotiators" and "Zulu negotiators" had been transported by police in separate Casspirs in the squatter camp on November 12.

Harms: Matanzima might be charged

B10ay 5/12/90

EDYTH BULBRING

PRETORIA — Former Transkei president Kaiser Matanzima could be charged with subversion in a Transkei court for encouraging the SA government to withhold funds from Transkei, military leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa said last night.

In a statement responding to the findings of the Harms Commission of Inquiry into cross-border irregularities, Holomisa said the commission had proved Transkei's earlier claims that Matanzima had written to Pretoria demanding "the RSA government freeze all monies payable to Transkei until Transkei had paid Temba Construction in full".

Temba Construction is one of the companies comprising Jalc Holdings (Pty) Ltd. Holomisa said Matanzima's letter seemed to demonstrate that he had a vested interest in the affairs of the company.

"It is ironical that Transkei was indeed strangled after the letter written by him in 1988," Holomisa said.

The Transkei government would have to establish whether Matanzima's encouragement of the SA government to withhold funds from Transkei was subversive or not. If subversion was established, Matanzima would be charged, Holomisa said.

In criticising the report, Holomisa said it would appear that Mr Justice Louis Harms was "rather soft" in dealing with Jalc directors, as he had the right to subpoena any one of them to give evidence before the commission.

The refusal of Jalc directors to testify before the commission left doubt as to their dealings and links with intelligence agents in SA and other individuals who showed keen interest in the welfare of Jalc.

Co-operation

Holomisa said Transkei also noted the lack of coverage of certain issues like the Vermaas indaba.

The report would be handed to Transkei's Attorney-General for his perusal and action.

Holomisa said he felt the offices of the Attorneys-General of Transkei and SA should co-operate in confronting the Jalc affair as the matters raised before the commission were territorially intertwined.

Without the co-operation of one, the other could not succeed, he said.

ANC envoys meet on lifting sanctions

B10ay 5/12/90

PETER DELMAR

ANC foreign representatives from around the world are to meet in Johannesburg next week to discuss mechanisms for the lifting of sanctions and the integration of ANC and official government missions abroad.

ANC foreign relations administrative secretary Yusuf Saloojee said yesterday the meeting would be attended by officials of all 40 ANC foreign missions, as well as department director Thabo Mbeki and his deputy Stanley Mabizela.

Although ruling out an immediate lifting of sanctions, Saloojee said ANC foreign representatives had to be prepared when the current process became irreversible — the point at which the ANC would call for a lifting of sanctions.

The ANC, he said, would continue to call for boycotts of South African products abroad.

"But we need to start working out some kind of mechanism and the timing of how sanctions will be

lifted," Saloojee said.

Lifting sanctions would also have to be preceded by wide-ranging consultations with various organisations and governments.

Saloojee said a new development was a growing perception internationally that apartheid had been abolished. The ANC would discuss how to combat this belief at next week's meeting.

It would also consider how to focus the international community's attention on SA's needs in the post-apartheid era, particularly in housing, education and health.

Saloojee said ANC em-

bassies were being "besieged" by SA diplomats wanting to speak to their counterparts.

"We need to work out, do we talk to our counterparts in SA embassies and what is the purpose of that talk?"

The meeting would also consider how ANC and SA missions would be restructured "in a future situation" where dual representation was unnecessary.

Saloojee said the ANC attached great importance to its foreign relations. This foreign affairs conference was of "vital importance" in the current climate and before the ANC's national consultative conference.

The meeting would formulate a new foreign affairs policy for discussion.

Council to look into converting hostels

B10ay 5/12/90

THEO RAWANA

JABULANI men's hostel in Soweto is a complex of live-in couples, shebeens and discos — and the discovery has moved the Soweto City Council to look into the question of converting hostels into family units.

Pol pict

THE ANC's collusion with Zonkezizwe wa

Cont
Tent 35
6/12/90

Singing crowd greets exiles

JOHANNESBURG. — A crowd of about 100 chanting and singing PAC supporters gathered at Jan Smuts Airport last night to welcome returning exiled leaders.

One of those to return was PAC administration secretary Mr Joe Mkwazi, who had been in exile since 1962.

Also returning with Mr Mkwazi was Mr Mfanasekhaya Gqobose. Earlier, three PAC exiles returned from London. They included the PAC's chief representative in London, Mr Vuyani Mngaza, and his son, Mr Khuselo Mngaza. — Sapa

11A

Excitement as Tambo heads home

From MONO BADELA ^{South 6/12-12/12/90 (11A)}
JOHANNESBURG. — African National Congress president, Mr Oliver Tambo, returns to South Africa next week after almost 30 years in exile — but not before he stops over in Lusaka to speak to the organisation's members based in the Zambian capital.

Mr Tambo is expected in Lusaka at 11am on Friday, his first visit after he suffered a stroke 15 months ago.

Mr Tom Sebina, the ANC spokesperson in Lusaka, said Tambo — who has been recuperating in London and Stockholm — would arrive in South Africa on December 13.

An elaborate programme has been prepared for the ailing ANC president in Lusaka. Among other things, he will address the ANC membership there early next week.

Rousing welcome

Sebina said "a rousing welcome" would await Tambo at the Lusaka airport, where ANC members are expected to turn up in large numbers.

"People are looking forward to receiving their president. You can be sure hundreds will be there to welcome him," said Sebina.

Tambo will be a guest to the Zambian State President, Dr Kenneth Kaunda. His wife, Mrs Adelaide Tambo, is expected to join him in Johannesburg.

In South Africa, Tambo will address the organisation's national consultative conference that begins in Johannesburg next Friday.

Tambo, 73, left South Africa in 1960 after the ANC was banned by the government.

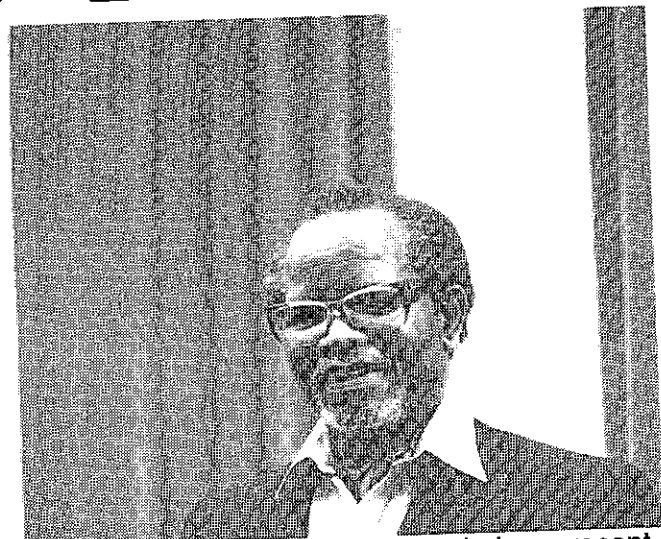
He suffered a stroke in Lusaka in August last year and was transferred to London to receive medical attention.

During many of his 30 years in exile, he was based in Lusaka, where the ANC had its headquarters before being unbanned on February 2.

Tambo made his first public appearance in 15 months in London last Friday when the Haringay Council in Tottenham, north London, gave him the freedom of the town.

His wife delivered a message from him, in which he called on the black youth of South Africa to concentrate on receiving an education.

Aides told reporters that the ANC leader was saving his first public words for when he arrives in South Africa.



CLOSE COMRADES: ANC leaders Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo during a recent meeting in London

Secret document calls for new look at boycotts

ANC 'switch' on sanctions

CAR T.G.S
6/12/90
11A
110

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A draft ANC document has proposed a phased lifting of sanctions, including a substantial easing of trade and sports barriers, from next year.

The still-secret document, "Managing the process of transition", calls for a thorough re-evaluation of the ANC's sanctions stance.

It notes that local and international developments have reduced the effectiveness of diplomatic and trade sanctions.

Sport and cultural embargoes on particular codes should be lifted once they have a united, non-racial governing body.

But financial restrictions, including investment by the IMF, should be opposed "on the grounds that the country is still governed by a white, minority regime". Oil and military sanctions should also remain.

SIMON BARBER reports that developments at the United Nations indicate the ANC accepts that Western nations will soon begin to ease sanctions.

Mbeki 'delay'

Diplomats believe this underlies the hardline draft resolutions offered by the ANC's African supporters which seek to bind members to maintaining existing measures and to endorsing the ANC's official analysis of the situation on the ground.

They also aim to give the impression that the ANC remains in charge of the eventual lifting of sanctions.

Briefing Western envoys at the UN on Tuesday, ANC foreign affairs director Mr Thabo Mbeki is understood to have urged European governments to delay their decision to ease sanctions "for a few months" until political prisoners were free and Pretoria had fulfilled its undertakings to repeal the Group Areas Act and Land Act, and "review" security legislation in the next parliamentary session.

EC heads of government are believed to be ready to start rolling back sanctions when they meet on December 15.

And strong Western opposition to the two draft resolutions thus far offered by the African bloc and the UN Special Committee against Apartheid has not diminished.

The secret ANC document argues that sanctions could be eased because the "strong adverse reaction to any regression" on the government's part would ensure their reimposition.

ANC sources said the report had been discussed and endorsed by a large section of the ANC's "top and middle leadership" and would be debated with a view to adoption at the ANC's national consultative conference which starts next week.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha has briefed foreign diplomats on SA's view of the UN General Assembly's annual apartheid debate. Mr Botha also wrote to the UN objecting to the debate as "inopportune", "uncalled-for" and echoing the ANC.



BEACH BUOYS . . . This is one of three new buoys which will be used 100 metres off Clifton's fourth beach as a barrier to boats. In the past bathers have had close shaves with boats coming too close to shore, according to Clifton Lifesaving spokesman Mr Eddy Cassar. Yesterday the Clifton Beach Lifesaving Club took possession of the buoys. Admiring them are, from the left, Melanie Wolpe, lifesaver Jason Fialkov, Chantal Solan and Gill Vaughan Jones. Picture: ANNE LAING

Dolphins in 'mass suicide' off coast

UMTATA. — Sixteen dolphins were found dead off the Transkei Wild Coast near Hluleka Game Reserve yesterday morning.

The acting head of nature conservation in Transkei, Mr Andrew Grobicki, said there could be numerous reasons why the dolphins had died.

He said sometimes they committed suicide. It was also possible they could have died because of lack of oxygen in the water.

Mr Grobicki said he had already contacted relevant scientific institutions to come and study the dolphins. — Sapa

Pavarotti awarded 'Truffle of Year'

ALBA, Italy. — Italian tenor Luciano Pavarotti's love of food has been known to rival his love of song.

So when he was chosen for a local award it was only appropriate that the prize meet his tastes — a 650-gram truffle.

The "Truffle of the Year" award was granted to Pavarotti this week by Mr Enzo de Maria, mayor of this town in Italy's north-west Piedmont region.

The annual prize is given to prominent Italians who promote the image of Italy in the world. — Sapa-AP

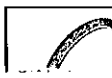
Man trips up Pretoria

PRETORIA. — A man yesterday short-circuited the power supply to the city centre and adjoining suburbs when he fell on to high-voltage powerlines — and lived.

He received third-degree burns over 70% of his body and was admitted to H F Verwoerd Hospital. He asked hospital staff not to release any details about him.

Municipal sources, however, identified him as Mr Jacques Myburgh, who was apparently working on new power cables at a sub-station when he fell about 10 metres and came into contact with lines carrying between 70 000 volts and 132 000 volts. — Sapa

crack of dawn



By BARRY STREEK

THE ANC and South African Jewish organisations have patched up their relationships after serious strains between them developed earlier this year over the ANC's support for the Palestinian cause.

The ANC said in a statement yesterday, after a meeting with a high-powered Jewish delegation in Johannesburg, that "a post-apartheid government would value a warm relationship with the state of Israel".

It also said it had "reiterated its recognition of the right of Israel to exist within secure boundaries as well as the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination".

In a separate and in some respects significantly different statement, the national director of the Jewish Board of Deputies, Mr Seymour Kopelowitz, said the

SA Jews, ANC talks patch up strained relations

ANC delegation had "expressed appreciation for the contribution of the South African Jewish community".

However, Mr Kopelowitz did not refer to the Palestinian question, the very issue which caused tensions between the ANC and Jewish organisations.

The strains between the ANC and Jewish organisations developed after Mr Nelson Mandela met and embraced the PLO leader, Mr Yasser Arafat, and had supported the Palestinian cause.

When reformist Rabbi Ady Assabi invited Mr Mandela to speak in Temple Shalom in Johannesburg, he received 23 death threats, mostly from Jews. This week's meeting between the ANC and Jewish leaders was clearly aimed at reducing these tensions.

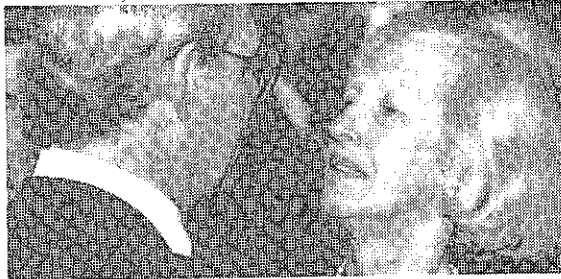
The ANC delegation at this week's talks was led by Mr Mandela and consisted of Mr Jacob Zuma, a member of its national executive, Ms Jesse Duarte, Mr Gibson Mahanda and Ms Gill Marcus.

The Jewish community was represented by the president of the Jewish Board of Deputies, Professor Michael Katz, the president of the SA Zionist Federation, Mr Julius Wainstein, Mr Gerald Leissner, Mr Solly Sacks, Mr Mendel Kaplan, Mr Harry Schwarz, Mr Mervyn Smith, Mr Hanns Saenger and Mr Kopelowitz.

SA JEW 6/12/80
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Myburgh 'an SA bridge-builder'

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GRIEVING . . . Mrs Helmine Myburgh, the widow of the former editor of the Sunday Times, Mr Tertius Myburgh, is comforted by Times Media Ltd MD Mr Stephen Mulholland at yesterday's memorial service in Johannesburg.

JOHANNESBURG. — Former Sunday Times editor and ambassador-at-large Mr Tertius Myburgh was "one of the greatest architects of the new SA", Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said at a memorial service for Mr Myburgh here yesterday.

Mr Botha said Mr Myburgh, who died of cancer on December 2, was a "bridge-builder" who had helped bring all South Africans closer together.

He conveyed President F W de Klerk's praise for Mr Myburgh's achievements and condolences to his wife Helmine and children Phillip, Danielle and Jacqueline.

Leading politicians, journalists, businessmen and diplomats, including British ambassador Sir Robin Renwick and US ambassador Mr William Lacey Swing, joined hundreds of people in paying their respects at the Ned Geref Kerk in Parkview.

Times Media Limited MD Mr Stephen Mulholland paid tribute to Mr Myburgh as a man whose "charm was legendary, and his courtesy unflinching".

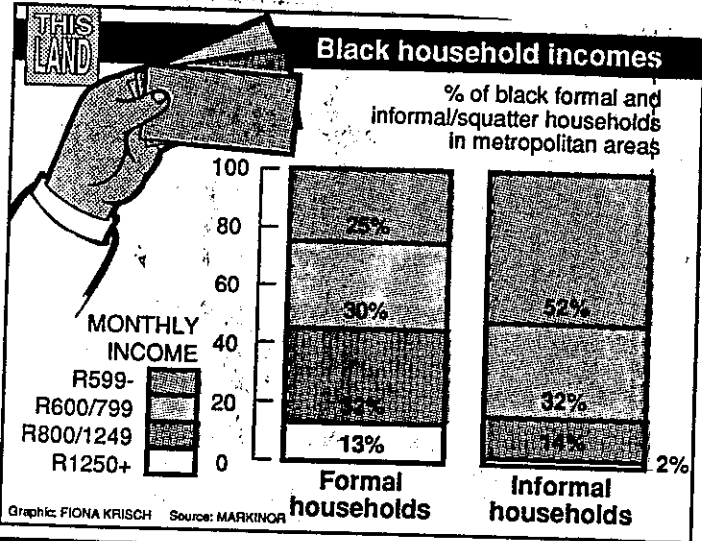
At a memorial service held simultaneously in the Grootte Kerk in Cape Town, Mr Jan Steyn, chairman of the Independent Development Trust, said Mr Myburgh was one of a small circle of South Africans who had played an important part in the moulding of the country. — Own Correspondent and Staff Reporter

Govt elements seek to end mass protest ^{11A} Mandela

DURBAN — Key elements in government had set out to foster carnage to halt mass action and paralyse the ANC, the organisation's deputy president Nelson Mandela alleged yesterday. *Day 6/12/96*

Speaking at alliance talks at Natal University between the National Union of South African Students and the SA National Students Congress, Mandela said the country was entering a time of hope — but elements in government were trying to crush the ANC, and it was to be remembered that government's positive actions had not been made without pressure.

Mandela confirmed that nationwide mass protests were being organised for today, and reiterated the ANC's position: "We are excluded from democratic participation; mass action is our only alternative." — Sapa.



ANC mass marches given the go-ahead

Blom 6/12/90
MASS marches by tens of thousands of ANC protesters will be staged today in Johannesburg, Pretoria, the Free State and eastern Cape.

But in many of its largest regions, the ANC's "Peace and Freedom Now" campaign will get off to a slow start.

Spokesmen for the ANC's eastern and western Transvaal, northern and western Cape and Border regions said yesterday they had no marches planned. There will also be no marches today in southern Natal and the Natal Midlands.

Intervention

The ANC's northern Transvaal and northern Natal regions could not be reached for details of any marches today. A western Cape member said the campaign had already been launched in Cape Town last weekend.

An ANC PWV spokesman confirmed yesterday permission had been obtained for mass marches in Pretoria and Johannesburg. He could not confirm a Sapa report that permission for the Pretoria march was granted after intervention by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela.

GERALD REILLY reports permission for the Pretoria march was granted by Chief Magistrate P A J Burger after the city council approved a second amended applica-

PETER DELMAR

tion.

The march will be led by ANC national executive members Joe Slovo, Ruth Mompati and Pallo Jordan. It will not start from Church Square as originally planned, but from Brown Street.

Johannesburg organisers expect 20 000 marchers. Between 10 000 and 20 000 are expected in Pretoria.

Despite government's concern about the ANC's mass action, ANC regional leaders said magisterial permission for all but a few marches had been granted by late yesterday.

Eastern Cape publicity secretary Mike Xego said the ANC would follow up its marches — planned for townships throughout the region — with mass marches on black councils to demand that councillors resign.

The only other ANC region to organise widespread marches is the Free State. There will be marches in Bloemfontein, Thabong (Welkom) and six platteland towns.

This would be followed by further mass action around the ANC demands for a constituent assembly and interim government.

The campaign will highlight demands for the speedy return of exiles and the release of political prisoners as well as call for government action to end the township violence.

PAC faces up to major issues at its congress

ARGUS
6/12/90
11A

MAJOR issues confront the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) at its national congress to be held at Shareworld, south of Johannesburg, this weekend.

The congress, the second since the organisation's formation in Soweto in 1959, begins its three-day run tomorrow.

POLITICS

PAC publicity secretary Benny Ntoele says delegates from 18 PAC regions, representing a total of about 500 branches, are expected to attend.

The organisation is expected to amend its 1959 constitution and the policies and guidelines enshrined in it to bring it into line with present-day challenges.

It also has to take a decision on the government's invitation to enter into exploratory talks, with a view to paving the way for real negotiations early next year.

For many South Africans and political observers here and abroad that is where the congress's overriding importance lies.

Will the PAC accept the government's invitation, thus joining the ANC in detente with Pretoria, or will it decline the invitation, thus joining ranks with the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo)?

PAC leaders were not giving any hints this week.

At a press conference in Johannesburg, Mr Ntoele confirmed that the government's invitation letter would be on the agenda.

Also included on the list of important issues to be discussed are policies, principles and programmes "for the realisation of a united front" with the ANC and other liberation movements, amendments to the organisation's constitution, the education crisis in the country and the rampant inter-organisational violence.

Equally important will be the election of a successor to the late PAC president Zephania Mothopeng, who died of cancer in October.

KAIZER NYATSUMBA, Argus Correspondent in Johannesburg, looks at the issues under discussion at the PAC's national congress in Johannesburg this weekend.

Possible contenders for the presidency are acting president Clarence Makwethu, national chairman Johnson Mlambo who — though credited with holding the organisation together in exile — was not chosen by his colleagues in exile to attend the congress, the young Benny Alexander and national executive committee members Mbandazayo Mahlubi and Mark Shinner.

PAC internal leaders announced on Tuesday that nominations for the presidency were still streaming in, but they would not divulge the names. They confirmed, however, that by Tuesday Mr Mlambo's name was not among those nominated, adding that he had, however, not made himself unavailable for the job.

Mr Ntoele emphasised during an interview that whoever was elected president would not radically alter the PAC's policies.

The PAC's direction and ideological position, he said, was not "in any way related to or determined by leadership personalities".

Instead, it was based on the broad principles of pan-Africanism which had its roots in Kwame Nkrumah's Ghana.

Mr Ntoele said the most significant contribution of the congress would be the "restructuring" of the PAC after almost 30 years of operating as a banned organisation in exile. The "unusual focus" on the government's invitation letter, he said, was a mere coincidence.

At least three of the main issues on the congress's agenda — the government's invitation letter, the black education crisis and the inter-organisational violence — were also discussed at the PAC's special three-day consultative conference in Harare in September.

Present at that conference were members of the organisation's South African-based national executive committee

(NEC), members of its externally-based central committee and heads of different departments and missions abroad.

At the end of the three days, the PAC told a press conference that the government's talks invitation had been referred back to various PAC structures inside the country for further discussion, and that the then PAC president Mr Mothopeng would announce the organisation's response at this weekend's congress.

Asked why the issue was on the congress's agenda when the various PAC structures had, as per brief, exhaustively discussed the matter and consequently made recommendations on it, Mr Ntoele said the congress would only ratify whatever decision the various regions had made. He would not reveal how many regions had voted in favour of accepting the invitation and how many had voted against doing so.

Mr Ntoele would also not say whether the PAC would retain its present system of parallel leadership structures, with the national executive committee headed by internal general secretary Benny Alexander and the central committee by national chairman Johnson Mlambo.

The congress's major limitation will be the poor representation of the organisation's external mission. Only 52 externally-based senior PAC members will attend the congress if Pretoria grants limited indemnity to the 38 others whose applications were urgently filed this week, and this excludes Mr Mlambo who will not be coming.

No delegates will come from the PAC's military wing, the African People's Liberation Army (Apla), and the congress will be dominated by internal delegates.

Top PAC exiles for internal congress

From MONO BADELA

JOHANNESBURG. — More than 50 Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) exiles, including members of the PAC's externally-based central committee, are expected back in South Africa in time to attend the organisation's first national congress in the country since it was outlawed in March 1960.

The three-day congress, under the theme "Forward to a Democratically Elected Constituent Assembly", will be held at Shareworld, Johannesburg, from Friday.

PAC publicity secretary Mr Benny Ntoele said secretary for Foreign Affairs Mr Gora Ebrahim and administrative secretary Mr Joe Mkhwanazi were among those expected to attend.

Others included Welfare secretary Mrs Nomvula Booi, Economic Affairs secretary Mr Mfanasekhaya Gqobose, chief representative to Uganda Mr TM Ntantana, chief representative to Nigeria Mr Maxwell Nemazivhanadzi and Mr Count Pietersen, chief representative of the observer mission to the United Nations.

However, PAC chairman and commander-in-chief of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) Mr Johnson

Mlambo would not attend.

Ntoele could not confirm whether Mlambo would contest the position of presidency. Nominations of candidates for the president and general secretary were still being collected, Ntoele said.

The post of president fell vacant with the death of Mr Zephania Mothopeng in October. South 6/12-12/12/90

Founder

Observers at the conference, which according to Mr Ntoele will be attended by about 2 000 delegates from more than 500 branches and 18 regions, will include the founder-member of the original ANC Youth League, Mr AP.Mda,

two representatives of the Zanu-PF party in Zimbabwe and diplomats from around the world.

The Egyptian government will be represented, as will be the City of London movement and the All African People's Revolutionary Party established by Dr Kwame Nkrumah.

The congress will discuss the government's invitation to meet for exploratory talks. Also to be discussed at the congress will be policies, principles and programmes to realise a united front.

Recent internicine violence and the education crisis will also be discussed.

MK man elected

11/8

UMKHONTO weSizwe commander Mr Mathew Phosa was elected chairperson of the Eastern Transvaal region of the ANC at the region's congress last weekend.

Phosa is a member of the ANC/government steering committee and joint working committee.

About 700 delegates attend the three-day congress at the Kabokweni Mango College in White River.

'Govt out to crush ANC'

Key elements in the Government had set out to foster carnage to halt mass action and to paralyse the ANC, Nelson Mandela said in Durban yesterday.

The Government had to be further pressured into removing the obstacles still in the way of negotiations.

Mr Mandela confirmed that nationwide mass protests were being organised for today. He said the ANC's position was clear.

"We are excluded from democratic participation; mass action is our only alternative."

However, in a statement yesterday Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said that indefinite continuation of mass protests over political demands was no longer necessary as the Government was committed to solving a number of problems.

The Government was not against peaceful and democratic protest, including marches and public meetings, but it was concerned

about "disruption and conflict" that appeared to go hand in hand with programmes of large-scale and repetitive political protest.

The inability of "certain political leaders" to ensure responsible conduct by their followers was also an area of major concern to the Government, Dr Viljoen said.

If destruction, violence and intimidation were not part of the political agenda of organisations launching mass action, they should take greater care to ensure orderly and lawful action.

There was "clear proof of intimidation" where the public had been forced to take part in mass action.

Dr Viljoen said no responsible government would allow mass action to deteriorate into acts of violence, destruction and intimidation.

We'll flatten you, AWB

Star 6/12/90

warns ANC

By Dirk Nel
Northern Transvaal Bureau

LOUIS TRICHARDT - Clear battle-lines were drawn here last night by AWB leader Eugene Terre-Blanche when he issued a third warning to the ANC regarding its planned mass protests.

"I say to you - let one white be injured in one of your protest marches, and we will flatten you (ons sal julle gelyk yee met die aarde)."

The atmosphere at the AWB rally was extremely militant. Many young men carried batons, and Mr Terre-Blanche's personal bodyguards carried firearms.

Defending the actions of the white men arrested in connection with an alleged assault on black Sunday school children in the town, the AWB leader said they had simply shown that they would not become anyone's puppets.

He insisted that the men had acted within their rights, as they had not acted in anyone else's territory.

Herstigste Nasionale Party leader Jaap Marais shared a platform with Mr Terre-Blanche.

Excluded

However, elements in the Government were trying to crush the ANC, and it was to be remembered that the positive actions which the Government had made were not something it had done without pressure.

The ANC had spearheaded the struggle to produce that pressure, he said.

Slovo and Winnie to lead march

Staff Reporters and Own Correspondent

Winnie Mandela, wife of ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, and Joe Slovo, leader of the SA Communist Party, are among those due to lead the ANC's "Peace and Freedom Now" march being held in Pretoria today.

Pretoria Chief Magistrate P A J Burger has given permission for the march.

The organisers said no stayaway had been called. However, people had been urged to take leave for an hour or two.

The march, which is scheduled to start at noon from Cosatu House in Brown Street to the Union Buildings, is to be preceded by a mini-rally outside Cosatu House from 10 am.

● In Johannesburg, marchers will begin gathering at

the corner of Plein and Wanderers streets at 10 am. They will proceed along Plein Street at 11 am to Harrison Street. A memorandum will be handed in at the City Hall.

Marchers will continue to Commissioner Street and John Vorster Square, where a memorandum will be handed to police.

● In Bloemfontein, the Chief Magistrate has granted permission for a march today.

Star 6/12/90

Action needed on women's rights

11A
South
6/12-12/12/90

SOUTH Africa has a long way to go to meet the expectations of women and ensure their participation at all levels of power.

This was illustrated clearly last weekend at a workshop organised by the ANC's constitutional committee to discuss the issue of gender in a post-apartheid South Africa.

Women from all over South Africa gathered to discuss the draft Bill of Rights issued by the ANC earlier that week.

What became clear from the start was that this was an attempt to involve women in discussion on the Bill *after* it had been drafted without their participation.

The ANC's constitutional committee consists of 19 men and one woman — an unequal situation which exists on most of the organisation's structures.

Although most political parties in South Africa pay lip service to women's equality, most have a dismal track rec-

ord.

Every political movement in the country is male-dominated except for women's groups which defend their right to exist by declaring their need to create their own political space.

South Africa's demographics are damning: women make up 52 percent of the population, yet do not enjoy the same measure of representation.

It has already become patently obvious that while some sectors of society may be prepared to accept a black government, they would rather not be ruled by women.

While the ANC is the first political movement to seriously address the gender issue in a coherent and systematic way, it has yet to implement its lofty ideals.

There has been progress in the ANC's shift towards non-sexism in the past few years.

Its proposed "Constitutional Guidelines for a Democratic South Africa" had only a single

clause in it relating specifically to women.

The Bill of Rights goes a lot further — besides a five-paragraph article on gender rights, nonsexism is stressed throughout the document, except for a few omissions.

The Bill fails in some respects to give equal treatment to racism and sexism.

Its article on "positive action" calls on the state to observe the principles of nonracialism and nonsexism.

Yet, a few paragraphs lower there are calls for nonracial organs of state, a nonracial public service and a nonracial judiciary. The words "non-sexist" disappeared.

But there is a growing realisation that rooting out sexism in South Africa is as imperative as rooting out racism.

This is stressed by the ANC's draft bill, which examines mechanisms of enforcing its principles, protecting women (and other sectors of society) from discrimination.

The message to the ANC is that it is not enough to assert on paper that the organisation is nonsexist; action is needed.

The emancipation of women should involve the entire community.

Women's struggles should not be seen as a by-product of the liberation struggle; it is a struggle in itself.

Patterns of discrimination and inequality will not go away without affirmative action. This does not simply mean guaranteeing a certain percentage of female leadership.

Such a quota system ultimately undermines the principle that women must be judged on their own merits and abilities and the best person — man or woman — should be elected to the job.

Instead, affirmative action should concentrate on removing the obstacles — practical and perceptual — which prevent more women from taking their rightful place in our society.

To talk, or not to talk ...

11A

Star 6/12/90

MAJOR issues confront the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) at its national congress to be held at Shareworld, south of Johannesburg, this weekend.

The congress, the second since the organisation's formation in Soweto in 1959, begins its three-day run tomorrow.

PAC publicity secretary Benny Ntoele says delegates from 18 PAC regions, representing a total of about 500 branches, are expected to attend.

The organisation is expected to amend its 1959 constitution and the policies and guidelines enshrined in it to bring it into line with present-day challenges.

It also has to take a decision on the Government's invitation to enter into exploratory talks, with a view to paving the way for real negotiations early next year.

For many South Africans and political observers here and abroad that is where the congress's overriding importance lies.

Will the PAC accept the Government's invitation, thus joining the ANC in detente with Pretoria, or will it decline the invitation, thus joining ranks with the Azanian People's Organisation?

PAC leaders were not giving any hints this week about the direction the organisation may take.

At a press conference in Johannesburg on Tuesday, Mr Ntoele confirmed that the Government's invitation letter would be on the agenda.

Also included on the list of important issues to be discussed were:

- Policies, principles and programmes "for the realisation of a united front" with the ANC and other liberation movements;
- Amendments to the organisation's constitution;
- The education crisis in the country;
- And the rampant inter-organisational violence.

Equally important will be the election of a successor to the late PAC president Zephania Mothoeng, who died of cancer in October.

Possible contenders for the presidency include: acting president Clarence Makwethu; national chairman Johnson Mlambo who — though credited with holding the organisation together in exile — was not chosen by his colleagues in exile to attend the congress; the

young Benny Alexander; and Mbandazayo Mahlubi and Mark Shinnars, who are both members of the national executive committee.

PAC internal leaders announced on Tuesday that nominations for the presidency were still streaming in, but they would not divulge the names of those nominated so far.

They confirmed, however, that by Tuesday Mr Mlambo's name was not among those nominated, adding that he had, however, not made himself unavailable for the job.

Mr Ntoele emphasised during an interview that whoever was elected president would not radically alter the PAC's policies.

