

BLACK POLITICS

1992 - APRIL

# Clarity sought on unitary state issue

B/Days 1/4/92

CODESA's management committee will recommend to Codesa II that an addendum be attached to the declaration of intent adopted at Codesa I to clarify interpretation of the provision on a unitary state.

Participants in Codesa have expressed doubts on whether the declaration committed signatories to a unitary state or not, Codesa MC chairman Pravin Gordhan told a news conference yesterday at the World Trade Centre near Johannesburg.

"There was general consensus that the declaration leaves the question of a unitary or federal system of government open," said Gordhan.

"In order to remove any doubts, the management committee has agreed to recommend to Codesa 2 that the addendum be attached to the declaration of intent adopted at Codesa 1."

The addendum states that no provision of the declaration, interpreted alone or in conjunction with any other provision, would be construed as:

- Favouring, inhibiting or precluding the adoption of any particular constitutional model, whether it be unitary, federal, confederal, or otherwise, consistent with democracy;
- Preventing any participant from advocating the same or the separation, in terms of any constitutional model, of powers between a central government and the regions, during the proceedings of Codesa or

any of its committees or working groups; and

That the addendum shall be added to the declaration.

A Codesa sub-group has agreed that the State President should not be allowed to unilaterally declare a state of emergency during the transitional period.

Delegates said there was general agreement yesterday that an interim authority would have to agree to a state of emergency before it could be implemented by the State President.

A delegate said the near consensus was a shift away from the ANC's previous demand for the abolition of the Public Safety Act.

Once consensus has been reached within a sub group it is then considered by a working group. This group forwards the agreement to Codesa's management committee.

Codesa would send a seven-member delegation to Britain in April to observe the British general election, Gordhan said yesterday.

He said Codesa had accepted an invitation from the British government to observe the elections.

"We consider this to be a valuable opportunity to observe a fair and free electoral process. We hope to gain useful lessons for our own situation," said Gordhan.

The delegation will leave for the UK on April 5 and return to SA on April 13.  
— Sapa.

## ANC rejects voting on constitution

THE ANC yesterday rejected the holding of a referendum to ratify a new SA constitution.

"An after-the-event ratification can never be considered as a serious alternative to involving the public in elections for the constitution-making body," the ANC said at Codesa. B/Days 1/4/92

Elections had a historical healing role to play in the country, the ANC said in support of its position that one-person, one-vote elections should be held to draw up a proportionally represented constitution-making body.

"Elections will be proof that we really are in a new SA," it said.

Government has still to decide finally whether it will hold a referendum to ratify a new constitution.

The ANC's comments were contained in its most detailed proposals yet on a body and procedures for drafting a new constitution, tabled at a meeting of Codesa's working group 2 at the World Trade Centre outside Johannesburg. — Sapa.

## Students want teachers back

*Biday 1/4/92*  
 ABOUT 50 Katlehong students and their parents have threatened to go on a hunger strike if Education and Training Minister Sam de Beer does not reinstate white teachers at schools in the East Rand township.

The 49 chanting demonstrators, most of them members of the Congress of SA Students (Cosas), yesterday continued an overnight sit-in at the Katlehong Town Council boardroom to demand the return or replacement of 19 white teachers withdrawn from the township by the Department of Education and Training (DET) following the death of a white colleague earlier this year.

Kathorus College of Education teacher Schalk Dippenaar died in hospital last month after he was beaten and set alight in January by students demanding white teaching posts be vacated for unemployed black teachers.

A third meeting on the issue on Monday night between students and DET officials made no progress and demonstrators would continue their sit-in, Cosas national president Moses Maseko said.

He said the DET, in the two earlier meetings with Cosas, had agreed to provide temporary teachers and he charged that the department was dragging its feet.

The safety of teachers was guaranteed as the majority of students and parents were supporting their return, reporters were told. — Sapa.

● Comment: Page 12

# Numsa members guilty of murder

*Biday 1/4/92*  
**SUSAN RUSSELL**  
 FIVE Numsa members at Haggie Rand, who took part in armed attacks against co-workers who refused to join an illegal strike in 1989, were found guilty in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday on various counts of murder and attempted murder.

Joseph Benghu, who was hired as a "hit man" to assist in the attacks on non-strikers was also found guilty of murder and attempted murder.

Five Haggie Rand employees were murdered and nine others wounded during the intimidation campaign against non-strikers on the Witwatersrand from November 1989 to April 1990.

Judge Du Plessis, sitting with two assessors, yesterday found that shop stewards' chairman Richard Ngobeni and workers' representatives Jeffrey Mtshali, Malvert Ngubane, Malan Khumalo and Samuel Malepo had played a leading role in the campaign of violence.

The five were dismissed by Haggie Rand before the intimidation campaign was launched.

The court accepted State evidence that the five had been members of, or intimately involved with, a workers' representative group known as the committee of 10.

There was no doubt, the judge said,

that the attacks were planned and carried out by the committee.

Ngobeni was found guilty on four counts of murder, eight counts of attempted murder, two counts of attempted arson and the unlawful possession of a firearm.

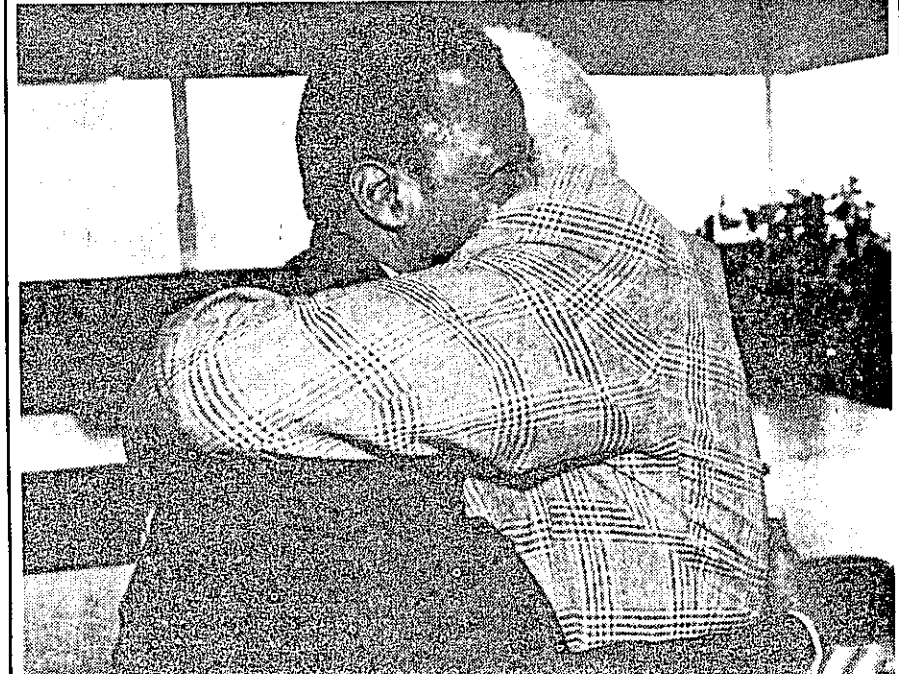
Mtshali was convicted on one count each of murder and attempted murder. Ngubane was found guilty on one count of murder, two counts of attempted arson, seven counts of attempted murder as well as the unlawful possession of a firearm and ammunition. The court convicted Khumalo on all 16 counts.

Bhengu was found guilty of murdering two non-strikers and attempting to murder four others. He was also found guilty of unlawfully possessing a firearm and ammunition.

Malepo was convicted on one count of murder and two of attempted murder. An accomplice of the six men, Abraham Keele who turned State witness, was given indemnity from prosecution.

Judge Plessis discharged Keele from prosecution at the request of the State, saying he had answered all questions factually and honestly.

The case was postponed to June 1 for evidence in mitigation.



Ivory Coast Foreign Minister Amara Essy is greeted by ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu at the ANC's Johannesburg offices. Essy held brief talks with Sisulu and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa at the office yesterday.

Picture: BRIAN HENDLER

## Ivorian foreign minister in local talks

*Biday 1/4/92*  
 ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu said he briefed visiting Ivory Coast Foreign Affairs Minister Amara Essy on the SA situation during their meeting in Johannesburg yesterday.

Essy said the fact that ANC president Nelson Mandela had lent his support to President F W de Klerk in the March 17 referendum proved dialogue could solve problems.

Earlier, after meeting Foreign Affairs

Minister Pik Botha, Essy said they had "a thorough discussion on African affairs and bilateral matters relating to our countries".

He said his visit was aimed at strengthening the two countries' relations.

Essy also held talks with De Klerk at Tuynhuys where he delivered President Houghouet-Boigny's message "on the outstanding referendum victory". — Sapa.

Earlier yesterday the court was told by

that the last order of the court was

# Christ was early communist - Slovo

*Sowetan 1/4/92*

*11A*

JESUS Christ was one of the early communists, SA Communist Party national chairman Mr Joe Slovo told church leaders in Durban yesterday.

Slovo was speaking at a Daikonia breakfast briefing on his party's views on South Africa's future.

He confessed to being an atheist but said that the Marxist theory that religion was the opium of the people had been an over-simplifi-

**Sowetan  
Correspondent**

cation of the role of religion.

He did, however, urge people not to forget that many crimes had been committed in the name of religion and that religion could force people into fanaticism as evidenced in the Middle East.

"We must not make

light of dismissing the potential of organised religion. That has been one of the faults of religion," he said.

In brief answers to questions on the future of socialism, his party's commitment to a socialist economy and the failure of communism in certain parts of the world, Slovo said he was convinced that humanity would "take to socialism" in the future.

He added that there were only two types of people that were trustworthy - "a good communist and a good Christian".

"It is the adjective that is sometimes in question," he said.

Slovo said the SACP was not ashamed to state its unequivocal support for a socialist system, for nationalisation and the redistribution of land and wealth but the SACP was "acting in the real world and not some university laboratory".

He said that the SACP's commitment to a mixed economy meant that the party had to take into consideration the rights of private property ownership.

# ANC, cops in talks over weapons Act

11/4/92  
Sowetan  
11/4  
THE enforcement of the Dangerous Weapons Act came under the spotlight when a delegation representing the ANC, SACP and Cosatu met Minister of Law and Order Mr Hernus Kriel on Monday.

The meeting, held in Pretoria, also the conduct of members of the SAP and Kwazulu police.

Other issues discussed by the two parties included the lack of strict enforcement by police of legislation prohibiting the carrying of dangerous weapons in public.

Among those present at the meeting were the Commissioner of Police, Gen-

By TSIDI THINANE

eral Johan van der Merwe, Cosatu official Mr Jayendra Naidoo and senior ANC member, Mr Aziz Pahad.

The pending transfer of four SAP police stations to the Kwazulu police in Maputaland, Northern Natal, also came under the spotlight.

ANC official Ms Barbara Hogan, who also attended the meeting, said a follow-up meeting would be held towards the end of the month, to deal with measures to be taken concerning issues raised by the delegation.

# PAC, Azapo must swell numbers at Codesa

11A

Sowetan

1/4/92

**Sowetan day editor THAMI MAZWAI looks at recent development in negotiations and advises the PAC and Azapo to jump into Codesa before it is too late.**



**OPINION**

**THE PAC and Azapo will just have to get into Codesa if they still want to play a meaningful role in changing South Africa into a democracy.**

They do not have to jump into Codesa boots on, but their membership must allow their leaders the flexibility to choose between joining negotiations when the need arises without having to go to congress, and when and how.

This is what leadership is about.

When the two decided in December last year to stay out of the forum, there was a groundswell of support from most blacks.

In fact, when the PAC and Azapo called for a neutral venue and chairman, they were spot on. It was the only fair way.

When they stayed out later, arguing that Codesa was stacked in favour of President de Klerk, who had the NP, the Government, and most homeland leaders on his side; again these two enjoyed tremendous support from the black community.

In fact, progress in Codesa up to now has vindicated their claims.

The Government is today basking in glory after a string of victories in Codesa, where it has succeeded in pushing the ANC to accept most of its positions.

It was even so arrogant about this that it advertised its Codesa successes in major newspapers when it was canvassing for white support in the referendum.

That this would embarrass the

ANC with its membership did not concern the Government one little bit.

In short, the PAC and Azapo have been right all along.

If this is the case, why must they now get into Codesa?

When De Klerk initiated the changes that now affect our lives, he did so after carefully studying the strengths of our organisations. International support was obviously at the top. De Klerk then considered all options to get the international community behind him, instead of behind the ANC or PAC.

He has succeeded.

Three years ago whites and representatives of his Government were unwelcome on most overseas platforms. Today they are more than welcome, even in the Third World. In impoverished countries they are honoured guests. It is no coincidence that the Frontline States have asked the PAC to get into Codesa. The Organisation of African Unity wants to play a role in Codesa.

True, international opinion can't decide the course of our struggle. However, we made the British and Americans vital components of our strategies.

De Klerk is doing the same, and having the last laugh.

However, as we have serious misgivings about the change being negotiated, we have to develop strategies which take into account what has happened, and is happening, to get what we want.

When the ANC suspended its armed action, it was evident that the military campaign could continue without any gains for any side.

It was a question of who could hold out for much longer. This meant the Government, with far superior resources, had an edge.

The PAC and Azapo maintain they can still continue the military struggle. Although this is possible, can they ultimately bring de Klerk to his knees?

Negotiations seem the only option but, unfortunately, they are heavily loaded in favour of De Klerk, for he has succeeded in making our organisations fight him according to his rules.

Before the referendum the PAC and Azapo could still get away with their objections to Codesa. However, the referendum has changed the ball game and De Klerk can enter far-reaching agreements with any group. These will be endorsed by Africa and the international community.

In short, while De Klerk effectively silenced the Conservative Party, he also marginalised thinking to the left.

In the meantime the ANC has continued with negotiations. Regrettably, and for a variety of reasons, De Klerk has been outmanoeuvring it every step of the way, not that the PAC and Azapo would have fared any better.

The real danger now is that the Government, the Democratic Party, Inkatha and homeland leaders, who in the final analysis share

common interests, will force the ANC into some settlement by sheer weight of numbers.

And this settlement, if the past is anything to go by, will be heavily in favour of the Government. All that the PAC and Azapo will then say when this happens is: "We told you so."

But of what help will this be? For, like it or not, they will also be bound by the conditions of the settlement. In addition, there will be no other negotiating forum, specially one tailored to meet PAC and Azapo demands, after Codesa.

Worse still, the Frontline States and the OAU will not harbour any black liberation movement from South Africa after they have endorsed Codesa and participated in it.

The PAC and Azapo must now fight where the battle is - in Codesa. After all, the regime must be engaged on all fronts.

They need to fight alongside the ANC for, as I have said, when the ANC is short-changed, this will affect every black person, and not only ANC members.

When they fight alongside the ANC, it is more likely that the easy ride De Klerk now enjoys will come to an end. I do not see him riding roughshod over a ANC-PAC-Azapo alliance.

In fact, most whites are happy that the PAC and Azapo are not in Codesa. They fear an ANC-PAC-Azapo alliance.

We have always said whites divide us, and then rule us. Pity that we now divide ourselves, and they then play one against the other, and rule us with ease.

Let the PAC and Azapo, despite the fact that their stand is morally justified and they are ideologically opposed to the ANC, get into Codesa. They have a worthier battle in that forum. At stake is 300 years of struggle.

# ANC calls for 400-member assembly

THE ANC has called for a 400-member constituent assembly to draw up a constitution within a four-month period.

Presenting its proposals at Codesa, the ANC said the constituent assembly should be all-inclusive and all South Africans over the age of 18 (including those in the TBVC states) should be entitled to vote. It should consist of 400 delegates and have a steering committee to lay down procedures.

ANC national executive committee member Mohammed Valli Moosa said if the assembly, operating out of Parliament, could not complete its work within four months, it should dissolve itself so new elections could be held.

Responding to arguments that there was too much violence for free elections to be held, the ANC said one man, one vote elections for a constitution-making body

B/1204 1/4/97

THEO RAWANA

11A would serve as an alternative to violence. The ANC also denied its proposals on a constitution-making body amounted to "simple majoritarianism". Government, in its proposals earlier this week, had said a one man, one vote election would "put the cart before the horses by starting off with a simple majoritarian system" which was the goal some parties sought.

The ANC said that more than 15 months ago, it had declared its support for proportional representation.

It now proposed a qualified rather than a simple majority for decision-making in the assembly. "Our proposal is that bearing in mind the special nature of the constitution, the majority be two-thirds."

# 'There was blood on the floor'

11A  
STAR 1/4/92  
Esther Waugh  
Political Reporter

The Government has strongly objected to the tone of the ANC proposals for a constitution-making body.

One delegate said "there was blood on the floor" at Codesa yesterday after the Government's retaliation.

The ANC proposed that an elected sovereign multiparty constituent assembly sit in Parliament to draw up the constitution within four months.

Government sources yesterday told the Star the tone of the ANC document was "insulting".

However, ANC negotiator Albie Sachs said: "Their proposals are insulting".

"Many aspects of their proposals are ludicrous, I am sorry to say.

"If the cap fits, let them wear it," said Mr Sachs.

He said the Government proposals for a constitution-making body excluded 9 million people in the homelands from its proposed structures.

Another ANC negotiator, Dr Frene Ginwala, said it was hoped the Government would look at the content of the ANC's proposals and "not worry about bruised egos".

"The negative tone of the ANC document is not in line with what has been happening at Codesa," one Government source said.

It is understood the Government is particularly incensed at a reference in the ANC document to the Government's proposed bicameral Parliament, which says: "Indeed, it seems to represent the kind of elementary confusion between the functions of a CMB (constitution-making body) and those of a legislature, that would fail a first-year law or political science student."



## 'Reconstitute security forces'

By Esther Waugh, Political Reporter

STAR 1/4/92  
11A

The Natal Indian Congress and the Transvaal Indian Congress have called for the reconstitution of the security forces.

The two organisations, which are represented by a joint delegation at Codesa, yesterday said the security forces should include the South African Defence Force, Umkhonto we Sizwe as well as the security forces of the homelands and self-governing territories.

The Government has argued against the reconstitution of the security forces, saying members of armies could join the SADF on an individual basis.

# ANC rejects Govt's constitutional plan

STAN 11492

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By Esther Waugh  
Political Reporter

The ANC has proposed that an elected constituent assembly of at least 400 members should sit in Parliament to compile a new constitution within four months.

The movement thereby rejected the Government's proposal of a two-chamber Parliament drawing up the new constitution.

In a strongly worded attack on the Government's proposals, the ANC said: "What we need are: not two Houses at each other's throats, fearful of and antagonistic towards each other, but a single, multifaceted body representing the nation in all its variety and seeking to establish fair ground-rules for the realisation of the principle that South Africa belongs to all who live in it."

Nevertheless, both parties still agree on the principle of an elected body functioning as a legislature and a constitution-making body.

The ANC yesterday proposed at Codesa that:

- A sovereign constituent assembly be elected through a system of proportional representation and should include the TBVC states.

- Based on the assumption that there should be one representative for every 50 000 voters, an assembly of 400 people would be required for a voting population of 20 million.

- A cut-off point to be used for political groups to take part in the constituent assembly could be negotiated.

- Decisions in the constituent assembly were to be taken by a two-thirds majority.

- Should the constituent assembly fail to complete its work in four months, it should be dissolved so that new elections could be held.

- The assembly would choose, on the basis of proportional representation, a 40-person drafting commission.

- A steering committee, also elected on the basis of proportional representation, would handle the management of the constituent assembly.

- An independent constitutional panel would be elected to hear

any disputes. It would also verify that the constitution, as finally adopted by the constituent assembly, did not contradict general constitutional principles agreed to at Codesa.

The ANC said it was in the interest of democracy that such a body be elected. Elections would play an "historical healing role" and signal that citizenship had arrived for all.

"Elections will be the proof that we really are in a new South Africa. They will signal a compelling acknowledgement of our common South African-ness," the ANC said.

Elections would also remove the sense of distance and incomprehension which separated the general public from Codesa.

The ANC denied that elections would encourage further violence.

"The danger of this argument is that if the existence of violence is accepted as a reason for not holding elections, then those who are fearful of losing an election will have a stake in maintaining the level of violence," the ANC said.

● New hope that IFP, Bop will sign declaration — Page 8

**NEWS IN BRIEF**

**ANC assures Soares**

*B1009 2/4/92*

THE ANC had given Portuguese President Mario Soares assurances about the security of the 700 000-strong Portuguese community in SA, the organisation's official in Britain Mendi Msimang said in London yesterday.

Msimang said this after meeting Soares in Lisbon on Monday in an attempt to dilute a strong Portuguese initiative to partially lift EC sanctions on April 6.



# Codesa D-Day for Azapo, PAC

By MATHATHA TSEDU

THE coming weekend is bound to be a watershed for forces outside Codesa, especially for the PAC, Azapo and the exiled BCM.

As the Pan Africanist Congress meets in the Transkei capital of Umtata for its third congress, the Black Consciousness Movement, in the form of Azapo and the Harare-based Black Consciousness Movement of Azania, will meet in the Zimbabwean town of Kadoma for consultations.

And at the centre of the agenda of the two conferences, which take place thousands of kilometres apart, will be a common theme of Codesa, that apparatus of the Government and the ANC mainly, which both have rejected with equal force.

But in this age of crumbling international resistance against apartheid and dwindling support from, among others, even the Frontline states, vehement rejection is no longer enough.

Those opposed to Codesa must render it unworkable or provide a viable alternative that people can see, trust and follow.

This is despite the justified retort of these organisations that those who need to answer to the people are actually those who have abandoned the militant struggle and are now in Codesa.

Can they deliver through Codesa in terms of the aspirations of the oppressed?

While this is a valid question, the lack of feedback to the general population on Codesa and the total support that Codesa gets from the media creates an impression in the minds of many people that Codesa is the thing and will deliver, however unjustified that assumption.

So the pressure therefore is again on those outside to



PAC president Clarence Makwetu.



BCM chairman Mosibudl Mangena.



Azapo president Pandelani Nefolohodwe.

actually show, not only the wrong way but a viable right way. In the pre-De Klerk era, black opposition to Government policy did not have to render it unworkable, it simply had to be logical and in pursuance of the general struggle.

And so despite the inability of the revolutionary forces to stop the implementation of the bantustan policy, its forceful enactment and eventual attainment of its epoch in the independence of the TBVC quasi states did not entail a loss for the struggling forces.

## Demise

The international community refused to recognise the states as election after election drew progressively fewer and fewer voters to the poll, leading to their now imminent demise.

So it was that the introduction of Bantu Education, despite protests, went ahead but again this failed to get widespread approval in the world.

But this was then. Right now, it is quite clear that the international community, in the form of Europe, America and indeed African countries, are going to recognise the outcome of Codesa despite the protestations from the PAC and the BCM.

While the PAC and the

BCM rightly point to the non-representivity of Codesa and question the presence of De Klerk's minions in the bantustans, they are being called to go beyond just condemnation and instead reach out and stop or disrupt the process.

The two organisations have called for the preliminary talks on elections for a Constituent Assembly to be held outside the country under a neutral chairman.

To all intents and purposes, these demands have been ignored by those inside Codesa, who are instead slowly but surely forging ahead to attain what those outside describe as a sellout and neo-colonial solution.

The PAC and the BCM, as well as the Workers Organisation for Socialist Action and the New Unity Movement, have been calling for an alternative to Codesa but this has not materialised so far.

All of them, but the PAC and BCM in particular, have threatened to launch campaigns to frustrate and eventually destroy Codesa but this has hardly materialised.

As the two organisations meet at the weekend, these apparent inabilities will be on the minds of the delegates who must chart the revolutionary way forward for both.

In brief, some of the po-

sitions and questions that will tax the minds of the leadership and delegates are:

\* Can the forces outside Codesa render it unworkable and thereby stop the implementation of what they call a neo-colonial solution designed to protect and enhance capitalism and white privilege?

## Mass appeal

\* What are their individual and combined capacities to accomplish their programmes, both in terms of mass appeal and military strength?

\* Given the failure to bring even a mini front between the PAC and BCM

into fruition after the much heralded agreement at Kadoma last year, what is the viable option to Codesa?

\* Would they ever consider joining Codesa? If so, at what stage and under what conditions, if any?

\* If they are to ever join Codesa, what do they hope to achieve given the loading of the conference with Government lackeys and the new found arrogance of De Klerk in the post referendum period?

\* Should Codesa arrange for elections for a Constituent Assembly while they were not part thereof, would they take part in such an election? If

not, what are the explanations for a refusal to test appeal in an election? If they are going into those elections, how do they explain their participation?

\* For the BCM in particular, if they are to go into the elections, do they contest them as a Black only party or do they open up in line with the ultimate aim of the organisation for a non-racial democratic country?

\* Given the pressure on the frontline African states by South Africa and the USA in particular for a cessation of support to forces outside Codesa, and these states' dependence on South Africa even for relief

of the raging drought, what support can they hope for there?

\* Can the home front sustain an armed insurrection, with arms, training facilities, finance and other logistical support?

These are but some of the questions.

The answers to them will determine what outcome can be expected from these two conferences that may forever change the face of both negotiation and revolutionary politics in this country.

\* Which way will the pendulum swing? We will have to wait until at least Monday to know.

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# Azasco to intensify student protests

11A

Sowetan 2/4/92

**Sowetan  
Correspondent**

THE black consciousness leaning Azanian Students Convention has announced plans to intensify the campaign of protest and disruption at South African universities.

National projects director of Azasco Mr Pascal waga-Malatji on Monday urged black students to continue with the boycotts, strikes and student protests which brought many campuses to a standstill last week.

Malatji said liberal universities, in particular,

must be made to answer to their financial supporters for their discrimination against black students.

He said they needed to be made aware that the so-called transformation and democratisation of institutions was "nothing but a myth".

"The administration and councils of these liberal universities exercise a lot of hypocrisy. The Univer-

sity of Natal, for instance, boasts to the world of their mission statement and their commitment to affirmative action.

"Yet they continue to exclude black students in very large numbers, especially African students. This university excluded over 200 black students last year. In so doing they do not take cognizance of the fact that these students are from a poor educational background."

Malatji said the universities were failing to imple-

ment programmes to help black students cope with tertiary education.

He added that the financial constraints of black students was also a factor that was not being taken into account by the universities.

"No prior arrangements are being made by these universities to ensure that students will be financed or that they will be able to finance themselves," he said.

Malatji said that black students were having diffi-

culty "fitting in" at the once white universities.

"The injustices practised at these institutions make black students feel more insecure and make it difficult, if not impossible, for them to secure jobs after completing their degrees or diplomas."

Malatji announced Azasco's plans to launch a national campaign to inform financial supporters of the "malpractices of liberal universities".

# SACP slams Germany's 'witch hunt'

STAR  
Political Reporter 2/4/92

The South African Communist Party has strongly condemned what it calls the "witch-hunt" being waged in Germany against former East German communists.

The SACP yesterday, condemned the Berlin Justice Ministry's police search of the Berlin archives of the Party of Democratic Socialism — the successor of the Communist Party — and the raid on 37 homes.

The Ministry plans to charge four people for ordering border guards "to shoot to kill" hundreds of fleeing East Germans.

The SACP said the raids were similar to its own experience in South Africa during the heyday of apartheid.

# Jurists' report part of ANC plan against IFP, Ciskei tells chief

By Shaun Johnson  
Political Editor  
STAR 2/4/92



Ciskei leader Oupa Gqozo ... takes swipe at the ANC.



Mangosuthu Buthelezi ... described as a brother and friend.

Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo has given his full support to the Inkatha Freedom Party, and simultaneously launched an extraordinary attack on the ANC.

In a letter directed to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi — which was released for publication from Ulundi yesterday — Brigadier Gqozo congratulates the KwaZulu leader for his response to the recent findings of the "so-called International Commission of Jurists (ICJ)".

The ICJ published a report this week which was highly critical of the IFP's role in Natal violence.

Brigadier Gqozo writes to Chief Buthelezi: "Your handling of the situation was ... absolutely brilliant."

"I was once again extremely glad to be able to call you a brother and a friend," he said.

"I was also reassured of my admiration for you since my childhood days."

Brigadier Gqozo said it was "obvious that (Chief Buthelezi) is a primary target of the ANC and that the elimination of your IFP forms an integral part of an orchestrated plan."

"The recent despicable action to use the international jurists in order to once again attack the IFP is clearly part of that plan."

Congratulating Chief Buthelezi on his rejection of the ICJ report, Brigadier Gqozo writes: "You have reflected the sentiments of the many South Africans who are fed up with the wicked ways of the ANC."

"You have once again stood up to expose the ANC for the subversive and corrupt organisation it is."

### Myopic

"I trust that all peace-loving South Africans have been convinced that the people who use such dubious means to score political points should never be allowed to run this country."

"The ANC's actions demonstrate to all of us how morally bankrupt and politically myopic they are."

Brigadier Gqozo concludes: "I thank you and your party for your unwavering stand against the evil forces who are bent on destroying our country."

"I thank you in particular for the co-operation and support you are rendering to me and my government ... Rest assured of our full support."

STAR 21492 (11A)

### Azapo, BCMA moot Codesa participation

Possible participation in Codesa is one of the items to be discussed at a meeting between Azapo and the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA) in Zimbabwe this weekend, according to Azapo secretary-general Don Nkadameng.

Mr Nkadameng stressed that even if a decision were taken which substantially departed from existing policy, it would have to be ratified by the organisation's policy-making bodies.



# ANC 'ignoring alternatives to nationalisation'

FACED with threats of nationalisation, SA business executives say they have bombarded the ANC with other methods of redistributing the country's wealth. *Biday 3/4/92*

Alternatives suggested include donating a percentage of company shares to a public trust, privatising state-owned companies and giving every citizen a share, imposing strict anti-trust legislation and affirmative action programmes.

But ANC president Nelson Mandela continues to say unless the business community is able to come up with a viable alternative, he will have no option but to move some industries under government control.

The ANC still does not have a detailed economic policy.

ANC leaders "keep saying the same thing over and over" about a lack of alternatives "and it's just not true", says SA Free Market Foundation president Leon Louw.

With an interim government likely in months, executives are finding it difficult to make future plans.

But rather than wait for a full ANC policy, some executives say the only way to reduce the threat of nationalisation is to introduce redistribution programmes now.

"The SA business community will have to put its social investment money where its mouth is," says the director for the Centre for Promotion of Foreign Investment, Wayne Mitchell.

Anglo American's Clem Sunter says the best way to start closing the gap between rich and poor is to increase black share ownership in corporations.

Sunter suggests the creation of a trust into which large companies donate or sell very cheaply a certain percentage of their shares. The public would be shareholders in the trust.

Louw favours a scheme where government-owned companies are broken up into smaller entities which would be owned by the public.

He has also suggested to the ANC what he calls the Eastern European method of privatisation.

Citizens are given privatisation vouchers which they can use to purchase shares in newly privatised companies. The former state-owned companies' stock prices would be denominated in vouchers.

But not all business executives are presenting the ANC with alternatives to nationalisation.

"They're going to have to work like we had to work," Liberty Life Association of Africa chairman Donald Gordon says.

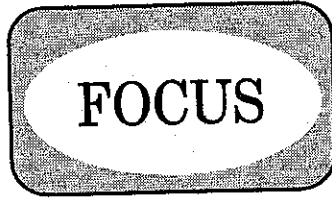
"If you want to go out and play cricket with the boys, you have to play up to their level. They won't give you any handicaps." — AP-DJ.

# Dispute over new government grows

Sowetan 3/4/92

11A

**The Government and the ANC are once more at daggers drawn, this time over the type of transitional government each is proposing. IKE MOTSAPI reports.**



**WHITE South Africa may once more be called upon to arbitrate - this time between the Government and ANC.**

The two differ on the type of authority to rule during the transitional period and to draft the new constitution.

The ANC wants majority rule and the Government wants power sharing.

This week official sources said the Government might once more have to go to the white community for its views.

The ANC wants an elected constituent assembly. The Government rejects this, saying it will be the start of "simple majoritarianism" that would bring negotiations to an end.

The ANC has proposed:

\*A sovereign constituent assembly to be elected through a system of proportional representation and which must include the TBVC states.

\*There should be one representative for every 50 000 voters, thus creating an assembly of 400 people for a voting population of 20 million.

\*A cut off point to be used for political groups to take part in the constituent assembly could be negotiated.

\*Decisions in the constituent assembly have to be taken by a two thirds majority.

\*If the constituent assembly failed to complete its work in four months, it should be dissolved and

new elections held.

\*The assembly would choose a 40-member drafting commission.

\*A steering committee would handle the management of the constituent assembly.

\*An independent constitutional panel would be elected to hear any disputes. It would also verify that the constitution, as finally adopted by the constituent assembly, did not contradict principles agreed to at Codesa.

The ANC said it was in the interests of democracy that such a body be elected. It said elections would play a "historical healing role" and signal that citizenship for all had arrived.

The Government wants:

\*A elected bicameral transitional Parliament which will be a law and constitution making body.

\*Both houses of Parliament will have to approve the constitution.

\*The Senate or second house will ensure special representation for minorities on a regional and political basis.

\*A constitutional negotiating forum that should, at best, be composed of representatives of all the political parties and organisations qualifying for participation so that they could arrive at a decision by consensus.

Constitutional Minister Gerrit Viljoen later told a press conference that the Government had no mandate to enter into a constitution-making process which "has the effect of negating the negotiation by imposing simple majoritarian decision-making."

He said: "The majority is not the only interested party in constitu-

tion-making.

"A constitution is a structuring of the political process for all communities, and therefore requires a broader agreement than just a majority, so as to ensure its acceptance by all major political groupings and communities.

"There must be broad multi-party involvement in its acceptance.

Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha on Wednesday said what the ANC wanted was "absolute control".

Botha said the Government had a mandate to share power, and will not transfer power to the ANC.

This has angered the ANC and its allies who described the move as an attempt to weaken its position at the negotiating table.

Matters came to a head when the Government tabled its constitutional plans.

The ANC rejected them outright and described them as "ludicrous".

Codesa delegates say the Government is trying to bully its way through negotiations after its morale was boosted by its overwhelming victory in the referendum.

The Government's attitude after the referendum seems to have baffled some of its negotiating partners.

First, it surprised other delegates at Codesa when it declared that the independent TBVC homelands should scale down their activities at the World Trade Centre where negotiations are being held.

It warned that Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei should be excluded from the transitional government because they were independent. If these four homelands wanted to be included in the interim government, they had to renounce their independence.

It is understood that the Government was particularly incensed at a reference in the ANC document to

the Government's proposals on a bicameral Parliament which said: "Indeed, it seems to represent the kind of elementary confusion between the functions of a constitution making body and those of a legislature, that would fail a first-year law or political student."

Viljoen angrily said the negative attitude of the ANC document was not in line with what was happening at Codesa.

Thus, the temporary bond between the ANC and the Government, who were rumoured to be coming "very closer to each other" on constitutional principles, is cracking.

The ANC has the support of most homeland leaders and groups at Codesa. The exceptions are Inkatha, the Democratic Party and Bophuthatswana, who prefer a federal state.

While the rift between the ANC and the Government seems to be growing daily, fears have been raised that an interim government mooted to be established by the end of June might just be a pipe dream.

These sentiments have been echoed by the ANC as a result of the recent developments.

Three factors could delay the establishment of the interim government.

They are:

\*Referendums to be held by Transkei, Venda and Ciskei to test the will of the people on re-incorporation.

\*The ANC and its allies insisting on the elections for a constituent assembly and;

\*Another whites only referendum to give the Government a mandate on a type of a constitutional plan they want for a new South Africa.

The ANC regards this as a waste of time, but most important, as an attempt by the Government to be both player and referee in negotiations.

# Business

# Talks focus on future of bank

done for 3/4/92

(11A)  
(B) (S)

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

AN ANC delegation led by Mr Nelson Mandela this week concluded talks with a nine-member African Development Bank group led by its president, Mr Babacar Ndiaye.

The talks focused on the future role the bank could play in the economic development of a post-apartheid South Africa.

The meeting, the first working session between the two, discussed the current socio-economic situation in South Africa, the economic policies and plans of the ANC and experiences of other African countries.

Other issues which featured prominently during the meeting were the timetable for the negotiations within CODESA, the installation of an interim government, the bank's own operational policies, the cir-

cumstances under which a democratically elected government might become a member of the bank and programmes of action.

Other ANC officials who participated in the meeting included chairman Mr Oliver Tambo, deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu, director of International Affairs Mr Thabo Mbeki, head of economic affairs Mr Trevor Manuel and economic advisor Mr Maxwell Sisulu.

The ANC delegation made it clear that nationalisation was not a matter of ideology or doctrine.

"We have no hit list of industries or sectors to be nationalised," Manuel said, adding, "it is merely one of the many economic instruments that may be considered to correct im-

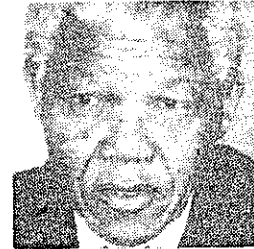
balances and distortions in the economy."

However, the delegations expressed strong concern at the spate of unilateral privatisations being implemented by the South African Government.

The selection of industries to be privatised, the ANC said, should be left to the democratic decisions of a future government. The current privatisation programme was simply transferring wealth to a privileged few, they said, and would diminish the stock of assets and resources available to a future government.

The bank and ANC officials agreed that a new government would need considerable new resources to address the legacy of apartheid and the needs of the black majority, such as housing, health, education and access to basic utilities.

They agreed that such new resources would be



MANDELA



SISULU



TAMBO



MBEKI

better transferred in the form of grant or equity funds rather than debt.

In a separate meeting, the bank's team met Mrs Gertrude Shope and Mrs Albertina Sisulu, president and deputy president respectively of the ANC Women's league, to explore possible areas of co-

operation in the future.

After learning of the special needs of South African women, Ndiaye pledged to make every effort to mobilise assistance from other institutions - since South Africa is not a member of the bank - for programmes of the ANC's Women's League.

# Mystery surrounds Falati's departure

Sowetan 3/4/92

11A

By RUTH BHENGU

**A CO -ACCUSED** in the Winnie Mandela trial, Xoliswa Falati, left her backyard room under mysterious circumstances yesterday, minutes after making a frantic telephone call for help to the *Sowetan*.

Falati, who said she was "not feeling safe", said she was in trouble but could not disclose further details on the phone.

"I need to talk to somebody urgently," she said.

"There is something serious happening here but I can't tell you now.

"Something happened last night as well but the president (Nelson Mandela) had instructed me not to talk to the Press.

"I've just called him and I was told he is on his way to the airport. I don't know



**XOLISWA FALATI**

what to do. I think you should come over now."

She said she would try to phone 10 minutes later.

"If I don't call come anyway. I don't feel safe at all", said Falati.

On arrival at the house, owned by the Mandelas in Vilakazi Street in Orlando West, a neighbour who refused to be identified, said Falati had left in a car accompanied by several men.

The neighbour said he

had personally checked the door of the backyard room where Falati was staying and found the lock had been changed.

Yesterday's incident follows her eviction by Mrs Mandela from the room on Saturday night and her reinstatement by ANC president, Mr Nelson Mandela.

A spokesman for the ANC, Mr Saki Macozoma, said he could not comment on Falati's whereabouts as he had no information at his disposal.

He would be able to make inquiries and respond to our questions today.

Falati was sentenced to six years imprisonment for kidnapping and assault in the Mandela trial.

She is out on bail pending an appeal.

At the time of going to Press last night, Falati had not returned to the Mandela home.

# ANC caught in the middle in Cape Town's taxi war

W/Mant 3/4-9/4/92

**I**N terms of lives, homes and vehicles lost, Cape Town's long-running taxi war has cost a great deal. But a potentially more long-lasting by-product of the conflict is the rift it has opened up between township civic leaders and the regional leadership of the African National Congress.

The ANC has tried to maintain a neutral stance in the conflict between the Western Cape Black Taxi Association (Webta) and its rival, the Lagunya Taxi Association. It has members in both groupings, and believes it has a "historic mandate to forge unity among sectors of the oppressed", said Vincent Diba, ANC regional executive member charged with conflict resolution.

The ANC has had to resist calls for it to throw its weight behind one of the parties. Instead, the organisation has attempted to bring both sides to the negotiating table, with only limited success.

This week, members of the ANC regional executive met the newly launched Civic Organisation of the Western Cape (Cowec) to address grievances bedevilling relations between the two formations.

A Cowec representative confirmed that a meeting had taken place but declined to comment further. His reasons for not doing so were echoed by ANC regional executive members: it would not do for problems between organisations to be discussed in the media.

But tensions were clearly illustrated at last month's launch of

*In an attempt to remain neutral in Cape Town's taxi war, the African National Congress has angered civic leaders who expected the organisation to resolve the conflict.* By GAYE DAVIS

Cowec. Intended to bring together all civic associations active in both black and coloured townships in the western Cape, as well as bodies representing hostel dwellers and squatters, the launch went ahead despite an attack two days before by unidentified gunmen on members of the Western Cape Hostel Dwellers Association (WCHDA).

An ANC official scheduled to give an input on the violence plaguing the region was told not to — the inference being that his audience knew more about the violence than he could.

The fact that the ANC official was a former exile underscored another source of tension. In the words of one community leader, "we stayed here and built the structures through all the years of the banning (of the ANC) while they ran to exile. The people have more confidence in us".

In the view of civic leaders, the ANC has let them down. This goes back to March last year when, weary of being caught in the cross-fire of yet another outbreak of taxi violence, the civic of Cape Town's black townships launched a succes-

ful boycott of both taxi bodies.

The aim, to get both parties to agree to dissolve and form a united taxi body, was an attempt by communities to impose some control. The initiative forced Webta and Lagunya to agree to a 10-point plan.

But days after agreeing to the plan, Webta pulled out — and the Western Cape Civic Association called a boycott, this time targeting Webta alone. The ANC spearheaded a new peace committee.

But many people felt that instead of holding out yet another olive branch, the ANC should have condemned Webta for reneging on the 10-point plan. Peace talks foundered; during this time, the chairman of the Western Cape Civic Association and TCCC member, Michael Mapongwana, was assassinated, allegedly by Webta members.

While the ANC pushed the cause of peace — in the townships, among its members — the talk was of war. Against Webta. By agreeing to the 10-point plan, Lagunya was seen to have acceded to community wishes and its members were thus deemed to be deserving of protection and, where necessary, defence: Webta had by its own actions cast itself out.

Adding to the complexities of the situation was the fact that, SAP denials notwithstanding, the police were increasingly being seen as partial to Webta in their efforts to keep the warring factions apart. For civic leaders, the issue was clear-cut: the ANC should call to account its members within Webta.

Typical of disaffected civic leaders' attitudes was this comment: "The ANC must not take a reconciliation stance when its people are being killed on the ground."

For the ANC to condemn Webta and take sides in the feud, however, would spell political suicide. There were also long-standing differences between certain ANC and civic leaders over political stratagems.

Difficulties in getting either side to compromise signalled doom for a new peace committee established at the initiative of Cape Town mayor Frank van der Velde and Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

Representatives of the South African Black Taxi Association, working with leaders of both Webta and Lagunya, have meanwhile succeeded in getting both bodies to form a new negotiating forum, Codeta (Congress for a Democratic Taxi Association).

Whether this initiative succeeds will depend on what agreements can be reached on the issues at the heart of the conflict — an inequitable system of allocating routes, ranks and permits — and the extent to which the communities of the townships are included in the peace equation.

# BUILD YOUR ORGANISATION



# HOW ORGANISATIONS ARE BUILT

New Nation [Learning Nation] 314-914192

11A

## Introduction

In our previous articles we saw

- that organisations arise as a result of the need to defend people against the hardships of life, and
- that democracy and accountability within our organisation is important.

In this article we will look at the role of campaigns in building organisations.



## Weakness of organisations

Over the past two years, activists have been involved in attempts to build ANC branches in the townships. Although a lot of hard work has taken place, there is still general agreement that the branches of the ANC are very weak and in some cases they do not even function. In the course of this struggle, activists have compared the weakness of the ANC branches with the strength and vibrancy of the United Democratic Front (UDF) in the middle of the 1980s.

One of the issues that has been raised in the struggle to overcome the weakness of ANC branches is that most ANC branches are not involved in ongoing campaigns where struggles around issues affecting members are taken up. Some people have found that after a branch is established and the constitution has been discussed, nothing happens in the branch and the number of people attending meetings begins to fall. This experience has raised important questions about what role campaigns play in building organisation.

## The self-activity of the masses

Before we take a detailed look at what campaigns are and how they help to build organisations, we need to look at the importance of the independent actions of the masses themselves and how these relate to building organisations.

In many situations and places we have seen communities, workers and students rise up in spontaneous struggle against oppression and exploitation. In many of these cases, these struggles have taken place without the presence of any organisation to initiate and lead them. The reason why people undertake struggles even without the existence of organisations is that although apartheid and capitalism divide people and weaken them by denying them the skills to organise, apartheid capitalism also forces people to unite and struggle by creating common problems that they must tackle.

Experience has shown that during periods when the masses undertake such independent action, many new organisations are formed and old organisations are revived. We find that after many months of weak attendance at meetings of organisations there suddenly occurs a large increase in participation. This is because in periods of heightened mass struggles, people become receptive to

being drawn into organisations. In periods of heightened struggle, people quickly realise that in order to take their struggles forward, they need organisations. We have also seen that although these spontaneous or independent struggles of the masses lead to growth in organisation, these organisations can easily collapse after the struggle has been won or after it has been lost.

The other problem is that the self activity of the masses goes through phases which depend on many factors like economic crises, social hardships, state repression or even small events such as electricity switch-offs in townships. The problem with these issues is that they cannot be predicted and as a result, independent activity rises and falls. We therefore find that when this independent activity rises, people join organisations and when the issues are solved people may well leave. This makes organisations very unstable.

The instability of organisations leads to many problems. One of the most important problems is that the experience which people gain in various struggles is not preserved and used in future struggles because with every new struggle there are new members in an organisation. This also means that the role of an organisation in developing the skills of members is undermined. The rapid change in membership also makes it difficult to educate a layer of leaders who can effectively lead future struggles.

So it is clear that although the self-activity of the masses is important in forming the basis on which organisations develop, it has serious limitations as well. We see that one of the important limitations is that the spontaneous struggles flare up but also die quickly. The other problem is that in most cases, these spontaneous struggles take place unevenly and therefore we find that when one section of the people rises up in struggle, another section is already retreating out of struggle. This divides and weakens the struggles of the people.

## The role of campaigns

One of the important ways of addressing the instability of organisations and the weakness that results from it, is for organisations, in a conscious and consistent manner, to take up the issues that affect the people. This means that organisations are able to avoid the problems of organisational instability by taking up campaigns around the issues that affect people. A campaign mobilises people around a specific issue and raises clear demands which are aimed at a specific target. The history of struggle in South Africa has witnessed a number of campaigns which have been fiercely fought for. An example of a campaign was that of the Living Wage Campaign which mobilised all sectors of the working class and demanded decent wages, wages that people could live on rather than starvation wages; it was targeted at the bosses. Other examples of campaigns are those of the anti-VAT campaign, the anti-privatisation campaign and the campaign around the Labour Relations Amendment Act.

Next week's article will look in more detail at the role which campaigns play in building organisation.

FM 3/4/92

## ECONOMIC POLICY

# Playing a wild card

11A

In recent months, as the ANC moves closer to power, it has realised there is a penalty to be paid for retaining the image of a liberation movement. Since the annual meeting of the World Economic Forum in Switzerland in February, when ANC president Nelson Mandela presented a new face to the international community, revising the text of his prepared speech to accommodate the perceptions of potential investors, there has been a shift in policy.

A talk by ANC economist Tito Mboweni, to a group of businessmen at a seminar in Johannesburg on Monday, held out hope that the organisation has moved closer to the principles governing the economies of the major industrialised countries.

As yet, the organisation's economic policy has not been finalised; this is scheduled for an ANC meeting in May. Two discussion documents have been published and a number of statements made. But these raised

more questions than they answered. They reflected the fact that policy was still in its formative stages and that there was a wide range of views within the organisation.

Like the first report of the State President's Economic Advisory Council, published in 1986, the discussion documents were crammed with motherhood and apple pie; they set out unrealistic objectives and contained internal contradictions.

A document published after two workshops in Harare in April-May and September 1990 spoke of the need to "co-ordinate the contribution of all sectors and interest groups," but added "that commandist methods will be avoided." It again raised the old NP's cherished aim of reducing SA's dependence on imported inputs and included suggestions as bizarre as the formation of a cartel to "stabilise" mineral prices. It also suggested forming a State Minerals Marketing Authority to enter into marketing agreements with other countries.

A second document, published after a national workshop in May 1991, was briefer and omitted that suggestion, along with a number of other unrealistic proposals. But it retained important internal contradictions.

The ANC, it said, would not only keep public corporations operating in such areas as transport, housing, electricity, water and telecommunication, but it would target "strategic enterprises" in other sectors as well. On the other hand, it said: "The ANC's policies will encourage and support a more dynamic and efficient private sector."

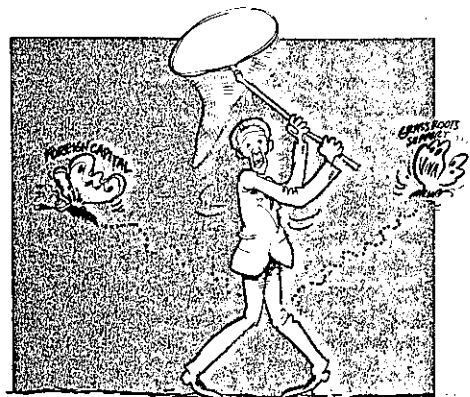
The extent of policy shift will not be known until a policy document is published in May. There is no doubt that the market component of the economy will be reduced. ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, who spoke at the Monday meeting before Mboweni, indicated that a number of areas would fall to — or remain in — State hands. Nevertheless, Mboweni says the earlier documents are out of date and the new document will contain important changes. It will focus on, among other things, the need to:

- Reduce cost structures in manufacturing;
- Encourage high levels of investment; and
- Endorse the general international movement towards trade liberalisation.

He advocated fiscal orthodoxy — "there will be no running of ever-increasing budget deficits" — and suggested a fiscal commission of inquiry to which business could make inputs. He referred to the creation of an environment that is "inviting to investment" because "it is clear that foreign investment will play an important role in a post-apartheid SA. The best guarantee you can give a foreign investor (relates to) the tax regime, macro-economic balance, and the repatri-

ation of dividends."

On anti-trust legislation and anti-monopolies and mergers policy, he said: "There is a



tendency to confuse conglomerates with big monopolies and the two are not the same. Or to confuse a conglomerate with a big firm. Our policy should be aimed primarily at monopoly (or oligopoly) situations."

And he expressed an important reservation: "What I wonder is once a monopolies and mergers policy is applied, whether you will then get an unbundling of conglomerates. And whether you will not then end up with smaller companies that will not be able to realise the economies of scale that are needed to compete internationally. So we must debate this question."

This is encouraging.

But will these sentiments be acceptable to the leadership and the grass-roots support? The ANC represents the aspirations of the underprivileged who have long been led to believe that a magic wand called redistribution will provide for them. Will the ANC now be able to explain the reality that there will not be enough wealth to redistribute unless growth can take place?

The question was put from the audience. Mboweni was confident that the political leadership of the ANC understands the issues at stake. As to the grass roots, he explained, these matters are discussed at branch level and attempts are made to educate members on economic policy issues.

But, with all this said, ANC politicians continue to speak with different voices. The image they project at mass rallies is not the same as the acceptable face presented to foreign investors. Whatever a future ANC government does, it will disappoint someone. This is a common phenomenon in politics — as those US voters who heard George Bush tell them to read his lips will know.

Which is why it is unfortunate that eco-

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conomic policy was not on the table at Codesa.

There are two possible reasons for the omission: the subject is potentially too divisive and the parties fear the process of negotiation would break down; or the main negotiating partners, the ANC and NP, are spiritually close on economic policy.

For many years, government policy-makers believed growth could take place on command. They did not understand that economic activity is a spontaneous process and will happen if it is allowed to. But it can't be kicked or beaten into performing.

Even now, there is strong support in the NP for State intervention and a stream of *dirigiste* consciousness runs close beneath the surface of official policy. So it may be that the need to protect a market economy was not considered important enough to place on the table.

In the absence of debate at Codesa on economic policy, an economic forum has been created. Three major trade union federations, including Cosatu, and seven employer organisations have agreed on the ground rules. Attempts will now be made to persuade government to participate — as a prelude to a social accord involving business, labour and government.

The forum must still move to matters of substance. Given the speed with which Codesa is moving, political agreement will be reached long before consensus emerges from the economic forum. And when it does, it will probably relate to matters on the shop floor rather than to macro-economic policy. (Cosatu's economic agenda, which emerged at a recent three-day meeting, takes a predictably socialist shape.)

So there is almost no opportunity for those who believe economic freedoms should be part of the new dispensation to say their piece. There is an argument that economic policy cannot be dealt with in a constitution. But that is not true. There is, for instance, no reason property rights cannot be enshrined or the central bank's independence guaranteed. Whatever the disadvantages of raising controversial issues at Codesa and delaying the proceedings, there will be no better moment to fight for liberal values.

Once we move to an interim government, the present government's bargaining power will be sharply reduced. Thereafter, it will play an increasingly less influential role.

Codesa 2 is scheduled to assemble and pronounce next month and it will be the last chance to protect the economic freedoms of generations of South Africans. It is still possible to create a transitional council on economic policy so these do not go by default.

It is now or never! ■



# Delegates arrive <sup>(11A)</sup> for PAC conference

STAD 314192.  
UMTATA — Delegates to the Pan Africanist Congress's third annual conference began arriving in the Transkei capital of Umtata yesterday together with messages of support from as far afield as Australia.

The conference is due to take place at the University of the Transkei from today and to culminate in a public rally on Monday.

Delegates from Tanzania, Libya and Ghana arrived on Wednesday.

More delegates from Nigeria, Zimbabwe, the Netherlands and Swaziland were due later yesterday.

Some organisations have already sent messages of support to the PAC.

A message from an organisation calling itself the Revolutionary Communist Group, based in London, said in its message that it had been inspired by the principled

position taken by the PAC.

The group voiced admiration for "your unwavering commitment to one person, one vote for an elected constituent assembly and to the unity of all the oppressed people of Azania against the apartheid oppressor to achieve this end."

"We believe that all means chosen by the Azanian people are legitimate in your struggle against apartheid, and in this context we are paying a particular tribute to comrades of Apla (the PAC's military wing) and the important role they have played," the group said.

In its message, the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist) conveyed its greeting to the PAC who, "despite murderous repression, are persisting in their arduous struggle for victory over imperialism and racist colonialism." Sapa.

# Pik would keep job but wouldn't be sent to OAU, says Mbeki

STAR 3/4/92

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — National Party Cabinet ministers are likely to retain their posts in an interim government, says ANC shadow foreign minister Thabo Mbeki.

But this did not mean that Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha would be sent to an Organisation of African Unity meeting to represent South Africa, he added.

Interviewed on Wednesday, Mr Mbeki said the ANC was hopeful an interim government would be in place by June.

This would be phase one of the ANC's constitutional plans.

Phase two would involve elections for a constituent assembly which would draft a new constitution.

Mr Mbeki said the whole process should be completed by June next year.

"The principal task of an interim government would be to prepare the country for free and fair elections.

"We are not proposing a major reconstruction of government during this period, and the Cabinet should continue to exist, just like we are saying Parliament should live until



Mbeki . . . diplomatic corps with a "nonracial blend".

it has given legal effect to decisions reached at Codesa and ended the own-affairs arrangement."

He said the ANC was proposing the appointment of an interim government council on which all participants in Codesa would be represented.

This council would, through multiparty committees, control security, foreign affairs, local

government and the Budget.

"Our view is that ministers should not be removed from office, but become members of these committees. But there will be joint decision-making."

Mr Mbeki said an interim government would have to ensure that policy was implemented by people who were "broadly acceptable" to transitional government structures.

"Let's say that an interim government is in power in June, the OAU heads of state meet in July, and the new government is asked to be represented there. You can't send Pik Botha because he still represents Foreign Affairs."

He imagined South Africa's diplomatic corps would be strengthened "so that it has a more nonracial blend".

It was for this reason that the ANC was arranging with diplomatic schools in countries such as Tanzania, France, Egypt and England to have aspiring diplomats trained there.

"The places are secure at these schools. A batch of 20 people should leave for England at the beginning of May, but one of the key issues is funds. I don't know when they'll be leaving."

● 15 years of crests and troughs — Page 13

# Action stations for election battle

South 4/4 - 9/4/92  
By Quentin Wilson

WHISPERS from Codesa (the Convention for a Democratic South Africa) hint that some form of democratic elections will take place before the end of the year.

In preparation, the ANC's National Elections Commission is frantically building itself up to challenge the well-oiled campaign machinery of the NP.

Mr James Stuart, chairperson of the commission, says its main task "is to overcome the advantage enjoyed by the NP and other parties that have been part of the voting scene all along".

"We need to prepare the people, specially the African majority who have had absolutely no experience of voting, to participate effectively and responsibly when the time comes," says Stuart.

In its proposals to Codesa, the ANC suggested that a multi-party electoral commission be established to ensure free and fair campaigning and voting.

In the meantime, however, no time is being wasted in getting voter education programmes off the ground.

"All our regional structures have been set up and are fully functioning. They are carrying the campaign to ordinary ANC members and even non-members," Stuart says.

By June the ANC plans to have 40 seminars where people will be shown how to train others to vote.

Participants at six workshops already held, expressed concern about holding elections in the present climate of violence, said Stuart. They stressed the need to act now to ensure elections are fair.

They supported the call for an interim government and said free elections required impartial control over the security forces and state media. They recommended that the Electoral Act and other relevant legislation be reviewed and a code of political conduct drawn up.

Dr Seshi Chonco, from the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy, insists that the government should help fund voter education schemes.

"The government must put money aside. It is the taxpayer's money which must be used. Teaching 17 million people how to vote is a terrific task, I mean we still don't understand what a ballot is or what a voter's roll is. These are just a few basic concepts which everybody must learn," Chonco says.

Mr Barney Desai, publicity secretary for the PAC, suggests that a "united front" of liberation movements pool their resources and launch a single education programme.

According to Stuart there would be "no problem for the ANC to discuss this matter with the PAC".

# Disbanding MK would anger the 'young lions'

South 4/4-9/4/92

The controversy over whether the military wing of the ANC should disband rages on.

**Sabata Ngcai** sounds out the opinions of township residents about the continued existence of MK:

**T**HE ANC'S military wing, Umkhonto weSizwe (MK), is the only hope for victims of violence in South Africa and would leave people vulnerable to hit squads if disbanded, township residents say.

MK is looked upon as "the people's army" in most black townships, despite the fact that it is not as strong as many would like it to be.

Whenever township people are threatened, whether in the form of taxi wars or hostel violence, one hears voices proclaiming: "MK must come and save us."

The government claims MK is a cause of instability in the country and argues there can be no smooth democratic transition unless this alternative army is disbanded.

This is the first time such a demand has been put to a liberation movement in Southern Africa as a pre-condition for negotiations.

When the Zanu and Zapu patriotic fronts fought against Rhodesian forces, the two sides agreed to cease hostilities and neither was ordered to disband its army prior to negotiations.

Negotiations went smoothly and brought about the independence of Zimbabwe.

In Namibia, Swapo was not asked to disband its army as a prerequisite for freedom.

It would therefore be suicidal for MK to disband when violence is raging in the country and negotiations are barely off the ground.

Recently, when ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela spoke at a rally in Khayelitsha about victims of violence who frequently ran to his house for refuge, a shrill voice shouted from the audience: "Give us arms!"

Calls like this indicate disbanding MK would be unacceptable, specially to the numerous militant "young lions" in the townships.

It is ridiculous, one "young lion" argues, for the government to claim MK is a source of instability as the endemic violence in South Africa had been ravaging black townships long before MK even returns..

Evidence of police involvement in fanning the flames of violence has been presented in reams and the government had repeatedly ignored it, he argues.



**SOLDIERS OF PEACE: MK delegates at a conference in Venda**

"Whenever a fight breaks out between two groups, the police are always implicated and accused of siding with one group."

Recently in the Cape townships, when the taxi war broke out between Lagunya and Webta, the police were repeatedly accused by the residents of siding with Webta against Lagunya.

In several other cases where this internecine violence has broken out and claimed many lives round the country, the police were and are still accused of taking sides to fan violence.

Many in Nyanga say the government's demand to disband MK appears to be nothing other than a bargaining strategy aimed at weakening the ANC's position in the

transition process.

Despite noises repeatedly made by the government demanding the disbanding of MK, the ANC has said its military wing would never disband on instructions from the government.

Mandela told Khayelitsha residents: "If the government wants MK to disband, it should first disband the SADF."

It is disturbing to find, at this transitional stage, that the South African government still wants to wield the big stick.

In the meantime, as the interim government has not yet been installed, Codesa is the only decision maker on national issues.

A decision on the future of MK, homeland armies and the SADF

should be decided by Codesa, as it is the only legitimate and representative body at this stage. This decision should not be unilaterally taken on the basis of demands made by only one of the major players in Codesa.

The next step should be for the interim government to decide how to integrate the various armies to form a single army suitable for a non-racial, post-apartheid South Africa.

The view is also shared in MK circles. MK member Mr Jan Robertson said: "We are not prepared to disband while the interim government has not been installed.

"Once the interim government is in place, it will take decisions on the future of not only MK but also that of armies in the homelands and the SADF."

On the possibility of MK being integrated into the SADF, Robertson said it was impossible for MK to join the army in the way it is presently structured and constituted.

"In the present form, the SADF is illegitimate in the eyes of the public."

The government and the ANC were presently engaged in bilateral talks on the question of MK, Robertson pointed out.

Although the government and ANC have formally ceased hostilities against each other, MK should be alert so that, if negotiations break down, the army would be able to resume hostilities against the regime, Nyanga's "young lions" argue.

**P**OLICY DIFFERENCES within the PAC are threatening to wreck hopes of unity between the organisation and its splinter groups in the run-up to a watershed conference in Umtata this weekend.

Splinter groups under the Joint East Rand and West Rand Facilitating Committee claim the PAC has invited them to meet it before the conference in an effort to sort out differences. The organisation could

# Unity elusive as the PAC heads for Umtata conference

South 4/4-9/4/92

But PAC publicity secretary Mr Barney Desai denied the PAC had invited the splinter groups to talks and said his organisation was not prepared to abandon its demand for a constituent assembly (CA).

"We cannot abandon our long-standing policy and accede to a small group of people."

He said the PAC remained committed to pursuing its demand for a democratically elected CA as mandated by its Special Consultative Conference in Cape Town last year.

Petu said a group led by Prince Velekhaya Shange and purporting to be a PAC splinter group did not deserve to be invited to the conference. The former PAC member had been expelled after he and other members pursued their own interests once they were sent abroad, Petu said.

Shange earned a life last year when he announced he was leading a delegation to Codesa.

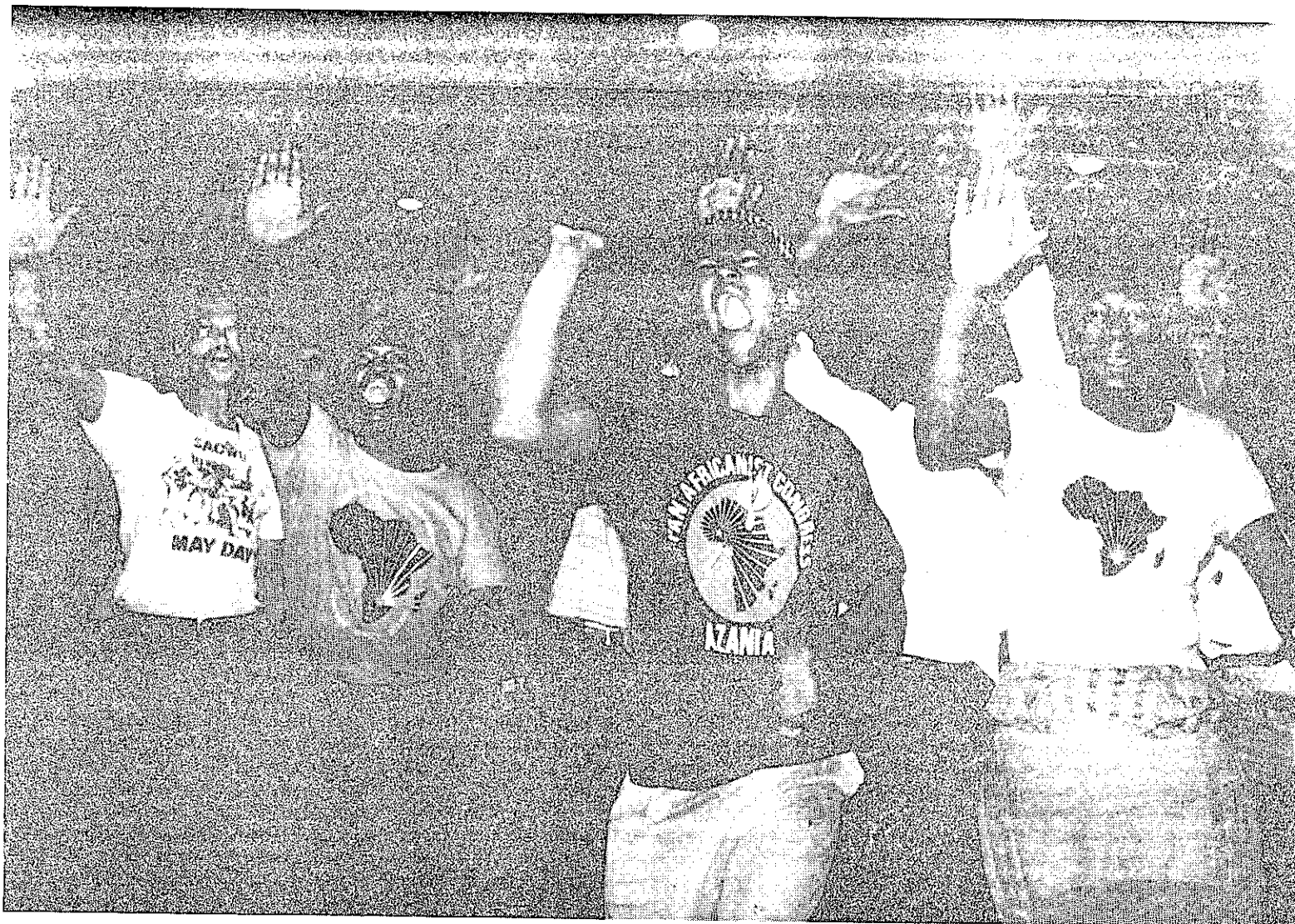
The PAC had previously distanced itself from Shange, labelling him "an isolated molecule who speaks only for himself".

Petu also said the CA and constitutional negotiations with the government "cannot deliver any goods".

"The CA does not address the question of the land taken from us and can only bring about a bourgeois democracy."

He said the CA was no more than a mechanism for electing a delegation to draft a constitution.

"If one negotiates the return of land to the people, one must be sure to do so in a strong position," said Petu. "The negotiations taking place are on President FW de



**SALUTE:** PAC supporters at a rally of the movement in Johannesburg

Klerk's terms, backed by the SADF."

The PAC would never participate in Codesa, but would pursue the armed struggle to regain possession of land.

"Codesa is a forum that is not above parliament and therefore cannot take binding decisions."

On the issue of funds for the armed struggle, he said: "If the people can buy furniture and other luxuries, I see no problem in financing our liberation."

Desai, meanwhile, said the Umtata

conference would focus on negotiations, the attitude of the African states and the way forward for the PAC.

In a paper to be delivered at the conference, Desai defends a free media and recommends that such freedom of expression be enshrined in a Bill of Rights.

He says an Azanian Constitution must ensure the right of minority (alternative) papers to exist by providing state subsidies.

A press council should ensure proper standards of news dissemi-

nation, safeguard the privacy of individuals and ensure that journalists are not harassed in the course of their duties.

Though the PAC has consistently refused to participate in Codesa, it has been suggested that the organisation may go into its conference to seek a mandate from its hardline membership to argue its case at the convention.

However, Desai denied reports that the PAC is under pressure from the Organisation of African Unity to participate in Codesa: "Our views

are supported by the frontline states," he said.

"The PAC views the most recent proposals of the regime at Codesa as an insult to the aspirations of the African masses for self-determination."

In last year's PAC Special Consultative conference, the organisation's leadership hoped to get a mandate to join Codesa, but failed as the slogan "Down with Codesa" filled the conference hall at the University of the Western Cape.

— Sabata Ngcai

# ANC won't intervene in Falati 'disappearance'

STAR 4/4/92

(11A)

THE ANC has said it will not intervene in the dispute between Winnie Mandela and her kidnap trial co-accused Xoliswa Falati, following the apparent disappearance of Falati from the Mandela home this week.

Shortly before she reportedly left the Mandela mansion in the company of several men in a vehicle on Thursday, Falati telephoned a newspaper to say she "did not feel safe".

The incident follows Falati's eviction from the house in Orlando West, Soweto, by Mandela on Saturday after a reported altercation between the two women.

In that instance ANC president Nelson Mandela apparently intervened and Falati was allowed to return.

ANC spokesman Dr Pallo Jordan said yesterday it was beyond the



**XOLISWA FALATI: "No evidence she's missing".**

powers of the organisation to intervene.

Although nothing has been heard from Falati since she telephoned the Sowetan and hinted that her life could be in danger, police said last night they had no concrete evidence that she was missing.

In the frantic telephone call, Falati said she had to talk to some-

one urgently. She allegedly begged the newspaper to send a reporter to the house urgently as "something serious was happening". She was unable to elaborate.

When the Sowetan reporter arrived at the house, a neighbour said Falati had left in a car with several men.

Sowetan day editor Thami Mazwai said the newspaper had not heard anything further from Falati.

Soweto police spokesman Captain Govind-samy Mariemuthoo said the police could not follow up the incident unless a report was filed.

Falati and Mandela were last year sentenced to six years' jail each for the kidnap and assault of four youths in Soweto.

Both women are out on bail pending an appeal. — Saturday Star Reporters and Sapa.

# Africa tells PAC to join Codesa

STAR 4/4/92

11A

DELEGATES at the Pan Africanist Congress's third national congress in Umtata have been urged to mandate their leaders to take part in Codesa.

While PAC president Mlamli Clarence Makwetu in his opening speech remained obdurately opposed to joining Codesa, leaders of independent Africa leaned heavily on the movement to rejoin the multi-lateral talks.

The PAC president said that participation in Codesa was futile, as the convention was packed with "stooges and lackeys" of the Government.

"Codesa is not intended to usher in genuine democracy," Makwetu said to rapturous applause. "It is an instrument of the regime aimed at undermining all the demands of the United (Patriotic) Front."

But in a stern message from the Organisation of African Unity, the movement was warned that the world was waiting for the PAC to join other political leaders in negotiations.

In a similarly firm message to the PAC, Transkei military leader

## ISMAIL LAGARDIEN

Major-General Bantu Holomisa, in whose jurisdiction the congress was held, told delegates to give their leaders a mandate to enter talks with the Government.

He suggested quite strongly that the PAC could join Codesa, and save face, by reviving the Patriotic Front.

The Congress of Traditional Leaders (Contralesa) also said that the PAC's participation in Codesa could come about through the resuscitation of the Patriotic Front.

A new national executive council will be elected by tomorrow night, by which time delegates will have decided if the PAC is to enter Codesa.

The conception of Codesa held by delegates and PAC members at the Umtata congress appears clouded by ignorance and naivety.

At least one executive committee member understood the Government's idea of transitional councils to be "Codesa's latest position", and not the proposal of one party among 18.

# Integrate armies to foster trust

STTimes 5/4/92.

## Laurie Nathan argues that agreement to integrate all military forces will lead to the ANC finally abandoning the armed struggle

THE first plenary session of Codesa last December was marred by a fiery showdown between President FW de Klerk and Nelson Mandela over ANC arms caches and the status of its army, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

These issues continue to plague negotiations. The government insists transitional structures will not be established until the ANC agrees to end its armed struggle and disband MK.

The ANC refuses to demobilise MK "until a democratic government is in place". It argues further that "there is no difference between MK and the SADF, which is the National Party's army".

The way out of this impasse would be to focus briefly on a longer term issue: the political parties represented at Codesa could agree in principle that the future defence force will be an amalgamation of the SADF, MK and the homeland armies.

The actual integration of these forces will undoubtedly be difficult. But agreement in principle at this stage would clarify their future status and thereby make it easier to identify the steps required to control them in the interim.

In one form or another, integration is inevitable. Neither the government nor the ANC has the strength to ensure its army is installed exclusively as the new defence force.

Both parties are commit-

ted to a negotiated settlement precisely because they recognise this reality. They accept, too, that negotiations necessarily entail compromising hard-line positions. It would be absurd to imagine military affairs as exempt from such a compromise.

Integration is also politically and strategically desirable. By virtue of their historic roles and characters, neither the SADF nor MK on its own would be regarded as a genuinely national defence force after apartheid.

Both armies have played a partisan role in the South African conflict.

The SADF's credibility is weakened by its aggressive defence of minority rule, while MK is regarded by many whites as a "terrorist organisation".

The exclusion of the SADF or MK from the new defence force would fatally undermine its legitimacy, embitter one or another political constituency and create the danger of banditry and armed resistance to the state.

Conversely, the merging of government and guerrilla forces would signal a real commitment by the major players to overcoming the

divisions of the past.

The logic of the above arguments was accepted at independence in Namibia and Zimbabwe. It has been accepted more recently in Mozambique and Angola — and it provided the basis for the formation of the Union Defence Force in South Africa in 1912.

The UDF was forged out of British colonial forces and Boer commando armies which had fought a bloody war only 10 years earlier.

If the parties at Codesa agreed to a similar integration of the SADF, MK and the homeland armies, the way would be clear to resolving controversial military issues and devising means of regulating these forces during the transition.

The government could agree to subject the SADF to a code of conduct and multi-party control. The ANC could formally end its armed struggle, surrender its arms caches and recognise the SADF as South Africa's legal defence force in the interim period.

A number of structures could be set up to implement and monitor these agreements. At political level, the

interim government could exercise civilian control over all the armies through a multi-party commission of security.

The commission could monitor SADF compliance with the code of conduct and MK compliance with the Pretoria, DF Malan and Groote Schuur minutes. It could also begin formulating new defence policy and planning the reconstitution of the security forces.

At a military level, a Joint Monitoring Committee comprised of senior officers from each of the armies could be created along the lines of the JMC's established by South Africa with Mozambique in 1984 and with Angola in 1984 and 1988.

An outstanding issue would be the status of the armed wings of the AWB, Azapo and the PAC, which have all rejected participation in Codesa.

These armies should be outlawed if they reject the option of multi-party control and eventual incorporation into the new defence force.

The essential point, though, is that every effort should be made to accommodate the various armies that exist in South Africa.

● Laurie Nathan is a senior researcher at the Centre for Intergroup Studies, an independent mediation group attached to UCT.



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until he has made a full recovery."  
led Miss De Beer.

# Growing pressure on PAC to join Codesa

SITimes (Cape metro) 5/4/92 (11A)

YESTERDAY, two days into its three-day 3rd national congress since being un-banned on February 2, 1990, the PAC came under growing pressure to change its hard-line anti-Codesa stance.

The uncompromising attitude expressed in speeches at the special presidential reception for the PAC leadership held by Transkei military leader Major General Bantu Holamisa on Thursday night and again on Friday and yesterday was, however, well-received by the militant youth core in the audience.

But in cautiously worded speeches by other dignatories and in messages delivered through envoys from well-wishing nations in Africa and Europe, the message to the PAC was clear — get into the negotiating scrum.

The most direct message to the PAC to stop its postur-

## NORMAN WEST reports from Umtata

ing and start making its voice heard where it matters, came from the leader of the Organisation for African Unity, Nigeria's President Ebrahim Babangida.

In a special letter addressed to his "brother" — PAC national President Mr Clarence Makwetu — the Nigerian leader told the PAC "the eyes of Africa are upon you".

Part of the contents — read to the congress by the Nigerian envoy Ambassador Olu Adeniji, Director General of External Affairs of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, — drew murmurs of surprise from observers.

He referred to the letter as "advice" to Mr Makwetu and the PAC.

President Babangida said the PAC congress was taking place at a momentous time

in South Africa's history.

The international community was, therefore, anxiously awaiting the emergence of a non-racial, democratic South Africa "as the product of the collective wisdom of all the South African people".

He said the OAU was looking forward to the day when South Africa returned to its rightful place in the OAU "but only once it guarantees the right to all its citizens of unfettered freedom to participate fully in the political process that determines the governors of your country".

"In the present circumstances it is the hope of the OAU that this congress will decide to work fully with other democratic forces to build a new South Africa," said President Babangida.

The OAU leader said it was his belief that "all hands should be on deck" to work out the modalities of that new South Africa.



## Banquet launches craft fair

more than 200 people, re-  
solved to continue where

# Pik for PAC talks

By NORMAN WEST  
Political Reporter

THE PAC and the government will hold talks in Nigeria next week.

The PAC announced yesterday it would meet a government delegation in the town of Abuja.

The meeting would be held under the neutral chairmanship of President Ibrahim Babangida, the current chairman of the Organisation of African Unity.

The PAC said the first meeting would be prepa-

tory in nature and would lay the ground for a summit between PAC president Clarence Makwetu and President FW de Klerk. *STimes 5/4/92*

"We understand Mr Pik Botha will lead the government's delegation," Mr Makwetu said yesterday.

Nigerian radio reported on Friday that President De Klerk would visit that country next week.

It is understood Mr Botha will fly to Nigeria a day before Mr De Klerk to meet the PAC.

# Nelson, Winnie 'to split'

Sunday Times Reporter  
THE marriage of ANC president Nelson Mandela and his controversial wife, Winnie, is over, the London Sunday Times reports today.

The newspaper's South African representative, Richard Ellis, also reports that Mr Mandela has asked his wife to quit politics and resign from the ANC.

The report follows an incident last Saturday night at the Soweto home of Xoliswa Falati, 38, convicted with Mrs Mandela last year on charges of kidnapping and assault related to the death of teenage activist Stompie Seipei four years ago.

The London Sunday Times gives a vivid account of the clash between Mrs Falati and Mrs Mandela last weekend.

## Pistol

Mrs Falati, who has been sleeping in a backyard room at the former Mandela home in Vilakazi Street, Orlando West, claims Mrs Mandela arrived in the early hours of Sunday morning.

She was "drunk, in a foul mood and brandishing a Makarov pistol", says the report. Mrs Falati fled the house "in fear of my life" while Mrs Mandela threw her clothes on to the pavement.

"She came at me like a madwoman. She was screaming at me that I was going to prison," Mrs Falati said.

She appealed to Mr Mandela to intervene.

Mr Mandela asked Mrs Falati to tell the ANC "everything she knew". This she did in a four-hour meeting.

One of her claims was that Mrs Mandela had drawn up a hit list four months ago, targeting her "enemies", including senior ANC officials.

Mrs Falati is quoted by the London Sunday Times as saying she was "not prepared to go to jail for that ungrateful woman", and apparently told ANC intelligence officers "this is just the tip of the iceberg — it would take me two weeks to reveal all that I know".

Last weekend's incident was apparently sparked by Mrs Mandela discovering

that Mrs Falati was "spreading a different version of events concerning the night Stompie was killed".

It took place less than 12 hours before Mr and Mrs Mandela hosted an engagement party for their daughter, Zinzi, on Sunday afternoon.

A guest at the party said yesterday: "Winnie looked terrible, but they put a brave face on it. I didn't see Nelson and Winnie talk to one another all afternoon, and it was clear that they

were at pains to avoid each other."

Mrs Falati, who has been working as a maid in the Mandela mansion in Orlando West, was in hiding this weekend.

In response to the London newspaper report, ANC spokesman Mr Pallo Jordan said last night: "I don't think it would be proper for the ANC to comment on these matters. Mr and Mrs Mandela are entitled to a private life."

Neither Mr nor Mrs Mandela was available for comment last night.



# PAC to meet government

*CIPRES 514192* (11A)

By S'BU MNGADI

THE PAC will meet a high-powered government delegation outside South Africa as international efforts to woo the organisation into joining Codesa move into top gear.

PAC president Clarence Makwetu, who will lead the organisation's delegation at the bilateral talks on Thursday in Abuja, Nigeria, said he did not rule out the possibility of the PAC rejoining Codesa - depending on the outcome of the meeting.

This emerged at the PAC's four-day third annual national conference at the University of Transkei in Umtata.

The government delegation will be led by Foreign Minister Pik Botha. A spokesman for Foreign Affairs declined to comment yesterday.

Opening the conference, Makwetu maintained his organisation's hardline stand against the Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

Senior PAC leaders said although bi-lateral talks might lead to the organisation rejoining Codesa, they would be doing so on their own terms, having first met at a neutral venue and under a neutral chairman.

Meanwhile a 35-person Azapo delegation held a special consultative meeting with the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania in Harare, Zimbabwe, at the weekend.

Azapo spokesman Strini Moodley did not rule out the possibility of Azapo joining Codesa but he said it could only happen after consultations with the ANC and other components of the Patriotic Front.

## 20 killed in raid on Crossroads

*CIPRES 514192*  
By MONWABISI NOMADLO

IN the worst single massacre on the East Rand this year, 20 people were killed, 18 seriously injured and more than 30 shacks razed on Friday night when armed men raided Crossroads Squatter camp in Katlehong.

The assailants, armed with firearms, petrol bombs and sharp instruments, were allegedly Xhosa-speaking men from Holomisa Squatter Camp.

Joseph Dlamini, who lost all his possessions including his car during the attack, said one of the

■ To Page 4

## OAU group for Alex?

CP Correspondent

ANC president Nelson Mandela is to ask the Organisation of African Unity to monitor violence in Alexandra township. *CIPRES 514192*

"That is the only way we can stop this violence," he said.

Mandela told a press conference that an independent international monitoring group was needed "because the government and security (forces) have abdicated from their duties".

More than 20 people have been killed in Alexandra this week.

■ See pages 2 and 13

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## Urgent application

JOOSTE Mothapo, Diepmeadow Council's director of housing, and Sibongile Mazibuko, a council legal advisor, brought an

urgent application against City Press in the Rand Supreme Court on Friday.

The application attempted to restrain City Press from publishing further reports about the allocation of sites in Zone 4, Diepkloof. The application was postponed until Friday, April 10, to enable City Press to file papers opposing the application. *City Press 5/4/92*



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# Falati's conduct angers Mandelas

By THEMBA KHUMALO

THE relationship between Winnie Mandela and her co-accused, Xoliswa Falati, plummeted to its lowest ebb after Falati's "sensational press comments" this week.

Falati told newspapers that she was reinstated to her backyard room by the ANC leader Nelson Man-

dela after Winnie had kicked her out. *5/4/92*

Zondi Mandela, Mandela's daughter-in-law, said that for the past nine months Winnie had been persuading Falati to move to the Mandela house at Diepkloof Extension to make way for family members who were coming from the Transkei to help with arrangements

for Zinzi's wedding.

Falati disappeared on Thursday - allegedly in the company of five men - only minutes after phoning a Johannesburg reporter, saying something was about to happen to her and asking him to come to her aid.

Zondi said the Mandelas were enraged by Falati's latest behaviour. By

her sudden disappearance she wanted to create the impression she had been kidnapped. They were beginning to question her motives for being close to the family.

An ANC official who lives in KwaThema, where Falati originally comes from, said they were worried about her close links with the Man-

delas. She was over-zealous and involved herself in too many progressive structures during the days of the UDF.

He said it was well-known in KwaThema that Falati's house was petrol-bombed four years ago by angry comrades, and not the police as Falati claimed.

■ See page 2

over soccer affairs.

## **MK must stay, says CAST** (11A)

THE Civic Associations of Southern Transvaal have reacted to the National Party's demand that Umkhonto weSizwe be disbanded by calling on all township residents to prepare for mass demonstrations in support of MK. *CP ren 51492*

CAST has also condemned political parties who support the call to disband MK, saying they were surrogates of the National Party. MK was a powerful deterrent to vigilantes and rogue policemen, said CAST.

# Doubts about Falati mystery

By DESMOND BLOW

CIP res 5/4/92 (11A)

THE disappearance of Xoliswa Falati this week, after her fall-out with Winnie Mandela, is seen — by people who know Falati — as a sinister attempt by her to cast suspicion on the ANC president's wife for her disappearance.

A police spokesman said they were not investigating Falati's disappearance. "If her life was in danger she should have come to the police and not a newspaper."