The PAC's direction and ideological position, he said, was not "in any way related to or determined by leadership personalities".

Instead, it was based on the broad principles of pan-Africanism which had its roots in Kwame Nkrumah's Ghana.

Mr Ntoele said the most significant contribution of the congress would be the "restructuring" of the PAC after almost 30 years of operating as a banned organisation

in exile.

The "unusual focus" on the Government's invitation to talks, he said, was a mere coincidence.

At least three of the main issues on the congress's agenda — the Government's invitation, the black education crisis and the inter-organisational violence — were also discussed at the PAC's special three-day consultative conference in Harare in September.

Among those present at that conference were members of the organisation's South African-based national executive committee, members of its externally-based central committee and heads of departments and missions abroad.

At the end of the three days of that conference, the PAC told a press conference that the Government's talks invitation had been referred back to various PAC structures inside the country for further discussion, and that the then PAC president Mr Mothoeng would announce the organisation's response at this weekend's congress.

Asked why the issue was on the congress's agenda when the various PAC structures had, as per

brief, exhaustively discussed the matter and consequently made recommendations on it, Mr Ntoele said the congress would only ratify whatever decision the various regions had made.

He would not reveal how many regions had voted in favour of accepting the invitation and how many had voted against doing so.

Mr Ntoele would also not say whether the PAC would retain its present system of parallel leadership structures, with the national executive committee headed by internal general secretary Benny Alexander and the central committee by national chairman Johnson Mlambo.

The decision, he said, would be for the congress to make.

The duplication of positions is not an easy thing for a financially struggling organisation such as the PAC.

For example, there are two general secretaries — Mr Alexander inside the country and administrative secretary Joe Mkhwanazi outside the country. And Patricia de Lille (internal) and Ahmed Gorah Ebrahim (external) are both foreign secretaries.

The duplication came into exist-

ence early this year when the PAC's internal front, the Pan Africanist Movement (PAM) which was barely six months old, became the PAC's internal wing when political organisations were unbanned.

The parallel leadership structures were not changed.

The congress's major limitation will be the poor representation of the organisation's external mission.

Only 52 externally-based senior PAC members will attend the congress — if Pretoria grants limited indemnity to the 38 others whose applications were urgently filed this week.

Mr Mlambo will not be coming.

No delegates will come from the PAC's military wing, the African People's Liberation Army (Apla), and the congress will be dominated by internal delegates.

However, Mr Ntoele said delegates at the congress would be able to vote into office people not in attendance.

This, in theory, means that PAC members outside South African borders have as much a chance of being elected into leadership at the weekend as those members inside the country. □

1118
Star 6/12/90

The obstacle to change in South Africa is not the whites, argues The Economist

Mandela, not De Klerk, may need goading

FOR an exceptional moment, South Africa was full of hope. From the day Nelson Mandela walked free in February to the night he suspended his movement's armed struggle in August, black and white South Africans were moving towards peace.

Since August the road has been blocked by township slaughter, the security forces' misconduct, and recrimination on all sides.

Political violence is killing 10 South Africans a day — three times as many as in past years.

Mr Mandela's meeting with President de Klerk on November 27 was the surest they have had.

Outsiders need to decide who is to blame for this impasse as they consider whether their sanctions against South Africa should be continued.

The European Community may lift some sanctions — perhaps the ban on new investment? — at the EC summit that begins next Thursday.

The United States and the Com-

monwealth may follow suit next year. Official sanctions matter, not least because they influence where private money goes.

It has not been going into South Africa: lower exports and capital flight have kept real GDP growth below the 5 percent a year the economy needs to absorb all the young blacks pouring into the work force.

The only argument for imposing this degree of pain on South Africa — and disproportionately on South African blacks — has been that it was needed to prod whites into serious moves towards sharing power.

Mr de Klerk has made these moves. In particular, he has done the three things The Economist recommended six months ago as the condition for dropping sanctions: he has lifted the state of emergency, agreed to free political prisoners, and begun to let black exiles return.

He has also promised to rescind the Land Act (which reserves 86 percent of the land for white

owners) and the Group Areas Act.

The only argument for prolonging sanctions is that, ungoaded, Mr de Klerk will backslide.

Mr Mandela argues that he will. The African National Congress is starting to wonder, he says, whether Mr de Klerk has really abandoned apartheid.

He cites the President's insistence that, in return for permitting black exiles to come home, the ANC must stop organising demonstrations.

He points to the security forces, saying they shoot when blacks demonstrate and look the other way when whites beat up black schoolchildren.

He laments Mr de Klerk's refusal to hand over to a government of transition, or to accept the ANC's proposal for a constituent assembly.

Mr Mandela's complaints are not persuasive. Peaceful demonstrations are a normal democratic right; but in abnormal South Africa they often turn lethal.

The security forces are regard-

ed in many quarters as a menace; but Mr de Klerk is trying to control them, and often succeeding.

An interim administration sounds reasonable; but the Government already consults Mr Mandela's people frequently, and the ANC is shy of the responsibility even that brings.

A constituent assembly raises the question of how to elect it — and an answer would go to the heart of the constitutional issue before the assembly even met.

The surest guarantee of Mr de Klerk's genuineness about negotiations is that he has no way of turning back.

By uncorking black politics, he has destroyed the old white monopoly.

He must call an election within four years. If he has not first created a new security, based on reconciliation, the white voters will probably boot him out.

In fact Mr de Klerk has embraced change more thoroughly than the ANC has.

Whereas he swiftly persuaded

his party to accept non-white members, the ANC agonised about whether it really has given up its armed struggle (which, anyway, was a token).

The Congress has also delayed a meeting between Mr Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, without which the end of township violence and the start of negotiations seem impossible.

Instead, the ANC talks of intensifying its (unarmed) "struggle", which includes the disruption of townships until sewage leaks on to the streets.

Perhaps it is Mr Mandela who now needs the goading.

The ANC sympathisers plead for time. If Mr Mandela moves too quickly, they say, hardliners will undermine him.

Yet dithering probably threatens him even more. Plenty of blacks are sick of demonstrations and boycotts. Far fewer are attending the ANC's rallies; on some estimates, the crowds are down to a tenth of their old size.

Some of the disillusioned may

have joined the radical Pan-Africanist Congress. But more — judging from the scanty evidence — now back faster reconciliation, in the shape of Mr de Klerk.

The ANC slowness is caused in part by simple disorganisation.

It is understandable that, after years of exile, banning and prison, the ANC wants to get its act together before taking on Mr de Klerk's negotiators, who bristle with fax machines and car phones.

It is understandable but not forgivable: South Africa's blacks have no time to spare.

As the days slip by more of them get killed; more nurse vendettas; tribal harmony becomes ever more remote.

And more blacks get poorer. Violence and dithering scare off businessmen, who are deciding whether the new South Africa is a good bet.

By the late 1990s an ANC-led government will be praying for investment. Which is another reason to scrap sanctions now. — Economist News Service. □

of what is going on inside the hotel this week.

Nobody seems to have referred to the fact that the only technology pool of any size south of the

PAC external leader home after 27 years

Star 6/12/90
By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff

(11A) leader and about 100 PAC supporters.

Pan Africanist Congress administrative secretary Joe Mkhwanazi and two members of the PAC's externally based central committee (CC) arrived in South Africa yesterday to attend the organisation's national congress at Shareworld, south of Johannesburg, at the weekend.

Mr Mkhwanazi (62) and fellow CC members Nomvula Boozi and Mfanasekhaya Gqobose flew in from Swaziland and were met at Jan Smuts Airport by his internal counterpart Benny Alex-

The press and the PAC supporters were kept waiting for more than 90 minutes before Mr Mkhwanazi emerged from Customs.

Mr Mkhwanazi, the second man in the external PAC hierarchy, told reporters he had been delayed inside the airport because his luggage had not arrived in time.

Asked how he felt to be back home after 27 years in exile, Mr Mkhwanazi said he was excited and happy to be home but sad about the fact that apartheid was still in place.

Mixed ^(11A) feelings on Black Christmas

By Stan Hlophe

The imminent call for a "Black Christmas" received a mixed reception from consumers, workers and professionals surveyed at random by The Star yesterday.

The Black Christmas call, which is still to be debated by the ANC's national consultative conference starting next week, comes in the wake of pressure from ANC supporters.

ANC publicity chief Dr Pallo Jordan was quoted as saying the issue was sensitive and could not be ignored. "It's not us who are calling for it but ordinary people in the streets, in view of what has happened in the PWV area in the last few months," Dr Jordan said.

Consumer Kabo Mangwani said the Black Christmas should not be enforced and that it should be left to individuals to decide.

Miss Mangwani urged the community to refrain from festivities — not as a measure to bring pressure on the Government, but to be safe and out of danger.

She said the call for a Black Christmas would not have any positive effect on the Government.

"It will not stop people from going on a spending spree. People will still find ways of getting what they want in town. I think it depends on the individual whether to observe the call or not. To me, it doesn't matter if it's black, white or pink," she said.

Defy

A Soweto teacher said President F.W. de Klerk had gone further than his predecessors and there was no reason to embark on any form of mass campaign.

He added that the Government had agreed to release political prisoners and would allow exiles to return home.

"If you mobilise people unnecessarily, they will defy your call," he warned.

A domestic worker said she was saddened that many would indulge in celebrations at a time when people were in distress. She called for the ANC to give people more time to get the message across.

Connie Motshumi, of Alexandra, said the call to refrain from festivities would save the community a lot of money which they could spend on necessities such as school uniforms.

She urged people to sacrifice their leisure time for a good cause.

Another Soweto teacher said it was unfair to expect people to observe the boycott call when it was the only available time for families to be together.

She said Christmas was a special day.

"Many people have worked hard during the year and would be glad to be left in peace to celebrate the most important day in one spirit," she added.

A Johannesburg receptionist supported the call and pointed out that it was the only peaceful means to pressure the Government to speed up the process of change.

However, she warned the ANC to consult other organisations and explain to the community, to ensure that the word reached everyone.

11A
ANC aims
to wipe out
opponents
- Inkatha

By Katzer Nyatumba
Political Staff

Themba Khoza, Transvaal leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), launched a scathing attack on the ANC, accusing it of engaging in a "war of extermination" against its opponents. Mr Khoza said in Johannesburg that various ANC-supported campaigns, such as mass test marches and "Black Christmas" for a sure recipe for violence, were that on Sunday, Xhosas wearing red headbands impersonating Zulus had attacked Zulus in Tokoza on the East Rand. He said two whites armed with rifles were seen operating with these people, and that whites had died in the ensuing confrontation. The "Black Christmas" call, he said, would inevitably heighten tensions in the townships and result in the wholesale harassment of those failing to heed the call.

Extermination

"The results of the ANC/SACP programme of so-called mass action can be predicted: more violence, more intimidation from those who are sick to death of ANC/SACP bully-boy tactics."

Mr Khoza accused the ANC/SACP alliance of being involved in "a war of extermination against its political opponents, the IFP and our brothers, the PAC".

Asked what relationship there was between the IFP and the two organisations mentioned, Mr Khoza said they were all black organisations and practised political tolerance.

The ANC yesterday said Mr Khoza's allegations were not "worthy of serious response". These "spurious tales of people impersonating Zulus" were surfacing now that the actions of vigilante groups were beginning to "impact negatively" on the IFP.

Three PAC leaders back home

11A

Sowetan 6/12/90

THREE senior members of the Pan Africanist Congress, including administrative secretary Mr Joe Mkhwanazi, arrived back in South Africa yesterday after more than two decades in exile.

Mkhwanazi, welfare secretary Mrs Nomvula Bdoi and secretary for economic affairs Mr Mfanasekhaya Gqobose, were welcomed at Jan Smuts Airport by a jubilant crowd waving PAC flags.

In a brief address, Mkhwanazi said he was happy to be back home but felt sorry that apartheid still existed.

"We come back to see our people still suffering. The most important thing is that we're not yet free," he said.

The three are among 14 exiled PAC members who have so far been granted limited indemnity

By **SY MAKARINGE**

by the Government to enable them to attend the organisation's national congress at Shareworld in Johannesburg this weekend.

The rest of the exiled leaders, including secretary for foreign affairs Mr Gora Ebrahim, chief representative to Uganda Mr TM Ntantana and chief representative to Nigeria Mr Maxwell Nemazivhanadzi, are expected to arrive today.

Chief PAC representative to Britain Mr Vuyani Mngadi and two other members arrived on an earlier flight from London.

Meanwhile, plans are almost complete for the return of many other exiles following the arrival on Tuesday of a South African Council of Churches delegation from Europe.

SACC general secretary the Rev Frank

Chikane said yesterday they had met United Nations Commission for Refugees officials in Geneva and Brussels over the past few days.

The UNHCR had agreed to participate in the resettlement process but were awaiting a formal invitation from the Government.



Returned exile Mr Joe Mkhwanazi (left) and PAC general secretary Mr Benny Alexander at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday. Pic: JOE MOLEFE

Slovo and Winnie to lead march

Staff Reporters
and Own Correspondent

Winnie Mandela, wife of ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, and Joe Slovo, leader of the SA Communist Party, are among those due to lead the ANC's "Peace and Freedom Now" march being held in Pretoria today.

Pretoria Chief Magistrate P A J Burger has given permission for the march.

The organisers said no stayaway had been called. However, people had been urged to take leave for an hour or two.

The march, which is scheduled to start at noon from Cosatu House in Brown Street to the Union Buildings, is to be preceded by a mini-rally outside Cosatu House from 10 am.

● In Johannesburg, marchers will begin gathering at

the corner of Plein and Wanderers streets at 10 am. They will proceed along Plein Street at 11 am to Harrison Street. A memorandum will be handed in at the City Hall.

Marchers will continue to Commissioner Street and John Vorster Square, where a memorandum will be handed to police.

● In Bloemfontein, the Chief Magistrate has granted permission for a march today.

Star 6/12/90

Netshitenzhe gets top ANC position

THE ANC has elected senior information and publicity official Mr Joel Khathutshelo Netshitenzhe as Northern Transvaal regional chairman, writes Mathatha Tsedu.

Netshitenzhe, who replaced former regional co-ordinator Mr Thabo Makunyane, was among the first group of ANC exiles to receive indemnity.

In his early 30s, Netshitenzhe left the country in 1986 while studying medicine at the University of Natal. He joined ANC and served in several posts including broadcasting and publications. He is ANC's recently

launched co-editor of the magazine, *Mayibuye*. He was elected during the first regional conference which was held at the University of the North. He heads a 12-person team which includes one woman, Mrs Joyce Mabudafhasi. She is an additional member.

The other portfolios are vice-chairman, Dr Aaron Motswaledi; regional secretary, Mr Collins 'General' Chabane; treasurer Mr Edgar Mushwana and seven other additional members. They are Messrs John Phala, Lawrence Phokanoka, Nelson Diale, Seth Nthai, George Mashamba, Castle Mathale and Dr Kgapola.

**Come and have a
Laugh
S'd or two with
S'dumo!**

them fodder.

CALL TIMES 7/12/90

New boss for Rhodes

GRAHAMSTOWN. — Professor Michael Smout has been appointed vice-principal of Rhodes University.

CALL TIMES 7/12/90

114

PAC founder's memorial

THE memorial service for Mr Guma Muxali, 59, a founder member of the PAC, will be held at No 10 Uluntu Drive, Malunga Park, Guguletu, at noon tomorrow.

CALL TIMES 7/12/90

3 Reef miners missing

JOHANNESBURG. — Three miners have been reported missing after ground falls at the Vaal Reef East Mine.

2 Cape Times, Friday, December 7 1995

ANC 'keep-sanctions' plea to EC expected

LONDON. — The African National Congress is expected to ask the international community to keep sanctions in place for just another two or three months.

This was reported in the London Independent newspaper yesterday, while the ANC in Johannesburg tried to play down leaks of a proposed easing of sanctions as just a draft document.

The Independent correspondent in New York reported that ANC deputy leader Mr Nelson Mandela would appeal to the European Community summit in Rome next week to put off a decision on lifting sanctions — favoured by a majority in the EC — “for two or three months”.

By that time the obstacles holding up

agreements between the ANC and the government should have been cleared away and Parliament would be repealing its security legislation, the Land Acts and the Group Areas Act.

Anti-apartheid movements in Britain and Europe have recently expressed what they termed “alarm” at confirmation that a majority of the 12-member EC countries are in favour of at least a relaxation of Europe's 1986 sanctions against South Africa as a concrete response to President F W de Klerk's reforms.

A leading London broker said yesterday the ANC discussion document would have a positive effect on overseas investor confidence.

Despite the ANC retractions, Mr John Taylor, South African analyst for leading brokers James Capel, said yesterday he believed the existence of the document was a positive sign which “will improve confidence”.

He said there had been much disillusionment with the ANC in recent months.

An ANC spokesman said in Johannesburg yesterday the draft document would be circulated at all levels before being tabled at the national consultative conference from December 14 to 16.

He said the leakage of the document at this stage was “unfortunate”. — Sapa, Own Correspondent

● Hungary fights sanctions — Page 5

11A / PAC 623
12/10

'Butterflies' as PAC exile comes in from the cold

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN, Political Staff

HOME for Mr Ebrahim Desai is 22 Chester Street, Walmer Estate, which he has not seen since he fled South Africa in 1962.

He dreamed of returning and today begins his journey when he flies from Harare to Johannesburg for the PAC's national congress.

On Sunday he returns to the Cape for a reunion with his bedridden mother and to visit "upper District Six".

"I have very mixed feelings about returning. I'm very emotional and cannot control the butterflies in my stomach," he said from Zimbabwe.

"I will be allowed back for only a week but our lawyers are trying to have my stay extended. I'm sure that this will not be a problem in this climate of generosity."

Mr Desai — he's not related to regional PAC convener Mr Barney Desai — is a former member of the dissolved Coloured People's Congress; a former ANC ally.

"There was a general swoop in 1962 and some of my colleagues were picked up. The security branch visited my home but could not find me."

He made his way to Dar es Salaam.

Mr Desai has been based in London and was formerly the PAC's deputy representative in Zimbabwe.

'Women must have say in constitution'

A NEW constitution for South African women would never adequately represent their interests unless women were involved in constitution-making from the outset.

South 6/12 - 12/12/90
This was the message at a national workshop at the University of the Western Cape (UWC) last week titled "Gender Today and Tomorrow" organised by the constitutional committee of the ANC, UWC's Community Law Centre and the Centre for Development Studies.

Delegates at the workshop repeatedly called on the ANC to increase the number of women on the constitutional committee, which consists of 19 men and one woman.

11A
Keynote speaker Mr Kader Asmal of the constitutional committee said the removal of discrimination based on race and sex was part of the "historic task" of the struggle against apartheid.

"There can be no postponement of this task," Asmal said.

"As long as our sisters — constituting over half the population of our country — suffer disabilities and discrimination, none of us will really be free."

Participants at the workshop endorsed

the demand that the principle of non-sexism run through the entire constitution of South Africa.

Women's rights had to be spelled out in the Bill of Rights and a women's charter had to be accorded legal status, with proper mechanisms instituted to enforce non-discrimination.

Unpaid labour done by women should be recognised in the constitution and be included in determining the gross national product (GNP), participants resolved.

Training should begin immediately to create a pool of women who could meet

the demand for job parity in the civil and public services.

Mechanisms should be created to enable women to continue playing a prominent role in the evolution of law in a post-apartheid South Africa, the judiciary should be restructured to be "truly gender-representative", the participants decided.

The issue of Aids received special attention at the workshop and the concern of the ANC on the spread of the disease was highlighted.

The workshop called for a national Aids campaign to be implemented.

Exiles return for PAC national congress today

610 ay
7/12/90

PETER DELMAR

11A

UP TO 1 000 delegates from SA and overseas meet near Johannesburg today for the PAC's first national congress inside the country in three decades.

A PAC spokesman said yesterday the organisation's foreign affairs secretary Gora Ebrahim and other exiled leaders were expected to return to SA today. There had been no last-minute hitches in obtaining temporary indemnity for the exiles, he said.

The most important issues to be decided by the three-day congress near Soweto will be the election of a new president and deciding whether to accept government's invitation to constitutional negotiations.

Indications this week were that the PAC would continue to insist on a constituent assembly and that conditions for negotiations had not been met.

Most observers agree the negotiation process would receive a crucial fillip should the PAC agree to take part.

Acting president Clarence Makwethu was being strongly tipped to become president.

Representatives of other "liberation movements" have also been invited to the congress.

Tight control at ANC's city marches

THE ANC yesterday staged a show of strength when thousands of its supporters took to the streets of Johannesburg, Pretoria and other centres.

ANC marshals and security forces exercised strict control and virtually no incidents were reported.

A march through the Johannesburg CBD attracted 15 000 ANC supporters, while about 10 000 marched on the Union Buildings in Pretoria.

Sapa reports 3 000 turned out for a similar march in Bloemfontein and 1 000 in Port Elizabeth.

EDYTH BULBRING
and WILSON ZWANE

The marches brought large sections of central Pretoria and Johannesburg to a standstill.

With the marches the ANC formally launched its programme of mass action, Peace and Freedom Now.

In Pretoria and Johannesburg memorandums were presented calling for a constituent assembly and interim government, an end to violence and the release of

To Page 2

ANC marches

political prisoners.

The Pretoria march was led by the ANC deputy president's wife Winnie Mandela and ANC executive members Joe Slovo, Ruth Mompati and Pallo Jordan.

Security forces monitored the Pretoria march and escorted demonstrators the length of the 3km route.

The only incident was one in which a man holding placards with right-wing slogans was removed by police and later released.

Hennie Botha, deputy director-general of the President's Office, accepted a memorandum from Mandela and Slovo.

Mandela told marchers in front of the Union Buildings the ANC had not said it would talk to government at any cost. If the violence was not stopped, it would have to reconsider its position, she said.

Addressing government fears about ANC mass action, Slovo said the march proved that democracy was not dangerous.

Memorandums handed over at Johannesburg City Hall and John Vorster Square accused government of not being fit to manage the transition to a post-apartheid SA. They said government, though an essential player in the resolution of the country's problems, was engaged in a process of

trying to smash all those committed to democracy.

"Our people never trusted you (President F W de Klerk) and your government and since the Pretoria Minute the little trust that was beginning to emerge has been wiped out. Your motives are becoming suspect and our people are questioning your sincerity and our wisdom in negotiating with you," the statement said.

"It is now more urgent than ever before that an interim government be established to restore our people's trust in the unfolding negotiation process," the ANC said.

After the memorandum was handed in at John Vorster Square, ANC general secretary Alfred Nzo told the cheering crowd the march disproved the government's propaganda machinery which sought to show mass action should not be allowed.

Sapa reports that London academic Andrew Willis, 29, was detained briefly by police during the march in Pretoria.

Police bundled him and anti-ANC placards he had been displaying into a car and whisked him away when they encountered him along the route of the march in Vermeulen Street.

● Picture: Page 3
● Comment: Page 8

FOCUS ON MASS ACTION

Defiance in 1990: Fewer people, wider sweep

While 1990's mass mobilisation campaign may not be as visible as that of previous years, it certainly seems to be effective.

JO-ANNE COLLINGE
reports

MASS mobilisation has become the bone of contention in the present pre-negotiation phase. Is it merely a useful stick which the government can use to beat the African National Congress — a notion with little basis in reality?

Or is it a prevalent form of political action which may affect the balance of forces at the negotiating table?

As President FW de Klerk and the ANC's Nelson Mandela sat down to disagree about the issue a fortnight ago, there wasn't the visible tide of defiance of a year earlier. Public protest marches in late 1990 are a shadow of their 1989 Defiance Campaign past.

Nor is there an equivalent of the mass euphoria and spontaneous conflict that characterised Mandela's first days at large.

Nor yet the constant street battles, the empty schools and the climate of ungovernability of the 1985/86 years.

In fact several recent "occasions" in the democratic calendar have been of modest proportions — especially those which took place in the main urban centres.

But if things are really that tame, how is it that as many — if not more — community councillors have abandoned their positions at this point in time as in the crisis years of 1984/6? By the end of October 685 positions on black councils — or 37 percent of a total of 1 867 — were vacant. The number has increased since then — the whole of Mhluzi council in the Eastern Transvaal has gone, for instance, as has the high-profile mayor of Daveyton, Tom Boya.

While there is no exactly comparable figure for the mid-1980s, between September 1984 and May 1985, according to official figures, a total of 197 councillors resigned.

There is a tendency to ascribe the recent resignations to blatant "intimidation" — and attacks on councillors' homes certainly still occur.

More significant is the context of community action in which many of the council resignations take place.

In Mhluzi, for instance, authorities responded to the rent and service tariff boycott in the area by cutting electricity and water supplies. Under the co-ordination of the Mhluzi Civic Association, residents retaliated with a consumer boycott of white-owned stores and a five-day stayaway last



Tumahole's children join the protest against the decision by Parys Town Council to cut the townships' water supply

Photo: JUSTIN SHOLK

Throughout the Free State and Transvaal towns like Brits and Heidelberg organised land invasions have taken place, forcing the authorities to allocate land to tens of thousands of homeless people.

Even in the relatively unorganised Western Transvaal there are rent boycotts in Klerksdorp, Wolmaranstad and Leeudoringstad — with consumer boycotts in the last two, according to Lawyers for Human Rights organiser Levi Present.

In the Potchefstroom township of Ikageng last month the Civic Association of the Southern Transvaal (Cast) march in the campaign against black local authorities drew a crowd estimated by local sources to be about 10 000-strong.

Further west, the Northern Cape community of Huhudi suspended its consumer boycott once it became known that public facilities in the town of Vryburg would be declared open to all races. The rent boycott continued, civic association spokesman Darkey Afrika confirmed this week, together with a gradual implementation of plans to occupy vacant land in the township.

Rent boycotts, suspension of services and consumer boycotts are to be found in many towns of the Eastern Cape and Northern Transvaal. In Port Elizabeth, for instance, the rent protests in the Northern Areas, which were violently countered and led to riots claiming 49 lives in September, are still in force.

In Khayelitsha increases in rent and service charges led to boycotts and calls for the removal of Mali Hoza and town clerk Graham Lawrence — and to a mass march at the end of October, when police and residents clashed.

In sum, it is clear that mass action is no phantom. But it is also not, in this phase, quasi-insurrectionary as it was in 1985/6. And the main urban centres — with the exception perhaps of parts of the Peninsula, the East Rand, the Vaal and some Pretoria townships — are no longer the main locus of popular action.

The action tends to be reactive, but is often combined with politically enterprising demands. The trigger may be the suspension of services or housing shortages, but the political demand for the creation of non-racial local authorities offering greater public resources to black residents sits very comfortably with these grievances.

In many areas it has been the established civic associations that have acted, with the ANC branches usually a late (but increasingly prominent) arrival on the scene.

The slightly more liberal political climate has made it possible for organisations to resort to a combination of actions in support of their demands — boycotts interchange with marches, petitions and more directly challenging action, such as sit-ins or the dumping of night-soil on councillors' lawns.

As President FW de Klerk and the ANC's Nelson Mandela sat down to disagree about the issue a fortnight ago, there wasn't the visible tide of defiance of a year earlier. Public protest marches in late 1990 are a shadow of their 1989 Defiance Campaign past. *Witbank 7/12-13/12/90*

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The deadlock was broken by the intervention of Middelburg Steel, whose representative, Mark Drewell, said the company saw the situation deteriorating in a way that was "not desirable for the entire Middelburg community". Middelburg Steel agreed to pay the service charge arrears of R37 000 so that electricity can be reconnected.

The civic association agreed that residents would pay an interim flat rate for services and negotiate a longer term rate with the township administrator. The Mhluzi council members announced their resignation and asked the province to appoint an administrator in their place.

Before the settlement was reached, however, a women's protest march in Mhluzi had been forcibly dispersed and one person had been killed.

At least four other Eastern Transvaal towns are reported to be affected by consumer boycotts — Witbank, Waterval Boven, Belfast and Bethal.

Some weeks back teachers at Witbank staged a mass three-week sit-in to demand the authorities address serious shortcomings in educational facilities. According to community sources, about 420 teachers occupied a single school in the area and the executive committee of the Witbank Teachers' Union spent the same period in the local school inspectors' office. They relented in

Witbank 7/12-13/12/90
their protest only when senior education officials began to engage in discussions with them.

Nor is the action in the Eastern Transvaal confined to the towns. The homeland areas of Bushbuckridge and Acornhoek have witnessed mass protest marches in the last month. According to ANC Eastern Transvaal spokesman Joe Nkuma, at Acornhoek residents of Lebowa and Gazankulu marched in their tens of thousands to demand an end to the homeland system and — perhaps more importantly — access to clean drinking water.

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Witbank 7/12-13/12/90
Tumahole's children join the protest against the decision by Parys Town Council to cut the townships' water supply



Photo: JUSTIN SHOLK

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Even before the State of Emergency was scrapped, the practice of automatically detaining the leaders of popular campaigns ceased.

The possibility of local-level negotiations has been opened up once more (after PW Botha firmly put the lid on such moves in the mid-1980s) — and local business interests under pressure of direct mass action have often acted as catalysts in resolving grievances.

There is a marked swing towards adult participation in township campaigns, typified perhaps by the degree to which teachers have now embraced the causes which their pupils championed some years ago.

The present mass action may involve fewer people, but it encompasses a broader sweep of the country than any prior wave of campaigning.

And, says the ANC's Nkuma, it is wishful thinking on the part of the government to suppose it can be stopped by any pre-condition to talks. "The argument of the government is irrelevant because we still don't have a parliament. Our only parliament remains the streets, the mines and the factories."

As Gus Silber is on leave, his column, Off The Wall, will not appear for the rest of the year

Witbank 7/12-13/12/90
their buying power to the white town again. The local ANC Youth League is talking of militant direct action. Interim chairman Thami Phahiso told Sapa: "We are going to apply every strategy which is at our disposal, including militant action. As a revolutionary organisation we do not have confidence anymore in these negotiations to resolve the crisis in Maokeng."

In Bloemfontein, a four-week consumer boycott ended in mid-October, with the Bloemfontein council facilitating the meeting of the demands of the Mangaung Civic Association. While residents agreed to pay for electricity, the council agreed to lay on

stung into action by threatened or actual service cuts. In Kroonstad's Maokeng township — which accommodates some 100 000 residents — the suspension of water and electricity supplies a month ago caused an immediate work-stayaway. Services were briefly resumed, then again suspended. When summonses were issued against 45 residents last week, youths began burning commercial vehicles in the township.

Maokeng residents are sticking to their month-old consumer boycott, insisting that only a switch-on of services and undertaking to negotiate a settlement will release

temporary water supplies to the huge shack settlement of Freedom Square and the provincial authorities undertook to plan for permanent provision to the area.

The agreement effectively by-passed the Mangaung Town Council, which has for months refused to supply water to the shack towns. The civic association holds that it is a "contradiction in terms" to negotiate with a council whose resignation it is demanding.

The shack settlements themselves are the result of popular action. They were created by the homeless under the guidance of the civic association, which negotiated the permanence of the settlements and their formal lay-out with the province.



To talk or not dilemma for PAC meeting

From MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Crucial decisions face Pan Africanist Congress delegates today at the start of a three-day national conference.

One of the most important and far-reaching decisions will be whether to join constitutional negotiations.

So far, the PAC has been one of the most significant absentees from the talks about talks, and one of the most vociferous critics of the ANC's decision to engage in President De Klerk's constitutional initiative.

But its absence from the table has meant its own interests have not been addressed and delegates will have to decide this weekend whether or not to open talks with the government, identify its obstacles to dialogue and seek the rewards, not least the political prominence, that the ANC has won from the process so far.

Debate could be divisive on this crucial issue and might be held behind closed doors.

The decision was put off at the PAC's Harare meeting earlier this year to give the movement's "structures" more time to consider it. The debate within the movement suggests there is no unanimity.

Some want to engage in the process, others are opposed. It is not expected that the decision will be postponed again.

The government will be watching the congress with close interest: the PAC's participation in negotiations in 1991 will make an important contribution to the overall credibility of the government's commitment to ensuring the talks are as inclusive as possible.

Another key matter to be settled at the congress which is being held at Shareworld, the entertainment complex between Johannesburg and Soweto, is the election of a new

leader following the death recently of Mr Zeph Mothopeng.

Possible contenders are acting president Mr Clarence Makwethu, exiled national chairman Mr Johnson Mlambo, general secretary Mr Benny Alexander and nation executive committee members Mr Mbandazayo Mahlubi and Mr Mark Shinnars.

Perhaps the most important aspect of Mr Mothopeng's successor will be his personality, because if the PAC does enter negotiations, much will depend on the leader's relationship with President De Klerk, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and other leaders.

What will clearly have a significant influence on the election is the relatively poor representation at congress of the exiled membership, even though delegates will be free to elect exiles to key posts.

Political violence and organisational matters will also feature prominently.

● See page 9.

FIM 712190 (11A)
the Faculty of Management & Public Administration and the Faculty of Business & Public Administration. He also said he would like to see a parallel to the school, perhaps called the Wits Public Sector School (*Business* August 17).

At the University of Pretoria, the business school focuses on the private sector and leaves public sector training up to the Department of Public Administration.

"There's quite a different environment between the public and private sector," says Petrus Brynard, a senior lecturer in public administration at Tukkies. "There's a different value system. (Separating the two programmes) may lead to a lot of duplication, but there are a lot of differences, mainly stemming from goals and missions."

Brynard says his department would welcome the competition that Wits could provide. "There is a lot of need for public management, especially on the local government level. There is a lot of room for everyone."

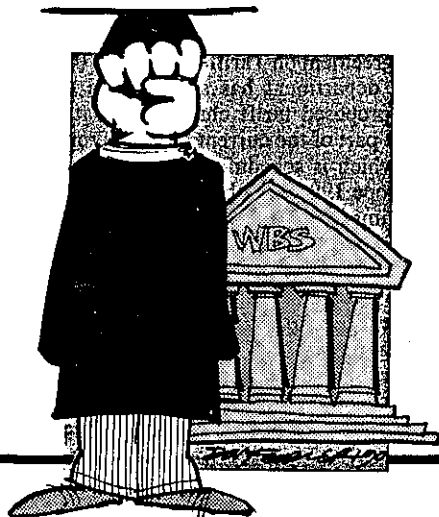
Maureen Sullivan

WITS BUSINESS SCHOOL LINKING WITH THE ANC

The deep-pocketed Swedish government is considering funding a programme to train government workers at the Wits Business School. But since Sweden never funds universities or other government institutions in SA, it's the school's ANC links that may bring in the money. FIM 712190

The school has applied to Sweden to fund the establishment of a new Public Policy and Development Administration Programme, which is scheduled to begin in 1992. One of the developers of the programme is Patrick FitzGerald, a recently returned ANC exile.

And though there is a loud "no comment"



FIM 712190 (11A)
from the school on any suggestion that there may be a connection with the ANC, there are signs that the programme will adopt a pro-ANC model.

FitzGerald, a Wits graduate who was previously based at the Liverpool Institute of Public Administration & Management, writes in the recent issue of the school's *Business Alert* publication: "The ANC, as a likely future government, must be given access to the senior civil service and must be able even at this stage to comment on appointments and structures."

In an interview, FitzGerald reiterated his views on the predominance of the ANC. He says that using the concept of official opposition, "the ANC is the alternative government." The PAC, Azapo, DP and other opposition groups also should have some access, but "they are not quite as important."

He believes access to the top ranks of government employment should come about right away through one-off affirmative action. As for the people already holding those jobs: "They will not necessarily be replaced; some will retire and others may go into the private sector. They may have to add a few people." All this seems to reinforce fears that SA will have a hugely swollen bureaucracy under any future ANC-aligned government.

Christina Hoffman, of the Swedish legation, says ANC involvement in the proposal is a factor in relaying applications to officials in Stockholm. "Yes, it does matter. It's one of the factors that make it interesting. It adds to the confidence."

FitzGerald says the programme is not funded by the ANC. He says it is getting outside "bridging" funding, but referred questions on the source of the financing to the school's dean, Keith Yeomans.

Yeomans referred requests for an interview to Nick Binedell, a senior lecturer in corporate strategy who is helping to establish the programme. Binedell refused to comment on ANC participation, but said his group was "consulting a wide range of organisations, institutions, universities and the State to think through the nature of the programme." He adds that funding was being provided by overseas supporters and foundations as well as the university.

But the question arises: should a business school be in the business of training bureaucrats?

No, say critics. A business school should not muddy its waters by delving into the training of government workers. The top MBA programmes in the US keep a strict line between the two disciplines. Yale University's School of Organisation & Management was panned by its alumni in a recent study by *Business Week*. "Yale still grants a master's degree in public and private management rather than in business, but (the dean) is trying to bring the programme closer to the mainstream," *Business Week* concludes.

In August, Yeomans said the Wits Business School was considering changing its name and some of the possibilities included

SOUTH Africa is now a long way down the political road to letting bygones be bygones. Those across the spectrum who have committed acts of violence in the name of a political cause can expect to be indemnified from prosecution.

The same maturity has yet to be found on the land issue where the ANC land commission would want to embark on a large-scale programme (one person, one farm) of nationalising productive land in the name of redistribution and fairness.

There is an interesting contrast in the approaches of the Development Bank of Southern Africa and the ANC land commission on the question of land utilisation in a restructured SA.

Both begin from the point of view that gross inequalities in land allocation need to be addressed.

The Development Bank's point of departure, though, is that this should be done without disrupting productive farming units. Its model attempts to create a market for farmers and which will bring the black farmer onto the land, but also attempts to ensure that the economy does not lose farmers who are successful food producers.

The ANC, on the other hand, attempts to right the wrongs of the past by suggesting land be bought by the state (25% cash, the rest in government stock) and allocated to black farmers.

A Land Court would presumably attempt to bring some equity to proceedings, to decide which unfortunate white farmers would be made to sell their land, and which fortunate black farmers would benefit.

Development Bank chairman Simon Brand says that in its discussions with the ANC land commission, the bank emphasised that dislodging productive farmers would harm the economy. He says a policy which

ANC's slow march to a marketable land programme



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Bloddy 7/12/90

KEVIN DAVIE

would result in large-scale confiscation of land from whites may not necessarily produce sufficient blacks who want to farm. "We are saying there is already land available. Let's first see who wants to buy this land."

He says the Development Bank model began from the point of view that it was not enough just to scrap the Land Acts; the required financial support had to be considered, and it was essential not to disrupt agricultural production. The cost of the confiscatory approach would be astronomical, Brand says.

Hence the Development Bank plan. Land such as the 2-million hectares acquired by the state for apartheid land consolidation reasons, but not yet allocated, should be sold to black farmers, with Land Bank finance and supported by agricultural extension programmes. The bank believes that such affirmative action programmes could immediately release a sizeable proportion of arable land, and that the cost to the state could be as little as between R1bn and R2bn.

This suggestion has not impressed

the ANC land commission. Its document responding to the Development Bank position says the present government might welcome the black commercial takeover of about 40 000 less profitable white farming units.

"It would cure one of the regime's major political and economic headaches, the pressure to support white farming incomes. The proposals carry minimum state costs."

The ANC goes on: "It is even cheaper than the implementation of the Lancaster House agreement in which the state incurred heavy costs buying out whites on a willing buyer/willing seller basis to make land available for resettlement."

Rural dwellers would become second-class "discarded people" in an urban industrially biased economy. The agrarian economy would probably be dominated by "agribusiness."

The ANC's own position is best explained in a summary report of a

land commission workshop. The workshop, which met over six days in Harare, released its initial findings last month. Delegates addressed themselves to a range of issues, including the need to satisfy land hunger and redress discriminatory land occupation, and the need for mechanisms for the return of land to victims of forced removals, for a land claims commission to adjudicate claims, and for an investigation to restructure agriculture to make it more equitable, economically viable and sustainable.

There was general agreement among participants that land should be nationalised, and then given back to the people. "It was strongly felt that there should be a principle of one person, one farm. This should be worked towards if it is not feasible to implement immediately," the workshop document states.

The workshop argued that the advantages of nationalisation included providing easy access to land without people needing money or taking heavy loans, increased state power enabling it to intervene more effec-

tively in land issues, and making land a nationally held resource, not a commodity to be bought and sold.

It is easy to condemn the views of the workshop, particularly as societies which have tried this approach are now actively discarding non-market methods and embracing free enterprise, but some positive points can be discerned.

The first is that the ANC has emphasised that these are preliminary positions for further debate.

A second point is that the workshop noted a string of disadvantages which land nationalisation could bring. These include that nationalisation could create insecurity, even a general economic collapse, that state power would be increased which "may not be a good thing" because of the potential for the abuse of power, that producers would no longer be able to use land as collateral with commercial banks, that loss of land by some producers might lead to recriminatory action, that insecure tenure might lead to land abuse where farmers could take a short-term exploitative view of land and soil use, and that tenants might be reluctant to improve their land.

A final serious disadvantage is identified by the ANC: land nationalisation would have an impact on the financial system, "leading to its partial collapse, which would require a financial strategy to prevent the worst effects of this collapse." This would be because nationalisation would abolish property values. "The farmers stop paying bond payments and the Land Bank could collapse," it said.

The problem defined, a two-fold challenge now exists: to convince the ANC that a market system will not carry the disastrous risks of nationalisation, and that, as with politically inspired crime, the approach should be to put the past behind, and to concentrate on building on what is already productive.

Document for discussion (11A)

B 1024 7/12/90
A DRAFT ANC document on the proposed easing of sanctions, reported yesterday, was only a discussion document and did not necessarily reflect ANC policy, a spokesman said.

Joel Netshitenzhe, of the ANC's information and publicity department, said the document — Managing the process of transition — would be circulated at all levels before being tabled at the national consultative conference this month.

He said the leak of the document to the Press was unfortunate as it was purely for discussion.

"There is nothing hair-raising about it," Netshitenzhe said.

The document proposes gradually reducing sanctions and easing trade and sports barriers from next year. — Sapa.

Can the ANC weave its strands into a thread?

w/ Maul 7/12 - 13/12/90

11A

“It could be a jamboree,” a national executive committee member said of next weekend’s African National Congress conference. “Preparations are going well. It is going to be very representative and will be the first time we bring together all the elements of the movement,” said a key organiser.

“I secretly think it will not be a bad thing if it dissolves into chaos,” another senior ANC member said. “It will show the external leaders that they can’t do things this way. They will have to be more democratic and more responsive to the membership. We (internal leaders) would never have let this happen.”

These conflicting views reflect the diversity of the 1 500 delegates who will gather in Johannesburg for the first internal conference of the ANC for three decades.

It will be a momentous event: Mohammed Valli, secretary of the ANC’s political committee and full-time conference organiser, is justified in highlighting the significance of drawing together for the first the ANC’s new internal branches, its internal underground, the exile movement (pending still-awaited indemnities), the military wing, the comrades in military camps, former Robben Island prisoners, the ANC’s international representatives from 40 countries around the world, and its alliance partners, the United Democratic Front, Congress of South African Trade Unions and the South African Communist Party.

It also comes at a crucial time, when the organisation has to confront the many organisational difficulties it has faced since its unbanning on February 2, and the unease among many of its members about the fruitfulness of the ANC’s engagement in talks with President FW de Klerk’s government.

The ANC leadership is likely to get a shock. Few national executive committee (NEC) members attend branch meetings and most are still holed up in hotels around town, having little contact with the vast bulk of members. Deputy president Nelson Mandela, surrounded by and large by sycophants who see their political future reliant on his goodwill, has been sheltered.

He and others are likely to be taken aback by the hard questions certain to be asked by many members and the level of unease over the ANC’s top-down style of leadership, more appropriate to an illegal organisation. Cadres are used to the more participative, consultative style of former Mass Democratic Movement leaders.

Branches feel confused and left out of the negotiating process, which is being con-

The moment of truth looms for the ANC next weekend as disparate elements gather to distil a programme of action for the immediate future. **ANTON HARBER** explores some of the nuances

ducted on the level of task groups that meet behind closed doors — a far cry from the tradition of mass mobilisation.

The problems facing the ANC are substantial. Those being articulated by members include:

- Organisational disarray and the shortfall in recruitment (membership is around 200 000, far less than the aim of one million). The organisation has launched 603 branches and 12 of its proposed 14 regional structures, but much of this has been done hurriedly in the last few weeks and discussion and preparation for the conference has been uneven.

- Tensions between the different elements of the ANC: returning exiles — not all of them the most competent — feeling they are owed ANC jobs; internal activists, resentful of exclusion from some of these posts; underground workers and former prisoners who have become used to a totally different style of operation; military cadres uncertain of their future; and allies who grumble that the alliance exists in name only.

- A lack of clear strategic direction, particularly the poor response to recent township violence and the apparent inability of the ANC to deal with allegations of security force misconduct.

- The exclusion of ordinary members from the process of political change — the path is being set in closed meetings between leaders rather than in the movement’s traditional area of strength: on the streets.

- An inability to ensure the implementation of the Pretoria Minute. There is grave unease about the remaining restrictions on free political activity (such as continued detentions, allegations of police brutality, bans on public gatherings) and the delays in the release of political prisoners.

- De Klerk’s gains in the international arena, one of the pillars of ANC strategy and one in which it has had enormous success in the past.

Overall, there is a strong feeling that these problems have allowed the government to seize the initiative and dictate the course of negotiations. The ANC will face demands that it find a programme of action that reverses this.

In short, the ANC faces a crisis of leader-

ship. Unless the NEC weaves these strands together into a coherent organisation with clear strategic direction and confidence in its leadership, it will continue to blunder on in a situation where the government is gaining strength and the ANC is losing it.

This conference presents the ANC with the opportunity to deal with some of these problems. The question is whether the leadership will rise to this challenge.

Fundamental to the issue is whether there will be enough time to do this in a hastily-arranged two-day conference of 1 500 people. To do so, conference organisers have cleared the agenda of ceremony and pageant: there will be an opening session with key speeches by President Oliver Tambo and Mandela; the delegates will then break into six workshops to deal with the six key agenda items (strategy and tactics; negotiations; recent violence; ANC organisation; foreign policy; a programme of action for 1991); then they will gather on the final afternoon for a plenary session which will attempt to pull all of this together.

One drawback is that, with the downgrading in status of this gathering from a national conference to a consultative conference, issues of organisation and leadership — such as a new constitution, changes in the NEC and other elections — have been postponed to June next year.

This must hamper the ANC’s ability to deal with the situation. A major part of the problem is that the bulk of the delegates have probably never seen key office-bearers, let alone voted them into office.

Many of the organisational problems will not be solved until there is fresh blood in the NEC, which is currently laden with members ripe for graceful retirement.

ANC members express mixed feelings about the likelihood of the conference meeting the enormous challenges it faces. A number who have seen the draft strategy and tactics document circulated to branches are in despair about its thinness.

Hopefulness comes from those who see the conference focusing on campaigns and mass action, welding the disparate protests around the country into a broad national campaign for “Peace and Freedom Now”. They argue that this campaign, if prioritised, will focus ANC branches on real activities rather than allowing them to dwell on problems, encourage individual members to take part in the process of change, force the government to take ANC demands more seriously and provide a testing initiation for local leaders.

They also see this as the only way to cut through an overcrowded agenda.

AWB sends chilling warning to Mandela

Star 7/12/90

Political Reporter

Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Eugene TerreBlanche has warned ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela personally that the AWB's commandos would "deal with you fast and efficiently" if the ANC were to march over "Boer territory".

In a letter which was faxed to the ANC's Johannesburg head office, and which was released to the media, Mr TerreBlanche said the AWB reserved the right to defend itself in view of continued "blatant intimidation".

The letter was faxed for the

attention of Mr Mandela or SACP leader Joe Slovo or ANC and SACP executive member Mac Maharaj.

Mr TerreBlanche said the AWB was in possession of a copy of the ANC's directive to branches which noted that "the strength of the ANC on the ground must be felt and feared".

In a chilling warning to the ANC and SACP, Mr TerreBlanche said: "(We) wish to inform you that you cannot scare the Boer people in their own country.

"Should you dare to inflict harm on any member of our nation, and the SAP and SADF are unable to defend us due to the disloyalty of the Government to their nation, then our comman-

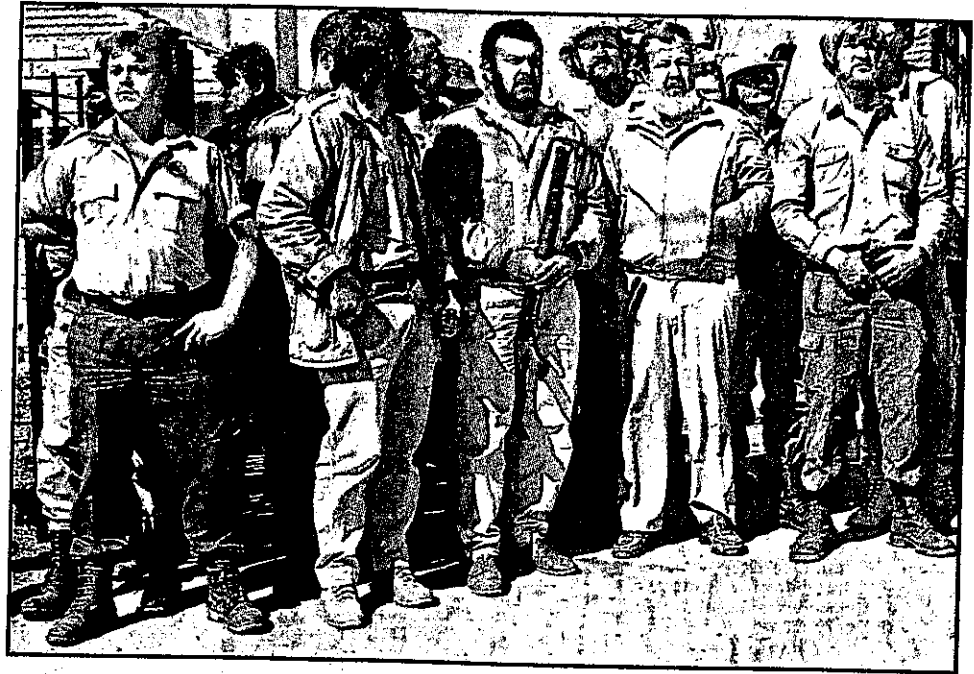
dos will deal with you fast and efficiently.

"The territory on which you intend to march is the property of the Boer nation.

"Promises and expectations created by the De Klerk Government are not recognised by the AWB as they are acting without a mandate from the electorate.

"We reserve the right to defend ourselves when you continue with this kind of blatant intimidation.

"We are aware that your marches are nothing but rehearsals with the intent to start your communist-inspired bloody revolution against our nation in their own country. You have been warned."



On the watch . . . AWB leader Eugene TerreBlanche and his commandos look on as a protest march goes by in Welkom earlier this year. Picture: Herbert Mabuza

Eyes of the world focus on PAC

Deciding the future

Sowetan 7/12/90

(11A)

SOUTH Africa takes one more tiny step towards democracy this weekend when the PAC holds its first conference in the country in 31 years.

Its last congress in South Africa was on December 19 1959, when it decided to embark on the anti-pass campaign that led to the Sharpeville massacre and the banning of the PAC and the ANC.

I remember that congress at the Orlando Communal Hall in Soweto. A Mrs Walaza stood up and said that if the men were afraid to go to jail and fight the pass laws, they must give the women the pants to wear and they would do it.

Emotional

It was an emotional meeting.

This weekend's conference could be just as significant.

The ANC was due to hold its conference next weekend, but it has now been down-graded to a consultative meeting.

This is a step towards democracy because the liberation movements have been operating in the shadows, running guerilla armies fighting against white rule.

And everybody can tell you that, at the best of times, armies are not democratic institutions. Guerilla armies are probably worse.

It was difficult for the organisations to bring their members together to take collective decisions. The leadership could not be changed at normal elections.

Ironic

The irony was that these organisations were fighting for democracy and yet they were unable to practise democracy themselves.

Now they have more space: they can anticipate their goal of a democratic South Africa by accounting to their members, by conducting elections, and by taking decisions democratically.

A culture of democracy must be nurtured in this country.

On one side there is growing hope that the nation is moving slowly, painfully to true democracy; on the other there are massive problems that make many despair.

There are the expectations that were raised by State President FW de Klerk in his February 2 speech; there is also pessimism among his opponents.

There is the exhilaration of a people very close to victory; there is the tragedy of the senseless violence sweeping the black townships.

The PAC has to define its role in this drama.

It has to decide what

role it can play to stop the carnage in the townships. It was part of the meeting called by Archbishop Desmond Tutu at Bishopscourt in Cape Town last week.

The PAC was one of the organisations that committed themselves to peace.

Since that Thursday however the East Rand,

among other places, has been torn by some more violence.

What are the people and organisations that took part in the summit doing about this violence?

The conference takes place when De Klerk has out-manoeuvred the liberation movements and turned their own weapons against them.

The OAU and the UN demanded last year that the Government meet five preconditions to create a climate conducive to negotiations. It has met only some of them.

But even before creating this climate, De Klerk has managed to extract one major concession from the ANC - the suspension of the armed

struggle - and has broken the international isolation of this country.

He has been able to erode the sanctions campaign and he is still drawing blood from his opponents.

He is not releasing all political prisoners and allowing exiles to return unconditionally, as required by the Hararc Declaration.

He is still using his security legislation with impunity.

It is in this climate that the PAC must define its role.

The decisions will be tough. And these decisions are taken under a

bright spotlight with the whole world watching.

All sorts of pressures have been put on the PAC to decide one way or another. Delegates will have to push these pressures aside and decide in the best interests of South Africa, not just of the PAC.

PERSPECTIVE



Launch of
Soutan
new ANC
7/11/90
branch

THE Tshiawelo branch of the ANC will be launched during a three-day fete at the local community hall starting tonight. (114)

The event starts with a "Health Weekend" banquet that will include speeches by ANC officials and a local doctor.

A three-course meal will be served to guests at R12 a couple, R7 a person and R2 for children.

An "African Consumer Health" workshop will be held at the same venue between noon and 2pm tomorrow. It will be followed by a beauty contest and leadership awards.

The highlight of the occasion will be the launch of the branch at 1pm on Sunday.

PAC exiles deplore violence

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff

11A
02/12/90

Senior Pan Africanist Congress leaders, who returned to South Africa this week to attend the movement's national congress, yesterday deplored inter-organisational violence and renewed the PAC's offer to mediate between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP).

Administrative secretary Joe Mkhwanazi and economic affairs secretary Mfanasekhaya Gqobose told a press conference in Johannesburg that the violence gave ammunition to those who believed blacks were killing one another and were incapable of running the country.

Mr Mkhwanazi, Mr Gqobose and social welfare secretary Nomvu Booi arrived in South Africa on Wednesday night.

The PAC leaders denounced the "senseless and unnatural" violence, saying their organisation believed in the right of all organisations "no matter how small" to exist.

Mr Mkhwanazi said although they were very happy to be back home after spending more than two decades in exile, they had been struck by the fact that apartheid was still very much alive. Star 11/2/90

The PAC's three-day congress starts at Shareworld this morning.

Makwetu states PAC's stance against regime

Pillars of apartheid are pain in the neck

11A

Sowetan 7/12/90

FOCUS

Mr President, a year ago this assembly, meeting in a special session, adopted the Consensus Resolution which called for the total eradication of the apartheid system.

It called on the apartheid regime to immediately and unconditionally meet certain basic demands so as to create a climate conducive to negotiations. It also spelt out certain steps that were required to ensure that apartheid was on its way out.

The regime, in the last year, met some of the pre-conditions. It unbanned the PAC, ANC and 34 other organisations, lifted the state of emergency and selectively released some political prisoners.

The regime has not unconditionally released all political prisoners. It has not allowed the unconditional return of political exiles. Moreover, it has not removed troops from the African townships.

Security Act

On the other hand, arrests and detention-without-trial have increased. The notorious Internal Security Act remains in force. Violence has dramatically escalated.

The report of the South African Institute of Race Relations just published reveals that on the average, for 1990, 10 persons were killed daily.

Our own investigation into these escalating violence reveal two causes - first and foremost the apartheid policies and structures remain the principal cause of violence in the country.

Secondly, a tendency among some circles to impose their political hegemony through the use of force and intimidation has also contributed to the escalation of the violence.

Mr President, the apartheid rulers of South Africa want to give the impression that much has changed since the speech of De Klerk on February 2 1990. What

are the so-called specific changes and what do they amount to?

It is true that the PAC and the ANC and some 34 other organisations have been unbanned. Con-

PAC acting-president Mlamli Clarence Makwetu this week addressed the General Assembly of the United Nations. This is an edited version of his address, and could indicate the path discussion will take at the PAC congress which starts today.

cretely speaking what does the unbanning entail?

Yes, we can now recruit and organise members. We recruit and organise them to do what? They cannot vote, the regime is opposed to them striking, marching and engaging in any form of struggle.

The lifting of the state of emergency does not create a free political climate because of the existence of a plethora of oppressive laws that still exist on the apartheid statute books.

Mr President, the oppressed and dispossessed people of Azania as well as the international community have consistently demanded the total eradication of the apartheid system.

Apartheid to the oppressed people of Azania is concretely manifested in the following:-

The Population Registration Act, the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936, the Group Areas Act, the Bantu Education Act, the racially constituted tricameral parliament system and the bantustans.

These acts represent both the ideology and practice of apartheid. All these remain intact. As regards these pillars of apartheid, therefore, nothing has changed in the country.

Instead of accepting the universal principle of genuine non-racialism, the leaders of the mi-

nority regime are still talking about minority rights. In the context of apartheid, South Africa's minority rights mean the preservation of white dominance and privileges.

Is apartheid not based on white prejudices? The regime rejects the democratic formula of majority rule through the exercise of one-person one-vote on a com-

mon voters roll.

Mr President, what then is the path that we should pursue to ensure the early demise of this evil system and replace it with a genuine non-racial democracy where all individuals will enjoy protected rights?

The UN Consensus Resolution adopted last December should act as a term of reference.

The path we should pursue is to demand that the pre-conditions laid down for the regime to unconditionally meet in order to create a conducive climate must be unconditionally met. The regime should not be allowed to turn these pre-conditions into negotiation issues.

Prisoners

Once the regime has unconditionally met these pre-conditions, namely the unconditional release of all political prisoners, the unconditional return of all political exiles and the withdrawal of racist troops from the townships, then we can proceed to the next step, once the conducive climate has been created.

We must reach an agreed mutual cessation of hostilities as provided for in the Harare Declaration and UN Consensus Resolutions.

The Declaration does not demand from us unilateral suspen-

sion or renunciation of the legitimate armed struggle, but that there should be an agreed mutual cessation of hostilities. The PAC remains committed to this principle.

The Pan Africanist Congress of Azania has consistently maintained that what has to be negotiated is the new non-racial democratic constitution.

It has called for the establishment of an elected Constituent Assembly, elected by all Azanians over the age of 18 voting on a common voters roll.

This elected Constituent Assembly would be truly representative and have the mandate to draw up the new non-racial democratic constitution.

The PAC intends to convene a Congress of the Oppressed early next year to unite our people around the demand for an elected Constituent Assembly.

The PAC, since its inception, had advocated for a principled united front with all those having a contradiction with the apartheid rulers. We remain committed to this fundamental principle.

The PAC firmly believes that the decisive factor is the internal factor. The external factor is a complementary factor, but a very important complementary factor. It was internal resistance, including the armed struggle, international isolation and sanctions that compelled the regime to adopt a reformist posture.

Any relaxation of these measures will only prolong the agony and perpetuate apartheid. The PAC is for intensified sanctions and total political, economic and cultural isolation of the apartheid regime.

In particular, the PAC maintains that the oils and arms embargo must be intensified, foreign loans and investments withdrawn and denied to the regime, campaign for a ban on purchase of South African gold stepped up and the cultural and sporting boycott maintained.

Watershed PAC congress

(11A)

Sowetan 7/12/90

THE national congress of the Pan Africanist Congress this weekend could change the complexion of the peace process in this country.

The congress, which starts today at Shareworld, outside Johannesburg, is a culmination of months of deliberations within PAC structures on whether the movement should accept the Government's invitation to the negotiating table.

While some senior members of the organisation admit that there has been pressure from many quarters for the PAC to enter into negotiations, it seems very unlikely that it will abandon its minimum demand for the convening of a Constituent Assembly.

Judging by the theme of the three-day congress - "Forward to a Demo-

By SY MAKARINGE

cratically Elected Constituent Assembly," - it is very clear that the movement will insist on this demand before it can consider sitting down around the table with the Government.

PAC leaders have repeatedly stated in public debates that they did not want President F W de Klerk as "both a player and a referee at the same time."

Another issue which is expected to receive serious attention is that of a "principled" united front to map out a common strategy against the Government.

While stressing that the PAC needed to form alliances with other liberation movements, its general secretary, Mr Benny Alexander, said the front would have to be based on certain principles.

These included:

- * Encouragement of all forms of struggle, including the armed struggle;

- * Non-collaboration with Government-created structures; and

- * The acceptance of a democratic solution via a constituent assembly.

The organisation will elect a successor to Mr Zeph Mothopeng, the PAC's president who died in October.

Although acting president Mr Clarence Mlamli Makwethu on the surface appears to be the natural choice for the PAC leadership, there are other candidates.

One of them is the chairman of the externally-based central committee, Mr Johnson Mlambo, who is also

chief commander of the PAC's military wing, the Azanian Peoples Liberation Army.

Other leaders include Mr Barney Desai, executive member of the PAC in the Western Cape.

Mr Mark Shinnars, who was convicted with Mothopeng in the marathon Bethal trial in 1978, is another possible choice.

The PAC also boasts outspoken leaders in its external mission. These include administrative secretary Mr Joe Mkhwanazi, secretary for foreign affairs Mr Gora Ebrahim, chief representative to Nigeria Mr Maxwell Nemazivhanadzi and Mr Count Pietersen, chief representative at the observer mission to the United Nations.

Peace may be shortlived

~~30-PA-11A~~

Sowetan 7/12/90

Peace may be shortlived

~~SECRET~~ 11A

Mandela
7/12/90

By MONK NKOMO

SOUTH Africa is moving towards a settlement that will only buy peace for two years and then collapse, according to Mr Eugene Nyathi, a political analyst.

Referring to negotiations between the Government and the African National Congress, Nyathi said the ANC should not have rushed to the negotiation table because they were not ready to negotiate.

"They should have asked the Government to give them at least 10 months to prepare themselves".

Nyathi was speaking at the first anniversary of the Pretoria Media Club on Tuesday night.

"We are headed for a settlement that will buy peace for two years and then collapse."

He said ANC deputy leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, needed dispassionate competent advisors and not "viva brigades".

WE CAN OUP...



NON-FICTION

An incomplete but useful guide to MK

W/Mail 7/12-13/12/90

MK—THE ANC'S ARMED STRUGGLE
by Howard Barrell
(Penguin Forum Series, R14,99)

be expected to) provide a comprehensive picture of the strengths and weaknesses of MK. As instant books go, it does well in providing an overview and some original insights into the 30 years of the African National Congress's armed struggle.

It is necessary to note that Barrell has publicly declared himself to have been a member of the ANC, and its underground, for a decade. Though he is certainly not uncritical, the weakness of his book, even for a 72-page history, is that it tends to gloss over the weaknesses, divisions, miscalculations and strategic errors.

It is divided into four sections. The first, entitled "Submit or fight — 1960-1965" deals with the birth of MK, its initial successes and its defeats at the hands of the state. This chapter does

well in pin-pointing the weaknesses in the ANC's analysis at the time, in particular its under-estimation of the strength of its enemy, but does not provide a real sense of the debates in the movement at the time.

It goes on to focus on "Attempts to get back", looking at its efforts to set up bases outside the country, its campaigns in Rhodesia in the late 1960s and the attempts after the movement's 1969 conference in Morogoro, Tanzania, to infiltrate cadres back into the country.

The third section deals with the impact of the 1976 uprising on the movement, its initial forays back into the country and the nature of the attacks in the period up until 1983. Particularly interesting here is the description of MK camps in Angola and the kind of training they received.

The final chapter, "Knocking on insurrection's door — 1984-1990", is the most fascinating, but also the least adequate, perhaps because of the lack of space available.