Falati was the catalyst that began the tragic incidents that led to the death of 14-year-old activist Stompie Seipei when she made a report to Winnie about alleged sexual abuse of youths at the Orlando West Methodist manse.

Winnie supporters have always maintained that she had been hoodwinked by a shrewd Falati, but up to and during the trial Winnie rejected this.

However, there has been a change in Winnie's attitude recently.

The trial of Falati was paid for by the International Defence and Aid Fund, which recently closed down.

Recent reports said President Gaddafi of Libya had donated R1-million for the appeal of Winnie Mandela, but that none of this money would be used for the defence of Falati.

The appeals are due to be heard on April 30. Falati's attorney, Kathy Satchwell, said Falati would have to serve her sentence if no funds for her appeal could be found.

# Here's our plan

By SEKOLA SELLO

11A  
CP ren 514192

THE ANC this week laid on the Codesa negotiating table its vision for a constitution-making body and procedures to draft a new constitution.

The organisation reiterated its position that a constitution drafting body must centre around the principle of a Constituent Assembly, which they described as the most widely used mechanism internationally.

However, in a conciliatory gesture to those opposed to a Constituent Assembly – the government and Inkatha in particular – the ANC said the name of such a forum was not crucial and could even be called Congress, after the body which drafted the constitution of the United States of America.

What is important, says the ANC, is how the body is chosen and how it functions.

## But NP shoots down forum proposal

The government shot down the proposals, saying they "constituted a risk of authoritarian government".

Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Tertius Delport this week said the proposals made no provision for the functioning of a Constituent Assembly within the framework of a constitution.

He said in terms of these proposals, the majority (say 60 percent) of members could refuse to consider the minority's (say 40 percent) preference of power sharing.

According to Delport, "the government cannot but conclude that the ANC proposals lay the foundation for an absolute usurpation of power and authoritarian government".

The ANC also proposes the reincorporation of the four nominally independent homelands of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and Venda into South Africa. It rejects federalism and a two-house Parliament.

To deal with disputes among members of the Constituent Assembly, the ANC proposes a nine-member constitutional panel. The ANC said this panel should not be made up of members of the current judiciary.

According to the ANC, "although there are undoubtedly persons of great merit in the present judiciary, the court system as such is seen by the majority of South Africans as a creation of apartheid government which appointed the judges as lacking in legitimacy".

### Votes for all

The ANC's proposals include:

- That the Constituent Assembly be made up of 400 members;
- That the vote be given to all people over the age of 18;
- Decisions of the Constituent Assembly be by two-thirds majority;
- The Constituent Assembly be obliged to enshrine the principles agreed upon by Codesa in the new constitution and shall not contradict such principles;
- The Constituent Assembly shall elect from its own ranks a representative drafting commission made up of 40 people to work under its jurisdiction; and
- The Constituent Assembly shall be legally entrusted with sovereign powers to draft and put into operation a new and binding constitution for South Africa.

5  
1  
ANC



# Govt in MK row

CT 6/4/92.

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

**THE government yesterday warned that negotiations could be jeopardised by the continuing involvement of umKhonto weSizwe (MK) members in violence.**

With ongoing strife claiming dozens of lives at the weekend, Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee yesterday also gave notice that he would recommend to the government that it "take further drastic steps to contain the violence". The warnings came on the eve of the resumption of Codesa negotiations today on the critical issues of power-sharing arrangements during the interim government phase and how the body which writes the constitution should be made up.

The government's "get tough" stance follows the arrest of an alleged member of the ANC's military wing in

connection with the killing of one policeman and the wounding of another in an AK-47 attack in the Free State last week.

In a sharply-worded statement, Mr Coetsee, who is also a member of the government's negotiating team at Codesa, said the attack could have "serious consequences" for the whole negotiation process.

"This matter cannot be left to rest," he said, adding that it reflected on "the veracity of Codesa itself".

Mr Coetsee said: "As leader of the National Party in the Free State, I wish to leave no doubt as to the serious light in which I view this matter."

ANC spokeswoman Ms Gill Marcus said last night the ANC would urgently look into whether one of its MK members had been involved in the attack.

She emphasised that it was not ANC policy for its members to be involved in this type of activity.

To page 3

## PAC 'to intensify armed struggle'

(11A) CT 6/4/92

UMTATA. — The PAC would intensify its armed struggle — despite the first bilateral talks planned between the organisation and the government in Nigeria soon.

This is according to Pan-Africanist Student Organisation publicity secretary Mr Eugene Motali, who was addressing a press conference here yesterday where the PAC is holding its third national congress.

Referring to the Nigerian talks, Mr Motali said: "This development does not in any way suggest a pause in any form of struggle... it is more reason to intensify it."

Mr Motali said the PAC-government meeting was another "terrain of struggle" and the SADF had to "put down arms first" before the Azanian Peoples Army's activities would be suspended.

● PAC, government to meet — Page 2

STAR 61492. (11A)  
**Missing Falati**

**'alive and kicking'**

● From Page 1

personal to the Mandela family.

ANC Department of Information official Gill Marcus confirmed the London Sunday Times report that Mrs Falati had spoken to ANC intelligence officers, adding: "The ANC is looking at what she had to say."

The parting of the ways between Mrs Falati and Mrs Mandela comes as little surprise to anti-apartheid activists, who have been puzzled by the relationship.

Mrs Falati fled from KwaThema in the '80s after her house was petrol bombed. Sources say it was burnt by activists who distrusted her — not by security forces, as claimed at the time.

(ICC) — representing the ANC, IFP, DP, churches and relief agencies — met about 200 refugee women and chil-

tenant Wikus Weber said that about 15 minutes earlier a man was shot and seriously wounded in Beirut by a bullet fired from a Tokarev

The deaths bring to at least 14 the number of people killed in Alexandra since Tuesday. Scores of others have been injured.

men armed with firearms, petrol bombs, pangas and other weapons attacked the camp at about 11 pm and then fled on foot.

More than 30 shacks were

# Missing Falati 'alive and kicking'

Political Staff  
and Sapa-Reuter

STAR  
6/4/92

Xoliswa Falati, who allegedly disappeared from the home of ANC president Nelson Mandela last week — just days after a dispute with Winnie Mandela — has acted to dispel speculation that she was abducted.

Yesterday, a woman who identified herself as Mrs Falati telephoned The Star's sister newspaper, the Sowetan. "She said we should know that she is alive and kicking. But she would not talk to any of us any longer than that," said the reporter who took the call.

Mrs Falati was convicted with Mrs Mandela last year

of kidnapping and assaulting four youths. The case followed the conviction of Mrs Mandela's bodyguard, Jerry Richardson, for the murder of teenage activist Stompie Seipei.

In sensational allegations to the London Sunday Times, Mrs Falati told of problems regarding the Mandelas' personal relationship and of Mrs Mandela's alleged plans for dealing with her political opponents within the ANC.

In her brief call to the Sowetan yesterday, Mrs Falati indicated that she would report at a Soweto police station today, as she is obliged to do in terms of her bail conditions pending the hearing of her and Mrs Man-

del's appeal on April 30.

Mrs Falati told the Sunday Times in London that the Mandelas had been living apart for some time and that Mr Mandela had demanded in a "showdown" that his wife retire from politics.

She also told Sunday Times reporter Richard Ellis that Mrs Mandela had drawn up a hit list of political "enemies".

The allegations were published yesterday, just a week after a fall-out between Mrs Mandela and Mrs Falati, in which Mrs Mandela allegedly attempted to evict Mrs Falati from an outbuilding she occupied on the Mandela's Orlando West property. It is understood Mr Mandela

(11A)  
secured Mrs Falati's return to the premises.

On Thursday, Mrs Falati telephoned Sowetan reporter Ruth Bhengu, appealing for help and saying she had spotted hit squad members nearby. By the time Ms Bhengu arrived at the Mandela home Mrs Falati had gone.

According to a weekend report, she had been removed to an "ANC safe house" by "cohorts of Mr Mandela". ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said yesterday that he had "no information to confirm or deny that".

The ANC has chosen to treat reports of the split as

● To Page 3 ●

# PAC-Govt meeting may yet founder

STAR 6/4/92

The first official bilateral talks between the Pan-Africanist Congress and the Government, set to take place in Nigeria, could still run aground over the issue of chairmanship.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha last night stressed in a statement that in preliminary talks with the Nigerians there was never any suggestion that the meeting with the PAC would be chaired by the Organisation of African Unity or that it would occur on foreign soil.

The original announcement of bilateral talks between the Government and the PAC was made by the liberation organisation's president, Clarence Makwetu, at the PAC congress in Umtata at the weekend. Mr Makwetu referred specifically to the fact that "the PAC and the regime will meet shortly at the neutral venue in Abuja, Nigeria, under the neutral chairmanship of President Ebrahim Babangida who is the current chairman of the OAU".

Mr Botha said although the Government was prepared to hold talks with the PAC — which has remained steadfastly outside Codesa — foreign participation was "entirely unnecessary". He added that the Government would prefer the meeting to take place in South Africa and that "since the 'playing field' has been levelled for all parties pursuing a peaceful process, there is no impediment to the PAC joining the negotiations in South Africa".

Mr Botha said that as a gesture of goodwill, the Nigerian government had inquired about possible talks with the PAC —

although it had never proposed the meeting as formal negotiations or as a summit, to be held on neutral territory under the chairmanship of the OAU.

There is speculation that, if the question of chairmanship is satisfactorily resolved, Mr Botha will meet a PAC delegation led by the organisation's deputy president Dikgang Moseneké this week, before the start of the official visit to Nigeria by President de Klerk.

But PAC publicity chief Barney Desai has cautioned: "It will be difficult logistically to meet the Government this week, but we'll make every effort to meet as soon as possible."

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus expressed hopes that this bilateral contact would be a prelude to the PAC becoming a full participant in the process of constitutional negotiations. She made it clear that it would be "ridiculous" to regard such one-on-one organisational contact as a substitute for Codesa.

Mr Desai said that the PAC was anxious to convene a meeting of the Patriotic Front — a broad alliance of more than 90 anti-apartheid groupings brought into being in October — and was taking "active steps" with the ANC in this regard.

Mr Desai explained that the PAC had taken note of calls from the OAU and African leaders to work for unity and to engage the Government in negotiations.

The PAC congress maintained it would "intensify" its armed struggle despite the planned talks. — Political Staff and Sapa.

B10000 7/4/92

### ANC leaders accused

A HUMAN rights organisation declared yesterday it had sworn statements implicating top ANC leaders in the torture and execution of political prisoners.

The Frankfurt-based International Society for Human Rights (ISHR) called on Codesa to hear testimony alleging the ANC was still holding prisoners in Tanzania and Uganda, and that 500 people had disappeared in exile.



# PAC sees Nigeria meeting as victory

Sowetan 7/4/92

**THE PAC has, within its own frame of reasoning, scored a major victory, in that it has succeeded in getting the Government to the negotiating table on its own terms.**

In the broader political context there is an awkwardness about the PAC's "victory" - especially among political organisations in Codesa and political observers.

Last April the PAC received a letter from the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, in which the Government suggested that the two parties hold bilateral discussions about a constituent assembly.

The PAC was on a similar high at the time, because it had until then refused to enter into any talks with the Government.

The PAC, justifiably, used the United Nations Consensus Declaration of 1989 wherein it was resolved that the Government had to remove (unilaterally) all the obstacles - which the ANC on the other hand actually negotiated with Pretoria - as the primary reason for its refusal to enter into formal talks.

There was also another reason: the PAC was busy talking to the ANC about the formation of the Patriotic Front at the time.

This was at the time interpreted as the PAC's big chance to respectability, as it was starting to feel sidelined in the grand scheme of things - especially since the ANC had in no uncertain terms established itself as the putative government of South Africa.

The PAC's reply at the time was an unequivocal "no".

The Africanists said that the problem in South Africa was a national one, and not one that could be resolved between two parties.

In other words the PAC did not see the point in meeting the Government for bilateral talks.

The movement was very proud



**By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN  
Political Correspondent**

of itself then, more especially since it now had its bigger brother (the ANC) beside it.

But the point the PAC missed at the time was that talking was no guarantee of any agreement between the two - the Government could agree to "talk" about anything under the sun.

Following the announcement this past weekend of the meeting between the Government and the Africanists, the PAC feels similarly euphoric.

So one might be tempted to ask: What will these suggested talks bring?

The answer at this stage will be speculative and even conjecture, but the point that needs to be made at this stage is that - if the mooted talks in Nigeria are indeed real, and there have been widespread denials from the Government's side - the PAC stands accused of the same fault for which it has always blamed the ANC.

It has held "secret" talks with the Government on some level or another.

The Nigeria talks did not materialise instantly at the PAC's congress in Umtata last Saturday when it was announced that the two would meet.

Similarly, each time the Government and the ANC met for major public agreements - such as the Pretoria and Groote Schuur Minutes - the two parties did not just arrive at a certain venue on a certain

day and move to agree on certain things. Naturally bilateral talks were held.

A fitting analogy would be that of a marriage - or a wedding ceremony . . .

When two people get married on a specific day, the actual public ceremony lasts no longer than perhaps one or maybe two hours.

It is during the bilateral discussions (as it were) between the two people in the days and months before and after the public ceremony that most of the details of the marriage are dealt with.

In the case of political agreements and public meetings, it is safe to assume that a similar number of talks are held.

There have over the past year or so been numerous reports of PAC and Government meetings which have taken place.

On November 29 last year, during Codesa's preparatory meeting, the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, nonchalantly dropped a clue about one such meeting.

The PAC, obviously so it would not lose face with its following, denied that there had been any meetings.

Coetsee's remark was met with the standard rhetoric . . .

Then about two weeks ago, news filtered into the country of "delicate diplomatic manoeuvring" with the Nigerian government acting as a go-between the South African Department of Foreign Affairs and the PAC to set up a meeting in Nigeria.

The official response from the PAC was the standard one, but the Government (the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha) was that there was no such manoeuvring.

And anyway, he said, if he wanted to meet them he would not do so in Nigeria, because he could do it anywhere, as he had before.

In circles close to the Govern-

ment, news of State President FW de Klerk's visit to Nigeria later this week was suppressed.

Simultaneously, each time a Minister or National Party official was approached for comment on initial talks with the PAC the response was that "it has to be done in a way in which they could save face".

Last Friday, the PAC went into its third national congress in Umtata still fiercely rejecting talks with the Government at Codesa.

On Saturday, the PAC announced it would be meeting the Government and had succeeded in securing the meeting at a neutral venue (in Nigeria) and under a neutral convener (President Ebrahim Babangida).

However, the unanswered questions are critical to complete the picture.

What happens after the Nigeria meeting?

Does the Government return and continue in Codesa?

Does the PAC return and join Codesa, or will it participate only in elections to a constituent assembly which are expected later this year?

Life for the PAC cannot be better, it has secured its meeting on its own terms.

While this obviously means something to the PAC, to everyone else it means relatively little.

One senior ANC negotiator yesterday said that a meeting between the PAC and the Government was "no big deal" and that there had been meetings abroad between itself (ANC) and the Government and no big deal was made of that either.

He added that the meeting was a "face saving" exercise, and that it was just one option which had been developed to get the PAC to get involved in negotiations . . .

"They're getting back to square one (of tentative first round talks)," he said.

# Winnie Mandela stirs trouble again

Sowetan 7/4/92

By JOHN BATTERSBY

**W**INNIE MANDELA, wife of ANC president Nelson Mandela is again at the centre of controversy and faces new allegations about her past and present activities.

Last week a co-defendant in the Mandela case, Koliswa Falati, threatened to reveal damaging information about Mrs Mandela including circumstances surrounding the death of a prominent Soweto physician, Dr Abu-Baker Asvat.

Another co-defendant, Mr Katiza Cebekhulu, said last autumn in an interview for the *Monitor* in Lusaka, Zambia, that Mrs Mandela was responsible for the Asvat death and he would be willing to so testify in court.

The allegation has twice been presented to Mr Ismail Ayob, the Mandela family lawyer, for response.

He said they would make no direct comment on the accusation while her appeal on the other case was pending.

In a November 1991 statement responding to this and allegations raised by others, the lawyer, said: "An attempt is being made to resuscitate allegations against Mrs Mandela which were canvassed and in many respects rejected by the Supreme Court."

Since last fall, the *Monitor* and *Southern News* of Toronto have conducted an investigation during which Mrs Mandela's name has been linked by others to the Asvat case, in which two black men were convicted of murder and armed robbery.

**T**he *Monitor* also found that a statement was made to the police by one of Asvat's convicted killers, Thulani Johannes Dlamini, in which he said that the other man responsible for his death was to have received payment from Mrs Mandela once the murder was carried out.

That statement was never submitted as oral argument at the trial, according to State prosecutor Mr Jannie van der Merwe, because it was at odds with the police investigation.

The *Monitor* has a copy of the statement and has discussed the issue with the prosecutor in the Asvat case. Van der Merwe told the *Monitor* and *Southern News* in an exclusive interview that he did not believe

the true motive of the doctor's murder had been revealed.

He indicated that it is his belief there is a connection between Mrs Mandela and the Asvat death.

"My gut feeling all along was that there was something very strange," he said. "It was just too much of a coincidence... I just had the feeling that this was not an armed robbery or murder - but an assassination. But we never had any hard information."

Towards the end of the trial, Van der Merwe began a line of questioning exploring the possibility of a link. But the police investigating officer said under oath that he could find no connection between Mrs Mandela and the Asvat death. Van der Merwe said in the interview he was not convinced the police had explored every avenue.

There is widespread disquiet in anti-apartheid circles about Mrs Mandela's past and present conduct.

Beginning in 1987, according to reports in *Frontline* magazine published that year, she operated as a self-appointed arbiter of "people's justice" in Soweto by deciding on punishments for individuals in the community that were then meted out by her bodyguards, a group of township youths called the Mandela United Football Club.

Her conviction last May on kidnapping and assault charges came in the case of Stompie Moeketsi Seipei, a 14-year-old Soweto activist who was one of four youths assaulted in her home in December 1988. Stompie was later found dead, and Jerry Richardson, then head of her bodyguard, is serving a 19-year jail sentence for the murder.

Asvat, who had a long professional association with Mrs Mandela, had reportedly been called to her home to examine Stompie after the beatings.

But according to a number of sources, Asvat refused to treat the youth, recommending that he be taken to hospital. Two weeks after the visit, Asvat was killed in his consulting room.

Two lawyers close to the Mandela trial (but not on her team), anti-apartheid activists, former friends of Mrs Mandela and the Asvat family, as well as the State prosecutor, are among those who say they believe she had a hand in Asvat's murder.

Mr Mandela's pivotal position in negotiations makes him indispensable to an evolutionary transition

in the country, political scientists and diplomats say.

But new allegations about Mrs Mandela are causing concern among senior ANC officials over Mr Mandela's own judgment in continuing to protect his wife and the damage this could do to him and the ANC in a crucial stage in the negotiation process.

Friends say Mr Mandela has felt an overwhelming obligation to his wife and a sense of guilt about the ordeal she suffered at the hands of authorities during his 27 years in jail.

But friends say the bond between them has been strained to the limits by recent events, and they have been living apart for some months.

The two confidants making the allegations against Mrs Mandela, Mr Katiza Cebekhulu and Ms Koliswa Falati, were once very close to her and say she has betrayed them.

Cebekhulu was associated with her bodyguard and lived for some time in her home.

His claim was made five months ago from a jail cell in Lusaka, Zambia, where he has been held as a prohibited immigrant.

Cebekhulu said he was spirited out of South Africa at Mrs Mandela's request days after their trial began in February 1991.

He claimed Mrs Mandela offered exile or death.

Ayob told the *Monitor* repeatedly that he thinks Cebekhulu "is not the kind of person you could rely on for anything at all".

Since December Cebekhulu's whereabouts have not been known but he is thought to be in a safe house in Lusaka under the care of the UN High Commission for Refugees.

South African authorities appear indifferent to the prospects of his return.

The Transvaal Attorney-General has said that the state has no plans to apply for extradition.

Cebekhulu's credibility in making his accusations can be questioned.

He was charged in the Stompie assault and therefore had good reason to leave the country.

He could also be trying to strike back at Mrs Mandela.

Although an examination deemed Cebekhulu mentally fit to testify in court, some sources say he at times suffered from psychological problems.

But the Zambian human rights lawyer who interviewed Cebekhulu said although he was a person of humble education, he was clearly intelligent.

The lawyer handled the interview because the *Monitor* reporter was de-

nied entry into Lusaka Central Prison.)

Falati's threats were made to a reporter on the *Sowetan* after Mrs Mandela evicted her from the Mandelas former home on Sunday March 29, at gunpoint, according to neighbours.

Falati was later returned to the home, where she has been living, following the personal intervention of Nelson Mandela.

Falati told *Sowetan* after her dispute with Mrs Mandela last week that the latter was breaking their relationship now that Falati had served her purpose.

"I can't believe that she is dumping me after all I have done for her," Falati said.

"I have been instructed not to speak to journalists by the ANC president... by ANC security and ANC intelligence", Falati told the *Monitor*.

On Thursday, after visits from ANC security officials, Falati left, accompanied by four men in a car, and has not been seen since. - Reprinted by permission from *The Christian Science Monitor*. Copyright 1992. The Christian Science Publishing Society. All rights reserved.



NELSON MANDELA

# Probe plight of prisoners Codesa urged

*Sowetan 7/4/92*

11A

THE German-based International Society for Human Rights has appealed to Codesa to investigate reports of political prisoners held by both the Government and the African National Congress.

In a statement yesterday, the ISHR said it welcomed the work done by Codesa's Working Group 1, which has been given the task of "levelling the political playing field" in South Africa.

However, the ISHR said it failed to understand why the question of political prisoners was initially dealt with as a bilateral issue between the Government and the ANC.

"Noting that both the Returned Exiles Co-ordinating Committee and the Ex-ANC Detainees Committee have applied to Codesa's management committee to be heard, the ISHR questions why this has not been done."

The two committees are made up of former ANC prisoners. According to the ISHR, the lack of progress in Working Group 1 was delaying Codesa.

It suggested that an impartial independent judicial inquiry be appointed, and report back to Codesa on the issue of political prisoners.

"It has been alleged that the ANC is still holding prisoners in Tanzania and Uganda and that up to 500 people have disappeared in exile under the ANC."

The ISHR said it was in possession of "many" signed testimonies alleging torture, imprisonment, and killings, in which senior ANC figures had been involved.

"The ISHR has appealed to the ANC to be allowed to visit (prisoner) camps, but the ANC has even refused to answer simple inquiries." - Sapa.



# New party mooted to oppose ANC

Sowetan 7/4/92

11A  
30/11/92

A NEW centrist political party is emerging in South Africa of which the ruling National Party and the Democratic Party could form the nucleus.

The aim of the party, according to informed sources, would be to "bring together like-minded people" in a centrist party to challenge the ANC in non-racial elections to a constitution making assembly later this year.

Speculation has been spreading over the past year of such a development, and the suggested name for such a party was at one stage the Christian Democratic Party.

It is understood that the National Party - or at least persons in the party - have been toying with the idea of changing the party's name in order to once and for all

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN  
Political Correspondent

dump the social and political stigma of apartheid.

The new centrist party also came under the Democratic Party's caucus microscope last week when Mr Tony Leon, the Member of Parliament for Houghton, proposed that the DP disbands and merges with the NP under the "powerful leadership" of President FW de Klerk.

## Merger

Leon last week drew up a confidential document wherein he proposed the merger on the grounds that the DP faced a bleak political future as its support base (white liberals) had shrunk, and because there was no substantial membership growth among black people.

The DP is however split

three ways about a merger with the NP under any name.

There is a small faction, led by the DP leader, which prefers that the party remains independent; another grouping (the rightwing) led by Leon and Mr Robin Carlisle, which is in favour of the merger and a third which rejects outright any association with the NP whatsoever - this third faction leans more towards the ANC . . .

Those persons in the DP who support the views espoused in the Leon document are in the minority, Mr Pierre Cronje, the party's MP for Greytown yesterday said.

Cronje is among the more progressive persons in the DP who recognise the possibility of convergence

with "the liberation movement camp".

He said yesterday that there were people within the party who wanted to associate themselves with "the privileged class, those who benefited from the system and who stand for preservation of these privileges".

These people missed the point, he said.

## Justice

Cronje believes that the ideals of "justice and equality" cannot be delivered only through constitutional liberation, and that there would have to be greater movement away from the legacy of apartheid to improve the physical conditions of the people who suffered under the system.

A senior member of the ANC's national executive committee yesterday reacted cynically to the news

of the mooted new centrist party.

He said that there were indeed many people in the DP who were "closet Nats".

"It comes as no surprise," he said.

The NP has been trying to move away from the memory of apartheid by suggesting a change of name.

But, he said, whatever name the NP ever went under it will be important for black people to the remember that the NP by any other name is still the NP.

A DP caucus source yesterday confirmed that the Tony Leon proposals were one of many things discussed in last week's caucus.

He suggested that the only significance of it was that it coincided with the NP's suggestions of a new party under a new name.

# Shock allegations against Winnie

Sowetan 7/4/92

From page 1

ordinary robbery."

Asvat was murdered in his Soweto surgery in 1989.

These developments - coming only weeks before Mrs Mandela's appeal against her assault and kidnap convictions - were sparked last week by fresh allegations by Mrs Mandela kidnapping trial co-accused, Ms Xoliswa Falati, suggesting Mrs Mandela's involvement in Asvat's death.

Falati, who was evicted from the Mandela home by

Mrs Mandela last week, complained that she was thrown out because "I have served my purpose".

She alleged that Mrs Mandela had told her she would have to go to jail because there were no funds to finance her appeal.

Falati threatened "to tell all" and said she was not prepared to go to jail "for an ungrateful woman".

The appeal hearing by Mrs Mandela and Falati against their convictions and sentences is scheduled for April 30.

They were sentenced to six years' imprisonment each for kidnapping and assaulting four youths.

Falati, who telephoned *Sowetan* after her ejection last week, has gone underground but yesterday reported to Orlando Police Station in terms of her bail conditions.

# Fubbs won't seek top league post

By JOE MDHLELA

Soweto 7/14/92

THE vice-chairman of the ANC Women's League in the PWV area, Mrs Joan Fubbs, will not be eligible for re-election in elections due to take place next month.

Fubbs yesterday also dispelled a rumour that she had resigned from the ANC, saying she merely stepped down as vice-chairman but was still a member.

She will relinquish her position during elections.

Mrs Winnie Mandela is chairman of the league's PWV branch.

It had been widely speculated that Fubbs planned to step down because of her unhappiness with the leadership.

Fubbs said some people read too much into her physical condition when the league held its annual general meeting in Braamfontein last month.

"I was terribly sick with a temperature of 41 degrees. Maybe people read too much into my physical condition. The point is that I was sick.

"When I stood for election I did not realise how much work I would be involved in.

"I realise that if I continue to serve as deputy chairman I would fail the comrades by not attending meetings," Fubbs said.

Sources said Fubbs resigned after she was passed a note during the league's conference. She denied this.

Fubbs, who is studying for a master of science degree at the University of the Witwatersrand, said her work as an executive member of the league would not permit her to devote time to her studies.

She said she was committed to the ideals of the organisation.

alth services should be left in the hands of the provincial administration. An announcement would be made in due course, he said.

APC 7/14/92

# PAC re-elects top leadership

(11A)

**The Argus Correspondent**  
UMTATA.— The Pan-Africanist Congress has re-elected its top four office-bearers and mandated its leaders to enter into preliminary talks with the government over a constituent assembly.

But at its national congress here it dismissed Codesa as an option through which a negotiated settlement could be reached.

Mr Clarence Makwetu has been re-elected president, Mr Johnson Mlambo his first deputy, Mr Dikgang Moseneke his second deputy and Mr Benny Alexander retains the post of secretary-general.

Mr Barney Desai has been retained as secretary for information, a move which perhaps, along with the retention of Mr Makwetu and Mr Moseneke, suggests a greater emergence of pragmatism within the PAC.

Earlier this year doctors advised Mr Desai to take a break from party activities. He took a short rest and rumours spread that he had been "sidelined" for being pro-Codesa.

His return has quashed the rumours.

He, Mr Moseneke and Mr Makwetu are seen as pragmatists within the leadership that represents the more reasonable core of the PAC.

They are likely to be among those meeting a team of South African government negotiators in Abuja, Nigeria this week.

The PAC regards the meeting as a breakthrough but political and diplomatic observers at the congress regard it as "face-saving".

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by Ian Walker

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# ANC hits out at De Klerk's Nigerian visit

LAGOS — The ANC hit out yesterday at President F W de Klerk's planned visit to Nigeria.

A Foreign Affairs Department official confirmed yesterday that the President, his wife Marike and Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha would visit Nigeria on Thursday and Friday, at the invitation of President Ibrahim Babangida, who is also the head of the OAU.

George Nene, chief ANC representative in Nigeria, said: "We are not happy that De Klerk, who still represents a minority government, gets an invitation to a country

*B. D. C. 7/4/92*  
like Nigeria before Codesa sets up an interim government." (119) (120) (121)

Nene said the ANC was not consulted on the visit. "It is too early to invite De Klerk, even if it is for a good cause. It is worse in a sense that the opinion has not been sought of major players."

Asked whether ANC president Nelson Mandela had been consulted on the visit, Nigerian Foreign Minister Ike Nwachukwu said the decision was based on Nigeria's interests. "Nigeria is a country. We have our policies and our policies will

not be dictated by anyone else's interests but our own."

He said the visit, the first by an SA head of state, was aimed at encouraging De Klerk's reform efforts, which Nigeria fully supported.

The PAC has suggested meetings with the SA government on neutral territory and under neutral chairmanship. But on Sunday Botha dismissed as "entirely unnecessary" any prospect that the OAU might chair such talks. Government was prepared and would prefer to meet the PAC leadership in SA. — Sapa-Reuter-AFP.

# PAC dismisses Codesa as option

11A

Sowetan 7/4/92

**By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN  
Political Correspondent**

THE Pan Africanist Congress has shown confidence in its leadership by re-electing the top four office-bearers to the movement's national executive council in Umtata yesterday.

The congress also mandated its leaders to enter into preliminary talks with the Government on the issue of a constituent assembly but has unequivocally dismissed Codesa as an option through which a negotiated settlement can be reached.

Mr Clarence Makwetu was re-elected president, Mr Johnson Mlambo first deputy-president, Mr Dikgang Moseneke second deputy-president and Mr Benny Alexander was retained as secretary-general.

Mr Maxwell Nema-dzivhanani was also nominated for the post of secretary-general but was re-elected unopposed as national organiser.

Mr Barney Desai has been retained as the PAC's secretary for information, a move which, along with the retention of Makwetu and

Moseneke, suggests a greater emergence of pragmatism within the PAC.

Desai, Moseneke and Makwetu have been dubbed the pragmatists within the leadership of the PAC.

They will almost certainly be among the leadership that will meet President FW de Klerk, Foreign Minister Pik Botha and a team of Government negotiators in Abuja, Nigeria, this week.

The Nigerian meeting was announced at the Umtata congress on Saturday and will be the first of its kind between the Government and PAC. The two have never met to discuss the future political settlement in South Africa.

The PAC regards the meeting as a breakthrough for the organisation, but it has been dubbed by political and diplomatic observers at the congress as a "face-saving" for the Africanists.

This week's meeting was brokered by Nigerian leader Mr Ebrahim Babangida, who has been involved in setting up the meeting for the past two to three weeks.

In a statement released in Umtata on Saturday, Makwetu said the PAC had received a mandate to negotiate the modalities of a constituent assembly provided the talks were held at a neutral venue and under a neutral convener.

## Party

The statement said "in pursuance of this resolution" the meeting has been sanctioned by the party.

"The first meeting will be preparatory in nature and will lay the ground for a summit between the president of the PAC and his delegation and De Klerk and his negotiation team.

"We understand that Mr Pik Botha will lead the regime's delegation to the preparatory meeting," the

PAC statement said.

The new leaders of the PAC yesterday, however, confirmed that the movement would not take part in Codesa.

In his opening remarks, Makwetu said: "Codesa was not a constituent assembly and it would not deliver liberation. It was never intended to," he said.

Last night, during his closing remarks, two days after the announced meeting in Nigeria, and just when it appeared as if the movement was moving towards a more conciliatory position, Makwetu swung relentlessly back to the hardline position in South African politics as personified by the PAC.

He said the fundamental issue at stake in South Africa was that of land.

"What we are saying is that the land was taken from our forefathers by the sword and its kept by the sword.

"Before resolving this issue we cannot even dream of self-determination," Makwetu said.

Turning to Codesa, Makwetu said the convention had been identified by the congress as undemocratic and that it could not ensure "the transfer of power".

The remainder of the NEC positions are: Mr Thobile Gola, from the movement's Zimbabwean office ousted Mr Carter Seleke for the post of assistant secretary-general.

Mr Ahmed Gora Ebrahim remains the secretary for foreign affairs; finance goes to newcomer to the NEC, Mr Thompson Gazo; political Affairs secretary is Mr Jackie Seroke; legal and constitutional secretary is Mr Willies Seriti; Mr Mogole Mphahlele is the new secretary for education and human resources; Mr Fitzroy Ngcukana retains his portfolio of sport and culture; Dr Selva Saman was re-elected health secretary and labour was retained by Mr Leshoana Makhanda.

Ms Patricia de Lille was elected as secretary for relief and aid.

# Plans for new rule

~~2/2/92~~  
11/4

Sowetan  
7/4/92

By IKE MOTSAPI

CODESA went into serious business yesterday as the Government, the African National Congress, Labour and Solidarity parties made further proposals for the establishment of an interim government.

While the Government still favours a two-chamber transitional parliament, the ANC yesterday called for the abolition of the present tricameral parliament to be replaced by a nonracial, democratically elected single-chamber parliament.

The ANC also called for the consolidation of the various own-affairs departments into a single structure to serve the people of South Africa on nonracial lines.

The ANC also said the TBVC territories, self-governing homelands, provincial, regional and district governments should be under the control of an interim government council until a new government was in place.

The Solidarity Party called for the creation of what it called an interim executive structure.

The party said membership of this structure need not necessarily be confined to Codesa participants but may include parties or organisations not represented at this stage.

"This gesture will demonstrate Codesa's commitment of the principle of inclusivity. Those parties that reject the offer will have excluded themselves from the process.

# Create single chamber- ANC

*Sowetan 7/14/92*  
THE tricameral parliament should be merged into one chamber during the first stages of interim government, the ANC said yesterday.

"This will begin a process of restructuring government that all participants at Codesa agree is necessary," the ANC said in proposals to Codesa on the first stage of interim government.

## Consolidation

TBVC, homeland, provincial and other departments would remain in place unless and until an interim government council (IGC) which would be established during the initial interim stage - decided that further change or consolidation was necessary.

"This means that, apart from the consolidation of the tricameral parliament and its departments, the existing legislative and administrative structures will continue to function, subject to the powers of the IGC."

To qualify to sit on the IGC, the ANC said each of the Codesa participants who committed themselves

to the decisions taken at Codesa 2 would have one seat on the IGC.

To enable the IGC to include political organisations who had refused to take part in Codesa or to accept decisions taken at the second plenary session of Codesa next month, the IGC should be given the power to admit representatives who subsequently change their minds.

The ANC document gives the IGC effective control over the legislative process, but leaves Parliament with the power to decide whether or not legislation should be passed.

## Formulate

"Draft legislation should be approved by the IGC before being submitted to Parliament, and Bills passed by Parliament should be approved by the IGC before being signed by the State President."

Besides having the power to formulate and submit legislation for consideration, the IGC's approval would also be required for the declaration of a state of emergency and the exercise of powers un-

der the Public Safety Act.

"Otherwise, the State President will have the power to declare a state of emergency and override legislation enacted at the instance of Codesa. He will then be able to rule by decree under the provisions of the Public Safety Act."

Executive authority remained vested in the State President, but his actions would be subject to the approval of the IGC.

## Precedence

"The executive authority of the TBVC states and the Homelands should also be exercised subject to the approval of the IGC."

"Proclamations issued by the IGC should take precedence over all other legislation and should have the same force and effect as an Act of Parliament."

Multiparty committees would assume overall responsibility for particular departments, including foreign affairs and the Budget.

Decisions on the IGC would be taken by substantial consensus. The ANC suggested support by two-thirds of the IGC would constitute substantial consensus. - *Sapa*



## PAC ready to talk, but not at Codesa

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UMTATA — The PAC was ready to hold talks on a constituent assembly with all interested parties, but not at Codesa, PAC president Clarence Makwetu said in Umtata yesterday.

He was speaking at the close of the organisation's third national congress at the University of the Transkei. Congress delegates, he said, had "pronounced clearly that Codesa is not a democratic formula that can ensure the transfer of power".

The PAC was not fighting for reforms and "if (State President F W) De Klerk is aiming at reforming apartheid, then he may as well wind up Codesa".

The PAC had always adopted a positive attitude to the solution of

SA's problems and was ready to discuss an elected constituent assembly with all interested parties.

The PAC was committed to the decisions of the united (patriotic) front and Makwetu called on members of the front to stand by their agreements.

In elections at the weekend, the PAC president and first and second deputy presidents retained their positions.

(114)

Makwetu, Johnson Mlambo (absent from the congress) and Dikgang Mosenke retained the top three positions. Bennie Alexander kept the position of general secretary. Maxwell Nemadzivhanani was made national organiser. — Sapa.

# 'Top ANC men' linked to torture

11A CT 7/4/92

**JOHANNESBURG.** — A human rights organisation declared yesterday that it had sworn statements implicating top leaders of the African National Congress in the torture and execution of political prisoners.

The Frankfurt-based International Society for Human Rights (ISHR) called on Codesa to hear testimony from former ANC detainees.

The organisation had "many" signed testimonies alleging torture, imprisonment and killings in which senior ANC people had been involved, the ISHR said in a statement faxed from Frankfurt.

Mr Robert Chambers, an ISHR official contacted in Frankfurt, said that Mr Chris Hani, chief of staff of the ANC's armed wing uMkhonto weSizwe and secretary-general of the South African Communist Party, was implicated in several statements.

● Reacting to the report, the ANC yesterday stressed that it had given carte blanche to the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) to visit and investigate former ANC detention camps.

ANC spokeswoman Ms Gill Marcus said any individual or organisations making claims of torture or execution of ANC detainees should take up the issue with the ICRC, the only organisation the ANC was prepared to deal with in this regard. — Sapa-AFP

# PAC 'ready for talks' <sup>CT 7/4/92</sup> <sup>11A</sup> but no Codesa

UMTATA. — The Pan-Africanist Congress was ready to hold talks on a constituent assembly with all interested parties, but not at Codesa, PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu said here yesterday.

He was speaking at the close of the organisation's third national congress at the University of the Transkei.

Mr Makwetu said congress delegates had "pronounced clearly that Codesa is not a democratic formula that can ensure the transfer of power".

The PAC was not fighting for reforms and "if (President F W) De Klerk is aiming at reforming apartheid then he may as well wind up Codesa".

He said Codesa was a government scheme "aimed at giving an illusion of negotiations".

Real power lay in the "racist Parliament in Cape Town", he said.

Mr Makwetu said the real issue facing liberation in South Africa was the land question and without this being resolved "in favour of the dispossessed and oppressed" there could not be meaningful transformation in the country.

● The PAC president and first and second deputy presidents retained their positions in elections held at the PAC congress.

Mr Makwetu, Mr Johnson Mlambo (absent from the congress) and Mr Dikgang Moseneke retained the top three positions.

The position of secretary-general was also retained by Mr Bennie Alexander. — Sapa

# PAC retains its position on 'return of the land'

Staff Reporters and  
Own Correspondent

The Pan Africanist Congress yesterday reaffirmed its hard-line position on the "return of the land to the people" at the end of its third national congress at the University of Transkei in Umtata.

In his closing address, re-elected president Clarence Makwetu said "The land was taken from our forefathers by the sword and it is kept by the sword."

"Before resolving this issue, we cannot even dream of self-determination."

He said the congress had agreed Codesa was undemocratic and could never ensure a just transfer of power.

However, the congress mandated its leadership to enter into preliminary talks with the Government on the issue of a constituent assembly.

Mr Makwetu, first deputy president Johnson Mlambo, and second deputy president Advocate Dikgang Moseneke, were re-elected unopposed.

Secretary-general Benny Alexander retained his position, winning over national organiser Maxwell Nemasivhanani, who was re-elected to his position unopposed.

Barney Desai is secretary for information. His re-election comes after speculation that he had been sidelined for being pro-Codesa after he took a break recently on doctor's advice.

Mr Desai, Mr Moseneke and Mr Makwetu have been dubbed the pragmatists within the leadership that represents the more cogent and reasonable core of the PAC.

They would almost certainly be part of a delegation to meet President de Klerk and Foreign Minister Pik Botha in Abuja, Nigeria, later this week.

The weekend elections bring to an end the practice of dividing leadership between the exile and internal wings of the PAC and might consolidate the movement.

# No consensus on transitional authority

TIM COHEN

810cy 7/4/92  
CODESA reached a critical point yesterday as parties failed for the third successive week to reach any sort of accommodation on the first stage of political transition.

Both the ANC and government yesterday put forward contradictory and hard-line proposals for the first stage.

The parties have agreed that this stage will end with the election of an interim authority, but after debating the issue for three weeks, consensus has not been approached on the actual powers of the executive until such time.

ANC delegates argued yesterday that government's proposals still reflected its

11A 3047  
desire to be both referee and player in the transition process. Government delegates argued that the ANC's proposals — which seek the establishment of an interim government council to oversee government's activities — would effectively result in two governments.

Chief government negotiator Dawie de Villiers said after the meeting of working group 3 yesterday other parties were seeking the establishment of an interim government before it could be properly, democratically and constitutionally established. Government also insisted that the insti-

tution of the first phase of transitional arrangements could not take place until progress had been made toward resolving outstanding security questions.

"Very little progress, if any, has been made towards attaining the goals ... in regard to the level of political violence and a climate for free political participation ...," government's submission says.

"It is very difficult to foresee successful negotiations ... while participating parties are still committed to armed action."

The ANC's proposals for what it terms "the first phase of interim government" are that an eight-person interim govern-

□ To Page 2

## No consensus

810cy 7/4/92 (11A) 3047  
□ From Page 1

ment council should be appointed by Codesa. Draft legislation should be approved by the council before being submitted to Parliament and Bills passed by Parliament should be approved by the council before being signed by the President. TBVC legislation should also be subject to council approval.

While executive authority should remain vested in the President, he should be required to exercise such authority subject to approval of the council.

The council would assume overall responsibility for all departments.

The council would, in the case of deadlocks, take decisions with at least a two-thirds majority. Proclamations of the council should take precedence over all other legislation and should have the same force of an Act of Parliament.

Government's submission, on the other hand, does not deal with the issue of executive power at all, proposing only what it terms "preparatory councils". Five preparatory councils are suggested: for elections, regional government, local govern-

ment, government finances and housing and urbanisation.

Councils should have seven members each, six designated by Codesa's management committee and the remaining member appointed by the President.

Except for the council for regional government, the powers of the councils to affect government decisions are not mentioned, but delegates suggested that the councils would have only advisory powers.

In the case of the council for regional government, the submission says "the consent of existing government institutions is a prerequisite for the implementation of resolutions applicable to them".

Preparatory councils for law and order and for defence were also mentioned in government's original proposals.

"These are vital areas to be dealt with but the institution of such councils can only be negotiated in tandem with progress made in working group 1 (dealing with the climate of negotiations) and bilaterally."

The working group will continue its discussions today.

US paper tells of alleged link in death of Soweto's

Dr Asvat

# Shock reports over

Winnie

Staff Reporters

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STAR 714192

consulting rooms.

Winnie Mandela is once again at the centre of international media attention after a report in yesterday's Christian Science Monitor implicating her in the death of Dr Abu-Baker Asvat.

Mrs Falati last week disappeared from the Mandela home just days after Mrs Mandela tried to evict her.

She is understood to be staying at an ANC intelligence unit "safe house".

The Christian Science Monitor says Mrs Falati and Katiza Cebekhulu, a co-defendant who never stood trial, were prepared to present damaging evidence regarding Mrs Mandela and the Asvat case.

The Monitor said that since last autumn, it and Southern News of Toronto, Canada, had conducted an investigation during which

Mrs Mandela's name had been linked by several sources to the Asvat case, in which two men were convicted of murder and armed robbery.

The Monitor also found that a statement was made by one of the convicted killers, Thulani Jo-

hannes Dlamini, in which he said that his co-accused was to have received payment from Mrs Mandela once the murder had been carried out.

That statement was never submitted as oral argument at the trial, according to state prosecutor Jannie van der Merwe, because it was at odds with the police investigation.

The Christian Science Monitor said it had a copy.

Mr van der Merwe told the newspaper and the Southern News in an exclusive interview that he did not believe the true motive of the doctor's murder had been revealed.

He indicated that, in his belief, there was a connection between Mrs Mandela and the Asvat case.

"My gut feeling all along was that there was something very strange," he said. "It was just too much coincidence ... I just had the feeling that this was not an armed robbery or murder — but an assassination. But we never ever had any hard

● To Page 2



Winnie:  
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shock  
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reports

● From Page 1

information."

Towards the end of the trial, Mr van der Merwe began a line of questioning exploring the possibility of a link, but the police investigating officer said under oath that he could find no connection between Mrs Mandela and Dr Asvat's death.

Mr van der Merwe said in the interview he was not convinced the police had explored every avenue.

A brother of Dr Asvat, Ebrahim Asvat, told the Sowetan yesterday that he would consult lawyers today to inquire about the possibilities of getting the case reopened.

"We have always believed that Abu-Baker was assassinated."

The Sowetan reported yesterday that it was known that Mr Mandela and his wife had been living apart since last November.

Mr Mandela is reported to now own a house in the northern suburbs of Johannesburg, although he moves residence from time to time for security reasons.

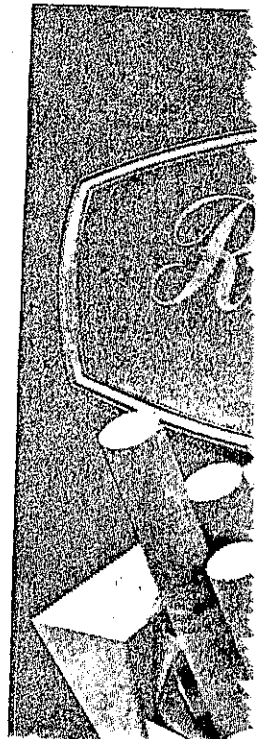
Mrs Mandela is continuing to live in the family's Orlando West house in Soweto.

The Sowetan reported that one of the reasons for the separation was said to be the fact that a young lawyer, Daluxolo Mpofo, had been romantically linked to Mrs Mandela.

The Monitor report said friends of Mr Mandela say he has felt an overwhelming obligation to his wife and a sense of guilt about the ordeal she suffered during his 27 years in jail.

But the friends report that the bond between the Mandelas had been strained to the limit by recent events.

at German snipers on a training for peace in Bos



In a report filed from Johannesburg by Monitor correspondent John Battersby, the prosecutor in the Asvat case was quoted as saying he believed it was not "an armed robbery or murder — but an assassination". He said that, in his belief, there was a connection between Mrs Mandela and Dr Asvat's death.

British and local papers at the weekend reported on speculation that the Mandela marriage was on the rocks and that ANC president Nelson Mandela wanted to



Winnie Mandela ... marriage on rocks?

make the separation formal.

Dr Asvat, a prominent Soweto doctor, was murdered in his Soweto surgery in 1989.

Mrs Mandela and one-time close friend Xoliswa Falati, who last week had a serious fallout, were last year convicted of kidnapping and assaulting four youths (including teenage activist Stompie Seipei) and were each sentenced to an effective six years' jail. Their appeal hearing is scheduled for April 30.

The case followed the conviction of Mrs Mandela's bodyguard, Jerry Richardson, for the murder of Stompie.

Dr Asvat, who had a long professional association with Mrs Mandela, had reportedly been called to come to her home to examine Stompie after beatings.

But the Monitor claims that a number of sources said Dr Asvat refused to treat the boy and recommended that he be taken to hospital.

Two weeks after the visit, Dr Asvat was killed in his

# Soweto council urges rethink of new national rent boycott

8/10/92 8/4/92

THE Soweto City Council has urged the Soweto Civic Association (SCA) to reconsider its call for the resumption of a national rent boycott.

Calling on the SCA to return to the Greater Soweto Principal Parties (GSPP) forum from which it walked out last week, council PRO Mojalefa Moseki said yesterday the call for a boycott had confused residents who had earlier this year received pamphlets telling them to pay.

And a Central Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber source said the boycott call and the walkout would come up for discussion at the chamber's meeting today.

The SCA walked out of a GSPP meeting last week saying it was calling for the resumption of the boycott — suspended in 1990 — because the Transvaal Provincial Administration had failed to improve service levels in Soweto townships as provided for in the November agreement.

The agreement, signed by the TPA, the SCA and representatives of the Soweto councils, set out phased increases in service charges in an attempt to regulate and normalise pay-

ments in Soweto.

The GSPP — which was formed in terms of the Greater Soweto Accord which ended a five-year rent boycott and wrote off R516m in rent and service charges arrears — was aimed at resolving the financial crisis that gripped Greater Soweto.

The GSPP comprised the three Greater Soweto councils of Soweto, Diepremeadow and Dobsonville as well as the SCA and the TPA.

The SCA said continued allegations of black local authority corruption and mismanagement had brought about the resumption of the boycott.

It would not be lifted until black councillors were removed, the Johannesburg City Council took over the financial administration and township violence ended.

Sources said the boycott issue, which could have far-reaching implications for both the Metropolitan Chamber and the Greater Soweto Accord which brought the chamber into being, would come up for discussion at today's meeting.

THEO RAWANA

# ANC people may sit on police board

8/10/92 8/4/92 DIRK HARTFORD

THE civilian representatives to the police board which must be set up in terms of the national peace accord signed in September last year include ANC members and supporters.

ANC leaders Mathews Phosa, Pius Langa and Janine Rauch are among the 11 civilian nominees to the board.

Law and Order spokesman Maj-Gen Leon Mellet confirmed the list, but said it was not final.

The members were nominated by parties to the peace accord.

Other nominees are Clifford Shearing, Nic Haysom, P F Coetzee, Louis Visser, I N Steyn, Don Brunette, Peter Gastrow and Alrena van der Spuy.

The board will investigate allegations against the police and aspects of the SAP with a view to restructuring.

Meanwhile, the National Association of Democratic Lawyers has criticised aspects of the board. It says the Minister should not have powers to appoint anyone, that police in self-governing territories should not have the option of refusing jurisdiction and that board decisions should have greater status than mere recommendations.

# Hani lashes at Mangope

Sowetan 8/4/92 11A

By JOE MDHLELA

THE general secretary of the SA Communist Party, Mr Chris Hani, last night criticised Chief Lucas Mangope, president of Bophuthatswana, for oppressing people living in the bantustan.

Hani was speaking during the Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show which canvassed the views of listeners whether or not the TBVC states should be incorporated into a new South Africa.

He said both the ANC and the SACP were not be prescriptive, but charged that Mangope's history of violation of human rights,

**SOWETAN**  
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**RADIO METRO**  
**TALKBACK**

and the right to assemble, was well-known.

He said labour movements in the homeland were being suppressed. This, he said, showed Mangope was undemocratic and intolerant to workers' struggle.

Hani also poured scorn on the leader of IFP, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and State President Mr FW de Klerk, describing them as being against the "redis-

tribution of our land".  
He claimed that Buthelezi, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo of the Ciskei, Mangope and De Klerk, wished to form a coalition.



# Ramaphosa's attack on FW

Sawetan 8/4/92

11A

AN attack on State President FW de Klerk for bowing to religious intolerance was launched at a mass rally of the African National Congress in King William's Town yesterday by the organisation's secretary-general, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa.

Ramaphosa told the rally that the ANC would not allow such intolerance.

He said De Klerk did not want prayers at the next gathering of Codesa as some of his followers had been upset at the sight of people other than Christians praying at an earlier meeting.

He said De Klerk's constituency had been disturbed at the sight of Jews, Muslims and Hindus praying at Codesa.

"This shows how intolerant they are when it comes to religion," he said. "We will never allow religion to be suppressed because Mr de Klerk's constituency is disturbed. The ANC will never allow religious intolerance."

Ramaphosa was addressing a crowd of about 25 000 ANC supporters who had gathered as a "People's Assembly" to call for an interim government in SA.

The ANC had predicted that between 40 000 and 50 000 would attend the rally and, with feelings against the Ciskeian government running high, some feared a clash between the crowd and the homeland security forces.

The rally, which was held in the Victoria grounds, was only 6km from the Ciskeian capital, Bisho, and security arrangements on the South African side of the border were tight.

SA called up troops as a precaution and they stood at the ready throughout the area, and supported the SAP who mounted roadblocks on all approaches to the town.

Police in plain clothes kept watch from the roofs of surrounding buildings as Ramaphosa officially opened the assembly.

He said this was a forerunner of "a true people's assembly" that would be elected within a few months. "And I am not referring to that Mickey Mouse assembly we have in Cape Town at the moment."

Ramaphosa said the ANC was making good progress at Codesa.

"We are winning our demands on an on-going basis."

He said the National Party had now accepted the idea of a constituent assembly and an interim government.

Ramaphosa attacked the South African security forces for the part they were playing in perpetuating violence in the country.

He told the crowd that the situation in Alexandra township had provided ample evidence of security force involvement.

The crowd gave a rousing welcome to the secretary general of the South African Communist Party (SACP) Mr Chris Hani, who attacked the part played in the apartheid system by homeland leaders, including Ciskei's Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

He said apartheid institutions had to be abolished in their entirety. "The process of reincorporation of the bantustans should be put in operation without delay."



CYRIL RAMAPHOSA



FW de KLERK

# ANC not impressed by 'fancy footwork'

THE African National Congress would not accept the Government's "fancy proposals" for democracy, its president, Mr Nelson Mandela, said in Johannesburg yesterday.

Speaking at joint Press conference with Canadian Foreign Minister Mrs Barbara McDougall at ANC headquarters, Mandela said he would like the international community to ensure what he called ordinary democracy was implemented in South Africa.

"We can never accept these two Houses (of Parliament) . . . these fancy proposals from the Government.

"We want an ordinary democracy as practised elsewhere in the world," Mandela said.

Asked for his comment on Canada's suggestion that the ANC should relinquish its links with the South African Communist Party, Mandela said the alliance had to be seen in the South African context.

## Common goal

"We have a common goal to destroy racial oppression. If they (overseas governments) want the alliance to come to an end, they must support the end of racial oppression," he said.

McDougall said her government recognised the positive role played by Mandela in the South African political process.

Addressing the issue of violence, Mandela said the ANC's main difficulty was getting co-operation from the security forces.

Endorsing McDougall's words on the strong ties between her government and the ANC, Mandela noted that when he went to Canada in June 1990, he had not even had to ask for funds.

"Before I could say anything, he (Prime Minister Brian Mulroney) said 'we have decided to give you this much...'" - Sapa.

# PAC launches big recruiting drive

THE Pan Africanist Congress is to launch a full-scale recruiting campaign which includes establishing branches in the neighbouring Frontline states.

This was revealed yesterday in a resolution calling for the increased formation of external branches.

The campaign was also strengthened in the organisation's election of the national executive committee where a Zimbabwe-based member of the organisation, Mr Thobile Gola, was elected as the deputy secretary-general.

## Observers

The move was seen by observers as the PAC's way to strengthen itself by bringing South Africans who were still in exile into its fold.

Meanwhile, most members of the PAC central committee have been re-elected into the positions they held since the last elections.

# ANC boss to foot legal bill - Falati

# Mandela

# to pay



NELSON MANDELA

Sowetan 8/4/92

By RUTH BHENGU

## Xoliswa breaks silence

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela will foot the R70 000 bill for Mrs Winnie Mandela's co-accused, Mrs Xoliswa Falati, when she appeals against her conviction on kidnap and assault.

This was claimed by Falati, whose case is due to be heard by the Appellate Division in Bloemfontein later this month.

"The president has taken care of my legal fees and has appointed a new lawyer.

"I'm not ready to tell you who he is," she said.

Falati spoke to the *Sowetan* on the telephone yesterday from "somewhere in Johannesburg".

She disappeared from the old Mandela home last week.

Falati became "nervous" after Winnie Mandela allegedly told her she might have to serve her six-year sentence because there was no funds for her appeal.

In retaliation, she accused Mrs Mandela of being ungrateful and threatened to "reveal everything".

She went on to make startling claims about Mrs Mandela, implicating her in the death of a prominent Soweto doctor, Abu-baker Asvat.

Falati, who has been avoiding the media, said she was safe.

"I am safe and I'm under the care of the movement.

"For the first time in months I am able to sit at table and have a proper meal. They are looking after me very well."

### Destitute

Falati, who had been virtually destitute, was dependent on the Mandela neighbours for food.

Her daughter Nompumelelo has had to live with one of her sisters.

● Meanwhile, Mrs Mandela yesterday hit back at fresh allegations by Falati and Mr Katiza Cebekhulu, reports **SONTI MASEKO**.

In a statement read out at a Press conference yesterday, Mrs Mandela said Falati's fresh allegations that she had ordered the killing of Dr Abu-baker Asvat were inconsistent with the evidence she (Falati) gave under oath in two trials.

Cebekhulu, who was quoted by an overseas publication as saying he would be prepared to testify against Mrs Mandela and support the story that she had a hand in the Asvat murder, was an accused and a fugitive from justice, not a victim, the statement said.

Winnie <sup>11A</sup> hits back

Sowetan 8/4/92

● From page 1

Mrs Mandela said the allegations were a rehash of "the gossip based mainly upon the statement of Kenneth Kgase who was well remunerated by an overseas paper".

She said Kgase's evidence against her was also rejected by the Court.

Mrs Mandela also rejected as false Falati's allegations that she was involved in a "string of murders" and had a hit list of some senior ANC officials.

The statement said Falati was "no doubt inspired" by the desire to harm her and the ANC.

"She seems to feel that Mrs Mandela owed her a living for the rest of her life," the statement said.

On her marriage, Mrs Mandela appealed to the media "not to concern itself with nor speculate about her personal relationship with her husband, which has endured despite 27 years of imprisonment".



XOLISWA FALATI... "I had to beg for food from neighbours."

● To page 2

# Pik to meet PAC

A PAC delegation leaves for Nigeria today to meet with senior members of the South African Government. *South African*

The PAC's former secretary for foreign affairs, Ms Patricia de Lille, said the delegation would be led by the organisation's deputy president, Mr Dikgang Moseneke.

Mr Vaughn Dewing, a spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs, said Mr Pik Botha would talk to the PAC in Abuja. *8/4/92*

While Botha said it was not necessary to go abroad to hold talks, he had agreed to talk to the PAC after the Nigerians requested a bilateral meeting.

The meeting would prepare a "summit" between PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu and and State President FW de Klerk. - *Ecna*.

**NEWS IN BRIEF**

(11A)

**Doctorate for Mandela**

THE ANC confirmed yesterday that its president, Nelson Mandela, would accept an honorary doctorate from Natal University in Durban on Saturday but there is still confusion over the officiation by Chancellor Ramon Leon, a judge. ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said Mandela would deliver his address but it was "still negotiating with the university" over who would cap him.

*Sipany R/4/9*

## 'Apartheid bonds ANC with SACP'

THEO RAWANA (11A)

WORLD governments should support the struggle against apartheid if they wanted the ANC alliance with the SA Communist Party to come to an end, ANC president Nelson Mandela said in Johannesburg yesterday.

Addressing a news conference with Canadian External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall, Mandela conceded there was concern over the alliance. *8/10/92*

"But the world should understand our situation . . . We have a common goal to destroy racial oppression.

"If overseas governments want the alliance to come to an end they must support the end of racial oppression."

Mandela said the ANC could never accept government's "fancy proposals" for democracy.

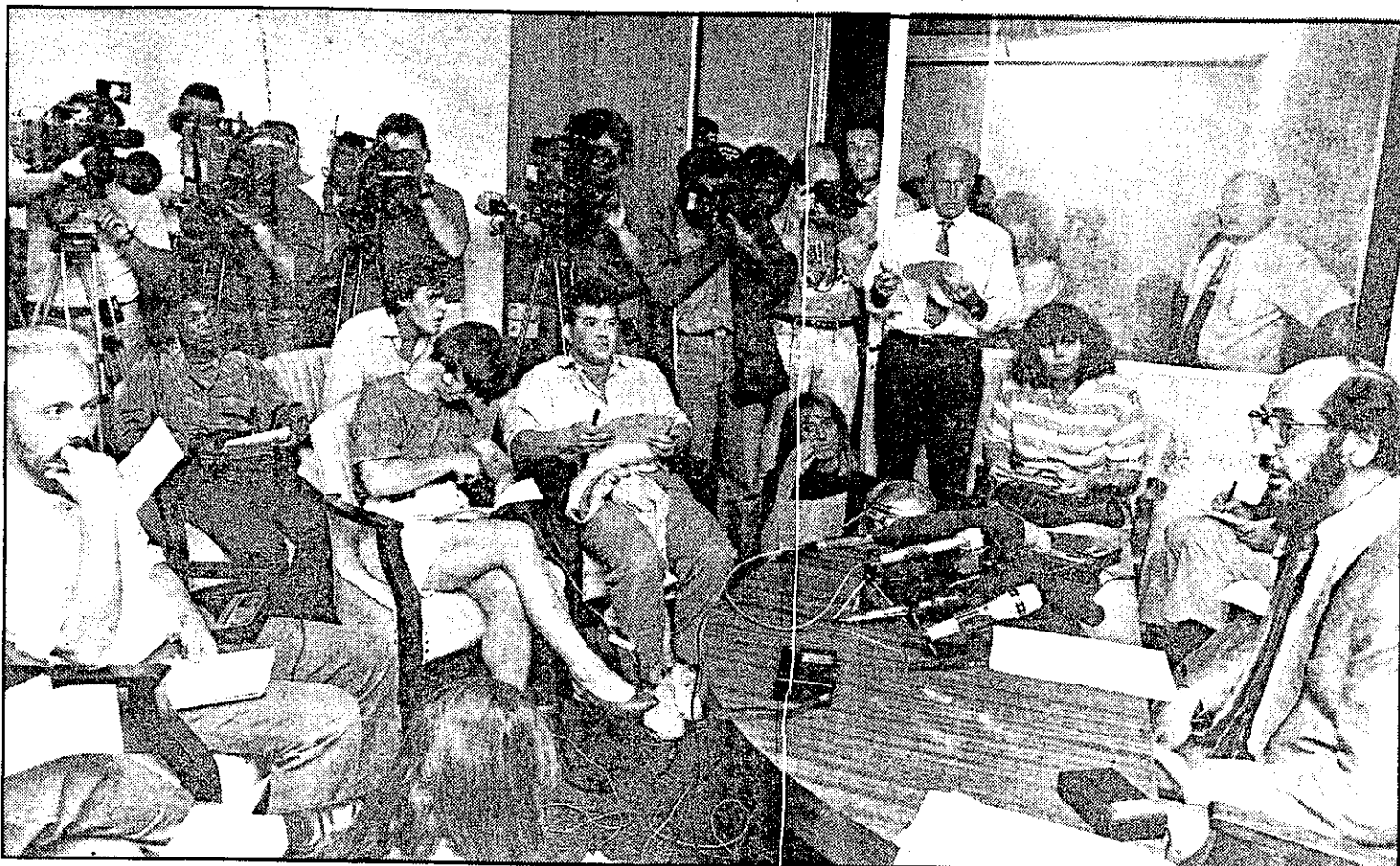
He said the international community should insist on democracy in SA as it was known worldwide.

On government proposals for a national assembly elected by proportional representation and a senate composed of regional representatives, Mandela said: "We can never accept these fancy proposals . . ."

He said the ANC's main difficulty concerning violence was getting cooperation from the security forces.

McDougall said Mandela's positive role was recognised by her government and she and Mandela had discussed the need for it to continue.

Sapa reports MacDougall paid a half-hour courtesy call on President F W de Klerk at Tuynhuys in Cape Town after meeting Mandela.



Leave her alone . . . lawyer Ismail Ayob (right) pleads with the media to stop speculating about allegations against Mrs Mandela, or the Mandela marriage. Picture: Alf Kumalo

# New allegations untrue, says Ayob

By Peter Wellman

11A *[Handwritten initials]*

STAR 81492

Winnie Mandela's lawyer, Ismail Ayob, yesterday said fresh allegations that she had been connected with the death of Soweto doctor Abu-Baker Asvat in 1989, and other murders, were untrue.

At a crowded press conference in his Johannesburg office, he read a statement on her behalf, and said Nelson Mandela had also approved it.

Mrs Mandela was not present, and Mr Ayob said his instructions were to take no questions beyond the scope of the statement, except for clarification.

He also referred to Mrs Mandela's pending appeal against a six-year sentence for kidnapping teenage activist Stompie Seipei and three other youths, and appealed for an end to speculation because of the sub-judice rule. Her ex-bodyguard, Jerry Richardson, was convicted of murdering Stompie.

According to one of Mrs Mandela's co-accused, Katiza Cebekhulu, Dr Asvat saw the injured Stompie before he (Asvat)

was himself murdered.

The statement said: "The allegations made against Mrs Mandela are a rehash of the gossip that was prevalent before the trial, and based mainly upon the statement of (State witness) Kenneth Kgase, who was well remunerated by an overseas newspaper.

"His evidence was rejected by the Supreme Court. The evidence was clear that neither the late Dr Asvat, nor any other doctor, saw any of the people who were at the back of her house."

This reference concerns allegations that Dr Asvat also saw other kidnap victims among others, and the implication is that he was killed because he knew too much.

Mr Ayob continued: "Mrs (Xoliswa) Falati — (who was given the same sentence as Mrs Mandela) — gave evidence under oath in two trials. Her allegations now published in the media are inconsistent with her evidence.

"Mrs Mandela helped Mrs Falati and her daughter before the events which led to her

trial. Mrs Falati seems to feel that Mrs Mandela owed her a living for the rest of her life. She was assisted on humanitarian grounds for long enough. Her allegations came forth when the assistance ceased.

"Mrs Mandela's appeal is still pending. This appeal is not about to be heard as heads of argument are being prepared.

"The sub judice rule has been ignored to her prejudice. Some respect has to be shown to the interests of justice by the media for this time-honoured rule.

"Mrs Falati's new allegations about Mrs Mandela being involved in murders and having hit lists are false.

"They are no doubt inspired by a desire to hurt Mrs Mandela and the ANC.

"Mrs Mandela appeals to the media not to concern itself with, nor speculate about, her personal relationship with her husband, which has endured despite 27 years of imprisonment and many years of exile."

Mr Ayob said Mrs Falati — who left the Mandela house after hinting at threats against

her, and is now being protected by ANC security men — had now been told to leave the house. Her own home had been damaged in an attack two years ago, and Mr Ayob asked how long it took to repair a house.

Mrs Falati was quoted this week as saying Mrs Mandela had threatened her with a Makarov pistol. "I have never seen Mrs Mandela with a Makarov," retorted Mr Ayob.

Apart from saying the Mandelas were still living together, he stuck to the single paragraph about their relationship. "My instructions are to read this statement to you," he said, adding: "They never make statements about their personal lives."

Later, asked about speculation that the marriage was on the rocks, he said: "There have been security problems . . . perhaps there has been a misunderstanding (by the media)."

Mr Ayob said he expected the kidnapping appeal to be heard around the middle of the year.

● Mr Mandela yesterday refused to comment on the Asvat allegations.

## Mandela to accept Natal degree

Own Correspondent

11A

The ANC confirmed yesterday that its president, Nelson Mandela, would accept an honorary doctorate from Natal University in Durban on Saturday but there was still confusion over the officiation by Chancellor Mr Justice Ramon Leon at the ceremony. STAR 84192

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said Mr Mandela would deliver his address but it was "negotiating with the university" over who would cap him.

According to reports last

week, a group of ANC supporters in Natal wanted Mr Mandela to refuse the degree.

They did not want him to be capped by Mr Justice Leon who, as a supreme court judge in 1986 passed the death sentence on Andrew Zondo, the ANC cadre found guilty of murder after a bomb blast at an Amanzimtoti shopping centre.

But the university has dismissed suggestions that it would ask its chancellor not to officiate at the ceremony.

Mr Justice Leon said he had not been approached by the ANC with any objections.





Talks . . . Nelson Mandela and Canadian Foreign Minister Barbara McDougall after their meeting at the ANC head office in Johannesburg yesterday. Picture: George Mashinini

## ANC won't heed 'fancy' demands

By Thabo Leshile  
Political Staff

ANC president Nelson Mandela warned yesterday that the ANC would not accept the South African Government's "fancy" demands for democracy as contained in the National Party proposals for a two-chamber Parliament. *STAR 8/14/92*

Mr Mandela was speaking at a joint press conference with visiting Canadian Foreign Minister Barbara McDougall at the ANC head office in Johannesburg.

He said the Government's envisaged two-chamber Parliament — with separate houses for the majority and minorities — was unacceptable.

The ANC leader urged the international community — and specifically the Canadian government — to force President F W de Klerk's Government into accepting the establishment of "ordinary democracy" in South Africa.

Mrs McDougall said she was honoured to meet the ANC leader "at this critical stage".

● More that unites than divides — Page 16.

# More that unites than divides

STAR  
8/4/92

~~11A~~ 11A

**T**HE ANC and Government last week tabled their proposals for the body which will draw up a new constitution, and surprisingly, there is great scope for compromise. However, both sides reacted vehemently to one another's plans and called each other's proposals "insulting".

The discussion which followed the tabling of the proposals was the most acrimonious since the Codesa began meeting in February. Yet, there are more points of similarity than differences.

The Government has proposed a two-House parliament — a National Assembly and a Senate comprising regional representatives. The ANC, on the other hand, wants one body — a constituent assembly — to fulfill both tasks.

But the ANC and Government agree on the need for an elected

body to compile the constitution and to act as a legislature during the transitional phase. The differences appear to be about the electoral system.

Both have said a constitution-making body should be elected according to a system of proportional representation. The Government, however, accused the ANC of wanting a system of "simple majoritarianism".

This concept has been rejected by the ANC, which said that it declared its support for the principle of proportional representation 15 months ago based on the fact that it accommodated the diversity of South African society without reference to groups, and it avoided the problems of delimiting constituencies in a country divided by group areas.

The ANC and Government also agree that such a body should be

elected. But, the Government has said it is not married to the concept of an elected body and it was debatable whether an election was the only manner in which the legitimacy of a constitution-making body could be established.

"Especially if the basis of a body such as Codesa could be broadened further, agreements arrived at by consensus would be quite legitimate," the Government said in its proposals.

On the other hand, the ANC insists that there can be no democracy without elections. It points out that Codesa has a limited function: to create conditions for the adoption of a new constitution, and not to draft one itself.

"The fact that it (Codesa) is self-appointed is appropriate to its function, which is essentially that of negotiating the process of tran-

sition from apartheid to democracy," the ANC says.

The ANC proposals said: "It might be difficult for those who take elections for themselves for granted to understand what it will mean to those who have been permanently excluded from the electoral process to at last have a chance to stand up and drop their ballot slip into the ballot box."

Both sides want the general constitutional principles, agreed upon in Codesa, enshrined in a new constitution, and also agree that the constitution-making body should be sovereign. A glaring difference between the two sets of proposals is that the Government wants decisions taken in the constitution-making body by consensus, while the ANC has proposed a two thirds majority.

A fundamental difference is also on the principle of minority groups

being given the right to veto a constitution.

Government negotiator Dr Gerrit Viljoen conceded that the proposed Senate would give whites a veto but added that all parties at Codesa also had a right to veto, but have thus far not used it.

The ANC, in turn, has labelled the Senate a "House of Losers".

On the ratifying of a new constitution, the ANC has proposed an independent constitutional panel.

Elections for a democratic government are then held.

The Government appears to propose that elections be held after a constitution-making body agreed to the constitution.

The Inkatha Freedom Party's proposals have been rejected by the ANC and Government.

The IFP proposed that Codesa drafts a document which specifies

the principles of the new constitution which is then ratified by a referendum.

The Government said it had initially favoured a multi-party conference as the constitution-making body and the principle had "maturity" but an elected body would be more representative and enjoy greater legitimacy. The ANC, on the other hand, said an "after-the-event ratification" could never be considered as a serious alternative to elections for a constitution-making body.

The Government correctly pointed out that there were three visions on the table: the ANC's constituent assembly, the Government's two-chamber Parliament and the IFP's Constitution Drafting Convention.

Except, it appears, that the ANC and Government are a great deal closer in their proposals. □

**NEWS IN BRIEF**

**Maps 'not sinister'**

*(11A)*  
THERE was nothing sinister about the issuing of maps to members of Umkhonto we Sizwe detailing the whereabouts of arm caches, ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said yesterday.

He was reacting to a report that Umkhonto members were being given maps to prepare combatants should constitutional negotiations fail. If the information were being released to the public there would be cause for concern, but this was not the case, he said.

*B/10 Aug 9/14/92*

## Canada pledges R2,5m

CAPE TOWN — Canadian External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall yesterday announced a R2,5m grant to an ANC-aligned economic think tank. (11A)

On the last day of her four-day visit to SA, McDougall visited Crossroads outside Cape Town.

At a media luncheon in Cape Town later, McDougall announced the contribution to the Macro-economic Research Group. The organisation mainly assists the ANC in developing economic policy.

McDougall said on Tuesday Canada would maintain trade sanctions against SA until an interim government was in place, and yes-

terday urged rapid progress towards this. (11A)

But she warned that unless political violence ended, SA's return to international acceptance would be difficult. (11A) (21A)

Sapa reports that McDougall told the Cape Town Press Club the lifting of sanctions would not in itself restore business confidence in SA.

Confidence would come once SA's leaders were committed to economic and political freedom, and violence ceased.

She said there was no question in her mind that sanctions had quickened the pace of change, "but now the time has come to turn the page". — AP-DJ.

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# Mandela delays degree event

5/10/91 9/14/91

DURBAN — Natal University yesterday agreed to postpone the conferment of an honorary degree on ANC president Nelson Mandela — scheduled for Saturday — to a later date after he announced he could not attend the graduation ceremony.

Mandela telephoned the principal, Prof James Leatt, and told him that "for reasons of state" he would not be at the ceremony where he was to receive a Doctor of Laws, *honoris causa*.

This was in spite of the fact that his office confirmed earlier this week that he would be present.

It is believed Mandela has bowed to pressure from a group within the ANC which did not want him to be capped by the university's chancellor, former Supreme Court Judge Ramon Leon, who passed the death sentence on ANC cadre Andrew Zondo in 1986. This group regarded the officiation by Leon as "offensive" to those in the liberation struggle.

Leatt said Mandela had asked him to defer the award and he had agreed since this had been done in the past.

This was the case with world-renowned jazz musician Abdullah Ibrahim (formerly Dollar Brand) who was capped last night at the Old Mutual Sports Centre on the Durban campus with the degree he was originally scheduled to receive in 1991.

"Mr Mandela has indicated that he will

Own Correspondent

be putting his request in writing and he apologised to me for any inconvenience caused," Leatt said.

Meanwhile, Zululand University has given the nod to Mandela's visit to the campus tomorrow after initial fears that it could lead to violence in the strife-torn Empanjeni area, and concern over a death threat against Mandela.

However, the university is maintaining its ban on public meetings and only university staff and students will be allowed to hear Mandela speak at the meeting organised by the ANC-aligned SA Students' Congress. It has told the organisers to request the presence of the SAP at the event and to ensure it "does not take the form of a confrontation between contending groups".

□ Sapa-Reuter reports from Ankara that Turkey will give its International Ataturk Peace Award to Mandela this year.

State Minister Serif Ercan said yesterday Mandela had been chosen for his "contribution to world peace and the development of friendship, understanding and goodwill among nations of the world".

Mandela will receive the award from President Turgut Ozal on May 19 in a ceremony in Ankara, Ercan said.

# New look at Asvat murder

B/Day 9/4/92  
STEPHANE BOTHMA

A SENIOR police officer has been appointed to look "afresh" into the murder of Soweto physician Dr Abu-Baker Asvat in 1989, following allegations that Winnie Mandela was linked to his death.

Police sources said the SAP would also try to obtain a statement from Xoliswa Falati, Mandela's co-accused in the Stompie Moeketsi Seipei kidnapping and assault case. Falati claimed she had given false evidence in court to protect Mandela, who she said had been involved in murders and had drawn up a hit list.

In hiding after being evicted from the Mandela home last week, Falati has been making the allegations telephonically to a local newspaper.

A source close to the investigation said if

Falati could not be traced this week to obtain a statement, she would be approached on Monday when she reported at the Orlando police station in terms of her bail conditions.

Acting Witwatersrand Attorney-General Chris Human SC said his office had requested a police investigation into the latest allegations about Mandela's involvement in the Asvat murder.

"If the police uncover any concrete evidence supporting the allegations, we will prosecute," Human said.

Two men were sentenced to death in 1989 for Asvat's murder.

□ To Page 2

## Asvat B/Day 9/4/92

It was reported this week that the State had been in possession of a statement at the time of the Asvat trial in which it was claimed that Mandela had offered to pay one of his murderers to kill him.

The State prosecutor in the case, Jannie van der Merwe, was also quoted as saying he believed Asvat's death was an assassination.

Human said the trial was completed, but if it was now discovered that the two murderers had been instructed to kill Asvat, his office would look into the matter and take a decision.

"Van der Merwe contacted me and denied making the allegations. He said he was misquoted and the issue is being looked into," Human said.

Van der Merwe, practising as an advocate at the Cape Town Bar, could not be reached for comment yesterday.

Soweto police said a senior officer had been appointed to the case following the publication of the allegations. Sources said police would interview "all persons con-

From Page 1

cerned" during the investigation.

Asvat's family said they were "greatly gratified" by the police investigation.

The ANC reacted to the latest allegations yesterday by saying its national working committee had noted with grave concern what it said was Mandela's escalating trial by media.

"We would have thought that the media would have been informed by a sense of fairness and propriety, which would dissuade them from conducting such a 'Press trial,'" the ANC said in a statement issued by secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa.

"Without detracting from the need for the media to report facts, it is clear to us that forces hostile to the ANC are continuously looking for ways and means to discredit, weaken and, if possible, destroy the ANC. We appeal to the media not to lend itself to these mischievous purposes."

Sapa reported that the ANC yesterday indicated it would pay the legal costs for Falati's pending appeal.

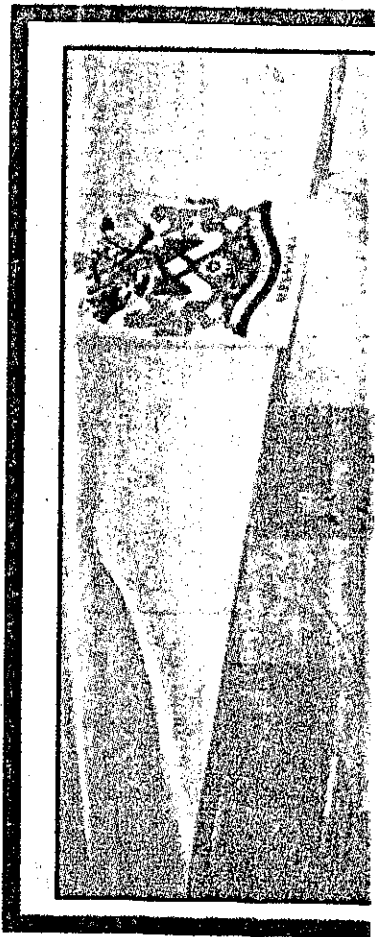
Africanists, Government in first meeting

# HISTORIC PAC IN DABABA

11A

11A

Sowetan 9/4/92



**A SIX-MAN Pan-Africanist Congress delegation jetted out of Jan Smuts Airport last night for Abuja, Nigeria, where it is to hold bilateral talks with the South African Government.**

The delegation, led by second deputy president Mr Dikgang Moseneke, confirmed before its departure that the current chairman of

### Own Correspondent

the Organisation of African Unity, Mr Ebrahim Babangida, would chair the talks, to be held on Friday.

On Sunday Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said that in the Government's preliminary talks with the Nigerians, the issue of the talks being held under the

to page 2

Sowetan 9/4/92  
**Historic talks for PAC**

From page 1

chairmanship of the OAU, on a foreign soil, was never raised.

He said although the Government was prepared to hold talks with the PAC, foreign participation was "entirely unnecessary".

But the PAC was adamant that the Government had acceded to their demands.

The PAC secretary for foreign affairs Mr Ahmed Gora Ebrahim said: "We put conditions and requirements and the Government has acceded to them. The meeting has been set up and will be chaired by the current chairman of the OAU, president Ebrahim Babangida."

Asked if the PAC would consider joining Codesa after the talks, Ebrahim said the PAC wished to make it clear that Codesa was not the issue.

"The PAC is not opposed to negotiations. We have always made it clear to the Government that we will meet them in a neutral venue and that a neutral person should chair the meeting," he said.

The PAC said it would raise the issue of a Constituent Assembly, and call for an early re-convening of a Patriotic United Front on its return from the talks.

# ANC slams media over Winnie claims

Sowetan 9/4/92

11A ~~243~~

**THE African National Congress yesterday appealed to the media not to lend itself to "mischievous purposes" in reporting on allegations against Mrs Winnie Mandela.**

The ANC also accused sections of the media of waging a campaign to destroy the movement by conducting a "trial" of Mrs Mandela.

Recent allegations have linked Mrs Mandela to the death of Azapo's health secretary Dr Abu-Baker Asvat.

The media has also reported on her row with Mrs Xoliswa Falati, a co-accused in her kidnapping and assault trial, and has speculated that her marriage to ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela was crumbling.

"The national working committee of the ANC notes with grave concern the escalating trial by media," the organisation said.

"We recognise that such



**WINNIE MANDELA**

a campaign is not only directed at an individual, but is part of creating an unfavourable image of the ANC and particularly its president, Nelson Mandela.

"Without detracting from the need for the media to report facts, it is clear to us that forces hostile to the ANC are continuously looking for ways and means by which to discredit, weaken and, if possible, destroy the ANC.

"We appeal to the media not to lend itself to these mischievous purposes," the statement said.

Mrs Mandela has rejected allegations of involvement in the Asvat murder and her lawyer has

said the claims prejudiced her pending appeal against conviction and sentence for kidnapping and accessory to assault of youths at her home.

● Meanwhile, the Soweto police have confirmed that a senior police officer has been assigned to reinvestigate the Asvat killing.

Captain Joseph Ngobeni said the officer's brief was to look at the killing "afresh".

Sapa reports that no date has yet been set by the Appeal Court in Bloemfontein for the appeal of Mrs and her co-accused Mrs Xoliswa Falati against their convictions and sentences for kidnapping and assault.

Reports in the past few days said the appeal would be heard on April 30, but inquiries reveal the court would not be in session on that day.

The Appeal Court's term starts on May 4, and Mandela's appeal does not appear on the roll.



# Life assurers 'discuss principles' with ANC

CAPE TOWN — The Life Offices Association (LOA) had been holding talks with the ANC and other extra-parliamentary groups on ways of investing its funds in socially desirable projects, but LOA chairman Louis Shill categorically denied yesterday that any percentages or figures had been discussed so far.

"There is no question of any allocation of sums," Shill said.

The Financial Mail reported this week that "life assurers are close to striking a deal to put about R5bn a year into 'socially desirable' pro-

*117* LINDA ENSOR *9/14/92*  
jects such as low-cost housing and education. The mechanics are still being discussed."

The FM said the ANC was considering a social levy of 10%-15% on total income from premiums and investment.

LOA director Jurie Wessels said yesterday this idea had not as yet been presented to the LOA. Wessels denied that any deal was in the process of being struck about a R5bn-a-year investment or a 15% pre-

scribed asset requirement. Only broad principles had been discussed so far, he said.

Shill stressed that life assurers were keen to be involved in social investments, were intent on doing something meaningful in this area and had taken the initiative in setting up talks with the ANC and other groups.

A number of worthwhile and innovative ideas were under discussion.

However, it was too early to reveal the contents of the discussions at this stage.

# Mandela delays 'graduation' date

Own Correspondent

**DURBAN.** — The University of Natal yesterday agreed to postpone the conferment of an honorary degree on Mr Nelson Mandela — scheduled for Saturday — to a later date after he announced he could not attend the graduation ceremony.

Mr Mandela reportedly telephoned vice-chancellor Professor James Leatt and told him that "for reasons of state" he would not be at the ceremony, where he was to receive a Doctor of Laws, "honoris causa".

This was in spite of the fact

**ANKARA.** — Turkey will award Mr Nelson Mandela the International Atatürk Peace Award, State Minister Mr Serif Ercan said yesterday.

He said Mr Mandela won the award for his "contribution to world peace". — Sapa-Reuter

that his office confirmed earlier this week that he would be present.

It is believed that Mr Mandela has bowed to pressure from a group within the ANC which did not want him to be capped by the university's chancellor, Mr Jus-

(11A) CT 9/4/92  
tice Ramon Leon, a former Supreme Court judge who passed the death sentence on ANC cadré Andrew Zondo in 1986.

Professor Leatt said Mr Mandela had asked him to defer the award and he had agreed, since this had been done in the past.

Meanwhile, the University of Zululand has given the nod to a visit by the ANC president to its campus tomorrow after initial fears that it could lead to violence in the strife-torn Empanjeni area — and a death threat against Mr Mandela from Inkatha supporters.

# 'Let law take its course'

Staff Reporters

For the first time, the ANC yesterday commented on the furor surrounding Winnie Mandela, and called for the law to take its course.

It was also learnt yesterday that a senior detective has been appointed to head a new probe into the murder more than three years ago of Soweto "people's doctor" Abu-Baker Asvat.

These developments come after four days of international headlines about the alleged break-up of the Mandela marriage and claims of

Mrs Mandela's involvement in the murder of Dr Asvat.

On Tuesday, Mrs Mandela issued a denial through her lawyer that she and ANC president Nelson Mandela were separating, and described the allegations as a "rehash of gossip".

Soweto police liaison officer Captain Joseph Ngobeni yesterday confirmed the appointment of a police officer to "look afresh at the circumstances of Dr Asvat's death, following the allegations".

Captain Ngobeni declined to name the officer, but it is understood he is a high-ranking member of the Soweto Murder and Robbery Squad.

## ANC speaks on Winnie drama

STAR 91492

He also refused to confirm directly whether Mrs Mandela's kidnapping trial co-accused, Xoliswa Falati and Katiza Cebekhulu, both of whom have made accusations, would be questioned.

"The police will investigate all persons concerned during the course of the investigation," he said.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa yesterday accused the media of conducting a "press trial" of Mrs Mandela.

After a meeting of the

ANC national working committee (NWC), Mr Ramaphosa reiterated the movement's view that the law should take its course in the case against Mrs Mandela.

"A trial was held, and an appeal is still pending. This means that the time-honoured sub justice rule applies and should be upheld."

The NWC urged the press to refrain from conducting a trial by the media which would undermine the judicial process.

Mr Ramaphosa said: "We

recognise that such a campaign is not only directed at an individual, but is part of creating an unfavourable image of the ANC, and particularly its president, Nelson Mandela."

It was clear that "forces hostile to the ANC" were continuously looking for ways to discredit, weaken and, if possible, destroy the organisation.

"We appeal to the media not to lend itself to these mischievous purposes," said

Mr Ramaphosa.

In an affidavit made to the police, but not tested in court, Mr Cebekhulu, who disappeared on the eve of Mrs Mandela's kidnapping trial last year, said Dr Asvat had examined Stompie Seipei at Mrs Mandela's home shortly before the teenage activist's death.

Mrs Falati, who was convicted with Mrs Mandela last year of kidnapping and assaulting four youths, including Stompie, refused to comment after weekend reports that she was also willing to present damaging evidence about Mrs Mandela and Dr Asvat's death. She and Mrs Mandela had

a serious fallout last week. The women's appeals against six-year jail sentences are pending.

The Asvat family, in a statement released by lawyers to Sapa yesterday, said they were "most gratified" to hear that police were re-examining the murder docket.

"We trust that Falati and Cebekhulu will be interviewed and that whatever facts they have in their possession will be investigated."

The family's statement added: "More than anything, we would like the truth to emerge - whatever (it) is."

● Saga fascinates Fleet Street — Page 3

# Falati rejects Winnie's claims

11A  
10/4/92

Some fun  
10/4/92

By RUTH BHENGU

XOLISWA Falati, traced to a hideout in Zola, Soweto, last night, rejected claims by co-accused Winnie Mandela that she "wished to harm the ANC".

Falati, who said she was under the protection of the ANC, however, denied claims attributed to her linking Mrs Mandela's name to the death of Soweto doctor Abu-Baker Asvat.

Mrs Mandela has strongly denied the allegations.

Falati has been the centre of the controversy the past two weeks after she was evicted, reinstated and evicted again at the Mandelas old house in Vilakazi Street, Orlando West.

In a lengthy interview, Falati claimed Mrs Mandela had during the same weekend she was evicted, had also "thrown out the clothes" of her step daughter-in-law, Zondi, who occupies the main house in Vilakazi Street.

She also claimed she was fired as a housekeeper at the Mandelas new house known as the "Parliament".

She denied she had tried to "blackmail" Mr Nelson Mandela to pay to legal costs of her appeal.

● See full story — page 5

# Codesa comes under focus

By MOKGADI PELA

THE Community Development Foundation is to host a one-day forum on the Convention for a Democratic South Africa. *Sowetan 10/4/92*

The seminar, which will take place at the Downtown Holiday Inn on Wednesday, will be addressed by speakers from the National Party, Inkatha Freedom Party, African National Congress and Democratic Party.

CDF executive director Mr Mbulelo Rakwena said the Azanian Peoples Organisation and the Pan Africanist Congress would respond to the speeches.

"The forum will examine Codesa as a means of conflict resolution in South Africa/Azania."

## TPA to lower fees

THE Transvaal Provincial Administration will decrease ambulance fees in the rural areas from next month.

MEC for Health Services Mr Fanie Ferreira said fees would drop by a third in areas like Thabazimbi, Phalaborwa, Evander, Nelspruit, Pietersburg and Christiana. *Sowetan 10/4/92*

The decrease follows protests by rural communities. *Sowetan Reporter.*

## ANC seeks future anti-trust laws

810am  
10/4/92  
TIM COHEN

AN ANC government would definitely introduce anti-trust or anti-monopoly legislation, ANC economic planning head Trevor Manuel said yesterday. He said this would encourage foreign investment.

Manuel said foreign investors had told the ANC it would have to free the economy as SA wealth was too tightly held.

The three central objectives of ANC economic policy were to address the imbalances and poverty in SA, build a viable economy and broaden wealth ownership.

ANC economic policy did not favour either inward industrialisation or export oriented growth, but favoured a mixture of both, Manuel said. He criticised current unilateral management of the economy, saying everything privatised from now on would be renationalised.

A new management style was needed to encourage South Africans to get involved in economic planning. The ANC was not averse to the idea of a social compact.

Manuel described the State's role as a "development agent" which should create the right economic environment.

He said the nationalisation issue was a "red herring". The ANC did not have a company hitlist and nationalisation would only be used as a last resort.

Neither control of the economy's commanding heights nor the unfettered free market would address SA's deeply rooted problems, Manuel said.

# United forum needed — Azapo

*so written 10/4/92*

A UNITED forum of all black organisations is needed to curb the education crisis, said Azanian People's Organisation head of education secretary Dr Gomolemo Mokae.

Azapo, its students and youth affiliates have repeatedly come out against disruption of classes by teachers, pupils, community and the Department of Education and Training.

The Azanian Student Convention and the Azanian Student Movement have initiated a Student Consultative Conference for all student organisations to take stock of their problems.

The conference will emphasise the need to re-instil the culture of learning and tolerance among organisations.

It will also seek to address the rampant drug

problems at schools and propose a code of conduct for students.

"The inescapable truth in black education is that less toyi-toying in the streets and more toil-toiling in the classroom is the only guarantee of a pass at the end of the year," Mokae said.

The organisation gives leadership workshops for its student leaders.

"It is important that they

become conversant with other groups, ideologies, principles and strategies," said Mokae.

"This knowledge helps our student leaders when interacting with various organisations. They need to understand their principles to be able to get through to them in their attempts to inculcate the culture of learning."

Azapo has strong non-formal education projects.



taking calls from around the world.

The identity of her close friends was often discussed. If she spent much time with a man, it was assumed he was her lover. The names paraded about ran the gamut from top struggle politicians to young artists.

But aside from her alleged infidelity — considered understandable and forgivable — she could do no wrong. She was mercurial and inventive — in the mid-1980s, for example, she told one foreign journalist she had no idea who her husband's first wife was; and visitors discovered she considered all appointments tentative and ignored most of them. But at the same time, she was more beautiful every year, more charming and more exciting. The world flocked to Brandfort and, later, to Soweto.

There's a theory that she suffered always from her status as outsider: that she was resented for capturing the most eligible man in the organisation, especially as she came to the ANC through Mandela, and not the other way around. There's another, opposing theory: that she was disliked by the leadership from the beginning because she was impossibly unreliable and unpredictable.

Certainly when she ran into trouble towards the end of 1988, one had the impression that the ad

# The fairytale that failed

*w/mant*  
10/4 - 15/4/92  
hoc crisis committee which tried to sort it out was acting more for her husband's sake than for hers.

The trouble began with her widely quoted (widely misquoted, she said) "with our matches and our necklaces we will liberate this land" speech soon after her return from Brandfort. It continued when a black American businessman announced he had bought the rights to the Mandela name, and when building began on a new luxury home.

The trouble escalated after she outfitted a shifting assortment of young thugs calling themselves the Mandela Football Club, gave them rooms on her premises, and — at the least — didn't stop them from terrorising the neighbourhood. When students from Daliwonga High School burned down her house in July 1988 in retribution for the MFC's reign of terror, there were still some people who blamed the system — but not for long.

There were reports that from prison Nelson Mandela had ordered his wife to disband the football club, but she defied him. And there were reports that when he heard of four youths seized

from a Methodist manse and held at another Mandela house, he had ordered them returned. This time she listened, but it was too late. Stompie Seipei, was already dead.

In early 1989, the Mass Democratic Movement formally and publicly disassociated itself from the erstwhile mother of the nation. But by the time Mandela was released from prison a year later the rift had been healed.

It was an image flashed round the world, Winnie and Nelson Mandela emerging hand in hand from prison — and he seemed to fall in love with her all over again.

For a few months Winnie Mandela acted out a demure, wifely role — and then the old Winnie Mandela re-emerged. Her fiery speeches overseas balanced her husband's milder ones, her demands for gifts — such as the well-publicised shopping trip through Saks Fifth Avenue, where she clearly expected not to pay for anything — seemed to embarrass those people who were probably doing much the same thing, but less flamboyantly. Her appointment as head of Social Welfare for the ANC was controversial. So was her election to

the national executive committee.

Throughout it all, Mandela defended his wife. He accompanied her to court when the Seipei case was heard; her conviction on kidnapping charges did not seem to shake his confidence.

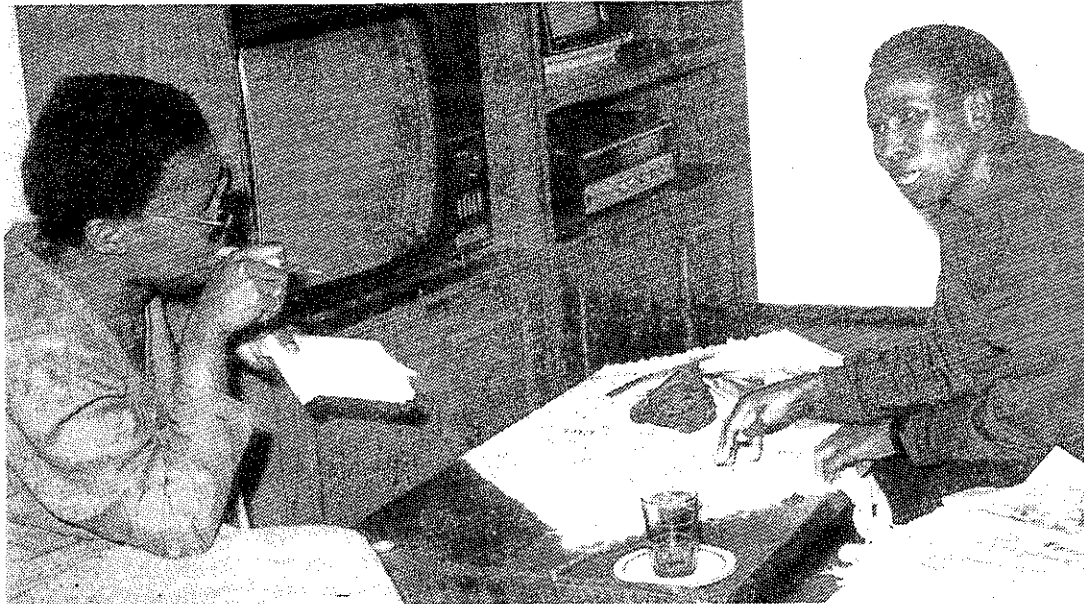
Then late last year something happened, and he moved out, briefly. The ANC sent emissaries to newspaper editors to assure them that rumours about a breakup of the marriage were inaccurate.

Rumours have continued to surface, linking Winnie Mandela with young lawyer Daluxolo (Dali) Mpofu, her deputy in the Social Welfare Department. Mpofu, who assisted in her defence in the assault and kidnapping case, has been denying any romantic involvement for months; this week, he called such allegations "rubbish".

Nonetheless, Mandela no longer appears to defend his wife with the vigour he once displayed. Winnie Mandela, who may have kept her husband alive for nearly three decades in prison, has become his major liability — for Mandela personally, and for the ANC. When news of a split between the Mandelas broke at the weekend, the sigh of relief could be heard from countless South Africans delighted to see Mandela as president but terrified of a future that includes his wife as first lady.

It is an extraordinary fall.





Sowetan reporter Ruth Bhengu interviewing Falati at her hideout in Soweto last night.



Falati claims some of the belongings thrown out by Mrs Mandela on March 29 (when this picture was taken) were that of Mandela's daughter-in-law. Pics: MBUZENI ZULU

**MISS Xoliswa Falati last night rejected claims by Mrs Winnie Mandela that she was out to harm the ANC.**

Speaking from a hideout place in Soweto, Falati said she had "the backing of the movement and the MK" and was comfortable with her relationship with the ANC.

"Ever since my differences with Mrs Mandela became public knowledge I have received support from people inside the movement.

"I had no idea that there were so many people who cared for me", she said.

# Falati reveals all

By RUTH BHENGU

Falati was responding to Mrs Mandela's claims, made during a Press conference this week, that she was "no doubt inspired by the desire to harm her and the ANC". *Sowetan*

She and Mrs Mandela had a fallout when she was evicted from the Mandelas' home. *10/4/92*

She threatened to "reveal everything". She also linked Mrs Mandela to the murder of Dr Abu-Baker Asvat.

The ANC said "she

seemed to feel that Mrs Mandela owed her a living for the rest of her life".

An angry Falati said: "How could I have expected Mrs Mandela to look after me for the rest of my life? I am an adult and a parent.

"I have not had my own home for the past four years and it is not possible to sleep well in somebody else's house. After my house was bombed in 1988 I spent a year in jail awaiting trial for the Stompie case.

"My daughter also spent

a year in jail for the same case. I have a 10-year-old son whom I have not lived with for a long time.

"I used to have a job and a house and I lived a normal life. Now I don't even know where I will be the next day.

"What makes Mrs Mandela think that I like being dependant? She is the one who invited me to stay at her place when she had a crisis.

"I want the *Sowetan* to publish the pictures they took on the day I was evicted from the room in Orlando West.

"There were two piles of clothes in the yard and the other one belonged Mrs Mandela junior. (Mrs Mandela Jun is the wife of Makgathi, Mandela's son by his first wife, who is staying in the main house).

"If you check the two loads you will notice that next to Mrs Mandela Junior's clothes was a baby's walking wheel. I don't have a small baby".

Falati, who has been living with the Mandelas since January 1991, said she worked as a housekeeper and caterer when Mr Nel-

son Mandela came out of prison.

Although she was not employed formally she used to receive a monthly allowance.

"The president had suggested I get a monthly allowance of R450 but I never got it. The amount I received from Mrs Mandela after every six weeks fluctuated between R300 and R200. There was no fixed amount.

"When I complained she said I should move from Orlando West to Diepkloof. In August last year she wrote me a letter informing me that I was no longer needed because she had found somebody else to take over my functions," she added.

# Opera about Biko to be staged in Britain

THE tempestuous life and tragic death of Steve Biko is the subject of a new opera to be staged by two prestigious British companies next month.

The co-production between The Garden Venture at London's Royal Opera House and the Birmingham Rep, opens in Britain's second city on May 29 and, after seven performances, will move to the London Opera Festival at Riverside Studios in Hammersmith.

In Birmingham, the opera, simply called *Biko*, will form part of the England Year of Music Festival, while in London it will be a feature of the International Opera Festival. The production will then commence a tour of Europe and India that will continue into 1993.

Steve Biko's story as leader of the Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa and, in particular, the especially brutal circumstances of his death in police custody 15 years ago, has always attracted the interest of human rights groups, artists and intellectuals world wide.

The music for *Biko* has been composed by a 38-year-old Indian woman, Prifi Paintal, who has been studying in this country for the past 10 years. She, along with the well-established librettist, Richard Fawkes, was commissioned to write the full-length opera jointly by the Royal Opera House Garden Venture and the Birmingham Rep with Wilfred Judd as director. Judd founded the Garden Venture, a company committed to the future of opera and musical theatre whose sponsors include Britain's Arts Council, Cable and Wireless PLC and Friends of Covent Garden.

*Biko* will concentrate on the last few months of the black leader's life with emphasis on his ideas, his maltreatment during imprisonment and his torture by security police. Paintal and Fawkes, whose past productions have won considerable acclaim, have consulted friends, family and political intimates of Steve Biko in their research.

In directing the new opera Judd hopes the work will clarify some of the issues and questions that still hang over the Biko story, like just what did he stand for and why he was killed.

In another development reflecting a deepening British involvement with things South African in the transitional era, artistic authorities report moves are under way for the London Philharmonic Orchestra to tour the Republic in 1993.

This follows a decision by the Musician's Union here to lift its ban on performing in South Africa. Details of the LPO's visit are still under negotiation. However the principle of the tour taking place has been agreed.

Arthur Gavshon

# Two steps back means progress

By PAUL STOBER

NEGOTIATIONS for transitional arrangements are back to where they started a month ago, but don't breathe the word "deadlock" around the delegates.

Working group three of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa), on transitional arrangements, completed another round of talks on Tuesday. It announced that delegates had agreed on the need for a transitional executive and multi-party committees to govern the country in the run-up to elections for a constituent assembly/interim legislature. An 11-member technical committee was established to work out the details of the functions and powers of these committees.

It all sounded like progress, but the announcement mirrors one reached a month ago, when the parties said they had agreed to the formation of a transitional executive to be established by procedures agreed to by Codesa.

The two steps back were taken when the government returned to Codesa after the referendum and proposed preparatory councils to advise it during the run-up to elections.

The African National Congress, and most other parties in the working group, rejected the proposal, as the government would still be in control of state structures during elections for the constituent assembly. They insisted the transitional councils be given executive power.

The government rejected this, saying the country would then be run by two governments.

According to the National Party delegate to the working group, Minister of Economic Co-ordination Dawie de Villiers, an interim government could only be established after elections if it was to be "legal and constitutional".

Although no progress was made in the working group this week, delegates refused to describe the situation as deadlocked.

"Proposals are under discussion at the moment," said South African Communist Party delegate Jeremy Cronin, "and there are mechanisms in place to prevent a deadlock."

Democratic Party chairman Ken Andrew was confident the new agreement did not object and indicated it is open to suggestions. "The

advance lies in the improved level of understanding in the working group. Delegates were saying 'that's not what we meant' when they were challenged. The technical people will sort out these nitty-grittys and we can then apply our minds to the proposals."

The details are important in a working group which has to decide which bodies will pass legislation and control the security forces and the SABC during the transition period.

While the Nationalists under President FW de Klerk have accepted they have to give up, or at least share, political power, they are now being faced with the reality of surrendering control of state structures.

But the government is hesitating because it is not sure on who it is going to bestow its power. "When it will relinquish power and under what conditions are very important to the government," said a Codesa observer. "This is why constitutionality is central to its thinking."

On the other hand, despite the ANC leadership denying it has made any substantial compromises, the organisation still has to contend with those in its ranks — and on its left — who believe it has made too many compromises and not enough gains.

The creation of a transitional executive, which will dislodge the government's control of state power, would be seen to be a major advance for the ANC.

The start of preparations for elections for a constituent assembly would force those on the left to come into the negotiations process or risk being sidelined.

How much progress the technical committee can make before it has to report back to the working group on April 21 is open to question.

While most delegates to the working group seem confident it was accepted that this transitional executive would have executive powers, government representatives were still not prepared to commit themselves.

Chairman of the technical committee, Patrick Maduna, of the Inyandza National Movement, said: "It will certainly have powers over and above advisory functions. The government did not object and indicated it is open to suggestions."

# PAC will talk, but not in SA

W/mail 10/4-15/4/92

(11A)

**T**HE Pan Africanist Congress emerged from its third national congress holding firmly to its anti-Codesa stance.

It decided it was willing to talk about the principles behind a constituent assembly with all interested parties, as long as it wasn't at Codesa.

Codesa was labelled an undemocratic formula that could not ensure the transfer of power. However, PAC president Clarence Makwetu announced amid loud cheers that the PAC would be meeting the South African government in Nigeria.

It was a move which seemed to be aimed at reassuring those inside and outside the organisation pushing for participation in constitutional talks, and an attempt to move a little closer to the Codesa bandwagon.

PAC general secretary Benny Alexander said yesterday the meeting was "a victory for consistency, steadfastness and sticking to mandate" — referring to last year's Patriotic Front agreement that an all-party conference be convened at a neutral venue under a neutral chairman, reports **MONDLI MAKHANYA**.

The government, however, has not gone out of its way to meet the PAC in a foreign country as the organisation has been demanding. As Wits University's Tom Lodge notes, the meeting will occur during a state visit to Nigeria. The PAC is in fact legitimising the visit, something it would normally oppose.

"It's actually a coup for the government. It will allow them to speak to the PAC about the activities of APLA (Azanian People's Liberation Army) — which is proving a minor irritation to the state," said Lodge.

The meeting shows the PAC's desperation to avoid marginalisation. By billing the Nigeria meeting as a "preparatory" prelude for a major summit between the two sides, the PAC is indicating its willingness to enter bigger talks. On the agenda at Abuja will be the PAC's objections to Codesa's "structures and procedures" as well as its demands for a constituent assembly. Alexander said the PAC and the African National Congress would also be convening a second Patriotic Front conference "before Codesa Two" to iron out differences between the organisations.

Although the PAC congress in Umtata made no major decision to re-enter Codesa, segments of the leadership want to do so. But their hands are tied by an overly militant constituency. Foreign support is drying up, with the frontline states having urged the movement to get involved in Codesa. And the Tanzanian government could put pressure on the PAC to close its

*The Pan-Africanist Congress, torn between refusal to negotiate and a fear of being left behind, has struck a novel compromise — It will meet FW de Klerk... in Nigeria.*

military bases there. Furthermore, deliberations at Codesa are likely to lead to the very constituent assembly the PAC is demanding and the movement risks losing credibility by not being party to that process.

Ecna reports that additional pressure on the PAC to join negotiations came from Transkei's military ruler, Major-General Bantu Holomisa, who said the struggle could not reach its logical conclusion while there was bickering among the liberation forces.

Makwetu complained that the United States government was singling out the PAC as the only political group not to receive support. This was based on the misconception that the PAC was opposed to negotiations, he said.

The PAC congress in Umtata also decided that it could not drop its armed struggle because of ongoing violence in townships around the country.

The PAC would "resolutely pursue" its policies to overthrow the settler colonial regime and establish a socialist, Africanist democracy, according to another resolution.

Despite factional rumblings before the congress, the PAC managed to contain its differences. Predictions of a walkout over the question of negotiations did not come to anything.

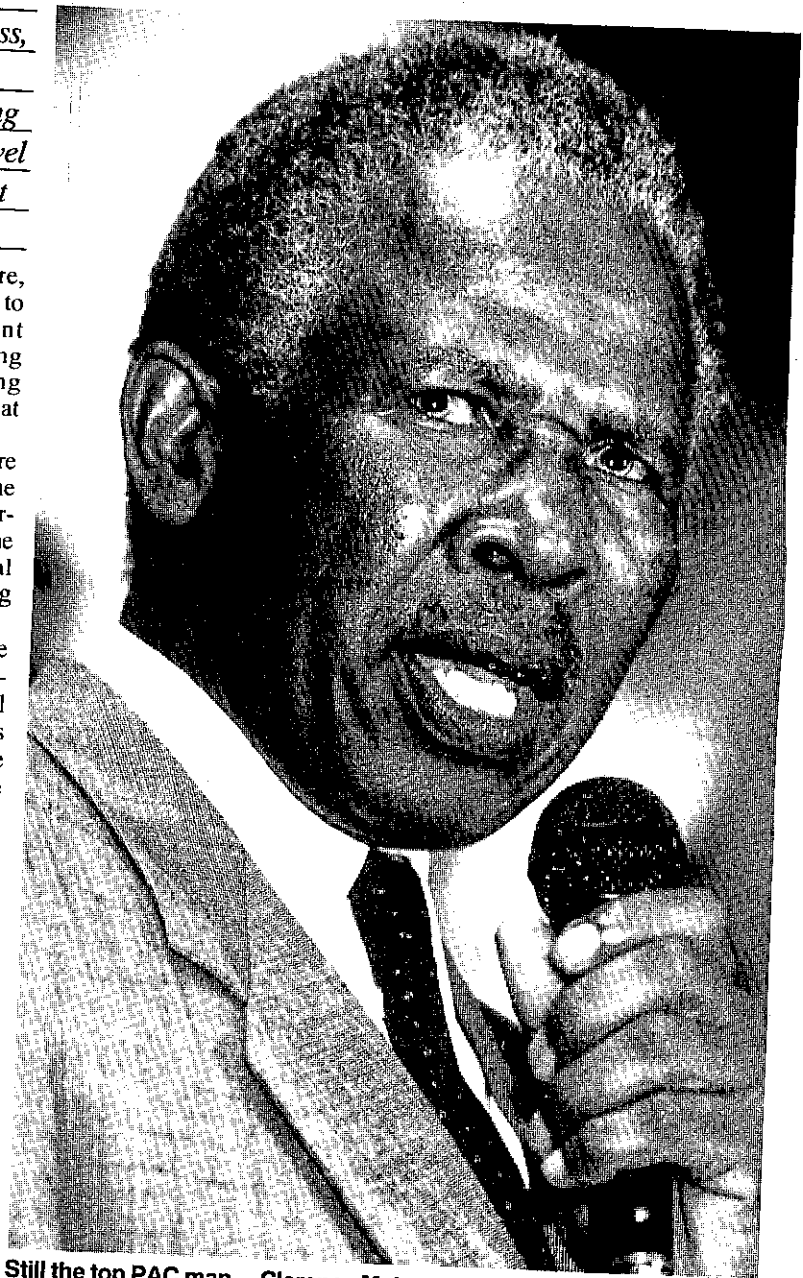
Also, the integration of the external mission and internal leadership seems to have been achieved reasonably smoothly. The executive was enlarged from 30 to 40 members and the external mission was dissolved. The PAC's headquarters will be in Johannesburg, leaving only the military wing headquarters outside the country.

On the Revolutionary Watchdogs, an East Rand group contesting previous executive elections, the congress decided to mandate the national executive to resolve the problem.

The three-member presidency — which consists of Makwetu, first deputy Johnson Mlambo and second deputy Dikgang Moseneke — was returned en bloc. Also re-elected was public and information secretary Barney Desai.

There was a close battle for the post of secretary general between incumbent Benny Alexander and the national organiser, Maxwell Nemadzivhanyi. Both received deafening applause, but Alexander won the race by 219 votes to 144.

He earned enthusiastic laughter for his Afrikaans version of the PAC slogan, "One settler, one bullet" — "Een boertjie, een koeltjie". — Ecna



Still the top PAC man... Clarence Makwetu

## Who's who in the PAC

W/mail 10/4-15/4/92

The following Pan Africanist Congress members were elected to the national executive committee at the organisation's third national congress in Umtata on Sunday:

President, Clarence Makwetu; first deputy president, Johnson Mlambo; second deputy president, Dikgang Moseneke; general secretary, Benny Alexander; assistant general secretary, Thobile Gola.

Secretary for publicity and information, Baney Desai; national organiser, Maxwell Nemadzivhanyi; treasurer, Thompson Gazo; secretary for political affairs, Jackmi Seroke; secretary for foreign affairs, Gora Ebrahim; secretary for economic affairs, Sipho Tshabatala; secretary for legal (constitutional) affairs, William Seriti.

The above, together with the Azanian Youth Unity chairman, Molefe Modiga, the Pan Africanist Student's Congress president,

Lunwelo Mbandazayo, and the African Women's Organisation chairman, Elleu Mothopeng, constitute the national working committee.

Other NEC members are: Secretary for health, Dr Selvan Saman; secretary for land and environment, Dr Solly Skosana; secretary for relief aid, Patricia Dellile; secretary for education and human resources, Magolie Mphahlele; secretary for local government and civic affairs, Molefe Ditoko; secretary for religious affairs, Amed Motshabane; secretary for culture and sports, Fitzroy Ngucwana; secretary for projects and development, Elizabeth Sibeko; secretary for transport, Mark Shinnars; secretary for labour, Kingdom Makanda.

Ten additional NEC members were elected. — Sapa

# Azapo <sup>(11A)</sup> to meet

By JOE MDHLELA

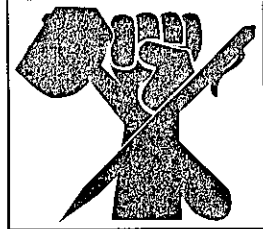
AZAPO had no confidence in Codesa and had mandated a task force to look at the possibility of an armed struggle. *so veteran*

This was said yesterday by Mr Strini Moodley, publicity secretary of the organisation, on the eve of its two-day meeting in Johannesburg, starting tomorrow. *10/4/92*

Moodley said the organisation would inform its formations that the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania was not impressed with Codesa.

"The fact that it is made up of the ruling class, and whites who have never known oppression, is indicative of this," he said

# BUILD YOUR ORGANISATION



Last week's article left off at the point where we were discussing what a campaign is and how campaigns can act to stabilise organisations. We said that organisations can often be unstable. We explained this by showing how people can rally round an organisation over a specific burning issue but then drift away from the organisation once the issue has been resolved.

With this in mind let's look at how campaigns can weld together an organisation and give it a sense of continuity.

Remember...

*New Nation  
(Learning Nation)  
10/4 - 15/4/92*

Previous articles have outlined the role of organisations and how they develop. Let's remind ourselves of some of the things we learnt about organisations.

We noted that:

- organisations emerge out of struggle and take struggles forward.
- organisations can strengthen democratic practices and accountability.
- organisations can serve as training ground for the working class, enabling them to take on the task of leadership.
- in the process of building an organisation, people become more conscious of issues around them and of their own class position in society.
- through organisations, the membership is educated and armed with information in order to strategise and take action. In this process the confidence of the membership is built.

## Membership and recruitment

We have seen that organisations are nothing without their membership and that people will only form an organisation or be drawn to an organisation around particular issues which are in their interests. What role can a campaign play in this process? The key function and effect of any campaign is that it mobilises people. We all know from the history of struggle in this country that the most effective campaigns have been campaigns which have mobilised the mass of the people. Campaigns such as the anti-pass laws, Living Wage and anti-VAT campaigns had mass support because they struck a chord with the people. These campaigns mobilised people to struggle around a specific issue, raised clear demands and were directed at a specific target. In the process of doing this, campaigns appeal to a wide range of people and draw them into organisations.

Campaigns play a vital role in recruiting new members. As people are drawn into struggles around a campaign they often join the organisation that is campaigning and so increase the organisation's membership.

A campaign provides a central focus around which a wide range of people can rally and mobilise themselves. As far as possible we should try to draw in all the different groupings in our communities - workers, unemployed, students, youth, women. In this process of focussing our struggles around a particular campaign, the current weaknesses of our organisations can begin to be addressed.

## Campaigns show what people are struggling around

We have seen that organisations emerge out of struggle and in turn, take struggle forward. Campaigns, as a clear expression of existing struggle, serve to accelerate and give a struggle more definition and force.

Once a particular struggle has been identified as being a key issue and demands are raised, people are mobilised around the issue and the campaign can serve to accelerate a particular struggle onto a higher plane. An issue may initially be seen as being purely economic or localised, but, during the course of struggle, the issue may become political and national as opposed to just economic and local.

For example, the struggles over wages could initially have been understood as being purely economic. When these struggles were taken up in the Living Wage Campaign and formulated in demands linked to issues such as a forty hour week and a ban on overtime, it posed the question of workers' control of the factories. The campaign shifted from being economic to posing questions of ownership and control and ultimately questions of political power.

In this dynamic process of struggle, organisations can themselves change their nature. They might change from being defensive organs to being offensive organs of struggle. Campaigns can play a role in accelerating this change.

## Links between campaigns and broader struggles

Campaigns will be strengthened if they are not just isolated incidents. They will gather a lot more force behind them if they are taken up on a national level. Smaller campaigns around a specific issue in a specific place, for example, electricity cuts in Atteridgeville or the lack of decent sanitation in Phola Park can be linked to wider struggles. Demands can highlight the broader struggle around electrification and primary health care and so expose the current attacks on the living standards of the working class.

## Democracy and accountability

Organisations can serve to strengthen democratic practice and accountability. Campaigns draw in more people and expose them to democratic ways of working. For campaigns to be successful, they require constant reportbacks and assessment of the gains made. In this process, membership learns to participate in debates and to express their own opinions. This helps to build democracy and accountability within the organisation.

Campaigns will not be responded to enthusiastically if they are simply declared from above in an undemocratic way. Campaigns usually emerge from struggles on the

ground and are an expression of the needs and demands of the mass of the people. In the same way that organisational structures can become hollow shells if the membership does not participate actively, campaigns can also not get off the ground if they do not have the backing and democratic involvement of people.

## Skills for leading

Organisations act as a training ground for the working class to take on the task of leadership. Campaigns develop the organisational and leadership skills of people who participate. In the course of a campaign, people will develop a range of skills, whether it be how to draw up a pamphlet or make a poster; how to organise a mass rally or how to speak in public. All these skills equip the working class to take up the task of leadership.

## Class consciousness

In the process of building an organisation and in the course of campaigns, people become more conscious of issues around them and of their own class position in society. We've seen how, through organisations, the membership is educated and armed with information in order to take action and to strategise. In this process the confidence of the membership is built and people gain a heightened consciousness of their position and role in society. People develop a clearer sense of the conditions under which they live and compare these to the conditions of other classes in society.

## Something to do:

This article has shown how campaigns are a key to building organisation.

Write a paragraph explaining why campaigns are important for organisation building. If you are finding this difficult you could read this article again or just read the sub-headings to remind yourself of the main ideas.

You are welcome to send your answers in to us at



Learning Nation,  
P.O. Box 11350,  
Johannesburg.

Look out for future articles which will deal with how to run a campaign and the specific skills required to do so effectively.

# The senior <sup>(11A)</sup> man who quit over Winnie

w/ Mail 10/4-15/492

By GAVIN EVANS

SENIOR African National Congress official Tito Mboweni resigned as chairman of the movement's policy drafting committee after Winnie Mandela took strong exception to his criticism of her Welfare Department report two weeks ago.

Mboweni, who is a key ANC spokesman on economic affairs, was appointed to chair a workshop of all national and regional policy departments, in preparation for the policy conference at the end of May. He was also appointed to the drafting committee responsible for assessing the various departmental reports.

His report on the nine-page document from Mandela's Welfare Department was particularly harsh. He described it as "very weak", said it did not amount to policy and described its proposals as "poor".

According to several ANC officials Winnie Mandela was "extremely angry and emotional" after the meeting. She wrote Mboweni a letter in which she said she was deeply hurt, and alleged he must have had a hidden agenda in attacking her report in this way.

Later, according to ANC sources, Mboweni was warned by colleagues to "watch out", and was told he was being followed.

Soon after he tendered his resignation from the drafting committee, attaching the letter from Winnie Mandela in his motivation.

Asked for comment, Mboweni said there was "no truth" to the story, while ANC Economics Department official Khetso Gordhun said he had "no comment" to make. *The Weekly Mail* remains confident of its sources.

FM 10/4/92

## THE WINNIE FACTOR

(11A)

The long honeymoon that has been enjoyed by the Mandela name seems to be almost at an end.

Foreigners and South Africans alike have generally been prepared to show understanding of ANC president Nelson Mandela's predicament. His wife is a prominent activist in her own right; she suffered considerably under apartheid and he feels responsible for not being with her for a quarter of a century — in marital terms, a lifetime — but in prison. She is also, increasingly, a political liability. Imagine if roles were reversed and it was Marike de Klerk, the State President's wife, who was due to have her sentence of six years for kidnapping and assault reviewed by the Supreme Court; who was involved in a remarkable and odious public dispute with a co-accused in

the original trial; who had built her own dubious constituency within her husband's political organisation; and who has had some of her statements repudiated by that organisation. F W de Klerk's position would surely be untenable.

The problem is that Nelson Mandela must be regarded as the major contender for the presidency in a democratic SA — or even in an interim government, which is now accepted as being months rather than years away. In a nutshell, can he allow Winnie to become what the Americans call the First Lady?

As for the ANC itself, its senior officials are being disingenuous when they speak of "a private matter." Winnie Mandela is an elected office-bearer of the ANC and, as such, her behaviour has implications beyond her marriage.





**FROM GOLF TO THE GRASSROOTS: FW de Klerk will reach out to the masses this week**

Photo: Eric Miller

# Plain truth about FW's M'Plain visit

By Quentin Wilson

RAZZLE-DAZZLE arrangements for President FW de Klerk's visit to Mitchells Plain took an embarrassing turn this week when prominent locals dissociated themselves from the fanfare.

For a start, the church brigade invited to lead De Klerk's procession on Saturday from the Westridge Civic Centre to the Town Centre refused to take part.

The Western Cape Traders Association added to the organisers' headache when they said they wanted nothing to do with the luncheon for local businesspeople.

Even Radio Plain, which broadcasts from the Town Centre, was in two minds about whether they were going to allow De Klerk air time to give a short message to Saturday morning shoppers, specially considering the station was not consulted in the first place.

The NP's "meet the people" campaign aims to win the hearts, minds and votes in an area hit hard by the NP's discriminatory policies.

This weekend will be the first time De Klerk has canvassed support in Mitchells Plain, among people whose vote was taken away by his party.

Although the NP's Mitchells Plain MP, Mr Stanley Fisher, said "everything is going according to plan", a not-so-welcome programme of action was planned by residents who interpret the visit as an insult.

In addition to a protest rally at Glendale High School for all 14 schools in the area — demonstrations, pamphlets and meetings were organised to voice disapproval.

One ANC pamphlet contained the notorious quote by Mrs Marike de Klerk about coloured people: "They are a negative group. The definition of a coloured in the population register is someone who is not black and is not white, and is also not an Indian, in other words a non-person."

South 11/4 - 16/4/92 (11/4)

The pamphlet also referred to the controversy surrounding the relationship between Mr Willem de Klerk and coloured model Ms Erica Adams.

ANC publicity secretary Mr Willie Hofmeyr said the ANC "will in no way disrupt his visit, but we want to make it clear on Saturday that a lot of people are unhappy with his presence in Mitchells Plain".

"We feel that in some ways he is abusing his position as state president to accrue votes for the NP. We also feel that it is ironic that De Klerk asks people to support his party that took their votes away," Hofmeyr said.

Rev Allan Hendrickse's Labour Party also disapproved of the visit and endorsed the protest action.

Rev Ronald Phillips of the Westridge Anglican church said his church had decided not to lead Saturday's procession because "De Klerk is still a representative of a minority people".

"We have a policy in our church that we will not align ourselves with the state — of which Mr De Klerk is a symbol.

"He is the leader of a minority people and for that reason we have asked the church brigade not to lead the procession on Saturday," he said.

Eighteen organisations, including the Dispensing Family Practitioners Association and the South African Democratic Teachers Union, criticised the Merchants Association's executive for hosting the business luncheon without consulting their membership.

"It is seen as if the Merchants Association is taking sides between the government and the people, the very people from Mitchells Plain and Khayelitsha who are your loyal customers and supporters," the organisations said.

Chairperson of the Merchants Association Mr Mohammed Patel said they had decided to host De Klerk "out of courtesy".

## ANC women strike out with 'The Rock'

South 11/4 - 16/4/92  
"YOU HAVE touched the women; you have struck the rock. You will be crushed." ~~223~~ (11A)

So goes a well-known cry of resistance. But if you would rather get away relatively unscathed by touching only on women's issues, you can buy "The Rock", the newsletter of the ANC Women's League. ~~3577~~

Started last month, the 12-page newsletter will keep you up to date on the league's doings and on aspects of women's oppression. The head of the group's media section, Ms Lindiwe Zulu, said: "Since the Women's League returned from exile, many people have not been aware of what we are doing. The newsletter will inform people about our work to liberate women."

She said the newsletter aimed to give South African women a voice.

"We won't only cover league activities. We will also address issues facing women here in their daily lives," she said.

The first edition (March 1992) features stories ranging from women's participation at Codesa to contraception.

"At the moment we plan to come out every eight weeks, but later we envisage a regular monthly edition," Zulu said.

# Codesa may be out, but outside is in for PAC

South 11/4-16/4/92

Six members of the PAC national executive are heading for Nigeria to meet with the South African government in a move seen as an attempt to reassure those pushing for participation in negotiations:

**T**HE PAC has emerged from its third national congress holding firmly to its anti-Codesa stance.

It decided it was willing to talk about the modalities for a constituent assembly with all interested parties — but not at Codesa (the Convention for a Democratic South Africa).

This forum was labelled an undemocratic one that could not ensure the transfer of power.

However, PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu announced amid loud cheers that the PAC would be meeting the South African government in Nigeria.

The announcement seemed to be aimed at reassuring those, inside and outside the PAC, pushing for participation in constitu-

tional talks and an attempt to get a little closer to the Codesa bandwagon.

The meeting would be chaired by Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida, currently the chairperson of the Organisation of African Unity.

Makwetu said the meeting would lay the basis for a summit between himself and President FW de Klerk to discuss the modalities for elections to a constituent assembly.

The PAC was quick to hail the announcement as a victory for its insistence on talks outside South Africa under a neutral chairperson.

The South African government responded with a statement that left many questions unanswered.

No formal meeting had been arranged, said the statement from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, although Nigerian officials had informally asked about a meeting with PAC leaders.

"This was a goodwill gesture on the part of Nigeria. At no stage, however, was it suggested that such a meeting would constitute a formal negotiating session, or summit, with the PAC under the chairmanship of the OAU on foreign or neutral territory."

The government said such a step would be unnecessary, reaffirmed its commitment to Codesa, and said it would prefer to meet the PAC inside South Africa.

What it didn't say was whether



Clarence Makwetu

there would be a meeting of some sort in Nigeria, although officials later said Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha would "readily" meet the PAC if they were in Nigeria when he was there.

The PAC believed the meeting would be on. A six-member delegation from its national executive was due to head for Nigeria this week.

The PAC also decided that it could not drop its armed struggle, because of ongoing violence in the townships.

The congress resolved that as long as African people were subjected to "state-sponsored violence" in urban and rural areas, the armed struggle would not be suspended or abandoned.

There was no shortage of pressure on the PAC to join negotiations. Transkei's military ruler, Major-General Bantu Holomisa, said the struggle could not reach its logical conclusion while there was bickering among the liberation forces.

He hoped the PAC would soon meet the SA government. Diplomatic observers used their messages of support to refer pointedly to the benefits of negotiations.

**M**AKWETU complained bitterly that the United States government was singling out the PAC as the only political group not to receive support.

This was based on the misconception that the PAC was opposed to negotiations, he said.

One resolution said the PAC would "resolutely pursue" its policies to overthrow the "settler colonial regime" and establish a socialist, Africanist democracy.

The PAC rejected "any attempts by the US or any other foreign government to force the PAC to alter its policies and programmes to suit its own interests".

Despite factional rumblings before the congress, the PAC

managed to contain the differences.

There were predictions of a walk-out over the question of negotiations, but this did not happen.

The integration of the external mission and internal leadership seems to have been achieved reasonably smoothly. The executive was enlarged from 30 to 40 members and the external mission was dissolved.

The PAC's headquarters would be in Johannesburg, leaving only the military wing headquarters outside.

On the Revolutionary Watchdogs, an East Rand group contesting previous executive elections, the congress decided to mandate the national executive to resolve the problem.

The three-person presidency, with Makwetu, first deputy Mr Johnson Mlambo and second deputy Mr Dikgang Mosenke, was returned.

There were cheers of "Makwetu, you're the lion" when the proposal to return the three was accepted.

There was a battle for secretary-general, between incumbent Mr Benny Alexander and the national organiser, Mr Maxwell Nemadzivanani. Alexander won 219 votes to 144.

At the start of the conference, he earned enthusiastic laughter for his Afrikaans version of the PAC slogan, one settler, one bullet: "Een boertjie, een koeltjie."

— Ecna

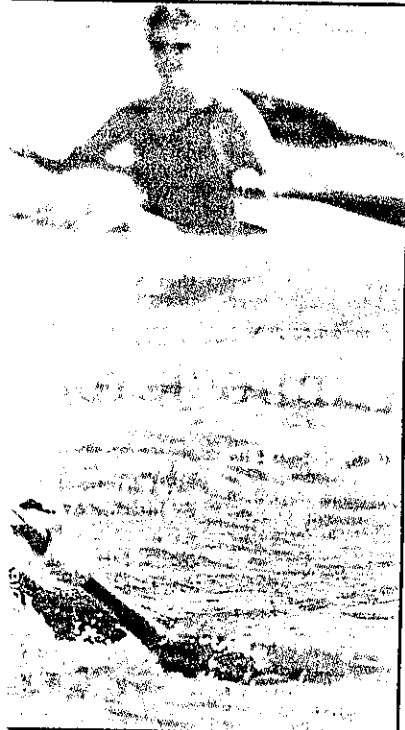
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Thank you

# Nelson, for Windies tour!

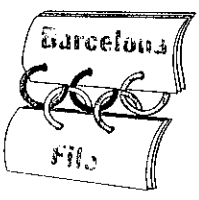
STAR 11/4/92

11A ~~3000~~ ~~2000~~



is highly skilled in all four canoeing disciplines  
lane where he will carry South Africa's hopes.

now  
glory



in the gym at mid-day alternating with a run, then back to the lake in the evening for another 90-minute session.

All this for less than four minutes of effort on race day and a chance of Olympic folklore. "The Olympic standard for the 1000 m is 3 minutes 50 seconds," he says. "Our top guys have been getting close to 3:48 this season."

"There has been a great turnaround in South African canoeing. Our top paddlers have deserted long distance in favour of sprints, and the recent influx of European coaches has sparked even more interest over the shorter distances."

"In between all this training I make time for my girlfriend, Tracy, but she understands this is a one-off event and how important it is for me. She rides horses at competitive level and identifies with the commitment."

"This will be my first and last Games. I'll give it my all and then ease up a little. Besides, I don't have the money. Sponsorship is critical. A good single canoe costs up to R10 000, with a top double craft going for R14 000."

"We have to tread a fine line between trying to give our backers maximum exposure without transgressing race sponsor rules."

Indeed, the 1990s race-for-cash disease was near-fatal for Perrow and Evans during Dusi, when organisers invoked a fine of R10 000 for blatant displays of advertising.

"The row this caused gave our sponsors even more coverage, so they didn't complain," says the man who displays an acute sense of business acumen.

"I've had to quit my job to devote enough time to training, but when the show is all over I'll have to think seriously about a career. There's not enough money in canoeing to keep you going, but right now it's the only thing that matters."

**KINGSTON** — It may come as a surprise to many South Africans to hear it, but the white referendum was followed very closely in Jamaica — and had there been a "no" vote the cricket tour would have been cancelled.

The source of this information is no less than Michael Manley, the long-serving Jamaican Prime Minister who retired recently — but not before he'd played a key role in persuading his countrymen that it was time to welcome South Africa back into the international fold.

Manley said he — a lifelong and vociferous enemy of the Pretoria Government — had been persuaded to do so by Nelson Mandela.

"The critical moment came when Nelson Mandela and the ANC settled their own sense of strategy about sport, and took the firm position that, wherever a genuine effort was being made toward integration, it should be supported," Manley said.

"I was one of the people who then acted on this, making a small contribution to the fact that the tour was possible, and that there has been a good reception."

Manley said he "felt very strongly that, once the breakthrough began between Mandela, De Klerk and the others, that we would take our lead from the ANC in reviewing our long held positions".

He revealed that the referendum result had had a profound impact on Jamaican attitudes towards white South Africans.

"I can tell that we were very, very deeply pleased, and even moved, that not only did the referendum go as it did, but that whites voted with such an overwhelming majority. It gave us a huge thrill, and that's one of the reasons why you have been so well received here."

Manley said it was undeniable that there had been — and still, to an extent, was — "a lot of unease here about the invitation to tour".

"This is a very politically conscious society. It's small but very politically aware. And we Jamaicans, truthfully, do not regard the struggle in South Africa as being over until there is a constitution that gives one person one vote."

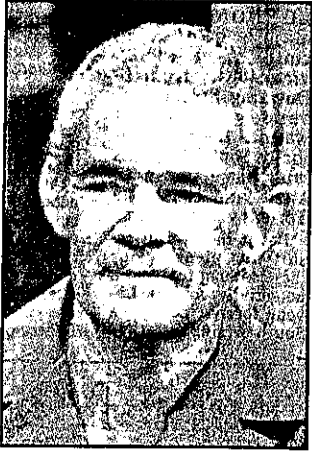
The discussion with Manley also confirmed a fact that is visually obvious to any visitor in Jamaica: Nelson Mandela is held here in a higher regard than any other

**SHAUN JOHNSON**  
in the West Indies

All the colour of the SA cricket tour

**087-2051-598**  
(R2.62 per minute)

**MICHAEL Manley** (right), the recently retired Jamaican Prime Minister, never thought he would be encouraging a South African cricket team to tour his island. In an exclusive interview, he told the Saturday Star's Political Editor **SHAUN JOHNSON** how Caribbean perceptions of the former "racist republic" have changed.



single political figure in the world.

One drives on the "Mr Nelson Mandela Highway" from Kingston to Spanish Town, there is Mandela graffiti all over the island, and even in small mountain villages streets and squares have been named after the ANC leader.

"You must understand that here, Mandela is regarded as a hero of a proportion that I wonder if people inside South Africa even begin to understand. He is one of the greatest symbols of the 20th century. So when Mandela tells me he is ready to co-operate

with those sporting bodies that have reached a certain point, that is good enough for me."

According to Manley, feelings about apartheid are very personalised in the Caribbean — and therefore very intense. "People here identify with black South Africans very deeply, partly because of our ethnic composition and partly because going way back to my late father's time, when he led this country, Jamaica was one of the first two countries in the world to ban trade with South Africa."

"Small as we were — you probably wouldn't

have even noticed our measures — it was taken as a deep matter of principle.

"Consciousness about the issue really goes back to one of our great national heroes of the past, Marcus Garvey," Manley said.

"He instilled racial pride; never in an aggressive way, but in a way that insists upon recognition and equality. And do you know why, like Garvey, Mandela is so profoundly admired here, and has such deep resonance? It's because he has never allowed his own experience to make him bitter, to make him

racist.

"Jamaica is a very non-racist society. It's an overwhelmingly black society that is totally easy and accommodating of different races."

"So when Nelson Mandela stands there for the principle of justice rather than revenge, he strikes a resonance in our psyche."

Manley, who has not visited South Africa, said he hoped to. "I think there would be no greater thrill for me than to visit South Africa when democracy finally arrives, having been concerned for all my life with it."

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# BACK from the SHADOWS

**N**OW that there are strong indications that Azapo and the PAC are about to enter Codesa, what effect will such a move, if it takes place, have on the political fortunes of the two organisations?

When the two opted to stay outside Codesa, the general argument was that by failing to enter this forum, they risked being marginalised.

It was said that with or without the PAC, Azapo and the CP, Codesa would bring about fundamental political changes and, in the process, leave those outside it in the wilderness.

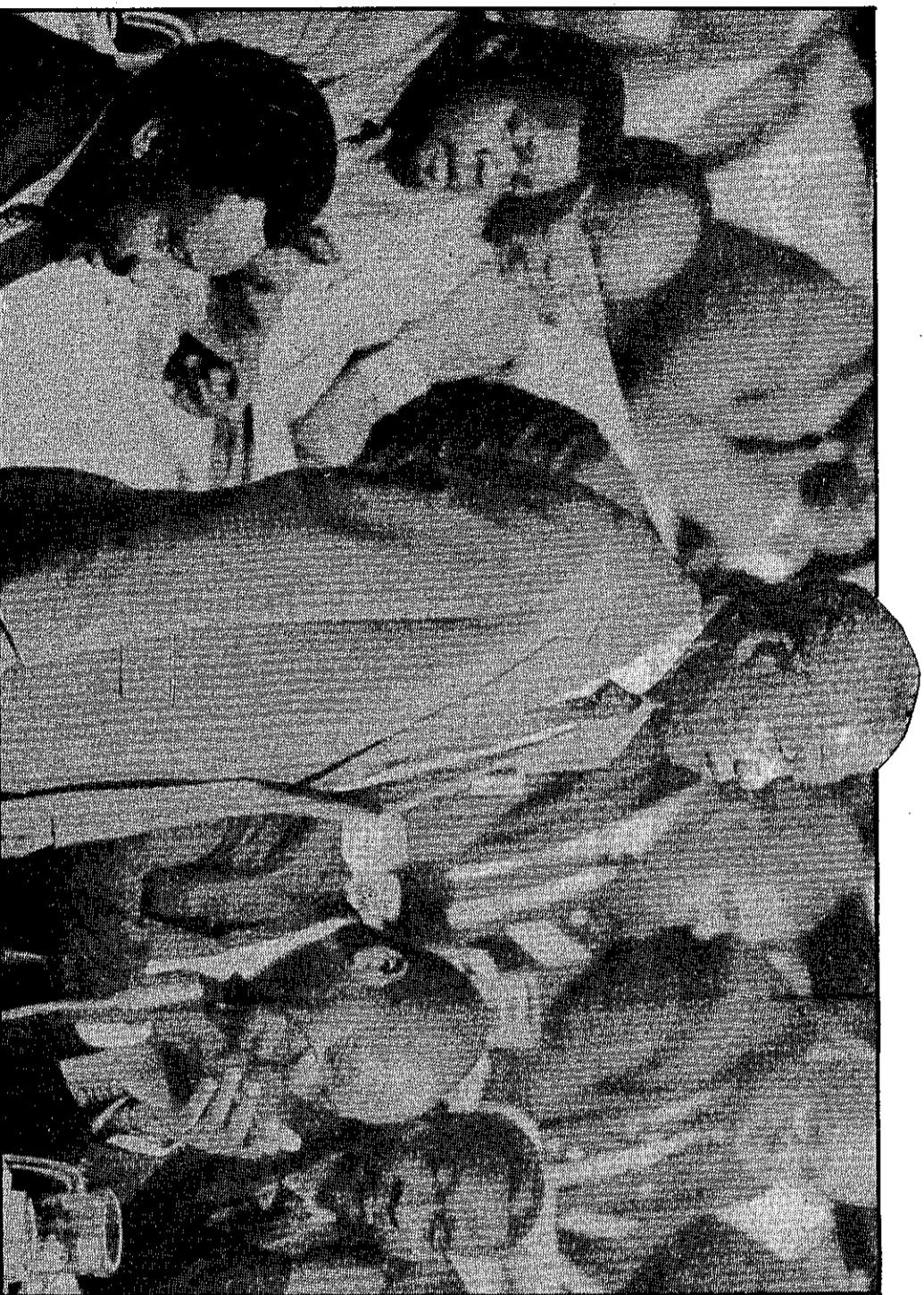
But, now, no sooner have Azapo and the PAC indicated they may join Codesa, than another school of thought says such a move may end up with the two being outmanoeuvred.

Those subscribing to this view contend that participation in Codesa, instead of substantially reducing or removing the threat of marginalisation, will in fact achieve precisely that.

Azapo and the PAC have maintained that non-participation in Codesa would not destroy them. They argued, with a measure of truth, that as long as Codesa failed to deliver the goods they would never be marginalised.

To them the bottom line has always been that as long as the grievances of blacks are not addressed, and the major one is the return of the land, the need for their organisations will remain.

In the last two weeks a there has been a lot of speculation about the PAC's return to Codesa and the possibility of Azapo joining this forum for the



**ALL ABOARD... After the PAC walked out of Codesa in December, it is poised to return, with observers predicting that their fresh inputs, and those of Azapo, could make debate at the forum much more representative and meaningful.**

first time.

The PAC walked out of Codesa's preparatory talks last December, claiming there was collusion between the government and the ANC. It claimed other parties merely endorsed issues already agreed upon by the ANC and government.

Azapo on the other hand has always rejected Codesa. But in

recent months both organisations have come under strong diplomatic pressure from the US, Nigeria, the OAU and the Frontline states to enter Codesa.

Last weekend Azapo held a consultative meeting with the BCMMA in Harare, Zimbabwe, while the PAC held its third conference in Umtata, Transkei. Prior to these meetings

spokesmen for both organisations acknowledged Codesa would feature high on the agenda of their discussions.

Midway through the PAC conference, the organisation announced it would hold bilateral talks with the SA Government in Abuja, Nigeria. PAC president Clarence Makwetu said depending on the

outcome of the talks on Thursday, he did not rule out the possibility of joining Codesa.

The decision to meet the PAC in Nigeria has been described as a clever government move to bring the organisation into Codesa. The reasoning is that the government loses nothing by this move and gains a lot by minimising opposition to its

reform initiatives.

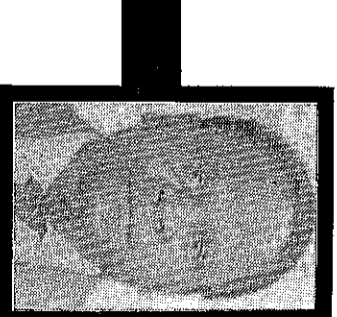
The government, it is said, has also helped the PAC save face. The organisation previously maintained it would talk with Pretoria only at a neutral venue to discuss the modalities leading to a Constituent Assembly.

Now the two parties have met on foreign soil, and should the PAC decide to rejoin Codesa, it can always say its conditions were met, hence the return. Of course, not too many people will be convinced by this.

The next step will be to find a face-saving formula for Azapo. Whatever reasons are advanced for joining Codesa, the two organisations are still haunted by the spectre of being marginalised.

The ANC, by joining Codesa from the start, endorsing the participation of homeland leaders and making allies with a number of them, has positioned itself strategically better than Azapo and the PAC.

Although the ANC seems to have a headstart against its main rivals (Azapo and PAC) in Codesa, the Ciskei incident four weeks ago (when KwaZulu, Qwa Qwa and Gazankulu stood by Ciskei in its dispute with the ANC) showed that not all of the minor players in this body are



By SEKOLA SELLO

**PAC, Azapo could liven up Codesa**

lackeys of either the ANC or government, as is the general perception.

This incident showed that politicians can make strange alliances when they suspect their interests are likely to be trampled by the big boys.

It is therefore not unreasonable to argue that the PAC or Azapo can find themselves allies in Codesa from time to time. This will of course depend on how they play the game.

The PAC and Azapo, perhaps much to their chagrin, may have to moderate some of their positions if they are to win allies in Codesa. If they are too purist and continue to describe some Codesa members as Pretoria's lackeys and puppets, they are not likely to make headway.

But, whatever problems and frustrations both may encounter when they finally decide to join Codesa, this will not translate into political marginalisation.

Most participants in Codesa have no appreciable support base - with the exception of the ANC, NP (government), Inkatha, the DP (with fast-dwindling support) and the SACP (about 20 000 members).

It is at grassroots level where the fate of the PAC and Azapo

will be decided. And this is the sticky problem facing both organisations. How strong are they on the ground?

At the moment the ANC is strutting around with self-assured confidence. They are perceived as having made all the right moves. They joined Codesa first and were ahead of their rivals in opting for talks instead of confrontation.

On the other hand, so the argument will go, the PAC and Azapo criticised Codesa but finally joined it. They criticised the ANC for suspending the armed struggle. But, once in Codesa, they too will have to do the same.

It would be helpful if both joined Codesa. They are far more representative and have greater credibility than some of the delegates currently deciding the future of this country.

Stories abound of some delegates openly admitting to rubber-stamping issues they hardly understood. Azapo and PAC have capable men and will no doubt make the discussions a lot more sensible.

With one-person-one-vote elections expected towards the end of the year, the true test of PAC and Azapo support will come. Codesa is just a side show.

PAC

# Transkei welcome for

By S'BU MNGADI

NEWLY re-elected PAC president Clarence Makwetu last weekend denounced Codesa as packed with the NP's homeland partners, but two hours later he and the organisation's leadership were whisked away in Transkei government vehicles, complete with an army escort.

The irony prompted a cynical diplomat to remark: "It's like saying 'Down with Codesa, Long Live Codesa'."

The Transkei government pulled out all the stops to host the PAC's third annual national conference at the University of Transkei in Umtata last weekend.

On Thursday night, the Military Council of Transkei ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa's hosted a cocktail party for the PAC leadership, foreign guests and delegates at State House.

Earlier, Holomisa's intervention averted a boycott of the conference by Radio Transkei. The dispute centred on a Radio Transkei newsreader's reference to a slain Apla guerrilla as "umnqolobi we Apla" (an Apla guerrilla). The PAC mistakenly interpreted the word "umnqolobi" to mean "terrorist".

The newsreader's home in Fort Gale was later stoned and graffiti painted on his car. Radio Transkei employees retaliated by resolving to boycott the conference until the PAC had dissociated itself from the attack.

The PAC refused to budge until Holomisa resolved the dispute.

The Military Council's guests ranged from military escorts and protocol officers to diplomatic guests from Ghana, Libya, Zambia, Netherlands, the OAU, Germany, Britain, Nigeria, the US, Sudan, Botswana, Tanzania, and the People's Republic of China.

So stately was the four-day conference that it almost stole the limelight from a local high society wedding, also held at the weekend.

At Unitra - which has only one telephone line - the cash-strapped government installed 13 telephone lines free of charge for less than 10 journalists covering the conference.

So fascinated was he by the warm reception, the PAC's director of culture and sport, Fitzroy Ngcukana, made reference to a cooling of relations between Holomisa and the ANC.

Ngcukana alleged MK chief of staff Chris Hani had accused the general of asking for more than he is worth in Codesa. This allegation could not be confirmed.

Other PAC activists were even tempted to nurse ambitions of Apla guerrillas replacing MK as the Transkei Defence Force's comrades-in-arms.

To call the PAC crowd colourful is a serious understatement.

PAC delegates and observers, mostly in designer African caftan outfits, transformed Umtata into a kaleidoscope of colour. Every hotel in town was fully booked.

The PAC believes Codesa will usher in SA's first non-racial elections before the end of 1992.

In his annual report, newly elected PAC general secretary Benny Alexander conceded that with or without the organisation Codesa would steam ahead.

The report was distributed to conference delegates under strict instructions that it was not to be leaked to the media.

In gearing the PAC for an election, the report takes stock of the organisation's weaknesses and strengths. A matter of concern to the organisation was that its rallies attracted only PAC supporters.

Alexander said the organisation was going to be faced with an

election called by the ANC and the SA government through Codesa before the end of the year.

"Even if we decide to mobilise for a boycott, we will need a massive national campaign and well-oiled machinery. The fact that many PAC regions don't have offices does not bode well for us," he said.

PAC national organiser Maxwell Nemasdzivhanani was frank in his criticism.

"The PAC is relatively strong in the Western Cape, the Transkei and Border. But the Transvaal, the Free State and Natal are extremely weak."

Nemasdzivhanani was particularly worried the organisation was extremely weak at the headquarters in Johannesburg.

The PAC has 32 full-time staffers at the headquarters. This is a massive improvement compared to the previous term when Alexander was virtually compelled to run a

one-man show, the report stated. It has 12 offices, nine vehicles, 13 fax machines, three photocopiers and nine regional offices. Alexander said R1-million a year was needed to keep the organisation's administrative organ in place. "We expect foreign donors to adopt a less favourable attitude towards us in the light of our political stances, and the sober choice to us is simple - self-reliance or collapse," he said. Already, the PAC's military wing, Apla, has had to pass a begging bowl. PAC activists took turns to stand at the entrance of the conference holding up a note which tersely requested: "Help Apla." Sponsors from Australia, the US and other countries withdrew their bursary support programmes when the PAC's position and reasons for not entering negotiations with the SA government became known, said education secretary Joel Gwabeni.

# Time for racist slogans is over

S Times (Cape Metro)

11A

12/4/92

THE militant and offensive "chants" of PAC supporters at the movement's national congress in Umtata last weekend should be seen for what they are... nothing less than racially inciting and grossly irresponsible utterances.

Despite this the PAC leadership did nothing to contain these racist slogans, chanted with such reckless abandon by young "cheerleaders" who grabbed the microphone almost at will, to sweep up racist emotions against whites.

And, it is no good for the PAC leadership to simply say that these chants of "one settler, one bullet" are NOT racist.

A sinister twist to this chilling chant heard so often at Umtata, was the equally unsettling Afrikaans "Een Boer, een koël" version of the slogan, which in translation takes on an even more sinister meaning.

"Boer" has become a South African colloquialism for a "white man" in some communities.

And with this in mind, the PAC's leadership should not be surprised that their refusal to publicly admonish their supporters for these contentious battle-cries is seen in some quarters as condonation of this racist behaviour.

## Serious

PAC's publicity and information secretary, Barney Desai, like the movement's president, Clarence Makwetu, and its secretary-general Bennie Alexander, are quick to trot out convoluted — but unconvincing — explanations about these slogans.

They claim that the unnerving "one settler, one bullet" chant is "not intended to imply any violence, did not reflect PAC policy and should not be taken seriously".

"It's just an old military slogan that blew across the Zimbabwean border during the days of the colonial wars in that country," is their stock reply.

But this is not enough to dispel the fear of whites that the township revolutionaries who are so fond of playing make-believe war with wooden rifles, would not turn to real weapons and

Political Reporter

NORMAN WEST

comments on the PAC

Congress in Umtata



bullets against the so-called "settlers", given the opportunity.

"Township revolutionaries" openly brandished Scorpion machine pistols (the PAC's favoured weapon, as opposed to the ANC's AK 47's) at the conference hall at the University of Transkei and in front of the Umtata Holiday Inn where they ostensibly stood "guard" over their leadership.

Another disconcerting chorus that was regularly chanted from the stage during the congress was "peace, peace among the Africans, peace", followed by the reply of "War, war against the enemy, war" from the audience.

Nobody is fooled by who "the Africans" are and who the "enemy" is.

One concedes there is a clear difference between the philosophical explanations of the politically astute PAC leadership about what "one settler, one bullet" does NOT mean — but what about the not-so-philosophical interpretation of their supporters in the townships?

They clearly prefer the interpretation of the PAC's defence chief Sabelo Phama that "true liberation of Azania will come about principally from the barrel of the gun".

Witness the killing in recent times of black policemen, seen as "agents of the (white) enemy", who have been butchered by the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) the PAC's guerilla wing. Apla's commander-in-chief is the movement's first deputy president, Johnson Mlambo, who recently reaffirmed the PAC's commitment to continue with the "armed struggle".

Apla's rationale is that attacks on the South African police are "justi-

fied" because "cops were a key part of Pretoria's settler-colonial oppressive establishment".

"The SAP and the SADF are fully-armed enemy organs and because the regime relies on them to stay in power, they should be wiped out of existence," was the grim instruction to Apla "fighters" from its headquarters in Dar es Salaam recently.

It is however "ironic", to say the least, that this week a delegation of PAC, left for a Nigerian rendezvous with top "settler-colonialist representatives".

Led by South African Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha and a negotiating entourage, their task was to lay the ground for a later summit meeting — possibly under the neutral chairmanship of the current chairman of the OAU, Mr Ibrahim Babangida — between State President F W de Klerk and Mr Clarence Makwetu.

The PAC delegation was led by Advocate Dikgang Moseneke, PAC second Deputy President; Mr Ahmed Gora Ebrahim, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs; Mr Willie Seriti, Secretary for Legal and Constitutional Affairs; Mr Maxwell Nemadzivhanni, PAC National Organiser; Mrs Elizabeth Sebeko, Secretary for Projects and Development, Ms Patricia de Lille, Secretary for Relief and Aid and Carter Seleke, a member of the PAC National Executive Committee.

## Suicidal

So, while the township revolutionaries chant war slogans, the PAC's leadership seems to have made up its mind that it's time to exchange "War, War" for "Jaw, Jaw".

Whether the PAC admits it or not, its leadership is intelligent enough to realise that to engage the "settlers" in real war would be suicidal.

Its visit to Nigeria appears to signify a realisation that to end "war" — real or imaginary — one must sit down and negotiate with the "enemy".

Now, more than ever, the time has arrived for the PAC to loudly and publicly call a halt to the racist sloganeering and explain to its more militant followers that South Africa does not comprise simply of "white devils" and "black angels" — and also to warn them that bullets fly in both directions.

Asked about forced removals his wife Katie said she would love to return to Observatory, from where she was forced to move under the Group Areas Act.

She would not forget the shooting of Mitchells Plain schoolchildren by the police in 1985/1986. "My own son was hurt then, but it's time to forgive. That's what the Bible says."

The government delegation arrived at Westridge Civic Centre at 11.00 am and was welcomed and booed simultaneously by a crowd of about 500. The NP supporters sang Die Stem, and Mr De Klerk, in a brief speech, said to a cheering crowd: "On March 18 I said on the steps of the Tuynhuys that the book of apartheid is closed."

### Safety

The entourage then moved to a marquee adjacent to the Town Centre where both supporters and protestors staged a heated welcome for the president.

A nervous-looking Mr De Klerk was hustled on to stage to a tumultuous and divided reception. Boos and cheers fought for dominance throughout his short stay on stage.

Mr Dawie de Villers was booed when he described the behaviour of the ANC supporters as "scandalous".

President De Klerk started his speech but could not be heard through the cacophony of noise from supporters and detractors. There were claims that ANC supporters had cut the leads to the microphones.

Shortly afterwards small stones rained down on the stage and pandemonium ensued. Mr De Klerk crouched for safety, while NP officials held placards in front of the President to protect him.

In the panic journalists, officials, policemen and residents struggled to maintain balance on the rickety stage. Some people fell over chairs and crashed to the ground but miraculously no one was hurt.

The president was hastily bundled out the back of the marquee and escorted to his car by a phalanx of policemen. He did not make his scheduled appearance in the Town Centre.

The verdict at the end of the day was that the NP had at least 60 percent support among the 10 000 who thronged in and around the marquee.

## THOUSANDS GATHER TO CHEER, BOO DE KLERK IN MITCHELLS PLAIN

# FW rally ends in chaos, division

By KURT SWART

**THE battle for the hearts and minds of the people of Mitchells Plain reached a crescendo yesterday when State President FW de Klerk was pelted with stones and driven off stage during an abortive attempt at a mass rally.**

Mitchell's Plain, with a population of more than 700 000, will be a key constituency in a future non-racial election.

Many of the Labour Party MPs who have crossed to the National Party have taken their supporters with them.

Yesterday NP supporters claimed a victory as thousands turned out to witness Mr De Klerk's controversial first visit to the sprawling township.

On the evidence of the crowd's response Mr De Klerk has strong support in Mitchells Plain. But, it was equally clear that the township's residents were deeply divided between supporters and opponents of the National Party.

In Seventh Avenue near the Town Centre, thousands of residents lined the road, ANC and New Unity Movement supporters on the one side facing F W fans, waving NP flags and shouting "F W! F W!" on the other side.

Some NP supporters tried to peel an ANC poster off a van. A white NP official shouted through a megaphone to the F W fans: "Please calm down, comrades".

Posters clashed: "Welcome FW De Klerk" from the NP, "Welcome to Apartheid's Ghetto", from the ANC.

Democratic Party MP Mr Jannie Momberg said: "The crowd (estimated at under 10 000) is surprisingly small. I expected a lot more people here."

Heated arguments and healthy good-natured debates between ANC and NP supporters broke out all around the marquee after Mr De Klerk had been escorted to safety from the stonethrowers.

Boatbuilder Mr Johan Cleophas, sporting FW stickers and waving a NP flag, said: "De Klerk has made everything possible. Sanctions are dropping, and more boats are coming in every day. The ANC is insane. They want to break things down. They throw people off trains. I'm going to sign up for the National Party."



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# WINNIE

Mandela must quit politics now before more damage is done to her reputation and that of her husband and the ANC.

This feeling is being expressed in many quarters, including those closely associated with her and the ANC, following new rumours in the Stompie saga that got her a six-year jail sentence for assault and kidnapping.

This time her behaviour following her clash with co-accused Xoliswa Falati has been called into question.

She triggered the wrath of the media and attracted unnecessary attention to her sliding reputation by kicking Falati out of her house and allegedly throwing her clothes into the street.

It is an open secret that Winnie is sensitive to bad publicity. There are many senior journalists whom Winnie refuses to talk to because she feels they "betrayed" her.


Some of these journalists stood by her

MY WAY

With Khulu Sibiyi *APR 12/4/92*

# It's time for Winnie to go

*118*



when her husband was in prison and while she was being harassed by the security police. They protected her when her pseudo-football team, the Mandela XI, caused havoc in the townships.

And they even supported her when the Mass Democratic Movement called for her isolation.

It was the Stompie affair that triggered it all, and Winnie didn't do much to win public sympathy.

Worse still, shortly after she was found guilty of assault and kidnapping, she and the ANC accused the media of waging a vendetta

against her by conducting what they called a trial by media.

Again this week, the ANC released a terse statement accusing the media of prejudice in the light of Winnie's pending appeal against her six-year jail sentence.

What the ANC does not recognise is that while it is commendable as a liberation movement to protect and support their president's wife, they must realise that they are leading with an open chin.

The day when open and fair elections are held, the ANC will be called upon to account for the past behaviour of its senior members.

In the United States and other democratic countries top politicians have failed to be elected because of past mistakes.

I bet my last cent that unless Winnie resigns as head of the ANC's Social and Welfare Department, the day elections are held, organisations opposed to the ANC will capitalise on the present adverse publicity Winnie is now enjoying.

To maintain its political credibility, the ANC must be seen to be a disciplined movement that does not fall into the trap of practising nepotism.

Mandela and other leaders should not find

themselves having to answer for political blunders caused by their spouses.

FW de Klerk found himself in an invidious position at one stage when his wife, Marika, spoke about the so-called "coloured" people.

She has since been relegated to social activities like visiting the aged.

While it could be argued that Winnie is a hardnosed politician who was harassed and hardened by the system, and that her contribution to her society was valuable, her high profile could definitely impede Mandela's movements.

Hard as it may seem, Winnie must now take a back seat in politics and play a supportive role to her husband.

Falati must also stop being the woman scorned playing to the gallery, threatening to reveal all about the Mandela bedroom scene. Nelson Mandela is too valuable to the nation to be scarred by gossip around domestic squabbles.

## Nats 'could end up in dustbin' (11A)

THE BORDER region of the ANC this week reacted strongly to claims by four local NP MPs that the ANC was responsible for many of the area's problems, including the troubled Ciskei.

"If the NP continues to defend petty dictators who rule through the barrel of a gun, it will by its own actions rule out any meaningful role for itself in a future South Africa and relegate itself to the dustbin of history," local ANC spokeswoman Marion Sparg said. *CPren 12/4/92*

THE usually charming Winnie Mandela had, according to those who have known her for years, even as a child displayed an unpredictable temper that led her to display a completely different personality.

So writes Jonathan Manthorpe, southern African correspondent of Canada's largest publication house, *Southam News*, in a report which appeared this week in the group's daily newspapers.

Manthorpe is based in Harare and has for the past five months done an extensive investigation of Winnie's controversial activities.

Under the headline "For Winnie Mandela, the dream falls apart", he wrote that while Mandela was once revered as "The mother of the nation" in SA, "she was not always made of the stuff that political dreams are made of".

He said that behind Winnie's public image there was a different reality.

He wrote: "One loyal colleague of hers told *Southam News* of an incident that took place during her banishment to the Free State town of Brandfort.

"Two children, boys of five and seven, got hold of a ball that belonged to one of Mandela's grandchildren in the street. They started playing with it. When Mandela got to hear of it, she sent bodyguards to fetch the children and to question them.

"Not happy with their explanation, she took off the belt around her waist and hit the seven-year-old repeatedly

# Winnie steals the limelight in US media

Winnie Mandela has become world famous in the wake of her husband's famed martyrdom. The mere rumour - which has been denied - that she and Nelson Mandela are experiencing marital problems has led to a spate of articles in the US and Canadian press, reports FREEK SWART from Washington.

against the head, until blood started flowing. Friends, according to the colleague, had to intervene physically to stop her."

In the report Manthorpe wrote that "young thugs" and street children became her spontaneous bodyguards who enforced her "People's Courts" in Soweto after her return from Brandfort.

"There are well-documented reports of incidents of murders, torture, assaults and arson committed by the (Mandela Football) club in the 1980s.

"The spirit in which the club had acted was determined by Winnie Mandela when she expressed her support on

a public platform in 1986 to the gruesome practice of "necklacing" - murdering suspected police informants by burning them with car tyres doused in petrol."

This week the US television news network, CNN, mentioned in an exceptionally long broadcast that Nelson Mandela is looking tired after this week's uproar about his marriage.

While film extracts of Zinzi's engagement party were shown, a commentator mentioned that the "rigidness and distance between the ANC leader and his First Lady" was showing.

The network also broadcast scenes from the days when Winnie and Xoliswa Falati, her co-accused in last year's court trial, were still good friends.

It reported that Falati now alleged that Winnie was drunk - and had a gun in her hand - when she ordered her out of the Mandela's home.

It also reported that Falati said she was no longer prepared to defend "that ungrateful woman" and that she would now tell the truth about Winnie's alleged involvement in the death of Dr Abu-Baker Asvat.

According to CNN, Winnie is now being "vilified by many black people as a result of the series of scandals involving her, and which are causing embarrassment to her husband and the ANC hierarchy".

Nelson Mandela, who has remained loyal to the woman who supported him during his 27 years in prison, now accepts her - "eventually and reluctantly" - as being a political burden, according to CNN.

"What the ANC is concerned about is whether the latest revelations and allegations will be detrimental to Nelson Mandela's image and credibility in the constitutional negotiations process."

The wide coverage the newspapers and TV gave to allegations and the denials that the Mandelas would get divorced, made Winnie the favourite topic of discussion in America this week.

CODESA

# Getting gender on the agenda

12/4/92

By LULAMA LUTI

As preparations for the next sitting of Codesa get under way, the debate on the representation of women in the organisation is also gaining momentum.

As a result, a broad national alliance of women's groups is being formed.

Already, regional structures have been set up in the Western Cape and Natal regions and it is hoped that the Transvaal will launch their structure soon.

This alliance will draw up a charter which will deal with women's rights at home, in the workplace, and in society at large.

Spearheaded by the ANC Women's League and others, the Women's Alliance was formed primarily to pressure Codesa to include gender issues in its deliberations.

Co-organiser of the alliance in Natal, Sue Holland-Muter, listed the main objectives of the group:

- To raise the awareness of women about the need for including women's rights in the new constitution;
- To draw up a list of needs and demands that

need to be included in a charter of women's rights to ensure that women are well-represented in negotiations and;

- To work for the setting up of a tribunal or similar institution to protect these rights.

Holland-Muter said the key issues were laws discriminating against abortion and contraception, violence against women, health and housing, education and child care.

The alliance is expected to bring as broad a spectrum of women's organisations together as possible.

"We are currently having discussions with women from the ANC, PAC, Azapo, IFP, the DP and the NP," she said.

The alliance could see party political allegiances and differences in ideologies taking a back seat as women fight for their voices to be heard during this historic era in SA.

Dr NC Zuma of the ANC Women's League said the parties taking part in Codesa were made up of people produced by a patriarchal society.

"It is not surprising, that they are slow in taking deliberate steps to correct gender imbalances in our country," she said.

# AZAPO ENTERS



WINNIE MANDELA

# WINNIE ROW

## CP Reporter

AZAPO has for the first time entered the saga over the death of their popular health secretary, Dr Abu-Baker Asvat.

The organisation yesterday called on the ANC, Cosatu and SACC secretary general Rev Frank Chikane to make public the findings of the commission of inquiry instituted by the Mandela Crisis Committee (MCC).

Azapo said the MCC, which among other things investigated the burning down of Mandela's Orlando West home in 1988, could shed light on Asvat's killing.

It said the commission also investigated the activities of the notorious Mandela Football Club which disbanded after the death of teenage activist Stompie Mooketsi Seipei who was murdered in 1989 after having been removed from the Mandela home.

Azapo said given the notoriety of the Mandela FC and the circumstances surrounding Asvat's killing, the possibility could not be dismissed that the club might have had a hand in the murder.

Azapo president Pandelani Nefolovhodwe said he found it strange that up to now Cosatu and the SACC had not seen fit to table the findings of the commission "even to an organisation to which Dr Asvat belonged".

Nefolovhodwe said the ANC might claim they were not involved in the probe, which included members of the now disbanded UDF, but added that as the UDF had been absorbed "lock stock and barrel" into the ANC "the latter cannot claim to be unaware of the findings".

"The Mandela FC was commonly suspected of having engaged in abduc-

## Mystery over Mandela report

tions of men and women, rapes and killings. Who knows, they may also be implicated in Abu's killing," said Nefolovhodwe.

He pointed out that it was the MCC which had called on the public to distance itself from Winnie Mandela.

"They must have had reasons for taking this stance and the public, we believe, is entitled to know why it was called upon to shun her during the outcry over Stompie's death."

Asvat, who had a professional relationship with Winnie, was allegedly called to the Mandela home to examine an apparently ill Stompie. He allegedly refused to treat him and suggested Stompie be taken to hospital.

Stompie was killed later in the day and two weeks later Asvat was mysteriously gunned down in his Rockville surgery in Soweto. Mandela FC coach Jerry Richardson was subsequently convicted and sentenced to death for murdering Stompie.

The Azapo call comes in the wake of the police announcement this week that they were taking "a fresh look" at the Asvat docket.

"We have taken note of the allegations linking Mrs Winnie Mandela to the death of Dr Asvat who was gunned down in his surgery in 1989," Capt Joseph Ngobeni of the Soweto police said in a statement.

London Press reports last weekend alleged Winnie was linked to Asvat's death and that one of the murderers had

sought payment from her for the killing.

Asvat's family said this week they were "most gratified" to learn police were studying his murder docket once more - but said they did not wish to engage in speculation or gossip.

The family, in a statement released by lawyers, said they had been inundated with enquiries from reporters and a concerned public "about their reaction to recent allegations published in the press locally and abroad".

"The family is most gratified to learn that police are studying the murder docket. From press reports it would appear that the police investigation must include interviews with Xoliswa Falati and Katiza Cebekhulu.

"We trust that these individuals will be interviewed very soon and that whatever facts they have in their possession will be investigated," said the family's statement.

It added: "More than anything, we would like the truth to emerge - whatever the truth is.

"We do not wish to engage in speculation or gossip and we reply to the police witnesses and anybody who may have information about the late Dr Asvat's murder to ensure that the truth emerges."

Chikane told City Press that the task of the MCC had not been to investigate the circumstances surrounding the burning down of the Mandela home or to investigate the Mandela FC.

"Our (task) was to intervene in a conflict situation which had the potential of worsening," he said, adding that the job of investigating these matters had been left to the police.

Chikane said he was not aware of any Azapo request to the MCC to make its findings public, adding he was "prepared to be as helpful as possible".



BALL FOR ALL... SA's national soccer team made an unimpressive "debut" yesterday against the NSL ALL Stars team at the FNB Stadium, which ended in a 1-1 draw.

See Back Page.

Pic: MIKE MZILENI

FW kisses roadshow roadshow

# ANC leaders advise Mandela 'to announce break-up of his

marriage'

ANC president Nelson Mandela may announce a separation from his wife Winnie this week.

Strong speculation to this effect within the ANC follows more than a week of allegations through the media about her involvement in criminal activities, and her conduct in the ANC's welfare department which she heads and the state of her marriage. It is understood Mandela was advised to go ahead with an announcement of the separation by several of his closest lieutenants at a meeting on Saturday.

It is believed Mandela intended to announce a separation last week, but did not

do so because he was reluctant to be seen to be letting his wife down when she was under widespread attack through the published allegations.