It offers a useful sketch of the immense problems faced by MK in losing its forward bases, facing an onslaught from the state's armed and intelligence forces and in attempting to set up an internal underground; the reasons why many combatants abandoned their missions on returning home; and the suspension of the armed struggle.

On the mutiny in the MK camps in 1984 Barrell notes that "some grave human rights abuses occurred", but does not elaborate. Little is said of MK's battles with Unita in Angola, the reasons for its limited success in setting up an integrated military and political underground, the state's successes in infiltrating the movement or the reasons for attacks on civilian targets in the mid-1980s.

Barrell attributes the reduction of armed activity after the release of the Sisulu group of prisoners as a "good faith" step taken prior to negotiations. The other view is that subjective and objective obstacles prevented MK from doing more.

Also left out is any mention of MK's proposals for ending conscription and building a new integrated defence force, first elaborated on at an Idasa conference with SADF officers and others earlier this year.

But despite these gaps MK serves as a useful and readable reference, and as the first history of its kind, a block which others can build on.

Gavin Evans



Icons of the Eighties ... Arnold Schwarzenegger in Conan the Barbarian and Yahoo Serious in Young Einstein

Another view of Nelson M

W/Man 3/12/90 - 13/12/90

11A

THE ALTERNATIVE MANDELA ALBUM compiled by Arnold Benjamin (Argus, R21,95)

THIS is the month when the bookshop shelves are crowded with annuals — anything from diaries and calendars to collections of what publishers claim are the year's best cartoons.

The amusing and prolific newspaper columnist, Arnold Benjamin, has compiled a cross between several types of annuals. It's a satirical book — pictures, cartoons and so forth — which he calls *The Alternative Mandela Album*. He has turned the pictures into cartoons by adding dialogue in balloons in the style of that other satirical alternative magazine, *Private Eye*.

The cover picture is of President FW de Klerk and African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela, with the president's balloon saying, "What are you going to do when we let you out?" and Mandela replying, "Your job, of

course."

My favourite has no visuals. It's the monologue of what could've been said when Mandela met PW Botha last year — an event the ANC leader told me didn't "over-excite" him. It's a monologue because Mandela's side of the conversation could not be reported then, being illegal to quote him (as the editor of *Vrye Weekblad* was reminded by the courts only last week for indirectly quoting South African Communist Party leader Joe Slovo).

In Benjamin's report of that historic meeting with the world's most famous prisoner, the Old Crocodile tells the president-in-waiting:

"Yes, that's a rather nice view of parliament you get from this window, not that you need let its proceedings distract you unduly. Oh, and the red telephone? That gets me through to the SABC-TV newsroom. You've no idea how useful it is for seeing that the news is correctly presented."

Arthur Maimane

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ATURE BOOK
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Thousands of ANC supporters make their way to John Vorster Square, Johannesburg, during the organisation's "March for Freedom and Peace" yesterday. Pic: MOFFAT ZUNGU

Thousands in ANC marches

Sowetan 7/12/90
SOUTH African Communist Party central committee member Mr Mac Maharaj yesterday called for a constituent assembly and an interim government to solve the country's problems.

Addressing thousands of marchers in central Johannesburg yesterday, Maharaj reaffirmed the ANC's seriousness to negotiations with the Government.

But he warned that his organisation "does not want solutions drawn behind closed doors". He and several ANC leaders,

By MATSHUBE MFOLOE and ISMAIL LAGARDIEN

including Ms Barbara Hogan, Mr Alfred Nzo, Mr Ahmed Kathrada and Mr Andrew Mlangeni led the ANC's "March For Freedom and Peace" through the streets of Johannesburg. (IPA) (S)

The procession was closely monitored by Security Police and South African Defence Force members from the rooftop

of Darragh House in Wanderers Street.

A memorandum addressed to Johannesburg's acting town clerk, Mr Graham Collins, was handed in at the City Hall.

At John Vorster Square where a petition was handed over to Colonel Desmond Keyter. He assured the ANC delegation that the memorandum would be "immediately referred" to Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan

● To Page 2

ANC march peaceful

sowetan 7/12/90
● From Page 1

Vlok. (IPA) (S)
MONK NKOMO

reports that SACP general secretary Mr Joe Slovo yesterday told thousands of ANC supporters in Pretoria that the Government must listen to the voice of the oppressed majority and realise that

democracy was not a dangerous game.

Slovo also lauded the police for their responsible behaviour during the peaceful march from Brown Street to the Union Buildings and back.

Shortly after submitting the memorandum containing demands, in-

cluding the setting up of an interim government, Mrs Winnie Mandela said: "We are tired of burying our people everyday and if this violence continues, the peace process will be in jeopardy".

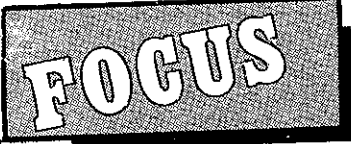
Mandela and Slovo were part of a delegation of 10 which presented the memorandum to Mr Henrie Botha, deputy director general at the State President's Office.

Makwetu states PAC's stance against regime

Pillars of apartheid are pain in the neck

11A

Sowetan 7/12/90



Mr President, a year ago this assembly, meeting in a special session, adopted the Consensus Resolution which called for the total eradication of the apartheid system.

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Political Staff

ALLEGATIONS of a "cabal" within UDF ranks had been made as early as 1985.

Leading UDF and ANC member Mr Patrick Lekota has said that at the time there had also been complaints about undemocratic actions.

But it was not a formal organisation and it would be difficult for him to prove that any person was a member of the cabal, he said in an interview published in yesterday's New Nation.

Mr Lekota said: "There has never been conflict in UDF, particularly on the question of negotiations, as it is being alleged."

The problem of the cabal did not arise this year and "as far as I am aware, the complaints relating to a thing called a cabal go back to as early as 1985, or earlier than that".

"There were people arguing that some seniors of the UDF were taking decisions undemocratically," he said.

Lekota speaks on UDF 'cabal'

CARE Trudy
8/12/90
11A

"Now, because of the state of emergency and so on, formal meetings became difficult to hold.

"That, I believe, was the reason why leaders had to take decisions on their own.

"The membership then complained that they were increasingly receiving instructions and not being part of the decision-making.

"So, the concept of the 'cabal' has been there. It was an issue of a grouping of comrades who were seen by others to be acting undemocratically."

Mr Lekota said there was no conflict between the ANC and UDF.

Arthur Miller: SA is on knife-edge

W/E 12645 8/12/90

11A

Playwright heartened by visit to Mandela



Arthur Miller ... documentary for BBC.

By RAMSAY MILNE
Weekend Argus Foreign Service

NEW YORK. — Playwright Arthur Miller, visiting South Africa to conduct a television documentary for the BBC that will include a lengthy interview with Mr Nelson Mandela, has formed some strong impressions on his first visit to the country — awarding both good and bad marks to South African whites and expressing great enthusiasm for the ANC leader.

In an interview published in the New York Times today, the noted writer says he found South Africa suffused with the same frailties and follies that he has explored in his plays.

"All the wrong choices were made right down the line and now the birds have come home to roost," he said.

As an American arriving from New York, he said he had found that "there's less hypocrisy about racism here perhaps."

But, he said of South African whites, "there's a sense that their eyes stop seeing".

Opulent lifestyle

Miller said he was struck by the opulent lifestyle that many whites enjoyed.

"I have seen some of the most expensive homes across the road from a garbage dump where people are consigned to live. It's like a play where people are blind to what's around them.

"In a way, it's the worst of your dreams," the playwright added. "They live a wonderful life, but you pick up the paper and there's an ad for razor wire in your home. The fear is an inch below the surface. I've found less of it among blacks."

His impression of Mr Mandela, he said, after spending 2½ hours talking to him at his Soweto home was that the ANC leader was more pragmatic than his more militant speeches sug-

gested.

"Had he been born into a peaceful society, he would have been a judge," said Miller. "He's one of the most conservative people I've ever met."

Jobs and houses

He said he senses that Mr Mandela was trying to distance himself from the ANC's pledge to nationalise major industries.

"I said, 'You don't have a fixed ideological position?' He said, 'Absolutely not,'" Miller reported.

He had asked Mr Mandela whether the ANC wanted the white community to come up with its own proposals for a more equitable distribution of wealth, to which Mr Mandela replied that he did.

"He said 'All we want is jobs and houses and the rest of it. Whatever method will bring us that is what we want,'" Miller told his interviewer.

After meeting a group of South African businessmen, Miller said he believed they wanted to adjust to political change. They were, he said, "absolutely committed to a new way of life, and I think they mean it."

"They have to look at the social consequences of what they are doing or they will lose everything."

Ominous outcome

Of the factional black violence taking place in and around Johannesburg, Miller said he thought this presaged a more ominous outcome.

He described the violence as "utterly terrible," adding: "But I think there are a lot of white people here who think it's great."

What Miller had seen of a changing South Africa did not seem to hearten him.

"It's like a dream paralysis where you're reaching toward something and you simply can't extend your arm."

"I don't think it's hopeless. I think it's on the edge of a very narrow knife that could go either way."

MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent, at the PAC conference

PAC militants rule

JOHANNESBURG. — Militancy has marked the start of the PAC's three-day conference here with sharp criticism of Pretoria's negotiation initiative and a reaffirmation of the armed struggle and efforts to create a united black front to "destroy white domination".

Yesterday, amid chants such as "One settler, one bullet" and "Peace among Africans, war against the enemies", the notion of compromise was decried as "capitulation" and the present negotiation process as "political deception".

Militant statements earned the loudest applause, often accompanied by shrieks, whistles and cheers from the 800 delegates.

Behind closed doors

But when they get down to the nitty-gritty of strategy and deciding whether to enter the negotiation process alongside the ANC, the government, the homelands and other parties, it will be behind closed doors. Debate today and tomorrow has been closed to the Press. A Press briefing is due to be held this afternoon.

The congress got under way at noon yesterday with a rousing rendition of *Nkosi Sikelele i'As*

Exiles have a week to talk

JOHANNESBURG. — PAC exiles attending the movement's three-day congress here this weekend have to leave the country within a week.

The seven-day indemnity was granted by the government to allow them to take part in discussions on strategy and the movement's stance on negotiations.

With various references to being back in "occupied Azania", senior PAC exile Mr Joe Mkwazazi angrily told the opening session of the congress yesterday that foreigners visiting South Africa were given three months... "but the owners of the land, the sons and daughters of the soil, have been given only seven days in their land."

"When I arrived at Jan Smuts Airport the immigration official asked how long I'd be staying. And I said to him: 'It's a strange question to ask a person how long he will stay in his own country'."

"Can anyone blame the PAC for saying that the struggle must continue unabated?"

● Togolese Minister of Sport, Culture and Youth, Mr Messa Kodjo was among the guest speakers. He spoke in French, with senior PAC exile Mr Gora Ebrahim translating.

Mr Kodjo told the congress no black man could be indifferent to the "noble struggle" the PAC had waged in South Africa.

He acknowledged the De Klerk reforms, but said apartheid could not be reformed.

● Messages of support were received from diverse organisations... even the Australian government, which acknowledged the PAC was a key player in South Africa and would make an important contribution.

Other messages came from the New Unity Movement, the Workers Organisation of South Africa and the PAC's armed wing.

frika, followed by a full-throated: "One settler, one bullet" from delegates.

Evidently, the most portentous gesture of the opening day was the deafening applause in response to what was by far the most virulent speech against negotiations, the De Klerk government and "sell-outs" who had accepted Pretoria's invitation to talks.

These statements came not from the PAC, but in a message of support from the New Unity Movement.

The movement's representative said a "negotiated settlement" was a "label of deception" and the compromise the masses were asked to make was a "fraud".

Those who had accepted the government's invitation had been "hoodwinked... by banquets and bribes".

He said: "No ruling class was ever so stupid to pay its enemies to bring about its own defeat. We say 'no negotiation, no compromise, no sell-out'. There is no political virtue in bargaining away our freedom. We must work towards a united liberation movement to secure victory."

Earlier, acting PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu said in his opening address: "The present task of the PAC is to engage in all forms of struggle, the armed struggle as well as the democratic demand for a constituent assembly, and the formation of a principled United Front."

"All forms of struggle are to be encouraged with the armed struggle as the principal method of struggle."

Plea for peace

He said the government could not be the "vehicle for social change", only the "dispossessed masses".

In a strong plea for peace in the townships, Mr Makwetu urged "warring parties" to enter peace talks and to respect the need for political tolerance.

Debate today will be dominated by the third item on the agenda, "PAC on negotiations".

Clearly the sensitivity surrounding this issue, particularly, has prompted the decision to restrict coverage of the debate. It is not an issue on which there is unanimity.

The election of a new leadership takes place tomorrow.

Tackling violence in the black community and finding ways to create a unified black political front are also key matters.

The Cape convener of the PAC, former exile Mr Barney Desai, acknowledged that the congress was being held under difficult conditions, that the movement was in some ways ill-prepared for a meeting of this scale and that the decisions the congress would have to make were problematic, but added: "We make no apologies for the difficulties... we felt, unlike the ANC, that it was necessary to get the internal and external elements of the movement together and to give our people a chance to meet the leadership."

"For these reasons we decided not to put off the congress."

"Even if it is not a very momentous effort, it is a thrust for democracy."

'We must stop the carnage'

JOHANNESBURG. — A senior PAC exile has bluntly acknowledged that a lot of the township violence is caused by power-hungry elements in the liberation movements.

This significant admission came from external spokesman and administrative secretary Mr Joe Mkwazazi during the opening of the PAC's three-day conference yesterday.

Mr Mkwazazi said it was widely accepted that apartheid was the root cause of the violence and that "once it goes, there will be no carnage".

Then he added: "But let's be honest. A great part of the violence is as a result of hegemonic tendencies among some people in the liberation movements."

He said the PAC fully supported the view that all organisations had a right to exist and express their views without fear of intimidation.

"We must use the little time we have now, back in our land, to seriously address in practical terms what can be done to stop this carnage. It is unacceptable and must be stopped."

"The rate at which people are killed worries us. It makes us wonder, if this rate continues, whether in a few years' time we will still speak proudly and forcefully of the African majority."

"Some people who support our struggle are beginning to ask whether it was worth it."

"And those who never supported us are saying they knew that if they gave us freedom we would kill each other."

WEEKEND ARGUS EXCLUSIVE! REPORT

Weekend FOCUS 3

The African National Congress is on the verge of a decision about its operations in exile, about whether to close them down or maintain them until the situation in South Africa becomes clearer. JOHN RYAN of the Argus Africa News Service, reporting from Morogoro in Tanzania, was the first foreign journalist in several years to be allowed to visit ANC settlements there.

Tanzanian school for SA exiles looks to the future

ON the outskirts of this poverty-eroded centre, beneath foreign mountains and beyond an international checkpoint, lies a slice of South Africa about which most South Africans have never heard.

Locals know the place as Mazimbu and wonder as they pass at the trim fields and ordered buildings. But to the exiles who live there it is the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College.

College is something of a misnomer, for the complex dwarfs such description. It is much more like a town, with three schools and ring roads of ranch-type houses and a population of 2 500.

There is also a comprehensive farm at the fringe, producing gammon from 1 500 pigs, maize and rice and sundry other crops and enough milk from a dairy herd to feed the pupils.

And a furniture factory, purveying on order its excess capability to the Tanzanian nation. And even a 20-bed hospital which is used 80 per cent of the time by residents of Morogoro, 200km west of Dar es Salaam, though they have a district hospital of their own.

THE availability of drugs and the quality of care persuade them to cross into the odd, outlandish enclave.

Mr Solomon Mahlangu, some South Africans may remember, was one of three African National Congress insurgents involved in the Goch Street shooting in Johannesburg on June 13 1977 in which two white men died.

Although the court conceded that one of the others actually fired the machine pistol which killed Mr Rupert Kassner and Mr Kenneth Wolfendale, Mahlangu was found guilty of complicity and sentenced to death.

The 22-year-old ANC man was hanged on April 6 1979 — the year the organisation was given this tract of land by the Tanzanian administration on which to build a secondary school. Thus, with a ready martyr to name it after, the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College came into being.

Mr Martin Dombu, now the assistant farm manager at Mazimbu, was one of the original students. He fled South Africa in 1976 at the height of the protests against Bantu education.

"A number of us ended up near Morogoro, but on the other side of the valley," Martin says. "We were totally bored with exile, with doing nothing, so we had started teaching one another. Some were good in certain subjects and some in others and we swapped knowledge."

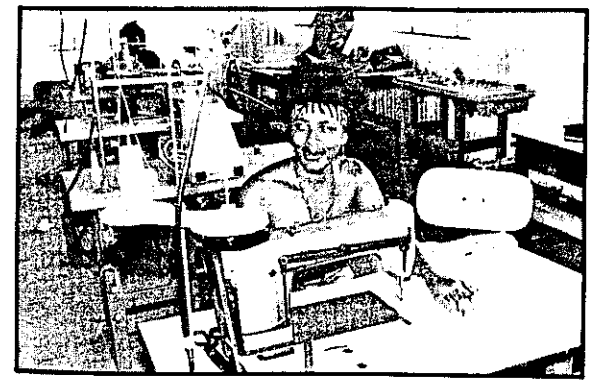
So the idea of a school was born. The land given to the ANC by Mr Julius Nyerere's government was an abandoned sisal farm with several buildings which are still here. The complex has been designed around them.

Since some of the "Class of '79" are now



The nursery school at Mazimbu. Some children are orphans of the armed struggle.

Pictures: JOHN RYAN; Argus Africa News Service



Workers, above, in the garment factory at Dakawa, the other ANC settlement to the west of Mazimbu. Will the centre develop as originally planned, or will it close?

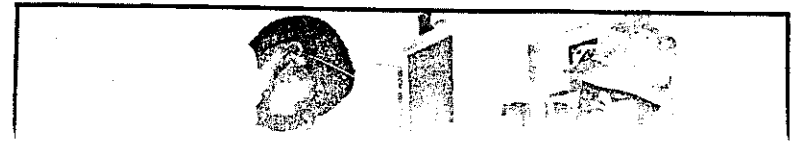


Rose Madiba and Michael Sachs, right. They say a problem at the ANC schools is the teacher shortage.

by the Tanzanian Government. Ironically, although nobody could have foreseen the events of the past year in South Africa, Mazimbu faces a decision over its future just as it is nearing completion. Among the last remain-

has grown considerably through the violence in Natal and young refugees — mainly males — continue to arrive almost weekly.

As a result, the principal function of the centre is clearing and re-orientation. Many of the



...of the students had been trained in agriculture, it seemed logical to put an area of the former plantation under crops to help feed the community.

THE college inherited three pigs from a squatter. With time, the piggery came to be expanded through purchases of local stock and, later, Danish-donated imports. Pigs are now slaughtered fortnightly, so the community has a regular supply of pork.

Consultants from East Germany and the Nordic countries were brought in to advise the ANC on the fine planning of the centre. But the physical work — from the building of classrooms, dormitories and houses down to the making of tables and chairs — was done by the members themselves, assisted by local labour.

Although the original intention was to have a secondary school to meet the needs of dislocated pupils from the 1976 era and after, it soon became obvious that Mazimbu should have a wider function.

Eleven years on, there are almost 500 pupils at the secondary school and more than 400 at a primary school. In addition, there are adult education facilities for the support group of members and a nursery school.

Most of the pupils are boarders whose parents are either in South Africa or in other Front Line states. Some have been orphaned in the struggle.

Funds for the running of the college come mainly from the Nordic countries but UNESCO (the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation) supplies 40 of the teachers and the UNDP (United Nations Development Programme) pays them.

The adult community of Mazimbu is cosmopolitan. Apart from the foreign teachers, there are two Cuban doctors at the hospital and a number of Nigerian and Swedish nurses. Swedish agricultural officers have helped expand the farm, which now has 400ha of arable land.

MR Alpheus Manghezi, director of the ANC schools, says, "We have learned to live with many different people. Some of our members have married Tanzanians and will eventually be returning home with them. Last month, one married an Australian woman teacher."

There is an official Tanzanian presence in the settlement, a sort of consulate-barrier at the entrance, for all visitors have to be approved



The dairy herd provides enough milk for the pupils.

ties built have been a maternity home, a community centre, a civic library and a sports complex.

While the work here is almost over, another ANC project in Tanzania is only beginning to take proper shape. This is Dakawa, 60km further away to the west.

Dakawa is a much bigger piece of real estate, 28km square. It was offered to the ANC in 1982, when it appeared that Mazimbu might eventually split at the seams.

The timing was fortunate. Two years later, with the signing of the Nkomati Accord between the South African and Mozambican Governments, hundreds of ANC members were forced to find another place of refuge.

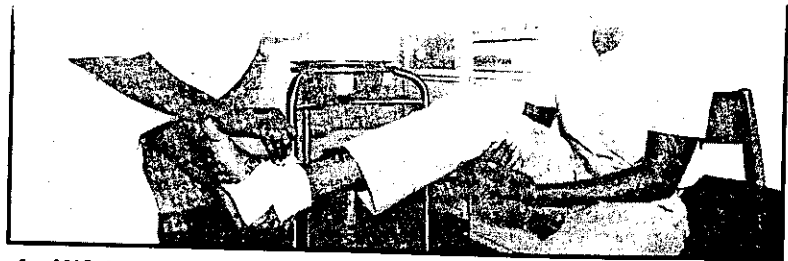
Dakawa's population is now about 1200. It

youngsters have had their schooling disrupted for some time and need to be prepared again for formal education.

HOWEVER, there is a vocational training centre at Dakawa, a cobbler's which teaches shoe-making, and a garment factory producing — among other things — uniforms for the ANC schools.

Building is going on apace on several residential units and the plan is to expand the existing schools and develop the farming operation. Already, a beef herd has been moved to Dakawa from Mazimbu and 600 goats are to follow.

That is the plan. Unless limbo sets in and sanity prevails. And these two communities of South Africans, most of them so tired of exile, are allowed by their superiors to go home.



An ANC doctor dressing a student's injury at Mazimbu hospital. The hospital is used more by Tanzanians than the ANC.



The furniture factory at Mazimbu sells its excess products to the Tanzanians.

Sad welcome for Tambo

8/12/90

117

LUSAKA — Oliver Tambo, president of the African National Congress, arrived in the Zambian capital yesterday to a low-key but emotional welcome from the Zambian leader and hundreds of ANC members.

He walked shakily down the steps of an executive jet belonging to the multinational Lonrho into a long embrace with President Kaunda, as hundreds of exiled ANC members sang and danced.

There was an expectant silence as Mr Tambo was assisted to the microphone to make his first public address since he suffered a severe stroke.

His speech was slow and deliberate and slightly slurred. The stroke almost paralysed the right side of his body. It was clear he will never again be able to play an active political role.

Mr Tambo thanked President Kaunda who, he said, had taken personal

MIKE HALL, Africa News Service

charge of his treatment.

"My health has improved tremendously, otherwise I would not have been here today. I thank all those who contributed to saving my life.

"We are returning home to continue with the struggle," he told ANC members to loud applause.

"We hope that soon we shall be inviting the people of Zambia to come and join us in celebrating our freedom."

Although those at the airport put on a brave face, many were saddened to see the once active Mr Tambo so weakened.

"It's great to see him back here alive. We're excited, but it's sad to see him this way," said one activist.

● See PAGE 4.

... certificates

PAC hammers 'baasskap

Star 8/14/90

with frills'

THE African people are not deceived by the shift from petty apartheid "to white veto domination with frills and trappings" and want to see the Government "relentlessly harassed", says Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) acting president Clarence Makwethu.

Opening the PAC's national congress at Shareworld in Johannesburg yesterday, Mr Makwethu said the PAC would continue to "wage the struggle against the white minority settler regime".

This would be done by consolidating the unity of the oppressed, encouraging mass action and working for South Africa's continued isolation through sanctions.

Delegates

The congress, attended by about 1 000 PAC delegates, diplomats and representatives of South African political parties and organisations — including the Democratic Party — is the second such gathering since the organisation was formed in 1959.

Mr Makwethu, who took over as acting president when former president Zephania Mothopeng died two months ago, said the congress would be "open, honest, clear and disciplined".

The PAC, he said, would not "disappoint Africa", and at the end of the congress would "show the light and the masses will find the way".



FRIENDLY FOES: The PAC's Ahmed Gorah Ebrahim, who arrived in the country yesterday morning, and the ANC's Patrick "Terror" Lekota, in deep conversation before the PAC congress started.

● Photograph: STEPHEN DAVIMES.

KAIZER NYATSUMBA, Political Staff

Mr Makwethu came out strongly in favour of "a principled united front" with all organisations opposed to the Government. Such a front, he said, would be based on the following principles:

- Apartheid could not be reformed but had to be "totally destroyed".
- East-West interests would be kept out of "the Azanian struggle".
- The Government was not the vehicle for social change, "but the oppressed, exploited and dispossessed African

masses led by the African working class and land-hungry peasants".

- All forms of struggle were to be encouraged, "with the armed struggle as the principal method of struggle".
- The acceptance of a democratic solution to the country's problems via a constituent assembly on the basis of one-person one-vote "to destroy white minority domination".

Both Mr Makwethu and external PAC admin-

istrative secretary Joe Mkhwanazi strongly condemned inter-organisational violence, saying no organisation, no matter how small or unpopular, could be wished out of existence.

Mr Mkhwanazi told the congress that the violence gave ammunition to those who believed blacks were incapable of running the country.

Even those who had unwaveringly supported the liberation movements over the years were now beginning to wonder whether their support was still worth it.

'Unacceptable'

"Although the root cause of the violence is apartheid ... a great part of the violence is a result of hegemonistic tendencies among some organisations in the liberation movement. It is unacceptable and must be stopped now," Mr Mkhwanazi said.

Neither man made any reference to the Government's letter of invitation to the PAC to enter exploratory talks with a view to getting negotiations off the ground early next year. The issue of negotiations will be discussed today.

Mr Mkhwanazi drew loud applause when he told the congress he brought "revolutionary greetings" from PAC national chairman Johnson Mlambo and the organisation's military wing, the African People's Liberation Army (Apla).

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Star 8/12/90

11A

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● See PAGE 4.

All will soon learn this man is no 'Uncle

Tombo

SOME Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) supporters have a rude name for the president of the African National Congress, their bigger rival which favours a negotiated, rather than revolutionary, settlement in South Africa.

They call Oliver Tambo "Uncle Tombo", suggesting that he and his organisation have "sold out" to the whites in this country.

They could not be more mistaken. Tambo, who has been out of the limelight for more than a year after a serious stroke but is about to return to a hero's welcome in Johannesburg, is invariably described as a "moderate", a "pragmatist", and a man of strong Christian convictions.

All these observations are correct, but they are often extrapolated to mean that he is within ANC circles a "soft touch", a man more likely to compromise than his colleagues. This conclusion does not follow.

The septuagenarian who has led the ANC in exile for nearly three decades is indeed an urbane, charming, quietly spoken man. He is no firebrand at the lectern, relying on gravitas rather than showmanship, and he eschews rhetoric and sloganeering.



ANC'S SECOND GIANT: Oliver Tambo still an enigma.

But his intellect is matched by a commitment to nothing less than a fundamental transfer of power in South Africa. Those in this country who believe Tambo's return will herald a softening of ANC positions on stumbling blocks to negotiations will be disappointed.

If anything, it will have the reverse effect: Tambo is believed to share the concerns of the growing

numbers of ANC officials who feel that the organisation has given away too much to the Government, and received too little in return. It is noted in ANC circles that deputy president Nelson Mandela's strongest recent affirmations of the organisation's right to encourage mass action came immediately after his last meeting with Tambo in London.

Politically, Tambo remains something of an enigma for South Africans, both black and white. He was officially "ungagged" only in February — after his stroke — and had previously been quoted only very selectively inside the country.

Apart from a famous interview with the Cape Times in 1985 and some brave efforts by other newspapers to present the ANC supremo's views to the South African public, Tambo was heard in his own words only when special permission was forthcoming from the Government.

Unsurprisingly, permission was granted to publish only the most bellicose of his utterings.

His international reputation as an unassuming statesman and a canny political operator who served as the "glue" which held together a fractious ANC in the

Personality

OLIVER TAMBO

**Written by:
SHAUN JOHNSON**

1960s and 1970s is undoubted, but diplomats and politicians who have had dealings with him all attest to an unflinching side to his personality — whenever it becomes necessary.

It is now thought that Tambo will play a major role in shaping the policy which emerges from this month's ANC consultative conference because, although he has been physically scarred by his stroke and this will limit his mobility and stamina, his intellect is as keen as ever.

Democratic Party MP Peter Soal, who saw Tambo at his Alexandra Park Road home in North London in October, says: "There is absolutely nothing wrong with his mind.

"He is alert, bright as ever, and very well informed about developments in South Africa."

Shel 8/12/90
According to Soal, Tambo's weight loss since his illness has wrought an "enormous physical change", and the Tambo of today is much more gaunt than that of the newspaper photographs of a year ago.

"He has made great progress," says the MP, "because immediately after the stroke he was totally paralysed and speechless. Now he is still not entirely mobile — he shuffles rather than walks and has to shake hands with his left hand — but he can get around."

Tambo's return is of tremendous psychological import for the ANC and its supporters. He is inextricably part of black South Africa's iconography and, along with Mandela, is the stuff of legend.

From the time that the two young lawyers ran an attorney's practice in Johannesburg, Tambo chose to adopt a lower profile than his charismatic colleague: where Mandela was the inspirational leader, Tambo was the organiser. Nevertheless, his reputation was always that of being Mandela's equal.

Throughout his years in exile he paid tribute to Mandela, often insisting that his was a caretaker role. Rumours of a power struggle

gle between the two men are greeted with incredulity in ANC quarters.

At the height of the revolt in 1986, township youths sang: "When there is a roll call of our heroes, I wonder if my name will be on that roll. I wonder what it will be like when we sit with Tambo, and tell him about the fall of the Boers."

With Mandela's, his name has been most frequently invoked in times of protest and mobilisation — the number of schools renamed unofficially in his honour bear eloquent testimony to this.

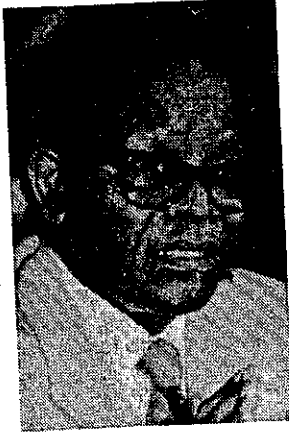
Two years ago, Tambo said he would live to see the collapse of apartheid. "That moment will come in the lifetime of Nelson and myself," he said. That was in the time of P W Botha; Mandela was still in prison; and Tambo

himself was preparing the ground for the ANC's benchmark document on negotiations, the Harare Declaration.

Now, within days, he will be home, probably for good. He has said he is looking forward to his homecoming with impatient excitement, and has expressed a wish to live in Wattville, Benoni's abutting township.

Tambo returns to Zambia (22)

CPres 9/12/90



Oliver Tambo

ANC president Oliver Tambo arrived in Zambia on Friday for a seven-day visit after 15 months absence from the country following a stroke.

Tambo, 73, who looked frail, was met at Lusaka International Airport by Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda and senior government officials, members of the diplomatic corps and other ANC members.

In a short address, characterised by a struggle to speak, Tambo said Zambians should be invited to the independence celebrations of a new South Africa because of the contribution they had made towards the current political trends in South Africa.

"I have waited for too long to be back in Zambia, and South Africa in particular, which I left more than 30 years ago," Tambo said as he praised the people involved in his treatment in Zambia, London and Stockholm. (11)

A non-racial South Africa was imminent, Tambo said.

Tambo is expected to have a private audience with President Kaunda.

Diplomats in Lusaka commenting on Tambo's state of health hinted that he might cede power to his charismatic deputy, Nelson Mandela, during next week's consultative conference in Johannesburg.

PAC's ^(11A) ⁽¹²⁵⁾ call to *S/Times 9/12/90* arms

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

THE PAC opened its second congress — the first since 1959 — in Johannesburg this weekend with virulent calls to violent insurrection.

The organisation made it clear that it would place stringent conditions on its joining negotiations.

The exact terms were debated in closed session yesterday and will be addressed again today. A press conference later today will explain the PAC's position.