However, on Saturday the ANC leaders decided it would be advisable for him to go ahead with divorce proceedings.

Since then, more serious allegations have been published in the Sunday Times and Sunday Star.

In an interview in the Sunday Times, one of Winnie's co-accused in the kidnap trial now on appeal, John Morgan, admitted that he withheld evidence in an effort to

6/Dec 13/4/92  
TIM COHEN (11A)

protect her.

Morgan made two main allegations in the report: that she was not in Brandfort, as she had claimed in court, at the time of the assault on teenage activist Stompie Seipei, and in fact led the attack on him.

Mr Justice Stegman, who found Winnie guilty of kidnapping and being an accessory to assault, found her assertion that she was in Brandfort when the assault took place to be reasonably possibly true.

Morgan told the Sunday Times that Winnie ordered him to remove the body of Sei-

pei from her house, and said she was not only present, but that she led the assault on Seipei.

Morgan, who did not testify in court, originally made the allegation that Winnie led the assault on Seipei in a statement to police shortly after his arrest. This statement was admitted by the court in a "trial within a trial", but was contradicted by several defence witnesses.

Morgan said he had not disclosed the information before "because I was ashamed that I did not report it to the police at the time", the Sunday Times reported.

The Sunday Star reported that a key witness in the Mandela trial, Pello Mkgwe, was smuggled out of the country by an ANC unit — an allegation which was also made at the time of the trial.

Mkgwe is understood to be back in the country again.

It is possible, in terms of the Criminal Procedure Act, for Morgan to apply for the reopening of the case. The State, too, can apply to the trial court judge for the case to be reopened.

ANC spokesmen could not be contacted for comment yesterday.

# NP, ANC prepare for election battle

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk will, within weeks, visit black, coloured and Indian areas across the country as the NP accelerates its new campaign to win over voters of all races.

The ANC also announced it was launching a major offensive in coloured areas following De Klerk's rally in Mitchell's Plain on Saturday.

The protests against De Klerk's visit marked the first open clash in the pre-election battle between the ANC and NP to win coloured support.

De Klerk's visit was cut short when he was forced by stone-throwers to leave the scene hurriedly. He was hit by small stones as he addressed a crowd estimated at 10 000, a turnout which De Klerk said afterwards proved "the NP has the capability of becoming the single most influential political organisation in SA".

ANC western Cape assistant secretary Willie Hofmeyr said the ANC was gearing up for an election and would embark on a major offensive in coloured communities.

The ANC believes an election will take place this year or early next year.

The NP is also planning a series of rallies in coloured, Indian and black communities as a build-up to a general election.

She said the Mitchell's Plain rally was the first of a series of rallies intended to express De Klerk's view that as he had reached out to white voters in the referen-

dum, he wanted to reach out to other population groups.

The Human Sciences Research Council found in a survey last year that 61% of coloureds said De Klerk was their first choice for national leader. ANC president Nelson Mandela received only 5%.

Hofmeyr said that of the ANC's membership of 55 000 in the western Cape, about 10 000 to 15 000 were coloured people. The ANC had 60 branches in coloured areas and 40 to 50 interim structures which were not yet full branches.

"The ANC is by far the biggest and best supported party in terms of branches and members," Hofmeyr said.

He said the ANC, in protesting against De Klerk's visit, was not trying to say that De Klerk had no right to speak and canvass for votes in Mitchell's Plain.

"What we are saying is that people in Mitchell's Plain don't like him and that they have the democratic right to express their dislike."

Sapa reports that DP law and order spokesman Jan van Eck yesterday condemned the actions of those who prevented De Klerk from exercising his right to address Mitchell's Plain residents. He also praised the "very restrained behaviour" of the SAP.

LINDA ENSOR

● Comment: Page 8

# Mandela reaches out to Inkatha

DURBAN — ANC president Nelson Mandela has held out the olive branch to the Inkatha Freedom Party and has suggested the two organisations pool resources to defeat the NP at the polls.

His appeal, made at Empangeni at the weekend, has been guardedly welcomed by Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

However, Buthelezi said, Mandela could "wave any amount of olive branches, but so long as he continues to say he is not prepared to disband the ANC's military wing, whatever he says will have no meaning for people who are dying at the hands of these cadres".

Buthelezi added: "One

cannot help admiring him for what he said, until you look at what some of his colleagues on the national executive of the ANC have said ... even during the morning while Dr Mandela was visiting the area, a house of a member of the IFP was bombed."

Mandela included the PAC and Azapo in his appeal for black unity to remove the NP from power.

He said the black political parties would have to "pull up their socks" to remove the NP from power. "I appeal to every member of the IFP: Let bygones be bygones. Let's think of tomorrow. If you commit yourself to opposing what others do, that is a role you

will play for the rest of your life," Mandela said.

He said black people wanted to exercise power but could only do that if they had sufficient men and women able to concentrate on the things that united and not divided them.

Members of the IFP and the ANC should be able to concentrate on the points that united them.

Appealing to his audience directly, he said: "You must ensure that the IFP and the ANC in this region speak with one voice.

"Then we as political leaders will be forced to talk to one another.

"You must be the pioneers, the pathfinders in this area".

Earlier, Mandela was briefed by ANC office-bear-

ers about the political situation in the Zululand area and he criticised the "terrible repression" of the ANC in the region and the lack of free political expression.

He also toured the violence-torn townships in the Empangeni area. He was shocked, he said, at the extent of the destruction of property and displacement of people from their homes.

"It was a shattering experience even though I was well aware of the violence raging in this area."

He urged the IFP to create a climate of negotiation and peace.

"I am tremendously excited by the groundswell of support the ANC enjoys in this region," he said.

"I will go back and report that the people are fighting

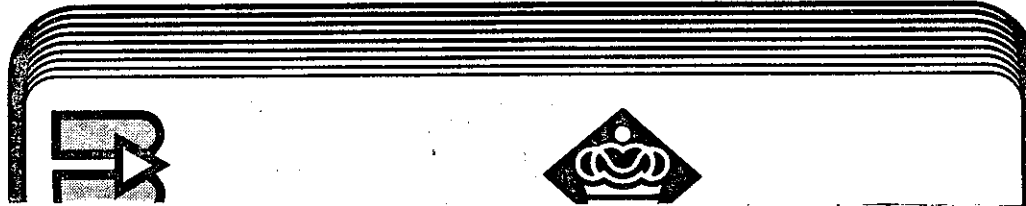
back against all forms of repression".

Speaking earlier, Mandela said the ANC had done everything in its power to ensure that due respect was paid to the Zulu king, King Goodwill Zwelithini, and, if he was now refusing to meet the ANC president, that was not the fault of the organisation. Mandela said he had met all the traditional leaders of note in SA since his release from prison two years ago.

The ANC president said that after the original request had been put to the king, he had received a letter from King Goodwill urging him to come alone.

"That created difficulties for me. The leadership of the ANC had already decided who should accompany me," Mandela said.

"I am keen to pay my respects to the king but I am not prepared to humiliate the ANC and will not do so," he added to applause from 5 000 people.



## Carts plan



11/19

# Mandela's

## 'evil burden'

S. T. 13/4/92  
Star Bureau

LONDON — Sir John Junor, former newspaper editor and now arguably Britain's most ascerbic columnist, has attacked Winnie Mandela as her husband's "evil burden".

In a vicious condemnation of Mrs Mandela in *The Mail* on Sunday, Junor says that divorcing his wife would be the best thing Mr Mandela could do.

While Mr Mandela gave the impression of being "tolerant and liberal" and someone many white South Africans believed they could trust, Mrs Mandela appeared to be "an evil woman who loves violence for the sake of violence".

Junor revives Mrs Mandela's stand on necklacing, and says: "Mr Mandela would be well shot of her."

But, he adds: "Is there any jail in South Africa big enough to keep her from fomenting trouble in the future?"

# Mandela

pie. This statement was admitted by the court in a "trial within a trial", but was contradicted by several defence witnesses.

Last night Mr Morgan detailed his allegations made to the Sunday Times in an interview on the M-Net actuality programme "Carte Blanche".

Speaking to an interviewer in a hotel room, he detailed Mrs Mandela's alleged assault and other brutalities which ended in Stompie's death.

He ended the 20-minute interview by labelling Mrs Mandela a "beast" who "treated our people like slaves".

It is possible, under the Criminal Procedure Act, for Mr Morgan to apply for the re-opening of the case. The state, too, could apply for the case to be re-opened, but would have to show that the evidence was of sufficient credibility and weight, legal experts said yesterday.

Acting Witwatersrand attorney-general Mr Chris Human said a decision about applying for the re-opening of the case would be made once the police had submitted the results of their investigations.

ANC spokesmen could not be contacted for comment yesterday.

Both Mrs Mandela and Mr Morgan were convicted in May last year of kidnapping four young men from the Soweto Methodist manse.

Mr Morgan was sentenced to one year behind bars and his appeal, like Mrs Mandela's, is pending.

Mrs Mandela, who was also convicted of being an accessory to assault, was given a six-year sentence.

According to the Sunday Times, Mr Morgan has instructed a lawyer to seek indemnity and protection from the state in return for "telling the truth".

Now both of the co-accused who were sentenced with Mrs Mandela in the Rand Supreme Court — the other is Mrs Xoliswa Falati — have claimed they lied to save her.

Mr Morgan drove Mrs Mandela's minibus on December 29, 1988, when she ordered her bodyguards to take Stompie and the three other young men from the manse in Soweto.

They were taken to her home in Diepkloof to be questioned about alleged homosexual sex with a white Methodist minister. Assaults on the young men took place at the house, according to the state's case.

The Sunday Times quoted Mr Morgan as saying he had decided to make his allegations public after Mrs Mandela refused to pay legal costs for his appeal.

Mr Morgan is in hiding, the newspaper said.

The reported statements follow allegations raised two weeks ago that Mrs Mandela ordered the murder of Dr Asvat, a prominent Azapo-aligned physician, who would have been a key figure in the case.

The Sunday Times quoted Mr Morgan as saying Mrs Mandela initiated the assaults in her Diepkloof home after accusing the victims of homosexuality.

Five people were eventually charged for the assaults, including Jerry Richardson, one of Mrs Mandela's bodyguards and "coach" of the Mandela Football Club. He was sentenced to death for the murder of Stompie.

In another development at the weekend, the



TOGETHER . . . Mrs Winnie and Mr Nelson Mandela display their affections openly at a rally in Khayelitsha at the end of last month. Senior sources in the organisation said at the weekend that the ANC president will announce the couple's separation this week.

Pictures: BENNY GOOL

# Split looms

## ANC meets on Mandela crisis

Own Correspondent

**JOHANNESBURG.** — ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela may announce a separation from his wife Winnie this week.

Strong speculation to this effect within the ANC follows more than a week of reports in the media about

her alleged involvement in criminal activities.

It is believed Mr Mandela intended to make the announcement last week but did not do so because he was reluctant to "let his wife down when she was under widespread attack. However, it is understood that at a meeting on Saturday several of his closest lieutenants advised him to go ahead with divorce proceedings.

More serious allegations against Mrs Mandela appeared in Sunday newspapers yesterday. In an interview in the Sunday Times one of her co-accused in the Stompie Moeketsi Seipel trial, Mr John Morgan, claimed he withheld evidence to protect her.

A Pretoria police spokesman said yesterday Mr Morgan's statements would be investigated by the same Soweto policeman — Captain Fred

Dempsy — appointed to re-investigate Dr Abu-Baker Asvat's murder because "there seems to be a connection between the two cases".

Mr Morgan made two main allegations to the Sunday Times: That Mrs Mandela led the assault on Stompie, a 14-year-old activist, and was not in Brandfort at the time as she claimed in court, and that, contrary to evidence led, he saw Stompie dead at Mrs Mandela's home and that she

ordered him to remove the body.

He told the Sunday Times he had not disclosed the information before "because I was ashamed that I did not report it to the police at the time".

Mr Morgan, who did not testify in court, originally alleged in a statement to police after his arrest that Mrs Mandela led the assault on Stompie.

From page 3

11A  
CT 13/4/92

# IFP blocks meeting with king - Mandela

DURBAN — The Inkatha Freedom Party was preventing a meeting between Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini and Nelson Mandela as this would reveal the untruth that the African National Congress was anti-Zulu, the ANC leader said in KwaMashu yesterday.

Addressing about 3 000 supporters in the township near Durban, Mr Mandela said the ANC had instructed deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma to make a last attempt to arrange a meeting with the Zulu monarch so that Mr Mandela could pay his respects to King Zwelithini and Zulu chiefs.

"If he doesn't say yes, I'll never try again," the ANC president said.

Mr Mandela had been touring troubled northern Natal and Durban regions since Thursday to discuss the violence plaguing the province.

He said he was visiting the region in a spirit of reconciliation and added that Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi had said he welcomed this, but had also said that as long as Umkhonto we Sizwe was in place "there can be no olive branches".

"I will continue to preach peace and leave him on the war

STAR 13/4/92  
path ... when I wave an olive branch to him, he waves a spear and knobkerrie to me.

"I appeal to him: the time has come to forget the past. Let's think of the future. He must give up on MK disbanding — that we will never do," said Mr Mandela.

The ANC would disband its army when the democratising of the Defence Force began and that would only be once a democratic government had come to power, he added.

● At the end of a central committee meeting at Ulundi on Saturday, the IFP said they were "appalled at the escalating violence taking place in black townships and wish to record our horror that, despite State President F W de Klerk's December commitment in his address to Codesa, he has not dissolved Umkhonto we Sizwe and taken over the ANC's arms caches."

The IFP warned "that the ANC's refusal to disband its private army constitutes such a threat to the negotiation process that negotiations cannot continue much longer unless it complies with the demand to rely on democracy and not violence." — Sapa.

## New police for new SA - bishop

<sup>STARR 13/4/72</sup>  
NELSPRUIT - A new South Africa desperately and urgently needed a new police force, Durban-based Methodist Bishop Dr Mmutlanyane Mogaba said at the weekend. (2/4) (11/1)

Speaking at KaNgwane's eighth annual prayer breakfast, Bishop Mogaba said he believed this was the only means of effectively dealing with escalating violence and affording protection to all concerned.

The prospects of the declaration and formation of interim governments, he said, made this even more important. (2/4)

He warned that the interregnum period could become very dangerous, with a sense of lawlessness and inadequate law enforcement tempting forces of anarchy.

Bishop Mogaba said he could

not understand why, at a time when freedom was supposedly drawing near, the country was going through its gloomiest period yet.

South Africa had two choices - freedom or "free-doom".

"Liberation movements were at their strongest whilst in exile. Once unbanned we saw violence spread from Natal to the Transvaal."

Bishop Mogaba expressed concern that leaders, more concerned with consolidating their positions and growth of their parties, were slow in realising the magnitude of the problem.

"It is questionable whether the leaders can stop this national carnage, this national suicide and this national shame," he said. - Lowveld Bureau.

# Disruption of FW's Cape speech condemned

Own Correspondent  
Staff Reporters  
and Sapa

The threatening behaviour of ANC supporters during President de Klerk's visit to Mitchell's Plain in Cape Town on Saturday came under fire last night. Mr de Klerk was forced to withdraw under a hail of gravel.

The ANC yesterday denied its supporters had infringed Mr de Klerk's right to free speech, but accused him of abusing his position to launch an expensive vote-gathering campaign.

Despite the apparent setback, Mr de Klerk hailed the visit as a triumph and said he had been "overwhelmed" by the reception given to him earlier.

Cape NP leader Dr Dawie de Villiers said the NP was planning a second, larger rally that could accommodate more NP supporters from both Mitchell's Plain and the Peninsula.

NP information service offi-

cial Piet Coertze said the NP also planned to hold rallies in the Transvaal which could include coloured and black townships. He said the NP wished to use the "momentum" created by the reform referendum to build the party.

Reacting to Saturday's events, DP Leader Dr Zach de Beer said there was no possibility of a "democracy of any colour" in South Africa if politicians were not allowed reasonably peaceful audiences.

## Unfortunate

"It is not a desperately serious episode, but an unfortunate episode," he said.

He said there were clear indications before the meeting that attempts would be made to intimidate the NP.

"It was poor behaviour indeed," Dr de Beer said. He noted that those who disrupted the meeting had chanted "ANC, ANC", and one must therefore

presume that they were ANC supporters.

This posed a difficult situation but, "If if they say they are your people and they misbehave, the onus is on you to put it right," he said.

Democratic Party law and order spokesman Jan van Eck, who monitored Mr de Klerk's visit, yesterday condemned what he called some people's "hooliganism" and contrasted it to the "very restrained behaviour of the SAP".

Members of a crowd in Mitchell's Plain town centre threw "gravel and other objects at Mr de Klerk" as he attempted to address a crowd of National Party supporters in a marquee.

The meeting was abandoned and the President's security staff hustled him off to safety moments before members of the crowd stormed the stage, overturning tables and tearing down posters. Afterwards, scuffles broke out between anti-NP and pro-NP supporters.

In a statement yesterday, the ANC denied that its supporters had infringed Mr de Klerk's right to address his supporters.

They stressed that members of the crowd had included supporters of organisations such as the PAC, Azapo, Unity Movement, Call of Islam and the Mitchell's Plain Civic Associations.

The ANC also accused Mr de Klerk of abusing his office to launch a vote-gathering campaign at great expense.

## Abuse

"After reportedly spending R250 000 on rallying a few thousand supporters, it is clear that De Klerk's attempt to go vote-gathering was an extravagant flop.

"We are forced to ask: was this funded by the NP, or was the NP using the privileges of power and State for its own electoral campaign, and an abuse of the office of the state president to promote party po-

litical interest?"

Mr de Klerk's office yesterday released a summary of the speech he planned to give in Mitchell's Plain town centre before it was cut short.

It said the National Party had closed the book on apartheid and put the past behind it.

He also planned to say that the NP was building a nation to bring together all those who belonged together through conviction.

These common ideals were an undivided South Africa, a franchise and full participation for all, co-operation among all South Africans, reconciliation and tolerance.

It rejected intimidation and stood for real democracy: freedom of speech, the right of every person and party to put its case unhindered, and the right to vote whichever way one wanted.

The party rejected communism and stood for the protection of a free economy.

STAR 13/4/92



Dr Abu-Baker Asvat . . . an appeal has been made for information on his death.

(11 A) STAR 13/4/92

### **Azapo appeal**

The members of the Lenasia and Eldorado Park branches of Azapo have called on anyone with information on the assassination of Dr Abu-Baker Asvat to come forward.

A joint statement issued on Saturday said: "We want this matter to be thoroughly investigated and justice to be done."

Dr Asvat was assassinated on January 27 1989. — Sapa.

# Winnie may be forced into

bold

STAR 13/4/92

11A

**T**HE controversy whirling around Winnie Mandela has aroused anxiety and anger in the African National Congress because it threatens to besmirch Nelson Mandela and the ANC itself.

The ANC's distress is manifest in its statement deploring the latest reports linking Mrs Mandela — on the basis of information which has not been tested in court — to the death of Dr Abu-Baker Asvat and even Stompie Sepele.

The reports, the ANC declared last week, are part of a wider campaign to create "an unfavourable image of the ANC" and its president, Mr Mandela, and thereby to weaken the ANC.

But there are forces in the ANC which recognise that Mrs Mandela has become a liability and that it would be in the ANC's interests and those of her husband if she retires from public life.

More than three years ago, on February 16 1989, the Mass Democratic Movement acknowledged that Mrs Mandela was an alba-

trous around its neck. In a dramatic statement, which will reverberate for some time to come, it sought to dissociate itself from Mrs Mandela.

Referring to the abduction of Stompie and three young men from a Methodist manse to Mrs Mandela's house in Diepkloof, Soweto, the MDM said: "We are outraged at Mrs Mandela's complicity in the recent abductions and assault of Stompie." It added: "Had Stompie and his three colleagues not been abducted by Mrs Mandela's football team, he would have been alive today."

The MDM statement effectively expelled Mrs Mandela from its ranks and banished her to a form of political exile by calling on the black community to distance itself from her while affirming its loyalty to Mr Mandela.

The same sentiment, after receding following the release from prison of Mr Mandela, and the public re-emergence on his arm of his wife, appears to be advancing again. Recent developments —

the allegations made against Mrs Mandela by her former associates, Xoliswa Falati and Katiza Cebekhulu, and the rekindling of the feeling that Mrs Mandela must quit public life for the sake of the ANC — raise an important question.

How strong is the movement which seeks to ease or, if necessary, force Mrs Mandela from the leadership positions she occupies in the ANC as head of its welfare department, a member of its national executive, and member of the ANC Women's League executive?

The short answer is that it represents a growing stream of thought in the ANC and that its demands may become irresistible.

The ANC membership today represents a coalescence of three elements: the men and women who served in the MDM and its component parts, the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions; the ANC exiles, many of whom lived in Zambia; and former prisoners,

of whom Mr Mandela is the pre-eminent example.

There is little or no evidence to suggest that the MDM has changed its mind since its statement condemning Mrs Mandela for "violating the ethos" of the democratic movement in 1989. Many former MDM people today occupy key positions in the ANC.

At the time of the MDM statement the exiled leadership in Lusaka was much more sympathetic to Mrs Mandela, recognising that, whatever mistakes she may have made, she had rendered courageous service to the ANC during her long, lonely years in banishment and under banning orders.

Thus the exiled ANC leaders urged the MDM not to ostracise Mrs Mandela but, instead, to draw her back into its ranks.

The imprisoned leaders adopted a position similar to that of their exiled comrades.

When Mrs Mandela was brought to trial last year on charges of kidnapping and assault there were displays of solidarity from the

ANC, with virtually every member of its executive putting in an appearance at the trial during the opening phases.

When the trial ended with Mrs Mandela's conviction for kidnapping and being an accessory to assault, however, the absence of ANC leaders, with the obvious exception of Mr Mandela, was conspicuous; it suggested that at some point during the course of the trial a decision had been taken to distance the ANC from Mrs Mandela.

One sign of the changing mood was a speech written for Mr Mandela soon after the start of the trial. It contained a statement condemning the "bully-boy tactics" of Mrs Mandela's supporters at the trial, warning that they could compromise the ANC's integrity and violate its principles.

Mr Mandela excluded the statement from his actual address. Its presence in the written speech, however, signalled that some top ANC men felt the need to dissociate the ANC from the trial.

Since then, according to several well-placed observers in the ANC, the mood has shifted further against Mrs Mandela and the majority view is that she must vacate her leadership positions and retire from political life.

Mrs Mandela's highly visible friendship with a young black lawyer, Dali Mpofu, has not helped. Like Caesar's wife, Mrs Mandela has to be above suspicion. Rightly or wrongly, her friendship with Mr Mpofu has aroused suspicions.

But Mrs Mandela is not isolated and powerless in the ANC. With her penchant for radical rhetoric, she has built up a following over the years in the ANC Youth League and Umkhonto we Sizwe.

If a concerted move is made to persuade or induce Mrs Mandela to quit the political arena, she may resist. No move, however, is likely until after her appeal against her conviction in last year's trial. As the ANC has put it, the law must take its course.

# 'Tensions' result in Mandela separation

ANC president Nelson Mandela announced yesterday that he and his wife Winnie were to separate.

A calm, but soft-spoken Mandela told a news conference in Johannesburg that differences of opinion and "circumstances beyond our control" had ended the 34-year marriage.

Mandela, 73, said his love for Winnie, 57, remained undiminished.

"Tensions that have arisen owing to differences between ourselves on a number of issues in recent months" had precipitated a mutual agreement "that a separation would be best for both of us".

The only comment he offered after read-

8 Day 14/4/92

ADRIAN HADLAND

(11A)

ing a prepared statement was: "I hope you will appreciate the pain I have gone through."

Sapa reports Mandela's voice broke once as he said: "I part from my wife with no recriminations ... I'm sorry ... I embrace her with all the love and affection I have nursed for her inside and outside prison from the moment I first met her."

Stressing that the separation had not been prompted by allegations about his wife, he said "comrade Nomzamo" could rely on his "unstinting support during these trying moments in her life. I shall person-

ally never regret the life Comrade Nomzamo and I tried to share together."

Honouring her as a wife, mother and unrelenting fighter against apartheid, Mandela said her "tenacity reinforced my personal respect, love and growing affection. It also attracted the admiration of the world at large."

Present at the news conference were "old guard" ANC officials Oliver Tambo, Alfred Nzo and Walter Sisulu.

DP leader Zach de Beer said he was sorry to hear of the "sad" decision. He was sure the announcement was not made because of publicity surrounding allegations

To Page 2

## Mandela

8 Day 14/4/92

(11A)

From Page 1

of misconduct on Winnie Mandela's part. NP spokesman Piet Coetzer declined to comment on the separation, saying it was a personal affair.

Head of Azapo's educational secretariat Gomolemo Mokae said the Mandelas' separation was immaterial to people's perceptions of the ANC.

"In the public eye, Winnie and the ANC are inseparable. Nelson Mandela has for a long time countenanced the erratic behaviour of his wife."

UCT political studies professor Hermann Giliomee said in the medium to long term, the separation would prove to be a positive move for the organisation. "Win-

nie Mandela does not have much organisational or constituent support in the ANC, apart from with the youth. The separation can only strengthen the ANC."

Prof Lawrence Schlemmer of the Human Sciences Research Council suggested the more militant political stance adopted by Winnie Mandela had lost favour with most of the ANC's constituency.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus dismissed speculation that Winnie Mandela was no longer the head of the organisation's social welfare department. "The ANC has not taken a position on Mrs Mandela as things stand at the moment. She was head of welfare yesterday and is head today."



# PAC calls for Codesa changes

11A ~~11A~~  
Sowetan 14/4/92

THE Pan Africanist Congress yesterday called for the restructuring of Codesa and listed five demands which should be met before it could enter the negotiation process.

PAC deputy president Mr Dikgang Moseneke, who led a delegation which met representatives of the Government in Nigeria last week, made it clear that the talks were not an attempt to re-enter Codesa through the back door.

He, however, said if Codesa could agree to the holding of elections for a constituent assembly which satisfied PAC demands, then the organisation would contest them.

Moseneke said the PAC demanded that:

- Real negotiations should be held at a neutral venue;
- A neutral person or persons should chair the process;
- A neutral monitoring mechanism should be agreed upon by all parties;
- Certain guarantees should be agreed upon; and
- Agreements should be verified from time to time.

By IKÉ MOTSAPI

Moseneke said people who should chair and monitor the negotiation process could be drawn from organisations such as the Commonwealth, Non-Aligned Movement, the Organisation of African Unity and the European Economic Community or "a combination of all".

He said Codesa was a "do-it-yourself" structure which would not succeed as shown "by lack of real progress achieved so far".

"Codesa has achieved nothing. All the so-called breakthroughs have been shot down by other participants," Moseneke added.

He stressed that last week's meeting with the Government was not initiated by the PAC.

"The PAC did not ask for this meeting. We were approached by the Government and we responded positively," he said.

# End of a fairytale



Sowetan 14/4/92 (11A)



ANC president Nelson Mandela at a Press conference yesterday in Johannesburg where he announced that he and his wife, Winnie, were to separate after 34 years of marriage. More pictures and stories — pages, 3, 16 and 17.

**AN emotional Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday announced he and his wife Winnie were separating.**

Mandela (73) choked in the middle of his speech, paused for a few moments, and then continued addressing the Press conference attended by scores of journalists at the movement's headquarters

By SONTI MASEKO

in Johannesburg.

At the end of his address the ANC president stood up and declared: "I hope you will appreciate the pain that I have gone through. I now end this interview".

He left, followed by his life-long

● To page 2

**Mandela split a tragedy — Comment on page 8**

**ANC to decide Winnie's fate — P2**

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# Mandela marriage break up

● From page 1

friends and political colleagues including Mr Oliver Tambo, Mr Walter Sisulu and Mr Alfred Nzo, who sat silently on either side of him throughout his address.

He said his marriage to "Comrade Nomzamo Winnie Mandela" had in the past endured hardships but tensions between the two in recent months had led them to mutually agree "that a separation would be best for each of us".

However, Mandela spoke about his admiration and affection for his wife, to whom he referred as "an indispensable pillar of support and comfort" during the three decades of his imprisonment as a political prisoner.

"My love for her remains undiminished," he said.

## Decision

In his statement he told of his marriage, which he said was contracted "at a critical time in the struggle for liberation in our country".

He spoke of the pain of their having tried to sustain a marriage while remaining committed to the ANC and the struggle to end apartheid.

"Despite these pressures our love for each other and our devotion to our marriage grew and intensified."

Mandela said throughout their marriage they were unable to enjoy a normal family life.

The announcement yesterday ended months of speculation about problems in the Mandela marriage.

Mandela said the announcement was not prompted by the current allegations levelled against his wife in the media.

He assured his wife of his "unflinching support during these trying moments in her life".

Tracing the roots of the break up of their marriage to April 1961, when he went underground, living the life of a fugitive until he was arrested in 1962, Mandela said his life was the result of a decision arrived at "consciously by myself and Comrade Nomzamo in the full knowledge that it spelt the

end of life as a family for the foreseeable future".

"After my conviction in November 1962 I was incarcerated for 27 years until my release on February 11, 1990.

"During both my trials, the first in 1962 and during the Rivonia trial of 1964, Comrade Nomzamo was a key figure in mobilising solidarity and support for myself and the other Rivonia trialists alongside other members of the ANC and its allies.

"She also became the international focus of the campaign in solidarity with all the South African political prisoners. As such, she earned the ire of the National Party Government, which lost no opportunity to harass, persecute, arrest, detain and charge her.

"This culminated in her banishment to Brandfort in the Orange Free State.

"Comrade Nomzamo accepted the onerous burden of raising our children on her own. She was more fortunate than other single mothers in that she enjoyed the moral and material support of both the South African and the international community.

## Persecution

"She endured the persecution heaped upon her by the Government with exemplary fortitude and never wavered from her commitment to the struggle for freedom.

"Her tenacity reinforced my personal respect, love and growing affection. It also attracted the admiration of the world at large.

"I deeply regret the role that the media has assumed in this regard and would once again urge that the issue of her guilt and innocence be left to the judicial system to determine.

"I shall personally never regret the life Comrade Nomzamo and I tried to share together. Circumstances beyond our control dictated that it should be otherwise."

# Winnie: New claims 'have no effect on her appeal'

Sowetan 14/4/92



Sowetan Correspondent

**ALLEGATIONS** against Winnie Mandela made by her two co-accused in the last week will have no direct effect on her pending appeal against kidnapping and assault charges, but could result in further investigation by the Attorney-General, lawyers said yesterday.

Police headquarters in Pretoria last night said "all the allegations" around Mrs Mandela were being investigated and the information would be forwarded to the Attorney-General for a decision on whether any further action would be taken.

Both Mrs Mandela's co-accused, Xoliswa Falati and John Morgan, according to newspaper reports, have claimed over the past week they lied in court in an attempt to protect her.

"An appeal is based on the record of facts presented at the trial," said Mr Brian Currin of Lawyers for Human Rights. But he added it was possible the Attorney-General could investigate the incident further.

Mrs Mandela was found guilty of kidnapping and being an accessory to assault and was sentenced to six years.

However, Currin warned that since co-accused Falati and Morgan had made their previous statements under oath, their allegations could be untrue again.

John Morgan, who was Mrs Mandela's driver, told the *Sunday Times* that she was not in Brandfort on December 29 1988

when the assault on four youths took place at her home and she had in fact led the assault which left Stompie Seipei (14) dead.

Members of the Mandela United Football Club had continued the beating. She then told him to dump the body, the newspaper reported.

It also reported that he had driven the minibus that had transported the four youths from the Orlando West Methodist Manse to Mrs Mandela's house in Diepkloof, Soweto.

There she questioned them about alleged homosexual activity with a white Methodist minister at the manse. It was then that the beatings began.

The newspaper reported that Morgan claimed he had lied out of fear.

Morgan had changed his mind and come forward with the information because he claimed Mrs Mandela would not help pay for the appeal against his kidnapping conviction arising from the incident. Morgan was sentenced to one year in prison for his role.

The newspaper also reported that Morgan had instructed a lawyer to seek indemnity from the State for his "telling the truth".

No ANC spokesmen could be contacted for comment.



**TOGETHER AT LAST:** Nelson and Winnie shortly after he was released in February 1990 after 27 years in prison.

credibility suffered by the movement.

As he thought about his options, Mr Mandela must have rued his decision in 1991 to ask the ANC shadow cabinet to reinstate his wife as head of the welfare department after it was announced that she had been replaced.

It is said that if ever he had an Achilles heel, it was his wife.

That was until yesterday.

In a statement, as honest and touching as the one he delivered from the dock at his trial in 1964, he said they had decided to end their relationship because tensions as a result of personal differences over a number of issues.

He said: "My action was not prompted by the current allegations being made against her in the media. I deeply regret the role that the media has assumed in this regard and would once again urge that the issue of her guilt or innocence be left to the judicial system to determine. Comrade Nomzamo has and can continue to rely on my unstinting support during these trying moments in her life.

"I shall personally never regret the life Comrade Nomzamo and I tried to share together.

"Circumstances beyond our control however dictated that it should be otherwise. I part from my wife with no recriminations. I embrace with all the love and affection I have nursed for her inside and outside prison from the moment I first met her."

Where did it all go wrong? Had she become too hot for him to handle? Mrs Mandela's mouth often landed her in trouble. Her remark about liberating the country with matches and "necklaces" is still like an albatross around her neck.

On occasion, Mr Mandela has had to tell her to hold her tongue. It happened in 1989 when she was first linked to Stompie Seipei's death.

She had arranged to tell her side of the story to The Argus, but drove off without a word after a visit to her husband at Victor Verster Prison.

She was not only his wife, but took his place in the freedom struggle, playing a leading role in the ANC during his imprisonment.

For this she paid a heavy price.

She was banned several times, banished to Brandfort in the Free State, detained without trial for 17 months, threatened and had her house burnt down.

She was also a trusted comrade who often smuggled messages to the ANC leadership in Lusaka and to comrades based in South Africa.

Others were also used in the role. One of them was lawyer Dali Mpofu, who has been reported to be her latest lover. He visited Mr Mandela in prison in 1989 and travelled

**DENNIS CRUYWAGEN**  
Political Staff

NELSON and Winnie Mandela, and their marriage which endured for 34 years through his 27 years in prison, were, to many, the symbol of "the struggle".

Just as black South Africans waited for freedom, Winnie waited for Nelson for nearly three decades of incredible hardship, raising her children alone, banned, house-arrested, harassed, detained without trial and banished for many years to a country dorp far from her family, friends and support system.

She represented the foundation of the African National Congress struggle to bring justice to South Africa.

When it all ended yesterday, the fall from grace of the "mother of the nation" was complete.

If one believed in fairytales it was the perfect marriage.

They made no secret of their love for each other. Just three weeks ago they kissed on a public platform in front of thousands of ANC supporters at Khayelitsha rugby stadium.

But that poignant kiss cast a curtain over the pressures building up against a marriage that was being dealt body blows by rumours of her alleged love affairs, her controversial statements, and lately a string of allegations about her involvement in the deaths of teenage activist Stompie Seipei and Soweto physician Dr Abu-Baker Asvat.

Yesterday, Mr Mandela lifted that curtain to announce that they had separated; that the fairytale had had an unhappy ending.

Having known them well, particularly Mrs Mandela, it is clear it could not have been an easy decision. He is loyal to his friends and loved ones. It has often been said that this loyalty clouded some of his decisions.

Still, he must have spent many hours agonising over his decision.

He must have weighed against his own happiness the damage done to the ANC by the rumours and reports of her involvement in the Stompie killing and the loss of



**HAPPY HUG:** Nelson and Winnie shortly after their wedding in 1958. The marriage lasted 34 years.



**FIRST WITH THE NEWS:** How The Argus broke the story yesterday.

# Rise and fall of the mother of the nation

ARG 14/4/92



to London to inform the then ANC president, Mr Oliver Tambo, that a meeting between Mr Mandela and Mr FW de Klerk was on the cards.

Mr Mpfu was at the Mandela residence on February 10, the night President de Klerk announced that Mr Mandela would leave Victor Verster a free man the next day.

Although there was speculation in extra-parliamentary circles in 1989 that Mr Mpfu was the secret man in Mrs Mandela's life, he has reportedly been held responsible for the break up of the marriage.

It is said that Mr Mandela was angry when he telephoned his wife on a recent trip to New York to find Mr Mpfu, who has joined her welfare department at ANC headquarters, answering the telephone in her room.

Last week he declined to discuss these rumours with *The Argus*.

A proud man, Mr Mandela could not have been unaffected by these rumours or the storm which erupted around his wife in February.

First Mr Katiza Cebekhulu, a key witness in her kidnap and murder trial, disappeared from a Lusaka prison.

Then Mrs Xoliswa Falati, who was sentenced to six years imprisonment with her in the Stompie trial, claimed that Mrs Mandela had thrown her out of the family's Soweto home, but Mr Mandela reinstated her.

Hardly the sort of behaviour one would expect from a person with expectations of becoming South Africa's first lady.

Last week Mr Cebekhulu



**NELSON'S SUPPORT:** Winnie pictured during her trial outside court. Nelson was often there to support her.

claimed in an interview with the *Christian Science Monitor* that Mrs Mandela was linked to the mysterious assassination in 1989 of Dr Asvat.

He had apparently refused to treat Stompie Seipei after his beating at Mrs Mandela's home in 1988 and recommended he be taken to hospital. Dr Asvat was killed two weeks later.

Mr Cebekhulu also claimed he had been given two choices: exile or death. Exile for him was a prison cell in Lusaka.

At the weekend Mr John Morgan, a second co-accused in the Stompie case, claimed

he had lied in court to protect Mrs Mandela and alleged she lied by giving a false alibi.

□□□□

Winnie and Nelson Mandela met in 1956, a year after she graduated as a social worker.

She recalled in an interview published in *The Argus* series *Mandela The Road to Freedom* in 1990: "Noooo... it was not love at first sight. It was something which grew gradually. I was never really proposed to. It just grew and grew. I learnt to love him. It was the same thing with him."

Marriage for Winnie and

Nelson Mandela was a natural development.

"There were no set dates. There was never anything romantic about it. It was just part of the pattern of conventionality. He had to regularise his life because he's very strict and everything has to be done very methodically.

"He is a perfectionist. He is the type of person who didn't like the clumsiness of just a loose relationship ...

"I knew when we got married that our life wouldn't be normal and that he could be jailed."

# Qunta looks at the road ahead

By SIZAKELE KOOMA

*Sue Jan 14/4/92*

**AFRICAN women must speak for themselves. They should decide for themselves who they are, where they are going, what obstacles lie ahead and how to remove them.**

Christine Qunta makes this assertion in the preface of her book, *Women in Southern Africa*.

It has not been difficult for this still exiled lawyer and writer, recently in the country on a short visit, to live up to her utterances

In the early 1970s, while still a BA student at the University of the Western Cape, Qunta sought ways to remove the obstacle which deprived her of a decent education - apartheid.

Then an active member of the South African Students Organisation (Saso) and the Black People's Convention (BPC), she and a group of other students dropped out of varsity permanently in protest against bantu education. This was followed in 1975 by exile to Botswana.

Qunta, now a member of the Pan-Africanist Congress and living in Zimbabwe, has no difficulty speaking for herself and

she knows full well who she is. In the very articulate *Women in Southern Africa* she proves this.

"I wrote the book to correct the distortions about African women as submissive and subservient slaves of their men," Qunta said.

"From the time that history books were written, African women shared the same status as their men. Some of them were decision-makers and heads of state.

"Colonialism played a crucial role in demeaning them with laws that made them perpetual minors."

She said a post-apartheid South Africa would need radical measures to improve the status of women.

"Political movements have not done enough to train women to be leaders. All of them do not have women who are assertive and confident enough. They need to teach them to develop those qualities," she said

**WOMAN**



**CHRISTINE QUNTA**

The status of women, especially women workers, she believes, could also be bolstered by the legal entrenchment of their rights.

She said women's rights, be they in a Bill of Rights or a women's charter, should be included in the discussions about a new structure for the country.

"We, as women, should also inculcate in our daughters those values that teach them that men and women are equal," she said.

A mother of two

daughters, Yolisa Nehanda (12) and Nzinga (8), she encourages them to stand up against boys their age. Both their namesakes were powerful historical figures.

Qunta's own "cheeky" character, seen by some men as aggressiveness instead of assertiveness, stems from growing up as the only girl among five boys in Bonthuvel, Cape Town. Her abilities were also enhanced by a "supportive and encouraging" husband.

She is married to BCMA publicity and information secretary Vuyisa Qunta.

Of their ideological differences, she says: "Our positions are the same. We both agree on the land issue. The only differences are structural. We do have heated debates sometimes. But we always agree to disagree."

She said the ideological gaps between the different political movements did not, though, warrant the violence in the country. Qunta is ready to come back but still has to "sort out some personal problems."

# WHEN THE GOING WAS STILL GOOD



WINNIE AND NELSON...as a young couple



1991: Winnie and Nelson at a function hosted by the Johannesburg Press Club where Mandela and President FW de Klerk were jointly presented with the Newsmaker of The Year Award.



1990: Winnie and Nelson return triumphantly home after a successful tour of the world.

## How it all began, how it now ends

*Sowetan 14/4/92*

LIFE has never been a bed of roses for ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela.

Once divorced from first his wife Evelyn, Mandela is now separating from his second wife, Winnie, whom he married in May 1958.

Yesterday, Mandela took a brave but painful decision to announce the separation. This came barely a week after Mrs Mandela had assured the public that her marriage was intact and solid as a rock.

Mr Mandela's announcement ended weeks of speculation, rumours and gossip about their marriage.

The marriage had been showing some signs of strain in recent weeks following sensational disclosures by Miss Xoliswa Falati.

The couple met in March 1956 soon after she had graduated as the first black medical social worker.

"He used to drive past where I lived, near

was reported as having told friends. She knew about him, of course. Was it love at first sight? "Noooo!!!!, it was not love at first sight,"

By IKE MOTSAPI

was Winnie's response during another newspaper interview.

"It was something which grew gradually," she told the newspaper.

At the time, Mr Mandela had been separated from his first wife, who is, ironically, the cousin of ANC veteran Mr Walter Sisulu, his life-long friend.

From the onset, Mr Mandela and his new wife both knew life would be difficult because of his political activities.

Mr Mandela was later charged with treason in 1956. A few years later he was sentenced to life imprisonment during the Rivonia treason trial.

Mrs Mandela's life was embroiled in controversy while he was in jail.

Things came to a head when the United Democratic Front distanced itself from her activities, especially those making her a moderate, and she was the target of an assault of residents.

"Unbowed by the brouhaha surrounding his wife, Mr Mandela stood by her all the time.

## Winnie is down, but is she out?

*Sowetan 14/4/92*

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela announced with immense tenderness that he and his wife of 34 years, Nomzamo Winnie, were to separate.

But - whatever the residual love - the split remains a steep lurch down the political hierarchy for the spirited woman whom thousands were once proud to embrace as the "Mother of the Nation".

Mrs Mandela may still hold her positions as head of the ANC welfare department and an elected member of the national executive committee, but the real basis of her political influence was the marriage which she sealed in 1958 with Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela.

At any time, the disintegration of this marriage would have been critical to Mrs Mandela's political career.

Coming, as it does, amid fresh controversy regarding her role in the killing of 14-year-old activist Stompie Seipei and possible links to the assassination of Dr Abu-Baker Asvat, it looks like a crushing blow.

But the extraordinary combination of brazenness and courage that Mrs Mandela has displayed over the years has to be reckoned with.

She may be down and at the mercy of extreme emotions - but this does not necessarily mean that her political career is absolutely dead.

For, apart from the extraordinary rich and regal bearing of Mrs Mandela, one characteristic stands out over the years: her lack of fear - either of physical danger or of social censure.

With the banning of the ANC and the sentencing of Mr Mandela and his comrades to life imprisonment in the Rivonia Trial of 1963, repression so permeated the townships that a whole generation grew up fearing to whisper the three-letter synonym for liberation - ANC.

During much of this stifled period Winnie Mandela was subject to banning and house arrest under the Sup-

By JO-ANNE COLLINGE, Sowetan Correspondent

pression of Communism Act.

Detained in the aftermath of the 1976 uprising, she was subsequently served with a new restriction order and then banished to Brandfort.

Finally, astutely measuring the degree of latitude that the mass uprisings of the mid-80s might win her, Mrs Mandela defied her banishment and moved back to Soweto.

There were skirmishes with the authorities but she eventually won the right to return to her home.

Never elected to any position within the United Democratic Front or any of its major affiliates, Mrs Mandela nevertheless became the symbol of the struggle.

By the mid-80 Mrs Mandela had become associated with a very specific group of youth - the Mandela United Football Club.

The killing of Stompie Seipei at the start of 1989 was truly a watershed in the life of the football team. Its coach, Jerry Richardson, was convicted of murder.

In retrospect, it was also a critical moment in Mrs Mandela's life.

Three years later she found herself convicted with two others of the abduction and assault of Stompie and three other youths - and sentenced to six years.

Likewise, Mrs Mandela has fewer talents to bring to the age of reconstruction than she brought to battle front. Her courage, her oratory, her ability to mobilise people in struggle are devalued currency in these times.

There is a strong sense that these impersonal forces, these crossings of the path of national destiny, were both the making and the undoing of Nomzamo Winnie Mandela.



# ANC to decide Winnie's future

11A

Sawetlan  
14/4/92

By IKE MOTSAPI

WINNIE Mandela may be fired or forced to resign from the African National Congress, an ANC source said yesterday.

This, however, depends on the organisation's national executive which will meet soon.

This development follows an announcement by Mr Nelson Mandela that he had formally separated from his wife as from yesterday.

The ANC source said Mrs Mandela had apparently been an embarrassment to the organisation.

Moves to remove her from top positions have been stalled but for a while, the source said.

Another ANC official said in the light of recent developments the organisation's national executive committee was likely to convene and deliberate on the issue.

## Undiminished

However, a final decision on Mrs Mandela's position in the organisation might be taken after her appeal has been heard and finalised by the Appellate Division in Bloemfontein.

Her lawyer, Mr Ishmael Ayob, said last week the date for the hearing had not been set because "heads of arguments have not been completed".

Mrs Mandela's association with a young lawyer, Mr Daluxolo Mpofu, has caused division within the ANC.

She and the 29-year-old lawyer have been romantically linked. Both have denied the allegations.

## Delayed

Mr Mandela has been under a lot of strain from his colleagues to act. Sources within the ANC said the decision to announce the separation of the Mandelas, who had been staying apart for months, was delayed at the 11th hour last week.

Instead Mrs Mandela issued a statement that her marriage was intact.

The couple have not been living together for at least seven months.

# Winnie's fall expected to lift ANC's peace image

(11A) ARG 14/4/92

**MICHAEL MORRIS and ESTHER WAUGH, Political Staff**

MRS WINNIE Mandela's fall from grace and power is widely expected to have a moderating influence on the ANC, expunging a taint of notoriety from its leadership.

ANC sources — who acknowledged that Mrs Mandela was increasingly being seen as a liability within the movement — believed her separation from her husband would untangle a complicated web of politics and private affairs.

Her impulsive, inflammatory remarks have often played into the hands of opponents and seriously hampered the ANC's drive for membership outside its traditional constituency.

Observers generally felt the latest development effectively lifted a political millstone from the neck of the ANC leader.

Now that Mrs Mandela has lost her privileged position at the side of her husband, she will be treated as an ordinary member of the organisation.

While she is not expected automatically or immediately

to lose her elected positions as head of the ANC Welfare Department and member of the National Executive Committee, the split is seen as a significant blow to her political career.

Mrs Mandela remains popular within the movement's militant bloc, and it is also significant that Mr Mandela said his wife could continue to rely on his support. Sources pointed out that it was not as if he were abandoning her entirely.

Professor David Welsh of the University of Cape Town today said the separation would strengthen the ANC rather than weaken it.

"Somebody who has been an embarrassment to the ANC is no longer the wife of the president," Professor Welsh said.

Professor Willie Breytenbach of Stellenbosch University said Mrs Mandela would no longer enjoy such a visible role, and the split had put an end to any possibility of Mrs Mandela seeing herself as a "black Evita" in a coming era.

Professor Robert Schrire of the University of Cape Town

said: "This liberates the ANC from a very heavy millstone it has carried around its neck.

"It also removes a source of division within the ANC and is a godsend to anti-apartheid forces. Winnie was always worth 100 000 votes to the rightwing and was a great block on ANC recruitment in white, Indian and coloured communities."

ANC members have also privately expressed disquiet about Mrs Mandela's high-profile friendship with young ANC lawyer Mr Daluxolo (Dali) Mpofo, 29.

ANC activist Mr Colin Smuts said the separation would make his work easier.

"I was one of those who defended her when the (kidnapping and assault) case blew up in 1989. But I've been finding it harder and harder to defend her in my branch."

Mr Raymond Louw, editor of Southern Africa Report Newsletter, said he doubted the ANC would dismiss Mrs Mandela from her positions immediately.

Mrs Mandela was elected by

the ANC national convention to the key national executive committee only last year in 26th position out of 50. She was the fourth most popular woman.

"The dislike of Winnie (among ANC leaders) caused rifts between Nelson and the hierarchy and this will clear up a lot of those tensions," he said.

"But a lot of the township youngsters see no wrong in her. We must not forget that Winnie endured a lot of brutal treatment from the state when Nelson was in prison."

Democratic Party leader Dr Zac de Beer said he was sorry to hear of the "sad" decision by the Mandelas. He was sure the announcement had not been taken because of allegations of misconduct against Mrs Mandela.

National Party spokesman Mr Piet Coetzer said in a statement that the allegations against Mrs Mandela should be left to the courts to decide.

On the separation he said "Marriage is a personal affair and we believe should be treated as such".

**Call for free speech**

THE ANC has been urged to live up to its principles and to allow unhindered freedom of speech and expression.

The call came yesterday from Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce and Industry president Mike Cato, following the disruption of a rally on Saturday in Mitchell's Plain, where gravel and stones were reportedly thrown at President F W de Klerk.

B/pew  
19/4/92

(11A)

# I love Winnie

## Nelson bids wife sad farewell after 34 years

**JOHANNESBURG.** — ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela announced yesterday he was separating from his wife Winnie — but that he still loved her.

A visibly moved but collected Mr Mandela publicly ended his marriage of 34 years at a press briefing for foreign and local journalists.

He said the split was due to tensions as a result of personal differences "on a number of issues in recent months" and was mutually agreed.

It had nothing to do with the recent accusations against her, he said.

Mr Mandela's voice broke once as he said: "I part from my wife with no recriminations... I'm sorry... I embrace her with all the love and affection I have nursed for her inside and outside prison from the moment I first met her."

Mr Mandela, 73, was flanked by his old ANC comrades in arms Mr Oliver Tambo, Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr Alfred Nzo and Mr Thomas Nkomo.

When he had finished reading his short statement he rose stiffly and before leaving the room told the silent press corps: "Ladies and gentlemen, I hope you appreciate the pain I have gone through."

The end of one of the most visible political marriages on the world stage was widely expected following mounting allegations against 58-year-old Mrs Mandela.

The allegations ranged from criminal activities to her role as head of the ANC's welfare department.

Mr Mandela said his marriage



**YOUNG COUPLE** ... Mr Nelson Mandela and a young Winnie on their wedding day in 1958. "My love for her is undiminished," Mr Mandela said yesterday when announcing their separation.

had not been a normal one because of his time in jail and his life before that as a constant fugitive.

His wife had been "an indispensable pillar of support and comfort to myself personally during the two decades I spent on Robben Island".

"I shall personally never regret the life Comrade Nomzamo (Mrs Mandela's first name) and I tried to share together. Circumstances beyond our control, however, dictated that it should be otherwise," he said.

He also paid tribute to Mrs Mandela "for accepting the onerous burden of raising our children on her own", for her role in mobilising support for himself and other Rivonia trialists in the 1960s, and for enduring detention

and arrests "with exemplary fortitude".

"Her tenacity reinforced my personal respect, love and growing affection."

"It also attracted the admiration of the world at large. My love for her remains undiminished," he said.

Mr Mandela said he "deeply regretted" the role the media had assumed in attacks on Mrs Mandela and "would once again urge that the issue of her guilt or innocence be left to the judicial system to determine".

Comrade Nomzamo could rely on his "unstinting support during these trying moments in her life", he said.

To page 2.

From page 1

The couple's devotion to one another and Mrs Mandela's determination to have her husband released captured the world's attention during the 27 years Mr Mandela was incarcerated for trying to overthrow the government.

Images of the Mandelas facing the world hand-in-hand after his release from prison on February 11, 1990, were televised world-wide.

Mrs Mandela's lawyers said last night that she would not comment on her husband's statement.

In Cape Town Archbishop Desmond Tutu, a long-time friend of the couple, said he was "deeply saddened".

The Mandelas had paid the price of those committed to striving for a new South Africa, he said.

"I hope they will be able to resolve their differences."

National Party spokesman Mr Piet Coetzer said the marriage was a personal affair and should be treated as such.

Political analysts yesterday said Mrs Mandela's chances of career advancement within the ANC in the near future were bleak, but her support base among the militant youth probably meant she still had a political future.

ANC expert Professor Tom Lodge said it was unlikely that in the near future the ANC would force her to resign from her positions in the organisation's hierarchy as this would be seen as censuring her.

ANC spokesman Ms Gill Marcus dismissed speculation that Mrs Mandela was no longer the head of the organisation's social welfare department. "The ANC has not taken a position on Mrs Mandela as things stand at the moment. She was head of welfare yesterday and is head today."

Police have widened investigations involving Mrs Mandela to include three charges of kidnapping and one of theft, in addition to her alleged involvement in the deaths of Dr Abu-Baker Asvat and teenage activist Stompie Moeketsi Seipei.

**'I'M SORRY'** ... A visibly moved but collected Mr Nelson Mandela at a press conference in Johannesburg yesterday where he announced that he and his wife Winnie are to separate after 34 years of marriage. "I part from my wife with no recriminations... I'm sorry," he said.

Picture: AP

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“She endured the persecutions heaped upon her by the Government and never wavered from her commitment to the struggle for freedom . . . My love for her remains undiminished.”

Better times . . . the day on which the Mandelas were married, June 13, 1958. Yesterday Nelson announced his formal separation from Winnie.

# Mandela split 'lifts a millstone from ANC'

By Esther Waugh  
Political Reporter

STAR 14/4/92

11A

What lies ahead for Winnie? — Page 25

The separation of Nelson and Winnie Mandela has been greeted as the lifting of a political millstone from the neck of the ANC leader, and as a major move towards healing divisions within the movement.

Now that Mrs Mandela has lost her privileged position at the side of her husband, she will be treated as an ordinary member of the organisation, ANC sources said.

She will not immediately lose her elected positions as head of the ANC welfare department and member of the national executive committee, sources said.

But the split is seen as a significant political blow to her as she loses her personal access to the ANC president.

In what must have been the most difficult public appearance of his life, Mr Mandela yesterday announced

that he and his wife had agreed to separate after 34 years of marriage.

Professor David Welsh of the University of Cape Town today said the separation would strengthen the ANC rather than weaken it.

“Someone who has been an embarrassment to the ANC is no longer the wife of its president,” Professor Welsh said.

Professor Willie Breytenbach of Stellenbosch University said Mrs Mandela would no longer enjoy such a visible role, and the split had put to an end any possibility of Mrs Mandela seeing herself as a “black Evita” in a post-Mandela era.

Robert Schrire, professor of politics at the University of Cape Town, said: “This liberates the ANC from a very heavy millstone which it has carried around its neck.

“It also removes a source of division within the ANC and is a godsend to anti-apartheid forces. Winnie was always worth 100 000 votes to the right wing and was a great block on ANC recruitment in white, Indian and coloured communities.”

ANC members have also privately expressed disquiet about Mrs Mandela's high-profile friendship with young ANC lawyer Daluxolo (Dall) Mpofo (29).

ANC activist Colin Smuts said the separation would make his work easier, Sapa reports.

“I was one of those who defended her when the (kidnapping and assault) case blew up in 1989. But I've been finding it harder and harder to defend her in my branch.”

Raymond Louw, editor of

● To Page 2

## Winnie unlikely to lose positions

From Page 1  
STAR 14/4/92

Southern Africa Report Newsletter, said he doubted the ANC would dismiss Mrs Mandela from her positions immediately.

Mrs Mandela was elected by the ANC national convention to the key national executive committee only last year in 26th position out of 50.

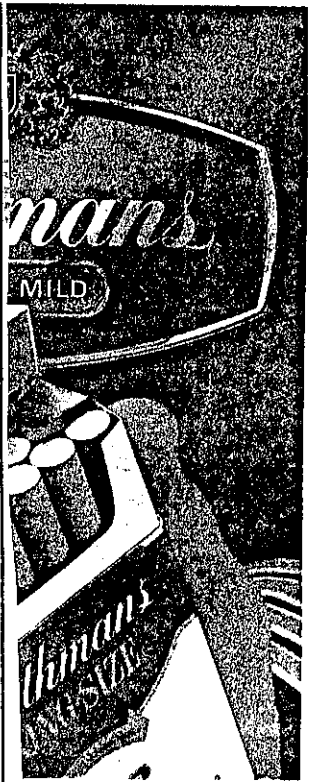
Rumours of an imminent split surfaced recently when it was said that communication between them the Mandelas had come to a standstill.

Mr Mandela has not been living in the same house as his wife for some time, but ANC sources said this was because of security reasons. Mr Mandela is said to have been staying in the northern suburbs, while Mrs Mandela has remained in their Soweto mansion.

It is understood that Mr Mandela's statement was formulated after wide consultations with his colleagues in the ANC.

A dignified Mr Mandela, who was obviously pained at the decision, said at the Johannesburg press conference announcing the separation yesterday: “My love for her remains undiminished.”

He said the split followed differences between them on a number of issues in recent months” and stressed his action was not prompted by current allegations against her.



# What lies ahead for

STAR 14/4/92

(11A)

The Mandela marriage is over. Does this spell obscurity or independence for Winnie Mandela? JO-ANNE COLLINGE looks at this extraordinary woman's past and her prospects.

**A**NC PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela announced with immense tenderness yesterday that he and his wife of 34 years, Nomzamo Winnie, were to separate. But — whatever the residual love — the split remains a steep lurch down the political hierarchy for the spirited woman whom thousands were once proud to embrace as the Mother of the Nation.

Mrs Mandela may still hold her positions as head of the ANC welfare department and an elected member of the national executive committee, but the real fount of her political influence was the marriage which she sealed in 1958 with Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela.

At any time, the disintegration of this marriage would have been critical to Mrs Mandela's political career. Coming, as it does, amid fresh controversy regarding her role in the killing of 14-year-old activist Stompie Seipei and possible links to the assassination of Dr Abu-Baker Asvat, it looks like a crushing blow.

## Displayed

But the extraordinary combination of brazenness and courage that Mrs Mandela has displayed over the years has to be reckoned with; she may be down and at the mercy of extreme emotions — but this does not necessarily mean that her political career is absolutely dead.

For, apart from the rich and regal bearing of Mrs Mandela, one characteristic stands out over the years: her lack of fear — either of physical danger or of social censure. She has forged ahead on ground many would fear to tread.

With the banning of the ANC and the sentencing of Mr Mandela and his comrades to life imprisonment in the Rivonia Trial of 1963, repression so permeated the townships that a whole generation grew up fearing to whisper the three-letter synonym for liberation, "ANC".

During much of this stifled period Winnie Mandela was subject to banning and house-arrest under the Suppression of Communism Act. ANC sources have hinted that while the country cowered, Mrs Mandela took risks to help the ANC in exile, operating under the most repressive of conditions. During the late '60s she was detained for a period of 17 months, but not convicted of any offence.



Parting company . . . a grim-faced Nelson Mandela with Winnie outside the Rand Supreme Court.

When her banning order expired in 1975, she did not take the easy non-political option. Without forsaking her ANC allegiance, she threw herself back into the struggle for majority rule, associating herself with the burgeoning Black Consciousness Movement and backing the students of Soweto in their 1976 rising.

Detained in the aftermath of the 1976 rising, she was subsequently served with a new restriction order and then banished from Soweto to the tiny township of Phatakahle, near Brandfont, in the Free State.

Finally, astutely measuring the degree of latitude that the mass uprisings of the mid-'80s might win her, Mrs Mandela defied her banishment and moved back to Soweto. There were skirmishes with the authorities, typified by a high-speed chase along the M2 highway near Johannesburg, with police cars cutting her off as she was about to enter the city and Mrs Mandela daring the police to lay so much as a hand on her.

She eventually won the right to return to her home in Orlando West. And there her political relationship with the militant

youth constituency — which had been given a practice-run in 1976 — came to fruition. If the street battles and tide of international censure of apartheid's armed forces gave her an opening to come home to Soweto, she more than repaid this obligation by becoming a symbol for this army of youth.

Never elected to any position within the United Democratic Front or any of its major affiliates, Mrs Mandela nevertheless became the symbol of the struggle. Where others cushioned their allegiance to the still-banned ANC, Mrs Mandela

threw caution to the

As young men and women joined the army Umkhonto and other activists were drawn into the struggle, Mrs Mandela was invariably in the thick of it. Pretoria Central, where the chilling dawn hours take place, with families of the men.

Not surprisingly, national media depicted her as a striking woman, the embodiment of the struggle. Where others cushioned their allegiance to the still-banned ANC, Mrs Mandela

# ahead for Winnie?



Im-faced Nelson Mandela with Winnie outside the Rand Supreme Court last year.

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Never elected to any position within the United Democratic Front or any of its major affiliates, Mrs Mandela nevertheless became the symbol of the struggle. Where others cushioned their allegiance to the still-banned ANC, Mrs Mandela

threw caution to the wind.

As young men of the ANC army Umkhonto we Sizwe and other activists went to the gallows for their actions, Mrs Mandela was invariably outside Pretoria Central Prison at the chilling dawn hour when hangings take place, side-by-side with families of the condemned men.

Not surprisingly, the international media depicted this fiery and striking woman as the embodiment of the South African liberation struggle, the surrogate for her legendary husband, still behind bars in the Cape.

By the mid-'80s Mrs Mandela had become associated with a very specific group of youth — the Mandela United Football Club. Whether they were simply alienated youths or cadres-in-the-making remains unclear. What is clear is that the football team came to be regarded as a fearsome and anti-social force by the people of Soweto.

Beyond Soweto it came as a shock when pupils of Daliwonga High set fire to the modest Mandela home in Orlando West. Locals saw the arson attack as revenge triggered by the football team's reign of terror in

the area.

The killing of Stompie Seipei at the start of 1989 was truly a watershed in the life of the football team. Its coach, Jerry Richardson, was convicted of murder.

In retrospect, it was also a critical moment in Mrs Mandela's life. Initially reviled and isolated by the Mass Democratic Movement because of the Stompie affair, Mrs Mandela was rescued by the ANC whose leaders directed that she should not be treated as a pariah in the liberation struggle.

Three years later, however, she found herself convicted with two others of the abduction and assault of Stompie and three other youths — and sentenced to six years. Her appeal in the case is likely to be heard within the next few months.

But it has been pre-empted by her co-accused Xoliswa Falati and John Morgan breaking ranks and indicating that they lied to save Mrs Mandela. Although Miss Falati has since retracted her accusations, it seems that the spectre of Stompie Seipei cannot be exorcised from Mrs Mandela's life.

## Eroded

Furthermore, if she could be said to have her own support-base in the turbulent '80s, the power of that constituency — the youth — has been considerably eroded since the release of Nelson Mandela and the engagement of the ANC and the Government in central political negotiations.

The present ANC Youth League is simply not the force that the South African Youth Congress and the Congress of South African Students represented in the mid-to-late-'80s. If Sayco and Cosas provided the foot soldiers of an age when insurrection seemed just around the corner, they do not provide the diplomats and negotiators in the chambers of constitutional settlement.

Likewise, Mrs Mandela has fewer talents to bring to the age of reconstruction than she brought to the battlefield. Her courage, her oratory, her ability to mobilise people in struggle are devalued currency in these times. And although much is made of her qualifications as a social worker, the fact remains that her qualifications are basic, her experience not great and her involvement in current social welfare developments slight.

In his announcement of their split, Mr Mandela stated that "circumstances beyond our control dictated" that the life he "tried to share (with) Comrade Nomzamo" could not be sustained. There is a strong sense that these impersonal forces, these crossings of the path of national destiny, were both the making and the undoing of Nomzamo Winnie Mandela. □

**T**HIS IS the full text of the statement issued yesterday by Nelson Mandela:

The relationship between myself and my wife, Comrade Nomzamo Winnie Mandela, has become the subject of much media speculation. I am issuing this statement to clarify the position and in the hope that it will bring an end to further conjecture.

Comrade Nomzamo and myself contracted our marriage at a critical time in the struggle for liberation in our country. Owing to the pressures of our shared commitment to the ANC and the struggle to end apart-

heid, we were unable to enjoy a normal family life.

Despite these pressures our love for each other and our devotion to our marriage grew and intensified.

I was compelled to go underground as of April 1961, living the life of a fugitive until my arrest by the South African Security Police in 1962. That was a decision arrived at consciously by myself and Comrade Nomzamo in the full knowledge that it spelt the end of life as a family for the foreseeable fu-

ture.

After my conviction in November 1962, I was incarcerated for 27 years until my release on February 11 1990.

During both my trials, the first in 1962 and during the Rivonia trial of 1964, Comrade Nomzamo was a key figure in mobilising solidarity and support for myself and the other Rivonia trialists alongside other members of the ANC and its allies.

During the two decades I spent on Robben Island she was

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an indispensable pillar of support and comfort to myself personally.

She also became the international focus of the campaign in solidarity with all the South African political prisoners. As such, she earned the ire of the National Party Government which lost no opportunity to harass, persecute, arrest, detain and charge her. This culminated in her banishment from Johannesburg to Brandfort in the Free State.

Comrade Nomzamo accepted

11A

the onerous burden of raising our children on her own. She was more fortunate than other single mothers in that she enjoyed the moral and material support of both the South African and the international community.

She endured the persecutions heaped upon her by the Government with exemplary fortitude and never wavered from her commitment to the struggle for freedom. Her tenacity reinforced my personal respect, love and growing affection. It

# Husband's tribute to 'Comrade Nomzamo'

also attracted the admiration of the world at large. My love for her remains undiminished.

However, in view of the tensions that have arisen owing to differences between ourselves on a number of issues in recent months, we have mutually agreed that a separation would be best for each of us. My action was not prompted by the current allegations being made against her in the media.

I deeply regret the role that the media has assumed in this regard and would once again

urge that the issue of her guilt or innocence be left to the judicial system to determine. Comrade Nomzamo has and can continue to rely on my unstinting support during these trying moments in her life.

I shall personally never regret the life Comrade Nomzamo and I tried to share together.

Circumstances beyond our control, however, dictated that it should be otherwise. I part from my wife with no recriminations. I embrace with all the love and affection I have nursed for her inside and outside prison from the moment I first met her. □



# PAC hails 'breakthrough' talks

By Esther Waugh  
Political Reporter **NA**

The meeting between the Pan Africanist Congress and the Government in Nigeria was an important breakthrough in the negotiation process and the start of a series of bilateral meetings between the PAC and other parties, said PAC deputy president Dikgang Moseneke.

He said yesterday that the meeting, held on Friday in the Nigerian capital, Abuja, was a breakthrough for the PAC because it was held at a neutral venue and chaired by the Nigerian

*STAR*  
Foreign Minister, General Ike Nwuchukwu.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha led the Government delegation at the meeting, which lasted almost two hours.

Discussions focused on the transitional process and it was agreed that there was a need for further meetings, Mr Moseneke said.

The PAC suggested that an alternative negotiation forum be created which was acceptable to all parties.

The principle of neutrality should be strictly observed, meaning that the forum should be convened, chaired and its

*14/4/92*  
agreements endorsed by international bodies such as the Organisation for African Unity, the Commonwealth, the European Community and the Non-Aligned Movement, Mr Moseneke said.

Codesa lacked neutrality and should therefore be reconvened.

Mr Moseneke said there were many examples of a lack of trust between negotiating parties as was clearly demonstrated by the National Peace Accord, which had failed, and some signatories were now calling for the international community to monitor the agreement.

# ANC to consider anti-trust laws

B/Docy 15/4/92 (11A)

LINDA ENSOR

CAPE TOWN — The ANC would have to investigate the possibility of introducing anti-trust legislation to unbundle conglomerates, ANC economic policy unit's Patrick Ncube said yesterday.

He said most ANC economists had abandoned the proposal to nationalise industry except for utilities, such as Eskom and Telkom.

Ncube, a member of UCT's economic research unit, was addressing an Aiesec-organised conference on business in the new SA.

Ncube said the ANC was not opposed to "bigness" as such and recognised that large companies were necessary to achieve international competitiveness and for their research and development capabilities. However, anti-trust laws were necessary to democratise the economy.

Another measure of income redistribution would be to decentralise industry away from the PWV, Durban and Cape Town areas. Ncube said the ANC's proposed decentralisation drive would differ from past policies in that it would be focused on small business and the informal sector.

He foresaw an expanded role and increased funding for the Small Business Development Corporation.

Tax incentives would be given for labour intensive production but no incentives or tax holidays would be implemented to attract foreign investment. He said this would come naturally if the economy and prices were stable, the balance of payments favourable and there were no foreign exchange or price controls.

Economic policy would be aimed at price stability achieved through a minimum of deficit financing and money creation to keep inflation low. Incentives would be given for export orientated industries to maintain a healthy balance of payments. Ncube stressed that the ANC did not want to take from the rich to give to the poor, but would rely on economic growth to redistribute wealth.

Annual budgets would be formulated in terms of a three-year plan.

Ncube said the ANC envisaged a mixed economy where labour and capital would negotiate conditions of employment with the state intervening only when talks broke down. The need for strong trade unions and employer bodies was emphasised.

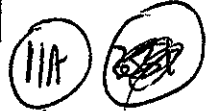
He said an ANC government would attempt to create a degree of security of employment not in outlawing retrenchment, but through the creation of a training fund, funded by the state, employers and unions.

An investment court to guide investors was also under discussion, Ncube said.

Ncube warned of the danger of macro-populism if government power was shared between the NP and the ANC, both keen to satisfy their constituencies. Overspending, high inflation, price, import and foreign exchange controls, balance of payments problems and a lack of investment would be the inevitable result of a coalition.

# Why Winnie may not be charged again

Stompie 15/4/92



THE possibility of Mrs Winnie Mandela being re-tried for her role in the events which led to the death of Stompie Moeketsi Seipei must surely be causing her some anxious moments.

There is no shortage of controversy surrounding Mrs Mandela at a stage when she is particularly vulnerable in the light of her pending appeal against a six-year sentence for kidnapping and assault.

Before her appeal has even been heard, fresh allegations have come to the fore of her involvement in the death of Dr Abu-Baker Asvat, who was ostensibly murdered in the course of a robbery but coincidentally, after he had allegedly refused to treat Stompie.

## Co-accused

Mandela's co-accused are now alleging that they lied to protect her in the Stompie case. Most startling is the allegation by Mr John Morgan, her ex-driver, that Mandela was not in Brandfort when Stompie was assaulted but was actually present and ordered the disposal of his body.

It is not surprising then, that the question on everybody's lips is "Will Mandela be retried? What will the court do? And the even more difficult question for the media "Aren't all these allegations *sub judice*?"

The irony is that Mandela is no stranger to the complicated legal principles involved in the possibility of a retrial.

Mandela was herself an accused in the leading South African law case which laid down the principles determining whether a retrial is competent and it may be that this very case will be her saving grace when investigations into the allegations have been completed.

Mandela will surely remember when she and 18 others, including

## FOCUS

Several organisations have asked for the retrial of Winnie Mandela following claims by her witnesses that they lied, and new allegations being made. PAUL JENKINS and CARSTENS MPHELO of Webber Wentzel, give a legal insight into the controversy.

Mr Ndou (by which the case is known) were charged with offences under the Suppression of Communism Act, in 1970.

After the trial had been in progress for some time, the Attorney General appeared in court in person and stopped the proceedings without giving reasons. The accused accordingly were found not guilty by the court and discharged.

It subsequently transpired that the reason for this dramatic step by the State was that the security police had arrested a member of the ANC and had extracted information from him.

Based on that information, the Attorney General wished to charge the accused with more serious offences under the Terrorism Act, but essentially for the same activities which were already the basis of charges in the first trial.

When the matter came before the court for a second time, the court quashed the charges, the reason being that in both trials, the charges were based on the same activities of the accused as members or supporters of the ANC, and in the first trial they had already



WINNIE MANDELA

been found not guilty.

The matter was appealed and the Appellate Division laid down the definitive tests for determining whether a person can be charged a second time and in what circumstances.

## Bare essentials

According to the Appellate Division, in the case of *State v Ndou*, the facts of which are set out above, if the offences with which an accused is charged in the two trials are substantially the same (the so-called substantial identity test), even though the offence alleged in the second trial would not have been a competent verdict in the first trial, a plea of *autrefois acquit* would be upheld.

Reduced to its bare essentials, the principles of law which must be applied in determining whether Mandela is safe from re-prosecution in the Stompie case are the following:

- The law will not allow an accused to be subject to double jeopardy ie to be charged twice for the same offence or a similar offence which is based on the same facts;

- It is in the general interests of the administration of justice that there should be finality in criminal

cases; and

- Public policy requires that persons should not be punished twice in respect of one and the same offence.

Having set out the legal principles which must be applied in determining the answer to our difficult question, it would be unfair to Mandela and contrary to the sub-judice rule, to embark upon an analysis of the evidence.

It does, however, bear saying that if the evidence shows that the death of Stompie was unrelated to the assaults on him and that Mandela had any involvement in later new events, for which Mr Jerry Richardson has already been convicted of murder, then the substantial identity test may be of less assistance to Mandela.

The appeal court will not hear any new evidence to be led. The prosecution is not allowed to bring any new charges against the accused at an appeal stage and the accused is also not allowed to raise a defence which was not raised at the trial.

The matter before the appeal court in Mandela's trial will be confined to the evidence which has already been led and the Appeal Court will not be able to take any notice of the new allegations by Mandela's co-accused or any other persons.

A review of the proceedings does not appear to be possible. A review occurs when the fairness of the proceedings at the trial stage are in question. Where such proceedings are not in accordance with justice, the proceedings and any conviction may be set aside and the case may be retried before a different judge.

There is, however, no reason to believe that the trial of Mandela and her co-accused was irregular or not in accordance with justice.

# After Abuja trip, where to for PAC?

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN  
Political Correspondent

The PAC at the weekend returned from Nigeria, where it held its first publicly known talks with the South African Government.

The obvious question is, of course: Does anybody at Codesa expect any major political developments or achievements because of this?

The unanimous answer from delegates early yesterday was an emphatic no . . .

The Nigerian visit also took place a little under a week after the PAC's Third National Congress, an event which was described by the Africanists as the birth of something great.

But, instead of it being a nativity play (of sorts), the congress was more like a comedy of errors, and this is something which the PAC will have to live with for a long time to come . . .

Nevertheless, the greatest achievement of the Umtata congress was apparently the "mandate" the leadership received to hold talks with Government in Nigeria. These talks took place last Friday — and they were very tentative at that.

The immediate question in this regard is, naturally: how did the talks go?

Well, according to reliable sources, the talks were more like an afterthought, or like an innocuous dessert after a sumptuous meal . . .

The PAC met South Africa's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, briefly at Abuja's (Nigeria) airport while the latter was making his way out of the country.

Journalists who accompanied the Botha-President FW de Klerk junket to Nigeria for talks with



that country's President Ibrahim Babangida were not even allowed near the meeting; some did not even know the meeting was being held — they had to wait in the aircraft for Botha.

Botha's official statement after the meeting was as meaningless as a mixed metaphor, and impacted on South African politics like a hand being pulled from a bucket of water.

The significant thing about last Friday's talks was the mendacity with which PAC second deputy president, Mr Dikgang Moseneke, dismissed the truth about his organisation.

## Unbanning

Since its unbanning, the PAC has come under heavy fire for its slogan "One settler one bullet".

The stock reply from officials in the movement vacillated over the past two years from the ridiculous to the absurd and back, but most significant of all: The leaders absolved themselves and said that it was the "militant youth" that used the slogan.

Until the Umtata congress, when things revealed themselves for what they really are.

The congress, as expected, started 90 minutes late. It was not this (actual late start) that so succinctly summed up the difference between pastiche and pantomime: it was the time between the scheduled and the actual start and the morbid ugliness of what took place during this time that was a horror.

Thirty minutes after the scheduled start of the congress there were fewer than 30 people in the hall where the meeting was being held, and another 30 minutes later there were only about 30 more people — by which time the PAC's Mr Waters Toboti was appealing to people to "please come in and sit down".

He also apparently felt that the only way he could get the delegates at the congress to actually pay attention to the importance of a national congress was to provide a kind of political opiate in the form of blood-thirsty and brutal slogans.

A few leaders had trickled in and were seated on the stage by this time, and Toboti called up youths to the stage to chant blood curdling slogan after blood curdling slogan — it was the old PAC mantra at its best.

"One settler, one bullet, one bullet, one settler; war among the enemy, peace among the Africans, peace; arm the people . . ."

The crowd was delirious, but the opiate soon wore off, so Toboti swapped kids . . .

The next one was more vitriolic; with a glazed look in his eyes and a spastic smile, he just jumped up and down and — frothing at the mouth — shouted hysterically: "Kill them Apla, kill them".

The few leaders already on the stage (secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander, national organiser Mr Maxwell Nematzivhanani and secretary for political affairs Mr Mhlubi Mbandazayo) were gloating gleefully . . .

But this kid, too, could not produce a more meaningful (violent) slogan, so another one, wearing dark glasses and looking like the bodyguard of a tin-pot dictator,

was brought on to the stage . . .

By this time the crowd was livid, and suddenly, as if programmed, Nematzivhanani, the national organiser, jumped up and in a kind of manner which suggests: this is how you're supposed to do it, shouted: "Een Boertjie een koël".

That did it to the crowd. As one, they broke through to the other side.

This slogan was recorded on television, journalists jotted it down in their note pads and my own entry into my notebook was: "Maxwell (Nematzivhanani). So the leaders use the term too."

But it's a lie, the PAC's Moseneke said last Friday, the slogan was never used, actually, it never happened.

## Slogan

Foreign Minister Botha said after the meeting with the PAC in Abuja last Friday that he had asked Moseneke about the slogan (Een Boertjie een koël), and the whole thing was dismissed as a fabrication.

It was old footage, Moseneke allegedly told Botha. Botha accepted Moseneke's word, and the matter was laid to rest.

However, according to reports, Nematzivhanani was with Moseneke when the deputy president denied that the slogan was used.

What is the truth then, that which is real or that which is not?

Maybe there is a reason (hidden somewhere in this example of honesty) why the PAC wants to hold talks with Government at a neutral venue and under a neutral facilitator.

The truth is at home.

# Women plan to ensure equality

*Sowetan 22/4/92*  
WOMEN representing a broad range of groups will meet this week at the University of the Witwatersrand to plan ways of ensuring that the new South African constitution entrenches women's equality.

Members of the Women's National Coalition said they planned to draw up a document setting out conditions for equality.

They expressed hope that the document would form the basis for a charter of women's rights that would be included in a future Bill of Rights and be discussed at Codesa.

The views of women across the country, especially in rural areas, would be canvassed.

## Coalition

At a meeting in Johannesburg last week were representatives of among others the ANC, Inkatha Freedom Party, National Party, Democratic Party, Black Sash, Kontak, National Assembly of Women, Union of Jewish Women, South African Council of Churches, and Women for Peace.

The coalition will be formally launched this Saturday when a constitution will be finalised and a national leadership elected.

A programme of action will also be adopted including a campaign for constitutional provisions to meet women's specific demands.

Coalition branches have already been formed in Natal, Cape Province, Free State and Southern Transvaal. - *Sowetan Correspondent.*

# Winnie



WINNIE MANDELA

# stays mum

*Sowetan 15/4/92*

*11A*

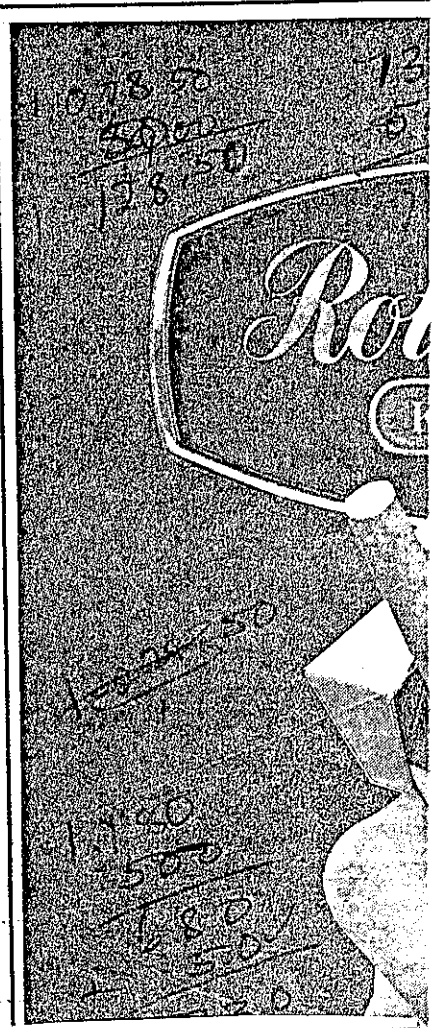
MRS WINNIE Mandela spent the day at her office, as head of the ANC's welfare department, despite the turmoil in her life following her husband's announcement of their separation.

Mrs Mandela, whose future in the ANC is now uncertain after more damaging allegations of involvement in the murders of teenage activist Stompie Seipei and black consciousness leader Dr Abu-Baker Asvat,

By RUTH BHENGU and SONTI MASEKO

could not be contacted yesterday. Her secretary said she was busy in a meeting the whole day. After trying to make contact the whole day, *Sowetan* was told we could not speak to Mrs Mandela. Meanwhile, the ANC yesterday remained

● To page 2



# Winnie stays mum

*Sowetan 15/4/92*

*11A*

● From page 1

non-committal on Winnie Mandela's future within the organisation, but admitted it would have to take a decision in this regard following Mr Nelson Mandela's announcement on Monday that he was separating from his wife.

ANC spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma said the ANC would take a decision regarding Mrs Mandela in due time depending on the organisation's assessment of political circumstances.

"We will have to take the entire situation, in particular the politics, into

consideration and evaluate that," he said.

Mrs Mandela is currently head of the ANC's welfare department and is an elected member of the organisation's National Executive Committee.

Speculation that Mrs Mandela may be forced to resign for embarrassing the ANC abounded on Monday following renewed published media reports alleging she had been involved in criminal activities.

Political analysts said Mr Mandela's announcement, that he and Winnie had agreed to separate due to personal differences, could spell the start of a diminish-

ing role for her within the ANC.

South African newspapers on Tuesday closed ranks in calling for Mrs Mandela's resignation, saying the step would be in the best interest of the ANC.

C

ANC trade  
policy to be  
released soon

812 1514192  
THE ANC would release a trade policy in the next few months, possibly as early as May, ANC economic affairs deputy director Tito Mboweni said yesterday.

He described the level of import tariffs as a critical issue. He said he was committed to the principles of trade liberalisation in accordance with GATT, but there had to be a way to protect consumers and producers.

Mboweni said recently the ANC would publish a draft economic policy statement soon.

The trade policy, which he said could come as early as May, would be a separate section of the overall economic policy.

Mboweni also said yesterday the ANC would take steps to redistribute land to the estimated 3,5-million people removed from their land by apartheid. At the same time the ANC would be careful not to destroy agricultural production.

An ANC government was unlikely to remove foreign exchange controls immediately, but would like to lift them gradually.

On nationalisation, Mboweni said the ANC was considering economic policies that redistributed personal and corporate wealth "within the context of macro-economic policies".

Restructuring the tax system and enacting anti-trust legislation were alternatives to nationalisation for redistributing wealth. However, the business community had to understand the ANC was under political pressure from blacks to use the word nationalisation.

"If you went to the townships and rural areas ... you'd be struck by the way people are dismayed if the words redistribution and nationalisation aren't mentioned." — AP-DJ.

# ANC hedges over Winnie's future

Political Staff

(11A) ARG 15/4/92

MAJOR developments are expected today on the future of Mrs Winnie Mandela within the ANC.

There were clear indications yesterday that there were deliberations on her position within the organisation after the announcement by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela that they had mutually agreed to separate as well as continued allegations of misconduct involving Mrs Mandela.

The ANC yesterday remained non-committal on Mrs Mandela's future within the organisation, but admitted it would have to take a decision in this regard.