PAC officials were yesterday talking about negotiations at a "neutral venue" — probably outside SA and under OAU chairmanship.

The congress was to have debated the government's negotiations invitation yesterday, but the debate and the election of a leader to succeed the late Zeph Mothopeng were delayed.

At the congress at Shareworld, near Soweto, many of the approximately 500 delegates turned up in combat fatigues and T-shirts with slogans that read: "Consolidate and mobilise for people's war" and "Arm the nation".

Repeated chants of "one settler, one bullet" filled the auditorium.

At one point the crowd chanted: "Kill the bosses, kill them."

PAC affirm demand for assembly

JOHANNESBURG. —
The PAC's external mission yesterday affirmed their demand for a constituent assembly.

The group, currently in South Africa for today's PAC congress, yesterday dismissed questions on a possible compromise regarding present exploratory talks between the government and the ANC.

PAC administrative secretary Mr Joe Mkhwanazi, who heads the delegation, said the concept of negotiations would be debated by congress. But he indicated the leadership was expecting delegates not to budge on the demand for a constituent assembly.

Mr Mkhwanazi added that as far as he was concerned there were no political changes in the country he left almost three decades ago. — Sapa

PAC sheds its chains:

What now?

By SEKOLA SELLO *C.P. Press* 9/12/90

THE first PAC congress in South Africa in 31 years was yesterday locked in closed session at Shareworld near Soweto as delegates grappled with two serious issues.

Although the PAC has tried to downplay the significance of negotiations, it is rumoured that this topic has created divided opinions.

PAC insiders told *City Press* that while rank-and-file members are totally opposed to negotiations, some senior members would like to take part.

They say the PAC's main rival, the ANC, has been "negotiating with government for the past four years" and they would also like more time.

The PAC apparently fears that if it enters into negotiations, it may find itself outsmarted by government and the ANC.

The PAC faces a serious risk of being outflanked.

While the issue of negotiations was at the top of yesterday's agenda, the discussions were also expected to shed light on the overall direction the PAC will take on matters like creating a united front made up of opponents of the government. Clarence Mlamli Makwetu reiterated the need for what he called "the

broadest, principled, united front". Representatives of New Unity Movement and the Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action were also warmly received.

The PAC will elect its new president today.

Makwetu, who has been acting president since the death of Zeph Mothopeng two months ago, is the hot favourite.

It is believed some members are in favour of a presidential council while others prefer the present set-up.

ANC rank and file to have their say ^(11A) after 31 years

By DRIES VAN HEERDEN

LONG-HELD beliefs and strategies will be up for discussion — and possible change — when the first conference of the ANC inside South Africa since 1959 takes place in Johannesburg this week.

More than 1 000 delegates — including representatives from Africa and abroad — will attend the three-day conference, due to be opened by ANC president Oliver Tambo on Friday.

Dominating the agenda, according to congress organiser James Stuart, will be the ANC's strategy for the coming negotiation phase between the government and liberation movements.

Views

Indications are that fundamental aspects of ANC policy and strategy may be revised to strengthen the hand of the ANC's negotiating team.

Thus far the negotiating group, led by deputy president Nelson Mandela, has received its orders from the 35-member national executive committee, but this week's congress will enable rank-and-file members to make their views on the issue known.

Mr Stuart said much of the time available would be devoted to small discussion groups to enable ordinary members to speak their minds.

Allies

The sudden decision by President F W de Klerk's government to enter into negotiations with the ANC has prompted a rethink within the movement on strategy and tactics.

According to the ANC mouthpiece Mayibuye, some of the questions to be discussed are:

- What alliances should the ANC build with other movements? Should there, for instance, be a "tactical alliance" with big business?

- What are the differences between Mr De Klerk and his predecessor, P W Botha? Are Mr De Klerk's moves indeed irreversible?

- What is the future of the ANC's armed struggle and mass action campaigns?

- How will the tripartite alliance of the ANC, the SA Communist Party and Cosatu function in the new environment of legality?

- The other main item on the agenda, according to Mr Stuart, will be the building of the ANC's internal organisation. There is a growing concern in the ANC that its recruitment drive is proving less successful than was envisaged.

Fewer than 200 000 members have been signed up since the ANC was unbanned on February 2.

The movement's national organising committee will present to congress a report on the state of the organisation.

The congress will be attended by representatives of the organisation's internal and external branches, members of the 14 regional executives, members of the ANC's departments and representatives of Umkhonto we Sizwe camps in Africa.

KING OF THE UNIT

Organise for self-defence, urges Kasrils

119 **119**
CIPres 9/12/90
IT was absolutely imperative for people to form self-defence structures to put an end to the current violence in South Africa, says MK intelligence chief and Vula fugitive Ronnie Kasrils.

"In 1961, MK was formed to defend the people against the violence of the state," Kasrils told *City Press* in an interview.

"The violence of the state is continuing today with greater fury. And today, the problems facing poverty-stricken people are exploited - for example migrant workers and their alienation from urban society. It's the regime that's behind this, it's the police that are behind this as (ANC deputy president) Nelson Mandela has pointed out.

"Our people are faced with tremendous violence. As in 1961, they must be able to defend themselves. They can't wait for MK to come home with guns.

"Our people have to find methods of organising at the community level - be it a township or a squatter camp - and to organise committees for the defence of those areas along paramilitary lines in such a way that the whole community can be mobilised to defend their lives, their homes.

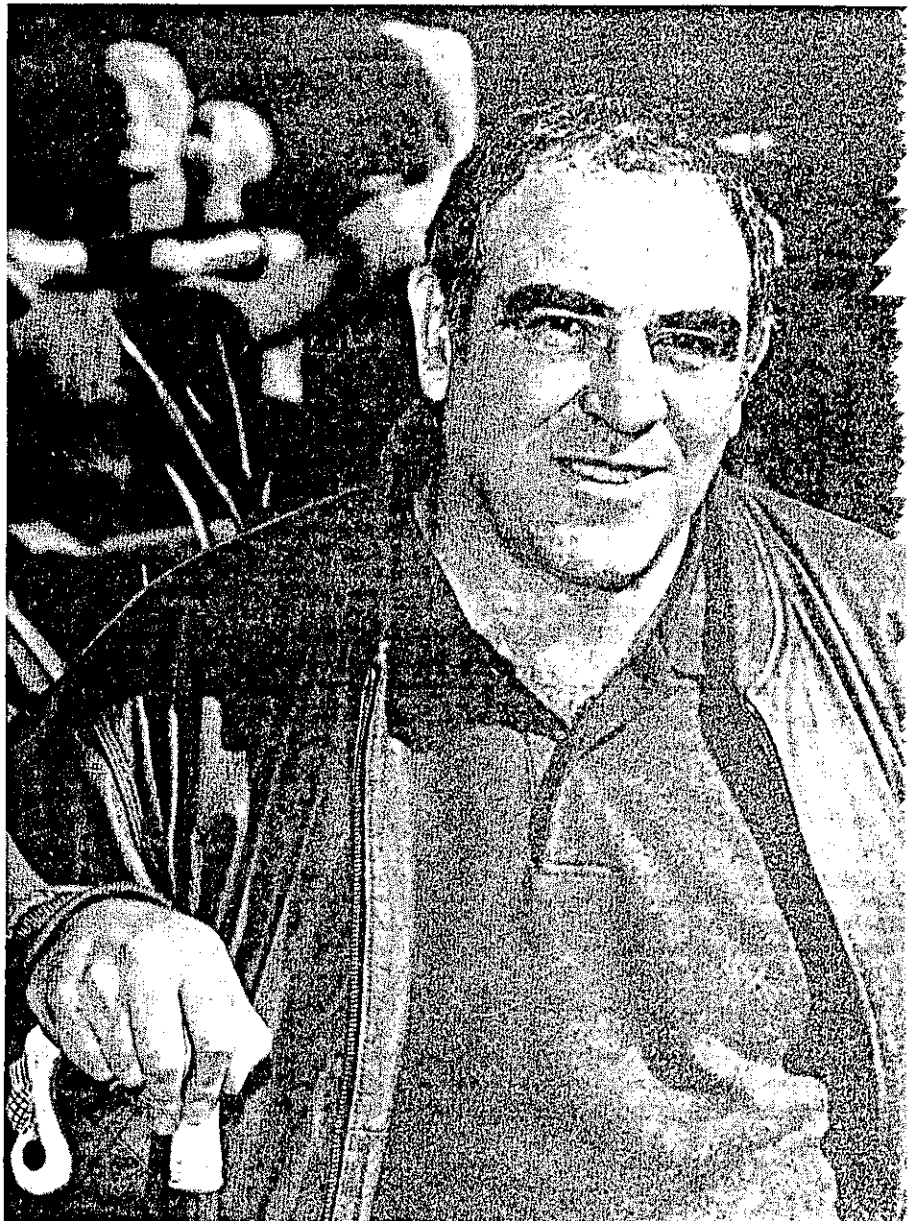
"Organising people in their villages and townships in terms of self-defence proved very popular in countries like Nicaragua in the struggle for liberation; Salvador at the moment; (and) in Vietnam. Rudimentary weapons can be used very effectively. What counts is the way people are organised. When they are organised in a specific manner for self-defence, they have the basis to defend themselves and of course, they must be armed.

"Firearms are necessary, and people must demand firearms. It's a question of demanding the right to life - to demand licensed firearms, to apply for them.

"Of course, there's the question of having to raise money, but I would say our people have to do it - it's a question of life and death.

"This question of self-defence units must be discussed with MK comrades, comrades who are coming out of prison, comrades who are returning with the liberation movement. Workshops should be organised at which experiences are exchanged and methods and plans for defence developed."

Asked whether this was not contrary to the peace process the ANC says it is committed to, Kasrils replied: "Not at all. What they're doing is defending themselves and therefore defending the peace process and helping to create a peaceful, liberated South Africa."



Armed and dangerous? Rubbish! - I'm a disciplined ANC member acting on orders, says MK in rils.

RONNIE Kasrils, who turned 52 earlier this month, has been in the ANC most of his adult life - and a soldier for most of that.

He joined the Congress of Democrats, a white affiliate of the ANC-led Congress Alliance, at the age of 20.

Banned soon afterwards, he joined Umkhonto weSizwe, working full-time in its Natal High Command.

Late in 1963, he was ordered to leave the country to undergo military training.

Based in Tanzania, he

A profile of SA's most wanted man

328
worked in the ANC's Dar Es Salaam office, where he was joined by his wife Eleanor - also an MK cadre who was arrested in 1963 but managed to escape from custody.

In 1966 Eleanor moved to London where the first of their two sons was born.

From London they

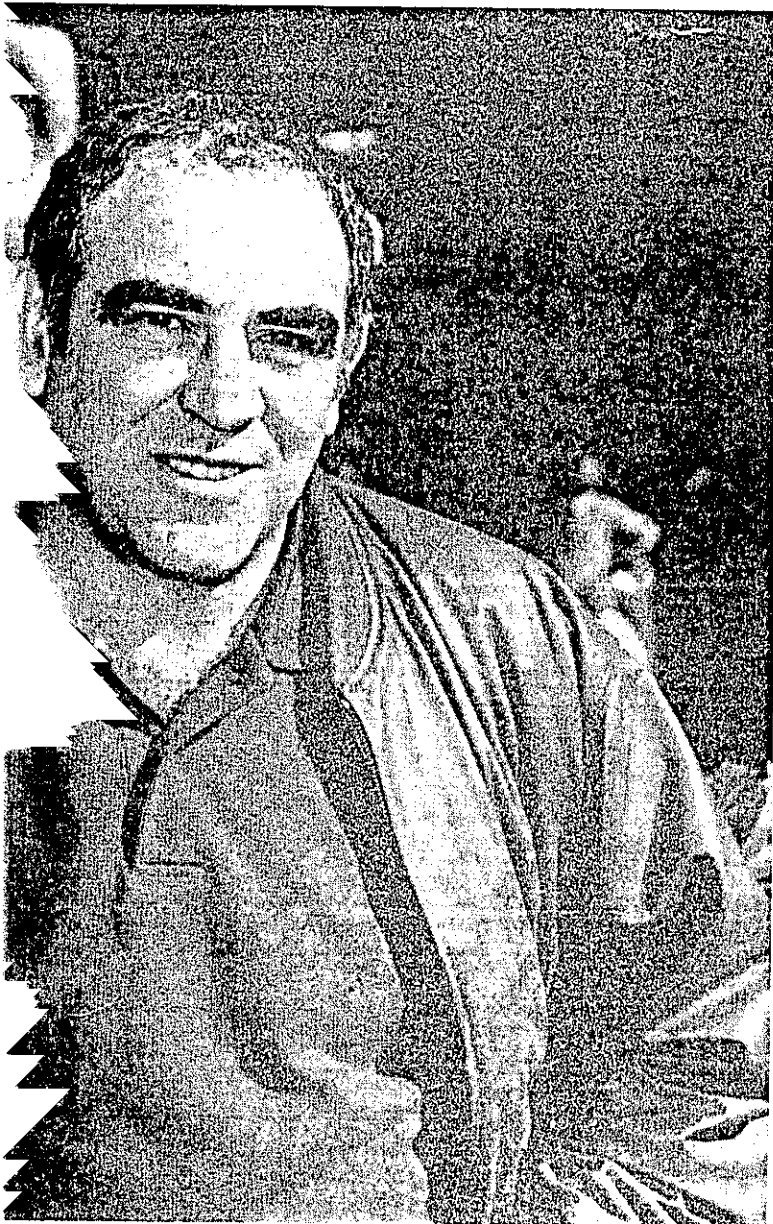
11 **11A**
worked throughout the 1960s to rebuild the ANC's underground inside South Africa and to build the international anti-apartheid campaign.

In 1976 he was summoned to Angola to train the hundreds of Soweto activists rapidly filling up the ANC's military camps.

Eventually promoted to political commissar, the Angolan MK cadre he was transferred to in 1980 to Maputo to help develop the underground in South Africa.

In 1983 he was promoted - promoted head of MK's military intelligence. He held post until 1987 when he was co-opted to

THE UNDERGROUND



Disciplined ANC member acting on orders, says MK intelligence chief Ronnie Kas-

Profile of SA's most wanted man

CIPres 9/12/90

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■ In 1976 he was summoned to Angola to train the hundreds of Soweto activists rapidly filling up the ANC's military camps.

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■ In 1983 he was again moved - promoted to head of MK's military intelligence. He held the post until 1987 when he was co-opted to the

ANC national executive, one of only two white members of the NEC.

■ In 1987 ANC president Oliver Tambo launched "Operation Vulindlela" (open road), the movement's most ambitious underground operation - the establishment of a nationwide network, under the direction of top-level ANC leaders, to co-ordinate and combine political and military resistance to apartheid.

■ Last year Kasrils secretly crossed into South Africa, joining the Vula underground.

NEVER want to get on another aeroplane in my life. I never want to go back to England. I don't even want to fly around South Africa. There is too much to see. If I have to go to Cape Town I want to drive.

Speaking is South Africa's number one fugitive, Ronnie Kasrils, who is sought by police for his alleged Operation Vula activities.

Kasrils, Umkhonto weSizwe's intelligence chief, spoke to *City Press* in one of his few appearances since he went underground in July.

Not even a police price on his head for his role in Operation Vula can change his mind about staying here.

"I can live with being hunted," he said. "The worst possible fate would be to have to leave South Africa again. I don't think I could bear it. I've spent a lot of the last 30 years travelling."

Police put out an alert on him and three other alleged Vula operatives - Janet Love, Charles Ndaba and Christopher Manye - a few weeks ago.

"It's strange that they waited four months to put out this alert. Siphwe Nyanda, Mac and the others were arrested in July, and the police have been looking for the rest of us ever since. Now suddenly there's this melodramatic announcement."

"I believe it is a smokescreen to provide an excuse for the Special Branch, because it is possible Charles Ndaba is dead," he said.

Kasrils said information given by Ndaba to the Security Police led to the arrest of those connected with Operation Vula. "It was clear the police were acting on information they could have gained only from Charles."

Kasrils also expressed concern about the safety of Mbuso Shabalala, a schoolteacher from Port Shepstone, who disappeared at the same time.

"So it's very sinister. We're extremely anxious about the wellbeing of these two comrades and we urge our people, the Press and the movement to do anything possible to force the police to explain what has happened to them."

He said the police description of himself, Love, Ndaba and Manye as "armed and dangerous", was "rubbish". "We're disciplined ANC members carrying out the instructions of our movement. We support the Pretoria and Groote Schuur agreements and the idea of a negotiated settlement."

In addition to ongoing ANC work he was doing underground, he even managed to see a bit of the country, Kasrils told *City Press*.

"I've even been to a rugby match (at Loftus Versveld). That was an interesting afternoon: I was sitting close to a few notorious Special Branch men, but since I had on my disguise - clip-on nose and moustache and my Northern Transvaal Blue Bulls hat - I looked exactly like any other boer shouting 'Naas is Baas'."

Kasrils added although he could not attend executive meetings of the SACP and ANC, "I am in frequent contact and I am able to make a contribution to ongoing discussions

The police have put a price on his head for his role in Operation Vula, but that won't keep MK intelligence chief Ronnie Kasrils away from his country. Our SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT snatched an interview with him during one of his few appearances since he went underground - again - in July.

about the negotiations, the mass struggle, the coming conference and so on.

"That's always been the case with the underground anyway - it has communication links and it has always made an input to the policy-making of both organisations."

He described life underground as "not romantic".

"It can be very lonely, extremely demanding and dangerous."

"When I was able to surface here after getting indemnity earlier this year, I joked with underground comrades about how difficult and even traumatic above-ground life was."

"I enjoyed the few months I was at Sauer Street working with Sisulu and the other leaders - I was really getting into the swing of things. But I did wonder whether I'd be able to cope. Most underground cadres find it quite difficult coping with living normally."

"But being back has been absolutely exhilarating, and I think the worst possible fate for me would be to have to leave again."

"With the Pretoria Minute and the temporary suspension of the armed struggle, of course no operations are undertaken - but the underground must remain in place because there's no guarantee the process will not revert to open oppression," said Kasrils.

He has found South Africa depressing since his return: "Certain aspects of the society are as bad as they were 30 years ago... worse."

"I'm continually shocked by the way white South Africa devalues, undervalues, non-values black life. The way black people have to live in this country is horrifying."

"I was shocked at the deprivation and poverty I saw when I came back. On the Reef, in Winterveld, in Natal, Crossroads in the Cape - I immediately saw places which were worse than anything in Maputo, Luanda or Lusaka. In those places you don't see the overcrowding and squalor you see in squatter camps here."

"Take the Inanda Valley. Standing up on the hills at Phoenix looking down into it for the first time, was like looking into Dante's Inferno - the women and kids coming out of this steaming hot valley, cloaked in smoke and smog and pollution. Climbing out of the valley to fetch water and going back down into the valley with their buckets."

"Standing on that hill, I realised why violence breaks out in communities... between people who have so little, when the resources are so scarce."

"Pik Botha prattles on about how much better off 'our blacks' are, but it's all lies."

Why mass recruitment drive failed

S/ Times 9/12/90

By DRIES VAN HEERDEN

THE ANC has for the first time admitted its performance has not been up to expectations since it was unbanned 10 months ago.

A report in the latest edition of the ANC mouthpiece, *Mayibuye*, lists several reasons for the lacklustre campaign that has only netted about 200 000 new members countrywide.

ANC regional organisers met last month to discuss factors "which were making it difficult to draw in members and to establish dynamic regional and branch structures".

Among the reasons listed were:

- The violence in black townships has made it difficult for organisers to move about freely. Membership forms and fees have also been confiscated.

- The power of right-wing and reactionary forces. The organisation is having difficulty getting offices and ANC supporting civil servants have been sacked from their jobs.

- The lack of human and

material resources has led to poor administration.

- Members in branches and regional organisations have distanced themselves from community-based organisations and have estranged themselves from grassroots support.

Slow (11A)

- There is inadequate communication in areas where people are uneducated.

- Membership recruitment has been slower than expected. "Organisers must visit people at their

homes, their places of work and recreation," the report said.

- People doubt the practical value of supporting the ANC. "Organisers point out that people would rather join the Civic (organisation) because it is doing something concrete while the ANC is discussing abstract policy questions."

- The R12 annual membership fee is considered too high: "Because people have supported the ANC for so long, they feel entitled to join the ANC without paying a fee."

Organisers have agreed there should be some flexibility over membership fees.

- Too little autonomy for local branches.

- Lack of contact from the regional offices.

Crises

"This contact must not arise at times of crises — it has to be regular and ongoing," the report said.

- Insufficient co-operation between the ANC and its affiliated structures, the SA Communist Party, Cosatu and the UDF.

ANC sticks to its guns on security

11A

STimes 9/12/90

By DRIES van HEERDEN

THE ANC has published proposals for a new defence and police force with Umkhonto we Sizwe leaders in command positions.

The proposals revealed in the latest edition of the ANC's mouthpiece, *Mayibuye*, follows the recent rejection by Defence Minister Magnus Malan of a merger between the defence force and MK.

According to the ANC, the present police and defence forces "are racist institutions that the government's reforms have so far left untouched".

The ANC says that though 50 percent of police are black, over 90 percent of the officers are white, with no blacks commanding white units.

Among ANC proposals for a new police force are:

- An increase in the number of recruits.
- "Affirmative action" to increase the number of black officers.

Weapons

- Reorientation of the security police with all those known to have assaulted or tortured detainees to be retired.

Mayibuye says the SADF is "a racist force which relies on the conscription of young white men to force the politics of the government on the people".

The process of building a new defence force should begin immediately with as first step the return of MK "as an army with its weapons".

Military wings of organisations such as the Pan-Africanist Congress will also be included if they swear allegiance to a new constitution.

The ANC's proposals for creating a new defence force also include:

- Conscription replaced by voluntary service.
- Integration of the homeland armies and disbandment of ethnic units.

Nothing has

changed —

Mkhwanazi

JOE Mkhwanazi, administrative secretary of the external mission of the PAC, was less than 30 minutes on South African soil after almost 30 years in exile when he declared: "Nothing has changed in this country."

It was this remark which prompted one observer at Jan Smuts Airport to accuse Mkhwanazi of allowing his judgment to be restricted by ideological blinkers. "What could he have seen in a few minutes to pass this judgment?" said the man.

It was also the sort of statement which led one white to claim that the PAC was aiming at a "hands up, hand over" by the government.

Impromptu

"They are unrealistic if they think this will happen," he said.

Twenty-four hours later, after Mkhwanazi had settled in his city hotel, seen part of Johannesburg and spoken to a number of his political

**Report by
SEKOLA SELLO**

comrades, I spoke to the veteran politician and asked if he was playing to the gallery when he made those impromptu remarks at the airport.

"Far from it," he said. "Those who believe that there are changes, are missing the wood for the trees."

"When I talk about change, I mean fundamental changes. I am not talking about structural changes, like more

I'm not playing to the gallery, says PAC secretary

CIPROD 9/12/90
highways and more high-rise buildings."

Mkhwanazi, who has escaped several assassination attempts, admits the attitudes of whites (at least those he has come across so far) have changed.

Polite

"I am aware that today when whites serve a black they are as polite as they are to whites. When I left, it was: 'You, what do you want?' Today, it is: 'Sir, can I help you?' just like they address fellow whites."

"Even the customs official who attended me was very polite. He did not have a granite face."

"In fact, most whites I came across are no longer showing the granite face of the past."

But, Mkhwanazi emphasises, he did not join the struggle to see South Africa having beautiful highways and high-rise buildings or to be called "sir" by whites — or to see their granite faces replaced by friendly smiles.

"The attitude of whites towards me has never been a bother to me."

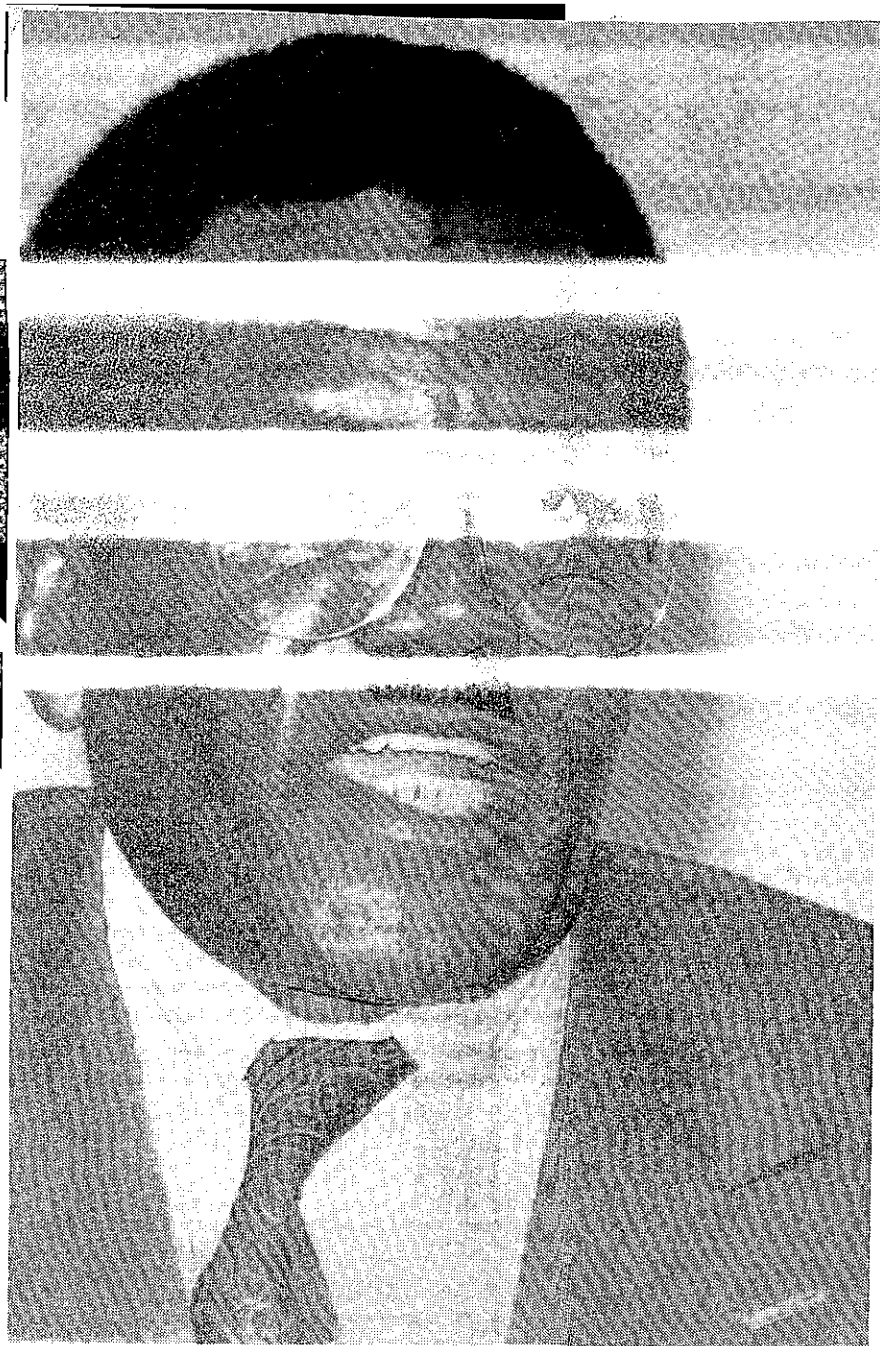
Mkhwanazi says he joined the struggle to see African majority rule established in the country and the land returned to the indigenous people.

"These are fundamental things to me. These are the things I have fought for all my life. Africans still do not have the vote. They do not have the land. So what changes are people talking about?"

Unreasonable

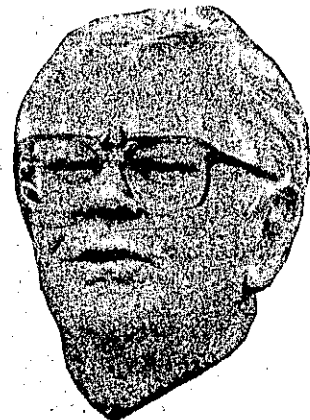
Mkhwanazi, from Empangeni in KwaZulu, is one of the two most senior members of the PAC who have been given seven days in the country.

"I will not even have time to see the graves of my parents, visit relatives, do a post-mortem on the conference or meet other political organisations — and people think I am being unreasonable when I say there are no changes in the country."



Joe Mkhwanazi has only been allowed one week in the country, he says, yet people think he is being unreasonable. He denies being blinkered by ideology.

TALKS IN DANGER, SAYS SLOVO



Joe Slovo ... not "derailed", but proper talks not likely soon.

C1PMS
9/12/90

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Violence, govt delays the main obstacles

TALKS between the ANC and the government were in danger with negotiations proper unlikely to kick off early next year.

That is the view of leading ANC member and SACP general secretary Joe Slovo, who reckoned that the talks have not yet been "derailed".

"But I think there are very serious danger signals," he said in one of the most forthright comments yet from an ANC leader on what are still "talks about talks".

Clearly angered by Pretoria's demand that the ANC stop the use of mass action, the SACP chief said: "I think we have got to make clear to them that we are not a defeated enemy. We are very much alive and we have the power to move towards the transformation - if not by the end of the decade, then by other means."

President F.W. de Klerk and his team of negotiators were using the talks process "as a terrain of struggle - a phrase which we have always used to characterise what we should be doing".

But lately, he said, Pretoria had been more effective than the ANC. He pointed out the government had an edge on the ANC in terms of resources and established structures.

Slovo said it was not possible to "begin serious negotiations on the constitutional future with most of our exiles outside, with most of our prisoners still locked up, and with indemnities unreasonably tied to a commitment to cease the political struggle".

There is a growing impatience within ANC ranks over what they see as the government's failure to meet its side of the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes. And this is likely to be intensely debated at the ANC's three-day consultative conference this week.

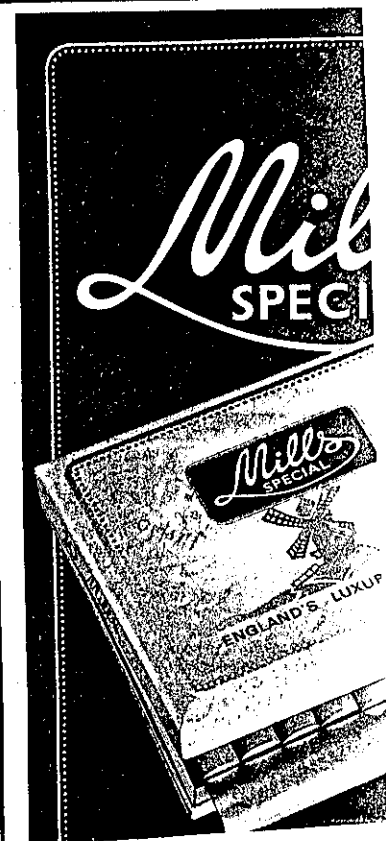
Slovo also reckoned negotiations would founder in the long term if the bloody township violence could not be resolved.

He said Pretoria needed to understand the ANC would not continue the talks if it became "clear the regime is not prepared to do anything about the carnage being perpetrated against our people".

But Slovo said the ANC still believed Pretoria was interested in talking. The government knew, he said, "that without the kind of resolution we are trying to work for, there is no way they will emerge from their crisis". - AIA



She's a winner! Says petite Julia Makgalemele who walked off with the Miss Black South Africa 1990 crown: "I will do everything to contribute to my community." See Page 3. Photo: TLADI KHUELE



bolts from the deck

ANC petition to oust mayor of Khayelitsha

By PETER DENNEHY
Municipal Reporter

THE ANC intensified its campaign to oust Khayelitsha mayor Mr Mali Hoza yesterday by announcing that it would circulate a petition demanding his resignation to every house in Khayelitsha in the next two weeks.

Addressing a crowd of about 2 000 at the Khayelitsha stadium yesterday, ANC national organiser and executive committee member Mr Steve Tshwete said that nearly 800 striking Khayelitsha municipal workers must be supported by their community, by people from all over the Peninsula, and eventually by the whole country. The workers are on strike until the entire Lingeletu West Town Council resigns.

Mr Tshwete said the government had taken advantage of its people's initial lack of organisation to hold an election during the state of emergency "in which Mr Hoza saw himself as the unchallenged leader of Khayelitsha".