ANC spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma said the ANC would take a

decision on Mrs Mandela in due time depending on the organisation's assessment of political circumstances.

"We will have to take the entire situation, in particular the politics, into consideration and evaluate that," he said.

It was speculated yesterday that the developments could include her resignation or voluntary suspension until the outcome of her appeal at the end of the month against a six-year jail sentence.

Mrs Mandela heads the ANC's welfare department and is an elected member of the organisation's National Executive Committee (NEC).

If she chooses to resign she has

to tender her resignation to the ANC's National Working Committee (NWC), which holds its weekly meeting today and which reports to the NEC.

In terms of the ANC's constitution the NWC does not have the power to dismiss her.

But Mr Macozoma said it was unlikely that the NWC, which meets each Wednesday, would discuss the issue before next week.

Political analysts said Mr Mandela's announcement of the separation, which he said was due to personal differences, could spell the start of a diminishing role for Mrs Mandela within the ANC.

Mr Macozoma was not prepared to state whether the ANC would

delay its decision on Mrs Mandela until after the outcome of her appeal against a six-year jail sentence following her conviction on kidnap and assault charges.

He also denied reports that the ANC's NEC was to convene soon to discuss the situation surrounding Mandela, saying the NEC was only scheduled to meet in June. However, a special NEC meeting was due to meet before Codesa 2 to discuss mainly convention related matters.

The crisis surrounding Mrs Mandela follows allegations by her kidnap and assault co-defendants, Xoliswa Falati and John Morgan, saying they lied during the trial to protect her.



## Mandela gently chides Denmark

*B10 can*  
*151492*  
KATHRYN STRACHAN

THE ANC understood Denmark's concern that it should not be left behind in the international rush to invest in SA, ANC president Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

Mandela, after meeting Danish Foreign Minister Uffe Ellemann-Jensen, said that Denmark's decision to lift sanctions last month was premature. *151492*

Speaking at a news conference, Mandela said the ANC remained firm in its belief that sanctions should only be lifted once an interim government was in place.

Although Denmark's timing in lifting the embargo had not been opportune, Mandela said he understood Denmark was concerned that it should not be left behind in the race to invest in SA.

The Danish people should now back the ANC's demand for an international force to monitor the security forces, he said.

Ellemann-Jensen said he looked forward to the establishment of an interim government so his country could invest in SA and set up development programmes.

# ANC spells out demands for Codesa

B/day 15/4/92

THE ANC yesterday set out a list of 10 items on which it wanted agreement at Codesa II on May 15 and 16, but expressed concern at a news briefing that government "intransigence" threatened the possibility of progress.

Four members of the organisation's negotiating commission also disclosed at the briefing that a working group was already drafting an electoral law for the country's first nonracial election.

According to ANC national executive committee (NEC) member Mohamed Valli Moosa, the ANC's "shopping list" for Codesa II included agreements on:

- Establishment of an elected constitution-making body whose decisions could not be vetoed by any other body;
- Mechanisms to ensure elections would be free and fair;
- A general amnesty for exiles and political prisoners (as opposed to the temporary indemnity granted to exiles so far) as part of the creation of an appropriate climate;
- The scrapping of all legislation impeding free political activity;
- The passage of a general law guaranteeing basic civil rights to all during the transition — in effect, an interim bill of rights;
- Assurances that the security forces would not interfere with free political activity. According to NEC member Mac Maharaj, this included joint multiparty

TIM COHEN  
and ALAN FINE

- control over the security forces;
- A moratorium on unilateral restructuring in the socio-economic, foreign relations, security and political spheres;
- Impartial control of state-owned media;
- Overall arrangements for the initial phase of an interim government; and
- The restoration of SA citizenship to the approximately 10-million citizens of the TBVC states to enable them to participate fully in the political process. An interim arrangement of dual citizenship would be acceptable.

Valli Moosa said government had been sending mixed signals on its willingness to accept anything more than advisory powers for non-NP groups during the first interim phase. In this it faced opposition from almost all other parties at Codesa.

The NP appeared unwilling to allow hands-on control of government functions by other groups. Further, the ANC believed strongly, at the very least, that an interim executive should have the authority to over-ride decisions of the existing Cabinet.

Valli Moosa rejected government's claim that because its proposed preparatory councils would include government, it would naturally be obliged to enforce any agreements achieved.

To Page 2

## ANC demands

B/day 15/4/92

According to government's formulation, full consensus would be required, which the ANC believed would mean council decisions would be few and far between.

The NP's proposed terms of reference for the councils specified that they would debate actions the government should take in the future. They excluded immediate, hands-on control.

Valli Moosa said if government failed to move on the issue, this would block agreement at Codesa II, and the ANC would be forced to review its position in the negotiations. He declined to speculate on what options it would consider, but said ANC branches had been approached to discuss what the organisation should do.

Maharaj said government's "intransigence" appeared to be due to divisions in its own ranks, problems with elements in the security forces, and attempts to pursue both negotiations and electioneering.

(11A) ~~20/11/92~~  From Page 1

Valli Moosa said it appeared a conservative faction in the NP still held out hope and was looking for some device "to allow them to stay in power forever".

On other issues facing negotiations, ANC negotiators said they believed the PAC would soon join Codesa. "We believe they have no option. It's a question of time and face-saving," said Maharaj.

On the issue of the Zulu king's representation at Codesa, Maharaj said the subcommittee handling the issue had not finished its work, but there was agreement that the king could not be treated in a separate way from other traditional leaders.

Traditional leaders also agreed they should participate. But it was acknowledged that the king and paramount chiefs should not descend to the playing field itself. Traditional leaders below the rank of paramount chiefs should, however, find representation at Codesa, he said.

# Winnie

# stays

# mum

Sowetan 15/4/92

11A

**MRS WINNIE** Mandela spent the day at her office, as head of the ANC's welfare department, despite the turmoil in her life following her husband's announcement of their separation.

Mrs Mandela, whose future in the ANC is now uncertain after more damaging allegations of involvement in the murders of teenage activist Stompie Seipei and black consciousness leader Dr Abu-Baker Asvat,

By **RUTH BHENGU**  
and **SONTI MASEKO**

could not be contacted yesterday.

Her secretary said she was busy in a meeting the whole day.

After trying to make contact the whole day, *Sowetan* was told we could not speak to Mrs Mandela.

Meanwhile, the ANC yesterday remained

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CT 154-192  
**Mrs M No 1 is silent**

MR Nelson Mandela's first wife, Evelyn, has refused to comment on the marital split between Mr Mandela and his second wife, Winnie, saying the affair was a "closed book".

Mrs Evelyn Mandela, 72, a retired nurse who runs a small shop in Cofimvaba, said in a telephone interview that Winnie is a "friendly and pretty" woman but she could not comment on her ex-husband's separation because she lived in the Transkei and he lived in Johannesburg.

She and Mr Mandela had four children before they divorced 35 years ago. (11A)

● More calls for Winnie to bow out — Page 2



C

# More calls for Winnie to bow out

CT 15/4/92 (11A)

JOHANNESBURG. — Mrs Winnie Mandela yesterday faced widespread calls in the local news media to resign from her position within the ANC.

The ANC remained non-committal on her future within the organisation, but admitted it would have to take a decision following Mr Nelson Mandela's announcement on Monday that he was separating from his wife.

Newspapers yesterday said Mrs Mandela's abdication from public life would be in the best interest of the ANC and South Africa as a whole.

The Sowetan, in an editorial, said the ANC would have to act swiftly to control and reverse the damage caused to the organisation "by the Winnie Mandela saga".

"Now that Mr Mandela has acted in the way that benefits his standing, it is up to the organisation, for which he has sacrificed everything, to do its part," the Sowetan said.

The Star said it was clear Mr Mandela's pledge of continued support for his wife was of a personal nature and not as head of the ANC.

"Mr Mandela has made a tough and brave decision. The time has come for Mrs Mandela to do the same. She must resign."

Business Day felt the continued presence of Mrs Mandela in the ANC's leadership structure was a "ticklish" problem for that organisation.

"The ANC must not affect injured innocence when the issue becomes the focus of public debate."

ANC spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma yesterday said the ANC would take a decision regarding Mrs Mandela in due time.

He was not prepared to say whether the ANC would delay its decision until after the outcome of Mrs Mandela's appeal against a six-year jail sentence for kidnapping and assault.

Mrs Mandela is head of the ANC's Welfare Department and an elected member of the organisation's National Executive Committee.

Speculation that she may be forced to resign for embarrassing the ANC abounded on Monday following renewed published media reports alleging she had been involved in criminal activities. — Sapa

# Call for ANC camps probe

Staff Reporter

(11A) ~~Star~~  
STAR 1574/92  
The International Freedom Foundation (IFF) yesterday called for an independent investigation into the alleged torture and killing of detainees in ANC camps in the neighbouring states.

IFF chairman Duncan Sellars said in Johannesburg the allegations cast doubt on the ANC's commitment to human rights and democratic values.

"In view of the important role that the ANC is

playing in the political process in South Africa today, it is essential that these allegations are dealt with in a satisfactory and impartial manner," said Mr Sellars.

He said the ANC leadership should be exposed and prosecuted if found guilty of human rights abuse, the failure of which would undermine South Africa's transition to democracy.

The IFF rejected the ANC's own internal commission of inquiry currently investigating allegations of mistreatment, saying the impartiality

of such a commission was highly questionable.

"We believe that this internal investigation has been started in response to public pressure, but is intended to whitewash the truth."

Mr Sellars said a commission similar to the Goldstone Commission probing violence was required whereby people would give evidence without intimidation.

"I believe that in the absence of impartial hearings in SA, it is likely that the US Congress will be forced to investigate these allegations."

# ANC's Winnie dilemma

Political Staff  
and Sapa

## Decision on her future 'in due time'

STAR 15/4/92

The ANC is having a major re-think about Winnie Mandela's future in the organisation, but was yesterday cagey about saying when a decision would be made.

There were clear indications yesterday that deliberations were taking place on her position within the organisation.

This follows the announcement by her husband, ANC president Nelson Mandela, that they had mutually agreed to separate and also

the continued allegations of misconduct involving Mrs Mandela.

However, while the ANC yesterday remained non-committal on Mrs Mandela's future within the organisation, it admitted it would have to take a decision.

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said the ANC would take a decision regarding Mrs Mandela in due time depending on the organisation's assessment of political circumstances.

"We will have to take the entire situation, in particular the politics, into consideration and evaluate that," he told Sapa.

It was speculated yesterday that developments could include her resignation or voluntary suspension until the outcome of her appeal at the end of the month against a six-year jail sentence.

Mrs Mandela heads the ANC's welfare department and is an elected member of the organisation's National Executive Committee (NEC).

If she chose to resign, Mrs Mandela would have to tender her resignation to the ANC's National Working Committee (NWC), which holds its weekly meeting today and which reports to the NEC.

In terms of the ANC's constitution, the NWC does not have the power to dismiss Mrs Mandela.

But Mr Macozoma said it was unlikely that the NWC, which meets each Wednesday, would discuss the issue

before next week.

Political analysts said Mr Mandela's announcement, that the separation was due to personal differences, could spell the start of a diminishing role for Mrs Mandela within the ANC.

Mr Macozoma was not prepared to state whether the ANC would delay its decision on Mrs Mandela until after the outcome of her appeal against her sentence following her conviction on kidnap and assault charges.

He was also not prepared to comment whether her position would be affected in the meantime.

The ANC would not judge Mrs Mandela by her legal troubles, he said, adding that these were for the courts to determine.

Her separation from Mr Mandela would also not affect her position.

Reacting to reports that the knives were out in the ANC for an allegedly generally disliked Mrs Mandela, Mr Macozoma said he had not seen any knives.

He also denied reports that the NEC was to convene

● To Page 3

## ANC's Winnie dilemma

STAR 15/4/92  
● From Page 1

and assault co-defendants Xoliswa Falati and John Morgan, that they lied during the trial to protect her.

Police are consequently investigating three additional charges of kidnapping and one of theft against Mrs Mandela, as well as allegations that she might be linked to the murder of Dr Abu-Baker Asvat in Soweto in 1989.

The crisis surrounding Mrs Mandela follows allegations by her kidnap

een on May 1, 2 and 3.  
for The Flitestar spokesman  
nd said four flights from Jo-

cision to cancel flights  
where the demand is for  
less than 50% of the avail-  
able capacity," she said.

## ANC rejects new council

*131 Sun 12/4/92*  
THE ANC in Kimberley yesterday rejected the proposed establishment of a nonracial city council on the grounds that it would be making use of outdated apartheid structures, an ANC spokesman said.  
ANC regional organiser

**ADRIAN HADLAND**

Pakes Dikgetsi said his organisation objected to the "marriage of multiracial structures" such as black local authorities and the coloured management committee with the white city council.

The council this week confirmed it expected to announce elections next month for a nonracial, greater Kimberley council.

Kimberley town clerk Coenie Nolte said yesterday he would send a formal proposal to Cape Administrator Kobus Meiring seeking permission to form a single nonracial council, Sapa reports. An agreement would be signed on Wednesday establishing a single council.

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● Comment: Page 6



# Support for Mandela in 'Inkatha territory'

By ENOCH MTHEMBU (11A) ~~11A~~  
WHAT was a "routine" visit by African National Congress president Nelson Mandela to one of the ANC's 14 regions may have been a breakthrough for ANC supporters in what many perceive as "Inkatha territory".

While Mandela toured through both ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party-dominated townships around Empangeni casually dressed in a tracksuit, he was modestly making history in an area where the ANC has been more stifled than anywhere else in the country.

Less than two months ago prominent ANC national executive members Thabo Mbeki, Winnie Mandela and Chris Hani were turned away from several areas in northern Natal due to numerous threats of attack.

Noteworthy was Mandela's address at the hostels at Esikhawini, where ANC support is an exception to the mostly IFP-dominated hostels in the Transvaal and many areas of Natal.

Since October 1990, the regional ANC leadership have been attempting to secure a venue to hold a political gathering. They have been consistent-

ly refused by the kwaZulu authorities. At Mandela's only large public gathering — at the University of Zululand campus in Empangeni — more than 5 000 people turned out, suggesting that there may be more ANC support hidden in the heartland of Zululand than most local IFP and kwaZulu officials tend to admit.

Mandela conveyed a message of peace and reconciliation, calling upon the IFP to unite with the ANC to ensure a National Party defeat at the polls. "Let bygones be bygones," said Mandela. IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi later responded that Mandela's words of peace had "no meaning" as long as Umkhonto weSizwe was not disbanded.

His visit also came at a time when prominent ANC and Congress of South African Trade Unions leaders seem to be under attack. According to the ANC-Cosatu Joint Working Committee, particularly targetted have been figures involved in local peace initiatives.

Whether Mandela's visit to the area has made a dent in Inkatha's tolerance remains to be seen.

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IFP



Was the legend of Mother of the Nation ever true?

# END OF A MYTH

Winnie  
must leave  
demanding  
unity.  
the Crisis  
She shows  
mark she  
entire

W/May 16-23/1992

Winnipeg by GAVIN EVANS

**W**ITH Winnie Mandela's resignation this week, we have reached the final chapter in one of the abiding myths of the international anti-apartheid movement: that she was a national political leader in her own right.

For 34 years Winnie has been the subject of a strange kind of mythology that had everything to do with the man she married. Without Nelson Mandela, she could never have been anything more than a tough and fiery campaigner blessed with huge doses of physical courage but with no political discipline, a penchant for violence, a total incapacity to learn from her own mistakes and, frankly, a considerable capacity for evil.



**SPEAK OUT!**  
The time has come for those who know... and say nothing  
PAGE 2

Her balloon was inflated by journalists, both local and foreign, by a myriad of international sanctioners and anti-apartheid campaigners, and by a host of foreign governments and non-governmental agencies, who gave her far too much money and, along with it, far too much power.

Through all this, Winnie was enveloped in the growing aura of her husband and as a result her own myths, both big and small, became all-embracing.

In retrospect, perhaps the sickest of these myths — particularly in the light of what happened to 14-year-old Stompie Moeketsi Seipei — was Winnie Mandela as the Mother of the Nation.

• Continued on PAGE 2



## Kenya's classiest band slips in quietly

.. with no sponsor and barely a cent between them

By ARTHUR GOLDSTUCK

**T**he most successful band in East Africa slipped quietly into South Africa last week — without a sponsor or advance publicity, and paying their own way.

The Safari Sounds, whose catchy Swahili pop songs have made them Kenya's most popular group and a hit in Germany and Switzerland, did not even have enough money to "bail out" their instruments from customs.

With the aid of local promoters Colin Morani and Lisa Loeb, however, they raised the R5 000 fee by Saturday, and...

# The demise of the nation's myth

11A

Final mail 16/4 - 23/4/92

From PAGE 1

Then there was Winnie as the Patient Wife — which, until the Teflon finally wore off, made her many infidelities untouchable for a media corps that was willing to go to town on lesser mortals like Allan Boesak.

There were others of a lesser order: Winnie as the Great — and first black — Social Worker, for instance.

But among the most important was that of the Leader in Her Own Right. This was particularly crucial in the United States, as any local activist sent on an American mission will testify. The combination of her name, her tenacity and the need for heroic female leaders in a world and particularly a continent devoid of them, made this an essential ingredient.

For years, decades even, the African National Congress has been content to ride with the mythology, knowing that for at least as long as Nelson was in prison there was little that could be done. They would have preferred an Albertina Sisulu, but they had to live with Winnie.

She was the embodiment of the ANC's most potent symbol: the walking, talking, ranting, raving link to its imprisoned leader. That she was beautiful, determined, articulate and charismatic was all a bonus.

Privately, however, many were happy to tell stories going back to the 1950s of Winnie's wrongdoings.

One former exile and ANC executive member, who until today has been one of her most resolute backers, told me this two years ago: "I was with Winnie in the underground shortly after Umkhonto we Sizwe was formed, in the early '60s. She was totally unreliable, had no understanding of our positions, was unacceptably anti-white, and would co-operate only with those who were prepared to flatter her. Frankly, she was a huge security risk."

Others point to her close personal

## Winnie quits

WINNIE MANDELA yesterday announced her resignation as head of the African National Congress department of Social Welfare.

Reading from a prepared statement she said she had asked the ANC to relieve her from her duties as the department's appointed head "as soon as a successor can take my place".

Giving the reasons for her decision Mandela stressed that "false allegations" had been made against her.

"I have always maintained my innocence and there is an appeal pending. My request that the matter should be left in the hands of the courts has not only been ignored but appears to fuel the desire of those who wish to destroy me and to discredit the ANC. Their campaign of vilification has created a difficult situation for the ANC, my husband as its president, and myself."

Her voice choking with emotion, she said she had made her decision because she considered it to be "in the best interest of the ANC whose cause and policies I will support until the end of my life".

She retains her elected positions as a member of the movement's Transvaal and national executives, as Transvaal leader of the ANC Women's League and as a member of the league's national executive.

relationships with admirers who turned out to be spies and state witnesses, to her 1983 trial for whipping a child and to her ambiguous relationship with the black community in Brandfort as precursors of what was to come.

This kind of talk is in stark contrast to the new myth doing the rounds: that Winnie's "problems" were caused by her detentions, her separation from her husband and internal exile, and that they only became manifest after she arrived in Soweto in 1986.

What is true is that after her courageous and triumphant return home, she was provided the leverage to give expression to her many character flaws.

For some the turning point was her speech six years ago advocating the "necklacing" method of eliminating "the enemy". But though it embarrassed the diplomatic corps in the United Democratic Front/ANC leadership, she was merely expressing



Winnie Mandela ... An era draws to an end Photo: KEVIN CARTER

what was — until a year or two later — the prevailing view among activists.

In fact, at least until Seipei's murder everything was forgivable: the indiscipline, the affairs, the attacks on the UDF leadership, the trail of rape and murder committed by her "football team". What was known — and it was an enormous amount, including all the facts and rumours making the headlines today — was simply ignored or covered up, while sections of the leadership made frightened and completely unsuccessful attempts to bring her into line.

Even now, Beyers Naude is the sole member of the Mandela Crisis Committee, appointed after the Seipei affair exploded, who has pressed for a public airing of what the committee's core members know about the Dr Abu-Baker Asvat and Seipei murders. The rest still seem determined to keep their mouths shut.

Divisions on the "Winnie issue" surfaced immediately after Seipei's murder. Under enormous pressure from

the Soweto community, the UDF publicly condemned her. The statement, drafted mainly by Mohammed Valli Moosa and read out by Murphy Morobe, attempted to place Winnie in the category of persona non grata.

But the ANC's leaders were having none of this. Mindful perhaps of their own positions after Nelson Mandela's release, they effectively repudiated the UDF's statement. Peter Mokaba shouted "cabal, cabal" and quickly stepped into the vacuum left by the demise of the "football team". Later Winnie repaid him handsomely by using her considerable powers to help ensure his survival during the spy scandal in which he became embroiled last year.

Once Nelson was released, Winnie mounted a remarkable comeback, with her husband's active support. He lobbied unsuccessfully for her to get elected to the ANC Women's League presidency, but was more successful when it came to her appointment as head of the welfare department.

He made it clear he was foursquare and it soon became apparent to everyone with a least political ambitions that he would get on with Winnie, no matter what she did or said. Moosa survived and prospered by backtracking; Morobe and Azhar Cachalia chose temporary exile instead.

Those most vociferous in their public and private backing of the post-Seipei Winnie included an array of the good, the bad and the ugly. Some were motivated by power lust — to gain position or to protect existing positions — some by an opportunistic support for her militancy, and others by loyalty to the family.

Especially considering that all open opposition had evaporated, the support group amounted to an extremely powerful block, including the likes of Mokaba, Alfred Nzo, Chris Hani, Tokyo Sexwala, Fatima Meer and scores of lesser notables.

One wonders how many of them will continue mouthing the same platitudes, now that Nelson has effectively cut Winnie's lifeline. For several, one suspects, it will be the familiar scenario of the rats and the sinking ship.

What is apparent is that the knives are starting to be drawn. The champagne corks were literally popping at Shell House on Monday after the announcement of the separation.

Already there is an ANC internal investigation into allegations of attempted corruption and financial mismanagement in the welfare department. Although there is no hard evidence that Winnie was personally involved in this latest scandal, it could provide grounds to remove her from her welfare pinnacle.

And should the need arise, the ANC's internal code of conduct offers the means to suspend her from her elected position on the National Executive Committee, though it is doubtful that this will happen immediately.

Much as Winnie may remain popular in squatter camps and other communities faced with repression, and among sections of the ANC youth constituency — whose power has declined significantly in recent months — she is now just a huge burden for the leadership.

She may rage against the dying of the light, but her game is definitely and finally over — and not a moment too soon.

### THE WEEKLY MAIL

Published by M&G Media, Pty Ltd, 104 Frederick and Smal streets, Johannesburg.

Printed by Caxtons, cnr Bloomburg and Comandoo roads, Industria. Editorial comment in this issue by Anton Harber. Newsbills by Irwin Mancim. Headlines and editing by Laura Yeatman. All of 104 Frederick Street, Johannesburg.

Phone: Editorials: 334-2400 Fax: 334-2905

Advertising fax: 334-0747

# Mandela to address ZCC

AFRICAN National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela has accepted an invitation to address the Zion Christian Church's Easter gathering in the northern Transvaal. *South Africa 16/4/92*

He will join President FW de Klerk and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi at the annual event, which is expected to attract more than two million ZCC members.

11A  
"ANC president Nelson Mandela has accepted the invitation to address the ZCC gathering in Moria on Sunday April 19," the ANC said in a statement yesterday.

De Klerk and Buthelezi confirmed earlier that they would address the ZCC gathering, designated a day of peace.

ZCC leaders have said that the success of the day of peace revolves around the presence of De Klerk, Buthelezi and Mandela.

# Winnie

# quits

Sowetan 16/4/92

11A

## Still loyal to ANC

**MRS Winnie Mandela yesterday resigned as head of the African National Congress' welfare department.**

Mandela, known for her fiery speeches and militancy, was subdued and distraught when she finally came out in person to face the media at the organisation's headquarters in Johannesburg.

Dressed in a black leather suit and a green blouse and flanked by ANC stalwarts — Mr Steve Tshwete and Mr Ronnie Kasrils among others — she reaffirmed her commitment and loyalty to the ANC.

She said she had asked the ANC to relieve her of her duties as appointed head of the department of social welfare as soon as a successor was found.

However, Mandela has retained her positions

By RUTH BHENGU  
and SONTI MASEKO

as a national executive member and in the ANC Women's League.

Her resignation comes three days after her husband, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, announced their formal separation after 34 years of marriage "owing to differences between ourselves on a number of issues in recent months".

Mrs Mandela, whose eyes were red and her voice quivering, said her devotion to her family and the ANC, and not what she called false allegations against her, had motivated her decision.

"I have taken this step because I consider it to be in the best interests of the ANC whose

● To page 2

*We wish our  
readers a safe  
and peaceful  
Easter  
weekend.*



WINNIE MANDELA . . . allegations false.

*Each Cigarette a Masterpiece*



P.T.O.

# Winnie quits

Sowetan 16/4/92

11A

● From page 1

cause and policies I will support until the end of my life.

"The step that I am taking is not because of the false allegations being made against me but because of the devotion I have for the ANC and my family," she said.

She had considered resigning before but was dissuaded by both the leadership and some members of the organisation.

Like her estranged husband early this week, Mrs Mandela was not willing to take questions from the Press. She maintained her innocence and pointed out that there was an appeal pending on her convictions for kidnapping and assault.

In an apparent attack on the media, she said she had requested the media to desist from reporting on fresh allegations made by her co-accused.

"My request that the matter should be left in the hands of the courts has not only been ignored but appears to fuel the desire of those who wish to destroy me and discredit the ANC," she said.

"Their campaign of vilification has created a difficult situation for the ANC, my husband as its president and myself."

# IFP leader 'got it all wrong'

South African Press Association  
16/4/92

## South African Press Association

THE African National Congress yesterday denied a statement attributed to the organisation's president Mr Nelson Mandela by Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi concerning the Zulu king.

Buthelezi was this week reported as having said that Mandela would be given an audience by King Goodwill Zwelithini provided he (Mandela) "displayed manners and respect" towards the Zulu king.

This was after Mandela



MANDELA

had addressed a meeting in KwaMashu where he was quoted as having said Buthelezi and the IFP were preventing him from meeting with Zwelithini.

In its reaction yesterday, the ANC said if Buthelezi



BUTHELEZI

was quoted correctly, his statement was calculated to incite people and "scuttle whatever peace plans are being made".

In an open letter, the Natal leader of the ANC, Ms Linda Zama, said vio-

lence would not stop if leaders indulged in "such talks".

"I was at KwaMashu just behind Mr Mandela when he spoke. I listened intently when he gave an account of his attempt to meet the king.

"Without any hesitation, the record should be put straight.

"Mr Mandela spoke in Xhosa and in English. In Xhosa, he said he was making further attempts to meet the king and that if again he was refused permission to meet the king he would not go down on his knees.

"In English he said if he was refused permission to meet the king, as he had asked (ANC deputy secretary-general) Mr Jacob Zuma to arrange a meeting, he would not try again.

"Never did he say he would not kneel before the king in order to get an audience with him or lick the ground in front of the king' as Dr Buthelezi is reported to have said," Zama said.

"Leaders cannot conduct themselves in this manner because wrong signals are being sent to ordinary people," the ANC leader added.



Azapo secretary for education, Dr Gomolemo Mokae, and national projects co-ordinator Lybon Mabasa confer during the Press conference.

# Asvat: 'ANC shares blame'

*Sowetan 16/4/92*

*11A*

By JOE MDHLELA

THE ANC could not be exonerated following disclosures that Mrs Winnie Mandela could have had a hand in the assassination of Dr Abu-Baker Asvat, Azapo said yesterday.

Azapo spokesman Dr Gomolemo Mokae told a Press conference in Johannesburg attended mostly by members of the foreign media:

"Winnie Mandela is the embodiment of what is happening within the African National Congress. We do not accept that she should suffer as an individual."

Azapo had called the conference "to cast light" on the death of Asvat, who was the organisation's health secretary when he was gunned down in his surgery in Soweto on January 27 1989.

Mokae also disclosed that a health worker at Hillbrow Hospital in Johannesburg was prepared to help Azapo investigate the

murder after speaking to Katiza Cebekhulu three years ago.

He said this was when Cebekhulu was treated at the hospital following his assault by members of the Mandela United Football Club.

He said the worker was prepared to back claims by Cebekhulu from a prison in Lusaka that he knew those responsible for Asvat's death.

The fugitive Cebekhulu had been held in custody for "his own safety".

Mokae also told the Press conference that PAC has 'somersaulted' Azapo also wanted Mrs Albertina Sisulu, wife of ANC deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu, to provide whatever information she had on the murder. Mrs Sisulu worked in Asvat's surgery at the time of his death.



# PAC has 'somersaulted'

By MOKGADI PELA

THE Pan Africanist Congress showed it had somersaulted from its hardline position when it held talks with the Government in Nigeria.

This was the view of several people who took part in last night's *Sowetan*/Radio Metro Talkback Show.

The callers told host Tim Modise that they were shocked at the Pan Africanist Congress' latest move.

However, other callers threw their weight behind the organisation, saying the move was reasonable in the light of the prevailing climate.

PAC official Mr Lesawane Makhanda, who was Modise's guest on the show, said the PAC went to Ni-

*Sowetan 16/4/92*  
**SOWETAN**  
Building the Nation

**RADIO METRO**  
**TALKBACK**

(11A)

geria to discuss modalities relating to its demand for a constituent assembly.

Makhanda said Codesa was not the appropriate forum to discuss South Africa's problems.

A meeting organised by the Community Development Foundation had "highlighted some of the frustrations the Codesa participants are facing," he said.

Boy of Durban said the

PAC was confusing people with its conflicting statements on negotiations.

Samuel of Sebokeng said the PAC's strategy was justified because the Nigeria meeting was chaired by a "neutral" chairperson.

Bongani of Alexandra asked where the PAC got its mandate from.

In his response, Makhanda said the organisation got it at its national congress in Umtata.

Abbey of Kroonstad said there was no oppressor who would surrender power voluntarily.

He suggested that the PAC was wrong in expecting to get freedom "on a platter".

WHEN the gravel chips started flying towards the rickety stage, President FW de Klerk's security men grabbed posters bobbing in the crowd which was pressing up against the podium and used them to shield him. One home-made poster proclaimed: "FW de Klerk, Mandela — Jesus loves you". Another advertised "calamari gatsbys", a type of sandwich, for R9,99.

The gigantic red and yellow-striped marquee was by this stage a seething cauldron of heat and human emotion. Arms linked, a barricade of plain-clothes and uniformed policemen — the latter keeping one hand on their gun holsters for fear of having their weapons lifted off them — battled to keep the surging mass of bodies from breaching the platform.

De Klerk was about three sentences into his prepared speech when the chips of stone, which were readily available as they were strewn all over the ground on which the tent was erected, started whizzing towards him. But no one heard a word of what he said anyway because of the cacophony of chants of "NP! NP!" and "ANC! ANC!"

Bundled off the stage and out of the tent, De Klerk was whisked away by his minders and triumphant African National Congress supporters took the stage. But it was not long before they themselves were ousted by National Party supporters, amid a welter of flying fists and scuffles.

Outside the marquee, a woman vented her spleen at the fiasco De Klerk's visit had descended into: "*Die ANC is onbeskof — hulle is net bladdy rude!* (The ANC is ill-mannered — they are just bloody rude!)" This sparked a heated discussion; one of hundreds which took place among the crowd milling about the tent after De Klerk's abrupt departure. "De Klerk was really asking for it, coming here," said one man. "*Hy soek net votes — dis al wat hy nodig het* (He's just looking for votes — that's all he needs)," said another.

It had all started with relative good humour, hours earlier, at a nearby civic centre, where De Klerk made his first stop. ANC supporters brandishing flags and placards arrived early and exchanged slogans and insults with a few hundred NP supporters gathered on the steps in front of the building.

# A bastion crumbles in a pile of gravel chips

President FW de Klerk's mission to 'build a nation' misfired in Mitchell's Plain — but he was not the only loser in the fiasco, reports GAYE DAVIS



Beating a hasty retreat ... FW de Klerk leaves Mitchell's Plain

Photo: ERIC MILLER

Clutching one of the little white flags emblazoned with the NP's new thumbs-up logo and the words "Build a nation", Jeanie Bergman halted the stream of invective she was directing at the ANC demonstrators arraigned opposite and explained why she was there. "The past doesn't matter any more," she said. "De Klerk had the guts, he stood up and made changes. The ANC — I don't trust them. They're fighting black among black. If they get in, there'll be civil war."

Many of those crowded on the steps, brandishing balloons and pennants distributed earlier by a white NP functionary, said they were former Labour Party supporters. But in the heyday of the United Democratic Front — launched in Mitchell's Plain in a similar marquee to that used by De Klerk —

they were derided and reviled.

"As a Labour MP, I was never welcome here in Mitchell's Plain," said NP minister Abe Williams. "But look at us today." He was voicing a sentiment shared by many rejoicing in their newfound legitimacy, a sense of being part of the winning team.

By the time De Klerk arrived at the civic centre, the number of ANC supporters had dwindled, the majority having been directed to take up positions in the marquee at the town centre. Their placards only hinted at the anger and outrage they felt at his presumption in coming: "Votes before visits"; "We're Natvol"; "A brown Nat is a stupid Nat".

They remembered Spine Road, the scene of fierce battles in the mid-1980s between police and students, some of whom died. They knew that Mitchell's

Plain came into being because of forced removals; that despite its population of close on 500 000, it as yet has no general hospital.

ANC marshals worked hard to prevent scuffles from becoming brawls. An NP pennant was ceremoniously burnt, but when some comrades tried to set alight a South African flag, a senior ANC official stepped in to stop them.

Wearing grotesque papier-maché masks styled "Pik" and "FW", two men stepped forward with a cardboard cupboard opened to reveal a painted skeleton and lists of names of those killed by hit squads. But as an attempt at political education, it failed to make any impression: those on the steps were convinced FW was their hero.

"The past was tragic, the future is FW," stated one poster. It said it all.

Harping on the past would gain the ANC few converts — and the subsequent disruption of De Klerk's speech at the marquee served only to harden perceptions of the ANC as a bunch of hooligans.

ANC supporters were among those to express their concern: "He should have been allowed to speak. Freedom of speech — it's what we've fought for all these years," said one.

In a statement issued by its department of information and publicity in Johannesburg, the ANC condemned what it called "isolated incidents that occurred after De Klerk's departure when pebbles and dirt were thrown at the stage". Anyone close enough to see would refute this: the pebbles were thrown at De Klerk.

The SABC, announcing on TV news that his sudden departure was because of the crowd's over-enthusiasm, was just as guilty of prevarication, as were the NP-supporting newspapers which hailed the visit as a triumph instead of a debacle.

De Klerk's visit to Mitchell's Plain was pitifully poorly organised. Security arrangements were so lax that people's safety, including the president's, was at times in serious jeopardy. If De Klerk's opponents — they included the New Unity Movement, the Pan Africanist Congress, the Azanian People's Organisation and the Call of Islam — had wanted to cause major trouble, they could easily have done so.

But rather than sweeping in like some conquering hero, confident of people's hearts and minds, De Klerk would have done better to give some acknowledgement of the pain and suffering his government's policies have caused in the past. If he really wanted to "build a nation", his aim should have been to unify people, rather than sowing division. Instead, his visit smacked of opportunism.

With De Klerk appealing to people to "make the NP a mighty bastion against radicalism", the ANC should have organised its protest in such a way that precluded it being beaten with this stick — perhaps by making it clear that it was only by virtue of what the ANC had achieved that De Klerk could have made the visit in the first place.

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN  
YEAR: 1992  
CITY/NATIONAL

# Winnie quits job <sup>(11A)</sup>

ARC 16/4/92

## Emphasises her move is in best interests of ANC

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A beleaguered Mrs Winnie Mandela has quit her post as head of the African National Congress's social welfare department, but insists that the move was not provoked by the "false allegations" against her.

The move came just three days after ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela announced he and Mrs Mandela had agreed to a formal separation.

Yesterday afternoon, Mrs Mandela announced in Johannesburg that she had asked the ANC "to relieve me of my duties as the appointed head of the department of social welfare as soon as a successor can take my place".

Mrs Mandela explained her resignation as a move intended to shelter the liberation organisation and her family from the impact of a "campaign of vilification" that had centred on her.

"I have taken this step because I consider it to be in the best interest of the ANC," she said.

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa confirmed the ANC's national working committee (NWC) had accepted Mrs Mandela's resignation.

Mr Ramaphosa added that the NWC commended Mrs Mandela "for the courageous initiative she has taken in the best interest of her organisation".

She remains an elected member of the national executive committee and there has been no official indication that this position is likely to change.

Mrs Mandela yesterday repeated her assertions that false allegations had been made against her in the Stompie Seipei matter, for which she was convicted of abduction and assault, while the coach of the Mandela United Football Club, Jerry Richardson, was sentenced to death for Stompie's murder.

"I have always maintained my innocence and there is an appeal pending. My request that the matter should be left in the hands of the courts has not only been ignored, but appears to fuel the desire of those who wish to destroy me and to discredit the ANC.

"Their campaign of vilification has created a difficult situation for the ANC, for my husband as its president, and myself." This had led to her quitting as welfare chief, said Mrs Mandela.

The 58-year-old woman who held no elected position in the United Democratic Front during the turbulent '80s, but commanded a vast following among the youth of the townships, expressed gratitude to those who had supported her.



THUMBS UP: Thirteen-year-old Silver Falcons has

## Johan's

Staff Reporter

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# Tearful Winnie quits ANC welfare post

510 am 16/4/92  
A TEARFUL Winnie Mandela announced yesterday she had resigned as head of the ANC's social welfare department.

Mandela told a news conference at ANC headquarters that "persistent and sensational remarks" against her were aimed at diverting the ANC from its task of ending apartheid. The "campaign of vilification" had created a difficult situation for the ANC, her husband and herself, and in view of this she had asked the ANC to relieve her of her duties as soon as a successor could be found.

She said she had "on more than one occasion in the past" contemplated this step but had been dissuaded from doing so

11A  
KATHRYN STRACHAN

by ANC leaders and "close comrades who knew ... the importance of the work that I had been doing".

The ANC's national working committee praised the "courageous initiative she had taken in the best interests of her organisation". It stressed she had not been placed under pressure to resign.

Mandela's future as a member of the national executive committee is unclear.

Yesterday she emphasised the step was not because of the allegations made about her, but because she considered it to be in the best interests of the ANC "whose cause

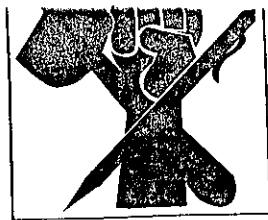
and policies I will support until the end of my life".

Referring to published allegations concerning her involvement in criminal activities, Mandela said: "I have always maintained my innocence and there is an appeal pending. My request that the matter should be left in the hands of the courts has not only been ignored but appears to fuel the desire of those who wish to destroy me and to discredit the ANC."

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said she was not aware the political future of social welfare department deputy head Dali Mpfu was under consideration.

© Picture: Page 3

# BUILD YOUR ORGANISATION



## BUILDING ORGANISATIONS IS HARD WORK

New Nation (Learning Nation) 16/4-23/4/92 11A

Over the last few weeks, our series on building organisation has dealt with a variety of issues. We have looked at

- why people organise,
- the role of organisation,
- how organisations work and are built.

This week we will look at what makes building organisation difficult. We will look at the obstacles to building organisation.

Before we do this though, we would like you to write down a list of reasons for why you think people have sometimes struggled to build organisations. Think of your own experiences.

20

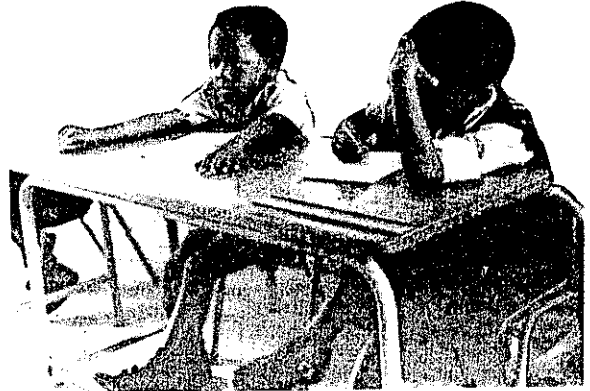
If you like you can send your list of reasons in to Learning Nation. This will guide us when we write future articles.

Workers tend to see their fellow workers as an obstacle to their own individual "progress" and not the capitalist system. People thus see no need to resolve their problems collectively through building organisation.

The capitalist class in South Africa has been very successful in using racism, ethnicism and sexism to sow division within the working class. These divisions within the working class have proved to be serious obstacles to building working class organisations. The history of our liberation struggle is filled with examples of where organisations have split or where unity could not be achieved because of racism and ethnicism and how different organisations see the solution to these problems.

### Something to Discuss You might like to discuss the divisions within the working class with a friend or in your Learning Nation group

Sexism is a much ignored obstacle to building working class organisation. Current ideology promotes the idea that men are the main providers in a family and are better than women. Some people believe that only men can do certain jobs and women others. You might find that men dominate in the organisations that you work in - perhaps the men dominate the key positions. Women are expected to take responsibility for the well being of the family. This means that women have little opportunity or time to participate in organisations without having to sacrifice caring for their families.



they live and about what they get taught. This also applies to the skills that are taught. These skills are designed to make workers efficient workers. None of these skills enable workers to build and sustain their organisation or enable them to take control over their own lives. This has led to a situation where organisations of the working class have become dependent on sympathetic intellectuals from the middle-class who have had better educational opportunities and access to skills.

Another obstacle for organisations is that members must also be trained to gain the necessary skills such as chairing meetings, basic accounting, media skills and running educational workshops. This acts as a severe handicap to the building of organisations.

### The Impact of Class Struggle

While all of the above ideological obstacles weigh the working class down, the intensity of struggle between the bosses and the workers also reinforces or undermines these obstacles. From our own experiences of building organisations in South Africa, we have seen that during periods of intense struggle and mass action, working class organisations mushroom across the country. On the other hand, when the intensity of mass action drops, organisation collapse. People return to the routine of their daily life. The experience of mass action has a powerful impact on the consciousness of people and so they see the need for democracy and accountability. Members of organisations become more self-disciplined. Corruption, which is a problem in many organisations decreases, and people are willing to carry out tasks and make great sacrifices in time and effort.

When organised mass action dies down, this level of consciousness also begins to break down. Motivation drops, leading to people not being punctual for meetings or, worse still, people not attending meetings. Corruption and ill-discipline become common practice.

So we see that the shift in the level of consciousness, which in turn changes according to the level of struggle, can also advance or act as a brake to the building of organisation. When the ruling class has the upper hand, its use of ideology and physical force become even more powerful obstacles and the willingness of the working class to build organisations to defend themselves can decrease.

Next week we will look at some of the more concrete obstacles to building organisations - the state, unemployment and the lack of resources.

### The greatest obstacle

The greatest obstacle facing the working class is the fact that it is oppressed and exploited by the capitalist ruling class. It is the capitalist class which owns all that is necessary to produce the food, clothing and shelter for survival. It also owns the media such as newspaper companies, radio and television which are important tools in shaping the way we think and the values we adopt. The state in capitalist society exists to serve the interests of the capitalists. The police and military sections of the state are there to physically enforce the law, which at the end of the day, is in the interest of the bosses. The state also has control over the education system through which children are socialised into accepting the capitalist way of life. It is against capitalist ideology and the armed force of the state that working class people must struggle in order to build their organisations.

### Ideological Obstacles to Building Organisation

Write one sentence explaining how you think television or the newspapers try to tell you how to live your life.

.....

Through the media the capitalists constantly preach to the oppressed classes that capitalism has always been there and that it will always be there. This view might make you feel helpless. This then in turn makes you feel that there is no point in fighting against the system because it is so strong and will always be there.

The media also tells you that in order to succeed in life all you need to do is to work hard as an individual. This instils individualism and competition amongst workers.



A woman's work is never done.

### The Education Crisis

In South Africa, it is clear to everyone that the state as the agent of the ruling class provides the working class with "gutter education". This education is not designed to encourage people to be critical about the world in which

TIM COHEN

AZAPO yesterday showed the media a document drawn up by the Mandela Crisis Committee in early 1989 which it claimed could back allegations that Winnie Mandela was personally involved in assaults on several abducted youths.

It urged members of the crisis committee, ANC national executive committee member Albertina Sisulu and Mandela's co-accused Katiza Cebekhulu to come forward with information which, it claimed, would prove Mandela's involvement.

Azapo said it wished to uncover the circumstances surrounding the death of Azapo member Dr Abu-Barker Asvat, whose death it claimed was linked to the assaults and Stompie Moeketsi Seipei's death.

## Azapo discloses <sup>11A</sup> Mandela document

<sup>3 10 am 16/4/92</sup>  
The organisation also said it had been approached by a health worker at Hillbrow Hospital who could "back up" Cebekhulu's claim linking Mandela to Asvat's death.

The undated document details the troubled relationship the crisis committee had with Mandela and implores then ANC president Oliver Tambo to take action.

The document said a meeting of Soweto organisations heard allegations from two abducted youths, Gabriel Mekgwe and Thabiso Mono, implicating Mandela in their assault. This allegation was repeated by Mono at the Mandela trial.

# A tearful Winnie goes

CT 16/4/92  
11A

Own Correspondent

**JOHANNESBURG.** — A tearful Mrs Winnie Mandela announced yesterday that she had resigned as head of the ANC's social welfare department.

She told a news conference at ANC headquarters that "persistent and sensational remarks" against her were aimed at diverting the ANC from its task of ending apartheid. The "campaign of vilification" had created a difficult situation for the ANC, her husband and herself, and in view of this she had asked the ANC to relieve her of her duties as soon as a successor could be found.

Mrs Mandela keeps her position as a member of the national executive committee.

She paused several times when overcome by emotion, thanking all who had stood by her "in these trying times" and "during the long years of struggle".

"I say to my people I love them all and the struggle continues."

She said she had "on more than one occasion in the past" contemplated this step but had been dissuaded from doing so by ANC leaders and "close comrades who knew ... the importance of the work that I had been doing".

## 'Incriminating' Azapo document

Own Correspondent

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of Azapo member Dr Abu-Baker Asvat, whose death it claims is linked to the assault and Stompie Moeketsi Seipei's death.

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The document says a meeting of Soweto organisations heard allegations from two abducted youths which were repeated at the Mandela trial.

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The document says a meeting of Soweto organisations heard allegations from two abducted youths which were repeated at the Mandela trial.

of the national executive committee is unclear.

Yesterday she emphasised that she had not taken the step because of allegations made about her, but because she considered it to be in the best interests of the ANC "whose cause and policies I will support until the end of my life".

Referring to published allegations concerning her involvement in criminal activities, Mrs Mandela said: "I have always maintained my innocence and there is an appeal pending. My request that the matter should be left in the hands of the courts has not only been ignored but appears to fuel the desire of those who wish to destroy me and to discredit the ANC."

The ANC, her people and her family had been the three driving forces in her life, she said.

"I have had an overwhelming compassion for the suffering of my people under oppression, which has been so strong that it has overcome any fear that I have had for my personal well-being or interest."

In speaking of the "campaign of vilification" against her she said: "My task, and that of the ANC and our people, has been in the past, is at present, and will be in the future to put an end to apartheid and to gain freedom for all the people of South Africa. What is essential in this task is the unity of our people and their or-

Winnie (11A)

ganisation the ANC. The persistent and sensational remarks against me are intended to hamper and divert us from this task."

The briefing was attended by seven members of the ANC national executive committee, including Mr Steve Tshwete, Mr Ronnie Kasrils and the head of the ANC's Youth League, Mr Peter Mokaba.

ANC spokesman Ms Gill Marcus said she was not aware that the political future of social welfare department deputy head Mr Dali Mpofu, who reportedly has had a relationship with Mrs Mandela, was under consideration.

The national working committee, in a statement attributed to secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, stressed that Mrs Mandela had not been pressured into resigning by any structure of the ANC.

Referring to Mrs Mandela by her first name, the NWC said: "This is Comrade Nomzamo's independent decision ... Comrade Nomzamo has in fact raised the matter of her resignation on a number of previous occasions but was dissuaded from doing so by those leaders she consulted."

The NWC commended Mrs Mandela "for the courageous initiative she has taken in the best interests of her organisation, the ANC".

In a show of sympathy with her, the statement continued: "The ANC has in the past paid tribute to Comrade Nomzamo's outstanding contribution to the struggle of our people against apartheid. That evaluation of her role still stands."

28 APR 1992

# The Star

70c PWV (80c OUTSIDE THE PWV) incl

THURSDAY APRIL 16 1992

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DMHBS/ST/19706

By Esther Waugh  
Political Reporter

(11A)

## Azapo appeals to leaders to come clean

STAR 16/4/92

Azapo yesterday urged top community and religious leaders to divulge any possible evidence regarding the circumstances of Dr Abu-Baker Asvat's death.

This was said in a statement in which the organisation also claimed to have a witness who could corroborate claims made by Winnie Mandela's co-accused, Katiza Cebekhulu, that she was personally involved in the Soweto doctor's murder.

Azapo specifically implied that the Mandela Crisis Committee (MCC), which investigated the activities of Mrs Mandela's bodyguards, the so-called Mandela Foot-

ball Club, had covered up the fact that Mrs Mandela had taken part in an assault on two youths, Gabriel Mekwe and Thabiso Mono, abducted from the Soweto Methodist manse in 1989.

The organisation yesterday released what it claimed was a secret MCC document sent to former ANC president Oliver Tambo seeking clarity on Mrs Mandela's "political life".

The document dealt exclusively with the kidnapping and assault of five youths and did not refer to Dr Asvat, who was Azapo's Secretary for Health.



Tell us ... Azapo urges Frank Chikane, Beyers Naude, Bernard Ncube, Peter Storey and Albertina Sisulu to divulge what they know of Dr Asvat's death.

Azapo, however, said it knew that Dr Asvat had given evidence to the MCC.

"We therefore appeal to the consciences of members

of the MCC to come out clean on what Comrade Asvat had told them, for that may be the reason why he was subsequently assassinat-

ed," Azapo said.

They also appealed to the "Christian consciences" of the Rev Frank Chikane, Dr Beyers Naude, Bishop Peter

Storey and Sister Bernard Ncube who, directly or indirectly, were associated with the MCC.

Bishop Storey said yesterday he was not a member of the MCC, but had liaised closely with the committee during the period when Stompie Seipei and others were abducted.

He said he had not known until Tuesday that the MCC had met Dr Asvat. He had also shared all his knowledge of that period with Dr Asvat's family, but the information was not directly related to Dr Asvat.

The SACC said last night that Mr Chikane was on leave and could not be contacted. Sister Bernard would only be available next week. Dr Naude was not available for comment.

Azapo called on Mrs Mandela and the ANC to provide answers to the mystery surrounding Dr Asvat's death.

"It was the entire Charterist movement, the ANC, UDF, Cosatu, etc, which basked in Mrs Mandela's acclaim, and aided and abetted her projection as a seemingly immaculate, incorruptible 'mother of the nation'," Azapo said.

Azapo said it had been approached by a health worker at Hillbrow Hospital who

● To Page 2

## Azapo plea

● From Page 1

(11A)

had access to Mr Cebekhulu. The worker, whose identity has not been revealed for security reasons, was prepared to back up Mr Cebekhulu's claims about Mrs Mandela's involvement in the death of Dr Asvat.

Turning to Albertina Sisulu, who worked in Dr Asvat's surgery, Azapo said: "However, with or without the State calling her to give evidence, Azapo thinks this is the time for her to reciprocate years of comrade-

ship shown to her by Dr Asvat, by going public on what she knows about the death.

"Thus far, the silence has been deafening."

Mrs Sisulu was not available for comment last night.

Azapo claimed the Mandela split was directly related to the Asvat controversy.

"It is, doubtless, an attempt to save face, as the horrors of his wife's excesses as the so-called 'mother of the nation' come back to haunt both, as well as the movement they belong to, the ANC," said Azapo.

The document stated that:

STAR 16/4/92

● The MCC was told by Tumahole residents and the Methodist Church that five youths had been abducted from the manse by "Winnie's boys".

● Mrs Mandela told the MCC the youths voluntarily came to her house because they were "tired of being sodomised by the priest".

● The youths were identified as Gabriel Mekwe, Thabiso Mono, Katiza Cebekhulu, Stompie Seipei and Kenny (Kgase).

● When we approached Winnie we did not divulge that we knew the number of youths involved because Stompie "was

feared dead by our informants".

● The MCC interviewed Mr Mekwe, Mr Mono and Mr Cebekhulu. "During the interview, we noticed that both of them (Mekwe and Mono) had scars on their bodies. They denied having been assaulted. They maintained that the injuries were sustained when they fell from trees at the mission house. It is an improbable coincidence that of the 16 or so kids who lived at the mission house, the (minister) could sodomise only those who had the propensity to climb trees."

● An interview with Cebekhulu revealed that Mekwe and Mono were "heavily assaulted"; Cebekhulu was instructed to take part in the assault; and that he "was working with the CR Swart Security Branch".

● Mrs Mandela's co-accused, Xoliswa Falati was "heavily implicated".

● Mekwe and Mono told a meeting of all Soweto organisations after their "release" from Mrs Mandela's home that they were assaulted by the Mandela Football Club. "They allege that Winnie herself also took part in assaulting them".

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● Mrs Mandela's co-accused, Xoliswa Falati was "heavily implicated".

were told what to tell the MCC.

● The meeting resolved that Mrs Mandela had to produce Stompie; that she should no longer be given a platform by progressive organisations and the Mandela Football Club be dismantled.

● "When Winnie was informed about the decisions, her immediate response was to demand a list of all the people who were at the meeting.

● Mrs Mandela accused the MCC of "conniving" with the community and of communicating with her husband and Mr Tambo behind her back.

P.T.O. For Picture



False claims not reason for quitting top post - Winnie

# 'I did it for my people'

STAR 16/4/92

11A

By Jo-Anne Collinge

A beleaguered Winnie Mandela yesterday quit her post as head of the ANC's social welfare department, but insisted that the move was not provoked by the "false allegations" against her.

The move came three days after ANC president Nelson Mandela announced that he and Mrs Mandela had agreed to a formal separation.

Yesterday, Mrs Mandela announced in Johannesburg that she had requested the ANC "to relieve me of my duties as the appointed head of the department of social welfare as soon as a successor can take my place".

Although her voice shook as she concluded her statement, she declared at the outset: "Nothing can make me waver in my commitment to my organisation, to my husband and to the oppressed and impoverished people of South Africa."

Mrs Mandela explained her resignation as a move intended to shelter the liberation organisation and her family from the impact of a "campaign of vilification" that had centred on her.

"I have taken this step because I consider it to be in the best interest of the ANC, whose cause and policies I will support until the end of my life."

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said later that the national working committee (NWC) of the ANC had accepted Mrs Mandela's resignation.

He stressed that it had been Mrs Mandela's "independent decision and not the result of a request from the NWC or any other structure



Holding back the tears . . . Winnie Mandela resigns as head of the ANC's social welfare department yesterday. Picture: Joao Silva

of the ANC".

He said the NWC commended Mrs Mandela "for the courageous initiative she has taken in the best interest of her organisation".

John Carlin, Johannesburg correspondent of the London-based Independent newspaper, however, quoted ANC sources as saying yesterday that Mr Ramaphosa was being somewhat economical with the truth.

An ANC official told The Star that the leadership had urged her on Tuesday to re-

sign both from her social welfare position and from the organisation's top leadership body, the national executive committee (NEC).

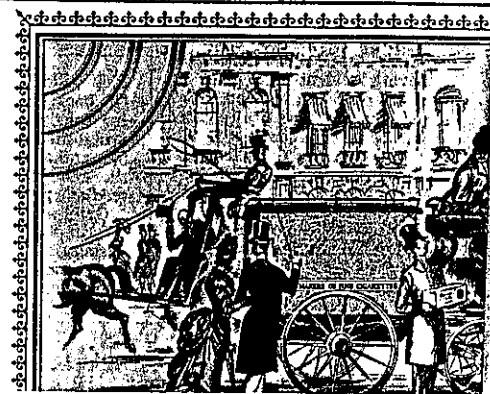
Twice the NEC approached her, twice she refused. But yesterday morning she was given a straight choice between an honourable resignation and a dishonourable discharge. Only then did she make up her mind. But she still clung to the NEC post, to which she was elected by congress last July.

The NEC is expected to

meet next month, or in June, when it could decide to dismiss her.

Mrs Mandela yesterday repeated her position that false allegations had been made against her in the Stompe Sepei matter, for which she was convicted of abduction and assault.

"My request that the matter should be left in the hands of the courts has not only been ignored but appears to fuel the desire of those who wish to destroy me and to discredit the ANC."



# Call for revival of Patriotic Front

By Paula Fray

The Azanian People's Organisation and the Pan Africanist Congress yesterday appealed for the urgent revival of the Patriotic Front, an anti-apartheid alliance established last year.

Speaking at an international conference organised by the National African Federated Transport Organisation, Azapo president Pandelani Nefolovhodwe pleaded that the Patriotic Front be revived.

PAC president Clarence Makwetu said the body's recent national congress had unanimously resolved to continue to strive for the United/Patriotic Front.

"Practical steps have already been taken to re-

convene and bring about a meeting of the Patriotic Front within six months, in accordance with the Durban conference in October last year," said Mr Makwetu.

He said the PAC called for:

- The verifiable disbandment and expulsion of all State organs of violence such as 32 Battalion and Koevoet.
- The international community, namely the UN and the OAU, to intervene directly by deploying peace troops in all areas affected by violence.
- The Goldstone Commission to be replaced by an international commission of inquiry into the causes of violence, and that those responsible be identified.

Sou



FM 17/4/92

LESSONS FROM BRITAIN

11A

# Never forgetting socialism

The African National Congress and those other faint hearts with recidivistic tendencies towards collectivism should take no heart from John Major's reduced majority in the House of Commons. On the contrary, considering the victory that the polls were almost constantly giving to Labour's Neil Kinnock during the campaign, the return of the Tory government is a resounding victory for the freedom implicit in democratic capitalism.

The Tory government has been re-elected in the midst of a recession brought about in large measure by its own lapse from economic orthodoxy — one consequence of which is rising unemployment. And it was humiliated by a proposed poll tax, the political implications of which were not carefully weighed.

In former years that would have been enough to ensure a Labour victory. The fact that the opposite has happened indicates the extent to which people in Britain are suspicious of those who actively want to return to what the bishops of the Anglican Church would like to characterise as a more caring society.

Of course, what they really mean is a society of increasing enfeeblement as the State took to itself the care of its citizens from the cradle to the grave and then found it had not the resources to do so. The social ramifications of that have been harsh — and sometimes cruel.

It deprived ordinary people of the responsibility for their own welfare in a world that is hard and unforgiving; it created a society that made it easy for the individual to escape responsibility for those less fortunate than himself. The State would take care.

It is quintessentially caring when each one of us has to put his hand into his own pocket and fork out for those more in need. That is the gesture that counts. Not the pensions, cheap medicine and free health care which even those societies that believed they were the most prosperous and beneficent now find they can scarcely afford.

There is another lesson for the ANC in Major's victory. An electorate will not take easily to economic half-measures or the cloaking of socialism in terms thought to be more acceptable to those who are concerned at the re-introduction of policies the failure of which has been manifest elsewhere.

A mixed economy is a case in point. It is not a convenient compromise between socialism and capitalism. If the reason for some undertakings being in private hands is because they will be more efficiently run than in public ones, then by what logical reasoning should any business undertaking or utility be in public hands?

Modern economics has shown that government ownership does not mean that ordinary people have a greater share in productive resources. It means that government and the bureaucracy will run those resources to their benefit — not necessarily for the public good or for ordinary folk.

If there is market failure, the way to correct it is not through government intervention in the marketplace, but through the clear legal definition of ownership and the zero cost of transactions. If that happens, buyers and sellers will bargain their way to efficiency.

That is the proposition that last year won Ronald Coase the Nobel Economics Prize. In expounding the Coase Theorem, he has given convincing reasons why privately owned businesses are better at reducing the cost of doing business than publicly owned ones. And he has demolished the case for government intervention.

The Labour Party's ambivalence over collective ownership could not be cloaked in this election. Nor will the ANC's here in the future.

During the course of the election campaign, Major himself grasped the need for firm leadership and an unequivocal exposition of policy. That appears to have had a strong influence in determining the eventual outcome.

There is no doubt that in both policy formation and in its communication to its members, the ANC leadership has been less than decisive. Policy that is left to what is popularly known as the "grass roots" will never be decisive and will most likely be contradictory.

The test to which Boris Yeltsin is being put over economic policy in Russia this week is essentially one of decisive leadership. He has not waited for some obscure process of osmosis to raise often ill-formed notions from the grass roots. He has come forward with bold proposals and is staking his reputation on their being appropriate, logical and consistent.

Most important, however, is that by electing Major, British voters have rejected higher taxes as a means of distributing largesse and assisting the unemployed. There was never any economic sense in that course of action anyway. The ANC which evidently wants similarly to soak the rich to help the poor will find that if it is ever able to do that it will only be done once.

The Tory fall from economic orthodoxy in the latter Thatcher years has exacted a heavy price.

Now that the Tory majority in the Commons, contrary to expectations, is substantial enough for decisive government, the chances are that another lapse by an injudicious Chancellor will not be lightly countenanced. ■



THE TRANSITION F M 17/4/92

~~11A~~ 11A

# De Klerk for president?

The National Party is poised to draw massive support from coloured areas in the Cape in SA's first democratic election — that will probably be held within the next 18 months. And the ANC rabbit seems, for the moment, to be dazzled in the headlights.

The Nats, having ditched apartheid, are moving swiftly to capitalise on their leader's popularity.

They also expect to get substantial majority support in the Indian communities — and they may be increasingly attractive to more blacks than the ANC may be comfortable with.

The Nats have other advantages over the ANC which could prove important going into an election. President F W de Klerk has tested his constituency and consolidated his position.

The ANC, on the other hand, has many restive factions. It is saddled with some official ideological positions that the civilised world finds at best quaint and at worst dangerous. The ANC has never faced an election. And its president, Nelson Mandela, has been forced to wash domestic linen in public.

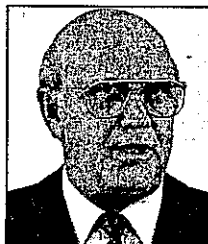
It must also not be forgotten that the ANC has always been a broad church. When Mandela eventually goes, it is not impossible that the organisation will split — which would probably strengthen further any moderate centrist party presided over by a relatively young De Klerk.

De Klerk's first foray into Mitchells Plain, the country's largest coloured residential area (in his capacity as party leader), was an undeniable success. But he was effectively forced to abandon the main public meeting and was whisked away from the giant marquee packed with about 5 000 people, after the stage had been pelted with gravel and the occasional bottle and egg.

The vast majority of the 10 000-plus people who lined the city's streets and packed two venues to hear him speak were cheering rather than jeering. General chaos — most of it good-natured — reigned for hours before his arrival, during the visit and long after he left and it all ensured widespread publicity for the Nat cause.

De Klerk was shouted down by a relatively small group of mainly ANC supporters. But it allowed him to capture the moral high ground (a political skill that he has perfected over the past two years).

The ANC has been seen as the villain in Mitchells Plain, denying De Klerk the right to free speech, so often claimed for itself (and, until recently, been denied by the NP). The ANC was also seen as perpetuating racial divisions by demanding that De Klerk keep out of coloured areas which it regards as its turf.



De Klerk



Boesak

Such are the ironies of the new SA.

In reaction to the meeting, a statement from the ANC's head office in Johannesburg described the event as a total disaster and claimed De Klerk was neither shouted down nor placed under threat and that he abandoned the meeting when it became clear that most people opposed him.

But local officials of the ANC (and almost every journalist on the scene) conceded that the NP had clear majority support on the day. ANC spokesman Willie Hofmeyr also condemned "in the strongest terms" the stone-throwing and disruption that forced De Klerk to leave.

It was also condemned by Democratic Party MP Jan van Eck, widely regarded as much more partial to the ANC than the Nats. After monitoring the meeting and witnessing the events, he said that while he understood how angry some people were at the way Nat governments had treated coloureds for 40 years, he disapproved of the disruptive action in the strongest and most unqualified terms. "We cannot allow this sort of thuggery to become the pattern in the run-up to the first democratic election in our history."

It is interesting to speculate on how the ANC would have responded had the Inkatha Freedom Party disrupted the weekend meeting in KwaMashu near Durban addressed by Mandela in the same way that its supporters broke up De Klerk's Mitchells Plain rally.

There is also a correlation between the weekend disruption and the behaviour last year of AWB supporters in Ventersdorp, when De Klerk went to the town considered by the AWB to be its territory.

The ANC's response to De Klerk's Mitchells Plain visit demonstrated how far the organisation — particularly in the western Cape — still has to go to transform itself into an efficient political machine rather than a protest movement.

The Nats are already thinking in terms of nonracial elections — and their campaign has already started.

The western Cape ANC is based largely on the old United Democratic Front, an extremely effective anti-apartheid machine in the region while the ANC was still

banned. But it's clearly struggling now to develop a new role.

Despite the election last year of Allan Boesak, the ANC's western Cape leader (supposedly to draw coloured support), there is growing evidence that coloureds will flock to the NP or, better still, a new party established around the core of the current NP.

In some respects, the groundswell of support for the NP among coloureds is surprising, considering the shameful manner in which they were treated by the party for four decades. Many residents of Mitchells Plain in particular have reason to be bitter. They were forcibly moved to the sprawling Cape Flats city when areas such as District Six were declared white.

But interviews with residents — including some who were forced to move — published over the past few days indicate that most believe De Klerk has taken the NP beyond apartheid and that it's time to start a new chapter in political history. They feel more comfortable with De Klerk and the NP than they do with Mandela and the ANC.

Many coloureds are deeply religious and, therefore, suspicious of the ANC's alliance with the SA Communist Party. And they are overwhelmingly Afrikaans-speaking.

NP leaders believe that if there is already such strong and open support for the party in Mitchells Plain, a relatively radical community prone to political intimidation, then the potential in more conservative (and less bitter) areas is massive. ■

DEFENCE F M 17/4/92

## The last battle ~~11A~~

The Cape Corps, a volunteer military unit for coloureds, has been disbanded as part of the SA Defence Force (SADF)'s current rationalisation programme and in an attempt to move away from "apartheid" in the army. But the move has been described as "window dressing" and insensitive to the traditions of a unit which traces its history back more than 200 years.

The rationalisation was approved in February by Defence Minister Roelf Meyer after months of investigation. On April 1, the Cape Corps battalions were merged to form 9 SA Infantry Battalion (9 SAI), based at the old corps base in Eersterivier near Cape Town. The maintenance unit and the Cape Corps Regiment, a citizen force voluntary unit, were disbanded. At a parade in Cape Town next week the corps will be formally disbanded and its colours, including battle honours from World War 1, will be laid up in the Castle.

# Attitude change to cops 'most glaring'

South 18/4-23/4/92  
By Quentin Wilson

PROFESSOR BASIL Moore, considered the "father of black theology" in South Africa has returned from exile in Australia to research anti-racist education.

Moore's story began over 25 years ago when he was part of a three-person delegation sent to the United States by the local University Christian Movement (UCM).

"UCM sent the three of us to meet the University Christian Movement in the United States. Besides myself, there was an Indian guy, who should probably not be named now, and Bob Kgwere. While there, we were introduced to black theology and brought the concept back to South Africa.

"The Indian guy turned out to be a security policeman and Bob Kgwere was murdered on our return — so it fell on me to write the initial papers."

Since then, the "father of black theology" has spent 20 years exiled in Australia where he has been working as Professor of Curricular Studies at the University of South Australia. He returned a month ago to work on his research project on anti-racist education.

"The most glaring change for me in South Africa has been the change in attitude towards the police. When I left in 1972 the police were omnipotent and omniscient — they had complete power over people's lives. Now it seems as if they know nothing and do nothing.

"Then, if you made a phone call, they knew about it. Obviously they still do horrendous things now but they seem to be held in contempt by communities. Before, people lived in tremendous fear of them."

Although impressed by the higher levels of racial integration here, Moore has been astounded by the levels of violence.

"When I arrived in Johannesburg, I noticed the extraordinary sense of fear about the violence. Watching everybody rush to and fro from security gates, I just wanted to leave immediately."

In the 1960s Moore had a short spell as president of the National Union of South African Students before he joined the University Christian Movement. It was here that he became a good friend of Steve Biko.

"My first encounter with Steve was when he was a medical student

at Natal University. I came down to present a paper on black theology. At that stage he did not buy it at all and took me on in the audience. We had a very lively debate.

"This man was powerful and charismatic. I can remember at another conference we were about to break the 92-hour law. In terms of the influx control regulations, it was forbidden for Africans to spend more than 92 hours in a white area at one time.

"All the black students stood a chance of being arrested and we debated whether or not to walk down the road to an African area and return. Biko was the one who argued very strongly that apartheid had to be defied. Although it was a trivial thing, apartheid was made up of many trivial things which all built the terribly oppressive system."

Moore's research on anti-racist education has led him to believe there is not enough thinking here on the subject.

"I am surprised at how little there is. I thought there would be a ferment of thinking about the effects of racist education in South Africa and how education could be used to combat racism. I found that this is just not the case."

# Guns ablaze over trashing of MK

South 18/4-23/4/92

**T**HE TRAINING standards and culture of the SADF were closer to requirements for an accountable national defence force than those of the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe, delegates to a seminar in Umtata were told.

This was an argument put forward last week by Dr Jakkie Cilliers, former SADF member and Director of the Institute for Defence Politics at a seminar on integration of military forces in South Africa.

The seminar, hosted by the Transkei Defence Force, was

attended by senior officers from the defence forces of SA, Ciskei, Transkei, Venda and Bophuthatswana and members of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) and the PAC's Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla).

Cilliers said the vast majority of MK members would require "extensive retraining" before joining a regular army because of lack of "minimum educational standards".

His paper drew a heated response from other delegates, including MK's acting chief-of-staff, Mr

Siphiwe Nyanda.

Nyanda challenged Cilliers' claim that it was highly likely the new defence force would be initially manned by a core of highly trained top-ranking officers who were professionals rather than racists.

Nyanda said the army had to be politically and morally legitimate.

Cilliers replied that it was a fact that the officer corps of the SADF constituted the largest resource of military skills in the southern hemisphere.

No party in the country was

regarded as absolutely legitimate by all the others, he said.

"South Africa is an unlikely democracy. There is no tradition of political tolerance, no balance of power and a high illiteracy rate," Cilliers added.

An Apla representative said Cilliers' speech was an "insult to the whole liberation struggle".

Apla speaker Mr Tobile Gola said there was a need for an international peace-keeping force during the transitional period, during which time the various military forces

would have to be confined to barracks.

It was too early to say which countries would be considered for the international force.

Nyanda argued that a future defence force should be answerable to the public, respect human rights, be a permanent volunteer force and be bound by international law and conventions.

He said there would be a reduction in defence expenditure as there would be no threat by neighbouring states. — Eena

# The day the Nat tannic

South 18/4 - 22/4/92

The 'bald Messiah' evoked strange scenes in Mitchells Plain. JUSTIN PEARCE and photographer YUNUS MOHAMED were there to witness the Nats going multi-cultural to the sounds goema:

**"R**IGHT OF admission reserved" said the notices on the circus tent where the FW rally was to take place. Five years ago, they would almost certainly have said "whites only". But this was Mitchell's Plain. This was the day the Nats went multi-cultural, my bra.

How else do you explain toyi-toying Nats, or an NP gathering where most of the whites present were ANC supporters?

To stress the multi-cultural nature of the occasion, a Muslim brass band struck up with an out-of-tune rendition of "Onward Christian Soldiers".

Later they swung into a rousing goema melody. It was as though the campaign planners had been studying all the clichés of "coloured culture" and adapting them to their own ends. Shining coon carnival jackets caught the eye, unbuttoned to reveal the image of FW de Klerk smiling from the T-shirt underneath.

But "struggle culture" was part of the mix as well. Brown NP members toyi-toyed to chants of "FW, FW, FW" (pronounced in Afrikaans, Ef Vee), which mingled with the chant of "ANC, ANC, ANC" coming from the other side of the tent.

The NP had rallied its forces in good time, with one particularly vocal busload occupying a stand supposedly reserved for a TV camera crew. Perhaps the SABC had been given instructions not to object.

Dressed in their best Sunday hats, head scarves or fezzes, this largely elderly crowd snatched voraciously at

the NP flags that were being distributed.

These were the kind of party supporters every journalist should love. It wasn't necessary to ask them why they were supporting the Nats — they pushed their way towards me as soon as they saw my notebook. They wouldn't go away until they were satisfied that every detail was recorded — and then I would be handed over to the buddy or neighbour who expressed the same opinions over again.

These people had learnt their lines very, very well. But more and more ANC supporters wandered in until the tent was divided into two equally-sized camps: the ANC supporters on the left and the Nats (prophetically?) on the right

**D**ISTRICT SIX and other forced removals were frequently alluded to, one poster reading "Let's talk about Six, baby".

Two white NP ladies in the platform party showed their commitment to multi-culturalism by thrusting their fists into the air in time with the toyi-toyi.

One of them got so carried away that when she suddenly realised the chant had stopped, she self-consciously used her raised hand to adjust her lacquered hairdo.

Outside a minibus drew up, and its occupants began handing out NP balloons and stickers. The vehicle was rocked from side to side by the crush of people desperate for the magic freebies.

As 11 o'clock came and went, the noise level, the temperature and the restlessness in the tent rose with the numbers of people who were still



**FW'S FAITHFUL AND UNFAITHFUL SUPPORTERS:** Both sides with a score to settle went to gro... in Mitchells Plain. The result however is in dispute with both teams claiming victory

pouring in. There was no way the crowd would relax before FW appeared — but it seemed increasingly unlikely that he would be able to make himself heard, or even to squeeze his way onto a stage already jammed with photographers, journal-

ists, Nats of assorted colours and stray hangers-on.

The multi-cultural brass band having given up, Bonteheuvel MP Mr Patrick McKenzie seized the microphone and tried to lead the audience in more goemaaliedjies.

Someone arrived with more balloons, and people went over like dominoes in the ensuing scuffle for a souvenir.

Then a white, statesmanlike figure in a suit elbowed his way onto the stage. Could it be, could it be (the

# It tannies toyi-toyed

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(PW) (PW) (11A)



**PORTERS:** Both sides with a score to settle went to great lengths to make their point at the Nat jamboree in dispute with both teams claiming victory

assorted colours and n. cultural brass band up, Bonteheuvel MP McKenzie seized the and tried to lead the re goemaaliedjies.

Someone arrived with more balloons, and people went over like dominoes in the ensuing scuffle for a souvenir. Then a white, statesmanlike figure in a suit elbowed his way onto the stage. Could it be, could it be (the

shrieks of delight from one side of the tent would have made Paul Simon jealous), could it be ... no, this one's got hair, it's only Kleinbaas Stoffel van der Merwe. He was not the Light, but came to bear witness to the Light. He

beamed at the audience, muttered into the microphone before standing aside for the bald man in the grey suit who came stumbling on after him. This time the shrieks were worthy of a Madonna concert.

The expected address was little more than a five-minute harangue against the ANC.

"These people do not represent the spirit of Mitchells Plain." (Clearly, the true spirit of Mitchells Plain had to be bussed in from the platteland with the other NP supporters.)

"They are the radicals we must eliminate from our society." Shades of PW there, FW.

**T**HEN THE STRAIN got too much for the bald Messiah and he disappeared through the back of the tent under a not-so-democratic hail of sand, pebbles, stones, gravel or coarse gravel depending on your political vantage point.

A large part of the NP crowd vanished in pursuit; the rest occupied the stage and resumed the toyi-toyi, initiating a prolonged slanging match with the ANC supporters who were toyi-toying at ground level.

Yet as far as real aggro was concerned, the gathering barely measured up to a Sunday braai attended by the supporters of two different cricket teams.

Now and then people in search of fresh air would start an NP or an ANC protest march and do a few laps of the field outside. A self-appointed orator leaped onto a plastic chair to proclaim "FW is ons baas en sal ook julle baas wees".

So who won? While coloured people are still disenfranchised, we won't find out.

"Gaan PW nog praat?" asked someone passing me on his way from the bus terminus towards the tent.

Sorry, bra. You're three years too late for PW — and an hour too late for FW, just in case you know the difference.

X



'She was chosen to fulfil a leadership position not because she was Mandela's wife'

# Winnie's fate rests with ANC members

South 18/4-23/4/92

By Quentin Wilson

(11A)

WINNIE MANDELA'S leadership position within the ANC is safe until its members decide otherwise. This is the ANC stance amid calls that the organisation purge itself of her.

An ANC source said the organisation "will probably wait until after her appeal (against convictions of kidnapping and being an accessory to assault) before a decision about her political future is made".

Political experts said Mrs Mandela's stature in the ANC would diminish following the separation from her husband, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela.

About her position in the ANC Women's League, high ranking member Ms Lindiwe Zulu said: "No decision will be made at the moment.

"She was chosen to fulfil a leadership position not because she was Mandela's wife but because of the work she has done in the ANC since she joined."

Zulu said: "The whole issue has been made a very personal thing. The fact that people are already speculating about her political future on the basis of the separation is absurd."

Responding to Mrs Mandela's legal battles, Zulu said that the ANC would wait for "the law to take its course. It is a matter for the courts to decide".

The co-accused in her trial, Xoliswa Falati and John Morgan, have recently claimed that they lied in court to protect her.

Police have confirmed they are investigating three more charges of kidnapping and one of theft against Mrs Mandela, and allegations that she may be linked to the murder of Dr Abu-Bakr Asvat in 1989.

Acting attorney-general of the Witwatersrand Mr Chris Human said his office would wait for the outcome of police investigations before deciding whether to prosecute.

ANC spokesperson Mr Saki Macozoma said the ANC would take a decision regarding Mrs Mandela in due course and would depend on the organisation's assessment of political circumstances.

"We will have to take the whole situation, in particular the politics, into consideration and evaluate that," he said.

Macozoma would not say whether the ANC would delay its decision on Mrs Mandela until after the outcome of her appeal.

Mrs Mandela is head of the ANC's Social Welfare Department and an elected member of the organisation's National Executive Committee (NEC).

Announcing the separation, Mr Mandela said: "Comrade Nomzamo has and can continue to rely on my unstinting support during these trying moments in her life.

"In view of the tensions that have arisen owing to differences between ourselves on a number of issues in recent months, we have mutually agreed that a separation would be best for each of us.

"My action was not prompted by the current allegations in the media. I deeply regret the role that the media has assumed in this regard and would once again urge that the issue of her guilt or innocence be left to the judicial system to determine," he said.



THOSE WERE THE DAYS: Nelson and Winnie Mandela during happier times before his 27-year imprisonment

# PAC, Azapo call for new negotiating forum

South 18/4 - 23/4/92

By Sabata Ngcai

THE PAC and Azapo this week refuted rumours they intend joining Codesa and called for the creation of an alternative negotiating forum to be convened and chaired by international bodies.

PAC publicity secretary Mr Barney Desai said: "The PAC has no intention of joining Codesa but intends to re-convene it with the liberation movements sitting on one side of the table and the government and its allies on the other."

The PAC believed this envisaged forum should be convened, chaired and its agreements endorsed by international bodies such as the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), Non-Aligned Movement,

European Community and the Commonwealth.

Desai denied that a statement made by the PAC's general secretary, Mr Benny Alexander, at the organisation's Umtata conference, meant the organisation intends joining Codesa.

It is reported that Alexander said the PAC believes Codesa will usher in South Africa's first non-racial elections before the end of 1992.

Desai said the statement means that: "If elections on the basis of one person, one vote take place at the end of the year, the PAC will consider contesting them but will not be bound by decisions reached at Codesa."

The report is said to have been distributed at the conference under

11A  
strict instructions that it should not be leaked to the media. But it was.

In the report, Alexander said the PAC was going to be faced with an election called by the ANC and the South African government through Codesa before the end of the year.

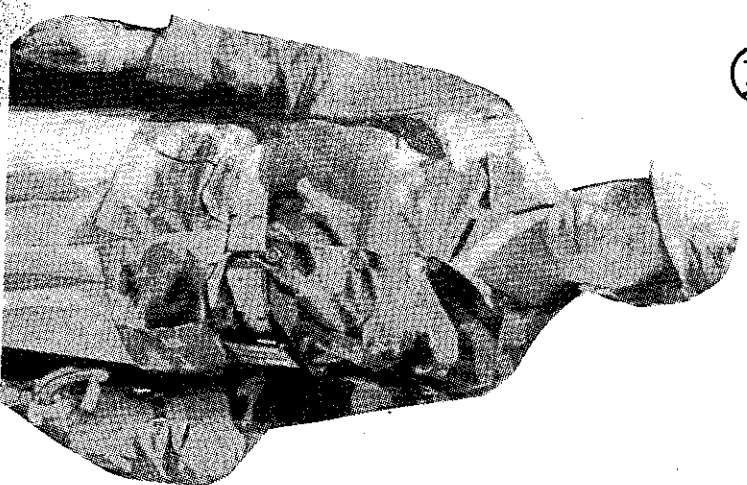
Like the PAC, Azapo says it has no intention of joining Codesa as its aim is to form an alternative front encompassing all parties which are not participants at Codesa, and to define a new solution for the country.

Azapo publicity secretary Mr Strini Moodley said in his reaction to rumours that his organisation was on the brink of joining Codesa: "We are planning an alternative front with all the organisations outside Codesa."

# From beauty to beast

APR 18/4/92

The name on everyone's lips this week — as in many other weeks — has been Winnie Mandela. Once again, this remarkable and controversial woman has hogged the headlines, very likely not for the last time. **JOE LOUW** traced some of the influences that have shaped this woman.



**MAVERICK:** Mrs Mandela became increasingly militant, outspoken and contentious.

**A firebrand whose star likely will always burn brightly**



**OUTSPOKEN:** Vociferous Mrs Mandela has always had the ear of the world Press.

**S**HE was born Nomzamo Winnie Madikizela in 1934 at Bizana in the Transkei. Her father, Mr Columbus Madikizela, was a local teacher who later became a minister in the Transkei government. Her mother, of whom little is known, died when Winnie was nine.

Even as a young girl, Winnie knew exactly what she wanted and showed an early streak of independence. She chose a career as a medical social worker and in the early 1950s headed to Baragwanath Hospital to pursue this end.

Her extreme beauty soon came to the attention of Mr Nelson Mandela, then a prominent young lawyer. After a whirlwind romance of only a year — during which Mr Mandela divorced his first wife — the handsome pair married in a corrugated iron church in her hometown.

It was there that her father made his prophetic announcement that marrying Mr Mandela was not only marrying a man, but marrying a movement.

As Winnie was later to write in her book, *Part Of My Soul*, she knew that "a life with him will be a life without him".

Three months later, she was in jail for her role in defying the pass laws and her husband was already deeply involved in the infamous Treason Trial of 1956. Her political baptism by fire had begun and so had the sordid tale of internicine jealousy within the ranks of her fellow female activists.

Their fairy-tale romance, the ebullience of their youth and their smiling faces and their fame did not always kindle happiness in people.

Winnie had taken the most sought-after prize among the women and already there were ugly murmurings about her "arrogance and her snobbishness".

By 1960, she already was striking a high political profile in the African National Congress, as head of the ANC's Orlando branch, a member of the provincial branch and as an eminent member of the Federation of South African Women.

As 1961 dawned, the life of the Mandelas had become a patchwork of small segments of time snatched between court appearances, trials and dozens of meetings. The couple didn't even have a proper home.

With the banning of the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress, Mr Mandela slipped out of the country to carry the pain of South Africa's black masses to Africa and the world. Winnie was alone.

In 1962, she was banned under the Suppression of Communism Act and restricted to Orlando township, having to quit her job as a social worker with the Johannesburg City Council.

By the end of 1962, Mr Mandela was back in the country, but operating underground. The life of the Mandelas once again took on the quality of an Alexander Dumas novel.

It was then that the now-famous Winnie temperament and her prodigious physical and mental resources showed themselves.

Her rows with the police became legendary — she became known as a woman who, when pushed, pushed back. She yelled and screamed at the police without fear and her fearless actions inspired a generation.

Mr Mandela was sentenced to life imprisonment. The image projected of her was of a young, beautiful and militant mother of two young children (daughters Zeni and Zinzi), restricted to the confines of a small township where she was hounded by security police while her husband was incarcerated in a notorious island jail. It was a potent aid to fueling the cause the world over.