"The fact that the Pretoria regime still allows Mr Hoza to carry on as he does . . . is ample demonstration that this government is not serious about a democratic transformation of this

country," Mr Tshwete said.

Western Cape Civic Association leader Mr Michael Mapongwana, whose wife Nomsa was killed by vigilantes in October, proposed that rents should not be paid until the councillors resigned. If force was used to evict people, force would be used to take the houses back, he said.

Mr Tshwete said it was not only in Khayelitsha that the government was "propping up" people "operating against the democratic forces". The same thing was happening in Natal with the KwaZulu police, and elsewhere.

It was "amazing" that a government with what was believed to be the most sophisticated police force on the continent was unable to stop armed cohorts from marching six kilometres to attack sleeping residents, he said.

● Mr Mali Hoza was not available for comment last night, but Lingeletu West town clerk Mr Graham Lawrence said calls for the resignation of the council were "nothing new".

Mr Lawrence said the municipal strike had been going on for three weeks. The matter had gone to court, but it had been postponed until next year. Meanwhile, a policy of "no work, no pay" was being applied.



HEATED WORDS . . . ANC national executive member Mr Steve Tshwete is shielded by an umbrella and "guarded" by a woman with a replica of a rifle as he speaks at the Khayelitsha Stadium yesterday.

Picture: MIKE HUTCHINGS

Violence: Mandela, FW meet

CAPL Tom B 10/12/90

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Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — President F W de Klerk and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela met at the weekend and identified the need for urgent follow-up steps to end violence.

In a brief joint statement the two leaders said they had met on numerous occasions over the past two weeks.

"Our main concern was the ongoing violence with its attendant deaths, suffering and destruction of property, as well as the destabilisation of our communities," they said.

They said significant progress was made at the weekend meeting, adding: "We have yet again agreed on our commitment to the peaceful negotiation process and on our rejection of violence as futile and destructive. On this basis we identified the need for urgent follow-up steps."

In the near future there would be further discussions and statements.

At their last publicised meeting in Pretoria two weeks ago, Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela agreed they would achieve more if they were able to meet in private.

After that meeting they emphasised the value of the special relationship existing between them in advancing the negotiation process.

Their weekend meeting came shortly after the cabinet and senior government members held a three-day bush summit outside Pretoria.

The ANC's continued commitment to mass mobilisation, and the failure to make significant progress by the working group set up to resolve outstanding aspects flowing from the ANC's decision to suspend armed action, was high on the agenda.

● ANC meeting to focus on sanctions — Page 5

PAC congress sets stiff conditions for talks

ARGUS 10/12/90
11A

From **MICHAEL MORRIS**
Political Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Pan Africanist Congress has taken a small, but significant step towards negotiations with the government, but with tough conditions that will limit talks strictly to the setting up of a nonracial constituent assembly.

Any meeting, PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu told a defiant gathering of 2 300 delegates at the Shareworld complex near Soweto, would be considered only at a "neutral venue" outside South Africa.

And all the PAC would be prepared to discuss, or "pre-negotiate", were the "modalities of creating a constituent as-

sembly ... the date, the voters' role, the supervision".

In the meantime, the PAC remained committed to "continue the struggle for liberation on all fronts, including the armed struggle".

In an eight-point resolution adopted at the congress yesterday after extensive debate, consultation with the external movement and foreign countries sympathetic to the PAC, the movement said that while there was "no principle, tactic or policy barring the PAC from seeking a democratic solution to the country's problems ... it will not negotiate with the De Klerk regime unless all negotiations are preceded by an election for a constituent assembly on the basis of one-person-one-

vote on a common voters' role in a unitary state".

The resolution said President De Klerk had "failed to create conducive conditions for negotiation as demanded by the United Nations and the international community at large".

It also said that a constitution for a "free Azania can only be drawn up by an elected constituent assembly".

The PAC, it said, remained committed to the policy of "returning the land and resources to the toiling and dispossessed Azanian masses".

Up to now, one of the most important absentees from the negotiation process, the PAC has only slightly eased its stance on talks with the National Party government.

The tough rhetoric of the congress — spiced with frequent and vigorous chants of "one settler, one bullet" and "peace among Africans, war against the enemies", underlined the sentiment of the long-awaited response to the government's letter to the PAC inviting them to the talks table.

Undeniably, the PAC has gained support in the black community by resisting the De Klerk overtures and the tantalising prominence the talks about talks have earned for the ANC.

But, at the same time, there are concerns among some in the movement that the PAC must find a way to engage in the negotiation process, without losing face.



Mr Clarence Makwetu

Makwetu at the helm

Political Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — PAC acting-president Mr Clarence Makwetu was unanimously elected president by the movement's second national congress here.

Mr Makwetu became acting-president after the death two months ago of Mr Zephania Mothopeng.

By all accounts the unanimity of the choice was surprising, given the widely acknowledged tension between the internal and external sections of the movement.

External chairman Mr Johnsson Mlambo — a candidate for the presidency but absent from the congress on "official business" in West Africa — was unanimously elected first deputy president.

The second deputy president is advocate Mr Dipgang Mosenke, considered a rising star in the movement.

Mr Benny Alexander retains his post as general secretary, assisted by Mr Carter Seleka.

Cape Town's most prominent PAC members, Mr Barney Desai and Miss Patricia de Lille, were both elected to the NEC — Mr Desai as secretary for publicity and Miss De Lille as secretary for foreign affairs.

Journalists protest against Press censorship

Political Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Journalists covering the PAC congress here clashed at the weekend with two senior movement officials over what they considered to be blatant Press censorship by the PAC.

The matter remained unresolved after a terse exchange.

One of the two senior PAC members alarmed the journal-

ists when he summed up the movement's policy on Press coverage with: "You have freedom to do everything ... but not anything."

The affable but firm publicity spokesman, Mr Benny Ntoele, reacted crossly when The Argus asked if this approach was the epitome of the censorious attitude for which the Nationalist government had been castigated for years by the Press and the liberation movements.

The clash arose after an inci-

dent in the Shareworld complex near Soweto, where the congress was being held, on Saturday afternoon.

While waiting for a briefing, a journalist from the American agency, Public Broadcasting, raised her camera to photograph toyi-toying youths approaching along the main concourse.

Five or six of the front rank rushed at her, gesticulating angrily and warning her against taking pictures. She obliged.

The incident was raised at the end of the briefing. Journalists said it was a matter of great importance and they wanted an explanation.

Mr Ntoele appeared unperturbed and gave his unqualified support for the youths.

He said it was the PAC's prerogative to decide what image

of its congress — or any other function — was conveyed and that if "our security people" decided that an activity or incident did not accord with this image, it was their right to prevent pictures from being taken.

"If you follow this, you will have no problem," he said.

Referring to the incident on the concourse, he said: "There must have been a reason why you were prevented from taking pictures. Let's not make an issue of this."

He added: "Nobody has been generally stopped from taking a picture of what is generally accepted as a reflection of the congress" while the black community was not helped by the predominance of coverage of negative issues such as violence.

Sanctions

11A

ANC meeting to focus on

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — An African National Congress discussion document proposing a phased lifting of sanctions would be the major point of discussion at today's meeting of returned ANC diplomats, National Executive Committee member Mr Aziz Pahad said yesterday.

He said the heads of mission, among them ANC representatives from Paris, the US, Brussels, Ethiopia and Mozambi-

que, would exchange views on the sanctions discussion document.

The representatives would inform the meeting of the views of the governments of the countries in which they were stationed on whether sanctions should be gradually lifted.

Mr Pahad said all the ANC's heads of mission were currently in South Africa but about 60 other ANC members were still to arrive for the conference.

He said he hoped that delays at the weekend which had caused many of the organisation's diplomats to be held up at Jan Smuts Airport for two days, would not be repeated.

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela had intervened personally to have 25 ANC members held up at the airport admitted into South Africa, he said.

It was vital that the ANC delegates who were still to arrive be allowed into

the country before registration for the conference on Thursday, Mr Pahad said.

● Sapa reports that the SABC quoted the chief director of migration at the Department of Home Affairs, Mr Mike Bester, as saying special authority had been given on Saturday night to admit the ANC returnees.

Special arrangements had been made at Jan Smuts Airport to process ANC

members arriving for the conference, he said.

The delays at the airport had been caused by "administrative and procedural problems", which had been largely due to his department receiving "too little warning" of the ANC members' return.

Mr Bester appealed to the ANC to inform his department well in advance of the return of its members.

PAC rejects govt negotiation bid

Cap. Times 10/12/90

11A

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The PAC has rejected the government's invitation to constitutional negotiations.

PAC president Mr Clarence Makwethu — whose election was announced last night — told an audience of 1 000 at the organisation's congress near here that the PAC was prepared to negotiate with the government only on the mechanisms for a constituent assembly election.

A congress resolution said negotiations on the "legalities" of a constituent assembly election would have to take place at a neutral venue — apparently outside South Africa.

Mr Makwethu said the congress had also called for a strengthening of sanctions and stood by its demand that the land and resources be returned to the "African masses". The PAC would also maintain its armed struggle.

Two senior PAC members said last night that the decision on negotiations had been approved by an overwhelming majority of delegates.

The PAC's exiled chairman, Mr Johnson Mlambo, was elected Mr Makwethu's first deputy president in an apparent compromise between the external and internal wings. Twenty internal and 16 external members will serve on the PAC's national executive.

11/11/90 (11A)

A book reflecting the changed SA

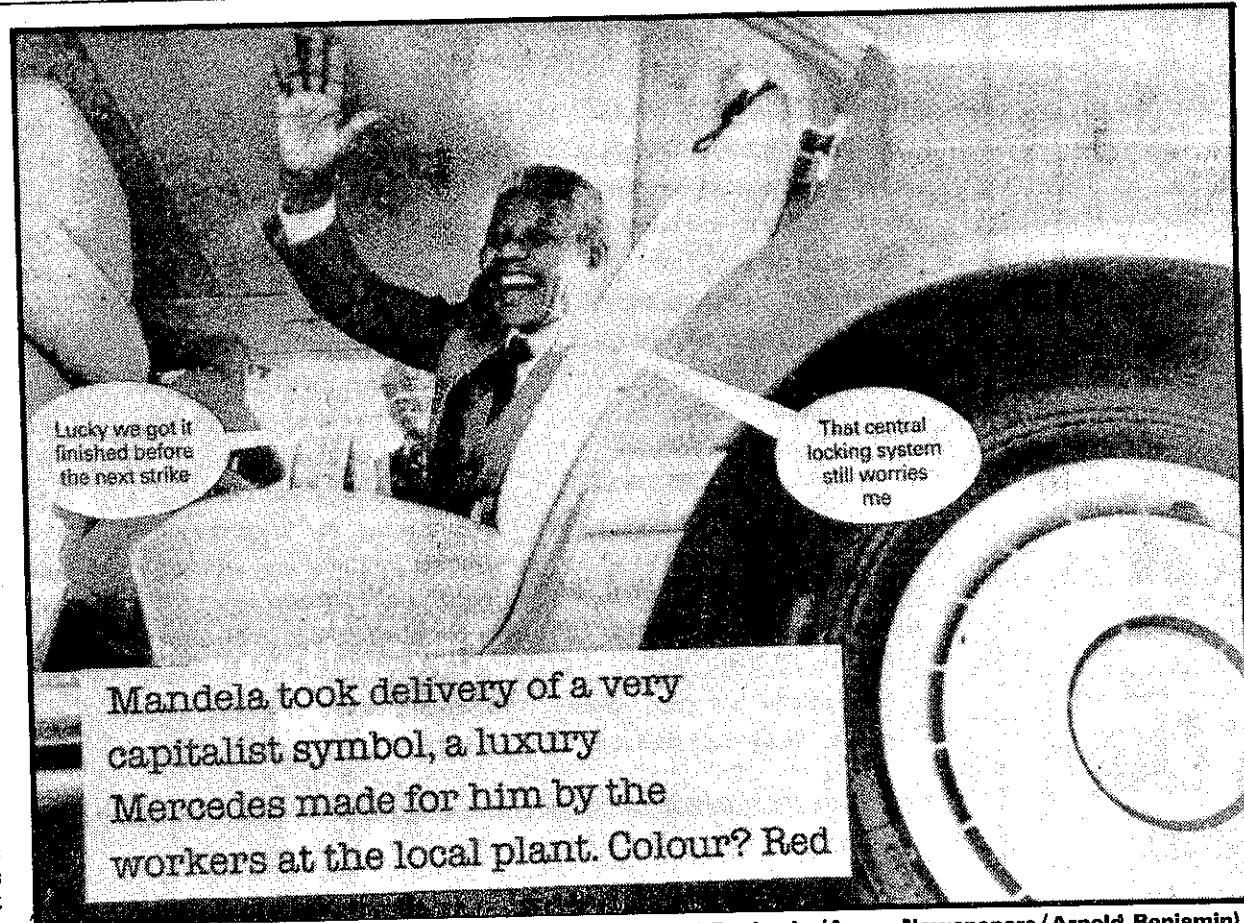
WHO'S WHO IN SA POLITICS No 3,
by Sheilagh Gastrow (Ravan, R49,95)

THIS useful reference book is different the third time round. The ANC and the PAC's unbannings have altered the political scene drastically.

P W Botha, head of state when the first two editions were published in 1985 and 1988, now doesn't even make Gastrow's list of 130 politicians worthy of note. From the PAC's Benny Alexander to the ANC's Jacob Zuma, Gastrow has included many leaders of formerly banned organisations, and had to update hurriedly as Azapo changed its executive and the SA Communist Party announced the names of its interim leadership group.

Her selection of biographies ranges across the spectrum: AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanché and SACP general secretary Joe Slovo, national intelligence chief Niel Barnard and Umkhonto chief of staff Chris Hani, homeland leaders and government Ministers, youth leaders and unionists.

Chris Heunis, Colin Eglin, Louis Stofberg, Helen Joseph and Beyers Naude are among those who don't make it this time.



A sample from The Alternative Mandela Album, by Arnold Benjamin (Argus Newspapers/Arnold Benjamin).

MPA

ANC to discuss phased lifting of sanctions

AN ANC discussion document proposing a phased lifting of sanctions would be the major point of discussion at today's meeting of recently returned ANC diplomats, NEC member Aziz Pahad said yesterday.

He said the heads of mission — among them ANC representatives from Paris, the US, Brussels, Ethiopia and Mozambique — would exchange views on the sanctions discussion document.

The representatives would brief delegates on the views of governments of the countries in which they were stationed, on the proposal that sanctions should be

SIP say 10/12/70

TIM COHEN

gradually lifted.

Pahad said all the ANC's heads of mission were in SA. About 60 more ANC members were expected to arrive for the conference. He expressed the hope that delays experienced at the weekend, which led to many of the organisation's diplomats being held up at Jan Smuts Airport for two days, would not be repeated.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela's intervention had been responsible for the admission to SA of 25 ANC members de-

layed at the airport. It was vital that ANC delegates who were still to arrive be allowed into SA before registration for the ANC conference on Thursday, Pahad said.

Sapa reports that the SABC quoted Home Affairs chief director of migration Mike Bester as saying special authority had been given to admit the ANC returnees on Saturday night.

He said the group had been delayed at the airport by "administrative and procedural problems" as his department had been receiving "too little warning" of the ANC members' return.

11A

PAC rejects Govt's offer of talks

11A

By Kaizer Nyatumba,
Political Staff

The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) yesterday rejected the Government's invitation to hold exploratory talks to pave the way for real negotiations, saying it would negotiate only within a democratically elected constituent assembly.

Newly elected PAC president Clarence Makwethu made the announcement at the end of the organisation's three-day national congress at Shareworld, Johannesburg, last night.

Mr Makwethu said the PAC would negotiate only if

S for 10/12/90

negotiations were preceded by elections for a constituent assembly on the basis of one-person one-vote on a common voters role. It was therefore incumbent on the Government to create the right conditions for negotiations.

However, Mr Makwethu said the PAC was prepared to talk to the Government at "a neutral venue" about the modalities of such a constituent assembly.

Mr Makwethu called on the international community to intensify all pressures against Pretoria, saying his organisation remained committed to all forms of strug-

gle, including the armed struggle.

The PAC was also committed to its policy on the return of the land to the indigenous people.

The PAC president said that the organisation remained committed to fight for an end to white domination.

"On that question there can never be a compromise. The Government now realises that separate development can no longer be defended and this shows that we have been correct all along. We must now brace ourselves to crush white domination for ever."

ANC to act on 'entry refusal' 11A

Staff Reporter

Star 10/12/90

The 26 African National Congress returnees, who were barred from entering South Africa at the weekend, have been allowed into the country with temporary visas which expire today, ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said yesterday.

The 26, mostly senior officials, were not allowed to clear customs after landing at Jan Smuts Airport at intervals at the weekend. Some landed on Friday.

They remained in the transit lounge until they were granted entry on Saturday night after the intervention of ANC deputy president Nelson

Mandela. Some were stranded without food or money and the ANC had to rush funds to the airport.

Ms Marcus said the ANC intended taking the matter up with the Government. She did not anticipate problems in extending the visas.

"The Government was sure to have been aware that they were arriving. It is ridiculous to expect them to have organised visas when some were coming from central African countries like Senegal," she said.

Among the group who were refused entry were the head of the ANC's mission in United States, Lindiwe Mabuza; the

chief representative in Paris, Solly Smith and the chief representative in Ethiopia, Godfrey Mosepe.

Exile Sidney Molifi, from Mozambique, who had arrived in ill health, had been treated by a doctor after being allowed through customs, Ms Marcus said.

Asked whether the returnees did not have visas as initially reported by the SA authorities, an ANC source who arrived from Lusaka at the same time said she thought arrangements had been made.

"I think they expected to be admitted but not to experience problems."

Violence:

Star 10/12/90

Mandela,

FW meet

~~11A~~ (11A) (SAA)
President F W de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela on Saturday held an urgent meeting to discuss the continuing violence plaguing black townships.

In a joint statement, the leaders said the meeting focused on the continuing violence with its attendant deaths, suffering and destruction of property as well as the destabilisation of communities.

"Significant progress was made. We have yet again agreed on our commitment to the peaceful negotiation process and on our rejection of violence as futile and destructive. On this basis, we identified the need for urgent follow-up steps," the statement said.

It said that of primary importance was the need to focus on the resolution of outstanding problems regarding paragraph 3 of the Pretoria Minute.

Paragrah 3 of the Pretoria Minute states: "In the interests of moving as speedily as possible towards a negotiated peaceful political settlement and in the context of the agreements reached, the ANC announced that it was now suspending all armed action with immediate effect. As a result of this, no further armed actions and related activities by the ANC and its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe will take place.

"It was agreed that a working group will be established to resolve all outstanding questions arising out of this decision to report by September 15 1990. Both sides once more committed themselves to do everything in their power to bring about a peaceful solution as quickly as possible."

Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela agreed that no further public statements would be made on the issue. — Sapa.

~~Azapo~~
~~Soviet~~
wont seek
10/12/90
indemnity

THE Azanian People's Organisation yesterday claimed its insurgents had been in and out of South Africa on numerous occasions, "in pursuit of their revolutionary mission".

Azapo said it would not approach Pretoria to seek indemnity for exiled members wanting to attend the organisation's 10th annual congress from December 21 in Cape Town.

11A
Odd

Azapo said besides not recognising President F W de Klerk's authority to grant indemnity, "we find it extremely odd that comrades engaged in the just war of liberation should require indemnification whereas white agents of the wicked war of oppression and genocide against our people should roam occupied Azania with impunity".

The statement said exiles disallowed from entering the country would "find ways and means" of attending the congress without asking for indemnity, "just as they did in previous congresses and other Azapo gatherings". -Sapa

Bop Seoposengwe party joins ANC

BOPHUTHATSWANA'S opposition, Seoposengwe Party and its branches will soon change into structures of the ANC.

Spokesman Mr Moatshe yesterday said the party delegates unanimously resolved at the

Sowetan 10/12/90
weekend the party should immediately distance itself from homeland politics and join "the peoples' march to a united South Africa".

The move leaves President Lucas Mangope's nominally independent territory a de facto "one-party state".

The NSP is the only registered opposition party in Bophuthatswana, since Rocky Malebane-

Metsing's Peoples' Progressive Party was outlawed after the abortive coup of 1988.

Moatshe said the NSP's weekend congress agreed that the party be dissolved, but the process had to be pursued in phases, with NSP branches to be first contacted and advised to join the ANC.

The NSP as a political party was expected to be

dissolved sometime next year. (11A)

The party's links with the ANC surfaced when the NSP leader, Mr Victor Sifora, was reported to be associated with the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa.

Moatshe said the NSP would in the future team up with other Mass Democratic Movement structures in mass protest and defiance action. -Sapa

Mandela resolves entry wrangle for exiles

Sowetan 10/12/90

11/17

A GROUP of 26 returning exiles and ANC members initially refused entry by authorities on Saturday have been admitted into the country after intervention by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela.

Mandela confirmed at the weekend that he had intervened to secure the release of the exiles, who are in the country to attend this week's consultative conference of the ANC.

A high-placed ANC source, who arrived on a plane from Lusaka at the same time as the 26, said the authorities first refused to allow them into

the country at Jan Smuts Airport about 1pm.

The source said she then contacted Mandela and other ANC officials when authorities would not allow the exiles in the country.

Problems

"He (Mandela) intervened with other members of the ANC and I think on the basis of that they were allowed in the country," she said.

She said the group was allowed about midnight on Saturday and the matter was expected to be

pursued with the authorities today.

Asked whether the exiles did not have visas as initially reported by the authorities, she said she thought arrangements had been made.

"I think they expected to be admitted, but not to experience problems".

ANC official Mr Yusuf Salojee confirmed at the weekend that Mandela had been at the airport to resolve the situation.

He later left for Pretoria to take up the

matter with Government officials.

Meanwhile SABC quoted a senior official of the Department of Foreign Affairs, Mr Mike Bester, as saying special authority had been given on Saturday night to admit the exiles.

Special arrangements had been made at Jan Smuts Airport to process papers of ANC members arriving for the organisation's conference.

He said the group had been delayed at airport by "administrative and procedural problems", and that the difficulties had been largely because of his department receiving "too little warning" of the return of ANC members. - S a p a

PAC may still hold out for 'minimum demand'

Soweto
10/12/90

11A

DELEGATES to the PAC national congress were last night still locked in a heated debate over whether the organisation should accept the Government's invitation to the negotiation table.

The congress, the second inside the country

By SY MAKARINGE

since its formation more than 30 years ago, was held over three days at Shareworld complex, outside Johannesburg.

Contrary to speculation that the PAC might accept the invitation in view of pressure from the Frontline states, indications last night were that

the organisation would not negotiate until the Government had acceded to its "minimum demand" for a constituent assembly.

The youth, who see negotiations as capitulation, were expected to play a major role in the outcome of the debate.

The congress was also expected to elect the suc-

cessor to the late PAC president, Mr Zeph Mothopeng, who died of cancer of the throat at the Johannesburg General Hospital a few weeks ago.

Acting president, Mr Clarence Makwetu, was widely seen as a natural choice.

Mr Johnson Mlambo, chairman of the organisation's external mission

and chief commander of Azanian Peoples' Liberation Army, was also tipped to take over the reigns.

Mlambo, together with other members of APLA, could not attend the conference. He was expected to be elected in absentia.

The organisation was also expected to release details of its programme

ANC decisions at summit 'binding'

The Argus Correspondent *AKL 45 11/12/90* 11A
JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC's consultative conference at the weekend, the first of its kind on South African soil since the organisation was banned in 1960, would be attended by 1 611 delegates, some of whom would travel to Johannesburg from 36 countries.

ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo and deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela will open the conference on Friday at Nasrec, outside Johannesburg, at 9am.

ANC organiser Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa announced details at a Press conference yesterday on behalf of the national preparatory committee.

Mr Valli Moosa said Mr Tambo, who would arrive on Thursday, would deliver the opening address. Mr Mandela would then deliver a major political statement.

The rest of the conference would be closed to the media, although the final plenary session on Sunday afternoon might be open.

Mr Valli Moosa said the six main issues, which would be debated by delegates in workshops, were negotiations and the suspension of the armed struggle; the strategies and tactics of the ANC, violence; building the organisation, international isolation and a programme of action for next year.

He said decisions taken at the consultative conference would be binding.

The targets set for talks have been optimistic, reports Peter Fabricius

Long road to 'real McCoy'

Star 27/12/90

11A

In the flush of euphoria after the Government and the ANC's successful first talks in May at Groote Schuur, chief Government negotiator Dr Gerrit Viljoen predicted that the "real McCoy" — the actual negotiations for a new constitution — would start early in 1991 and could be completed within two years.

By year's end both targets seem extremely optimistic.

The Government has refused to let the bulk of prisoners go or most exiles return unless the ANC demobilised Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) and abandoned its strategy of mass action.

The ANC has defiantly vowed to intensify mass action, set up MK-led "self-defence committees" in the townships, keep MK in "peak" training and pull out of negotiations if prisoners are not freed and exiles returned by April 1991, the target date set in the Pretoria Minute of August 6.

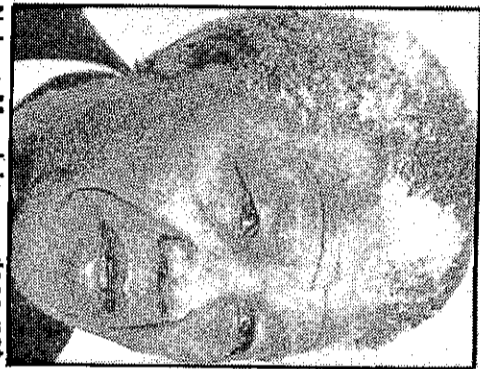
The fragile trust on which the success of negotiations depends has been stretched close to breaking point.

And when, or if, the remaining obstacles to negotiation are removed, another whole difficult phase of pre-negotiations — the "talks about talks" or discussions about how the real negotiation forum should be structured — await before the "real McCoy" in-daba can begin.

Talks were in such a mess that some observers feared President de Klerk was contemplating starting negotiations without the ANC.

Why has the promise of the first half of the year turned so sour in the second? Several reasons have contributed:

● The Pretoria Minute was in a sense vague, superficial and per-



Nelson Mandela . . . does not trust the neutrality of the South African security forces.

haps even naive. It was only when officials sat down to discuss the practicalities that they realised the problems.

● The ANC's township lieutenants believed their leaders had conceded too much in suspending armed actions and dug in their heels.

● Suspicion that the Government or security forces were taking Inkatha's side in township violence undermined ANC trust in the Government's integrity.

● Suspicions that the ANC was behind the killing and intimidation of town councillors and policemen undermined the Government's trust in the ANC's integrity.

● The ANC's attempts to establish itself as a political party were not highly successful — producing a mere 200 000 members — which tended to throw it back on its old tactics.

Most of the wrangling in committees during the second half of



Dr van Zyl Slabbert . . . suggests a neutral, domestic peace-keeping force.

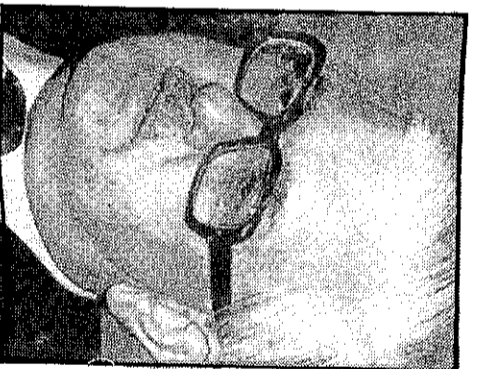
the year revolved around the meaning of the indeterminate phrase "related activities" in the ANC's undertaking to suspend "armed actions and related activities" in the Pretoria Minute.

Mr Mandela explained after the Pretoria Minute that "related activities" would include the infiltration of arms and cadres across the frontiers.

But in the so-called "paragraph three" working group set up at the Pretoria meeting to work out the practical effects of the ANC's decision to suspend armed actions, the Government went further.

It insisted that the ANC should in effect demobilise MK by ending both the training and recruiting of MK members and handing in its weapons.

It feared that by talking to the ANC with MK in the wings, it would in effect be negotiating at



Dr Gerrit Viljoen . . . wants the ANC's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, to be disbanded.

the barrel of a gun.

It also insisted that the ANC's strategy of mass action should be suspended too, insofar as it allegedly included efforts to make the townships ungovernable through violence and intimidation against black councillors and "de-stabilising" tactics such as rent and service-charge boycotts.

The ANC argued in return that MK was now a legal organisation, that there was therefore no reason why it should disband and that mass action was no more than the exercise of its democratic right.

It no doubt feared that by disbanding MK and abandoning mass action it would lose two crucial levers in negotiations, and would become helpless to resist any deal the Government thrust on it.

It felt that it was entitled to MK as it was also in effect negotiating at the barrel of a gun — that of the police and the army, whose

neutrality it did not trust. Everything else hinged on this disagreement in the working group, including, eventually, the release of the bulk of prisoners and return of most exiles.

When no progress was evident, Government decided unilaterally not to release the more serious political offenders nor indemnify exiles who had committed serious offences until the whole question of the armed struggle had been resolved in the working group.

The ANC cried "foul" and said the Government was holding its prisoners hostage.

For either side to back down required trust and this was clearly lacking. Mistrust was fuelled by the terrible township violence which has claimed about 3 000 lives this year.

No absolute proof could be found for Government/Inkatha collusion or ANC involvement in killing councillors, but the circumstantial evidence for both was strong.

Last month the "paragraph three" working group suspended its activities in frustration and passed the buck to Mr Mandela and Mr de Klerk to try to resolve in secret one-to-one meetings.

Though they reported progress, this was not evident when ANC hardliners also seized the organisation's consultative conference on December 16 and set a tough course of putting maximum pressure on negotiations.

The conference has seemed to set the stage for collision between the Government and the ANC next year, with poor prospects for progress in negotiations.

One possible way out of the morass has been Mr de Klerk's hint that the Government might move

early next year to replace the black local government system with one integrating black and white councils.

This could perhaps obviate the need for ANC mass action against local councils.

But as long as the principle of mass action remains, many other campaigns can be expected.

Another possible way out is the Democratic Party's proposal of a multi-party "transition commission" to advise Government in the run-up to a new constitution.

This compromise might satisfy the ANC's demand for an interim government and reassure it of the neutrality of the security forces — and therefore that it was safe to disband MK.

More reassuring would be Dr Van Zyl Slabbert's suggestion of a neutral, domestic peace-keeping force in the townships — though Government shows little relish for the idea.

On the other side, the European Community's decision to lift the ban on new investment in SA — against ANC advice — and the US Government's criticism of the ANC's threat to pull out of talks, suggest that in 1991 the West might put more pressure on the ANC to knuckle down to negotiations.

Overall, negotiations this year have taught the lesson that the road to the new South Africa is going to be a lot longer, harder and bloodier than many expected on February 2.

And that the Government will have to do something bold and imaginative if it hopes to meet its own outside deadline of a new constitution by 1994 — to avoid facing its white electorate again. □

ANC comes of age

South 18/12/90 - 17/1/91

From JOHN BATTERSBY
THE ANC's consultative conference was a landmark event — not only for the African National Congress but for all South Africa.

The ANC emerged from the conference stronger, more united and with an assertiveness and self-confidence which had been missing since its return to the country earlier this year.

"This is a very remarkable achievement," observed a senior Western diplomat after the opening session. "The ANC is beginning to look more like an alternative Government."

Unity



COMRADES-IN-ARMS: The "old firm" of Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo received a standing ovation at the opening ceremony of the ANC conference

to resolve paradoxes and reconcile conflicting strains.

The leadership faced a militant conference — politically radicalised by the involvement of mass democratic formations such as Cosatu and the UDF.

But it was very different in texture from the radicalism of the Kabwe conference in 1985. That was dominated by young exiles who wanted the ANC to broaden the armed struggle "soft targets".

The militancy of the Soweto conference reflected a political impatience to democratise the organisation and consolidate advances made in negotiations with the government.

One could not escape the thought that it could have been a different outcome if the 20 000 or so exiles — particularly the MK cadres in Uganda and Tanzania — had returned and been integrated into ANC structures.