However, there was little room for self-pity in the woman. In spite of extreme har-

Aug 18/4/92



□ **FAMILY ALBUM:** A radiant Winnie, above, with baby Zinzi and proud dad Nelson, in 1961.

□ **STUDENT:** Young and idealistic in her days as a social work student in 1965.



once and for all, to defy the authorities and return home to her place in Soweto. In mysterious circumstances, her house in Brandfort was petrol-bombed and she vowed to go home.

Her highly publicised return to Soweto fired the imaginations of people around the world. She was epitomised as a heroine and she played the role to the hilt.

The young militants of the '70s Black Consciousness movement idolised her and she gained a large, admiring constituency of young urban blacks ready to follow wherever

she led them.

Since that time, the Winnie star has been burning ever more brightly, seemingly fuelled by the very truculence and defiance that allowed her to survive her early tribulations. Perhaps it was impossible for the star to continue growing forever.

Yet, no one who heard the pledge of deep love, respect and regret, expressed by Mr Mandela — under duress — when he separated from his wife this week could fail to be moved. Her imminent obscurity may still prove to be illusory.

□ **FALL FROM GRACE:** A grim-faced Mrs Mandela announces her resignation as head of the ANC's social welfare department this week after husband Nelson announced their separation, as new allegations of abuse of power and violence surfaced.

□ **TOGETHER:** Holding hands outside Pretoria Magistrate's Court two years ago.



# 'Big three' court Zion's faithful

FW, Buthelezi,  
STAR 18/4/92  
 Mandela speak  
 at Moria service

**(I.A.) (S.A.) (Z.A.)**  
 STAFF REPORTERS, SAPA and AFP

**IN A major bid to woo future voters, South Africa's three main political leaders will tomorrow address a gathering of about three million black Christians.**

State President F W de Klerk, ANC president Nelson Mandela and IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi are to attend the Easter service of the conservative Zion Christian Church (ZCC) at its headquarters in Zion City, Moria, in the far northern Transvaal.

Buthelezi, who will deliver the first address, Mandela and De Klerk will each speak for about 20 minutes.

The gathering takes place in the Pietersburg area, which is notorious for road accidents, particularly over the Easter holiday.

Despite a serious collision between a bus and a lorry yesterday on the Pietersburg-Tzaneen road in which three people were killed and thirty-four injured, nine seriously, national accident statistics showed a sharp reduction.

## Five million members

The ZCC, which marries Christian dogma with traditional African beliefs, has five million members and is noted for its puritanical rules preventing members from smoking, drinking or eating pork.

Political analyst Alf Stadler said all three leaders would be "flirting" for votes with the ZCC, whose membership is larger than that of any political party.

Stadler believes De Klerk may find fertile ground for his campaign to expand the National Party's popularity beyond its white power base.

Mandela's ANC has also been trying to widen its influence in traditional African society, while Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party is a strong advocate of giving a role to traditional leaders.

"They are all pitching for the traditional leaders," Stadler said, adding that the ZCC was "important in the new South Africa".

The conservative nature of the ZCC was highlighted in 1985 when former president P W Botha addressed the church's Easter Sunday service.

Botha's address came at a time of intense violence in South Africa and followed the March 21, 1985, shooting of more than 35 blacks by police at Langa, near Uitenhage in the Eastern Cape.

Botha praised the Zionists for being law-abiding and told them: "Do what is good and you will receive the approval of the ruler. He is God's servant for your good."



## This was no yolk

**NAPLES** — Police found guns, bullets and drugs hidden in Easter eggs when they raided a Naples bar yesterday.

The bar owner and his wife had also hidden dozens of illegal gaming slips among the Easter bunnies and bottles of whisky on the shelves. — Sapa-Reuter.

## A sweet, early Easter

DAVID KATZ

**EASTER** came sweet and early for 15 excited children at Johannesburg's Coronation hospital — they were given Easter eggs and picture books donated by the Cadbury and Penguin groups.

An abandoned 18-month-old toddler, Katherine Cloete, living at the hospital until a foster home is found for her, was slightly overwhelmed by all the attention, but smiled shyly when a big, brightly coloured egg was thrust into her hands. Delton Yule (5), just grinned widely between mouthfuls of chocolate.

Paediatric ward sister Lorraine Chatel said those children who could read would keep their books while the rest of the books would be put in the hospital library.

● Photograph: JACOOB RYCLIFFE

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# Winnie – the long, ha

**S**HE was born Nomzamo Winnie Madikizela in 1934 at Bizana in Transkei. Her father, Columbus Madikizela, was a local schoolteacher who later became a minister in the Transkei government. Her mother, of whom little is known, died when Winnie was only nine.

Even as a young girl Winnie knew exactly what she wanted and showed an early streak of independence. She chose a career as a medical social worker and in the early 1950s headed to Baragwanath Hospital to pursue this goal.

**H**er extreme beauty soon came to the attention of Nelson Mandela, then a prominent young lawyer who was, in Fifties parlance, "The Talk of the Town". After a whirlwind romance of only a year — during which time Nelson divorced his first wife — the handsome pair were married in a corrugated iron church in her hometown of Bizana.

It was there that her father made his prophetic announcement that marrying Nelson was not only marrying a man, but marrying a movement.

As Winnie was later to write in her book, "Part of My Soul", she knew that "a life with him will be a life without him".

**T**hree months later, she was in jail for her role in defying the pass laws and her husband was already deeply involved in the infamous Treason Trial of 1956. Her political baptism by fire had begun and so had the sordid tale of inter-caste jealousy within the ranks of her fellow female activists.

Nelson and Winnie's fairy-tale romance, the ebullience of their youth, their smiling happy faces and their fame did not always kindle happiness in people. Winnie had taken the most



1957: Winnie Madikizela, the 23-year-old medical social worker, who caught Nelson's eye.



1977: Winnie and her granddaughter Zaziwe at Brandfort after she was banished.



1990: The Winnie still allowed

sought after prize among the women, and already there were ugly murmurings about her "arrogance and her snobbishness".

By 1960 she was already striking a high political profile in the ANC — branch chairman of the Orlando branch, a member of the provincial branch and an eminent member of the Federation of South African Women.

As 1961 dawned the life of the Mandelas had already become a patchwork of small segments of time snatched between court appearances, trials, dozens of meetings — the couple didn't even have a proper home.

With the banning of the ANC and PAC, Nelson slipped out of the

country to carry the pain of South Africa's black masses to Africa and the world, and Winnie was alone.

In 1962 she was banned under the Suppression of Communism Act and restricted to Orlando township, and had to quit her job as a social worker with the Johannesburg Council.

By the end of 1962, Nelson was back in the country but operating underground and the life of the Mandelas once

again took on the quality of an Alexander Dumas novel.

**I**t was then that the now famous Winnie temperament and her prodigious physical and mental resources showed themselves.

Her rows with the police became legendary — she became known as a woman who, when pushed, pushed back. She yelled and screamed

back at the police without fear and her fearless actions served to inspire a generation.

After Nelson was sentenced to life imprisonment, the image of a young, beautiful and militant mother of two young children (her daughter Zeni and Zinzi were born by then) restricted to the confines of a small township, hounded by security police while her husband was incarcerated in a notorious island jail were po-

tent fuel to the cause of world over.

But there was little room for self pity in the woman. Despite extreme harassment Winnie Madikizela confronted and defied the system at every turn.

Despite having two young children to raise and unable to work, she undertook a decade of often lonely defiance that included three jail terms and 17 months of solitary confinement.

In May 1977 she was

**The name on everyone's lips this week — as in many other weeks — has been Winnie Mandela. Once again this remarkable and controversial woman has hogged the headlines for what will definitely not be the last time. JOE LOUW traces some of the influences that have shaped her life and times.**

STAR 18/4/92

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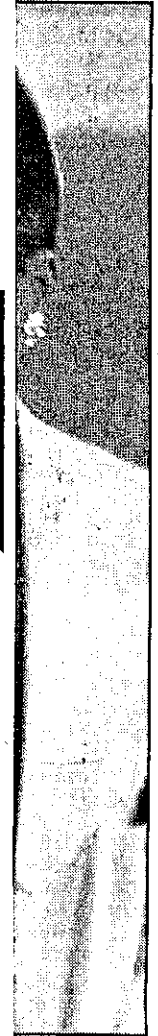
# - the long, hard road



1977: Winnie and her granddaughter Zaziwe at Brandfort after she was banished.



1990: The Winnie star at its brightest — nourished by the fiery spirit that allowed her to survive her earlier tribulations.



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son's eye.

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small town in the Free  
State where she re-  
mained, out of sight per-  
haps, but not out of  
everyone's mind — least  
of all the authorities.  
**F**inally she deter-  
mined that it was time  
once and for all to defy  
the authorities and re-  
turn home to her place  
in Soweto. In mysterious  
circumstances her house  
in Brandfort had been  
petrol bombed and she  
vowed to go home.  
Her highly publicised  
return to Soweto fired  
the imaginations of peo-  
ple around the world —  
she was epitomised as a  
heroine and she played  
the role to the hilt.  
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seemingly nourished by  
the very truculence and  
defiance that allowed  
her to survive her early  
tribulations.  
Perhaps it was impos-  
sible for the star to con-  
tinue glowing forever.  
Yet no one who heard  
the pledge of deep love,  
respect and regret, ex-  
pressed by Nelson Man-  
dela as — under duress  
— he separated from his  
wife this week, could fail  
to be moved.  
And Winnie's pre-  
sumed obscurity may  
still prove to be illusory.



# Harry Gwala, ANC 'warlord'

11A

STAR 18/4/92

ON FIRST inspection Harry Gwala, a senior member of the ANC's national executive committee, is a most unsavoury character: he is a self-confessed killer, a man whom people in his own organisation fear to cross, and a hard-line Marxist who applauded the Soviet coup attempt last year.

But if he is unsavoury, so are the hundreds of thousands —

## JOHN CARLIN of The Independent

if not millions — of blacks whose language he speaks, to whose thoughts he gives expression.

If Gwala were younger than his 72 years and if he were healthier — he suffers from a progressive motor neurone disease which has deprived him of the use of both arms — he would stand alongside Nelson Mandela as one of the most powerful leaders in black politics.

He could even come to rival Mandela. For when Mandela speaks, the ANC faithful fidget. When Gwala speaks, he sets them on fire.

Mandela talks of peace and give-and-take, instructing his audiences in the realpolitik of De Klerk times. Gwala preaches an older message, simpler, more familiar and more stirring. He preaches war, no compromise and seizure of power.

Contained here is the ANC's biggest dilemma. For the closer the ANC and the Government come to agreement on interim government and a new constitution, the wider the gap between ANC leadership and a rank-and-file whose vision has remained fundamentally unchanged since the P W Botha era.

But Gwala, viewed as

an aged *enfant terrible* by the ANC mainstream in Johannesburg, elicits as much awe and reverence in Maritzburg as the Zulu warrior chiefs of old.

From his fortress home in Edendale township — set in the "Valley of the Widows", as the locals call it — he presides as chairman of the ANC's Natal Midlands region: Zulu country and the scene of relentless bloodshed since 1986.

He has little time for the "peace accords" and "peace forums" which have sprouted up, largely at the behest of the ANC leadership, in the last year.

"Chamberlain tried it, but it was only when people like Churchill, Stalin and Roosevelt came together that peace was imposed."

## Intelligence

A tiny man with shining eyes, Gwala's hands rest lifeless on his desk as he speaks. His conversation — peppered with references to Dickens, Shakespeare, the Bible, Zulu and world history — reveals how abundantly he read during his 20 years in prison for terrorism and furthering the aims of the ANC.

It is his intelligence that sets him apart from the Inkatha "warlords" with whom he has engaged in battle since his release in 1988, but otherwise, according to peace monitors in Natal, he and they are two sides of the same coin.

It is on record that Gwala has dispatched his well-armed "boys" — an ANC official in Johannesburg likened them to Winnie Mandela's notorious "football club" — to attack Inkatha warriors in neighbouring towns.

Gwala himself quite cheerfully admits his role in a conflict which, according to Inkatha, has seen more than 200 of their supporters assassinated in the last four years.

"Make no mistake," says Gwala, "we kill Inkatha warlords."

So, do all the peace efforts with which the ANC leadership has been so obsessed serve any useful purpose?

"They simply suit people's consciences. Remember all the fuss throughout 1990 about getting Mandela and Buthelezi to meet?"

"Since they shook hands on January 29 last year we've had more than a thousand dead in Natal alone," says Gwala.

"As the violence spreads, more and more ANC regions around the country are approaching us, eager to learn from our experience. Particularly now that they see how hard it is to believe the struggle will be won through negotiations and peace accords alone.

"We must also defend the people. And yes, very apologetically the big boys in Johannesburg are coming around to our point of view."



By DESMOND BLOW

WILLIAM Shakespeare could have written a tragedy around Nelson and Winnie Mandela to equal *Macbeth*.

Shakespeare's principal players are always noble but the tragedy occurs because of a character flaw such as ambition, pride or jealousy that brings them down.

In *Lady Macbeth* it was ambition. In Winnie Mandela it was arrogance and mistrust, coupled strangely with her undoubted courage.

There were also outside events over the past three decades that changed the shy young wife of Nelson Mandela - whom activist-writer Mary Benson in her autobiography *A Far Cry* describes as seeing putting her baby daughters, Zenzi and Zinzi, to bed - to the Winnie she later describes as having become a strikingly beautiful woman and a "law unto herself".

Winnie's growing arrogance made many people inside and outside the liberation movement antagonistic towards her. Over the years many people, some in powerful positions, became her enemies.

So in some circles this week there was glee at her downfall.

### Long years

Forgotten are the positive sides of her relationship with Nelson and the liberation movement. She has been described by 87-year-old Helen Joseph, the first person placed under house arrest in SA, as a loyal friend and Nelson's inspiration through his long years of imprisonment.

A week ago, despite her personal problems, Winnie visited the ailing Helen at her small home in Norwood with her young grandson to wish her a happy 87th birthday.

Without Winnie's efforts, her imprisoned husband may never have become the world's best-known martyr.

That she may have committed crimes for which she is before court is a different matter, but part of the tragedy.

She has been found guilty of abduction and assault and sentenced to six years' imprisonment. She is appealing against the conviction.

If the Appeal Court upholds the verdict she will no doubt be jailed.

Winnie was not charged with the murder of child activist Stompie Seipei. Two convicted fellow-accused have made statements alleging they committed perjury during the trial to protect Winnie.

Their allegations could be true but they could also be false. They have not been tested in court.

But, like wild dogs, many of the public have torn their wounded deer apart. Some of the media went further than merely reporting the allegations and events.

If Winnie is guilty of any of the dastardly allegations she should be punished, but not because of the baying of the hounds.

Winnie's arrogance, her "law to herself" and the mistrust that turned her against friends and

supporters who dared criticise her brought about her downfall.

No one knows more than Nelson the truth behind the tragedy.

Informed circles claim that pressure within the ANC forced him to announce his separation from his wife of 34 years this week.

The world has seen two most moving scenes on television involving the Mandela. The first was Nelson's first few steps to freedom after 27 years' jail with Winnie by his side. The other was his

dignified media conference on Monday when he confirmed his separation from his wife.

His voice broke once as he said: "I part from my wife with no recriminations... I'm sorry... I embrace her with all the love and affection I have nursed for her inside and outside prison from the moment I first met her."

"I shall personally never regret the life Comrade Nomzamo and I tried to share together. Circumstances beyond our control however dictated that it should be otherwise.

Her tenacity reinforced my personal respect, love and growing affection.

"It also attracted the admiration of the world at large. My love for her remains undiminished."

In announcing her resignation as head of the ANC Social Welfare Department on Wednesday an emotional Winnie said: "My husband has been the focus of my life and love throughout our marriage, and continues to be so."

For 20 years of Nelson's imprisonment Winnie was unable to even

touch his hands during prison visits.

Yet Helen Joseph wrote in her book *Side by Side* that the Mandela's younger daughter Zinzi had told her that when she visited her father with her mother she felt the spirit of their love for one another so intensely through the plastic glass

through which they had to converse that Zinzi felt she was "intruding on the togetherness that blossomed even in the prison visiting room".

Helen Joseph wrote: "When I first met Nelson

he was not my first marriage husband in divorce and most eligible bar well-known attorney late 30s in pa with Oliver Tambo. "He was his popular and a lished ANC leader. Transvaal president ANC until he was in 1953.

"For a time he with Lillian Ngoyi than Nelson but far younger than "Lillian, the charismatic leader ANC's Women's

# Thirty years of devotion forgotten DAGGERS AR

*CIPres 19/4/92*  
I embrace her with love and affection - Nelson

My husband has been the love of my life and love



NELSON MANDELA... No one knows more than him the truth behind the tragedy of his wife's fall. A tragedy to rival Shakespeare.

WINNIE MANDELA... If she is guilty of any of the dastardly committed she should be punished, but not because of the bay

**n forgotten and now . . .**

# S ARE OUT

husband has been the focus  
my life and love - Winnie



**NDELA . . . If she is guilty of any of the dastardly acts she is rumoured to have she should be punished, but not because of the baying of the hounds.**

reinforced touch his hands" during respect, love affection. Yet Helen Joseph wrote in her book *Side by Side* that the Mandela's younger daughter Zinzi had told her that when she visited her father with her mother she felt the spirit of their love for one another so intensely through the plastic glass through which they had to converse that Zinzi felt she was "intruding on the togetherness that blossomed even in the prison visiting room". Helen Joseph wrote: "When I first met Nelson

he was not married. His first marriage had ended in divorce and he was a most eligible bachelor, a well-known attorney in his late 30s in partnership with Oliver Tambo. "He was handsome, popular and an established ANC leader, the Transvaal president of the ANC until he was banned in 1953. "For a time he was seen with Lilian Ngoyi, older than Nelson but looking far younger than her age. "Lilian, the attractive, charismatic leader of the ANC's Women's League

and the Federation of South African Women - and Nelson! What a partnership that would be! The gossips were wrong. Nelson had made his choice. We soon heard about the lovely young social worker, Winnie Madikizela." Helen Joseph's first clear memory of Winnie was when the young bride visited Nelson during the Treason Trial in 1960 when Helen was also one of the accused. Helen wrote that even during the first years of the Mandela marriage,

while Winnie was giving birth to her two daughters, there was little marriage companionship.

They were separated first by Nelson going underground from the end of the Treason Trial and then by his arrest in June 1962.

"Dependent upon snatched meetings, an hour in secret here, a couple of hours there, never daring to meet in their own home, to sit at a table with their two daughters, what sort of life was that to build a marriage that must endure for more than a quarter of a century of prison widowhood?"

Helen Joseph says the public have forgotten the pain and anguish Winnie had to endure for more than a quarter of a century, and the continual Special Branch harassment, detentions, banings and banishments imposed on her.

With her husband in jail Winnie, the social worker and mother, took up the cudgels on his behalf as did other wives, and fought back.

There is much criticism that Winnie became too militant, that she founded the so-called Mandela Football Club, that was responsible for violence and death in the townships.

She has been unfavourably compared to Albertina Sisulu, wife of Walter Sisulu, who endured similar hardship and pain. But it was Winnie's charisma which alerted the world to the plight of her silenced husband, and irritated the Nationalist government.

Resentment built up strongly in the young Winnie. The Security Branch would raid her at night. Some police would touch her indecently in her nightclothes in an attempt to make her lose her dignity.

It was a painful experience with her beloved husband in jail, but she fought back firmly and outgrew the "shy mother". Mary Benson saw tuck her babies lovingly into bed.

In 1969 Winnie and 22 others were detained for six months before they were brought to trial under the Terrorism Act.

Later Winnie described her detention: "Your company is your

solitude, your blanket, your mug, yourself - all this in preparation for the inevitable hell - interrogation. You keep asking yourself if you will leave the cell alive."

When Winnie and the 22 others came to trial there were some who had been their friends, their colleagues, who went into the witness box to testify against them. Only two had been able to hold out against the horrors of interrogation.

One of them was Shanti Naidoo, a slip of a girl weighing only 40 kg, who made a statement against Winnie after being made to stand on bricks under interrogation for days and nights on end, but she refused to give evidence against Winnie in court.

Winnie was acquitted. During the years that followed Winnie was banned, detained and charged. She was separated from her children as well as her husband.

But, says Helen Joseph, nothing had prepared Winnie for the shock and agony of May 16 1977 when police pounced on her and Zinzi and dumped them alone in banishment in a little cold, dark house in Brandfort in the Free State far away from friends and loved ones.

## Harassed

She was continually harassed by the police in banishment.

Winnie had at first been very trustful, believing that all suppressed people were with her, but as the years went by she found that a number of her so-called comrades were informers.

In recent years she has trusted very few people and has turned against some of her friends whom she believed to be out to destroy her.

Because of her own stoicism she was critical of those who succumbed under interrogation.

Winnie remained naive in some ways. When a reporter warned her shortly after her husband had been sent to jail to be careful of what she said on the telephone as the Security Branch could tap her line, she replied: "I don't think the Boers are as smart as that."

A quarter of a century later she showed the same naiveté, but this time with the arrogance and readiness to mistrust others that led to the horrific Stompie affair.

Shakespeare has been dead for centuries, but perhaps Andrew Lloyd Webber could immortalise the Mandela tragedy in a musical that would surpass his successful musical *Evita*.



# Shaping a constitution by push and shove

SA (A) 11A

S/Times 19/4/92

**P**RESIDENT DE KLERK's campaign to win support for the National Party from coloured and black voters has taken him from one devoutly Christian community to another, from Mitchell's Plain in the south to Morija, headquarters of the Zionist church, in the far north.

The glint in his eye, one assumes, is the vision of a political alignment that pits the NP's "Christian democrats", against the ANC's "social democrats". Leaving aside such troubling details as finding a name to accommodate Muslims in a Christian-democratic party, it's a nice idea but it raises two questions.

The first is whether it can succeed, and on this point I am sceptical. Members of the Democratic Party, it is true, are already choosing sides, some going left and others going right, leaving the old-fashioned Progs like Zach de Beer and Colin Eglin, who don't have such fast footwork, sitting lonely on their liberal principles.

President De Klerk is bound to pick up large numbers of coloured Afrikaans voters, he will surely draw more Indian voters than TIC-NIC, as Codesa's only ethnic party is fondly known, and he may even win over the Zionists and other black Christian constituencies. The idea of an Afrikaner-Zulu alliance with the Inkatha Freedom Party is fading, but it may not be dead.

On the other side of the great divide, the ANC, its policies in confusion and its organisation in disarray, must appeal to an increasingly fractured black constituency. Despite the support of a handful of white and Indian intellectuals, and a minority of each minority, its hopes of a two-thirds majority seem increasingly unrealistic. No wonder there is a glint in Mr De Klerk's eye.

Nevertheless, having watched at close quarters the liberation of African countries from the Sudan southwards, I suspect that in the end the mantle of liberation, the myths of the freedom struggle, the sheer psychological exuberance of racial rehabilitation, will prove too strong, and we shall end up with an ANC government.

This raises the second question: what happens if the grand coalition fails? To the ruling elite, and especially to the bureaucracy, the prospect of an ANC government is an unmitigated disaster. The public servants foresee purges, such as the Nationalists conducted in their early years against military officers and senior public servants; the business elite foresees nothing but taxes and restrictions; the whites foresee retributive oppression.

As a kind of insurance against such disaster, the Nationalists are trying to construct a constitution that will not simply transfer power, as the ANC demands, but "share" power. The thrust of Nationalist thinking is to build into the constitution a guaranteed role for minorities — in practical effect, to preserve the white bureaucracy, and to entrench the minority party in government.

The ANC, of course, wants a transfer of power, as unfettered as possible. It makes a pretence of accepting democratic safeguards, but it is not convincing. It will not, for example, relinquish majoritarian tyranny — it merely bargains over the size of the majority that is required before its authority becomes total.

On key issues, the ANC speaks with forked tongue, offering press freedom but demanding "control" of state media, or offering a guarantee of private property while continuing to whip up expectations of nationalisation and redistribution. It talks of democracy and conspires for majoritarian power.

**T**HE attitude of Cosatu is instructive. As the government begins, at long last and very timidly, to dismantle the corrupt instruments of power by which it has dispensed privilege to its supporters — the boards, the parastatals, the immense state enterprises — Cosatu does not applaud, it rages: the present government is stripping the future government of economic weapons.

There is not much, when you think of it, to choose between the Nationalists and the ANC, the one seeking to pre-

serve its bureaucracy and its privileges, the other seeking to inherit them. The one clings, the other grasps. Either of them, whichever comes to office, will be confronted with demands for vast expenditure to overcome what one calls "backlogs" and the other calls "injustices", and both relish the prospect of meeting those demands.

The making of a constitution is an intensely political process. It is no use lamenting that both the government and the ANC have already made the constitution hostage to their own political agendas. The state president is openly campaigning for election, and the ANC is pushing for an effective transfer of power to an interim government, ahead of a new constitution.

**T**HAT interim government would serve both as a constituent assembly to draw up the constitution and as an interim administration with executive powers. A more satisfactory arrangement would have been an independent constituent assembly, capable of quietly drafting the constitution while the government simply kept the show on the road, but that obvious course has been rejected. The shaping of the new South Africa has already been politicised, beyond retrieval, and the constitution will be created not by adherence to principle or by intellectual rigour but by plain old political push and shove.

This may perhaps produce a good constitution, since each side must at least contemplate the prospect that the other might win, but it would be a lot more comforting if President De Klerk, instead of banking on his grand coalition, began to contemplate the prospect of ANC rule.

Then, instead of trying to keep his bureaucracy and its powers intact, he might concentrate on limiting the size and scope of government, and entrenching the protection of the weak which is the essential feature of democracy.

**KEN OWEN**

# Winnie on comeback trail

S/Times 19/4/92

**WINNIE MANDELA** has won the backing of ANC militants, including top Youth League and Umkhonto we Sizwe members, in her fight for political survival.

After a week which saw her split from her husband, ANC president Nelson Mandela, and resign her position as head of the ANC's social welfare department, Mrs Mandela was campaigning hard in the townships.

The controversial chairman of the PWV region of the ANC Women's League faces her first test on May 3, when the region holds elections.

Powerful ANC Youth League leader Peter Mokaba vowed this week: "We are going to confound those who are biting her behind her back. She has my support and she can be assured of the political support of all those who support me."

The Natal Midlands region, the power base of hardline Stalinist Harry Gwala, is preparing a huge welcome for Mrs Mandela when she addresses a rally there tomorrow. Invitations for her to visit other regions had been re-confirmed despite fresh allegations against her.

"It is clear that there are some people who are baying for her blood. They are not going to get her. I am one of those who will ensure that she is defended," said Mr Mokaba, who last year survived allegations that he

# trail

By EDYTH BULBRING: Political Reporter

was a police informer to be elected unopposed as president of the ANC Youth League.

He was not alone in voicing his continued political support for Mrs Mandela this week.

Senior members of Umkhonto we Sizwe and the SACP said their political support for her would continue.

"Because of her strength and spirit, those who are writing her political obituary are going to be proved wrong," a senior SACP member said yesterday.

## Desperate

The continued popular support for Mrs Mandela represents a crisis for those in the ANC leadership who consider her a liability to the organisation.

Mrs Mandela has won the blind loyalty of many of the militant youth in the country by successfully articulating their fears and aspirations.

Her regular visits to violence-stricken areas throughout the country ensure her the support of the poorest and most desperate men, women and children whose lives have been devastated by poverty and violence.

And there are those MK

cadres who will never turn their backs on the woman who gave them refuge and resources during the darkest years of the liberation struggle.

Mrs Mandela's appeal to the most desperate and militant of the country's disenfranchised is acknowledged by the ANC's top leadership. But they believe her behaviour has alienated other large sections of the population whose support in forthcoming elections will be crucial.

"We can no longer afford her, but we can't get rid of her. If it was so easy we would have got rid of (former MK chief-of-staff and SACP secretary-general) Chris Hani three years ago," said a senior official.

This week saw the first attempts by the organisation to downgrade Mrs Mandela's status to that of a normal ANC member in an attempt to lessen her political profile.

Following the advice of senior members of the ANC — including national chairman Oliver Tambo, deputy president Walter Sisulu, and secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa — Mr Mandela this week announced that "in view of the tensions that have arisen owing to differences between ourselves on a number of issues in recent months, we have mutually agreed that a separation would be best for each of us".

While ANC leaders say there is no doubt the separation stemmed from per-

sonal problems between the two, Mr Mandela's announcement on Monday also signalled a political distancing from his wife in the face of damaging allegations against her.

Mrs Mandela then resigned her appointed position as head of the ANC's social welfare department on Wednesday, saying this step was in the best interests of the ANC.

However, Mrs Mandela still holds the positions of chairman of the Women's League's PWV region, national executive member of the Women's League, and member of the ANC's National Executive Committee.

The ANC can do nothing to remove her from these democratically elected positions unless she is found guilty of political misconduct.

Besides her conviction and six-year sentence — which she is appealing against — for kidnapping and being an accessory to the assault of murder victim Stompie Moeketsi Seipei, and allegations that she was involved in the death of Dr Abu-Baker Asvat, Mrs Mandela is being accused of: being involved in drawing up a hit-list of top ANC officials; alcohol abuse; having extramarital affairs; and financial mismanagement of the welfare department.

The first indication of whether Mrs Mandela will succumb to those in the organisation who want her banished to obscurity or fight to retain power in her own right will come during the PWV Women's League's annual general meeting to re-elect executive office bearers.

"Should she accept the nomination and agree to compete in the elections, then we are in big trouble," a senior ANC official said this week.

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## CLAUDIA'S CONFESSIONS



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# Winnie witness won't talk

By DAN DHLAMINI

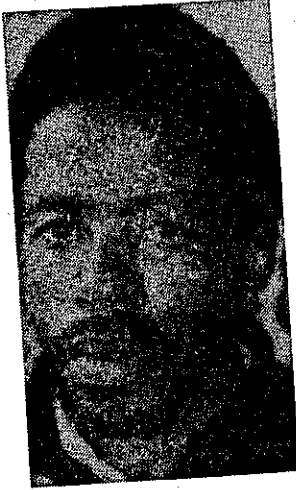
IIA

**GABRIEL** Pelo Mekgwe, a key State witness in the Winnie Mandela kidnap and assault trial who disappeared mysteriously, is prepared to talk - but not just yet.

In an interview with City Press from his ANC Youth League office in Klerksdorp this week, 24-year-old Mekgwe flatly refused to be drawn into discussing events leading to young activist Stompie Seipei's death.

He also remained silent on his personal trauma while staying with other youths at the Methodist church manse in Soweto between 1988 and 1989 - saying he was prepared to talk at a later stage.

Mekgwe, who is still committed to the ANC, left the country under a cloud on February 2 1989



## KEEPING SILENT ... Gabriel Mekgwe.

before the Mandela kidnap and assault trial.

He quietly slipped back into the country on March 14 this year and has dismissed as false allegations that he was under the protection of the

Congress of South African Students, as reported in a weekly newspaper.

He said newspapers had launched a campaign to discredit the ANC.

"I am not prepared at this stage to enter into detailed discussions through the press about what happened at the church and the Mandela home and how I left the country. For now I want to lead a normal life," said Mekgwe.

Mekgwe, who lives in a shack in Ikageng's Lusaka squatter camp, said while in exile he attended school in Zimbabwe and Tanzania before working as the ANC's housing officer in Lusaka.

He is now working full time in the Klerksdorp office of the ANC Youth League selling T-shirts and other items.

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 **THE CONNOISSEUR'S GUIDE** WS20162 CE  
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# ANC denies attack plan

By CHARLENE SMITH

THE ANC has dismissed as "monstrously false" claims that members of Umkhonto we Sizwe's PWV command discussed attacking four hostels last month.

The allegations were made to the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation in unsigned statements by two police informers, who claim they were present at the MK meeting.

Police say the two feel "in jeopardy of their lives" and would not meet commission members.

## Immediate

Commission chairman Mr Justice RJ Goldstone said on Thursday that, in view of the seriousness of the allegations, the ANC had been "requested to arrange for a suitable representative of MK to attend the hearing and to give evidence on oath concerning the allegations".

Barbara Hogan, of the ANC's PWV branch, said the organisation immediately investigated the allegations.

"We examined the minutes of the meeting. No such issue was brought up."

The Goldstone Commission is expected to adopt a new procedure at next week's hearings to speed up the process of hearing allegations of violence and intimidation. It is expected that before starting the Phola Park inquiry it will hold a preliminary inquiry to survey allegations, then draw up the terms of reference for the committee to investigate.

# BANG GOES

THE MYTH

By JOAO SANTA RITA

THE fall of Winnie Mandela has sent shockwaves through the US anti-apartheid movement where the Mandela name has assumed mythical proportions.

The new accusations against Winnie and her separation from Nelson Mandela also forced US civil rights leaders to seek protection from the embarrassing allegations behind a wall of silence.

Only three months ago Winnie was in the US where she was once again received by civil rights organisations and leaders as a hero. She took part in a march in Atlanta in honour of civil rights hero Martin Luther King.

She shared the front row of the marchers with several black American leaders, including King's widow Coretta Scott King.

Now King refuses to discuss the allegations against Winnie and her separation.

In private some American civil rights black leaders said the image that Winnie had cultivated here was one of a caring and loving person.

"She was a symbol for human rights activists. Winnie Mandela is a woman, is black and was thrown in jail by a racist government. What better symbol for human rights activists could you get?" said a black American activist.

Civil rights organisations and activists have also acknowledged in private that they failed to hear the warning signs and chose to turn a blind eye to the accusations.

## Plot

There was a tendency to see everything in terms of a racist plot against Winnie, they said, and it was difficult to accept that the idol was in reality the opposite of her American public image.

Winnie's story was this week given great coverage by America's main newspapers and TV networks.

The *New York Times* carried a front page picture of a tired looking Nelson with a caption explaining the separation. In its page 7 under the headline "Mandela divulges break with wife" the *New York Times* referred to Mandela's press conference and to the new allegations of murder against Winnie.

The *Washington Post* chose its front page to carry the news about the Mandela's separation and the new allegations against Winnie under the headline "Nelson and Winnie Mandela are separating".

The main TV networks, CBS, ABC and NBC, all carried the story in the main evening newscasts with footage of Mandela announcing his separation.

American

activists

Apr 19/4/92

clam up on

Winnie

allegations

(11A)

(scribble)

## Security forces, ANC differ on shootout

THE SADF and SAP this week offered a vastly differing account from the ANC of the overnight gun battle and arrest of 11 people in Katlehong's Khumalo Valley.

The SADF's Witwatersrand Command said on Friday that a joint army-police patrol had been responding to information about a possible weapons cache in a house in Katlehong when it came under heavy fire.

The patrol returned fire and surrounded the house. Eleven people surrendered and were arrested. They were in possession of two AK-47 rifles and a pistol, the SADF said.

In a separate statement, the SAP said a policeman had joined a SADF patrol in Katlehong after receiving information that illegal weapons were being kept at a house in Khumalo Valley.

When the patrol arrived at the house they were fired on. The security forces returned fire.

The commander of the patrol then ordered the people in the house to throw their weapons outside. Two AK-47 rifles were thrown out and the 11 people inside the house were arrested on charges

of attempted murder. Members of the Special Investigation Unit in Katlehong then searched the house. Police took possession of the two AK-47 rifles, two pistols and ammunition.

The SAP said no people inside the house were injured, but two SADF members sustained slight shrapnel wounds. The SADF made no mention of any casualties.

ANC representative in the township, Floyd Masheshe, had earlier alleged SADF members had opened fire on ANC members meeting in a house in Katlehong.

An ANC member in the township also charged that several people were injured and the house was destroyed. — Sapa



# Mandela crisis body denies any cover-up

STAR 20/4/92.

Staff Reporter

As fresh doubts were cast this weekend on Winnie Mandela's alibi that she was in Brandfort on the night when several youths were assaulted in her home, the Mandela Crisis Committee (MCC) rejected statements that it had attempted to cover up facts related to the deaths of Stompie Seipei and Dr Abu-Baker Asvat.

In a statement, the MCC said it wished to place on record that at no stage was an attempt ever made to "contemplate conspiring at any 'covering up' of facts related to the deaths" of Stompie and Dr Asvat.

The Azanian People's Organisation last week called on the members of the MCC to "come out clean" on what they knew about the murders.

In response, the MCC said: "It is regrettable that some organisations have elected to deal with these matters (including the speculation about the role played by the then Mandela Crisis Committee) through the media rather than approaching us directly."

The MCC maintained that the main thrust of its involvement

in the Stompie affair was "to ensure that the young men were not deprived of their liberty".

The committee members said they were not as such "investigating crime" as the matter would correctly be investigated by the police.

"After the young men had left the Mandela home in Diepkloof we saw no role for ourselves. We assumed that the young men would themselves assist the relevant authorities when the investigations were conducted," the committee said.

## Lied

The last two weeks have seen a spate of fresh allegations regarding Winnie Mandela's alleged involvement in the assault on Stompie and his group and the murder of Dr Asvat who was health officer of Azapo.

At the centre of the damaging evidence against the fallen "mother of the nation" is Xoliswa Falati, who threatened at the weekend to drop a bombshell "which will drive the final nail into Winnie's coffin".

Falati and another co-accused, John Morgan, have stated recently that they lied in court to protect Winnie Mandela.

Both now maintain she was at her home on the night of the vicious assaults on Stompie and his "comrades" — effectively casting serious doubts on her alibi that she was away at the time.

Statements this weekend by Winnie Mandela's key defence witness have also lent some credence to Falati and Morgan's allegations.

Despite testifying in court that Winnie Mandela was in Brandfort on the night of the assault, Nora Moahloli said this weekend she "could not remember" the day and date on which the ANC's leader's wife had been there.

The Star tried unsuccessfully to reach Falati yesterday to establish what the "bombshell" is she intends disclosing.

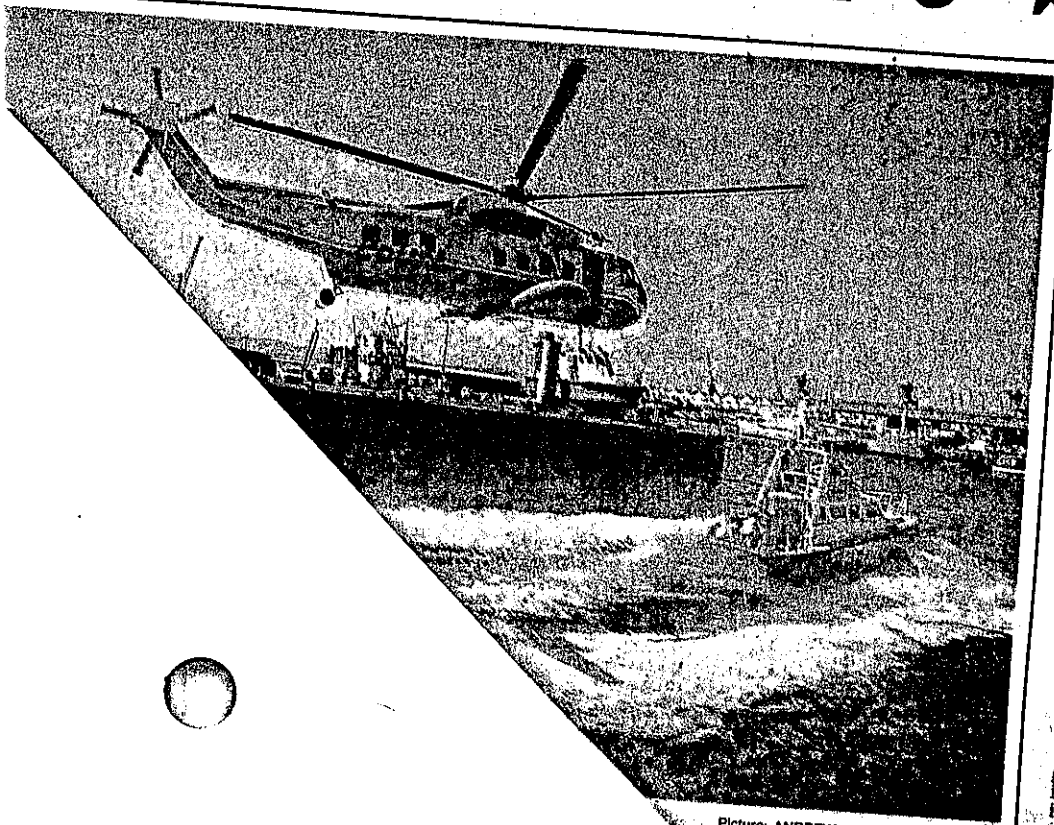
Winnie Mandela yesterday continued to do her political work unhindered, despite the growing allegations against her.

She addressed a press conference in Sharpeville after eight people were killed in the area following renewed political violence in the Vaal Triangle township.

On Friday, she led a delegation of the ANC's PWV region to the Power Park squatter camp, outside Orlando in Soweto, after residents had allegedly clashed with police.

# Vinnie won't budge

APR 21/1992  
YHARELL LIT



Picture: ANDREW INGRAM, The Argus.  
TWO National Sea Rescue and a helicopter show their demonstration in Table Bay harbor to mark the end of NSRI. Meanwhile in ... were rescued by ... aircraft ... Bay,

JOHANNESBURG. — Mrs Winnie Mandela is clearly not prepared to bow out of the political limelight — and has hit back with an attack against the government over the issue of violence and the future of Codesa.

As allegations against her mounted in the Press at the Easter weekend, the estranged wife of ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela visited strife-torn townships where the death toll has risen to above 30 since last Thursday night.

First it was Soweto on Saturday, and then Sharpeville near Vereeniging on Sunday, where eight ANC members were gunned down in their home. Seven of the eight were related.

"We are certainly not going to keep on calling on our people to continue talking to a government that is killing our people," Mrs Mandela said.

"How do we continue talking to a government that is not prepared to stop the violence? Either they stop the violence or we stop talking."

In her first interview following her separation from her husband she stuck to her public statement last week that the allegations against her were false and were aimed at dividing and weakening the ANC.

Mrs Mandela added she expected the allegations to continue but was sure they would fail to destroy her or to divide the ANC.

She accused the government of shifting the goalposts in the negotiation process when it said recently there could be no interim government violence continued.

"We are in no position to stop the violence because we are not the perpetrators of this violence."

"The government says there will be no interim government while there's violence — but in fact it is the government itself that's fanning the violence in the country," she charged.

"They are forcing us into a position where we will have to rethink continuing with the present talks," she said.

The ANC regarded as "most irresponsible" the government's demand that Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), disband and hand over its arm caches. Such statements were "totally premature".

"MK will never be disbanded," she added.

She accused government of not wanting Codesa 2 to take place as scheduled on May 15 and 16.

"We are quite aware the government is trying to sabotage Codesa 2 and that it is trying to sabotage us before we reach the interim government stage."

— Sapa.

● See page 4

## De Beer to meet suspended MPs

PATRICK BULGER

FOUR DP MPs suspended from the party's parliamentary caucus will meet DP leader Zach de Beer tomorrow to finalise their political futures. *Monday 21/4/92*

De Beer said yesterday he would confront the four MPs — Jan van Eck, Jannie Momberg, Pierre Cronje and Rob Haswell — on information he had that they had sought membership of the ANC.

He had consulted the party's lawyers to establish the mechanisms for their expulsion from the party if their expulsion from the caucus was upheld.

If the MPs confirmed his information, they would be permanently suspended. "If they can satisfy me their loyalty is fully with the DP, they are welcome to stay."

Sources close to the group said yesterday they would probably leave the DP and remain in Parliament as independents.

One source said the ANC had no difficulty with the MPs being members of it and remaining as MPs in the tricameral Parliament. However, ANC sources have pointed out that they cannot sit as ANC MPs as they were not elected and because the ANC is not a political party.

De Beer said the DP position remained that it would take part in temporary alliances with other political organisations to realise specific political goals. However, alignments with other political parties would not be entered into if they sacrificed the independence of the DP.

To Page 2

## De Beer *Monday 21/4/92*

The issue is likely to be raised during the President's budget debate this week in which the NP is expected to spell out its stance on co-operation with other parties. At the same time a DP strategy committee meeting will examine options.

Our political staff reports that government sources have indicated President F W de Klerk's speech will also increase pressure on the embattled CP.

*11A*  From Page 1  
The turmoil in the DP and CP was sparked by the referendum result. A faction within the CP is committed to negotiations, and some believe the right wing should be represented at Codesa and at least put forward its proposals.

Several caucus committees were established to probe the various options, and are expected to report back to Thursday's caucus meeting.

# Unbowed Winnie launches sharp attack on Govt

Star 2/1/92  
11A

Winnie Mandela is clearly not prepared to bow out of the political limelight, and has hit back with an attack against the Government over the issue of violence and the future of Codesa.

As allegations against her mounted in the press at the weekend, the estranged wife of ANC president Nelson Mandela visited strife-torn townships.

It was Soweto on Saturday, and then Sharpeville, near Vereeniging, yesterday where eight ANC members were shot dead.

"We are certainly not going to keep on calling on our people to continue talking to a government that is killing our people," Mrs Mandela said in an interview with Sapa.

"How do we continue talking to a government that is not prepared to stop the violence? Either they stop the violence or we stop talking."

After visiting the troubled Vaal Triangle township yesterday, Mrs Mandela gave her first interview since what has been dubbed the "worst

week in her life" — a week in which she and her husband separated and during which one-time friends made a string of serious allegations against her.

Mrs Mandela was in a fighting mood, and — as she reminded an enthusiastic crowd earlier in Sharpeville — she is still an elected member of the ANC's national executive committee, as well as on the executive of both the ANC's Women's League and PWV region.

She stuck to her public statement last week — made when she quit as head of the ANC's Social Welfare Department — that the allegations against her were false and were aimed at dividing the ANC. She maintained her innocence and said there was an appeal pending regarding charges of kidnap and access to assault.

Mrs Mandela added that she expected the allegations to continue but was sure they would fail to destroy her or to divide the ANC. "Unfortunately I'm unable

In her first interview since what has been dubbed the "worst week in her life", Winnie Mandela was in a fighting mood. She said the Government's failure to deal effectively with violence may force the ANC to question involvement in negotiations.

to talk to you outside of that statement," she said.

She accused the Government of shifting the goalposts in the negotiation process when it said recently there could be no interim government while violence continued.

"We are in no position to stop the violence because we are not the perpetrators of this violence.

"The Government says there will be no interim government while there's violence, but in fact it is the Government itself that's forcing the violence in the country," she charged.

"They are forcing us into a position where we will have to rethink continuing with the present talks."

The ongoing violence against ANC members and supporters at grassroots level was aimed at demoralising the organisation's supporters.

"Being associated with the ANC at present spells one's death warrant. How can we enter elections if the people are dying every day?"

"The Government's insincerity and dishonesty in dealing with the issue of the violence is going to have to force us to go back to original positions and question the whole concept again," Mrs Mandela said.

"They (the Government) have threatened the peace process sufficiently for the leadership of the ANC to take a very strong position."

The ANC regarded as "most irresponsible" the Government's demand that the armed wing of the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), disband and hand over its arms caches. Such statements were "totally premature".

"MK will never be disbanded," Mrs Mandela said. "It is the future democratic army of this country.

"By making that call they are simply infuriating people on the ground because the people now feel they are defenceless and that if MK had not been called upon to suspend armed action, then they would have had proper defence.

"The idea is to confuse the masses so as to make the (ANC) leadership appear as if it has compromised the position of MK."

By trying to create a rift within the ANC the Government was attempting to weaken the ANC's position in the negotiation process, Mrs Mandela said.

Its demands concerning MK and an end to violence before interim rule were "stumbling blocks... they're trying to stall the forward

movement of Codesa."

Mrs Mandela said she was not in a position as an individual to discuss what action the ANC would take or was contemplating taking in light of her accusations.

"That will be a decision of the national executive. But of course we all have these very serious concerns."

The bottom line was that the Government did not want Codesa 2 to take place as scheduled on May 15 and 16, Mrs Mandela added.

"We are quite aware of the fact that the Government is trying to sabotage Codesa 2, and that it is trying to sabotage us reaching the interim government stage.

"These are attempts to cling to power," Mrs Mandela said.

"The very fact that they should still imagine themselves having sole power to decide who will be partner to a power-sharing arrangement is indicative of a government that is not prepared to relinquish power.

"They don't have that right any more." — Sapa.



Winnie Mandela . . . "How do we continue talking to a government that is not prepared to stop the violence?"

# 5 DP MPs to join ANC

Political Staff

STAR

21/4/92

11A

CAPE TOWN — The five rebel Democratic Party members of parliament will join the ANC today.

At least four of them flew to Johannesburg this morning and were expected to announce their membership of the ANC at a press conference around lunchtime.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela was expected to be present.

The rebels are expected to retain their seats as independents, effectively representing the

ANC in parliament.

They are not likely to have any further discussion with party leader Dr Zach de Beer.

The MPs said they considered their relationship with the DP to have been "terminated" by Dr de Beer's remarks on television last week when he described their presence in the party as "debilitating".

The decision of the MPs — Mr Jannie Mornberg of Simon's Town, Mr Jan van Eck of Claremont, Mr Dave Dalling of Sandton, Mr

Rob Haswell of Pietermaritzburg South and Mr Pierre Cronje of Greytown — to resign today and join the ANC pre-empted tomorrow's DP caucus meeting.

The developments follow talks last week between the ANC leadership and four of the five. Mr Dalling was unable to attend for medical reasons.

Dr de Beer, who suspended the men from the caucus, had said that they would have to assure him of their full loyalty to the DP, or go.

# Winnie slates 'ANC whisperers' to press

STAR 21/4/92

Own Correspondent



DURBAN — A defiant Winnie Mandela received a tumultuous welcome from the African National Congress in the Natal Midlands when she arrived in Ndoleni township near Richmond yesterday.

Dressed in full ANC colours, Mrs Mandela was cheered by thousands of young people and women.

This was her second public appearance following Nelson Mandela's public announcement of the couple's separation, and mounting allegations of her involvement in torture and murder.

She shared the platform with ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba and ANC Midlands chairman Harry Gwala in what was billed a commemoration service for those who had lost their lives in the violence in Richmond's township.

However, speakers at the rally made it apparent that the rally was a platform to test Mrs Mandela's support in

the region, a gamble that seemed to have paid off.

Most speakers blamed the media for the damage done to Mrs Mandela's reputation.

She made reference to unnamed ANC sources quoted in newspapers, whom she called the "shadowy people in the ANC who are whispering to the press" and asked: "Is it better for a leader to be trusted by the editor of a newspaper or by the people?"

Mrs Mandela also launched a stinging attack on Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and President de Klerk.

"In Sharpeville this weekend, Inkatha and the police killed a whole family while de Klerk and Gatscha were worshipping in Moria.

"That prayer of theirs is absolutely meaningless. They do one thing and they say another."

She concluded: "I will never abdicate my responsibilities. At whatever cost, I will see to it that your poverty is alleviated."

● See Page 7

# Alex civic affairs halted by violence

*B10 am 22/4/92*  
CIVIC affairs in Alexandra township have been brought to a virtual standstill by the ongoing feud between Inkatha and ANC supporters.

Alexandra town clerk Willie Khumalo said yesterday most of the town council's offices had been taken over by families displaced by the violence in the township.

Hundreds of families fled their homes last month after fighting between Alexandra residents and Inkatha-supporting hostel dwellers. They sought refuge at the council's offices and the local civic centre.

Khumalo said the situation was inconveniencing council staff and was being "taken advantage of by some employees".

He said it was difficult to keep thorough checks on staff attendance in such a situation, and a number of workers had not been reporting for work since.

But the council would not chase the families away as the violence which forced them out of their homes had not been addressed, Khumalo said.

Meanwhile, the Goldstone standing commission of inquiry into public violence and intimidation will question Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) leaders about allegations that the organisation planned to attack four of Inkatha's Transvaal strongholds.

Judge Richard Goldstone said in a statement yesterday a policeman told a Wit-Vaal regional dispute resolution committee on March 26 that police had received information that MK had held a meeting the previous day. The policeman said it was decided at the meeting to attack the Inkatha hostels.

"After inquiry by an ANC member, the ANC informed the regional dispute resolution committee that no such decision had

~~WILSON ZWANE~~  
WILSON ZWANE

been taken. The matter was then referred to the commission, which was informed by police that the information had come from two informants who had been at the MK meeting.

"The informants felt their lives were in jeopardy and on no account would they be prepared to meet, even in camera, with the commission. At the request of the commission, police have furnished it with written statements from both informants without disclosing their identities," Goldstone said.

He said having regarded the seriousness of the allegations, the commission had decided to put the allegations to MK leaders "who are alleged to have been at the meeting in question on Thursday".

Meanwhile Sapa reports three people were reported killed in Natal yesterday, bringing the day's national death toll as a result of political violence to nine.

Earlier, two people were killed and 11 injured when a bus was ambushed in the Table Mountain area, east of Maritzburg.

In the same area three people were shot dead at a bus stop and three were wounded — including a three-month-old baby.

Near Empangeni on the north coast, a member of the KwaZulu Police was shot dead by unidentified men.

In another development, police yesterday held an identification parade in Thokoza, on the East Rand, in connection with alleged misconduct of 32 Battalion soldiers in Phola Park squatter camp on April 8.

Witwatersrand police spokesman Col Frans Malherbe refused to say whether any of the soldiers had been identified as culprits.

## Key leaders will attend church talks

*B10 am 22/4/92*  
WILSON ZWANE

LEADERS of key black political organisations will meet church leaders today in an attempt to boost the peace process.

It is expected that the summit — convened under the auspices of the SA Council of Churches (SACC) — will set the stage for a meeting between church leaders and government.

Sapa reports that ANC president Nelson Mandela, PAC leader Clarence Makwetu and SACP chairman Joe Slovo will attend.

In a statement, the SACC said representatives from 19 black political organisations would attend. These included Inkatha, Azapo the TBVC states, Cast, Cosatu, Nactu, Nafcoc, the United People's Front, Ximoko Progressive Party, Dikwankwetla Party, Intando Yesizwe Party and Inyandza National Movement.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's private secretary, Amos Ngema, said yesterday the Inkatha leader would not attend the summit as he had "other commitments in (KwaZulu capital) Ulundi".

SACC general secretary Frank Chikane had said today's "emergency summit on violence" was in response to alarming levels of political violence.



CHRIS HANI

# Chris Hani no longer MK's top gun

MR Chris Hani is no longer chief of staff of the African National Congress's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe, ANC official Miss Gill Marcus said on Monday night.

Mr Sphiwe Nyanda, who was arrested in a swoop by security forces soon after the ANC was unbanned in 1990, is acting chief of staff.

Marcus said Hani re-

signed about three months ago because of the workload of his position as general secretary of the SA Communist Party.

"It is incorrect to say he was demoted. Mr Nyanda

was appointed by the ANC national working committee after Mr Hani resigned," she said.

However, Hani was still involved in Umkhonto, Marcus said. - Sapa.

Sowetan 22/4/92

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# Democratic Party MPs join the ANC



ANC's information chief Pallo Jordan and former DP MP Jan van Eck at the Press conference.

*Sowetan 22/4/92*  
**FIVE Democratic Party Members of Parliament yesterday formally joined the ANC, amid suggestions that this could earn the present Parliament some form of legitimacy.**

The five MPs are Mr Dave Dalling (Sandton), Mr Pierre Cronje (Greytown), Mr Jan van Eck (Claremont), Mr Jannie Momberg (Simon's Town) and Mr Robert Haswell (Maritzburg North).

The defection of the five MPs was announced at a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday.

An overseas observer suggested at the conference that the act of defection would give "some legitimacy to the racist parliament" that has for years excluded black South Africans from mainstream politics.

The ANC's Dr Pallo Jordan said the attitude of the ANC to the present Parliament was unchanged.

He said the ANC still saw the present Parliament as a racist institution.

11A ~~11A~~  
**By JOE MDHLELA**

"But if you want to think that the defection means the ANC was represented in Parliament, you have the right to think that way," Jordan said.

Other observers labelled the "new ANC-DP" members as political turncoats who have betrayed their constituencies by unilaterally taking a decision to join ANC.

"You have no mandate to join the ANC," one observer said.

In a joint statement the five MPs said since the unbanning of the ANC they had promoted a closer working relationship with the organisation.

They said they joined the ANC to promote nonracialism.

"We joined the ANC to work towards the full liberation of all South Africans," they said.

# Mandela: Winnie 'a very great lady'

LONDON. — Mr Nelson Mandela paid tribute to his estranged wife Winnie yesterday calling her a "great lady" with a powerful personality.

The 73-year-old president of the ANC, who parted from his controversial wife earlier this month, told the BBC that their separation had been very painful but was unavoidable.

"Naturally this is a very painful experience but nevertheless the decision had to

be made," he said, without elaborating.

"I owe a great deal to Mrs Mandela and to part was not an easy decision."

The couple's 33-year marriage survived Mr Mandela's long imprisonment but cracked after Mrs Mandela's conviction for kidnap and assault and allegations of further involvement in violence.

Since the couple parted, 57-year-old Mrs Mandela has resigned her position as head of social welfare for the ANC but continues to make public appearances as an activist

for political reform.

Asked if his wife's actions had hurt the prestige of the ANC, Mr Mandela replied with a tribute to her qualities.

"I regard her as a very great lady," Mr Mandela said in the television interview. "But what has happened, has happened. Winnie is a very powerful, a very strong person and her response to all this does indicate how very strong she is." — Sapa-Reuter



Changing allegiance . . . DP defectors Jan van Eck, Rob Haswell, Dave Dalling, Pierre Cronje and Jannie Mornberg pose with ANC general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa.

Picture: Karen Fletcher

# Five DP rebels join ANC

STAR 22/4/92

(11A)

By Thabo Leshilo  
Political Staff and Sapa

## Defectors to remain in Parliament as independents

Five Democratic Party members — four of whom were suspended from the party caucus last week — joined the ANC yesterday and immediately committed themselves to work for its ideals and help build the organisation.

Jannie Mornberg (Simons-town), Rob Haswell (Maritzburg South), Jan van Eck (Claremont) and Pierre Cronje (Greytown) and party chief whip Sandton MP Dave Dalling made the announcement at a press conference held at the ANC's Johannesburg head office moments after each paying their R2 joining fee.

Their membership was approved by ANC president Nelson Mandela.

DP leader Dr Zach de Beer said the five would be formally expelled.

The five MPs are an interesting acquisition for the ANC, meaning in effect that it will now have five representatives in Parliament, an institution which it criticises as non-representative.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said he saw no contradiction, saying "They will be in Parliament as independents".

Mr Dalling said: "I think the correct term is we'll be independents who support the ANC."

The ANC cannot be represented in Parliament because it is not a registered political party.

All of the five but Mr Dalling were suspended by Dr de Beer after recently holding discussions with the ANC about the possibility of joining the organisation to serve it in Parliament.

Mr Cronje said the five had decided to join the ANC

because debate and negotiation on the "parting of ways" had become impossible after "Dr de Beer took the unilateral decision to suspend the four of us".

Mr Dalling said the five had decided to join the ANC to work for non-racialism, liberation and democracy.

"We join the ANC to promote non-racialism in practice. The ANC had succeeded in bringing into the organisation people from every national group and from all the corners of the country.

"The second liberation struggle will start now, that is to rid SA of the legacies of apartheid: racism, distrust, the breakdown of law and order, inequality, poverty and minority fears," Mr Dalling said.

He added that the ANC had, in their experience, embarked upon a "creative" search for solutions to the

needs of all South Africans.

Mr van Eck said the MPs had set no preconditions as to their position in the ANC.

He pledged that the "rebels", as they are now called in the DP circles, would help build the ANC "at a time when sinister forces are still destabilising the political process and emerging structures of the ANC in particular".

Mr Mornberg said the MPs recognised "the role of the leadership and those prevented from participating in the political process — the many ordinary persons who had to bear the brunt of a most vicious and sustained onslaught of detention, harassment and even death during the apartheid years".

He warned that any "ganging up" against the ANC by minority parties, or by means of "contrived" constitutional models would

have a polarising and negative effect that would harm the quest for democracy.

Accepting responsibility for the Sharpeville, Soweto, June 16 massacres and the death of Steve Biko — all of which occurred during his 30 years as Nationalist Party MP — Mr Mornberg said: "I hope joining the ANC will help me put that right now."

Mr Haswell said they had no intention to resign from Parliament and had not been asked to do so by the ANC.

"We have acted with a clear conscience, in the firm belief that the steps we are taking are in the broad interest of all South Africans."

Mr Haswell ended by chanting the first line of Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika.

Mr Ramaphosa and director of information Pallo Jordan were at pains to stress that having members serv-

ing in a Parliament which thousands of people had died opposing did not contradict ANC principles.

The MPs' decision, Dr Jordan explained, "Further enhances the non-racial approach of the ANC both within the organisation and in our commitment to a truly nonracial SA."

Mr Ramaphosa said the ANC national working committee — which accepted the MPs' membership — had considered their status in Parliament.

A final decision in this regard would be made after discussions with ANC regional structures.

The new members would have to abide by whatever decision was taken.

Dr de Beer issued a statement minutes after the announcement of the five's de-

fection, saying the news would surprise no one.

"On the whole, this may be no bad thing," he said. The DP generally felt it could do better "without these gentlemen" whereas the ANC might derive some advantage from their joining.

"I have no reason to think that our good relations with the ANC will be disturbed."

Cosatu last night applauded the five MPs' bold move in joining the ANC, saying they would go down in history as "Voortrekkers for the new South Africa". Cosatu added that it was known the men were no "Johnny-come-latelies" to democracy — unlike other politicians that could be named.

The five defectors would find little support for their actions in their respective constituencies, the National Party said last night, and added that the five would probably cause as much trouble for the ANC as they did for the DP.

# Five rebel MPs ditch DP for ANC

Bl Day 22/4/92

11A

PATRICK BULGER

THE ANC gained its first de facto representation in Parliament yesterday when five DP MPs said they had joined the ANC and would sit as independents.

MPs David Dalling (Sandton), Jan van Eck (Claremont), Pierre Cronje (Greytown), Jannie Mornberg (Simon's Town) and Rob Haswell (Maritzburg South) told a news conference at ANC headquarters in Johannesburg the ANC had not asked them to resign their seats.

DP leader Zach de Beer said the five would be expelled from the party.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said the MPs' membership of the ANC had been approved by the organisation's national working committee. He said a subcommittee had been appointed to examine the relationship of the ANC and its members with the tricameral Parliament. Its report would determine whether the MPs would continue in Parliament.

Their decision clearly delighted the ANC. Cosatu hailed them as "the new Voortrekkers for the new SA".

However, Sapa reports the NP said the members would find little support for their decision among their constituents.

De Beer said their move would surprise no one. It vindicated his actions in suspending the four (excluding Dalling), and even raised the question as to whether the party should have been as patient as it had been.

"On the whole, this may be no bad thing," he said. The DP generally felt it could do better "without these gentlemen" whereas the ANC might, in a symbolic sense, derive some advantage from their joining.

"I have no reason to think that our good relations with the ANC will be disturbed in any way."

The MPs' switch follows their expulsion from the DP parliamentary caucus last week when De Beer said he had information they had sought ANC membership. An expected meeting between De Beer and the rebels failed to materialise yesterday.

Their joining the ANC signals a renewed drive by the organisation to gain support and credibility in the white community.

An ANC source said it was unlikely the organisation would ask the MPs to leave Parliament at a later date. Instead they would probably retain their seats as Parliament underwent its probable conversion from SA's legislative body to a constitution-making body and interim legislature.

While Ramaphosa said the five could not in any way be seen as ANC representatives in the "unrepresentative and discredited tricameral Parliament", they would be subject to ANC policy dictates.

"They have worked closely with the ANC for many years and their member-

□ To Page 2

## MPs join ANC

11A

□ From Page 1

ship formalises a long-standing relationship which has earned them great respect in our communities and among our members," an ANC statement said.

The five said in a joint statement their attempts to promote a closer relationship with the ANC had triggered opposition from within the DP caucus.

They said a post-referendum caucus discussion had outlined various future courses of action for the DP which included remaining independent and forging a closer relationship with the ANC, leading to a formal alliance and merger when the ANC became a political party. They said senior party members felt a closer relationship with the ANC would debilitate the DP.

They said they were joining the ANC to promote nonracialism, the "full liberation of all South Africans" and to work for democracy in practice.

"We join the ANC with no preconditions regarding our positions in the organisation or with specific policies, knowing that our experience and views on emerging policy

positions will be judged on merit within the organisation.

"We recognise that years of propaganda, which is still continuing unabated, has created a false impression of the ANC, particularly in the white community." They said their membership would "assist in countering this negative image" of the organisation among thinking South Africans and the world community. They called on others to "reach out and take the hand of friendship extended by the ANC".

A "ganging up against the ANC by minority parties, or by means of contrived constitutional models designed to thwart the will of the people merely because the ANC seems to enjoy majority support in the black community, will have a polarising and negative effect that will not be in the best interests of SA or of democracy". They were confident they were acting in the best interests of their constituents, including disenfranchised blacks.

● Picture: Page 3  
● Comment: Page 4

# ANC's voice

# echoes in parliament

## The face of defiance



Gabriel Mahakoe enters a police van as a prison warder stands by outside the Bloemfontein Supreme Court where he is facing four charges of murder. He has constantly refused to co-operate in his trial and has shouted at the judge and court officials since the case started on Tuesday. See story on page 2.

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN  
Political Correspondent

**HISTORY** was made yesterday when - for the first time ever - the ANC's voice echoed through the hallowed chambers of Parliament.

Mr Pierre Cronje, the independent MP for Greytown who joined the ANC together with four other former members of the Democratic Party, delivered the organisation's first in Parliament during the State President's Budget debate.

Cronje walked up to the podium and said it was an honour for him to speak in Parliament as an ANC member.

• To page 4

## ANC in Parliament

From page 1

"It is with humility that I stand here as the first member of the ANC to speak in the Parliament of South Africa. "That right, no more and no less, is what the ANC has struggled for for 80 years.

"What a tragic waste of human energy and talent to have lost the contributions of leaders of that great organisation," he said.

The task of being the first ANC member to speak in Parliament should have fallen to John Dube, Pixley ka Seme, Albert Luthuli, Oliver Tambo or Nelson Mandela, Cronje said.

He repeated the statement the five DP MPs made on Tuesday after they formally joined the ANC.

He said the ANC was the only political organisation that had succeeded in bringing together people from every national group and from all corners of the country.

To be part of a non-racial and non-ethnic organisation was a "liberating experience", Cronje said.

Cronje said he wanted to work towards the liberation of all South Africans.



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Sowetan 23/4/92

Sowetan 23/4/92

## ANC lodges appeal

*Sowetan*

23/4/92 By TSALE MAKAM

(11A)

(10)

THE ANC will today lodge an urgent application in the Bophuthatswana Supreme Court against the homeland's refusal to allow the organisation to hold meetings in the territory.

The ANC will be seeking an order to hold meetings in five Bophuthatswana areas on April 26.

ANC lawyer Mr Tiego Moseneke said a section of a Bophuthatswana law required political parties to be registered in Bophuthatswana for purposes of elections.

Secret on 23/1/92

# Mokaba's remarks upset Inkatha

INKATHA has lodged a complaint with the National Peace Secretariat about alleged inflammatory statements by ANC Youth League president Mr Peter Mokaba in Richmond at the weekend.

In a statement yesterday, IFP chief executive officer Mr Maurice Mackenzie confirmed that the secretariat had convened an urgent sitting in Cape Town yesterday after the matter was referred to them.

Mackenzie said he hoped the ANC leadership would take disciplinary action against Mokaba.

"It is this sort of irresponsible blabber which undermines the National Peace Accord. Discipline in these times is difficult, but undisciplined leadership is distinctly dangerous," said Mackenzie.

He said it seemed both Mrs Winnie Mandela and Mokaba used the opportunity to act as "crowd pleasers" with their comments. - Sapa.

AS black and white wrestle for power in the new South Africa, half the population watches from behind the kitchen sink.

Women, apart from Winnie Mandela and a few others, are South Africa's forgotten people.

The white minority government and black parties are thrashing out the framework of a new democracy which focuses on black rights after decades of denial under apartheid.

But women complain that their demands for equal rights are being overlooked by men of all colours and creeds.

"The debate on women has not yet begun," said Frene Ginwala of the ANC, announcing the creation of a Commission on Women's Emancipation.

"Women's subordination has been institutionalised in the law and in the customs and practices of all racial groups."

# The power behind the kitchen sink

Sowetan 23/4/92

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The litany of complaints includes unequal pay for equal work, sexual harassment and the absence of women in high places.

Women are basically equal to men under the law but are in practice paid and educated less, says lawyer Cathi Abertyn, an expert on sex discrimination at Johannesburg's Witwatersrand University.

Women cannot open bank accounts or sign car purchase forms without their husbands' permission. Pensions for female civil servants are lower than for men and women state employees can lose hous-

ing subsidies when they marry.

Teachers and nurses are among the female professionals who are paid much less than men doing the same work.

"The notion of equality is new in South Africa," Abertyn said.

Subordinate status for women within marriage, the family and relationships spans the races from Afrikaners to Asians to Zulus.

Black women suffer the most, being discriminated against for both their gender and race.

Until only a few years

ago black women were considered minors under African customary law and could not start a business or own land without their husbands' permission.

One woman is raped every two minutes in South Africa and one in four beaten by her male partner.

## Rule

In politics, prominent women such as Winnie Mandela and veteran anti-apartheid campaigner Helen Suzman are the exceptions that prove the rule.

There is only one woman in the Cabinet - Health Minister Rina Venter - and just

five women sit in Parliament. Most of the women at South Africa's democracy talks are secretaries.

The forum's management agreed that the absence of women at the negotiations was a problem and decided to set up an advisory committee on gender - but only after an embarrassing protest letter signed by 22 groups and individuals was published in a national newspaper.

Feminists say some of the worst sexists are in liberation groups such as the ANC, which has devoted energies to combating apartheid but has done little

to promote women.

"We can't burn our bras because if we do we would be in deep trouble," said ANC member Barbara Masekela at the group's first congress inside South Africa, where calls for affirmative action abounded.

She said women were hemmed in by a society which expected them to be compliant and to give housework priority over political activism.

In an article called "The Lowdown on Lefty Lov-ers", the women's magazine *Cosmopolitan* took a dig at men whose democratic ideals are reserved

for the picket lines and not the home.

"What does a girl do when a man can quote the Freedom Charter but can't pull on a condom? Or when he can't remember his child's birthday because he's too busy saving the nation?" the magazine grumbled.

Several male leaders of the ANC, South Africa's biggest black group which hopes to form the first non-racial government, believe it is time to pay more attention to women's rights.

"We have to put our own house in order to have credibility," said Kadar Asmal, a member of the ANC's National Executive Committee. "The absence of women at decision-making levels has handicapped our struggle."

But, apparently oblivious to the irony, he then announced that the Commission on Women's Emancipation would be headed by a man. - *Sapa-Reuters*



## Sparg to work for Ramaphosa

EAST LONDON. — The ANC's regional publicity secretary for Border, Ms Marion Sparg, is to take up a post in the ANC secretary general's office.

(IA) ARG-23/492  
Ms Sparg will start work in Mr Cyril Ramaphosa's office in Johannesburg on May 1.

She said she would be dealing with "political affairs" in the secretary general's office.

Ms Sparg said she was looking forward to working with Mr Ramaphosa. — Ecna.

# Old DP men now dancing to the ANC's tune

B/D ay 23/4/92

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IF COMRADES Dalling, Cronje, Haswell, Van Eck and Momberg have betrayed party political allegiances in their switch from the DP to the ANC, the organisation itself has all but betrayed its long-standing antipathy to the tricameral Parliament.

Officially, the five erstwhile DP MPs will sit as independents, theoretically entitled to take whatever line in debate they feel apt. In practice, however, the perception that they are speaking on behalf of the ANC will be impossible to throw off.

"We will be sitting as independents who support the ANC," says David Dalling. "We will be guided by the principles of the ANC and consult the ANC leadership at every opportunity before we express ourselves."

Their embrace of the extra-parliamentary organisation does not come as a surprise. David Dalling, MP for Sandton and, one presumes, for Alexandra township, has long been an ANC sympathiser, and is in fact mar-

ried to an ANC member.

Of the other four, Rob Haswell, MP for Maritzburg South, Pierre Cronje, MP for Greytown, and Jan van Eck, MP for Claremont, have long been involved in attempts at local level to stop violence in their respective areas — Natal and the Cape Peninsula. This entrée to grassroots political and civic movements has, perhaps, given them a more realistic perspective of the political challenges facing SA. In the '80s, for example, when a state of emergency attempted to suppress publicising of reasons for consumer boycotts, Van Eck used parliamentary privilege to set out the reasons for boycott action taking place at the time.

With Jannie Momberg, Cronje and Van Eck are Afrikaners whose relationship with a DP steeped in an English-speaking liberal past has often been under strain. They have been in the forefront of Afrikaner contact with the ANC and were among the Dakar trekkers of 1987.

## PATRICK BULGER

B/D ay 23/4/92

DP reaction to their leaving has been one of relief bordering on glee. The DP's strength resides not in the number of representatives warming the opposition benches but in the principles it espouses. However, the DP's loss may not necessarily be the ANC's gain.

While the ANC is concerned that its lack of appeal to the white community acts as a brake on its ability to act as a unifying force across racial barriers, the presence of a number of senior parliamentarians in its ranks can be no bad thing. That, however, does not resolve the conundrum of how an organisation opposed to the tricameral Parliament can now express its "delight" at its new members being part of an institution it has done much to discredit.

The problem may be smaller than

at first appears. The ANC hopes its embarrassment will be shortlived. As soon as an interim government is elected, the tricameral Parliament will be history. The parliamentary experience of the comrade MPs will be welcomed by the ANC. The organisation has already given Parliament tacit recognition in agreeing that Codesa's proposals be legislated by it.

The ANC has appointed a committee to examine what role the MPs will play. This committee could decide that the MPs — as loyal ANC members subject to its discipline — resign their seats. This is unlikely.

Instead, the appointment of the committee provides the ANC with a breathing space and allows its embrace of Parliament to go almost unnoticed in coming months. It can continue to describe the tricameral Parliament as unrepresentative and discredited while at the same time enjoying a national and privileged platform for its views.

In the meantime, the DP has been freed of what some caucus members describe as a "debilitating influence". It will now be free to pursue with vigour its liberal agenda and to play the role of honest broker in negotiations, which it has done thus far.

The MPs, meanwhile, say they will continue to represent their constituents — those who voted for them and against them and those who did not have the opportunity to vote. Already there are rumbles of discontent in their constituencies.

Dalling says he has received about half a dozen phone calls from constituents backing his move. Four of these were blacks. A white phoned to say he opposed it.

Whatever the deeper motives for their move, Van Eck, Momberg and Dalling, having switched political allegiances before, are no strangers to political musical chairs. Only this time the tune is Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika.

LETTERS

# Control of cadres 'not guaranteed'

STEPHANE BUTHIMA

SENIOR members of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, told the Goldstone commission yesterday they could not guarantee absolute control over cadres.

Testifying about a meeting last month at Umkhonto's PWV regional headquarters, at which it was alleged a plan was hatched to attack Inkatha-occupied hostels, political commissar Oupa Monareng admitted that such a suggestion had been made but denied that any decision had been taken on it.

"Anybody can do his own thing without the mandate of the leadership," Monareng told the commission.

Monareng was among those asked to testify about events at the meeting after police supplied the commission with two written statements made by informants.

The informants said it was decided at the meeting that Umkhonto would attack Inkatha hostels in four Transvaal areas.

The two informants feared for their lives and therefore refused to disclose their names to the commission, Judge Richard Goldstone said.

# Summit to set up peace committees

*8/Day 24/4/92 (11A) (25) (35)*

A NETWORK of multi-organisational special committees is to be set up throughout the country in an attempt to end political violence and eradicate intimidation.

A source said 19 organisations which attended this week's emergency summit on violence had appointed a seven-member working committee, whose task would be to work out strategies by which to filter the "spirit of reconciliation" down to grassroots level.

The working committee, which is made up of representatives from the ANC, Inkatha, PAC, Azapo, SA Communist Party and homeland parties, will meet within two weeks, probably on May 8.

The source said the committee would determine the nature of an international mechanism to monitor violence. Government and security forces were not invited.

Meanwhile nine community leaders, who had been staging a sit-in at Spoornet's Braamfontein headquarters since Wednesday, yesterday vowed to continue their protest until their demands were met.

The leaders, protesting against high levels of violence on Reef trains, said yesterday evening discussions they had held earlier with representatives from Transnet, Spoornet, the SA Rail Commuter Corporation (SARCC), Law and Order Ministry and Transport Ministry, did not yield much. Discussions continue today.

The protesters are demanding provision of adequate security on trains in consultation with the community, prosecution of perpetrators of violence and compensation of violence victims.

WILSON ZWANE

Soweto police spokesman Capt Joseph Ngobeni said yesterday that a the body of a man with stab wounds had been found near a railway line in Soweto at 6.30pm.

But Ngobeni said he could not confirm claims by the ANC that the man had been killed, and two others critically injured, in a train attack yesterday evening.

"We are still investigating the cause of his death, and presently have no reports of other injuries," Ngobeni said.

Earlier, police arrested a 22-year-old man who fired shots at a commuter train at Orlando station, Sapa reports. No one was injured.

## Minister

Trade unions, civic bodies and church organisations yesterday joined political organisations in calling for a week-long boycott of trains in protest against the ongoing attacks.

The organisations, which included the ANC, SA Communist Party, Cosatu, Civics Association of the Southern Transvaal and the HRC, called on township residents not to use trains from May 4-9.

In another development, the Alexandra Civic Organisation and local branches of the SA Communist Party, the ANC and the Congress of SA Students will meet Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel on Monday.

ANC Alexandra spokesman Obed Bapela said the organisations would ask Kriel to declare a section of the Alexandra township, known as "Beirut", a disaster area.

# Questions on the ANC's use of foreign funding

11A

Sowetan 24/4/92  
Sowetan Foreign News Service

**LONDON - The ANC's use of foreign aid, especially by Winnie Mandela, poses the question: Has uncritical financial support from the West for the ANC been wise?**

The question is asked by Mr Peter Taylor of *The European*, in a commentary revealing the ANC's top brass as having been less than discreet about the use of funds received over the years from donors abroad.

"The Mandelas' separation has been seen largely in terms of personal tragedy, but it also raises questions about how the West views its Third World heroes and heroines.

"Unlike the US, which has a powerful black congressional caucus to placate, European attitudes to Africa derive from sentiments of philanthropy tinged with a vague sense of guilt about the colonial past. It is somehow unfair for the privileged to nitpick about the behaviour of the less fortunate," writes Taylor.

Honing in on Winnie, Taylor points out that, despite her township unpopularity at the height of her reign in the 1980s, the "blank cheques continued to arrive in the coffers of the ANC, and Winnie continued with the construction of a vast mansion in Soweto . . ."

Although Mr Nelson Mandela, on his release, opted instead for the modest house he had left behind, "few other leading members of the ANC have been so restrained".

## Exclusive private school

SACP leader and the then head of Umkhonto We Sizwe head Mr Chris Hani had "cheerfully" enrolled his daughter at an exclusive private school. ANC sporting head Mr Steve Tshwete had opted for the same for his children.

"Hani and Tshwete have no doubt been saving for a rainy day, and one does not begrudge the *apparatchiks* of the ANC the occasional penthouse suite. But it would reassure some of us if the ANC published proper accounts of the money it has received over the years," says Taylor.

Taylor ventures further that the largesse does not extend to the ANC's lower ranks, as was demonstrated by Winnie's co-accused, Mrs Xoliswa Falati, who triggered the Mandela split after an argument over the funding of her appeal.

"Falati's defence, like that of Mandela, was largely paid for by the London-based International Defence and Aid Fund. This was, in any case, a matter of controversy, as the trial was plainly a criminal affair and nothing to do with human rights or politics.

"But IDAF closed shortly afterwards through shortage of funds, and although Mandela has money for her own appeal (mostly courtesy of Colonel Gaddafi, who has also paid for some of Nelson Mandela's foreign trips), Falati was left to fend for herself . . ."

Taylor concludes: "Europeans have every reason to be baffled by the ANC . . . The era of uncritical Mandelamania is over."

WINNIE MANDELA



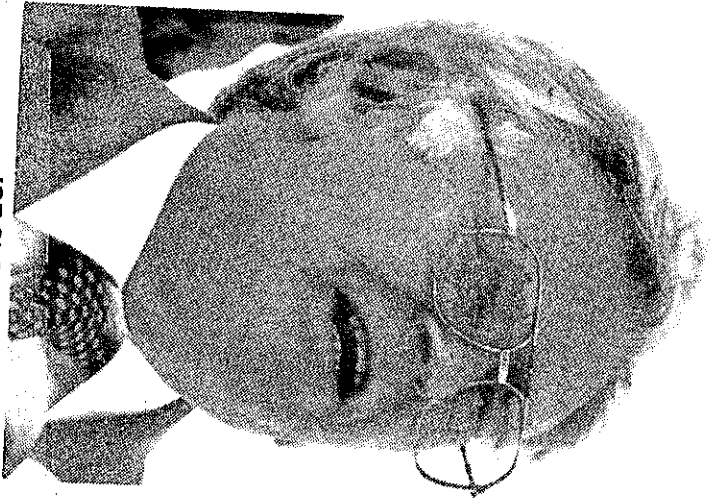
CHRIS HANI



XOLISWA FALATI



JOE SLOVO



# Leaders protest against violence

*Sowetan 24/4/92*  
NINE community leaders who staged a sit-in at Spoornet's Johannesburg offices yesterday vowed to continue their protest against the parastatal's apparent failure to curb the violence on Reef trains.

The protesters, who represent the ANC, Cosatu, the SA Community Party, Sarhwu, Cast and churches, embarked on the sit-in on Wednesday.

## Metal detectors

Addressing a Press conference yesterday, church leader Father Smangaliso Mkhathshwa said it was apparent after a meeting with Spoornet and the police that the parastatal did not have the capacity to end violence on the trains.

Spoornet's senior general manager Mr Gert Britz said his company, in conjunction

with the security forces and the train owners, the SA Railways Commuter Corporation, had taken every reasonable step possible to curb violence.

Some of the steps were security fencing at stations, an increased police presence, and the installation of metal detectors.

But the protesters believe these security measures are not effective.

"Police have simply not done enough. There have been no significant arrests, or noteworthy convictions.

"Although we believe there are a number of people in the police force who seek to do their job, there are quite a number of policemen who are not committed to doing their job," said Mr Amos Masondo of Cosatu.

# Support grows for rebel MPs

*20/4/92*  
By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN *(11A)*

SUPPORT is growing for five MPs who this week resigned from the Democratic Party to join the African National Congress.

*Sowetan 24/4/92*  
The support is particularly evident at the areas they represented as members of the Democratic Party.

At a meeting in Cape Town yesterday, the Western Cape leadership of the ANC formally welcomed Mr Jan van Eck and Mr Jannie Momberg to the region where they both hold seats.

Van Eck and Momberg were no strangers to the region, the Western Cape leader of the ANC, Dr Allan Boesak, said.

"Asked how they could further the ANC's cause, and whether it could be done through Parliament, Van Eck said: "We have always used Parliament and we will continue to use Parliament to further the struggle."

He stressed, however, that five MPs were not ANC spokesmen in Parliament.

"We're independent MPs who happened to be members of the ANC. We don't have a mandate from the ANC membership," he said.

ADLINES OK HEADLINES OK HEADLINES OK HEADLINES

# ANC takes shopping

## list' to Codesa II

By PAUL STOBER  
DELEGATES to the second plenary session of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) are likely to be in the hot seats when they meet next month.

Sharp differences have emerged between the African National Congress and the government about what must be achieved at Codesa II for substantial progress to be made towards the drawing up of a new constitution for South Africa.

Last week, the ANC released a "shopping list" of issues on which it wants Codesa II to reach agreement.

According to the ANC, this basket of measures would pave the way for an interim government to be in place within the next four months.

This would effectively wrest control of government from the National Party, and is the political priority of the ANC at the moment.

But Minister of Constitutional Development Gerrit Viljoen has said it is not likely Codesa II will produce final results.

"Codesa II will review progress reports and there will be other plenary sessions," he said at a press briefing on Wednesday. As the negotiators at Codesa usually do, he left the door open by adding: "Progress reports can be final reports."

Despite Viljoen's predictions, ANC national executive member Valli Moosa remained confident about the possibilities of breakthroughs before the second plenary session. Using the government's proposals on the first phase of the transitional process as an example, he said: "The government is not supported by anybody else and its positions are not sustainable. We are confident of about getting the government to move away from its present positions and towards agreement at Codesa."