Even without the MK exiles, there is no chance that the leadership would have won a proposal to suspend the armed struggle — had it not been suspended in August — at this conference.

In the event, the leadership handled the situation with consummate skill.

They gave way to the overwhelming will of the conference on sanctions and succeeded in winning backing for the suspension of the armed struggle and continued negotiations — but not at any price.

And the conditions were tough and unequivocal: release all political prisoners, allow all exiles to return unconditionally, scrap repressive security laws and halt political trials — all by April 30 or the ANC will review its participation in negotiations.

It was the moment the ANC came of age — an important event on the long and painful transition from a liberation movement to a fully-fledged political movement.

As an observer, one could not help be struck by the earnestness and unity of purpose, the maturity and mutual respect of the different groupings and the integrity of the leadership.

The immensely dignified presence of the ailing ANC president, Mr Oliver Tambo, was a powerful symbolism for the organisation.

The mutual respect that ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela and Tambo showed for each other was as touching as it was genuine.

Tambo's diplomatic skills, composure and compassion had kept the ANC going through its darkest years — the 1960s — when its internal organisation was crushed and its leadership jailed.

Courage

It was an intensely moving experience to see a man who had sacrificed the best years of his life in exile return to the land he longed to see free.

His courage and determination was evident in each word he painfully uttered, despite the considerable disability he inherited following a serious stroke last year.

His message was encapsulated in one sentence of his opening address: "We should observe democratic practices in all our structures," he said.

"Conditions of illegality, which in the past imposed some limitations on our adherence to principles of democracy, no longer prevail."

The subtlety and sophistication of the pre-conference preparation was evident in the careful but interrelated nature of the six commission topics — an attempt

South 18/12/90 - 17/1/91

This is a tough ultimatum to President FW de Klerk: demolish the walls that still divide us or we (the people) will do it ourselves.

Could the final burial of apartheid resemble the spectacular demise of the Berlin Wall last November? It is not unthinkable.

In his closing address — one of his most impressive public speeches since his release in February — Mandela struck a delicate balance in acknowledging the vigorous criticism of the leadership and drawing the lines of his authority.

He was humble in accepting the criticism but firm in making clear what he would not tolerate: revolutionaries who had no respect for democracy and members who did not show respect for national executive members.

He forcefully defended the holding of confidential meetings with the government and reminded delegates that, without them, the conference would not have been taking place inside the country.

Mandela was most moving when he articulated the magical chemistry of the conference: it was precisely because there had been such a vigorous exchange that delegates — often from vastly different experiences — were closer to one another and the organisation was stronger.

For the first time the internal component of the ANC was fully represented along with the exiles, the former Robben Island prisoners and the cadres of Umkhonto weSizwe.

"These four strands of experience have the potential of enriching our movement greatly," Mandela said, "provided

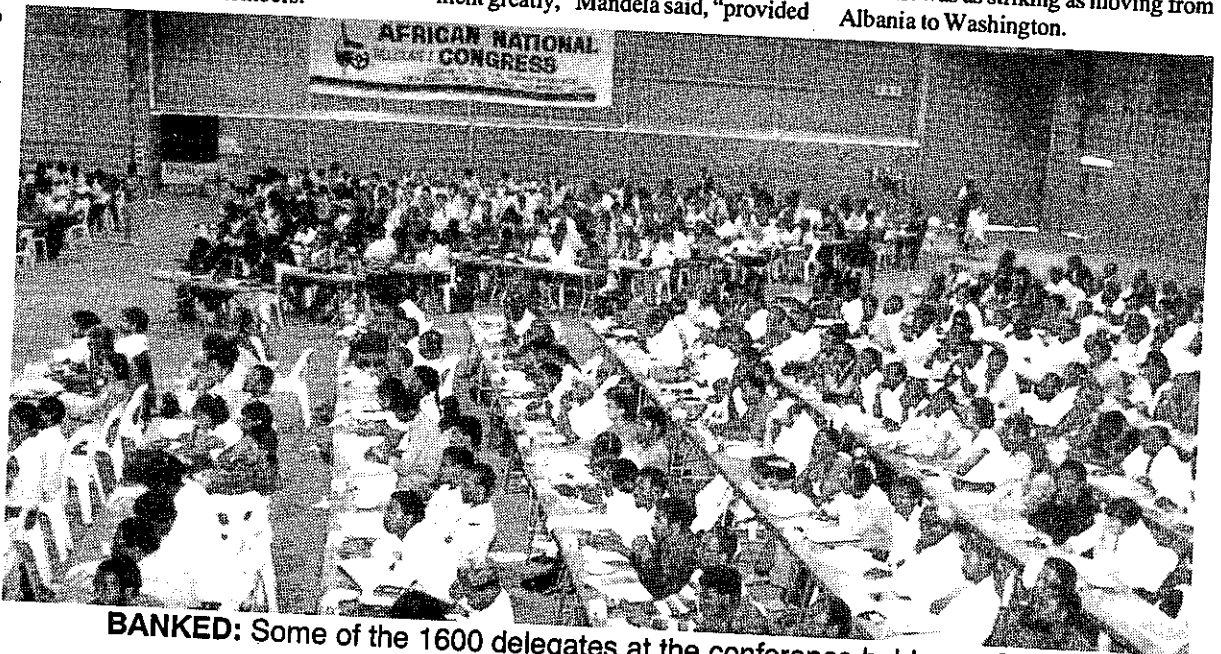
we recognise the value of each and work towards weaving them into a robust cord so that they are mutually reinforcing."

In local media coverage, much of the significance of the event has been eclipsed by the inevitable furore surrounding the ANC's stand on sanctions.

Sanctions are on the way out and the ANC will have to acknowledge that sooner rather than later. But that's not the point. People who are fighting for survival in a vicious civil war are not prone to seeing reason.

The conference was — by any standards — a visually and organisationally impressive event.

For this correspondent — who had just spent a week covering an MPLA conference in Luanda, Angola — the contrast was as striking as moving from Albania to Washington.



BANKED: Some of the 1600 delegates at the conference held near Soweto

Mandela: 'Put your trust in us'

From SHAUN JOHNSON
and PATRICK LAWRENCE
in Johannesburg

NELSON Mandela yesterday grasped the nettle of the ANC leadership, firmly telling restive delegates at the organisation's historic homecoming conference that they must trust the ANC National Executive Committee and should not expect to be consulted on all initiatives involving the government.

At the same time the ANC, by allowing delegates to sharply criticise their leadership and by not attempting to cover-up their criticisms, demonstrated its commitment to democracy within its own ranks.

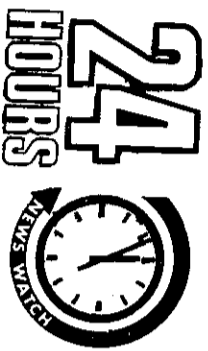
In a masterly and authoritative speech at the end of the ANC's three day Consultative Conference, Mr Mandela showed that he had rolled up his sleeves and made the transition from being a revered symbol of resistance to assuming the practical day to day leadership of a huge and still relatively unorganised political party.

To Mr Mandela fell the task of summing up and pronouncing on the key proceedings, which have set down markers for ANC activity between now and June next year when a full congress is scheduled.

Heated

His remarks left no doubt about the vigour — and heatedness — of the lengthy debates. The ANC leader implicitly but unmistakably rebuked those delegates who might have "tried to prove how revolutionary they were" by adopting intractable attitudes, saying they did not understand the nature of the process under way in South Africa.

Specifically, he rejected a call for the termination of confidential meetings be-



tween himself — or the ANC's negotiating team — and President De Klerk and his aides.

"This statement could only be made by those who do not understand the nature of negotiations," he said, adding that had such meetings not taken place, there would be no negotiations process at all. Moreover, he reminded the conference, "the overwhelming majority (of delegates) support the negotiations between the ANC and the government."

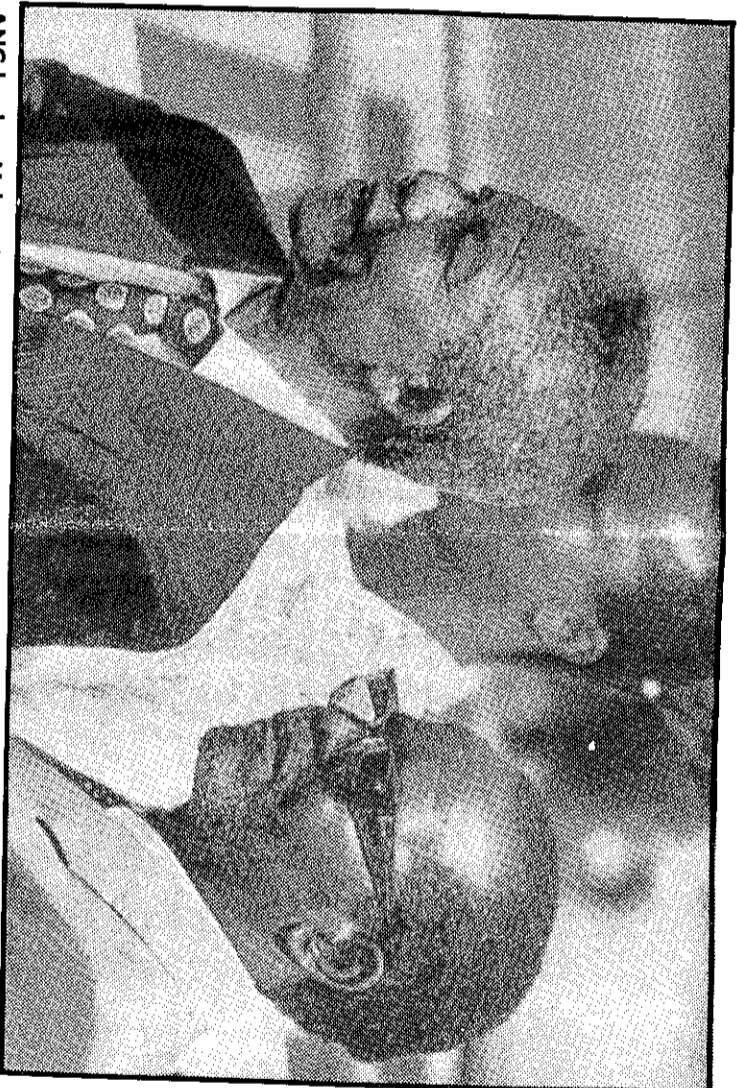
But he stressed that "no discussions on a new constitution will take place until all the obstacles (identified by the ANC) have been removed."

Confidential meetings were an essential element if further progress was to be made, Mr Mandela said, and would continue despite the objections of certain delegates. He distinguished between "confidential" and "secret" meetings.

The ANC deputy president gave several examples of occasions on which he, as leader, had initiated contact with government figures in response to immediate developments. One was his intervention in violence at Tokozai; another was he initiative in securing the release of 18 ANC exiles and delegates to the conference — who had been detained at Jan Smuts Airport.

Consultation

He gently mocked those who sought to circumscribe this right of leadership: if their view had prevailed he would have been paralysed.



ANC leaders Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo parade around the First National Bank Stadium before the conference yesterday.

"Before I took any of those steps, I should have called a Consultative Conference ... and consulted 1 600 people."

Mr Mandela addressed in some detail the question of consultation, saying he and his colleagues in the National Executive Committee were firmly behind the principle of maximum consultation, but that practical limitations should be recognised if the leadership was to be able to act creatively and in the best interests of the ANC.

It was "one of the most disappointing features of the discussions that there has been hardly a word of praise for our comrades in the NEC," he said.

He rejected criticism of the leadership's handling of the questions of President De Klerk's integrity, contact with homeland leaders, and treatment of political prisoners on death row.

He stood by his frequent affirmations of his belief in the integrity of the state president, he said, but these were being considered "out of context" by critical delegates.

The sincerity — or lack of it — of individuals within the government was irrelevant as far as the ANC's principal aims were concerned, he said. It made no difference to the movement whether their adversaries were sincere or not.

Prisoners

Its strategies were determined by the objective situation; the ANC's goal of a transformation of South Africa into a non-racial democracy was immutable.

Mr Mandela angrily dismissed claims that the NEC had failed to show sufficient interest in the fate of political prisoners on death row.



ANC's leaders stand and salute at the start of the consultative conference yesterday

Tambo given a hero's welcome

From KAIZER NYATSUMBA
Argus Correspondent
in Johannesburg

ANC president Oliver Reginald Tambo was given a hero's welcome yesterday in his first public appearance in South Africa in 30 years.

Mr Tambo (73), who returned to South Africa last Thursday was given a warm welcome at a "Welcome Home" rally at the First National Bank Stadium outside Johannesburg yesterday.

The rally, attended by about 50 000 people, started at the end of the ANC's three-day consultative conference at nearby Nasrec. It was the first rally to be addressed by the ANC president in person.

People started gathering at the stadium hours before noon — the time when the rally was scheduled to begin. ANC marshalls wearing khaki uniforms did duty inside and outside the stadium, and entertainment was lined up for those who had arrived early.

ANC supporters waited patiently for hours for the man who had guided their organisation's fortunes in exile for three decades. When, three hours later, Mr Tambo arrived driven in a convertible Mercedes Benz with his longtime friend and colleague, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela sitting on his right hand, shouts of "Tambo! Tambo! Tambo!" went around the stadium.

Acknowledging the crowd's enthusiastic welcome, Mr Tambo raised his left arm and smiled at the people.

Mr Tambo, who suffered a stroke last year, was introduced to the crowd by internal ANC chairman Walter Sisulu who heaped praise on him and called him one of Africa's "greatest sons".

Mr Tambo, who as honorary member of the ANC Youth League was presented with the youth league's first membership card, was also awarded the ANC's highest honour when he was named Isithwalandwe at the weekend.

Next year will be a year of mass action

From **ESMARÉ VAN DER MERWE**
Argus Correspondent
in Johannesburg

THE ANC has declared 1991 a year of mass action to step up pressure on the government for the transfer of power, a decision which could lead to severe conflict in coming months.

A programme of action, adopted at the organisation's consultative conference which ended yesterday, contains details of several events which will take place in the new year.

A campaign, to culminate on Solomon Mahlangu Day (April 6), will be launched for the release of political prisoners, the return of exiles and the cessation of political trials and detention.

A programme of mass action will be organised around the opening of parliament on February 1 to highlight the ANC's demand for an interim government and a constituent assembly, and the abolition of the tricameral and homeland systems. This will be followed by a mass door-to-door signature campaign to mobilise people around the objectives of an interim government and constituent assembly.

Workshops with the ANC's allies — particularly the SACP and

Cosatu — will be held to thrash out a joint programme of action against violence.

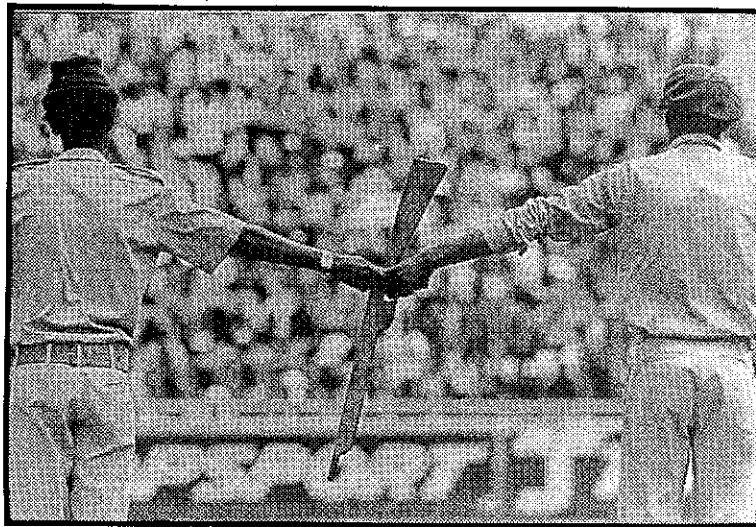
Mass campaigns will be introduced to pressure the government into ending the carnage in the townships. Such action will be waged within the context of the demand for the removal of all the obstacles to negotiations as spelt out in the Harare Declaration, and the dismantling of the homeland system and other apartheid structures.

A "patriotic conference" will be held on Sharpeville Day (March 21) to mobilise all anti-apartheid forces against the government.

The organisation's Land Commission has been given a mandate to draw up a programme of action for the "return of the land to its rightful owners".

A mass education programme will be started to enforce a "culture of learning" among students and to mobilise support for a common education system and the provision of adequate funds to education.

The NEC has been instructed to set up a National Defence Committee to take charge of the speedy implementation of self-defence units in the country's violence-ridden townships.



ANC marshals, with a replica gun, keep back the crowds at Oliver Tambo's homecoming at the First National Bank Stadium yesterday.

ANC will 'tackle' EC

THE ANC will take up the European Community's decision to lift sanctions with individual European governments to seek support for its call that sanctions be maintained, ANC foreign affairs director Thabo Mbeki said yesterday.

Participating in a press conference after the ANC's three-day consultative conference, Mr Mbeki said: "The struggle for the isolation of the apartheid regime continues."

Aware of the world's changing attitude on punitive measures against South Africa, the ANC would also hold discussions with the American government, the international anti-apartheid movement and the democratic movement inside South Africa to push

for the maintenance of sanctions.

In a resolution on international isolation, adopted at the conference, the ANC said it would urgently organise an international summit to devise and consult on new strategies on sanctions.

The ANC considered the formulation of a contingency position on sanctions as tantamount to anticipating defeat on the issue, it said.

The document, however, introduced a relaxed stance on trade sanctions.

It said the ANC would tie the lifting of trade restrictions to the removal of discriminatory practices in the export sector. Discussions to affect this would be held with trade unions, business organisations and the government.

A JUBILANT HOMECOMING FOR TAMBO

By SEKOLA SELLO

OLIVER Reginald Tambo, or simply "Comrade OR" to thousands of young and militant ANC supporters, was given a befitting heroes' welcome this week.

Thousands of khaki-clad youngsters, some of them carrying wooden AK 47s, descended on Jan Smuts Airport this Thursday in full revolutionary fervour.

They chanted revolutionary songs and slogans. They strutted in quasi-military formation. "Welcome home Comrade OR," read their banners and flags. T-shirts carried the same message.

It was a great outpouring of love for Tambo, who has led the ANC since 1963 when the rest of the leadership was arrested at Rivonia. It did not matter that most of them were not born when Tambo left for exile 30 years ago, soon after the banning of both the ANC and PAC, when he led the movement into the underground struggle.

The young lions had one thing in mind when they descended on Jan Smuts from early in the morning. Tambo - the ANC's president and therefore overall commander in chief of its armed wing, Umkhonto weSizwe - had to be given a welcome befitting a revolutionary. Come what may. But instead of military fatigues, Tambo sported a sober business suit and projected the image of the intellectual he is.

CP Press 16/11/90
The stalwart
who turned
Rivonia's loss
into a triumph

Standing two floors above the sea of supporters at the airport, none of them could fathom the extent of the stroke which he suffered in August last year, just before he was scheduled to attend an important meeting of Frontline leaders.

Looks can also be misleading. Much as the 73-year-old Tambo does not project the image of a revolutionary firebrand, he is acknowledged as the brains behind transforming the ANC into the powerful and militant formation it is today.

Tambo was instrumental in mounting and sustaining the international pressure which has led to the isolation of successive apartheid governments.

This is another irony in the life of Tambo. The transformation of the ANC from an almost civil rights movement to a

military organisation was brought about by him - a man who at one stage wanted to be a priest.

It was the National Party which drove Tambo away from the priesthood. He was accepted for ordination as an Anglican priest in 1956.

However, the same year the government charged Tambo and several other members of the ANC with high treason. These charges, which were dropped the following year, interrupted Tambo's religious studies and as a result he was forced to abandon his ordination plans.

Although today Tambo cuts the image of someone steeped in the art of diplomacy, in his younger days he was known to be as radical as some of today's young lions.

Tambo's biography shows he was not lacking when it came to militancy. He was expelled from Fort Hare University for leading a student protest while he was studying for a diploma in education. Tambo had graduated with a Bachelor of Science degree from Fort Hare the previous year.

He was also among the founders of the ANC Youth League, a radical section of the organisation. The Youth League was formed as a result of the rejection by young members of the moderate leadership of the older mem-



He's back... Oliver Tambo, the man who led the ANC into an underground struggle in 1963 when apartheid forces thought they had crushed the movement at Rivonia.

Photo: BONGANI MNGUNI

bers. He was Youth League vice-president between 1948 and 1949.

After his expulsion from Fort Hare, Tambo - who was born in Bizana in Eastern Pondoland - moved to the Transvaal and taught at St Peter's College in Johannesburg. St Peter's produced some of the country's leading black intellectuals.

Doc Bikitsha, a veteran journalist well known for his good pen as much as his penchant for ignoring acceptable norms, still remembers how "OR" used to chide him about his wild lifestyle.

"Every time I had to go to OR for legal advice, my stomach ran. I preferred dealing with Mandela. He was more approachable."

Being a stickler for discipline is something Tambo is still noted for. However, those close to him say he is a disciplinarian without being a tyrant.

Tambo has come back to his ancestral roots. It was a joyous welcome. It was also a sad homecoming. Tambo, his right hand paralysed, used a walking stick and his voice was barely audible.



Supporters toyi toyi ecstatically at Johannesburg's Jan Smuts Airport to celebrate Tambo's return. He received a rousing welcome after nearly three decades in exile. ■ Pic: TLADI KHUELE

AT NASREC this weekend the leadership of the ANC faces its toughest challenge yet. Caught between a government that talks peace but shows signs of recalcitrance in implementing measures it has ostensibly agreed to, and a disgruntled membership that feels increasingly isolated and impatient, ANC leaders will have to argue long and hard if they are to win a mandate to continue on their chosen course.

The Nasrec consultative conference will be the first held by the ANC inside SA in almost three decades. Decisions will be as binding on the organisation as those made at the Lusaka and Kabwe congresses which took place during the organisation's years in exile.

The conference will be attended by 1 611 delegates composed of representatives of each branch and region inside SA as well as camps in Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia. The youth and women's sections will have 52 representatives each, while Cosatu, the UDF and the SACP will each have 20 participating observers at the conference.

The main topics of discussion will be: negotiations and the suspension of armed struggle; strategy and tactics of the ANC; violence; building an organisation; international isolation and a programme of action for 1991.

Discussion documents on all six have been circulated among the membership and it is expected that the first two — related topics — will be the most contentious. The international isolation document which calls for a gradual lifting of sanctions provided substantial reforms are introduced by government next year is also likely to be the subject of fierce debate.

Because most of the ANC branches and regions are new, no one is entirely sure how the membership will respond. Militants talk of the leadership being isolated and cut off from the grassroots. Key negotiators like international relations head Thabo Mbeki, intelligence chief Jacob Zuma, and NEC members Aziz Pahad and Matthew Phosa, who

ANC leaders face tough battle to secure a mandate

Report 14/12/90

(11A)

MIKE ROBERTSON

serve on a number of working groups, have been singled out as the worst offenders. Yet Zuma was easily elected a southern Natal regional head while Phosa was elected head of the eastern Transvaal region.

The most difficult task confronting the leadership will be to convince the membership that its chosen path of negotiations is the correct one. It will argue that the connection between negotiations, the suspension of armed action, the escalation of violence and the ANC's difficulty in mobilising itself as an effective political party is a false one.

Inherent in this argument is the acceptance that government is serious in its commitment to bring about a new SA. Leadership figures still accept this, although they complain of government tardiness or lack of willingness in stamping out violence. Accusations of complicity in violence are levelled at rogue elements within the establishment and not at government as a whole.

ANC Youth League leader Peter Mokaba, a key militant, does not accept government bona fides and will argue that events of the past few months are clear proof that government as a whole, and this includes President F W de Klerk, is committed to and implicated in efforts to undermine the ANC.

Government, Mokaba said in an interview this week, had to be made

to pay for its actions. "We will demand that we bring back the days of the defiance campaign last year and the mass action of 1985."

ANC leaders admit they made mistakes in interpreting too favourably agreements reached at the Pretoria and Groote Schuur summits.

They did not expect government would attempt to define mass mobilisation as a related activity of armed action, nor that when it came to filling in detail on agreements involving the release of prisoners and return of exiles they would encounter officials bent on applying a strictly legalistic interpretation.

Mokaba seizes on the delays in releasing prisoners and allowing exiles to return as proof that government is not negotiating in good faith.

"By linking the release of prisoners and return of exiles to progress achieved by the armed action working group, government is looking for ways to marginalise the ANC and discredit the leadership.

"Government is not ready to proceed and we must now look for ways to deepen the crisis. It has taken a certain level of force to get us this far. We need to make another tilt at getting government to discuss the real issues," he said.

The upshot is that there is now little likelihood of the target date of December 31 for the release and return of categories of prisoners and exiles being met. Nor is there much chance that the April 90 target date for the release and return of individuals will be met.

Government attempts to include mass mobilisation as a related activity of armed struggle brought the work of the armed action working group to a standstill, and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and De Klerk have been meeting in private during the past three weeks to see if they can break the impasse.

Leadership figures reject any connection between the ANC commitment to negotiations and its lack of success in building itself into a powerful political party.

But Mokaba believes there is a link. "When we said De Klerk was a man of integrity, we did not explain properly the terrain of struggle that still exists between him and us. This has served to demobilise our people."

To counter this, Mokaba said the youth would demand a campaign of mass action directed at government's power base and aimed at getting it to implement agreements already reached.

Such a campaign, he said, should involve strikes, consumer boycotts

and campaigns to occupy land as well as selective marches.

The youth, he added, would also argue for significant Unkhonto we Sizwe involvement in the defence of communities. Such steps were necessary until an interim government, which was prepared to defend people against attacks, was in place.

Unlike others in the organisation, Mokaba did not go so far as to say that the ANC leadership was isolated from the community. But, he added, "there is a degree of impatience in the youth that is not shared by the leadership. We can't just keep on talking. We are more impatient than the leadership, and we are getting angrier by the day."

The talks are seriously in danger. It is quite possible that the conference might decide to end them."

Mokaba's views are extreme but not insignificant.

Senior ANC leaders expect part of their overall negotiation strategy will be to delay the start of constitutional negotiations, at least until government has taken what they believe to be credible steps to address inter-racial township violence. They are confident, however, that those who argue that a retreat from negotiations is not an option will win the day.

To do so they will have to persuade the membership that while private talks such as those taking place between Mandela and De Klerk at present might not seem entirely democratic, they are an essential part of any negotiations.

They will have to convince the membership that if they are to be successful in removing obstacles to negotiations, they require the flexibility to abandon an already tired sanctions campaign in order to extract political concessions.

They need also to convince the membership that mass mobilisation is effective only when backed by effective organisation, and is impotent when used as a knee-jerk response whenever anything goes wrong.

If Mandela and his NEC are to emerge strengthened from the conference, they will need to display something that has been sorely lacking in the ANC since its unbanning — real leadership.

Welcome to

'WE know we have Africans have not to pay for it in plenty of blood. But it will come.' Most South

SOEWETAN THE

Today, Oliver Tambo returns home - an alling, 73-year-old man on a brief visit to the country he fled 30 years ago. An aura of mystique surrounds the legendary ANC president, who has been a banned person under security legislation for most of his political career. *Sowetan* Correspondent Esmare van der Merwe reports on his views which have seldom been published in this country.

been banned in this country for decades. It was published in the *New York Times* in 1982. The man being interviewed on his hopes for a democratic, non-racial South Africa was Oliver Reginald Tambo, president of the ANC. First banned in 1954, the Government upheld the clamp-down on Tambo's views. The extreme to which

the ban was exercised was illustrated by a R100 court fine imposed on the *Star* in 1983 for quoting Tambo as saying he could not be legally quoted.

Today, "Comrade OR" will receive a hero's welcome. Sadly, little will be seen and heard of this legendary leader during a three-week visit. Recovering from a severe stroke he suffered in August last year, the revered ANC leader's

speech has been affected and his right side partially paralysed. Throughout the dark years of the ANC's struggle, Tambo has kept the movement together and acted as its roving ambassador, mustering international support for the organisation in all the world's capitals. He is a devoted Christian, an essentially non-violent person but an uncompromising proponent of the armed struggle, a sharp thinker, and above all, an eternal optimist about the prospects of a new South Africa.

Sowetan 13/12/90
Speeches 11A



Oliver Tambo with Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Robert Runcie

* To next page

Comrade OR

* From previous page

The Pretoria regime is refusing to bring about negotiations not because there is an armed struggle, but because it is unwilling to give up white minority domination.

* On ungovernability (1986): Our own tasks are very clear. To bring about the kind of society that is visualised in the Freedom Charter, we have to break down and destroy the old order.

We have to make apartheid unworkable and our country ungovernable.

* On violence (1986): We would much rather that no blood was lost, in fact the country was left intact. But not at the expense of our continued enslavement.

* On sanctions (1987): Although one does not expect the Government to fall overnight as a result, hitting Nationalists in the sensitive region of the pocket may bring them to their senses more effectively than many more conventional protests which they have ignored.

* On the impact of sanctions on blacks (1986): It is idle to say nothing should be done because blacks will suffer. That kind of argument displays a lack of knowledge, lack of appreciation of what apartheid has been and continues to be.

It is the pain of apartheid that we want to stop by ending apartheid. We are not asking for pity for our suffering. We are asking to be supported for the sacrifices we are ready to make.

The burden that sanctions will bring upon us are a sacrifice we are prepared to make.

* On mass mobilisation (1983): Because we could not rely on bases outside South Africa, we had to place more reliance on the popular masses in our country.

We have had, as part of our struggle, to develop mass mobilisation, and do this with concentration and consistency, building this political base to replace a base outside the country.

* On redistribution (1987): The issues as to how the wealth of our country is redistributed, how the economy of our order that all South Africans may thrive and prosper, should find their solutions in the context of democracy.

These are matters requiring the participation of the people: issues to be settled by informed debate and discussion in a democratic and sovereign parliament rather than through street battles. This is an enormous task but our approach has, as its starting point, our commitment to democracy.

There are no glib answers and we are not to provide any.

* On racism (1980): Racism serves to justify exploitative social relations. Therefore, while it is perfectly justified to wage a struggle against racism, it is also important at all times to seek a deeper understanding of this anti-human phenomenon to be able to remove its root causes rather than focus solely on the effects.

* On PW Botha's reforms (1987): Of course he dresses up this naked and increasing spiral of brutality with the contention that "law and order" are a necessary precondition for his brand of "reform". One wonders: is there anyone who is still prepared to

buy such an empty package of meaningless promises?

* On black empowerment (1971): And who are the blacks in South Africa? They are the people known, and treated, as "kafirs", "coolies", and "hotnots", together with those South Africans whose total political identity with the oppressed Africans makes them black in all but the accident of skin colour.

* On unity (1958): A united struggle is our best answer to apartheid, which threatens to destroy South Africa. We have the task of bringing peace and happiness to all the people of this land.

* On black/white relations (1958): The political conflict is developing a dangerous black versus white complexion. Such a situation no doubt suits the present Government, but it does not suit the ANC and has to be avoided.

* On destabilisation (1983): We must see destabilisation as part of the attempt by the South African regime to carry out their old ambition of dominating southern Africa economically and politically. Smuts did it. Verwoerd did it. John Vorster pursued the same objective, and then came Pieter (PW) Botha with his idea of a constellation of states.

It is an old dream. They are trying to weaken these countries economically, to keep them economically underdeveloped so as to increase their dependence upon South Africa.

* On relations with the USSR (1981): The enemy likes to squeal that we have been fighting with either Soviet-made weapons, or communist made weapons. It does not matter what weapons they are. But we are glad to have them, and shall

continue to use them if they are effective - and they are.

PAC is that it is not really worth even discussing.