He added that failure to reach agreement at Codesa II would be a result of "intransigence" on the part of the government.

The most important items in the ANC package are: the establishment of an interim government during the first phase of the transitional arrangements; the restoration of South African citizenship to the estimated 10-million citizens of the TBVC states; the establishment of an elected constitution-making body; and mechanisms to ensure free and fair elections.

However, with arrangements for Codesa II, to be held on May 15 and 16, already well underway, it is on precisely these issues that the government and the ANC seem to be the furthest apart.

● Working group two, which is discussing constitutional principles and the shape of a constitution making body, mandated its steering committee to suggest areas of discussion after it was unable to make any progress. The ANC has proposed that a single chamber constituent assembly, elected on the basis of proportional representation, draw up a constitution. The government has proposed a second house, representing regional and minority parties, which would have veto powers over the new constitution.

● The government is expected to announce draft legislation, which will enable it to enact an interim constitution, within the next few days. The legislation is expected to include details of how the government sees permanent closing of the tricameral parliament and creation of the constituent assembly/interim legislature.

# DP rebel: I have no regrets

**SOWETAN**  
Building the Nation

**RADIO METRO**

**TALKBACK**

By PHANGISILE MTSHALI

MR Jannie Momberg, one of the five rebels of the Democratic Party, last night told *Sowetan*/Radio Metro Talkback Show listeners that he would not resign his seat or contest in another whites-only election.

"We were not elected on the ticket of the ANC. We have become members of the ANC," he said.

"Since 1989 when I met the ANC in Lusaka and marched with them against the tri-cameral parliament, I have been sympathetic towards the ANC but the will to join came over the past few months."

He said their constituencies had expressed disappointment at their decision to join the ANC.

"While one white person shouts at us, we are getting dozens of calls from black people supporting and congratulating us," Momberg said.

Steven of Diepkloof congratulated the five DP rebels.

"If we toyi-toyi, they follow us. If we stay away we expect them to join us. I hope they will come with a positive input," he said.

ANC leader Mr Popo Molefe denied that the ANC was an elitist organisation, saying it was formed to fight for the rights of the poor.

"The implication of this move by five MP would allow the ANC to make inroads and broaden the base of its support within the white communities."



# BUILD YOUR ORGANISATION



## OBSTACLES TO BUILDING ORGANISATIONS



New Nation [Learning Nation] 24/4 - 30/4/92

Last week we wrote about the struggles you have had in trying to build organisations. The article then went on to explain how the ruling class tries to prevent the working class from building organisations.

It is generally believed that people should lead a structured and organised life. So why do you think the ruling class tries to destroy working class organisations? Perhaps you would like to read this article and then try to answer this question at the end.

This article will continue to look at obstacles that prevent the working class from building organisations. We will focus on the issue of the lack of resources, unemployment, education and the repressive role the state plays.

### Who owns or controls these resources at the moment?

In order to build organisations, you would need to have access to buildings for

Make a list of the resources you think you would need to build your organisation:

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meetings, access to the media to publicise these meetings and campaigns, and time to do all of this. However, you know from experience that the capitalists own all these resources and that the role of the state is to ensure that these resources stay in their control. The bosses own the factories, the transport systems, the media and have control of even the few community facilities that do exist in the townships. If you do want to use these facilities you have to pay large sums of money to hire them.

In this period of economic crisis, when the bosses are retrenching workers in order to maintain their levels of profits, many people do not have jobs and so this means that there is not enough money to pay for venues or for transport to get to meetings.

### Conditions of working class life

The conditions under which people live does not make it easy for people to have the time and energy to build organisations. If you have to go to work early in the

morning and perhaps you walk some of the way you won't have the energy in the evening to stay awake and contribute to meetings. The bad public transport system in this country means that people often arrive at meetings late and need to leave early. These conditions of everyday life make building organisation very difficult.

### Quality of education

The level of education amongst working class people is often low because they have only had access to Bantu education which means that they can probably just read and write well enough to be an efficient worker for the boss. This education system did not develop the skills which one would need to write pamphlets or articles to go in the newspaper about the next meeting and debates and issues that need to be raised at that meeting. Even if you can write good articles about the need to build working class organisation and know how to make pamphlets, the media, namely the newspapers and television networks are controlled by the ruling class, and so you

would not have access to these. To start a workers press would be the answer but that requires skill, money and organisation! Perhaps you are already in an organisation. Do you have an organisational newsletter? Starting an organisational publication is not an easy task but it is something that would help mobilise people in the organisation. It could deal with issues that are relevant to people in that organisation and in turn it could be used to recruit more people into the organisation.

There is another obstacle to building organisations and that is the state.

### Repression as an obstacle to building organisations

The state knows that the power of the working class class lies in its strength to organise itself. To prevent the working class from bringing about social change it needs to keep the working class in a state of disorganisation. The ruling class needs working class people to spend their time just trying to survive so that they can go to work the next day. If the masses begin to organise themselves beyond daily issues of survival then the state feels threatened and so it uses its laws to smash and suppress the working class. The role of the police and the army is to ensure that these laws are applied. In this way the state is able to restrict the activities of the working class.

They have laws that allow them to detain leading activists, ban strikes and break up gatherings and so destroy the development of organisations. The state can restrict and monitor the activities of organisations and when it feels particularly threatened by the strength of the working class, it can ban all organisations and impose a state of emergency.

Through these means of repression, the ruling class is able to break the solidarity of the working class and demoralise it.

To make things even more difficult, the state is also able to use forms of repression beyond the scope of laws. It is able to smash and demoralise the working class through violence. We all know the role the vigilantes and hit squads have played in this country. The majority of people now feel helpless against these forms of violence and are in some cases even scared to go to meetings. This has undermined the possibility of the masses acting around issues that affect their daily lives.



The conditions of working class life make building organisations difficult.

However, in order to survive, the working class does still need to organise itself. In the next article we will look at different ways of sustaining organisation under harsh conditions. We welcome suggestions from readers. If you are in a Learning Nation group, you might like to discuss this issue and send your suggestion in to us.

# INTERNATIONAL ISSUES



## Nationalism 6 *New Nation [Learning Nation] 24/4-30/4/92* The National Question in South Africa



This is the last article in our series on nationalism. In our previous articles, we addressed issues such as:

- national liberation as a current and international issue
- the concept of "nation" and its origin
- nationalist movements in East Europe and the collapsed USSR
- theories on national liberation and socialism
- the rise of right-wing nationalism

South Africa stands in a position in which nearly all of these issues are of importance in our struggle against apartheid.

### The Struggle for Democracy in South Africa

In South Africa, a social system of apartheid-capitalism exists. It is a system in which the ruling capitalist class uses racism to exclude the vast majority of the black population from the South African "nation". Under apartheid-capitalism black people are denied democracy. On the other hand, the white minority in South Africa have found that their access to democracy is not complete and it is not applied consistently. For example, apartheid laws have also denied white people the right to freedom of association, freedom of the press and so on.

In opposition to the system of apartheid-capitalism, the liberation movements such as the ANC, PAC and AZAPO struggle for a new South African nation that is democratic, non-sexist and non-racist. It is this struggle to liberate South Africa from its undemocratic, apartheid version of nationhood, that puts us in solidarity with the many other national liberation struggles taking place across the world.

### National Liberation and Socialism in South Africa

The working class of South Africa has a long history of commitment to a socialist future. Presently in South Africa, the organised working class is still strongly committed to socialism despite the problems and bad name socialism has received because of Stalinism. This

support for socialism can be seen from COSATU's most recent Economic Policy Conference which reaffirmed COSATU's support for a socialist future.

On the one hand we struggle for national liberation and on the other hand we are committed to a socialist future. What is the link between national liberation and socialist struggle?

In our first article of this series we saw that historically, it was the bourgeoisie who as a class led the struggle against feudalism for political power. In our fourth article we saw that debate within the socialist movement on the question of national liberation and socialism became a burning issue at the beginning of the 1900's. Today, in South Africa, we find on the one hand debates on whether we must engage in a struggle for national liberation OR a struggle for socialism. On the other hand, amongst those socialists who support the struggle for national liberation, we find further debates. One of the key issues in these debates is the question of class leadership in the national liberation struggle.

### Bourgeois or Working Class Leadership?

One view argues that national liberation belongs to the phase of bourgeois revolution. This view says that the programme for national liberation must limit itself to demands that the bourgeois class, as the ruling class, can grant. This view argues that national liberation must bring about a democratic, non-racial and non-sexist but capitalist South Africa. Only after this has been achieved will the working class put forward a socialist programme and lead the struggle to achieve this goal. This argument is often referred to as a "two-stage" theory of socialist revolution.

Another view exists which opposes the "two-stage" approach to national liberation and socialism. This view argues that capitalism in South Africa survives because apartheid gives it cheap labour. This view says that apartheid therefore cannot be destroyed and democracy cannot be guaranteed under capitalism. This view argues that the working class which desires national liberation and socialism will remain the most consistent fighters of apartheid and upholders of democracy. For this reason, this view argues for working class leadership of the national liberation struggle. The holders of this position point to situations in which bourgeois leadership of the national liberation struggles, turn against their commitment to democracy. Our article on the nationalist movements in the Soviet Union showed examples of how the

bourgeois leadership in some of these movements are already acting in undemocratic ways.

The view which argues for working class leadership in the national liberation struggle was strongly argued for by Trotsky in the 1920's in his fight against the rise of Stalinism. The debate over which class should lead in the national liberation struggle in South Africa will continue to inform and impact on our day-to-day struggle for liberation.

### Right-wing nationalism in South Africa



Last week we looked at the rise of right-wing nationalist tendencies in some of the leading capitalist countries across the world. We saw the link between a deepening economic crisis and the growing support for fascist policies.

The South African capitalist economy has also been hit with a severe recession. The working class experiences this daily through retrenchments, the rising cost of living and decreased social services offered by the state as it continues the campaign to privatise these services. An added feature in South Africa is the uncertainty in the current political situation. For the white working and middle classes, the certainty of minority (apartheid) rule with the privileges it offers them is no longer there. The white minority faces a possible situation of (black) majority rule. The same is true for the leaders and supporters of the bantustans and the tricameral system.

The combined effect of worsening economic crisis and possible loss of minority political power leads to growing support for the entrenchment of "minority rights". The whites-only referendum of 17 March 1992 gave majority white support to De Klerk's negotiations option to preserve apartheid in some new form rather than the more right-wing options offered by the CP and the AWB. However the danger does exist that worsening unemployment and poverty together with the growing political uncertainty can create conditions in which the racist divisions between blacks and whites as well as between blacks can widen. Fears that majority rule will mean the oppressive imposition of a single cultural tradition onto people could also lead to growing support for organisations like the AWB and the bantustan leaders.

### Conclusion

The broad liberation movement must show that its policies on winning and securing democracy and solving the economic crisis as well as its policies on the cultural diversity found in South Africa is not in conflict with the building of a unitary and democratic nation. These are some of the concrete issues that need to be taken up in our struggle for national liberation today.



# ANC camps' probe doubts

(11A) CT 24/4/92

JOHANNESBURG. — Three international human rights organisations have questioned the validity of the ANC's internal inquiry into allegations of torture and deaths in its African prison camps.

Amnesty International spokesman Mr. Richard Carver said there was "little question that the sort of abuses described by returning ANC prisoners have taken place".

The ANC has reportedly not yet responded to a request from the Returned Exiles Co-ordinating Committee — established by a

group of ex-ANC detainees after their return to South Africa from an ANC prison in Uganda last year — to investigate their allegations.

A spokeswoman for the International Committee of the Red Cross in Geneva said the ICRC would visit the camps despite the ANC inquiry.

The ANC in Johannesburg has repeatedly stated it has given the ICRC carte blanche to visit the camps and that all former prisoners have been released. It has also stated its intention of dealing with the ICRC only in this regard, and that the findings of its inter-

nal inquiry will be made public.

The spokeswoman said the ICRC had "great interest" in the camps and found it difficult to understand why ICRC requests to visit had met "flat refusal" from the ANC.

Meanwhile, the Germany-based International Society for Human Rights has reportedly questioned the ANC's competence to investigate allegations against itself.

ISHR president Dr Reinhard Gnauck, quoting "reliable sources", claimed the ANC was continuing to hold hundreds of people in its camps. — Sapa

# Questions of purity



**Dikgang Moseneke is second vice-president of the Pan Africanist Congress**

**Describe the tenor of the PAC meeting with government in Abuja, Nigeria. And what decisions were taken?**

It was a follow-up to a call we in the PAC have been making for some time, that is, to introduce the principle of neutrality in the negotiating process. The meeting was facilitated by President Babangida of Nigeria. It was a preparatory meeting with a view to arranging a summit between President (F W) de Klerk and our president, Clarence Makwetu.

As you know, we are calling for a new negotiating forum.

**With what features?**

The forum must observe two things. One, the principle of democracy must loom large; it must be more representative than Codesa is now. We think it's a flaw that there is no labour representation, for instance. Second, we believe that the present representation by homelands leads to a loaded and prepacked forum, which gives them a voice that is much larger than their support on the ground. It is essential also that the convenorship should be neutral, and there should be international monitoring.

Elections will precede a constituent assembly, whose main business is to create a new constitution. Then more elections, followed by installation of a new government. People who are not elected and therefore have no mandate should not create a new constitution.

**Is an elected assembly not agreed on in principle at Codesa?**

There is no such agreement. There are proposals by the ANC, and government has made its third or fourth set of proposals.

**What kind of land policy would the PAC put forward in a negotiating forum?**

We would want to put the land question on the agenda because we think it is central to our oppression and exploitation. We have put out a fairly detailed document on the land question and future economic policy.

Central to our approach is that we have to create mechanisms to allow ordinary people access to land. We say that the marketplace cannot achieve re-allocation of land because the people do not have the money.

Obviously, the right mechanisms will have to be found to be able to redistribute land. And there must be redistribution. There is no question about that.

We have said that such a policy will have to have regard for the question of growth, so that you have development and growth moving side by side and that we will have to preserve food production.

You start off where land is available, where conflict is least likely and you then move on gradually. You might ultimately have to tackle the hard cases. We are not talking about a wild land-grabbing process.

**Would you have outright confiscation or with compensation?**

There can be no final position on this; there are various options and formulas for compensation, such as the issuing of State bonds.

**What about the principle of private property rights?**

Our economy has been basically malformed on account of policies that were based on race and exploitation. Any government that comes into power that has no redistributive strategy on an economy plan is like playing marbles — it will be ridiculous. You will have an uprising on your hands in a matter of a few years.

**Ideologically speaking, is the PAC close to the Communist Party? Is the PAC socialist?**

Yes. Ideologically, we strive for the creation of a socialist democracy and we in the PAC talk about an African socialist democracy. We seek to minimise, if not destroy, exploitation of man by man. We are not unmindful of the developments that have occurred in eastern Europe. But we say a prime cause of the collapse of eastern Europe was the lack of accountability.

**How many members does the PAC have and**

**what proportion of the vote will it win in an election?**

We expect to win more than 50%, nothing less. We have 400 branches nationally with at least 100 members in each. That is a starting point. The second thing is that we have emphasised ideological soundness.

**Please explain your slogan "one settler one bullet," which does you a lot of damage.**

Yes — from the point of view of people who have been racist until now. Settlers has nothing to do with colour; it has everything to do with oppression. That's the point.

Settlers arrogated to themselves political power and oppressed fellow countrymen. Our definition of African has been very elastic, ensuring that every person in this country is more than welcome (to join the PAC). As early as 1959, a number of so-called whites joined the PAC. We have white members.

The slogan is a nice whipping boy; suffice it to say it does not form part of PAC policy. Of course it gets chanted in PAC meetings from time to time, but so what?

**It seems the PAC has an alternative to negotiations. Could your military wing, Apla, be successful against the SADF?**

For as long as there is no democracy and people don't have the right to vote, I think you must expect that our military wing and other military wings will remain.

**Does the PAC fear being marginalised if Codesa does not get restructured?**

We have no such fears at all. For one thing, the train has not started moving. They are still at the station.

Codesa 2, I predict, will again be postponed, to June. Just at that level, there is no question of marginalisation.

**Assuming elections are held for a constituent assembly and you haven't been part of Codesa, will you contest them?**

If it is a genuine constituent assembly, we will take part; if it is not, we will boycott it.

**Will you consider going into a coalition with the ANC?**

We are working through the Patriotic Front. Meetings are in the pipeline. It's too early to talk about alliances, but it is fair enough to say that, between ourselves, we will certainly be able to draw over two-thirds of the total vote in the country.

FM 24/4/92

(11A)



Publicity shy . . . Siphwe Nyanda, the sports writer turned guerilla leader, is the man most likely to succeed former MK chief of staff Chris Hani. Picture: Karen Fletcher

## 'Comrade Joe' set to lead MK

By Thabo Leshilo  
Political Staff

South Africans can be forgiven for not knowing Siphwe Nyanda, the man tipped to take over the reins from the fiery Chris Hani as Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff.

The acting MK chief simply hates the limelight.

Mr Nyanda (41) was asked by the ANC to fill the void after Mr Hani resigned three months ago to concentrate on his duties as general secretary of the SA Communist Party.

"I have neither the stomach, heart or desire to follow in his footsteps," Mr Nyanda told The Star yesterday.

"I just want to do my job," he added, stressing that addressing political rallies was not on his list of duties.

The father of two believes his jump to the top echelons of MK was fortuitous — he was not even on MK headquarters staff when he was chosen by the National Working Committee of the ANC to fill in for Mr Hani.

Mr Nyanda was a prolific sports writer on the World and an underground ANC activist before he left South Africa to join MK in 1976.

After receiving training in the Soviet Union and east Germany, he was MK commander for the Transvaal urban region from 1983 to 1987. During this time, his name featured frequently in terrorism trials.

Known by his MK name, "Te-bogo Kgope", the elusive Mr Nyanda was responsible for coordinating the infiltration of MK guerillas as well as establishing arms caches and safe houses.

He would not be drawn into discussing the several missions he claimed to have carried out for the ANC. Legend, however, has credited him with such spectacular attacks as the Sasol bombing of 1981.

"General Gebuza", as his friends call him, was seconded to Operation Vula in 1988 — a key SACP project led by then-ANC president Oliver Tambo and designed to strengthen MK structures in South Africa.

Mr Nyanda attracted huge media interest as "Comrade Joe", leader of the alleged May

1990 SACP plot to overthrow the Government if constitutional negotiations failed.

He went underground, was arrested in Natal, but released after an agreement between the ANC and the Government.

Mr Nyanda speaks in glowing terms about the strength, training and ability of the ANC's guerilla army, and flatly denies that MK is disorganised, demoralised and needs upgrading.

"I am loath to use the word 'upgrade' when talking about MK because it implies that we're inferior to the SADF," he said. "The greatest challenge facing MK is to reorientate it from an irregular army to a conventional army — not to upgrade it," he said.

# Large coalition to boost women's rights

South 25/4 - 30/4/92

(11A) (S)

**T**HE Women's National Coalition (WNC), the widest grouping yet of women's organisations in South Africa, will be launched officially in Johannesburg on Saturday.

The coalition — to consist of representatives from, amongst others, the African National Congress (ANC), Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), National Party (NP), Democratic Party (DP), Kontak, South African Council of Churches (SACC) and Women for Peace — plans to draw up a "Document of Women's Equality" after canvassing the views of women nationally, particularly in rural areas.

The document would hopefully form the basis for a Charter of Women's Rights that would be discussed at Codesa and included in a bill of rights.

Two concerns of the WNC would be gender oppression, conceived as the subordination of women, and the changes taking place in South African society, where sexism should be eliminated alongside racism.

SACC executive committee member Ms Jennifer Kinghorn said

the WNC will discuss strategies to ensure the new constitution entrenches women's equality.

Strategies will also be discussed to increase the representation of women in the country's political process.

Ms Anne-Marie Nutt of the Afrikaner women's organisation, Kontak, said: "The coalition is a model for women, as up to now women have been scared about entering the political arena. It's important, therefore, that we develop the grass-roots empowerment of women."

Deputy head of the ANC's mission for the emancipation of women Ms Frene Ginwala said: "The coalition's objective is that in a year or two, the ordinary South African woman, who is illiterate and rural, must feel that this new South Africa has given her something, not just the vote," she said.

At the September inaugural meeting of the WNC, Ginwala said: "Women will have to make sure the constitution goes beyond a ritualistic commitment to equality and actually lay the basis for gender equality."

The coalition agrees that women will have to ensure that the new

constitution provides for this. She suggested that "we need to make sure South Africa is explicitly characterised as non-sexist as well as non-racial". This would give priority to non-sexism where there may be a conflict of rights. She also suggested the state should be responsible for ensuring that women's equality is enforced.

**A** 14-member voluntary task force, the Interim National Committee, has been set up to broaden the coalition, and to make it as representative of South African women as possible. It also has to clarify the aims, terms of reference, process and structures of the coalition.

The committee has called a national workshop of the regional representatives and national women's organisations to discuss these questions, and launch the Women's Charter Campaign nationally.

Ms Gill Noero, a member of the DP's Women's Forum and chairwoman of the Women's Bureau (Southern Transvaal region), is a driving force in the WNC. She argues that because of the voluntary nature of the Interim National Committee, the workshop will be

important to establish accountability. "Traditional discussion forums have always excluded women — this is no way forward for a new South Africa," added Noero.

But the coalition is not the only alliance of organisations concerned with women's human rights. Late last year, the Women's Legal Status Committee (WLSC) called a meeting to form a Women's Lobby to lobby leaders in the media, politics and business about women's concerns for the future South Africa.

Some argue such an organisation should concentrate on helping the WNC to publicise and raise awareness about the campaign for women's rights. But in its newsletter, the WLSC argues one needs to distinguish between two kinds of issues — "societal or national issues that include the constitution" and "women's issues based on women's biological functions and society's attitudes to women".

The WLSC argues that the focus of the coalition would confine lobbying to women's issues and strongly advocates a broader view. There does not appear to be a contradiction in the objectives of the two organisations, however.

**Sheila Mointjes, Work in Progress**

# 'Long-distance liberal' finds his liberation

South 25/4-30/4/92 IIA

**What experiences made you sympathetic to the ANC?**

**JAN VAN ECK:** The turning point for me was when I went to the funeral of four Cradock leaders who were assassinated under mysterious circumstances in 1985. It was Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkhonto and Sicelo Mhlawuli. Until that moment, I was a white liberal politician who had no grassroots experience of black South Africa, I was always on the outside — a long-distance liberal campaigner.

We stayed with people there and I also went to a mass meeting about the killings that lasted the whole night. We were warmly welcomed and I felt liberated from all my white fears and my fears about the ANC.

It affected me very deeply, I was shown the human side of the black community and from that day on nothing could stop me.

Later, when violence erupted in the Cape, the PFP set up an Unrest Monitoring Committee which I chaired from the beginning. Working full-time in monitoring I was exposed to all the police brutality and all other repressive measures taken by the state — I got more involved in what was happening.

Its funny you know, at that time when all organisations were banned, nobody really told me which organisation they belonged to. When they were unbanned and they told me, I was amazed at how many people were in the ANC.

Another experience was when I

From a Nat supporter in the 60s to an ANC member in 1992, ex-Democratic Party MP, Jan van Eck talks to **Quentin Wilson:**

became a teacher in East London in 1967. I supported the Nats before that and was a member of the Dutch Reformed Church. I was asked by another staff member to go to the local Presbyterian Church and that was the first time I sat next to a black couple.

**How do you reconcile staying on in a racist parliament that the ANC wants disbanded?**

It sounds contradictory but in the six years I have served in parliament I have always tried to expose all atrocities against the people. I have only heard one request and that is to continue what I have been doing. To us, it has always been another site of struggle.

My break with the DP started when there was a march last year at the opening of parliament. I went on this march for a Constituent Assembly and people in the DP were outraged.

All hell broke loose and I was

instructed not to take part in the march at the beginning of this year.

**Would you have left the DP if you had not been suspended?**

I could have. There was a great deal of tension around the party's strategy, particularly about forming alliances. We felt that if the DP was campaigning for the disenfranchised then it was logical that we should work more closely with the ANC. Unfortunately, the majority of the caucus is moving in the other direction. They actually encouraged us to leave and we started to look seriously at other options.

Had the new strategy brought the DP closer to the ANC and had they turned their back on the NP then it might have been a different scenario.

There were a number of us, more than the five that joined the ANC, who have been talking for more than a year about the viability of a small white political party in the future. There will probably be more DP MPs that join the ANC, I'm not saying how many though!

**Do you think that some of the DP MPs who join the ANC or NP are doing so to safeguard their personal political future?**

There has been a lot of talk about this but I honestly don't think so. The people that move from the DP now know where the real political battle is taking place — between the NP and ANC.



**ANC'S REPS IN PARLIAMENT:** From left, Pierre Cronje, Rob Haswell, (in front) Jannie Momberg and Jan van Eck

Photo: Eric Miller

12 arrested in  
(177)  
court demo

PIETERSBURG. —  
Police arrested 12 mem-  
bers of the black con-  
sciousness youth wing,  
the Azanian Youth Or-  
ganisation, yesterday  
when they demonstrated  
outside the Pietersburg  
Magistrate's Court.

CP 25/1/92  
The demonstration  
was in support of five  
Azanian National Liber-  
ation Army members  
charged with terrorism.

— Sapa



# Black leaders slam rotating presidency

STAR 25/4/92. (11A)

**BLACK** leaders yesterday fired damaging shots at the idea of a rotating presidency floated by the State President this week, and the African National Congress is likely to add its volley to the fusillade of rejection today.

While the ANC delayed its reaction to the State President's proposal for an elected presidency, Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has labelled De Klerk's plan as "so sketchy and so full of ambiguities that it is difficult to comment on them at all".

## Rejected

In a statement from Ulundi yesterday, Buthelezi said an elected presidency to "do what we know-not-what" must be opposed strenuously.

"An elected presidency to establish some kind of super adjudicating body for resolving disputes must also be rejected with everything we have."

De Klerk told Parliament on Thursday that an executive council of three to five members could be elected on a one person, one vote basis to replace the State President and carry out the functions of head of state, including preparing the country for elections.

Power would be shared among each of the three to five biggest parties after the election, with the presidency rotating every six months. This election would take place much sooner than the general election which would bring a new legislature or constituent assembly into being.

ANC reaction is ex-



**BUTHELEZI: 'Sketchy and ambiguous.'**

**FW plan rejected as a road to disaster**

**MARTIN CHALLENOR  
PETER FABRICIUS  
and SAPA**

pected today when its president, Nelson Mandela, speaks at the University of the North, where he will receive an honorary doctorate. Senior ANC leaders were closeted yesterday to hammer out the organization's position.

Some foreign governments and National Party negotiators have expressed the hope that

the ANC will not summarily dismiss De Klerk's proposals.

The ANC Youth League has already dismissed the proposals as unwieldy and designed to delay democracy.

Buthelezi said he was opposed to "an elected assembly becoming the country's constitution-making body". He would also oppose an elected presidency if it were put in place to manage elections for such a constituent assembly.

"Any proposals for establishing a constitution and holding elections should be presented to the voting public in a referendum for adoption or rejection. The IFP is totally convinced that anything short of procedures in which political parties negotiate a constitution which is then put to the voting public for testing in a referendum will be disastrous."

## Details

Buthelezi said a free and fair election was not possible in South Africa now because all parties could not campaign with equal freedom in all constituencies.

Government sources were yesterday hoping that because the ANC had instantly dismissed the idea, it meant they would take part in the election.

Their expectation is that the ANC will come back with a request for more details and a few ideas of their own, particularly that the transi-

● TO PAGE 2.

## Hundreds greet dog

HUNDREDS of enthusiastic fans turned out at Jan Smuts Airport last night to welcome back the South African cricket team.

They had turned up despite a last-minute plea by United Cricket Board managing director Dr All Bacher that the fans not go to the airport as the players were tired and wanted to go straight home.

Parents with placards and balloons, and wide-eyed kids with miniature cricket bats, waited patiently for their idols to emerge from customs.

And the eager young maidens were there too — they were more interested in discussing whether

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(11A)

## FW plan

● FROM PAGE 1.

tional period be pegged to a stipulated length of time. >STAR 25/4/92

There is a suggestion that the ANC does not want to work through more Codesa meetings after May 15, so there is hope in Government circles that the ANC would see the executive council as an acceptable compromise.

Other black leaders are already stacking up their objections.

Transkei's General Bantu Holomisa described the proposals as "queer" and an exercise in futility. He said the proposals had a "built-in mechanism" to delay the negotiation process. "Members of the Patriotic Front in Codesa view with disdain De Klerk's endeavours to co-opt them into executive positions with utter lack of accountability and legitimacy."

Holomisa said it was clear that De Klerk wanted to "carve a niche for himself in the corridors of power, now and in the future, re-

gardless of his limited support base".

Yesterday Foreign Minister Pik Botha fired a first election shot in Parliament by saying South Africa would receive no meaningful foreign investment if the ANC governed alone.

"The ANC will be surprised by the number of African governments who said this to me, by the important governments in the Far East who say it, and by the American investors who say it. There is no escaping it."

Botha said the National Party wanted to be, and could be, the majority party in South Africa. But South Africa would only be saved if the ANC, IFP and the NP reconciled and ruled in partnership, offering policies acceptable to the world.

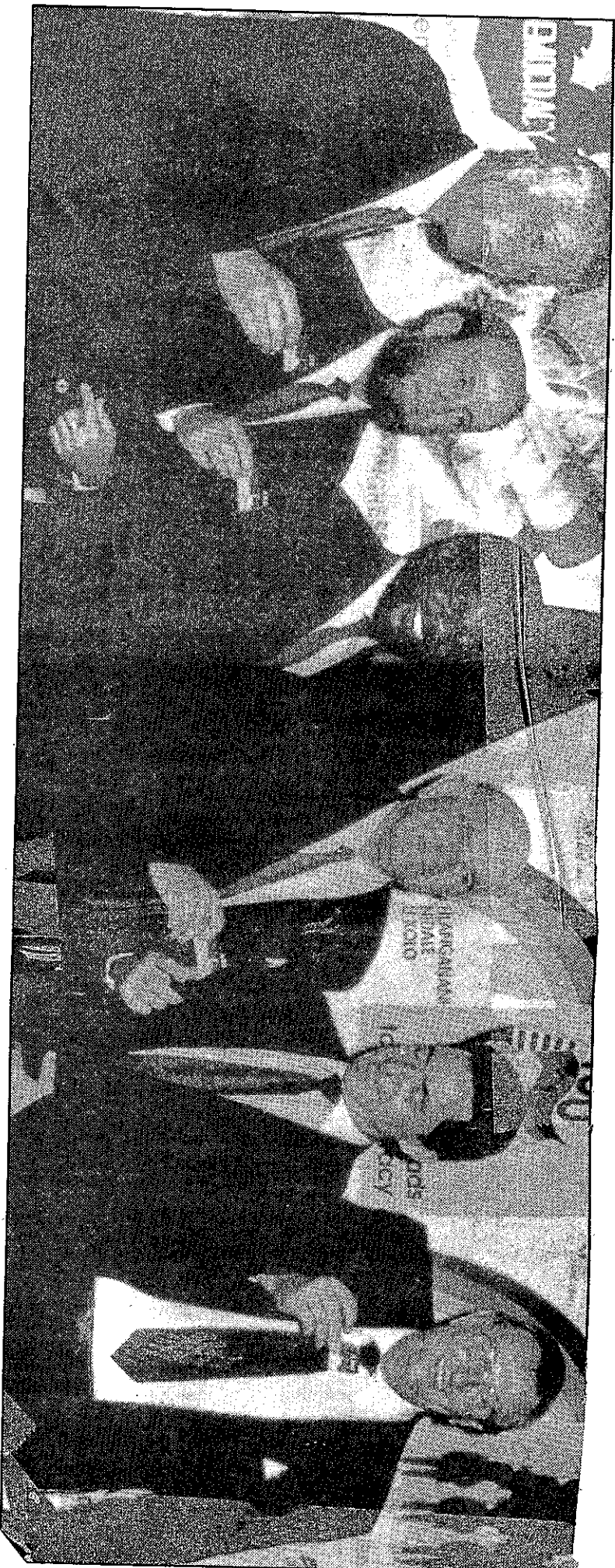
People in impoverished areas wanted jobs, Botha said, and in a future election the NP would tell voters that the ANC, because of the policies of its Communist Party allies, would not be able to provide jobs.



TIN LI  
J SMO  
ATIN LI  
Absolute

**FIVE** white stalwarts of the Democratic Party have taken the plunge and nailed their colours, and careers, to the mast of the country's biggest political movement.

Jannie Momberg and Dave Dalling tell of the heart-searching that brought them to their momentous decisions.



# Lusaka visit changed me

STAR 257492

As I sat at the press conference of the ANC on Tuesday, many thoughts crossed my mind. My whole life seemed to flash past me.

I remember as a small boy how upset my father was when Hitler died; how I helped to dig Dr D F Malan's grave as a student, how I met Dr Verwoerd. How fond I was of Mr Vorster. How hard I worked for the National Party for 30 years.

I thought of my break with the NP in 1987 and the marvellous media campaign of Denis Worral. I thought of my election as MP for Simon's Town.

## Propaganda

Now I, an Afrikaner and Dutch Reform Christian, have joined the ANC. People will ask why.

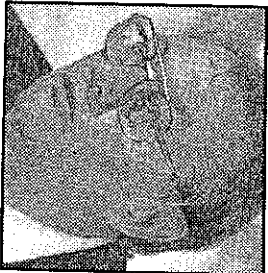
What changed my life finally was a visit Tiaan van der Merwe, Wynand Malan and I undertook to

Lusaka in July 1989 to meet with the leadership of the ANC for the first time. I met Thabo Mbeki, Steve Tshwete, Alfred Nzo, Thomas Nkobi, Tom Sebina, Gertrude Shope, Pannell Maduna and others.

For the first time I met people who have always been portrayed as terrorists, murderers, criminals and all the terrible things the Nat propaganda told the people of South Africa. Suddenly I discovered that here were highly qualified, articulate, sincere people who love South Africa as much as I do!

When the ANC was unbanned in 1990 I could meet grassroots members more easily and I started to identify with them. I became friends with these people.

I joined the ANC because I believe that our country desperately needs to move away from the polarisation between whites and blacks. Astute Nat propaganda of 44 years has put whites into their own laager of fear and mistrust for blacks.



JANNIE MOMBERG

and blacks in their own laager of poverty and urge for liberation.

Unless whites and blacks can join hands and cross the divide of racial tension, mistrust, fear and hate, our country cannot survive a catastrophe.

We must learn the lessons of Zimbabwe. Whites painted themselves into a white corner and today they play an insignificant political role in a country where they still play a crucial economic role.

I join the ANC because I believe that now that statutory apartheid has ended, the real battle begins — to rid our country of the legacies of apartheid, namely racism, distrust, the breakdown of

law and order, inequality, poverty and minority fears.

I leave the DP with a great deal of sadness. I believe the DP has played a crucial role to bring us closer to a nonracial democracy.

I do not intend to get into fights with the DP. I believe that the DP will move closer to the ANC in the foreseeable future, and when that happens we can be together again.

I believe the ANC and the DP should fight against the common enemy — the NP.

I conclude to say that I do not expect my people of Simon's Town to follow me or all to join the ANC. I just plead for their understanding.

Saturday Star April 25 1992

Why we quit DP for ANC

News

Whistle-stop tour of trouble spots drums up township support

# Fiery Winnie fighting back

STAR 25/4/92

JOE LOUW

mond in Natal.

There she also launched a stinging attack on Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of the Inkatha Freedom Party, as well as President de Klerk.

"Inkatha and the police killed a whole family in Sharpeville, while De Klerk and Gatsha were worshipping in Moria," she told the crowd, discreetly omitting the fact that her estranged husband had been at Moria as well.

"That prayer of theirs is absolutely meaningless. They do one thing and they say another."

On the subject of the disbanding of Umkhonto We Sizwe, demanded by the Government as a

Vereeniging, where eight members of the African National Congress had been shot dead. She addressed an enthusiastic crowd and later attacked the Government for preaching peace but continuing to fan the flames of violence.

## Attack

By the week's end, a defiant Mandela was sharing a platform with ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba and hardline Natal Midlands leader Harry Gwala, when she received a "tumultuous" welcome from ANC members at Ndaleni Township near Rich-

when what she calls "my people" will be enfranchised and will not forget her.

Within hours of a shoot-out with police at Power Park in Soweto that left two people dead, she was there confronting police. She demanded that police leave the scene, and when they did, the squatters were fulsome in their applause and praise.

"We will do everything in our power to defend ourselves," she yelled. Waving a bag of spent shells fired during the fracas, she told the squatters: "All these were to kill you in your sleep."

The next day she was in Sharpeville, near

WINNIE Mandela defiantly hit the campaign trail this week, days after an avalanche of bad publicity that would have buried a lesser woman.

In what appeared to be a last-ditch effort to salvage her reputation as a political leader, she courted the constituency that has always responded to her most fervently — the poor, the neglected and the outcast.

In a flurry of speech-making, walkabouts and personal appearances at funerals, she seemed to be everywhere at once. Her strategy seemed to be pitched at the future,

organisation, Mandela has steadfastly vowed to serve the organisation "until my dying day".

Today will present another opportunity for her to hit the headlines, when she addresses a mass funeral at Sharpeville, where she will undoubtedly display her prowess as a fire-breathing orator.

Sections of the United States press have come to her defence. "Don't forget what South Africa inflicted on Winnie Mandela," said the New York Times yesterday, reacting to correspondents who both praised and criticised her for having "become an embarrassment to her husband and the ANC".



GOING WALKABOUT: Winnie Mandela.

# I'm at home with victims



DAVID DALLING

STAR 25/4/92

HAVING fought racism throughout my career, I strongly feel the need to associate myself not with those who until recently imposed apartheid on SA, but rather with those who were oppressed by it.

Over the past months, the DP's image has become almost synonymous with that of the NP. The NP, while shedding support to the Right, has appropriated almost all of the DP's policy, and much of its support base.

I am uncomfortable

with this, as I do not trust the people who destroyed democracy and the rule of law in South Africa to implement enlightened policies.

## Harmful

There are three camps in the DP. They are:

- Those who want to remain an independent party, speaking up for liberal values. This is not viable because "liberal values" are no longer the preserve of the DP. Nearly all the parties at Codesa espouse these values.

Secondly it would be harmful to our country if the political divide was also a racial divide, with nearly all the whites supporting one side, and most

of the blacks the other. Finally, this is not viable as the DP will be crushed by the "giants" in elections.

- Those who seek an alliance, merger or electoral pact with the NP. This is also not viable because any attempt to achieve this at national level would split the DP down the middle and tear the party apart.

- Those who seek an alliance, merger or electoral pact with the ANC. This is not viable because, within the DP, too many members see the ANC as an enemy and not a political friend.

The result is that we have a stalemate. It is in this atmosphere of uncertainty that the DP has been operating recently. This has led to several clashes within the party.

Late last year Robin Carlisle MP proposed a vote of no-confidence in me as chief whip because I had attended an ANC fund-raising function in Stellenbosch addressed by Nelson Mandela. The fact that I had been granted prior permission by the DP leader to attend the

dinner did not stop the motion being put.

More recently, I was criticised by two of my colleagues for saying in Parliament that my "yes" vote in the referendum was not a "vote for FW" or for the National Party, but rather a vote for negotiations and peace in our country.

These incidents, plus many other recurring unpleasanties, which I need not describe in detail, did little to make one feel at home.

Finally, Zach de Beer himself has often said that those who felt they belonged in the ANC should go now, rather than later - leaving a more homogeneous DP to continue with its work. There should be no complaint if some of us take him at his word.

I admire the ANC for the courageous struggle it has led in ridding SA of apartheid, oppression and intolerance.

I subscribe to its philosophy of a multiparty democracy free of racialism and sexism.

# Red carpet for five rebels a farce, says IFP

DURBAN — Inkatha Freedom Party chairman Dr. Frank Mdlalose yesterday branded the ANC's decades-long opposition to South Africa's racist constitution as a farce in the light of its acceptance of five MPs as members.

Five former Democratic Party MPs joined the ANC on Tuesday. Mdlalose felt the ANC's resultant representation in the tricameral Parliament was an act of political expediency.

Mdlalose said the IFP was "stunned by the sudden ANC entry into mainstream system politics", adding that this exposed the ANC's 30 years of armed struggle against a racist constitution as a farce.

He called for the immediate resignation of the five former DP members from Parliament.

Their statement that they would now seek to represent the disfranchised in Parliament was laughable, Mdlalose added. — Sapa.

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STAR 25/4/92

# MOWING THE WAASSES

C/pwr 26/4/92

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**Bishop Barrabas Ramarumo Lekganyane, in his early 40s, is probably the youngest spiritual leader in Africa and the world over to head a church with an estimated three million members. What magic wand has he to move these multitudes? THEMBA KHUMALO went to the Zion Christian Church's annual Easter pilgrimage at Morija to find out.**

**KNOWN** as the "church for the poor and down-trodden", the Zion Christian Church (ZCC) draws its supporters from both the urban and the rural areas.

It is said many have been drawn to the church for spiritual support after medical doctors and traditional healers failed to diagnose their troubles.

ZCC supporters come from as far afield as the Frontline States. At least two interpreters from Namibia and Zimbabwe form part of the string of linguists who help Bishop Lekganyane to transmit his sermon effectively in spite of language hurdles.

The bishop shot to prominence at the age of 13 when his father, Edward, died suddenly in 1966 in his house at Morija. After family squabbles about who would succeed the late bishop, Barrabas was finally appointed.

However, he only took over the reins when he turned 21. Since then, he has successfully guided the church to the status of one of the most powerful and respected religious institutions in the world.

During his 26 years as head of the church, Lekganyane has made few public appearances beyond the annual Easter congregation and his sporadic excursions to church branches around the country. Yet he has gained enormous respect and admiration from his followers and politicians alike.

Some of his followers are convinced that he is "Jesus who has returned to Africa".

He has spelt out more than once that his followers should not indulge in politics. His church is the only large institution of its nature that is not affiliated to Frank Chikane's South African Council of Churches (SACC).

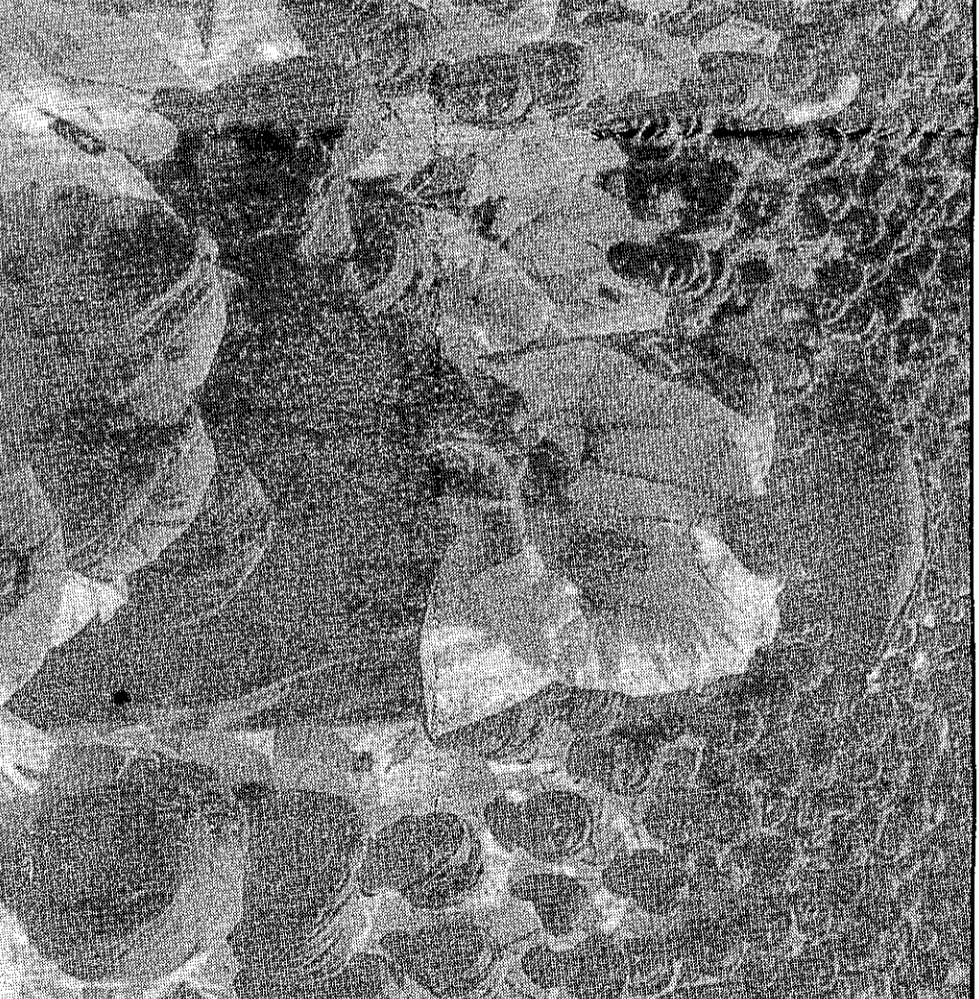
Lekganyane's bid to keep his followers out of politics is sneered at by his detractors as a futile attempt because as workers, they are members of various trade union movements.

Those who live in Reef townships are not immune from the internecine violence that has taken thousands of lives.

Lekganyane was roundly condemned for inviting former State President PW Botha to address his



**BISHOP'S GUESTS ... The invitation they had to accept. Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi at Morija.**



**LONG JOURNEY ... A Herero ZCC member from Namibia was one of the people who travelled great distances to attend the annual pilgrimage to the 'Holy City' of Morija.**

## TEXT by THEMBA KHUMALO and PICTURES by TLADI KHUJELE

faithfuls at the height of the State of Emergency in 1985.

This overture to the government was deemed inappropriate at a time when most political activists were either incarcerated under the emergency regulations or on the run from the security police. Others had gone underground.

**Consumer boycott**

Months later ZCC members were at loggerheads with activists from Alexandra near Johannesburg after churchgoers refused to participate in a local consumer boycott.

However, Lekganyane defied all odds and continued to galvanise members of his church.

He was rewarded five years later when he visited

ANC president Nelson Mandela at his Soweto house after his release from prison. Not only did the "father of the nation" welcome the Bishop warmly, the two are believed to have struck a sudden personal rapport which observers believe is not easy to break.

It is against this background that the bishop, probably after conferring with his church elders, saw fit to invite the three main leaders in SA's political scenario to deliver the message of peace at last week's gathering.

While the likes of Bishop Desmond Tutu and Frank

Chikane are believed to have given up their bid to lure Lekganyane onto their side against Pretoria, Mandela, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and President FW de Klerk knew too well what was at stake had any one of them dared ignore the invitation to come to Morija.

Support from the large number of Zionists for each of the three leaders is of utmost importance at this crucial time in SA politics. It is almost certain that the Interim Government of National Unity is in sight and that it might lead to democratic elections to the Constituent Assembly by mid-1993.

Last week's speeches at Morija were obviously aimed at canvassing support for the trio. Speeches aside, Mandela undoubtedly warmed himself successfully into the hearts of the three million Zionists during his arrival at Morija.

Stepping onto a red carpet laid down for the VIPs, Mandela waved while flashing the wide grin he normally reserves for those very close to him. The crowd's response was uproarious and must have flattered the ANC patriarch.

When he repeated the feat 20 minutes later, the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) president refused to be outdone.

Buthelezi jumped so abruptly from his seat to join Mandela in the waving that it became obvious that vying for political support took precedence over the theme of preaching peace to the congregants.

While Buthelezi's speech was largely devoted to the gospel of peace and reconciliation, Mandela and De Klerk's speeches were invariably political.

Mandela said there were a number of strong factors that united the ANC and the ZCC. Some ANC leaders like Youth League president Peter Mokaba were members of the church.

De Klerk did not cut a good figure with his 35-minute political speech which was almost entirely devoted to criticism of the "dark forces which are bent on derailing the peace process by perpetrating violence".

### Incredible gymnastics

What the speeches of the "big three" achieved is not yet clear. What is clear is that by inviting all three to the "Holy City", Lekganyane has scored a major public relations victory.

Part of the spectacle at Morija was provided by the hordes of *mkhukhu* (the church's all male semi-choir) members from Alexandra township, who performed incredible gymnastics. In one such performance two men flew one metre high to land either on their stomachs or buttocks on the soil for the leaders and the bishop.

For three solid nights some of the faithfuls slept under the buses and vehicles which transported them to Morija on Good Friday eve, just to catch a glimpse of the man they describe as "an honour to see". Those who were unfortunate not to see him, felt honoured to set their foot on the premises of the "Holy City" where no cosmetics, water, liquor or cigarettes are allowed.

To return coated with the dust of the "Holy Place" is considered good luck.

But whether the peace message preached by Mandela, De Klerk and Buthelezi has reached home, remains to be seen in the next few weeks.



# DP bids happy farewell to its Gang of Five

11A ~~11A~~

SITimes 26/4/92

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The role of universal haven was forced on the "Progs" by the banning of legitimate political movements. Communists, after all, did not go up in smoke when the Suppression of Communism Act was promulgated; they hid. Some hid in the universities, some in the law, some in the Prog youth movement.

From these bunkers they conducted guerrilla warfare on liberals, and on liberal ideas, turning the English universities into bastions of intellectual bullying and political intolerance, and making the "Prog" parties ambivalent and surreptitious in defending liberal ideas.

Helen Suzman, and at a later stage people like Colin Eglin, held them off in Parliament for many years, but in the end the party's liberalism was watered down by radical and socialist ideas, making easier the National Party's pernicious campaign to portray liberals and communists as the same breed.

Now it is respectable, even in the tricameral parliament, for people who are not liberals to show their true colours. The ANC, which calls itself a front, not a political party, offers a home to anybody whose principal concern is to see South Africa governed, any old how, by black people.

The most intriguing comment of the week was the assertion by David Dalling, the MP for Sandton who lives in Stellenbosch, that his switch of allegiance, if that is the right word, entailed no change of principles.

The implications are perplexing: are the principles of the ANC to be deemed identical to those of the DP? Or did Dalling not, as a member of the DP, subscribe to its principles? Or has he taken his principles intact from the UP to the Reform Party to the PFP to the DP and to the ANC, with nary an ethical wobble along the way?

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fascinating, but it doesn't matter much. The fact is that DP members who wish to serve the ANC should go to the ANC, and DP members who are enchanted by President De Klerk, as Houghton's Tony Leon appears to be, should follow President De Klerk.

They are not, plainly, bound by liberal principle. Nor should they hesitate to switch parties and cling to their seats. The precedent of betraying voters has been well entrenched as a political tradition during the shabby period of apartheid, and is sanctified now by frequent repetition.

Anyway, the sooner they go the better. The way things are going in Codesa, we need the liberals of the DP as we have never needed them before. We don't particularly need a new battery of natives' representatives to carry on where Margaret Ballinger left off, speaking for people who can't speak for themselves. But if that's what turns them on, so be it.

What we do need, and need desperately, is a party which is devoted to the liberal principles which have been shown, around the world, to take countries to peace and prosperity. Both the ANC and the National Party pay lip service to that ideal, but, to judge from what leaks out of Codesa, neither of them understands the essential features of a democratic state, or is willing to sacrifice its own interests to a wider welfare.

**T**HE Nationalists appear to me to have embarked on a most dubious enterprise to create an "interim" state in which the National Party will be enabled to block the will of the majority, and in which it will use that power to prevent for as long as possible the establishment of a liberal democracy.

The ANC, on the other hand, pays assiduous lip service to democratic ideas but appears to me determined not to have the power of the central government watered down in any serious way.

The National Party does not seem to grasp the dangers of thwarting the will of the majority, and the ANC does not appear to grasp the dangers of over-riding powerful minorities. If both parties continue on their present paths,

Codesa must surely deadlock, or it must end in the adoption of a defective constitution which will perpetuate rather than resolve conflict.

The DP, on the other hand, possesses a set of ideas which are uniquely suitable to divided societies, precisely because they set as their ultimate value the liberty of the individual — the right of every person to fulfil his own destiny, just so long as he does not in doing so violate the equal right of every other person.

**T**HIS ideal, of the free individual as the centrepiece of the system, has moreover been successfully integrated with a set of economic principles which have generated wealth and make possible the solution, within reason, of any social problems. They provide for reasonable distribution, through taxes and regional transfers, of the available wealth; they offer the means of sustaining the poor or the workless, and of providing health care and education.

The members of the Democratic Party are well versed in these ideas, but they have been intimidated — often by their own members — from propagating their own beliefs. Those liberals who have tried to do so — John Kane-Berman and the Institute of Race Relations come to mind — have been vilified and attacked, very often by the socialist refugees hiding in liberal bunkers.

The result has been a timidity among DP members in spreading their message. Hardly one of them dares to say, with Friedrich von Hayek, that democracy is impossible without capitalism, although that is self-evidently true. They still pay a guilty homage to socialist ideas that empower the state, oppress the citizenry and enrich the bureaucracy.

The departure of the Gang of Five may restore their confidence in their own beliefs. The DP, freed of the fear of attack from within, of the stab in the back, may now face up more boldly to the totalitarian parties which are using Codesa not to tame the power of the state but to capture it.

**KEN OWEN**

By ZB MOLEFE

**S**OUTHERN Africa's Methodist bishop, Stanley Mogoba, was full of hope when he described Wednesday's emergency summit on violence attended by black SA's religious and political leaders.

Said Bishop Mogoba: "Today I was given an idea of what a future parliament in SA will be like."

It was an observation from the heart. Nelson Mandela, Clarence Makwetu, Bennie Alexander, Pandelani Nefolohodwe, Musa Myeni, Khoza Mgojo, Sam Buti, Bantu Holomisa ... all were there.

The ANC, PAC and the IFP had locked themselves into a conference room in a Johannesburg hotel.

Leaders from the church, labour, black business and homeland parties worked hard to seek a way of ending the political violence wracking SA.

Of course the government and security forces were not invited to the summit. SA Council of Churches general secretary Frank Chikane, the moving spirit behind the summit, later told journalists that this exclusion was not to mean that the pair were by implication responsible for the violence.

But, pointed out Chikane, the summit had

# Black SA: The day the healing began

CPres 26/4/92

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**SHARING THE BLAME ... At the summit on violence were SA Council of Churches general secretary Frank Chikane (left), Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu and SACC president Dr Mgojo Khoza.**

■ PIC: SIPHIWE MHLAMBI

wanted to involve only blacks initially "because we wanted to bring to this particular meeting those who belonged to those communities affected by the violence."

The thorny question of why there were no women at the summit - "an issue that is causing us a fair deal of pain" - was raised.

But, said Chikane, the organisers felt they could not prescribe delegation

composition to the attending organisations.

Questioned on why whites were not invited to the summit, Chikane told journalists that the violence affected everybody and that similar events would be held to include white representative bodies.

He added, however, that some whites had attended as part of the delegations.

Chikane told the media that the summit "is one part of an initiative among many".

In his opening statement, Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu explained why the summit was organised.

"We wanted to know why blacks kill blacks. What has happened to the humanity of our people?" he said.

Tutu made it clear that

the summit, which was closed to the media, had not been a slap-dash, happy-go-lucky affair: "We were frank. We are not trying to paper over things."

The 1984 Nobel Peace Prize laureate said: "I made a presentation (at the summit) and what I said was that political leaders should put a moratorium on violence. Our feeling is that political

leaders, in a way, are also a contributing factor. But we are not involved in a finger-pointing exercise."

Archbishop Tutu was obviously distressed, his word of conciliation a far cry from the fiery activist at the forefront of black resistance in the 80s.

A BBC journalist tried hard to pin him to specifics, particularly after Archbishop Tutu said there had been "areas of

disagreement" among the delegates. Could the Archbishop spell them out?

He responded: "We (the church) assume the best about people. You assume that everyone is a saint until the contrary is proven. There were quite some issues which cropped up."

Some delegates had expressed a feeling that the violence in black SA was reason enough to suspend negotiations with the nationalist government.

Others expressed discontent at an international monitoring group stepping in to sort out our troubles.

Ultimately, the delegates agreed to accept a shared responsibility for the violence and undertook to organise joint political peace rallies, according to a two-page, three-point statement.

Did this mean that say, Mandela and Buthelezi, will share platforms to preach a new-found peace message?

Bishop Mogoba responded: "We realised the urgency of this matter. We want to get our political leaders to certain places. We have urged our leaders to be seen together at joint (peace) rallies. It was our unanimous view that this should happen."

The ANC's Jacob Zuma, asked to sum up his feelings afterwards, simply said: "Tonight I'm going to sleep a hopeful person."





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**KEN OWEN**

**W**ELL, well, well!  
It seems the old saying that a leopard never changes its spots is really apt.

Just when we thought the winds of change were blowing across our part of the continent, we find that resistance to change is still very much with us.

Some people just cannot adapt to change.

In our situation, the legacy of apartheid always seems to rear its ugly head, especially when we try to take a step forward.

### "Traitors"

Let us examine the furor surrounding the five members of the Democratic Party who this week crossed the floor to join the ANC.

Some sections of our community shouted "traitors" and "sellouts" and others were ready to crucify them.

Yet another section of the community questioned the integrity of white MPs joining a predominantly black political movement.

You can hear them

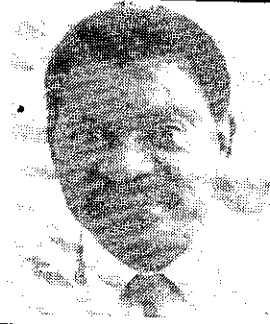
## MY WAY

With Khulu Sibiyi

# DP defection must set pace

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asking how these respectable members of parliament could leave a decent white organisation like the DP - which has championed the cause of the underprivileged - to join the "commies and terrorists".

They are asking how these leaders can show such little concern for the constituencies which voted them into parliament by simply defecting to an organisation that is so different.

They ask how the "defectors" are going to reconcile the liberal concept of a free market economic system with the nationalisation embraced by socialists.

This left me asking these questions:

If the five had joined any other party would we have heard the same hue and cry?

If DP MP for Houghton, Tony Leon, had defected with like-minded people to the NP or IFP, would we hear the same cries? I doubt it. In fact, there would be more talk of a DP split.

But joining the ANC raised questions like: How genuine were the five during their term as DP members and what actually motivated them to move on?

I've heard ludicrous questions like: The ANC is operating outside parliament so on whose

behalf are these members going to speak?

Have they forgotten who voted them into power?

We seem to have deliberately forgotten about the exodus of Labour Party members crossing over to the NP and we want to forget about those who resigned from their parties while in parliament to serve as independents.

What about those blacks who have joined the NP?

And what about those whites who hold dual membership? When it's convenient for them to vote they do.

It is just as well that the first MPs to defect to a liberation movement are members of the DP, the

very organisation that has had double standards all these years.

The sooner they close shop, the better for all South Africans.

The NP has grabbed the ball of liberation from under their noses and they are running away with it.

DP members must either join the Nats, ANC, CP or the IFP.

### Ghettos

These new ANC members must also spend more time in the ghettos to experience the lives of the people they will be representing in parliament.

They must see firsthand what our people mean when they say they want work; when they say they want housing because they live in shacks; and when they say they want proper education because the DET is inferior.

I do not doubt their commitment to our struggle, but they must act and not just pay lip service.

# Now for new guardian role

S/Times 26/4/92



**Democratic Party leader ZACH DE BEER spells out his party's task following this week's defections of five members to the ANC**

NOW that the DP has lost five members — some 15 percent of its party caucus — people are naturally asking questions about its future.

The DP is the successor to the old PFP. Its traditional task was to oppose apartheid. From 1959 until FW de Klerk became president, the party fought doggedly against apartheid and persistently proposed a set of alternative policies designed to bring about a non-racial democracy. The great Helen Suzman was the personification of these years.

In the end, the fight was won. On February 2 1990, the president in effect turned away from apartheid and gave notice that he was adopting the DP's policy. This was both good and bad news for us: good because our policies had triumphed, bad because we now faced a bigger and richer competitor saying much the same things as we. We had won the war of ideas: now we faced a battle for survival.

Fortunately, we had to

some extent anticipated events. Following the general election of 1989, in which we had done well, we had appointed a strategy committee under Robin Carlisle. This committee had given us the word "convergence". Our policy was now to bring closer together the parties on our right and left — in effect the Nats and the ANC — so as to form a broad moderate centre. This decision was taken and announced before the president's famous speech.

Here again, our strategy has succeeded beyond expectations. The Nats and the ANC are working closely together — with help from us — in and around Codesa. Heaven knows, there is a lot more work to do in this convergence phase, but its end may be dimly in sight. There may be a functioning new South Africa within a year or two.

The "Gang of Five" who jumped into the ANC last week, thereby terminating their membership of our party, are backing the idea that the future will be shaped by a

polarisation of politics between the Nats and the ANC. They have simply chosen their side. What are the rest of us to do now, in this crucial phase of our history?

We are liberal democrats. We believe in freedom, dignity, equality under law — human rights. We also — and this now becomes crucial — believe in a German-style social market economy, in which production is achieved through pragmatic free market policies, and expenditure follows social responsibilities for the upliftment of the poor.

Economic decline, unemployment and creeping poverty have been our lot during the past decade. This alone places our values in danger.

Economic freedom was sacrificed in the past on the altar of apartheid. Can we be sure that it will be safe in the future from being sacrificed in the name of a new kind of social engineering planned to produce instant redistribution?

Human dignity does not

thrive in degradation, and it is hard for it to survive in the living conditions suffered by so many of our people today. Nothing violates human rights more than lawlessness and violence that are trampling upon the values we seek to uphold.

The ANC are not liberal democrats. At best, they are social democrats — they would manage the economy in a more or less socialist manner. The Nats now profess faith in the free market, but for decades they have interfered grossly in its workings. Neither of these parties has much of a record on human rights. As one expert put it: "I wouldn't trust either of them with habeas corpus on a dark night".

So the future task of the DP is to guard over and foster human rights and economic freedom. It must now expand its support base in the brown and black communities, to win the strength to give it adequate representation in the parliament of the future. Phase three begins now.

**PIERRE CRONJE, MP** for Greytown, who this week became the first member of the African National Congress to address Parliament, says he is interested in liberation, not in liberalism.

A civil engineer by training, Mr Cronje is not much given to discussing principles or even policy. What interests him is what he calls "the process".

"Of course I believe in the main tenets of liberal democracy — freedom, equality, justice, the rule of law," he said in an interview this week.

"But what I am more interested in is how you relate them to the people on the ground."

This reason, more than any other, is why Mr Cronje says he linked up with the ANC. He joined the organisation on Monday, Nelson Mandela having signed his membership card.

"These values are very real in the ANC," he said. "They are not something you sit on the toilet and contemplate; they are things that have to be struggled for."

Mr Cronje said he did not have any difficulty in reconciling his belief in liberal democratic values with being a member of a party in which his regional leader, Mr Harry Gwala, is a hard-line communist.

"Harry Gwala and I have a fantas-

# NEW BOY PIERRE CRONJE JOINED THE ANC FOR 'ITS REAL VALUES'

By MIKE ROBERTSON: Political Correspondent

tic working relationship. He is a human being first, many other things besides, then only a communist.

"There are very creative people in the communist fold," he added.

Mr Cronje, who reluctantly describes himself as a social democrat — "if you have to; I hate labels" — has for years advocated a closer working relationship with the ANC.

In the late 80s he left the then Progressive Federal Party to link up with Wynand Malan in the National Democratic Movement for the same reason, only to rejoin his former colleagues when the FFP, the NDM and Denis Worrall's Independents merged to form the DP.

Mr Cronje would not be drawn on what policies he as an ANC member would advocate to address apartheid inequalities.

"I don't want to talk policy on any

specific issue at this stage other than to say a healthy process involving people on the ground is taking place within the ANC." This would culminate in a major policy conference on May 23.

However, pressed to outline his views on economic policy, Mr Cronje was clearly more comfortable with the interventionist policies favoured by the ANC than with the free market policies advocated by former colleagues such as Tony Leon (DP Houghton).

"Even in the DP it was Harry Schwarz and I mainly who started pushing the party to get off its easy, easy privatisation kick towards a social market economy.

"It's always a question of where you draw the line. In South Africa you cannot privateise things like roads and the Post Office. To change government monopolies into private-sector

monopolies makes no sense."

Mr Cronje said he agreed with the ANC that some nationalisation might be necessary, but had not applied his mind to the question of the extent to which the state should involve itself in the economy.

But he provided an indication of his thinking on the matter when he said: "Take iron ore. If left to the private sector, they will take ore out of ground, export it and we will end up importing stainless-steel forks from Taiwan. If the private sector cannot deal with it — business has a one-year outlook — if they don't make the right decisions, then maybe the state should intervene."

Mr Cronje said the right of individuals to own property should be protected. But he also believed that the debate on land matters had focused too narrowly on the question of ownership rather than the proper utilisation of land.

"If you merely talk of changing one

black owner for one white owner, have you achieved anything for the eight million people who work that land? A lot more needs to be made of the right of occupation."

On the security forces, Mr Cronje said the ANC was correct to demand that they be subjected to multi-party control as soon as possible. He also favoured a role for an international monitoring body.

Asked what his response would be if questioned in Parliament about the conduct of Mrs Winnie Mandela, he responded: "Nobody says when FPC du Plessis (former Minister of Manpower) is in trouble that the NP told him to do what he did. It is outside the organisation."

On the question of sanctions, Mr Cronje said he believed the ANC was right in insisting that they only be lifted in a phased manner in return for political change inside South Africa.

"This was definitely an issue where I had to toe the line in the DP, I think sanctions assisted in bringing us to



PIERRE CRONJE: 'Values are real'

where we are." Mr Cronje did not foresee he and his new ANC colleagues in Parliament having a greater role to play in the organisation than any other "good activist". The ANC, he said, did not need Parliament to make its views known.

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# Schools tax shocker

A TOP government think-tank has recommended that town and city councils take over state schools and help pay for them through special taxes levied on residents.

The proposals by the Co-ordinating Council for Local Government represent a major shift from the existing system where state authorities control the schools and help pay

the teachers. The schools, in turn, are responsible for maintaining premises and facilities.

Under the new system, each local authority would manage the schools in their area through an Educational Directorate and would raise money from residents and ratepayers to pay for them.

These funds could then

be allocated to various schools by the local authority. The school's budget could also form part of the local authority's budget. The central government, meanwhile, would continue helping to pay teachers.

The plan says only schools' curricula should be dealt with at the national level by a single education department.

A special committee of the co-ordinating council will meet tomorrow to review the plan.

Other proposals deal with the use of scarce facilities.

One proposal is that schools which are usually used for only five to six hours a day could be used for two sessions a day and that teaching devices like computers and audiovisual equipment could be shared between schools.

The document also hints that the days of each school having its own sports fields might be over. It suggests instead that regional recreational facilities should be established.

Schools could then concentrate on education and leave sports to clubs and other institutions, similar to community sports clubs in America.

"Parents will just not be able to maintain the luxury of own sporting facilities," the document states.

The document also moots "speciality schools", implying that children would make a choice of profession at a young age.

Speciality schools could include economics and business subjects; state and legal sciences; and technical subjects.

"Schools will then be more practical and job oriented, which will equip the matriculant entering the job market directly, better for his task."

The proposals by the Co-ordinating Council on Local Government come at a time of increasing concern about the cost of Model C schools.

## Teacher terror

By CHARLENE SMITH  
TEACHERS are suffering intimidation from pupils and militant unionists, says a new Institute of Race Relations survey.

Former Institute research manager Monica Bot says part of the problem is that teacher associations place unionism above professionalism.

She says during 1990 "many schooldays were lost due to teacher strikes".

This coincided with the birth of new "progressive teacher unions" like the SA Democratic Teachers Union.

Teachers were also often victims of violent pupil militancy.

Sadtu had also said it wanted principals to choose whether they were "employees or employers. If they choose the latter, Sadtu is going to start treating them like bosses — and is prepared to make life impossible for them".



# Fees to rocket for Model C parents

MODEL C schools have a shock in store for parents — fees will go up by as much as 700 percent this year, and could double again next year.

More than 90 percent of schools under white education departments nationwide have opted for Model C, which allows parents to run the school through a governing body.

A survey of schools by the Sunday Times this week showed widespread confusion among staff and parents about the implications of the system.

Model C proposes greater autonomy for schools in the hiring and firing of staff but requires parents to pay for the costs of premises and facilities. The government is responsible for the salaries of only a certain number of staff.

Mr Alan Berkowitz, chairman of

the management council for Emmarentia Primary School in Johannesburg, said his school's fees would go from R560 to R800 this year (one of the lowest fee increases recorded by the Sunday Times) and will rise to around R1 300 per child next year, as the full impact of the change takes effect.

"There is still no certainty about what the school will pay for and when the state will stop paying," Mr Berkowitz said.

Some schools are pinning their hopes on municipalities cutting their rates. But a spokesman for the Johannesburg municipality management committee said this was not yet likely

and said their investigations were hampered by a lack of information from government.

Nonetheless, some small municipalities have waived rates and taxes on schools.

The deadline for the introduction of the system for the Cape is May 1, August 1 in Natal and Transvaal, and July 1 in the Free State.

A Transvaal Education Department spokesman said they would pay rates until the end of this year, but would stop paying all other bills on August 1.

The government has proposed a bursary scheme to help subsidise children from lower-income families. But the Sunday Times found that this too is the subject of confusion among parents and teachers.

# Women must shape their own destiny, urges ANC veteran

THERE will be no equality for women in a new South Africa if the issue is left up to men, says avowed women's rights campaigner Dr Frene Ginwala, deputy head of the ANC's Women's Emancipation Commission.

Dr Ginwala, 60, who returned from the exile to take up the post, says it is imperative for women take on responsibility and speak for themselves.

"A year or two from now, the average South African woman must know that the new South Africa has brought something to her as a woman," she avers.

Ironically, despite a string of impressive credentials, including a doctorate in political science from Oxford University, Dr Ginwala is only second in command in the women's commission — the head is Oliver Tambo.

A lifelong member of the ANC, she is described by one political antagonist as reasonable; by another as a principled pragmatist.

Vociferous on the subject of the cause, she displays all the properties of a Rodin statue on the subject of her personal life. She presents a marble impenetrability and simply will not discuss it.

About all she will reveal is that she was born in Johannesburg and went into exile in 1960 to help set up the ANC's external mission. Her professional background was "as a lawyer and a journalist".

Her homecoming a year ago followed 31 years in "different parts of Southern Africa" and Britain. Outsiders regarded her as one of the major Marxist theoreticians in the liberation movement but she reveals nothing on this point.

She seems to consider Frene Ginwala, the person, irrelevant, and constantly diverts attention from herself to her work. But her influence extends far beyond her own political movement. Despite her personal modesty, Frene Ginwala will become a formidable figure in the new South Africa.

In addition to her role with the women's commission, she is the ANC's chief researcher. As an adviser to Codesa's Working Group 2, which deals with the constitution, she is one of Codesa's "seven percenters" — the women involved in formulating a democratic South Africa.

For her, the superficial, cosmetic concept of sex discrimination is not the issue — sex is biological, she explains. Of concern is the underlying problem of gender oppression in the roles South African society has imposed on men and women alike.

She is undaunted by the ANC's rejection at its national conference last July of a proposal that a 30 percent quota for women be introduced at all levels of the organisation, including the national executive committee, and continues to



uphold the principle of affirmative action.

She has firm ideas on what needs to be emphasised in ANC and Cosatu economic policy guidelines.

"Everyone talks about nationalisation as if that were the main issue. I am more concerned with developing rural areas for the sake of the 71 percent of South African women who live there, with training opportunities for women and a legal right to know and share their husbands' wages."

Miriam Stein, national president of the Union of Jewish Women, believes Dr Ginwala has been an inspiration to women of different backgrounds "who had ideas, but couldn't translate them into action".

Even political opponents have little but praise for Dr Ginwala.

Says Inkatha central committee member Suzanne Vos — another member of the coalition's executive:

"She is a cerebral activist, that is her unique gift. Not only is Frene determined and courageous, she seems so reasonable."

Dr Ginwala says her most serious problem is that while the women of South Africa are listening and taking note of a society in transition, men, political parties and the media are not.

"We have a unique opportunity to make sure that women's rights are safeguarded in the constitution and the Bill of Rights from the outset, instead of having to tackle issues piecemeal after the event. We are going to take that opportunity."

Rosemary Brown

## Probe into R50m debt

TRANSNET has ordered an independent investigation into an embattled exporter's R50-million debt with subsidiary Spoornet.

And Transnet managing director Dr Anton Moolman admitted on Friday that coal held as security for the debt had disappeared.

Dr Moolman said the coal stockpiles held in Maputo and Durban — which were ceded to Spoornet by Minesa Energy (Pty) Ltd — were found to have been "transported and exported" when rail authorities tried to claim them.

The Transnet head was reacting to disclosures in the Sunday Times last week that Minesa Energy

By PETER MALHERBE

had exceeded its R2-million credit limit with Spoornet by more than R48-million.

The Kyalami-based company, headed by Spanish-born Mr José Holgado, owes Spoornet R50 166 620.

Dr Moolman said the debt began accumulating several years ago when Bordex Mining (Pty) Ltd dealt with Transnet's predecessor, South African Transport Services.

Bordex was liquidated in 1980 and Minesa Energy took over its assets and liabilities. Arrangements were made for Minesa to pay the outstanding debt in monthly instalments.

After it was discovered that the stockpiles had gone and Minesa could not fulfil its obligations, Spoornet suspended its credit facilities.

Negotiations for the repayment of the debt were still underway, Dr Moolman added.

Mr Holgado could not be contacted for comment, but Minesa Energy's general manager, Mr Glynn Sproat, claimed the company had stockpiles of coal in Maputo with a market value of R2,8-million.

Earlier this week a Supreme Court application brought by German company Thyssen for summary judgment against Minesa Energy was postponed for two weeks.



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Floyd Mashele said earlier five residents from the nearby Meadows single-sex hostel were involved in the attack on the house.

Mashele charged the men had also stabbed Moloi's sister-in-law Madira, leaving her for dead.

and the ANC intended asking Judge R Goldstone, chairman of the Commission of Inquiry into Public Violence and Intimidation, to investigate "the existence" of the hostels.

Captain Ngobei had no information about the injured woman.

- Sapa

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## PAC puts 'schools for all campaign' on ice

THE PAC has postponed a "schools for all campaign" at the request of the organisation's women's wing. *Clips 26/4/92*

The campaign was to take up the issue of 30 PAC Student Organisation members who were allegedly forced to leave Amajingqi High School in Adelaide by members of the ANC-aligned Cosas. *(11A/182)*

PAC's Border regional secretary Mvuyo Mhangwane said the Awo wanted to attempt to resolve the matter with the ANC Women's League. They were given until Friday to do so. - Elnews

OH BLAST! Part of the third block being built for Bank City tilts crazily (arrowed) after an implosion brought down adjacent Aiken House in billows of dust in Johannesburg's CBD yesterday  
Picture: JAMES SOULLIER

# Mandela rejects plan

From Page 1

to be power sharing for a number of years.

The NP source indicated, however, that if agreement could be reached on the principle of shared executive power, then compromises could be made on the composition of the upper house proposed for the new legislature.

At present, the NP proposes that the three top parties in an election have equal power in the upper house — irrespective of the size of their vote. This the ANC rejects totally.

If the NP's position on the upper house is amended, it would bring its proposals for a two-chamber legislature roughly in line with what is being proposed by the ANC, the Democratic Party and others.

The government will spell out its detailed proposals for an interim government in a draft Bill which is now in its third draft and is likely to be released at the end of next week.

The draft Bill, they said, would include an Interim Bill of Rights.

Meanwhile, the Codesa technical committee charged with overcoming the impasse on transitional measures has made substantive progress, with the government at last conceding the principle of some real executive authority for interim governing bodies.

All parties at the talks have agreed that there should be a temporary executive structure whose primary purpose would be to implement policies and measures directed towards improving the political climate and the levelling of the political playing field to facilitate the holding of free and fair elections.

This structure would include a multi-party council which would be constituted by legislation agreed to by Codesa and would be vested with effective executive powers.

The council would have sub-councils which would be given specific responsibilities in relation to the functioning of departments in the preparatory stage.

There would be sub-councils on defence and law and order; regional and local government; finance and foreign affairs.

NP sources said that if

the proposals regarding the preparatory councils were accepted it would result in the councils having *de facto* power over their areas of jurisdiction, but *de jure* power would reside in the government of the day.

The NP, they said, was prepared to accept the need for a council which would have overarching power over the sub-councils. But it could not accept that the council should be a body which had overarching power over the Cabinet.

## SINUSITIS ASTHMA, ALL

"I feel like a new person. I have suffered from sinusitis ever since moving to Johannesburg. After using the Eiger for one month I feel great, my nose is clear and I can breathe again. I can even smell and taste my food! By the way, I had a constant post nasal drip which has also cleared."

These are words from Michael Foster, a customer of Eiger Technologies, one of many testimonials from delighted and happy people.

The manager at Eiger Technologies, a Sandton research and development company, said: "We have over 4 000 customers who have experienced similar results from using the Eiger Air Purifier, and the success rate is extremely high. In the few cases where it does not have the desired effect we simply return every cent they have spent with us".

The greatest area of success is where a person has an allergy such as sinusitis, asthma, hayfever and migraines, in fact any respiratory related problem.



The Eiger cleaner which irritants and breathing space or bedroom. The results are amazing. If you feel try an Eiger experience then give Eiger their number 1760.

# ANC rejects FW's super council

By MIKE ROBERTSON and EDYTH BULBRING

HOPES of establishing a government of national unity this year have been dashed with the blanket rejection by the ANC and Inkatha of the government's proposals for an elected executive.

ANC leader Nelson Mandela yesterday joined Inkatha's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in dismissing the government's proposals for an executive council made up of three to five members directly elected by the public.

Mr Mandela's statement now sets the stage for the first major battle in Codesa on a substantive constitutional issue.

## Call

President FW De Klerk unveiled his proposal for the executive in Parliament this week.

Mr Mandela said at a graduation ceremony at the University of the North yesterday that his organisation rejected "outright" the suggestion that elections be held to constitute an executive council.

The ANC's position, he said, remained unchanged.

"We call for elections for a constituent assembly which shall also have legislative powers while a new constitution is being negotiated."

Earlier Mr Buthelezi also rejected the proposals, saying the idea of an elected presidency to establish some kind of super adjudicating body for resolving disputes was not acceptable.

## Rapid

In terms of President De Klerk's proposals, the current presidency would be replaced by a directly elected executive council comprising between three and five members. Each party would nominate a candidate for executive council elections and the three to five candidates who received the most votes would serve on the executive council.

National Party sources said earlier this week they believed rapid movement could be made towards

holding elections this year for an executive authority if the proposals were accepted.

The sharp rejection of the proposals by the other two key players, confirmed NP sources, now makes elections unlikely.

One top NP negotiator said the party's bottom line was that there would have

To Page 2

anyone member of her defence team —  
dumped down his request for funding  
legal costs for the defence of her  
kidnapping and the trial of her  
st, Mrs Mandela for his statement, his defence claimed  
the day funds two weeks ago, but she refused  
had been made under duress.



# ANC

## hits *CIPres* *26/4/92* at NP *(11A)* ~~(11A)~~ plans

By ZB MOLEFE  
and S'BU MNGADI

THIS week's transitional government proposals by President FW de Klerk mean that the NP would still be in power even if it lost an election, ANC president Nelson Mandela charged yesterday.

Addressing a ceremony where he was installed Chancellor of the University of the North, he said: "The National Party's desire to cling to power at all costs emerges even more sharply in the government's proposals.

Mandela warned that the NP proposals would result in an interim government that would not enjoy the confidence of the majority which would see it as "a slightly refurbished NP government".

Azapo publicity secretary Strini Moodley said the proposals were "an elaborate toy-telephone which only exposes the NP regime's inability to present meaningful, substantial and long-lasting solutions to the country's problems".

■ Sapa reports that the NP yesterday reacted to Mandela saying that the ANC - with its alleged record of detention camps, necklacing political opponents and intimidation by mass action - should be careful about criticising the democratic proposals of other political parties.



**MOR**

### Dancers

### WHAT'S THE FASSIE?

Brenda  
furious  
over  
satellite  
snub

Page 7



### DON LEARN

### BAG BUI SPOT- COMI

# Winnie was a victim as well - biographer

LONDON - Winnie Mandela is unpredictable and dangerous to know.

This is according to her latest biographer, whose outspoken life story of the estranged wife of ANC leader Nelson Mandela is due for publication next year.

But, says Emma Gilbey, who writes in this weekend's Guardian newspaper, Mrs Mandela is also a victim: of prolonged isolation under house arrest, of undue deification by foreign dignitaries, and of harassment at the hands of the Security Police.

Gilbey poses some of the questions now being asked throughout the world.

"What happened to Winnie Mandela to make her come to this? Could she be as evil as some said? Or as dangerous? How could she arouse such hatred, and yet inspire such love? How had the pretty little girl

Sowetan 27/4/92

Sowetan  
Correspondent

from Bizana become so terrifying? What happened on the road to freedom to lead one of its most passionate champions to her own ruin?"

After a detailed and sympathetic account of Winnie Mandela's childhood, her family loyalty and heavy responsibilities, and later her devotion to Mr Nelson Mandela, Gilbey suggests a combination of personal devastation and responsibility at her husband's imprisonment contributed to the slide.

## Devastated

"She was personally devastated, but she entered the political spotlight with some relish," Gilbey writes. "Even then she saw herself as his natural heir, the obvious choice to replace him in his absence."

Resistance to Winnie

and her plans surfaced early within the ANC. "There were questions about her dedication, her judgment, her character. She still didn't quite fit in, was somewhat imperious and wanted to do things her way."

Also, says Gilbey, "in a climate of suspicion and betrayal, Winnie displayed a dangerous political naivety. She trusted everyone, never able to believe her friends would inform on her, continually disappointed when they did. She never learned to be more careful of new and unusual friends, electing, instead, to punish suspected traitors.

"She became increasingly paranoid, however, and by the late 1980s when she was dispensing summary justice in Soweto, the ultimate crime was selling out, the ultimate penalty was death."

Gilbey believes it was during nine years of house arrest in Brandfort, that

"something happened to her".

It may have been the harsh living conditions, the overwhelming loneliness, the drinking - "which became worse during this period and steadily increased" - or it may have been the long periods of isolation juxtaposed with brief intervals in the spotlight as a larger-than-life heroine. . . "Whatever it was, Winnie Mandela came back from Brandfort completely transformed".

## Personality

"The split in her personality was far more pronounced. She was harder and colder, less sympathetic, less considerate, less reasonable. At the same time, she was more volatile, more defiant, more violent - especially when drinking - more imperious, more remote.

"She . . . cared less about her friends. She could still display flashes of her own

generosity and sweetness, and was still as maternal as she had been to her own brothers and sisters as a child. But she was now more authoritarian than affectionate. And she was extremely powerful."

Gilbey writes of teenage vigilante street gangs taking over Soweto from old neighbourhood forums, with Winnie at the head of the most powerful gang creating and ruling over the anarchy.

"Hers, literally, was a reign of terror."

Gilbey believes Nelson Mandela knew about all this but could only confront it on his release. "By then it was too late."

His attempts to distract her by promoting her within the ANC were unpopular and doomed to failure.

"It was now public knowledge that Winnie was out of control, and no attempted cover-up could



WINNIE MANDELA

be extensive enough to hide it."

Anxious to negotiate with Mandela, the Government delayed indicting her. But finally action had to be taken.

For Nelson Mandela it

was separation. When announcing his decision, he said he hoped the journalists would understand the pain he had gone through.

Gilbey concludes: "His wife's pain was not mentioned."

# Independent panel mooted by ANC

11A  
Biday 27/4/92  
TIM COHEN

THE ANC has modified its stance on a constitution-making body by suggesting the creation of an independent constitutional panel which would ensure that principles agreed at Codesa become enshrined in a new constitution.

This important concession, an adaptation of a suggestion originally made by the DP, goes some way toward satisfying the demand of other Codesa participants — notably Inkatha — that the constitution be agreed on before a new government comes into being.

The ANC's proposal, published in the latest edition of official ANC journal *Mayibuye*, is an addition to its more general proposals for the constitution-making body.

These are that the body be elected by proportional representation with a relatively small threshold for parties to qualify for representation and that it should take decisions by a two-thirds majority.

The ANC feels these measures would be sufficient to counter the argument that the ANC was trying to use its popularity to force a constitution unacceptable to some South Africans onto the country as a whole.