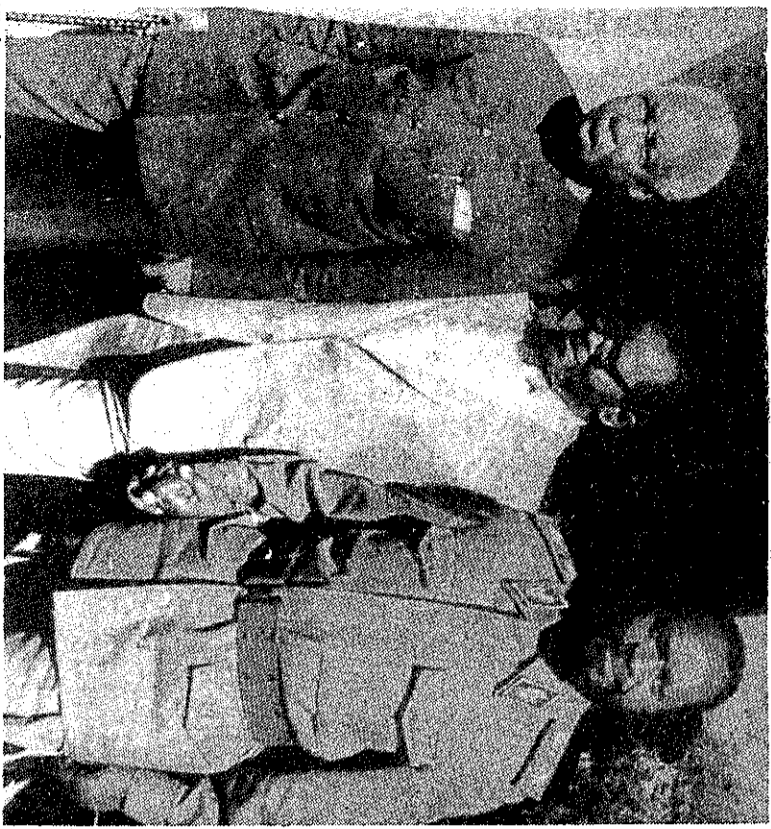
* On Mandela's incarceration (1980): He and the other jailed national leaders have a presence in the consciousness of our people and of the world public, so powerful that it cannot be explained except in terms of the destructibility of the cause to which they have surrendered their liberty and offered their lives - the cause of the oppressed majority in South Africa, the cause of Africa, the cause of progressive mankind.

Thursday, December 13, 1990

Page 17



Oliver Tambo...home after being in exile for 30 years



Flashback: Oliver Tambo meets Pres Julius Nyerere and Pres Samora Machel.

Political writer Shaun Johnson second-guesses this weekend's historic conference

The question facing the ANC

Apr 13/12/90

(11A)

UNDERLYING all the fraught tactical decisions to be faced at the ANC's historic "homecoming" conference this weekend is one of the most profound psychological importance to the movement.

For 72 hours, 1 611 delegates will step off the rollercoaster of this year's frenetic events, and seek an answer to a single question: does the struggle for change in South Africa still take the form of a "national democratic revolution", or have developments allowed for the adoption of a "reformist" approach which can still lead to a fundamental transfer of power?

In other words, they will have to ask themselves: are we doing the right thing in negotiating with the Government on its terms, or are we being manoeuvred into making unacceptable compromises which run counter to the ANC's long-held positions?

The matter involves much more than mere revolutionary rhetoric. It will do no less than dictate the attitude and approach next year at the negotiating table of Pretoria's principal challenger for

power. It will also shed some light on current balances of influence within the ANC.

In its pre-Consultative Conference edition, the ANC's journal *Mayibuye* looks searchingly at this question:

"Our definition of South African society and the nature of the ruling class will determine whether we still see the struggle as a national democratic revolution, the main content of which is the liberation of the black people, and Africans in particular. Or would we, in the context of negotiations, talk about reform as our approach?"

Mayibuye concludes that the gathering will "have to pronounce on this. For it is on the basis of agreement on these issues that the Conference will have to deal with the thorny questions about forms of struggle and the forms of transfer of power envisaged. The crucial issue in this regard is: have we entered negotiations as a tactic, or as a strategy? Given the changes since February 2, do we see a negotiated transfer of power as the most probable outcome of the present phase?"

Contrary to recent speculation, the fact of negotiating is not in itself the source of a "split" between militants and moderates within the ANC. All, including those in the ANC underground, endorse the initiatives taken by the ANC leadership thus far.

But the conference will be seeking to attach a vital nuance to this agreement: it will establish a position between those who fully accept the bona fides of the Government, and those who remain deeply suspicious. The potential for compromise on present and future obstacles — which are and will be manifold — will thereby be established.

It is likely that the historic ANC gathering will enter the history books as a "fighting" — *Mayibuye's* phrase — rather than a conciliatory conference. This attitude will infuse the debates on the six key areas isolated by the ANC leadership for special attention on the agenda: negotiations and the suspension of armed struggle, ANC strategy and tactics, violence, organisation-building, international isolation, and the programme of action for 1991.

The question is the extent to which militancy will win the day.

There is some dissatisfaction in ANC circles, for example, about the basic document on strategy and tactics, which will be presented at the conference. Some ANC members believe it is vague and inconclusive.

One source said it failed to give real direction. Others called it "overgeneralised, triumphalist... pretty much useless." What is required, militants believe, is a detailed programme for practical action to weaken the Government's position in preparation for real negotiations.

It is argued that the resurgence of mass action, particularly in the form of the current "Peace and Freedom Now" campaign, will influence the conference and lead to a significant "beefing up" of the document before resolutions are adopted. "The document as it stands is unlikely to be decisive in determining the way ahead," said one source. "At a mass level there is a seething anger, and it will be difficult to hold back the will of these people to have their voices heard."

"We are concerned to re-emphasise that nothing De Klerk has done since his strategic retreat in February has changed the contradictions that are at the base of South African society. So we have to come up with strategies and tactics which are best able to unlock the right doors."

"The Government's job is to make sure we identify the wrong doors. The masses are our battering ram, our means both of defence and attack."

There is concern that negotiations have been elevated to the status of the ANC's prime means of activity and even, in some cases, an exclusive means.

Many delegates will be pushing for the involvement of "the masses" to be upgraded dramatically, thus lessening the emphasis on the exclusive dealings between the leadership and the Government.

Much hinges on the wording and tone of the Programme of Action which emerges on Sunday. Many delegates will be urging an unequivocal document which "re-gains the identity of the ANC", and ensures that "ordinary activists" feel involved in the process

"rather than watching it all on TV". There will be acceptance of the need for the ANC to master the skills required by a political party, but it will be argued that this cannot be done at the expense of its "liberation movement" persona.

Six individuals can be expected to play a key role in the proceedings — and perhaps even dominate them. Besides the obvious figure of ANC potentate Nelson Mandela, those who will carry great weight are Thabo Mbeki, Chris Hanu, Joe Slovo, Pallo Jordan and Mac Maharaj.

Returning President Oliver Tambo might make important strategic inputs, but will not be fit enough to engage in the hurly-burly of conference-floor debates and politicking.

Crucially, however, Mr Mandela — a master at achieving consensus — will, along with Mr Tambo, present the resolutions to a mass rally near Soweto directly after the conference.

To him will fall the task of synthesising important differences in emphasis, and presenting them as coherent, unified, and enthusiastic agreement. □

PAC opens the door to talks

South
12/12-17/12/90

By DAVID NIDDRIE

THE Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) emerged from its second national conference in 31 years on last Sunday to announce a tough, apparently unambiguous rejection of immediate formal negotiations with President FW de Klerk's government — but effectively opening the door to pre-negotiations talks.

The rhetoric of the three-day conference fed this image of a hardened PAC stance: toy-toting activists added "ten settlers, one grenade" to their chant repertoire, previously restricted to "one, settler, one bullet".

Talks about talks

But a crucial postscript to the negotiations resolution will allow the movement to undertake precisely the contact it appears to have rejected — pre-negotiations talks about talks with Pretoria, similar to those currently involving the African National Congress (ANC), although not — the PAC insists — inside South Africa.

The formal decision at the black exclusivist movement's conference rejects negotiating with De Klerk before normal universal franchise elections to a constituent assembly.

This is a skilful addition to the PAC's growing arsenal of political rhetoric to characterise itself as the most militant of movements opposing De Klerk. But it is not a response to what De Klerk actually invited them to: "exploratory talks" prior to formal negotiations.

The real response to De Klerk's offer was contained in the post-script, announced by incoming president Clarence Makwetu after the conference.

The PAC, he said, was prepared to embark on discussions of "modalities of a constituent assembly" with Pretoria, provided that these take place on "neutral territory".

PAC sources say this means meetings outside the country and, ideally, under the umbrella of Organisation of African Unity chairman, Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni.

In this the PAC has clearly learned from ANC experience of the last nine months.

For De Klerk, however, the message is clear: the PAC is ready to begin public talks about talks. All that remains to be overcome is a disagreement over the venue.

In the interim, the PAC will hold to its formal policy — honoured mainly in the breach for the movement's 30 years of illegality — of seeking an armed overthrow of the white government, backed by international sanctions.

The resolution, nevertheless, marks a crucial shift in publicly acknowledged PAC policy, and a hard-won concession by incoming publicity secretary and long-time exile Barney Desai and his supporters during the tense and often sharp conference debate on negotiations.

Public militancy

Arguably the most astute thinker in the PAC leadership, Desai has not, as many of his colleagues have, made the mistake of confusing PAC propaganda with reality.

Aware that its public militancy could draw off marginal support from the ANC, Desai recognises that this is no substitute for the real and organised support base which the PAC does not have and will need if it is to influence



Delegates at the opening of the PAC national congress at Shareworld

the negotiations themselves and developments after the end of white rule.

He therefore proposed, during the conference's closed sessions, immediate acceptance of De Klerk's invitation. His logic is that the sooner the PAC clambers aboard the negotiating hand-wagon, the greater its chances of carving itself an enduring niche.

Any delay could see it lose the minimal relevance it has achieved domestically and retained internationally. Although Desai's motion was rejected, what finally emerged was his logic cloaked in the militant rhetoric favoured by the internal leadership group around general secretary Benny Alexander.

What ultimately swung the "neutral

territory" decision was the need to retrospectively legitimise one of the PAC's most embarrassing secrets.

Between the PAC's February 2 legislation and September, the movement's external leadership, under central committee chairperson Johnson Mlambo (elected first deputy president at the conference), held several secret meetings with diplomats of Pik Botha's Foreign Affairs Department.

During these meetings they discussed their return to South Africa and the PAC's participation in pre-negotiation talks with Pretoria. Local PAC sources say the contacts ended in September at the outraged insistence of an internal delegation which learned of them for the first time during a meeting in Harare

with Mlambo's externals.

The Harare consultation degenerated into a furious row, during which Zephania Moshopeng, PAC president until his death two months ago, was on the point of resigning.

Last weekend's conference was to help break the resulting deadlock — both sides agreed to refer the question of negotiations and pre-negotiation contacts with Pretoria to their membership.

The conference has agreed to an ambiguous combination of both positions. But the election as second deputy constitutional lawyer Dikgang Moseke by the conference is almost certainly a significant pointer to the direction the PAC will be taking in the months ahead.

Balance of influence

The conference also decisively swung the balance of influence in the PAC leadership back into the country. In addition to Makwetu, Mosenke and Alexander (who retained his general secretary's post), almost 70 of the 90 members of the newly-recreated national executive council (NEC) were drawn from the PAC's internal following.

The externally-based central committee, once the highest decision-making structure, has been downgraded and its members absorbed into the NEC.

A further strengthening of the hard-line stance, which draws much of its support from the PAC's youth structures, came in the form of the election as assistant general secretary of Carter Seleka, founding head of the PAC youth wing, Azanian Youth Unity (Azanyu). PAC sources say Seleka's election reflects growing concern within Azanyu and its student equivalent, the Pan-Africanist Students Organisation (Paso) over the PAC's drift away from the "one settler, one bullet" political perspective which in the past three years has regained the PAC such support as it currently enjoys.



African National Congress Youth League



A GLORIOUS HOMECOMING

Viva Comrade Tambo!

Across the length and breadth of our land, from every village and homestead, from the cities and towns, from the schools and campuses, let us together join in the celebration of the heroic return of a great leader and astute statesman.

The coming home of Comrade President OR Tambo, at a time when a historic landmark in the history of our struggle has been reached, is in itself a clarion call for every South African who cherishes a new united and non-racial order, to engage more intensely in the transformative process. Our common resolve to triumph over the ills of apartheid oppression and artificial division should be emphasised more than ever before. Our watchword must remain unity in action!

"In our message to our people today, we call attention to the lesson of our own history, our own times; to the reality of our own situation. Nothing will change except at the instance of the majority of our people of all races and social strata; Nothing will change without enduring and sustained sacrifice on our part. No force on earth can deny us the victory of our just and united struggle.

"We invite all our countrymen in their various organisational formations to seek and find ways of co-operation and collaboration in the quest for justice in our country, for liberation. The enemy of freedom for peoples has evolved a divisive structure which has found support among some of the victims of that structure." — OR Tambo, 1979.

OR Tambo ranks among the greatest political figures of our times. His sagacity, maturity and humility are the marks of a towering personality imbued with a deep sense of justice and an inspiring love for the people.

President OR Tambo's return to our country and people is perhaps one of the most important blessings to come our way as South Africans at this decisive period. More of us need to emulate his example.

Fight! Produce! Learn!

The return of Oliver Tambo

“WE know we have to pay for it in plenty of blood. But it will come.”

Most South Africans have not read these prophetic words, for the man who uttered them has been banned in this country for decades.

It was published in The New York Times in 1982. The man being interviewed on his hopes for a democratic, non-racial South Africa was Oliver Tambo, president of the ANC.

First banned in 1954, the government has steadfastly upheld the clamp-down on Mr Tambo's views.

The extreme to which the ban was exercised was illustrated by a R100 court fine imposed on The Star, sister paper of The Argus, in 1983 for quoting Mr Tambo as saying he could not be legally quoted.

Today, “Comrade OR” will be given a hero's welcome. Sadly, little will be seen and heard of this legendary leader during a three-week visit.

Recovering from a severe stroke he suffered in August last year, the revered ANC leader's speech has been affected and his right side partially paralysed.

Throughout the dark years of the ANC's struggle, Mr Tambo has kept the movement together and acted as its roving ambassador, mustering international support for the organisation in all the world's capitals.

He is a devoted Christian, an essentially non-violent person but an uncompromising proponent of the armed struggle, a sharp thinker, and above all, an eternal optimist about the prospects of a new South Africa.

Extracts from Mr Tambo's speeches and rare media interviews, compiled in book form by his wife, Adelaide, include:

● On negotiations (1987): If the key to negotiations were in our hands, we would long have used it to open the door. Such measures as have been proposed for us to adopt, namely the cessation or suspension of our armed struggle

Today, Oliver Tambo returns home — an ailing, 73-year-old man on a brief visit to the country he fled 30 years ago. An aura of mystique surrounds the legendary ANC president, who has been a banned person under security legislation for most of his political career. Argus correspondent ESMARE VAN DER MERWE reports on his views which have seldom been reported in this country.



ANC president Oliver Tambo was jovial with the media (above) in Washington in January 1987, but after the stroke (below) the ailing 73-year-old talks to Peter Soal, Democratic Party MP, in Sweden.



or the unilateral proclamation of a moratorium, will do nothing to bring about negotiations. The Pretoria regime is refusing to bring about negotiations not because there is

an armed struggle, but because it is unwilling to give up white minority domination.

● On ungovernability (1986): Our own tasks are very

clear. To bring about the kind of society that is visualised in the Freedom Charter, we have to break down and destroy the old order. We have to make apartheid unworkable and our country ungovernable.

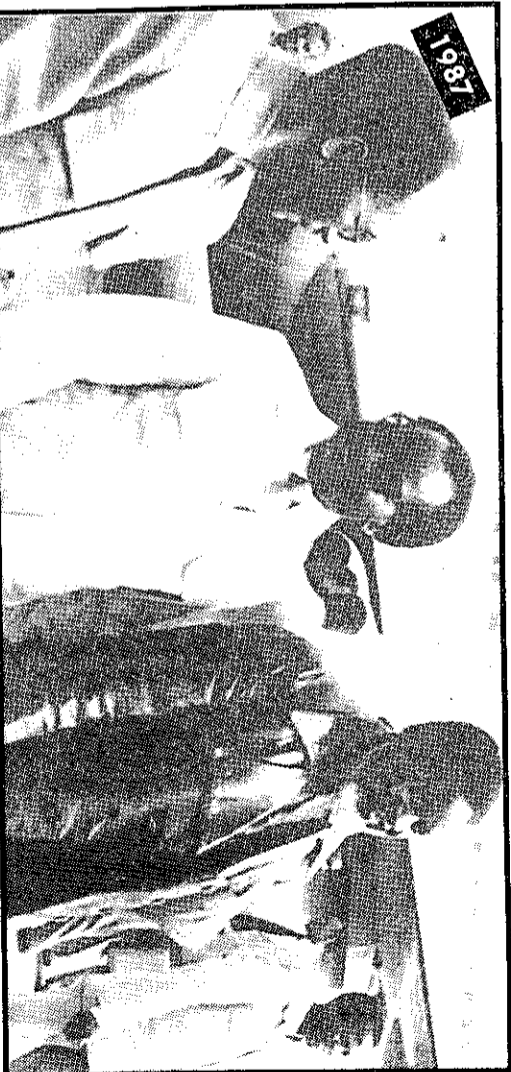
● On violence (1986): We would much rather that no blood was lost, that the country was left intact. But not at the expense of our continued enslavement.

● On sanctions (1957): Although one does not expect the Government to fall overnight as a result, hitting Nationalists in the sensitive region of the pocket may bring them to their senses more effectively than many more conventional protests which they have ignored.

● On the impact of sanctions on blacks (1986): It is idle to say nothing should be done because blacks will suffer. That kind of argument displays lack of knowledge, lack of appreciation of what apartheid has been and continues to be. It is the pain of apartheid that we want to stop by ending apartheid. We are not asking for pity for our suffering. We are asking to be supported for the sacrifices we are ready to make. The burden that sanctions will bring upon us are a sacrifice we are prepared to make.

● On mass mobilisation (1983): Because we could not rely on bases outside South Africa, we had to place more reliance on the popular masses in our country. We have had, as part of our struggle, to develop mass mobilisation, and do this with concentration and consistency, building this political base to replace a base outside the country.

● On redistribution (1987): The issues as to how the wealth of our country is redistributed, how the economy of our country is remodelled in order that all South Africans may thrive and prosper, should find their solutions in the context of democracy. These are matters requiring the participation of the people, issues to be settled by informed debate and discussion



Arriving at the OAU conference in Addis Ababa in July 1987, Oliver Tambo, centre, with the President of Namibia Sam Nujoma (right) are welcomed by a senior OAU official. Below: The emotional visit by Nelson Mandela and his wife Winnie to his old friend and colleague Oliver Tambo and his wife Adelaide.



● On relations with the USSR (1981): The enemy likes to squeal that we have been fighting with either Soviet made weapons, or communist matter what weapons they are. But we are glad to have them, and shall continue to use them if they are effective — and they are.

● On the PAC (1983): My attitude towards the PAC is that it is not really worth even discussing.

● On the deaths of civilians in armed attacks (1983): When

that cause (apartheid) is removed there will be peace in the country. Otherwise the situation will continue to worsen, and they surely have not seen the last bomb attack. Changing the South African system is going to call for sacrifices from innocent and guilty alike, civilians and non-civilians alike. As long as the system is there, that is the price that has to be paid.

● On self-criticism (1975): At least politically, the ANC is yet a force — it may be ill-managed, poorly directed and badly led — but still a force.

By ANTHONY HOLIDAY

DISCUSSIONS at the ANC's national congress (December 14-16), important as they may be in their own right, are also in a sense reflections of a more fundamental theoretical debate within the South African Communist Party concerning the party's programme, "The Path to Power".

It is no secret that communists and non-communists within the ANC exert a considerable reciprocal influence on each other's political thinking. The organic character of the alliance between the two organisations makes that inevitable. It follows that when political realities force the SACP theoreticians to set about revising aspects of a programme, approved by a full party congress only last year, this must affect ANC decisions on such issues as sanctions, the future of Umkhonto we Sizwe — and, of course, negotiations.

There is no mystery either about which sections of the programme are being subjected to critical scrutiny. They are the pitifully inadequate four paragraphs dealing with the "negative features," accompanying the "transition from capitalism to socialism" in Eastern Europe and the chapter entitled "The Path to Power in the National Democratic Revolution" which is, in effect, the core of the programme.

What seems to be less well understood is that the drafters of the programme and members of the SACP leadership had every reason to be aware of its lacunae and ambivalences long before the final draft was approved by the party's seventh congress: that the programme itself subtly downplays the importance of the "armed struggle" by insisting on the primacy of "political leadership" and that, by the time the programme was published, the insurrectionary perspective it contains had been made pretty well redundant — largely as a result of the intensive diplomatic forays to which some of the ANC and SACP's most astute strategists had lent all their energies.

Growing combat

The shape of these anomalies emerges strikingly from a look at some of the key passages in the programme and from a study of the processes which culminated in their ratification by the enthusiastic delegates to the congress in Havana.

The programme is a trifle vague on what it means by an "insurrection". The closest it comes to a definition is to call it an act of "revolutionary force" which is not always an armed uprising. It also says that an insurrection is "a mass revolutionary upsurge of the people in conditions which hold out the possibility of a seizure of power." Significantly, the programme does not commit itself to insurrection as the only possible form which the destruction of apartheid will take. It merely holds it out as a possibility. Discussing how this possibility might be realised, it says:

"The crisis facing our ruling class will be aggravated still further by a combination of mass upsurge in which working-class action at the point of production will play a key role, mass defiance, growing revolutionary combat activity, intensified international pressure, a situation of ungovernability, a deteriorating economy and growing demor-

SACP still sees mass struggle for democracy

CAF T-115 12/12/90

alisation, division, vacillation and confusion within the power bloc. When all these elements converge in a sufficient measure, the immediate possibility of an insurrectionary breakthrough will present itself."

Strangely enough, this rather apocalyptic vision was, in some small part, the product of a dawdling sobriety among those who entertained it regarding the prospects of the ANC's guerrilla army acting as a spearhead to the revolutionary thrust.

It is noteworthy that the above passage lists "growing combat activity" as only one among many factors contributing to the proposed seizure of power. By the time the drafting committee began its work, it had become apparent to even the most ardent of the visionaries that a military victory depended on the provision of secure rear bases for the guerrillas by the Frontline states.

The Nkomati Accord between South Africa and Mozambique and signals from the Angolan hosts that they would like to see a settlement were among several signs that such bases would not materialise.

Negotiation

In the main, however, the inclusion of the section dealing with insurrection was, I believe, the upshot of a failure by some communists to adapt their thinking to the breathtakingly rapid changes taking place both internationally and in South Africa. This immobility was the legacy of decades of illegality, clandestinity and exile which produced a rigidity of outlook on such matters as the state of socialism in the Soviet Union and the supposedly monolithic character of white politics at home.

Of course the insurrectionists by no means dominated party thinking. There were plenty of alert minds in both the SACP and the ANC who realised that a process of principled dialogue and diplomacy, whatever its dangers and difficulties, was far more likely to achieve the ideals of the Freedom Charter. Among these I would number the SACP's general secretary, Mr Joe Slovo, the ANC's secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo, its foreign affairs spokesman Mr Thabo Mbeki and the wily member of its national executive committee, Mr Aziz Pahad. This clash of perspectives manifested itself in the

following compromise between visionaries and pragmatists:

"There is no conflict," says the programme, "between this insurrectionary perspective and the possibility of a negotiated transfer of power... Armed struggle cannot be counterposed with dialogue, negotiation and justifiable compromise, as if they were mutually exclusive categories. Liberation struggles have rarely ended with the unconditional surrender of the enemy's military forces. Every such struggle on our continent has had its climax at the negotiating table."

This formulation, like everything else in the programme, was intensively discussed by the party's branches (or "units", as they were then called) during the run-up to the congress and written submissions by members, criticising the various preliminary drafts and suggesting amendments, were forwarded to a drafting sub-committee.

The puzzling thing is that even before all this activity began it had become glaringly apparent that the movement favouring a negotiated settlement had acquired a dynamism of its own to a degree which rendered the insurrectionist alternative redundant for all practical political purposes. The reasons for this were many and complex but the central features of the situation stood out like a pole above water. Mass action and the growing power of Cosatu had not caused the walls of apartheid's Jericho to disintegrate. What it had done was — as many SACP analysts had expected — to impinge on the perceptions of international banking to an extent where loans and long-term fixed investment became conditional on the rapid demolition of the whole apartheid structure.

Revising programme

It was equally apparent that South Africa's own industrial-commercial Establishment was not prepared to see the country's infrastructure unravel for the sake of an ideology which no longer served its interests and which even troubled the consciences of some of its members. This establishment had paid the Nationalist piper for a long time and was now determined to call the tune. The Nationalists, uncertain and at war with themselves since the 1982 defection of the Treurnichtes, were in no condition to resist these pressures.



FACING CHANGE... SACP general secretary Mr Joe Slovo, ANC secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo, ANC foreign affairs spokesman Mr Thabo Mbeki and ANC national executive committee member Mr Aziz Pahad.

Moreover, the SACP and ANC leaders were in an excellent position to appreciate these developments. Their "talk-and-fight" strategy had given them lines of contact deep inside the business community and in government think-tanks. Their diplomats were talking to the Broederbond. Their political advisors had prepared careful profiles of the 1989 election results and of Mr F W de Klerk's personality and the options open to him.

But the real question now facing the SACP is not why a redundant strategic perspective and an improbable scenario found a place in its programme. Rather, it confronts Lenin's question: "What is to be done?" The question, in this context, is an urgent one. The programme, as it stands written, sits uneasily with the party leadership's commitment to the Groote Schuur and Pretoria minutes and is liable to generate actions and attitudes unhelpful to the stabilisation of the climate for negotiations.

The party has already promised that both its programme and its constitution will be discussed and revised. It was at first hoped to do this at a congress next July. It may well turn out, however, that that date is too ambitiously early for so big a task. However the revisions when they are made are almost certain to include a deeper analysis of changes in the world communist movement, a fuller treatment of the communist view of how a negotiated transfer of power should take place and a firmer statement of the party's commitment to peaceful change.

What the party will not do is abandon the position that struggle involving the organisation of the broad masses of the population is the key to advance towards full democracy. Nor will it abandon the thesis that South Africa in its present pre-democratic phase is a "colony of a special type" — that is, a social formation in which a white colonial ruling class and the colonised majority oppress each other within a single country.

Both these propositions have become part of tradition which has carried the SACP this far along the road to its goal.
 □ Anthony Holiday, a member of both the ANC and the SACP, wrote this article in his personal capacity.

ANC 'POWER PLAN'

REPORT by HILTON HAMANN

Security chiefs allege clandestine plans for revolutionary war in 1994

SOUTH AFRICAN Intelligence officers this week told the cabinet they believed the ANC had a four-year "hidden agenda" to seize power.

Key cabinet members were briefed on the results of a major security assessment of the objectives of the recently unbanned ANC and SA Communist Party.

Sources in Pretoria say the briefing was the culmination of many months of detailed and highly classified intelligence gathering operations.

Cabinet members were told that while the ANC was talking peace it was preparing to wage war when the government's mandate expired in 1994.

But, top ANC officials yesterday dismissed the intelligence claims as non-

sense. ANC information chief Pello Jordan said the government was "obviously being misled by its intelligence services".

"If this is the quality of intelligence the government is relying on, we are really in a very dire situation," he said.

ANC information officer Gill Marcus said that in the constant discussions between President F W de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela there had never even been a hint about such a report.

"The ANC will hold the government and its intelligence services accountable for any untoward conse-

quences that may arise from these reckless actions," she said.

The security services claim the plans of the alliance — comprising the ANC, SACP and Cosatu — include:

- The destruction of the present economic order.
- The destruction of the SACP with Cosatu and the SACP taking the lead through labour action.

Control

- Organising the workers into a political power bloc.
- Neutralising the security forces by means of infiltration, intimidation, "discrediting" and the

application of psychological pressure.

- Controlling local authorities and townships through civic associations and schools.
- Establishing overt and covert military and political structures.
- Forming a united popular opposition front.
- The creation of a highly charged revolutionary climate.

All of these "pillars", the security chiefs told cabinet members, were designed to create a crisis which would force the government to accept a dual rule during an interim period in

the run-up to an election or referendum.

"Their idea is to make life so difficult that the government will believe only the ANC is capable of stopping the violence and re-establishing stability," said a source.

Militia

"During this 'dual power' phase, the ANC will concern itself with creating the conditions which they believe will help carry the day in an election or referendum."

Their plan includes mass action, civil disobedience, consolidation of paramilitary forces, the control of

local authorities through "civic associations", the control of schools through political groups, and the stockpiling of weapons.

Once the alliance wins an electoral or referendum victory on the basis of its constitutional model, the security forces believe, the existing military and police establishments will be replaced by a "people's militia".

The next phase will be a "socialist revolution" under the guidance and

control of the SACP, claims the briefing.

The security sources are most concerned about the military element in the ANC, which consist of a "mass combat unit" (hard-core, trained men), a "people's militia" (drawn from township residents), mobile units (highly organised, rapid-deployment forces), "workers' self-defence committees" (based in factories) and "people's self-defence units" (based in neighbour-

hoods). According to sources, one of the main aims of the ANC plan is to weaken the security forces while strengthening its own paramilitary forces.

Circular

"This will be done by infiltration and intimidation of the TBVC forces, black units and the SADF," said a source.

"This, the ANC believes, coupled with political and psychological pressure on the security forces and the

mobilisation of the regime from extracting approximately four-million unemployed youths in the TBVC states, could give them a major advantage when the game begins to be played in earnest."

Meanwhile, a detailed view of the ANC's current mass campaign has been revealed in a circular sent from the PWV's ANC regional office to all branches.

The circular says the ANC on the ground must be felt and feared," says the "stop the white minority

regime from extracting more concessions". The objectives of the campaign are to "destroy apartheid and transfer power to the people".

Detailed instructions are given to the branches on how to mobilise people for attend the marches which look place in towns and cities in South Africa on Thursday.

"The strength of the ANC on the ground must be felt and feared," says the circular.



Big Brother watches ... but 10 000 peaceful supporters marched in Pretoria. ■ Pic: EVANS MBOWENI and MIKE MZILENI

'STREET PA

THE first phase of a countrywide mass mobilisation campaign to force the government to establish an interim government saw an estimated 30 000 ANC supporters march in Johannesburg, Pretoria and Bloemfontein this week. In the Free State's Ficksburg, 1 000 marched while in Wepener there were 400, Cradock had 1 500, Bultfontein 300 and Brakpan 400 on a trouble-free Thursday. *Clon 9/12/90*

South African Communist Party leader Joe Slovo said government's opposition to mass action would not be considered until people had direct representation inside the Union Buildings. "We shall not get off the streets of this nation because they are our only parliament."

33 000 march for an interim govt

"Until there is parliament for all the people, we shall continue to walk."

Demands also included a constituent assembly, the repeal of racist laws, freedom for political prisoners and the unhindered return of exiles.

The Pretoria and Johannesburg marches were led by ANC and SACP heavyweights like Slovo, Mac Maharaj, Al-

Mandela. *11A* Maharaj, who led the Johannesburg march with veteran ANC politicians like Andrew Mlangeni, Nzo and Ahmed Kathrada, called on the government to "quit stalling" and reiterated his organisation's commitment to negotiations.

In Pretoria, Slovo took thousands of protesters to the entrance of the Union Buildings in what he said was the climax of a march which began 350 years ago. *9/12/90*

to the entrance of the Union Buildings in what he said was the climax of a march which began 350 years ago. *9/12/90*

"It has been a long walk to the Union Buildings. Our people have been walking to them for the past 350 years and shall continue walking until we get inside the buildings."

Slovo was joined by ANC officials Ruth Mompoti, Pallo Jordan Jackie Selebi and Winnie Mandela.

Other demands are the immediate curbing of township violence which has claimed more than 800 lives in the past few weeks.

Slovo praised police at the march: "The police have behaved themselves. This is why there has been no death, no shooting or teargas."

"We hope this is a lesson to the rulers that the practice of democracy is not dangerous."

The biggest march took place in Johannesburg with 15 000 supporters.



We shall overcome ... Jo'burg had the biggest turnout as

LIAMENT'



Badge of freedom . . . marchers wield the big fist in Pretoria this week.



Heavyweights . . . the ANC's Winnie Mandela and the SACP's Joe Slovo outside the Union Buildings after the Pretoria march.

15 000 marchers took to the streets and headed for John Vorster Square.