The powers of the independent constitutional panel to veto decisions of the constitution-making body are not described in the *Mayibuye* article.

Writing in *Mayibuye*, ANC constitutional committee member Albie Sachs says the ANC agrees that a constituent assembly should be as inclusive as possible, so as to produce a document accept-

able to and binding on the whole nation.

But Sachs slates government's proposal that there should be a second house with equal powers to the elected constitution-making body to represent minority parties and regional interests.

This would result in a House of Winners and a House of Losers, each trying to face each other down. This would be the worst way of achieving the desired consensual result, he writes.

Discussing the constitutional principles discussed so far, Sachs says the impression that the ANC and government had come to agreement on power-sharing and on regional government was false.

## Balance

However, provisional and broad agreement had been achieved that there should be a balance between central, regional and local government and that minority political parties should be able to participate meaningfully.

The final formulations, which are subject to a Codesa plenary session, on both issues were left "open and vague."

"It should be said that the debates were rich and interesting, but the gulf between us and the government remains large," he says.

Key issues still to be discussed are economic systems, the role of traditional leaders, affirmative action in the bill of rights and self-determination, Sachs writes.

## Codesa faces crucial interim govt debate

CODESA faces a crucial debate today with the presentation of a report that could help finalise arrangements for the first phase of interim government. Biday 27/4/92

The eight-member technical committee will present its report, which includes about 30 recommendations, to Codesa's working group 3. The technical committee was set up to identify commonalities and differences on pre-election interim structures, following what one Codesa participant described as "a stalemate".

TIM COHEN

DP MP and committee chairman Ken Andrew yesterday declined to comment on the contents of the report but said the group had made satisfactory progress.

The main issues up for debate are the powers of the interim government council and the variety of multiparty subsidiary bodies which would be established to "level the playing field".

# Necklace and bomb threat by ANC for Bop

Sowetan 27/4/92

A WESTERN Transvaal regional leader of the ANC yesterday threatened that Bophuthatswana could be made ungovernable through necklace killings and bombings.

Mr George Mathusa was speaking at the Rustenburg funeral of former hunger striker Mr Bushy Molefe.

During the funeral in Phokeng, Bophuthatswana police and members of the ANC clashed.

Many people were alleg-

By KENOSI MODISANE and Sapa

edly injured during raids by police on houses in Phokeng township.

The ANC yesterday accused the homeland police of raiding houses in the township and setting up many roadblocks to search people attending the funeral.

## Roadblocks

The homeland police however said ANC marshals had illegally set up

roadblocks to search cars and force people to attend the funeral.

ANC spokesman Ms Gill Marcus said the organisation sent doctors from Johannesburg to Phokeng yesterday morning to attend to the wounded following requests for help from residents.

In his address to the mourners Mathusa said: "In South Africa we did it through our necklaces and bombs, we can easily repeat it here."

He blamed the homeland government for Molefe's

11A

death. Dr Gomolemom Mokae of Azapo, who also spoke at the funeral, told mourners bantustan leaders had no role to play in the resolution of this country's political problems.

"Black people have to realise that bantustan leaders were mere copies of State President FW de Klerk. Hence their callousness in breaking down the resistance of our people," Mokae said.

Bophuthatswana police spokesman Colonel Dave George confirmed there

had been incidents involving the homeland security forces and the ANC yesterday morning.

George said many police were sent to the area after reports that ANC marshals were illegally searching vehicles and forcing people to go to the funeral.

"Seven ANC members reported that security were assaulting people. They told us they would bring complainants to us so that we should investigate. But they failed to keep that promise," George said.

# Lagardien biased against the PAC

Sowetan 27/4/92

(S) (IA)

**I HAVE** been following Ismail Lagardien's reports on the PAC ever since it was unbanned and I think I have every reason to refer to them as garbage.

If Lagardien wants to be taken seriously as a journalist, it is time that he started reporting in an unbiased way instead of feeding readers with stinking worms.

This is not an endeavour to curtail so-called freedom of the Press. After all, people like Lagardien do not deserve such rights.

What irritates me most about Lagardien is that he cannot go on reporting beyond the "one settler one bullet slogan".

For him to expect a public renunciation of the slogan or an apology for that matter from the PAC leadership is tantamount to expecting the PAC to apologise about or for the historic and noble struggle it waged against the oppressive regime and settler colonialism in particular.

Lagardien needs to be told that the PAC is not fighting abstracts. No wonder Apla combatants are not bombing Wimpy's and toilets. The PAC is fighting settler colonial domination and the evil forces behind it.

No wonder so called "black policemen" received their shame from Apla cadres.

If anyone deserves not to be taken seriously in the media, and if anyone has a sure place in the Moscow circus, it must be you Lagardien. You are nothing but a circus clown with a foolhardy wish to destroy the PAC.

Clowns like you never built the PAC and they will never destroy it. Thinking that you will help marginalise the PAC through your stinking reporting and analysis is like trying to marginalise reality.

The PAC is not a structure in isolation. It has a membership of people oppressed by the settler regime. We in the PAC do not wish and neither do we entertain the hope of being baasboys if that is what you expect from us.

Lagardien, you are living in a dream. Maybe you should consult the sangoma. You'll surely get her number in any Sowetan copy.

To Ma Afrika, let's carry the torch of liberation to greater heights. Do not be disturbed by Lagardien.

**MOLOANTOA WA GA MOGALE KWA  
THEMA, SPRINGS**

# ANC suggests plan to air Codesa sessions

5/12 am 27/4/92

PATRICK BULGER

THE activities of Codesa could be aired in homes across the country if "Codesa, the Radio Show" comes to fruition.

The ANC has suggested that a Voice of Codesa radio programme be introduced on a station broadcasting in most areas of SA and the TBVC states.

The proposal was made in Codesa's working group 4 dealing with reincorporation of the TBVC states, and the ANC says the idea is in line with the working group's brief to consider strategies to keep people of the TBVC states fully informed "and especially to avoid misunderstandings".

"The ANC proposes that immediate steps be taken in this regard, for example a Voice of Codesa and the issue of a weekly publication for distribution to the TBVC states," an ANC submission to the working group said.

ANC negotiator Matthews Phosa said at the weekend the proposal was being considered but seemed an ideal way to keep the public informed of Codesa decisions.

Working group participants have given an undertaking not to talk to the media

about matters arising from their discussions.

Only the management committee, which accepts or rejects proposals, is empowered to speak to the media and does so at the end of each weekly session.

This secrecy has irritated some participants, who argue that matters of national interest should be in the public domain. They are concerned that should Codesa continue to operate in secrecy its decisions will gain limited acceptance from the public.

● See Page 2

# Winnie douses TV necklacing discussion

JOHANNESBURG. — Winnie Mandela has refused to discuss a videotaped statement in 1986 in which she appeared to come out in support of necklacing, saying she personally never had resorted to the practice.

Mrs Mandela, the estranged wife of the ANC president Nelson Mandela, was being interviewed by Ruda Landman on the M-Net TV programme *Corte Blanche* Aug 27/1992

She said she had been quoted out of context on that statement, and all she was prepared to say was she never had necklaced or shot anyone.

She preferred the interview to deal with the present reality in the country.

Blood was flowing because people did not agree with each other ideologically, she said.

"Even if that statement (about necklacing) had been made a million times are you telling me that you are justifying the deaths of over 11 000 of our people who have died in the hands of the racist minority regime?" Mrs Mandela asked.

"Is anything more cruel than what we are seeing today: our children butchered; our babies shot at the backs of mothers by a government that is in fact bent on killing our people."

When Ms Landman again tried to bring the discussion around to the alleged necklacing statement, Mrs Mandela said whether she was quoted in or out of context, she did not wish to discuss the matter.

Mrs Mandela had laid down certain conditions before the interview which included that the Stompie Seipei and Dr Abu-Baker Asvat cases were not to be discussed.

Asked why she did not want to discuss these cases, Mrs Mandela said the death of Dr Asvat "a great man", was being abused. She said she would give a statement after her appeal had been heard.

"My hands are tied now," she said. — Sapa.

# Winnie backs off necklacing

(11A) CT 27/4/92

JOHANNESBURG. — Mrs Winnie Mandela refused last night to discuss a videoed statement in 1986 in which she appeared to come out in support of necklacing, saying she personally never had resorted to the practice.

Mrs Mandela, estranged wife of ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, was being interviewed by Ruda Landman on the M-Net TV programme Carte Blanche.

She said she had been quoted out of context on that statement, and all she was prepared to say on the matter was that she never had necklaced or shot anyone.

Mrs Mandela said she preferred the interview to deal rather with the present reality in the country.

Blood was flowing because people did not agree with each other ideologically, she said.

“Even if that statement (about necklacing) had been made a million times, are you telling me that you are justifying the deaths of more than 11 000 of our people who have died in the hands of the racist minority regime?” Mrs Mandela said in the interview.

“Is anything more cruel than what we are seeing today: Our children butchered. Our babies shot at the backs of mothers by a government that is in fact bent on killing our people.”

## Not in agreement

When Landman again tried to bring the discussion around to the alleged necklacing statement, Mrs Mandela said whether she was quoted in or out of context, she did not wish to discuss the matter as it was not in the agreement of the interview.

Mrs Mandela had laid down

certain conditions prior to the interview which included that the Stompie Sepei and Dr Abu-Baker Asvat cases were not to be discussed.

Asked why she did not want to discuss these cases, Mrs Mandela said the death of Dr Asvat, a great man, was being abused. She said she would give a statement after her appeal had been heard.

“My hands are tied now.”

To a question whether people feared her, Mrs Mandela said she hoped that this was not the case. On the contrary, she had been receiving “volumes” of messages of love and sympathy recently.

Mrs Mandela dismissed as “nonsensical” Landman’s question whether she could be regarded as a dangerous woman.

According to the M-Net presenters, it was the first in-depth interview Mrs Mandela had given on television. — Sapa



# 'Bop turmoil' warning

STAR 27/4/92

11A

Own Correspondent

A Western Transvaal regional leader of the ANC yesterday threatened that Bophuthatswana could be made ungovernable through necklace killings and bombings.

George Mathusa was speaking at the Rustenburg funeral of former hunger striker Bushy Molefe.

In his address to mourners, Mr Mathusa said: "In South Africa we did it through necklaces and bombs, we can easily repeat it here."

He blamed the homeland government for Mr

Molefe's death.

During the funeral in Phokeng, Bophuthatswana police and members of the ANC clashed.

Many people were allegedly injured during raids by police on houses in Phokeng township.

The ANC yesterday accused the homeland police of raiding houses in the township and setting up many roadblocks to search people attending the funeral.

The homeland police said ANC marshals had illegally set up roadblocks to search cars and force people to attend the funeral.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said doctors from Johannesburg were sent to Phokeng yesterday morning to attend to the wounded following requests for help.

Bophuthatswana police spokesman Colonel Dave George confirmed incidents involving the homeland security forces.

"Seven ANC members reported that security were assaulting people. They told us they would bring complainants to us so that we should investigate. But they failed to keep that promise," Colonel George said.

# Winnie's political career continues as usual, she says

Political Staff

STAR 27/4/92

Winnie Mandela's political career continues as "if nothing has happened", she said last night.

Mrs Mandela spoke on the M-Net programme, "Carte Blanche", on condition that she would not discuss her separation from ANC president Nelson Mandela, her estrangement from the MDM in 1989 and the death of Stompie Seipei.

Mrs Mandela said she and her husband had discussed the ANC's finances on their first date.

Nevertheless, the Mandelas fell "deeply in love and still are".

Mrs Mandela said she always knew she would be an individual, and she and her husband have always been their own people politically.

Discussing her 26-year ban-

ning, Mrs Mandela said raising her two daughters on her own was one of the most painful experiences. As a result of police harassment she sent her daughters to school in Swaziland.

She said she hated discussing police harassment against her and did not regard herself as an individual in the struggle.

However, perhaps she suffered more because she was Mr Mandela's wife.

Mrs Mandela reiterated her view that her infamous statement on liberating the country with necklaces had been taken out of context.

"I have not a single victim in my hands I have necklaced. I have not a single victim I had shot at myself," she said.

She also said she could not discuss the Mandela Football Club because some of its members were involved in court

cases. Mrs Mandela said she was aware that some of the club's members were involved in "serious incidents" but had sought shelter in the Mandela home because they had regarded Mr Mandela as their father.

Mrs Mandela said she was not in a position to discuss the murder of Dr Abu-Baker Asvat but said some were "abusing the death of a great comrade" and should examine their consciences.

# Women join hands in struggle for rights

By Jo-Anne Collings

STAL 27/1/92

Women representing scores of organisations across the political spectrum surmounted ideological barriers at the weekend to prepare a broadly based "charter" of women's rights.

Nearly 250 delegates attended a Women's National Coalition workshop and elected a steering committee whose main task is to pilot a year-long campaign for a "charter" of women's rights.

Women taking part included NP and DP MPs and leading members of the ANC, SACP, IFP and Cosatu.

The Black Sash, Kontak, Union of Jewish Women, Women for Peace, the Young Women's Christian Association and the Women's Legal Status Committee were among the 60-odd organisations represented.

Dr Frene Ginwala, deputy head of the ANC's emancipation department — elected co-ordinator of the coalition's steering committee to all-round acclaim — said the "charter", as many but not all termed the document of rights, had to address the needs of all women.

The intention of compiling a women's charter or convention was to ensure that broad consti-

tutional guarantees of gender equality were actually realised.

Present signs at Codesa, where women were all-but excluded from the process, were an ominous warning of things to come, said Dr Ginwala.

She said the precise status of the "charter" — in relation to a Bill of rights, for instance — could be worked out in consultation with legal experts.

The point was to go to the root of gender discrimination. "We need to put into this document our most radical and fundamental demands," said Dr Ginwala. "We shouldn't tinker."

She urged delegates to "grow

big ears", systematically to hear the demands of women around the country. "There is one weapon we can use, and that is the voices of millions of South African women."

Delegates took serious account of the parallel need to work within various political organisations and to intervene in the electoral process in a way that would win acceptance of a women's charter in the constitution-making process.

"When elections come we can use our issues. If no party stands for us, we don't give them our vote — finish and cut and klaar!" said one participant.

WILSON ZWANE

## ANC to discipline leader over threat

THE ANC said yesterday it would discipline western Transvaal leader George Mathusa, who reportedly told a funeral in Bophuthatswana on Sunday that the ANC would make the homeland ungovernable through necklace killings and bombs.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said yesterday the organisation found Mathusa's threat unacceptable and secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa had asked him to come to the ANC's Johannesburg headquarters to account for his statements.

Marcus said while the ANC was "extremely concerned about the continued repression in Bophuthatswana and the intensified harassment", it could not condone threats to resort to necklace killings. "It is

a barbaric and unacceptable method of execution, which the ANC has never condoned," she said, adding that disciplinary action would be taken. (11A) (119)

The national peace committee said in a statement yesterday it would check the accuracy of Mathusa's statements. (119)

"The national peace committee has taken note of the fact that the ANC has dissociated itself from Mathusa's statements and has called upon him to account for them. This action would be in line with the peace accord and the situation will be carefully monitored," the committee said.

3/10/87 28/4/92

# ANC summons leader over 'necklace jibe'

11A

So weform 28/4/92  
SA Press Association

THE ANC has summoned its Western Transvaal leader Mr George Mathusa to its headquarters following remarks he allegedly made at a funeral in Bophuthatswana at the weekend.

Mathusa was reported to have told mourners at the funeral former Bophuthatswana hunger striker Mr Bushy Molefe in Phokeng on Sunday that the ANC would render the homeland ungovernable by introducing the necklace method.

He was quoted as saying: "In South Africa we did it through our necklaces and bombs, we can easily repeat it here."

## Taken note

He was further reported to have said that "one is either part of the problem or part of the solution," adding Chief Lucas Mangope fell in the former category.

The ANC has dissociated itself from Mathusa's threats, saying his statements did not reflect the organisation's policies.

The National Peace Committee also announced it would check the accuracy of the statements.

"The National Peace Committee has taken note of the fact that the ANC has dissociated itself from the statements allegedly made by Mr Mathusa and called upon him to account for the unacceptable statements.

"The action of the ANC would be in line with the Peace Accord and the situation will be carefully monitored," the committee said.

# Azapo <sup>11A</sup> no to <sup>bowen</sup> funds <sup>28/4/92</sup>

By **DON SEOKANE**

AZAPO has rejected a proposal by the President's Council that political parties be partly funded by the State.

Azapo's secretary-general, Mr Don Nkadimeng, said because the council was "part and parcel of the racist tricameral Parliament", it was doubtful that parties which sought to bring it down would benefit.

He said the recommendations could be the Government's attempts to legalise its covert funding of parties whose sole aim has been to destabilise the liberation movement.

"The recommendation seeks to limit foreign assistance given to certain sections of the liberation movement and to boost the coffers of parties of convenience, some of which were formed in hotel rooms," Nkadimeng said.

# ANC to discipline 'rebel' leader



28/4/92

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC said yesterday it would discipline its Western Transvaal leader Mr George Mathusa, who reportedly told a funeral in Bophuthatswana on Sunday that the ANC would make the homeland ungovernable through necklace killings and bombs.

ANC spokesman Ms Gill Marcus said yesterday the organisation found Mr Mathusa's threat unacceptable, and secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa had asked him to come to the ANC's headquarters here to account for his statements.

Ms Marcus said the ANC could not condone threats to resort to necklace killings.

Meanwhile NP secretary-general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe said yesterday the ANC, especially after Mr Mathusa's statement, had to show it was serious about bringing peace to South Africa and its neighbouring states.

The National Peace Committee said yesterday it would check the accuracy of Mr Mathusa's statements and monitor the situation.

# Threat to make Bop ungovernable blasted

By Mohen Govender

(11A)

(11A)

STAR

28/4/92

Rustenburg at the weekend.

The ANC yesterday acted swiftly in condemning the reported threat by an ANC western Transvaal official that Bophuthatswana could be made ungovernable through necklacing, killings and bombings.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa summoned ANC western Transvaal leader George Mathusa to the organisation's Johannesburg headquarters to explain his alleged statements made at the funeral of former Bophuthatswana hunger striker Bushy Molefe in

And the National Peace Secretariat said it had referred the reported statement to the National Peace Committee for investigation.

Mr Mathusa was reported to have said: "In South Africa we did it through necklaces and bombs; we can easily repeat it here."

In a statement issued yesterday, the ANC's department of information and publicity condemned the remark.

"While the ANC is extremely concerned about the repression in Bophuthatswana, and the in-

tensified harassment of ANC members, we cannot condone threats to resort to necklacing.

"It is a barbaric and unacceptable method of execution which the ANC has never condoned," the department said.

National Peace Secretariat chairman Dr Antonie Gildenhuys said: "The secretariat is a mediating body and only comes into play when the committee cannot solve the problem amicably."

"However, our jobs are made difficult when political leaders engage in war talk," said Dr Gildenhuys.



Uncritical Mandelamania over, reports Peter Taylor of The European

## Aid and house that Winnie built

11A

STAR 28/4/92

**T**HE ANC's use of foreign aid, especially by Winnie Mandela, poses the question: Has uncritical financial support from the West for the ANC been wise?

The question is asked by Peter Taylor of The European, in a commentary revealing the ANC's top brass as having been less than discreet about the use of funds received over the years.

The Mandelas' separation has been seen largely in terms of personal tragedy, but it also raises questions about how the West views its Third World heroes and heroines.

"Unlike the US, which has a powerful black Congressional caucus to placate, European attitudes to Africa derive from sentiments

of philanthropy tinged with a vague sense of guilt about the colonial past. It is somehow unfair for the privileged to nitpick about the behaviour of the less fortunate," writes Taylor.

Homing in on Winnie, Taylor points out that despite her township unpopularity at the height of her reign in the 1980s, the "blank cheques continued to arrive in the coffers of the ANC, and Winnie continued with the construction of a vast mansion in Soweto".

Although Nelson Mandela, on his release, opted instead for the modest house he left behind, "few other leading members of the ANC have been so restrained".

SACP leader and Umkhonto We Sizwe head Chris Hani had "cheer-

fully" enrolled his daughter at an exclusive private school. ANC sporting head Steve Tshwete had done the same for his children.

"Hani and Tshwete have no doubt been saving for a rainy day, and one does not begrudge the apparatchiks of the ANC the occasional penthouse suite. But is would reassure some of us if the ANC published proper accounts of the money it has received over the years," says Taylor.

Taylor ventures further that the largesse does not extend to the ANC's lower ranks, as was demonstrated by Winnie's co-accused Xoliswa Falati, who triggered the Mandela split after an argument over the funding of her appeal. "Miss Falati's defence, like that of

Mrs Mandela, was largely paid for by the London-based International Defence and Aid Fund. This was, in any case, a matter of controversy, as the trial was plainly a criminal affair and nothing to do with human rights.

"But IDAF closed shortly afterwards through shortage of funds, and although Mrs Mandela has money for her own appeal (mostly courtesy of Colonel Gaddafi, who has also paid for some of Nelson Mandela's foreign trips, Miss Falati was left to fend for herself ..."

Taylor concludes: "Europeans have every reason to be baffled by the ANC ... The era of uncritical Mandelamania is over." — Star Bureau. □

## ANC blasted

BOPHUTHATSWANA'S  
Chief Lucas Mangope said  
yesterday African National  
Congress leaders had not  
given effect to an agree-  
ment reached with Mr Nel-  
son Mandela that the or-  
ganisation would not per-  
petrate violence. (11A)

Mangope said in his  
opening address to his par-  
liament in Mmabatho that  
ANC members were be-  
coming common factors in  
violence and intimidation  
in South Africa. (11A)

South African 29/4/19



# Church facing rebellion

Sowetan 29/4/92

11A

By MATHATHA TSEDU

**THE Lutheran Church in the Northern Transvaal is facing a groundswell of rebellion whose roots can be traced to the blurring of political lines due to reform.**

The Dzanani parish has decided that it will not take part in elections for a deputy dean of their circuit in protest against selective and inconsistent implementation of the church's political policy.

While this decision follows a fairly recent incident in which the parish invited a government representative to address its rally, church insiders say the root cause relates to attempts by a clique within the Devhula Circuit to wrest control of the church in the interests of a political force.

But the seeds of the present discontent go back much further, when, in what was seen at the time as a milestone decision, the church ruled that there should be no contact with the State apparatus and its tentacles.

This ruling extended to State instruments such as the SABC and meant that Lutheran priests could not use radio and television programmes to propagate the word of God.

But as reform gripped the country and the State took the initiative to change the face of oppression, unbanning political organisations and thus making possible allies of erstwhile foes, this principle became somewhat elastic.



DEAN FARISANI

And so we saw no less a person than the well-known Dean Tshenuwani Farisani fraternising with bantustan leader Brigadier Gabriel Ramushwana of Venda at Codesa as part of the Venda delegation.

Some of Farisani's co-delegates in the Venda delegation at Codesa were in fact Lutherans who had tried, about nine years earlier, to have him expelled from the church and failing that, attempted to form a separate Venda Lutheran Church.

The church said nothing about Farisani's involvement with Ramushwana, and instead passed a resolution at a diocesan council (DC), wishing Codesa well and imploring God to bestow it with his blessings.

But the matter took a different turn when the Dzanani parish, under the leadership of the Rev Tshidumbu Herman Siavha, held a rally early this year and invited a speaker from the Venda government.

The speaker who turned up for the rally, Councillor for Posts and Telecommunications Mr Ligege, is also a senior member of the church.

He had initially been part of the separatist group but later apologised to the church.

Following protests Siavha, who had been appointed deputy dean in October, was demoted by the DC in January and castigated for transgressing church policy regarding contact with bantustan governments.

The DC also decided that he would be transferred from the Devhula circuit under Farisani to another circuit.

When the head of the diocese, Bishop SE Serote, was confronted about the seeming inconsistency of the church ruling and asked about Farisani's role in Codesa, he said the two were not the same.

Serote said his information was that Farisani had been elected by people to represent them at Codesa and was not part of the bantustan delegation. This position conflicts with the actual situation as Farisani is in a list supplied by

the Venda government of its working group members.

Following the DC decision to demote and transfer Siavha, the Dzanani parish council held a meeting on March 29 and decided that the DC decision showed inconsistency in that it did not question Farisani's involvement with Ramushwana.

Deciding that it would boycott elections to elect a deputy dean to replace Siavha, the parish called for a commission of inquiry into the matter and implied that all was not well.

"We feel there might be some hidden issues which may have been brought into the matter and others which were left outside. It is important that we parishioners know the truth," the parish resolved.

## No compassion

The council said the action taken against Siavha showed no compassion nor did it display any spirit of fairness, justice, forgiveness and understanding.

"When entertaining a case of this nature, you should listen to both sides of the story. To our knowledge this was not done. The pastor in charge and the parish were left outside. This is not fair," the parish said in resolutions sent to Serote.

Serote told *Sowetan* he had not yet received the resolutions and could not say what steps will be taken. Farisani, to whom a copy has also been sent, is overseas.

Church insiders say the problem

seemed to have its origins in Siavha's appointment by the DC in October last year as deputy dean, over the Rev Zwo Nevhutalu, who had been ahead in votes at the circuit.

These sources say there are moves by ANC members to take over key leadership positions of the church in the circuit and that Siavha was disliked because he was politically inactive.

Nevhutalu, who is an active member of the ANC, is tipped to become the new deputy dean. The sources said while church members agree that the Dzanani parish was wrong in involving bantustan officials in church affairs, the majority feeling is that if action is taken against Siavha as leader of the parish, the same should apply to Farisani or any other church leader who does the same.

And so, as the political dividing lines between comrades and collaborators seemingly gets blurred by the reformist actions of the De Klerk regime, the church finds itself caught in between.

At the end of the day, the question at the centre of this row amounts to simply this: Is involvement in Codesa, with its bantustan participants or even as part of a bantustan delegation, less criminal and in fact acceptable, while mixing with the same puppet leaders at church functions is punishable by demotion and transfer?

The Lutheran Church is finding itself having to answer those questions as a matter of urgency or face dissent within its membership.

# Death penalty call in Trust Feed case

MARITZBURG — The four former SAP special constables convicted of the 1988 Trust Feed massacre will not face the death sentence, but the State has called for the ultimate penalty to be imposed on former SA police captain Brian Mitchell, 34, who gave the orders for the killings.

Indicating yesterday that he would not impose the death sentence on former special policemen, Kehla Ngunane, Thabo Sikhosana, Dumisani Ndwalane and David Khambule, Judge Andrew Wilson said they could consider themselves "very lucky" that all they faced was a long period of imprisonment.

Sentence will be passed at 10am tomorrow.

Mitchell's advocate, Etienne du Toit, SC, pleaded with Judge Wilson not to impose the death sentence on the former station commander for the sake of retribution alone.

The political motive behind the killing was mitigating as well as that Mitchell was a first offender and did not pose a future danger to society. He was not naturally aggressive or inherently wicked and did not seek the death of women and children

## Own Correspondent

holding a funeral wake, he said.

Du Toit was asked by the Judge how it could be mitigating that Mitchell had gone to the "wrong" house and whether it was less heinous to kill "comrades" (UDF supporters), as Mitchell had intended, than to kill anyone else. Du Toit responded that in Mitchell's perception the comrades were the enemies of the State and it would be morally less blameworthy than shooting women and children asleep in a house.

Du Toit also submitted Mitchell did not play a major "physical" role in the attack. The judge, however, said in his view it was not mitigating that Mitchell had left the special policemen to "do the dirty work".

Du Toit said Mitchell was heavily intoxicated and his level of aggression was increased due to the alcohol.

Calling for the death sentence for Mitchell, State advocate Anthony Irons said according to the court's findings the violence in the Trust Feed area at that time was largely due to Mitchell's own doing. It was also aggravating that he had abused his position of trust and the power and influence that went with it.

## Kriel covering up, says Gastrow

CAPE TOWN — Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel was trying to cover up the Trust Feeds massacre because he refused to appoint an independent inquiry, DP spokesman and newly appointed member of the multiparty police board Peter Gastrow said yesterday.

In a statement he said Kriel's response of appointing a departmental inquiry was "totally inadequate".

The public had lost confidence in closed departmental inquiries where

the police investigated the police and where findings were not made public. The DP therefore called for an inquiry headed by a person of integrity from outside the police.

Gastrow also slammed the way the sub judice rule was used in Parliament, saying the Speaker had turned down numerous requests to urgently discuss the Trust Feeds case.

## ANC urged to explain arrests

STEPHANE BOTHMA

THE NP and Inkatha joined yesterday in calling on the ANC to explain why two of its senior members were armed and wearing police uniforms when arrested at the scene of an alleged murder at the weekend.

NP secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe said the arrest of Mandla Mazobuko, vice-chairman of the ANC's Evaton branch, and ANC member Sitembiso Radebe called the organisation's integrity into question.

Mazobuko and Radebe were dressed in police uniform jackets and armed with a Russian-made handgrenade and a 9mm pistol when they were arrested by police in Sebokeng on Friday.

The arrests took place after shots were fired at a private car, resembling an official SAP vehicle. The shooting left one man dead and another injured.

## Mockery

A third man, carrying an AK-47 rifle, escaped from the scene.

The NP called on the ANC to investigate and to tell the people of SA why their operatives were impersonating policemen.

Inkatha Youth League leader Themba Khoza said the arrests made a mockery of a "third force" theory as propagated by the ANC.

He said the arrests exposed the myth that the ANC had nothing to gain from perpetrating acts of violence. It also exposed ANC allegations of collusion between the IFP and security forces in destabilising SA as lies.

ANC information and publicity director Pallo Jordan said the matter was being investigated. "If the allegations are true, the matter is in the hands of the courts."

BILLY PADDOCK

partner with the Russian

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Own Correspondent

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ANC information and publicity director Pallo Jordan said the matter was being investigated. "If the allegations are true, the matter is in the hands of the courts."

# ANC conference to debate 'more acceptable' policy guidelines

THE ANC is to stage a four-day conference at the end of May to debate a comprehensive set of policy guidelines, sections of which an ANC spokesman said would be "more generally acceptable" than previous policy documents.

The conference will be a follow-up to last July's national conference in Durban.

At a media briefing yesterday, the ANC released a 46-page discussion document covering a variety of areas including a new constitution, economic policy, land policy, local government, health, social welfare, education, human resource development,

science and technology, the environment and arts and culture.

Sections on the armed forces and police, media policy, housing and basic services, international relations and rural development are still being drafted and will also be debated by the conference.

Conference organiser Tito Mboweni said the ANC had a responsibility to ensure that its policies met three basic objectives — "overcoming the legacy of apartheid inequalities in a swift, progressive, principled and responsible manner; developing a national economy and state infrastructure

ALAN FINE and  
DARIUS SANAI

which will progressively and radically improve the quality of life of all ... and encouraging the real feeling that SA indeed belongs to all who live in it".

The document says it is critical that the ANC "honestly face up to the extent of the problems confronting the country ... There are no quick and easy solutions. The problems are deep and resources are limited."

While covering much of the same ground

as previous discussion documents, there are certain refinements which, according to Mboweni, would — if adopted by the conference — make ANC proposals more acceptable to a broader range of South Africans.

The document proposes a more flexible approach to economic policy, arguing that policy choices should depend on "the balance of evidence" rather than a rigid ideological framework. These include increased public sector activity through nationalisation — which would be subject to compensation; establishing new public

corporations; or reducing the role of the public sector through privatisation.

An ANC government, it suggests, should in general support trade liberalisation through GATT, although it should attempt to persuade developed countries to facilitate a regional development process.

While the ANC is not opposed to large firms as such; the document says, it would consider introducing anti-monopoly policies "in accordance with international norms".

Foreign investment would be promoted

□ To Page 2

## ANC policy

through guarantees on the repatriation of profits and through other incentives.

Regarding a bill of rights, the document proposes a "new system of just and secure property rights", and that "everyone should be protected against arbitrary and lawless interference with their property rights".

Where individuals have been deprived of land by apartheid statutes, a land claims tribunal would restore such rights "wherever feasible", but, for those whose existing titles are affected, "compensation will have a big role to play".

The document proposes the establishment of a national health service, and considers health care a basic right to be incorporated in the bill of rights.

The document proposes that local government be governed by strict statutory and constitutional safeguards. Local refer-

endums would be held on important local issues between elections.

"Just" new municipal boundaries would be drawn up by the national legislature, and local government would be responsible for providing a number of public services, including a system of public transport available to all residents, subsidised for the poorer sections. Services would be paid for by national taxation and local service charges.

On education, the document proposes the creation of a single education department, responsible for the provision of a free education up to senior secondary level. Education and training were also vital to hone skills in the scientific and technological fields.

The retention of a public broadcasting system as a community service, regulated by an independent board, is envisaged.

□ From Page 1

# Harassment teaches Winnie how to hate

Sowetan 29/4/92

11A

WINNIE Mandela has given South Africans a rare glimpse into her personal history, saying years of State harassment during Mr Nelson Mandela's 27-year imprisonment taught a "little countryside girl" how to hate.

The veteran black activist, giving her first full interview to South African television this week, said she was largely unprepared for the police harassment she encountered when, at the age of 28, she saw her husband of four years begin a life jail term.

"I was a little countryside girl from the backveld of Pondoland. I didn't know anything about town life," she said, referring to her arrival in Johannesburg from the tribal territory of Transkei in the 1950s for a job as a social worker.

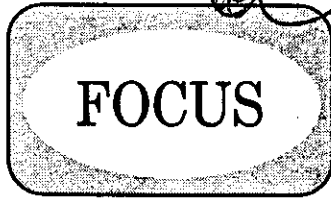
After Mandela was arrested in 1962 "I was terribly harassed," she said. "My house became nothing more than a police station. I always knew I would be on my own but the degree of harassment I did not anticipate — the volume of hostility."

"It taught me to understand what it is to hate. I still don't hate our oppressors as much as they hate us."

In the interview with the independent M-Net pay channel broadcast on Sunday Mandela (57) said she would pursue her political career despite allegations of wrongdoing, saying her life "has always been saddled with these types of hurdles".

Winnie Mandela was sentenced to six years in prison last year for kidnapping and being an accessory to assaults against four youths. She was granted bail pending an appeal.

She resigned her position as head of social welfare for the African National Congress 10 days ago,



saying she wanted to protect the movement. Nelson Mandela had announced his formal separation from her two days earlier, citing personal differences, but added he still loved his wife of 33 years.

Mandela faces an election contest next month for a position she holds in the ANC Women's League, one of two senior posts she retains in the anti-apartheid movement.

She said in the interview she and Nelson Mandela were still deeply in love despite their separation, but suggested that in politics they acted independently.

"Our first meeting was to discuss ANC fund-raising, can you believe. There wasn't any flowery stories of romance. It was not a schoolgirl kind of love. It was more of a marriage to the struggle," she said with a smile.

"Politicians are not lovers. He left me too early in our marriage. We have always been our own persons politically."

She said her 18 months in solitary confinement in 1975-76 "brutalised me so much, that I knew what it is to hate for the first time. I observed for the first time what the ruling class must be feeling against us (blacks)."

She said she had imaginary conversations with her children and unpicked the thread of prison blankets to pass time between interrogations that could last up to four days and nights.

"It was a very traumatic kind of life. It bruises you. You bleed a lot. That state of mind is enough to damage you emotionally and psychologically so that it becomes dif-



WINNIE MANDELA ... 'you bleed a lot.'

ficult for individuals to be retrieved. You are in this Nazi concentration camp. You were given food like a dog."

Her trial last year involved charges against young associates known as the Mandela United Football Club.

In the interview, Mandela said she started Mandela United in the late 1980s to give youths on the run from the police something constructive to do.

"Life was unbearable for these youngsters. They regarded the Mandelas' house as a refuge," she said.

Some of the youths gave evidence as defendants and witnesses in Mandela's assault trial last year.

The club, which rarely played soccer, was accused by Soweto

residents of conducting a reign of terror. Stompie Seipei, suspected by fellow club members of being a police spy, was found dead with his throat slit in 1989 days after he and four other youths were abducted to Mandela's home and beaten up.

Club coach Jerry Richardson was jailed for the murder.

This year former associates have accused Mandela of being linked to the killings of two activists in Soweto township in 1989. She denies the charges.

Mandela said: "I've always known who our real enemy was — the ruling class who passed (apartheid) laws which deprived us of our family life. What happened to me happened to thousands like myself." - SA Press Association-  
Reuter.



Nelson Mandela ...  
white indifference is  
appalling.

## Mandela: violence the chief problem

11A  
STAN 29/4/92

The major problem confronting the oppressed people of South Africa was violence, ANC president Nelson Mandela said at the Organisation of African Unity's ad hoc committee in Arusha, Tanzania, yesterday.

In a speech released in Johannesburg Mr Mandela said the situation in SA compared with that of Nazi Germany, where people were killed only because they were Jews.

"In today's 'apartheid-free' South Africa, our people are massacred simply because they are black. White indifference is appalling — the death and destruction, the refugees, homelessness and scale of the terror could be happening halfway across the world, not just a few kilometres away.

"Pretoria's propaganda machine has effectively put across the image that this violence is a result of a political power struggle between various black organisations.

"When the ANC first spoke of a 'third force', it was laughed out of court. Yet today, with over 13 000 lives lost, this 'third force' concept has been recognised by most commentators and organisations within South Africa."

Clear patterns had emerged within the violence, Mr Mandela said. "It mirrors political developments almost exactly. Media reports talk of ethnic antagonisms, or black-on-black violence, portraying a racial stereotype as the cause of violence.

"The different types of violence, be they attacks on train or taxi commuters, on mourners at vigils, attacks involving hostel dwellers, squatter communities are taking a heavy toll with hundreds of people murdered every month.

"The partiality of the police, the lack of arrests or convictions confirm mounting evidence that the violence erupts at points which most weaken the ANC." — Sapa.



# Mandela clarifies anti-FW charge

ANC president Nelson Mandela has amplified a statement he made in an interview with the Sunday Star about President F W de Klerk and violence.

In the interview he said there were "certain facts which suggest that the Government is involved, De Klerk himself".

In a statement released yesterday, Mr Mandela said he did not intend to suggest that Mr de Klerk was directly involved in the violence against black people.

STAR 29/4/92  
11A  
The ANC considers that President de Klerk has a responsibility for the violence, through both commission and omission.

"Firstly, President de Klerk, aware that spears, knobkerries etc are weapons of death, issued a proclamation making it legal for Zulu-speaking people only to carry such dangerous weapons. Despite repeated discussions with him on the question, adequate measures to control the public carrying of weap-

ons have not been instituted.

"Secondly, last May discussions were held with President de Klerk on the question of hostels, and agreement was reached to phase them out and make provision for both family and single-person accommodation. It was further agreed that, in the interim, the hostels be surrounded with barbed wire. There has been no action on either measure.

"Thirdly, in a number of areas adjacent to hos-

tels, residents have been forced out of their homes, leaving their possessions behind. Their homes have then been occupied by those responsible for the violence that forced them to flee. People have identified their homes, their possessions and the illegal occupants, but the authorities have failed to take any action."

●The quotation in question is contained in a verbatim transcript of an interview with Mr Mandela by Jon Quelane.

# Talks on ANC pair 'posing as police'

STAR 29/4/92

By Mohen Govender

Civic Association of Southern Transvaal leaders will meet the Vaal Civic Association today to investigate the circumstances leading to the weekend arrest of a former CAST member — one of two senior ANC officials arrested in connection with a shooting in Sebokeng.

Police detained Satembiso Radebe, former CAST regional organiser, and Mandla Petrus Mazebruko, vice-chairman of the ANC's Evaton branch, on Saturday following a shooting on Friday in which one person died.

CAST publicity secretary Sandy Lebeso said the organisation's executive committee would meet Sebokeng residents today to discuss

the shooting, before making a statement.

The National Party and the Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday questioned the ANC's role in township violence in view of the arrests.

NP secretary-general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe said the men had been caught "red-handed by the police while heavily armed and posing as policemen".

This cast doubts over the ANC accusations about the role of President de Klerk and the Government in township violence, he said.

"If their regional leaders are renegades, then it means that the ANC does not have control over its members and cannot be relied upon to fulfil its undertakings. The NP calls on the ANC to investigate the matter and to

tell South Africans why their operatives were impersonating police. The ANC owes the public an explanation," said Dr van der Merwe.

IFP Transvaal Youth Brigade leader Themba Khoza said the arrests made a mockery of the so-called "third force" theory.

"The arrests have 'exposed the myth' that the ANC had nothing to gain from perpetrating acts of violence.

"Certain reactionaries within the ANC had formulated the 'third force conspiracy theory' as a strategic response to growing public concern about the organisation's own role in the violence," Mr Khoza said.

ANC spokesmen could not be reached for comment.

# Getting the rights stuff

*Sowetan 30/4/92*

*11A 255 255*

**THE** overwhelming need to secure women's rights in a new constitution this week overruled any differences in the 56 organisations that took part in a workshop on a women's charter.

No one would have thought that the Conservative Party and the Pan Africanist Congress, with their divergent political views, could sit together with so-called progressive organisations and discuss

A loose alliance of women's groups, called the Women's National Coalition, was formed late last year with the aim of ensuring that a charter of women's rights is included in the draft for a new constitution. Eight regions, Northern Cape, Free State, Maritzburg, PWV, South Natal, Transkei and Western Cape, were set up to conscientise and canvass women's support at regional level. **SIZAKELE KOOMA reports.**

the future of women in this country.

The presence of both these organisations was another curiosity.

The two and Azapo are

not participating in the proceedings at Codesa but are committed to the course of the coalition.

Imbeloko, the women's section of Azapo, was not

present at the workshop, but not because they do not agree with what was going on there, according to the organisation's president Mrs Rose Ngwenya.



"It is our policy to form coalitions with other women outside our organisation. It is important for us to participate in the coalition because whatever

comes out of it will affect all of us women.

"We do not represent ourselves. We represent all the women who are our members. We therefore have to take decisions that will be of the best interest of them," Ngwenya said.

A strong sense of unity ran through the proceedings of the workshop as 400-odd delegates deliberated on the strategies that should be adopted to collect women's views for a charter of women's rights.

### Issues

The women were all determined that they would not be left out of the constitution even if they were left out of Codesa.

In a statement, the women said it was imperative to insist on their rights now, or gender issues would not be documented adequately in the new constitution.

"Women's concerns continue to be seen as 'women's issues' alone and not as part of the national process. In the economy they remain marginalised. Political groups and most powerful institutions are still dominated by men.

"It would be naive for them to expect that such entrenched patriarchal forums would initiate the transformation to a non-sexist society."

The women were aware of the shortcomings that might make it difficult to attain their goal such as the high rate of illiteracy that made it difficult for most women to assert their rights, economic dependence on their men and the subordination they suffered in law and practice - apartheid and tradition - but

were bent on making the Convention for a Democratic South Africa eat its words.

Said head of the ANC's emancipation commission and elected coalition convener Frene Ginwala: "Codesa has declared that it is committed to the establishment of a non-sexist South Africa. We want to ensure that the principle is adhered to".

### Listen

Her committee has been given a year in which to develop a document of women's rights. Ginwala said she envisaged the collation process, although still not decided by the committee, as sending out fieldworkers "to listen to women and let them talk about issues that they want addressed in their areas".

She said she thought questionnaires were intimidating and would not be an ideal way of eliciting ideas but could be used by the fieldworkers as guiding documents.

"The charter must come out of the women's experiences. They must say what they want. We should not prescribe to them," Ginwala said.

### Work

The strategies along which her committee will work include:

- Uniting women;
- Incorporating women of all backgrounds, urban and rural;
- Allowing women to talk for themselves; and
- Urging that women's rights to be part of constitution.

If the women's coalition succeeds in its endeavour South African women would set a precedent in history. Although women have committed themselves fully in the struggle for liberation in all African states most have found their rights not covered adequately when the new constitutions are drawn.

# Babangida wants sanctions lifted

Sowetan 30/4/92

Sowetan Africa News Service

ARUSHA - The Nigerian president told African leaders the mandate given by whites was a warning to keep their eyes and ears open "so as not to be overtaken by history".

He was speaking at the Organisation of African Unity meeting on South Africa in Arusha on Tuesday, which ended with a proposal to call for international intervention to help stop the violence in South Africa.

President Ibrahim Babangida of Nigeria, who recently received South Africa's President de Klerk in his capital, clashed with Tanzanian President Ali Hassan Mwinyi over the issue of maintaining sanctions.

The Nigerian leader urged that sanctions be lifted gradually to encourage reform. The Tanzanian argued that sanctions were what had forced Pretoria to reform and should therefore be maintained until apartheid had been fully dismantled.

At the end of the one-day meeting the OAU's Committee on South Africa proposed that the OAU ask the United Nations Security Council to take action to secure international intervention to help stop the violence in the country.

It also proposed that the OAU send a monitoring team of its own to report on the violence and try to help in the

negotiations.

Earlier ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela had requested that the OAU support the dispatch of an international force to South Africa to end the violence, which he said was inspired by the Government.

"We are convinced that international monitoring and a role in securing a peace-keeping force will bring under the spotlight all those in our country who are determined to plunge us into the abyss," he said.

"As long as the South African Police and the South African Defence Force continue to be the private armed forces of the National Party, so long will the slaughter of our people continue."

Mandela said he had contacted the OAU and the UN on April 9 about an international force similar to the UN force that monitored the Namibian independence election.

According to OAU Secretary-General Mr Salim Ahmed Salim the Arusha meeting was held at the express request of Mandela.

# ANC dismisses Mangope's claims

Sowetan 30/4/92

By ABBEY MAKOE

THE African National Congress yesterday described as nonsense claims by Bophuthatswana leader Chief Lucas Mangope that the organisation had become a common factor in violence throughout the country.

The ANC's director of information, Dr Pallo Jordan, said Mangope's allegation was tantamount to saying "women were a common denominator in rape cases".

Mangope made the claim during the opening of his parliament in Mmabatho.

He said he had had a "long and constructive" meeting with ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela on February 27 in which Mandela had conceded that it "had been ANC

policy to destabilise" Bophuthatswana.

Mangope said although Mandela was "at pains" to assure him that the ANC would stop threatening to topple the Bophuthatswana government, the organisation had failed to give effect to the undertaking by their leader.

In a hard-hitting response yesterday, Jordan reminded Mangope that he had been toppled from power before the SA Defence Force swiftly moved to rescue him and his "so-called independent government".

# Rallies planned in main centres

# Parties unite for workers rallies

TOP ANC, PAC, Azapo, Cosatu and Nactu members will jointly address May Day Rallies at main centres throughout the country tomorrow.

In The Transvaal, the main rally will be held in Soweto at the Jabulani Amphitheatre at 10am where Popo Molefe of the ANC, Mogole Mphahlele of the PAC, James Mdlalose (Mdaweni) president of Nactu and Galema Mahlomola of Cosatu will be the main speakers.

Gerardine Fraser of the SACP and Nkosi Molala of Azapo will also address the rally at Jabulani Amphitheatre.

## Rally

In Natal, the main rally will be held in Durban at Curries Fountain from 10am to 4pm.

Cyril Ramaphosa of the ANC, Benny Alexander of the PAC, Sam Shilowa of Cosatu, Meshack Ramila of Nactu, Dr Nchaube Mokoape of Azapo will be the main speakers.

In Bloemfontein a rally will be held at the Seiso Ramabodu stadium starting at 10am.

Speakers will be PAC president Clarence Makwetu, Isaac Mahlangu

By ISAAC MOLEDI

of Cosatu, Mac Maharaj and Valli Moosa of the ANC and Steven Mosala of Azapo.

In the Eastern Cape, Ronnie Kasrils of the SACP, Sydney Mufamadi of the ANC, Advocate Dikgang Moseneke PAC deputy president, Gwedo Matasha of Cosatu and Khumbulile Mnikina of Azapo will address the main rally in East London at Sisa Dukashe Stadium at 10am.

Also in the Eastern Cape at 10am, Steve Tshwete and Winnie Mandela of the ANC, Chris Dlamini of Cosatu, Joseph Maghekeni of Nactu, Raymond Mhlaba of the SACP, Maxwell Nematshwenani of the PAC and Mzukisi Madlalu of Azapo will address the rally in Port Elizabeth at Dan Qoqe Stadium.

In Cape Town, the main rally will be held at Athlone Stadium at 10am.

Other rallies which will also start at 10am and be addressed by labour leaders and liberation movements will be held at the following centres:

In Welkom, at Harmony Stadium in Virginia. Speakers will be Mr Oliver Tambo and Floyd Mashile



LEADERS MEET ... Fundile Matongosi of Azapo, Mahlomola Skosana of Nactu, Zwelanzima Vavi of Cosatu and Lesoana Makhanda of the PAC.

of the ANC and J Seroke of the PAC and Mwabisi Vika of Azapo.

At Wrenchville Stadium in Kuruman, Harris Smith in QwaQwa, Bethlehem at Tshiya Football Ground, in Kimberley at Galeshewe Stadium where Joe Slovo of the SACP, Gill Marcus of the ANC and Connie September of Cosatu will be the speakers.

In Unutata, rallies will be

held at Independent Stadium or Town Hall.

The Northern Natal will have a joint rally with Southern Natal.

Eastern Cape at Nolutando Hall in Grahamstown, Community Hall in Adelaide, Msobomvu Hall in Butterworth, Agricultural Grounds in Queenstown, Community Hall in Cradock, Fort Hare Sports

Complex in Alice and at the Community Hall in Graaff-Reinet.

Western Cape: at Upington stadium, Southern Cape at George or Mossel Bay; Saldanah Bay; in Worcester; and Atlantis.

Northern Transvaal: In Pretoria, the main rally will be held in Bophuthatswana Odi Stadium. Jay Naidoo of COSATU, Chris Hani of the SACP, Tommy

Oliphant of NACTU, Gertrude Shope and Jacob Zuma of the ANC, Lawrence Makhanda of the PAC and Zithulele Cindi of AZAPO will address the rally.

Other rallies will be held in Warmbaths at Warmbaths Stadium, in Phalaborwa at Namakgale Stadium, in Pietersburg at Seshego Stadium and in Rustenburg at Tlhabane

Stadium.

Jay Naidoo of COSATU and Jacob Zuma of the ANC will address the Rustenburg rally.

In the Highveld, rallies will be held at Ermelo, Standerton, Secunda, Witbank, Leandra, Middelburg, Belfast, Ogies, Daggaskraal, Piet Retief, Lydenburg, Acornhoek, Mphatho and Lowveld.

In the Western Transvaal, main rally in the Vaal will be held at Sebokeng Zone 7 and will be addressed by Walter Sisulu of the ANC, Cunninham Ngcukana of NACTU and Duma Nkosi of COSATU. Other rallies will be held at Khutsong Stadium in Carltonville and Klerksdorp Stadium.

In the Witwatersrand on the East Rand, main rally will be held at Mehlareng Stadium in Tembisa. Other rallies will be held in Potgietersrus, Heidelberg at the Roman Catholic Church, Alexandra at Alexandra Stadium and in KwaNdebele at KwaNdebele Stadium.

CLARENCE MAKWETU

NKOSI MOLALA

WINNIE MANDELA

119  
Soweto 30/4/92

# PAC turns down Codesa invitation

Sowetan 30/4/92

(IIA) ~~2/11~~

**PAN Africanist Congress president Clarence Makwetu yesterday reiterated his organisation's view that it would not have any dealings with the Convention for a Democratic South Africa.**

The organisation received an invitation to attend Codesa 2 yesterday afternoon, shortly after Makwetu's arrival from an Organisation of African Unity meeting in Arusha, Tanzania.

The PAC leader said Codesa could not deliver genuine freedom, adding that they would turn down the invitation in writing.

He said: "We will afford Codesa the courtesy of a reply, but we will definitely not be attending Codesa II on May 15.



**MAKWETU**

"Instead of agreeing to freedom, it agreed on reaction and repression," he said in response to news reports that Codesa had agreed to a state of emergency and detention-without-trial regulations during the transitional phase.

"Instead of agreeing on the demand for an elected constituent assembly as the only forum to draft a con-

stitution, Codesa yesterday agreed that an interim parliament should draft a constitution."

He said Tuesday was "the worst day in the life of Codesa".

Referring to violence, Makwetu said his organisation's interpretation of the political violence was gaining "unsurpassed momentum with the decision of the OAU ad hoc committee to call for international involvement to put an end to the violence".

He had put forward the view that a commission of African leaders be formed to investigate the violence.

The PAC has constantly insisted on international involvement to solve the country's political problems.

Asked whether the organisation was being pres-

sured by various African governments, the PAC president conceded that OAU members had said they would prefer all political parties to engage in the Codesa process.

### Position

"But we explained our position excellently. And fortunately, we are not obliged to anyone - we are an independent political force."

Makwetu said he had various discussions with ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela while they were abroad - most matters centring on the reconvening of the Patriotic Front.

"The PAC called for the direct participation of the OAU secretary-general in the reconvening and monitoring of the Patriotic/United Front," he added.

Late on Sunday night the South African Police arrested 39 Native men and women, all volunteers in the "Defy Unjust Laws" campaign which is being conducted by the...

# Nelson was told to ditch Winnie

W/MAIL 30/4-7/5/92

11A

W/MAIL

**G**AVIN EVANS talk of rats leaving a sinking ship is laughable: he is just one of the rats who qualifies. Otherwise, why pick on Winnie Mandela? Why isn't he disclosing the truth about the real rats?

I do not believe any of the allegations against Mandela. Having been the subject of both subtle and crude set-ups for over 28 years, by many of those now in power in the African National Congress and their henchmen and women.

After all, I joined the ANC in 1952 and that's a long tale to tell. I still believe in its principles and am still fighting the struggle as deputy convenor of the City of London Anti-Apartheid Group and I may say, am totally innocent of any wrongdoing against the ANC, and have never been accused of anything except standing for election to the AAM National Executive Committee in London, which ANC members were urged to do! This has not prevented me being treated as a pariah by the ANC.

I have long ceased to believe that the South African Communist Party is a communist organisation — and I still don't. I am a Marxist-Leninist, so don't think I am taking an anti-communist perspective.

I ask *The Weekly Mail* to spearhead the investigation by looking into the marginalisation of David Kitson who spent 20 years in jail as a member of the High Command of Umkhonto weSizwe and who, on his release in 1984 was, without reason or due process and contrary to the ANC Code of Conduct, suspended from the ANC, shunned by the SACP and then done out of the salary "for life" which his union has promised for years.

When Nelson Mandela visited Britain on his release, he did not meet the over 2 000 mainly young people who stood day and night for over three years outside the South African Embassy in Trafalgar Square — in all weath-

ers (mainly bad) — getting arrested and harassed by the British police.

He told me in Harare that he "couldn't do it". He was being led by the nose from the moment of his release and I believe that's what this separation from Winnie is all about. He's ditched her on instructions. Read between the lines of his statement!

Actually Kitson never questioned ANC policy: he was set up. On his arrival in London in 1984, after 20 years imprisonment, he was told to denounce the City of London Anti-Apartheid Group. He said the group had saved his life by its 86 Day and Night Picket in 1981, and why, if the ANC didn't like it, didn't it denounce City Group. He was told it was contrary to ANC policy to comment on British organisations, so Kitson said if he did, then, as a leading ANCeR, which he had been told he was, *he* would be breaking policy. That was the Catch 22. He did not follow orders.

But now that Evans is so pleased that the ANC is protected from embarrassment by Winnie's casting off by Madiba, and sitting amid a pile of posters and T-shirts, campaign petitions, photographs and records of marches, meetings, applications and, well, a lifetime's work for the ANC and for Nelson's release, I feel I have to ask a few questions.

First, how do you applaud a situation where a man casts off the wife who has supported him all these years? I'd show him more respect if he'd said he didn't love her any more!

Second, even supposing Winnie was responsible for the death of Stompie Seipei — and I don't believe for a moment she was, being someone who has been crucially concerned with youth all her life and proved by

the tremendous support she has from so many young people — what do you say about those now in power who were running the Quatro Camp and were responsible for the death and torture of hundreds of their own comrades?

Our struggle is in terrible hands! Winnie was one of the best in it! — **Norma Kitson, London**

■ **FATIMA MEER** puffs herself up in her letter (*WM* April 24-29) by stating that she is standing up for justice against the injustice done by the press Winnie Mandela. I would see it rather differently. For years, decades even, the ANC have covered up a myriad of wrong-doings by Mandela, and for far too long, the local and international press went along with the charade.

After the Stompie Seipei affair the press finally realised the misbehaviour of Mandela and her thugs was newsworthy, and rather belatedly made amends for their past omissions.

There is nothing commendable in standing four square behind a convicted kidnapper — no matter whose wife she may be.

Further, Meer's claim that the *Sunday Star* first exposed the secret Mandela Support Committee report, is false. I have checked on this and while the *Sunday Star* articles refer to the existence of the secret memo, the stories do not reveal its contents.

As for Father Cosmos Desmond's lengthy diatribe, the fellow has obviously never previously read your newspaper, or he would not have made the ludicrous call that *The Weekly Mail* "also" expose police murderers, forced removers and the like.

To make matters worse he tries to justify Winnie's crimes by saying they were less evil than those of many others. As a priest he should be ashamed of himself. — **Mark Reid, Bellevue, Johannesburg**

Letters should be addressed to: The Letters Page, The Weekly Mail, PO Box 260425, Excom 2023. The editors reserve the right to edit for clarity and space.

# We're not grumbling, says MK's pragmatic new chief

**W**ITHIN the limits of his position as acting chief-of-staff of Umkhonto weSizwe, Siphwe Nyanda tries to break from the rhetoric which often marks the comments of other African National Congress militants.

Rather than just condemning police raids which have resulted in the arrest of a number of MK militants and the seizure of MK arms caches, Nyanda is practical about the clampdown: "In the DF Malan and Pretoria accords, the police never promised not to arrest people who are armed. We have acknowledged we have arms caches, the people holding our caches know they can be arrested and we are not grumbling about it."

These are not just casual comments from a leader safely based in the ANC's headquarters in central Johannesburg. While details of his military record remain scarce, Nyanda — or "Gabuza" as he was known in exile — was involved in a number of the ANC's military operations in South Africa while the organisation was banned.

Originally from Natal, he left the country in 1976 and received military training in the Soviet Union and East Germany.

Later he emerged as a key figure in the ANC's political-military committee in Swaziland, which controlled MK operations in Natal and the Transvaal. Nyanda's commander for most of this time, ANC national executive member Ebrahim Ebrahim, describes him being disciplined, efficient and "having the respect of those who served under him".

While serving in Swaziland, he narrowly escaped being kidnapped by South African Defence Force agents. His wife, commander and brother were not so lucky: his wife and Ebrahim were both kidnapped, forced to stand trial in South Africa and imprisoned. His brother was killed, allegedly a victim of an SADF hit-squad.

In 1987, when Joe Slovo relinquished his position as chief-of-staff, Nyanda first became eligible for the position he now holds. In a book by Stephen Ellis and Tselo Sechaba — a pseudonym for a member of the ANC and South African Communist Party — it is alleged he was passed over due to a feud between MK leaders Chris Hani and Joe Modise. According to the book, Hani prevented Nyanda's appointment because he was seen as a Modise supporter.

Nyanda disputes this version of the events, saying: "I was unavailable for the position as I had been assigned to Operation Vula."

Operation Vula was a secret project, directly under the control of then-ANC president Oliver Tambo, aimed at strengthening the organisation's underground structures inside South Africa. Nyanda infiltrated the country in 1988 and remained underground until the operation was uncovered in a blaze of publicity.

According to Ellis and Sechaba, the project was discovered by "bad luck" rather than police work. Nyanda was arrested in Natal but

*From field commander to acting chief-of-staff of Umkhonto weSizwe, Siphwe Nyanda has earned his stripes. He spoke to*

**PAUL STOBER** about MK's new role

released in terms of the Groote Schuur agreement between the government and the ANC.

Nyanda is confident about his ability to move from field operations to the duties of chief-of-staff. These duties include developing a strategy to counter the problems facing the returning army and the administration of its members in camps flung across Africa and in South Africa's townships. "I have experience as chief-of-staff for the Transvaal region," he explains.

Nyanda identifies his main objective as re-orientating MK from a guerrilla army to a regular army and building the political structures of the ANC.

He dismisses conventional military wisdom which claims the size, professionalism and equipment of the SADF will prevent MK from making an impact on existing military structures. "The SADF cannot be the sole building block of a national defence force. We have sent people for training along regular lines for when integration takes place," he says.

However, Nyanda stresses MK's

political role: "Our national conference said it is the role of the army help to establish the ANC using our experience in building organisational structures."

Describing MK's military role as secondary, he includes the establishment of defence units in its functions which, he adds, "have very little to do with firearms".

Despite the secondary nature of its military functions, Nyanda does not agree that MK is a political liability to the ANC which provides the government with an excuse to stall at the negotiation table. "MK will not dissolve as a matter of principle," he says.

The announcement of steps by the government to ban private armies does not perturb Nyanda. "There are discussions going on between the ANC and the government about private armies and if this legislation presents a danger to MK we will regard it as provocative," he warns.

Referring to the progress in the bilateral meetings, he said: "I cannot say we have reached a point where problems are about to be solved."

Comparisons between the relatively unknown Nyanda and his high-profile predecessor, SACP general secretary Chris Hani, are inevitable. Like Hani, Nyanda is an SACP member, but as Ebrahim points out it is unfair to compare the two. "Hani is a top leader from the 1960s," he points out. "Siphwe is from the '76 generation."

Reducing the rhetoric ... Umkhonto weSizwe acting chief-of-staff Siphwe Nyanda  
Photo: GUY ADAMS

## ■ Successful rights issues strengthen group's financial resources

— MALBAK R 440 million

— SAPPI R1 040 million

— GENCOR R2 000 million

## ■ Lower earnings per share in depressed markets

## ■ Dividend increased by 7%

## ■ Progress with projects and poised for growth



## Interim results for the six months ended 29 February 1992

| Six months ended February     | 1992<br>Unaudited | 1991<br>Unaudited | Percent<br>change |
|-------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Attributable income R million | 562               | 764               | (26)              |
| Earnings per share cents      | 47,8              | 65,0              | (26)              |
| Dividends per share cents     | 16                | 15                | 7                 |
| Net assets per share cents    |                   |                   |                   |
| — at end of February          | 1 435             | 1 297             |                   |
| — at 22 April 1992            | 1 365             |                   |                   |

### Interim dividend

An interim dividend No 132 (coupon No 140) of 16 cents per ordinary share was declared on 20 January 1992 payable on 29 May 1992 to shareholders registered on 31 January 1992.

An interim report giving more detailed information will be mailed to shareholders. Copies may also be obtained from the Group Secretary at the address given below.

On behalf of the board

B.P. Gilbertson  
T.L. de Beer

Johannesburg  
23 April 1992

### Gencor Limited

(Reg. No. 01/01232/06)

General Mining Building  
6 Holland Street  
Johannesburg 2001  
(P.O. Box 61820  
Marshfieldtown 2107)



**C**OUNTLESS allegations have been made against ageing Natal Midlands African National Congress leader Harry Gwala to the effect that he rules his area like a despot, is actively pro-violence and is linked to attacks or counter-attacks against Inkatha leaders.

Young "comrades" in strife-torn areas of Natal are said to love his hardline political philosophy and "we'll fight like hell" wartalk. Like Winnie Mandela, Chris Hani and others, he articulates their anger, militancy and frustration with peace efforts. Yet his fierce and controversial leadership style is being seen more and more as a stumbling block to peace in the area and a headache for the ANC's national executive.

Rumours that hit-squad-type training camps are operating in Gwala's area are gaining momentum. Sources inside the ANC and human rights monitoring groups say they have heard countless allegations of this sort. And the evidence of increasingly professional hits against Inkatha back this up.

For all his 72 years, the elderly, learned leader undoubtedly wields a great deal of power in his region. Some respect and praise him, others blatantly despise him. They also fear him, refusing to go on record with their criticisms. Others say he wouldn't engage in such wartalk with the flamboyant humour that he does if he had anything to hide.

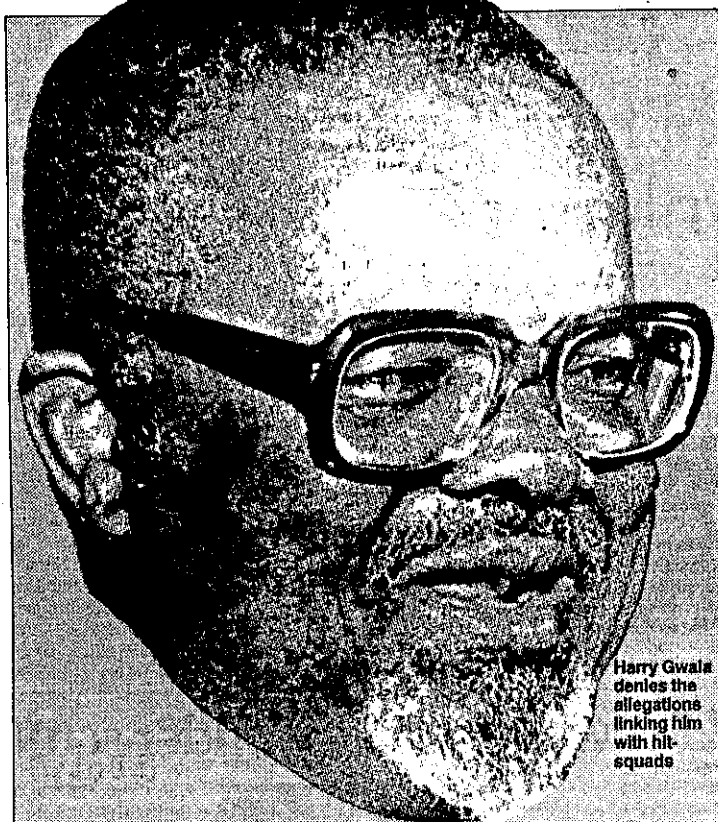
One ANC source describes him as bitter and angry and a stranger to "non-violence". "It's time the executive did something about his leadership," he says, before the ANC is torn apart by conflicting strategies of violence and non-violence.

One peace monitor says despite the fact that people are "crying out for peace" Gwala actively thwarts peace initiatives unless they emanate from his office. He has been known to use people like "political pawns" in the game of violence against Inkatha.

The peace monitor says he has information from impeccable sources that military training of youths took place last year at Kote Store, a refugee centre in Edendale township near Pietermaritzburg. The youths, he said, left the area equipped with weapons.

Sources in the Inkatha Institute claim to have information from sources inside Umkhonto weSizwe that military training by MK operatives, MK-led assassinations and gun-running are taking place. They admit, however, that they lack evidence.

According to the institute's Kim Hodgson, who heads the violence study unit, the ANC is mobilising "mass-combat" units under the guise of defence units.



Harry Gwala denies the allegations linking him with hit-squads

## ANC warlord — or just wartalk?

*Some respect and praise him, others fear and despise him. But whether Harry Gwala is an ANC warlord or merely full of fighting talk, he is seen to be thwarting the peace initiative in Natal. By PHILIPPA GARSON*

"We have information that MK people are training youth in Harry Gwala's area. They are being deployed from Dambuzza, near Edendale and Mphomeni to areas such as Bruntville."

Training he says, is believed to take place in Richmond forest. Hodgson, who claims more

than 200 Inkatha leaders have been assassinated since 1985, has provided *The Weekly Mail* with an extensive list detailing assassinations, ambushes and attacks on Inkatha supporters. He admits however, that the institute lacks evidence, largely due to the "partiality" of violence moni-

tor groups on the side of the ANC, he says.

Gwala, afflicted by a debilitating disease brought on by food poisoning during his nine-year stint on Robben Island, scoffs at the allegations linking him with hit-squads. He admits, however, that youths come to him daily asking for military training. "Who wouldn't," he asks. "I think it's a good thing. They must go for training." However he denies that anything of the sort has taken place in his area or under his leadership.

"I hate people who are saying these things. They are dishonest. They go about whispering. If there was such a thing they would come with concrete evidence," he says.

Gwala's charismatic deputy, Reggie Hadebe, described by many as even more militant than his superior, brazenly told *The Weekly Mail* he condoned the elimination of "warlords". Attacks on Inkatha leaders are the work of ordinary people on the ground acting in self-defence, he says. While he claims to know of no instances of MK operatives wiping out Inkatha "warlords", he would nevertheless "commend their initiative" if this was the case.

Hadebe likens the "warlords" to mass murderers. "They must be isolated. We would not discourage people from attacking them. They are legitimate targets. This is not just violence. It's a war against the people." The ANC he says, is not made up of saints, but human beings.

Hadebe claims there is not a single area where ANC members go out to attack people in Inkatha strongholds. He says there are many people on the ground, not necessarily professionally trained, who want the "warlords" dead. "We aren't saying we sanction this but we understand how these things happen and would not discourage people from eliminating these people ...

"I'm a Christian person but I have got to the point where I can justify the killing of certain people."

Although he sits on the regional peace committee set up by the National Peace Accord, Hadebe describes the peace initiatives as "a sheer waste of time. It's clear why the NPA it is not working. You are dealing here with people who are threatened by peace. Without violence Inkatha would not survive politically."

Meanwhile the attacks on both Inkatha and ANC leaders in Natal continue, particularly in the Midlands area, according to peace monitors.

Radleigh Keys, of Peace in Natal, says: "There is a definite change in the nature of warfare. In 1990/91 the type of war being waged involved lots of frontal attacks with people marching on an area ... But through 1991 until now we've seen low intensity warfare where individuals are identified and assassinated."

The International Commission of Jurists visiting trouble spots earlier this year, concluded in a preliminary report that the ANC had stepped up attacks in the Natal region. The assassination of ANC-aligned Chief Mhlabunzima Maphumulo in February 1991 was seen as blatant proof of the presence of Inkatha hit-squads.

But when Inkatha leader in the Table Mountain area, Thomas Gcabashe, was assassinated in an almost identical manner (both were ambushed by gunmen in their driveways) on December 17 last year, explanations that ANC supporters or "the people" are acting in self-defence, begin to look a bit thin.

Hodgson says, although it's difficult to get conclusive evidence, there is increasing proof of the professional nature of certain attacks.

During the ambush on Midlands "warlord" Abdul Awetu in Imbali in February, where three children were killed when they were shot in the head, armour piercing bullets were used and a hand grenade was thrown under the car, says Hodgson.

He cites an attack on one Vilikazi, IFP chairman in kwaMashu, near Durban, in February this year as "launched by a well-trained team of men with military experience. The use by the attackers of fields of cover, code words ... and the use of cross-fire and short bursts of fire at exits after grenade blasts all indicate a high degree of training".

Hodgson says that in the six months from August 1991 until January 31 1992, at least 10 IFP office bearers have been murdered and a further 92 attempted assassinations have taken place.

## 'I call on people to defend themselves'

**MANY** people say you continue to adhere to outdated communist doctrines?

I wouldn't call them old-style. But as for the writings of Marx and Lenin I still adhere to their ideology.

**You supported the coup against ex-Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev?**

Gorbachev betrayed the working class and the socialist community. They (in eastern Europe) have had their problems. A number of mistakes were committed in the sense that some of the nationalities were not allowed to develop. The economies were strictly centralised, where each republic should have been given the initiative to be creative and not tied to a central administration.

**You have been called a "warlord" in your capacity as African National Congress Midlands leader?**

Where do I come in as a "warlord"? I have called on people to defend themselves and continue to defend themselves against Inkatha or hit-squads or anyone who attacked us for that matter ... there is not a single instance where we have gone out to attack Inkatha. Yet I get called a "warlord" because I call on people to do the defending, to fight like hell, if you like ...

(Being called) a warlord doesn't worry me. People can give me any name they like. Once you're a public figure you must expect mud to be flung at you. If I got hysterical I would go mad one day.

**What will end the violence?**

We may kill all the "warlords" but as long as apartheid is there violence will dog us. The Peace Accord and Codessa must be given a chance. We never thought it (the Congress for a Democratic

**What are Harry Gwala's views on the National Peace Accord and how does he respond to allegations that he runs hit-squads? PHILIPPA GARSON put these questions to him**

South Africa) would deliver us into liberation. But it is one of the strands to bring about change in South Africa.

**What is your response to allegations that you command hit-squads and have a militant group of bodyguards similar to Winnie Mandela's football club?**

These allegations are just vague generalities. If there was such a thing there would be concrete cases ... the allegations are made by dishonest people who live in the shadows and are meant to be divisive.

I wish I had them (a football club-type brigade). They would have finished all the "warlords" off.

**It has been alleged that guns belonging to Umkhonto weSizwe are dispatched to war zones?**

I wish (this happened). Then we would have wiped out Inkatha. What I do know is that the guns people use are by and large home-made, though people do get their hands on illicit guns from far away places and inside the country. There is no question of MK supplying them. People have guns — MK or no MK.

**Is this kind of talk (about wiping out "warlords" not flouting the National Peace Accord)?**

Did you hear them (Inkatha) at the rally in

Imbali (this week), saying all sorts of things about me? As long as they do that I'll say anything about them.

**What is your opinion of the NPA?**

These peace efforts have their place. They help to bring together those who are warring. But I can't say they are a solution to the problem ... It's like singing hosannas. They don't necessarily take us to heaven.

**It has been alleged that you, Winnie Mandela and Peter Mokaba represent an increasingly independent militant faction within the ANC.**

This is said by people who don't understand the ANC. As with Congress of South African Trade Unions and the South African Communist Party we all pursue the same cause. I have said things that are being said by many other people in the ANC (including Nelson Mandela).

**There have been many threats on your life?**

I don't mind that. Everyone dies one day. If I die in the course of my job in the struggle I'll feel proud.

**How is your health, given the motor neuron disease you suffer from?**

(According to the latest diagnosis) I have weakening of the spinal muscles due to food or lead poisoning (in prison) and (not motor neuron disease). They haven't found a treatment.

**Are you bitter?**

My disease is the accident of the struggle. It's something that could have been cured. This is what apartheid can do. But I'm still alive. There are many who are no longer alive or who have lost limbs.

Guardian weekly (in weekly mail) 30/4-7/5/92.

## Cyril, the likeable liberator

11A

Profile by David Beresford  
Illustration by Peter Clarke



AS NELSON MANDELA made the tragic announcement of the break-up of his marriage eyes would have flicked nervously away from the sight of him battling to hold back his tears to scan the ANC conference room for a successor. Because if, as is generally reckoned, the collapse of a marriage is one of life's more ageing experiences, there cannot be much time left, at least in terms of an active political life, for an ANC president taking this sort of strain at the age of 73. After flicking over the likes of his deputy, Walter Sisulu (aged 80) and chairman Oliver Tambo (75 and recovering from a stroke), the eyes would inevitably settle with a certain relief on the handsome and dapper figure of Cyril Ramaphosa.

A few months ago one might have added the adjective "slim", but the burdens of office have weighed heavily on Cyril since his election last year as Secretary-General of the ANC. Standing 5 feet 10 inches tall, the 90 kilograms he carries have become something of a problem for him.

But for all that he remains the Cyril we always knew so well. One might refer to him as "Comrade Cyril" for the sake of formality, but always it is Cyril — a mark of the affection in which he is held. Occasionally the likes of the Daily Telegraph try to mythologise him with labels like the "Black Prince", but the name does not quite fit — although that is not to detract from the man's fighting qualities.

Cyril in fact is the sort of man who would appeal to Telegraph readers, in much the same way as he has always been liked by at least the more sophisticated of his long-standing opponents in the Chamber of Mines — the umbrella body representing the country's mining houses. Recently he was to be seen (at least by those with access to such privileged facilities) on the Sabi escarpment in the Eastern Transvaal, fly-fishing comfortably with the head of the Anglo American Corporation's Gold and Uranium Division, Clem Sunter.

He sometimes confides that fishing is a fantasy he has nursed (along with a passion for powerful cars) since childhood, although in Soweto there was little opportunity — its single river, the Klip, was usually dry.

Cyril was born in 1952, the son of a policeman — an irony in the light of his subsequent career. More appropriately he was the grandson of a miner who lived in what is now known as the "independent" homeland of Venda, far away in the Northern Transvaal. His grandfather would spend six months of every year working at the "big hole" — the giant diamond mine — in Kimberley; three more months walking there and another three months walking home again.

His father retired from the police force prematurely. That was in 1976, after Cyril had been held for six months at John Vorster Square police station in the aftermath of the June 16 uprising. On his release the children ganged up on the old man, Samuel, persuading him that it was time the family ended any identification with the forces of the State.

It was not Cyril's first involvement in politics, or experience of a prison cell. Two years earlier, while studying for a law degree at the "hush" University of the North, he had been chairman of the South African Student's Organisation (SASO) and the Student Christian Movement. After arranging a pro-Frelimo rally on the campus, he was held at Pretoria Central Prison for 11 months under the Terrorism Act.

On his release he threw himself into the activities of the Black People's Convention. The early involvement in the black consciousness movement — as opposed to the multi-racial "congress" tradition represented by the ANC — was largely due to the fact that they were the only political groupings effectively organising among blacks at the time.

The visionary Steve Biko was the leader and Cyril idolised him. At the time of his murder Biko was said to have been moving towards a rapprochement with the exiled liberation movements. It was a line which Cyril eventually followed, although it was not until 1986 that he was to join the ANC underground.

In the meantime he had completed his degree by correspondence with the University of South Africa and joined the legal department of the Council of Unions of South Africa — a labour federation allied

with the Black People's Convention — in 1981. The following year CUSA launched the National Union of Mine Workers (NUM), and at the age of 30 Cyril suddenly found himself on the road to power as general secretary. Initially, at least, while South Africa saw the embryonic trade union movement as a safety valve, rather than a means to black empowerment. And mine management treated the NUM with a degree of contempt which was understandable at the time, the union employing a staff of only six administering to an early membership of 6,000. Cyril was constantly

Chamber of Mines offered the NUM an 18 per cent pay rise with another 4 per cent increase in benefits. Cyril turned the offer down. It was rumoured at the time but has been denied by Cyril that he was acting on instructions from the ANC in Lusaka, which had become carried away by the strike's apparent success. What did apparently happen was that Cyril offered the mining houses a settlement if they would consolidate the increase in benefits into salaries, giving the union a flat 22 per cent rise which he calculated he could sell to the membership. The Chamber already had its

**Cyril Ramaphosa is proof that nice guys can come first. As a union leader he set South Africa on the road to freedom. As ANC Secretary-General can he now make it to the very top?**

on the road in his familiar battered old Datsun, trying to raise support.

Since the mining houses held the trumps of access and movement on mine property, their confidence in the face of the NUM launch was understandable. Cyril, with his personable manner, showed himself adept at gaining access (at times it was more personal than personable, as on one memorable occasion in 1983 when he slugged a white security guard who was blocking his way to the manager's office). But he also suffered the frustrations of dealing with the white South African mentality, as when he was stopped for speeding in the Orange Free State by police who then spotted a trade union pamphlet on the back seat referring to the "AAC" — Anglo American. Misreading it as ANC, they carted Cyril off triumphantly to the police station as a terrorist suspect. He spent several more hours in detention before his captors finally came around to admitting to their mistake.

The growth of the NUM was phenomenal, but peaked at 350,000 members in 1987. That was the traumatic year of the great strike, when the union tried to break the power of the mining houses. It was one of the biggest strikes in the country's history — involving at least 250 000 workers at 40 gold and coal mines — and to this day it is hotly disputed who was the winner. Nine miners were killed in clashes — about 500 were reported injured, 400 arrested and 46,000 fired. It was the supposedly liberal Anglo American Corporation — Cyril had always insisted that it was fundamentally as ruthless as the other mining houses if not more so — which broke the strike by initiating mass dismissals.

Shortly before the final showdown the

tail up and the deal was rejected even though it would not have cost management any more money. As a result the NUM won a number of unfair dismissal cases in the industrial court, forcing Anglo to reinstate 30,000 workers and pay out to most of the rest.

But even though they sustained the walk-out for an impressive three weeks, and despite the later vindication in the courts, the strike was a major setback for the NUM, losing it 10 per cent of its membership, which it is still far from recovering. But if the dispute was a setback for Cyril so far as the mining industry was concerned, it represented, in another sense, a strategy which could be said to have had a far more significant impact on South Africa as a whole.

Perhaps understandably given his own legal background, Cyril always concentrated on protecting the legality of his union's activities. It was more an exploitation than an acknowledgement of the law — he always said it was important to secure one's base before starting to bend the envelope of legality. The issue of legality (as distinct from legitimacy) was one which had been long and widely debated by the black community's political leaders — a debate won within the ANC by Nelson Mandela and company when they took the movement into the armed struggle in the early 1960s.

But without quarrelling with the justification for that decision, it can be said with hindsight that the liberation struggle was won more by the Ramaphosa approach than by the guns of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the armed wing of the ANC. Because it was the growth of the trade union movement through the 1980s — in which Cyril was such a leading figure — which built a sense

of solidarity in the black community and brought home to business interests, and hence to the government, the magnitude of the confrontation they faced if they forced the black community into "illegality".

And it was the magnificent Defiance Campaign of 1989 that the "Mass Democratic Movement", in which Cyril was again a leading figure, that bent the envelope with such dramatic effect, effectively putting South Africa on the current road to liberation.

It was the fulfilment of something Cyril told me during the '87 strike: "Liberation — the struggle for national liberation against oppression and economic exploitation — that is the main thrust of our struggle. The trade union work we are doing is part and parcel of the entire struggle. The struggle we are involved in on the mines is a training ground for our people for the ultimate goal, which is liberation."

Cyril's election as ANC Secretary-General at last year's congress was therefore a recognition of the role the trade union movement had played in bringing about the dramatic government reforms of 1990.

For his admirers his move into the ANC leadership was the cause of some relief, because at one stage it had looked as if he was going to vanish from the political stage under the weight of Winnie Mandela's malignity. In the hours and days immediately following Nelson's release Cyril found himself in the political limelight as the face of the "Release Mandela Committee", appearing constantly at Mandela's side during those dramatic scenes in Cape Town and Johannesburg. But then suddenly he disappeared from view. A cruel story circulated that Mandela had at some point turned to Cyril and irritably quipped: "Cyril, do you know what I think you would be good at? I think you would make a great general secretary of the NUM."

The story was probably apocryphal, but it fuelled rumours that as a former member of the "Winnie Mandela Crisis Committee" he had fallen victim of her ire — and her influence with Nelson — because of the committee's public denunciation of her over the Stompie Moeketsi affair.

But his popularity with the ANC as a whole was never in doubt. And he reappeared on stage with dramatic effect — being carried off shoulder — high at last year's congress after taking the Secretary-General post with 1,156 votes to 450 for the ANC intelligence chief, Jacob Zuma, and 371 for the previous incumbent, Alfred Nzo.

He secured this margin of victory with the help of strong lobbying on the part of the South African Communist Party. Which raises something of a mystery about Cyril — the longstanding insistence of usually well-informed commentators that he is a communist. Cyril himself flatly denies it in public as well as private, describing himself rather as a social democrat "with leftist leanings." His denial has to be accepted and the Communist Party support attributed rather to their antagonism towards Mr Zuma, who along with Thabo Mbeki is seemingly detested by the Marxist stalwarts because they were at one time members who deserted.

Politicians, of course, nearly always deny their ambitions. But, curiously, one senses some truth in Cyril's denials that he ever aspired to high office in the ANC. There is even a hint of bewilderment at the position in which he finds himself.

In his plainly furnished office on the 10th floor of ANC headquarters in downtown Johannesburg, the walls are decorated by a set of sentimental British Labour Party posters and two framed cartoons. The cartoons have the same theme. One is of Cyril driving a donkey cart, labelled "the South African economy". He's brandishing a smoking shotgun over the corpse of the donkey, labelled "investment". The caption has Cyril shouting: "That will teach you." The other cartoon has Nelson and Cyril putting the finishing touches to a makeshift, tin-can aeroplane with "ANC economic policy" written on the side. "Vroom vroom, but will it fly?" Nelson asks Cyril.

The choice of cartoons is perhaps representative of his uneasiness about the capacity of the ANC, and himself, to cope with the great national issues that face a government in waiting. They are also representative of a nice guy who, with a bit of luck, will be the next but one president of the Republic of South Africa.

BIP  
30/4/92

**Finland on ANC** (11A)

FINLAND would halt direct aid to the ANC when SA called a multi-racial election, Secretary of State Martti Ahtisaari said yesterday.

Completing a three-day official visit to SA, he said Finland would carry out its promised payments for ANC members to study in Finland and other countries.

IS the problem in South Africa a colonial problem, or a special colonial situation or simply a question of human rights violation in a sovereign country?

These are the questions that Pheko sets out to answer in his 154-page book published recently.

Pheko, an obvious sympathiser of the Pan Africanist Congress, is a lawyer whose training is used to the full in both research and argument for his views.

# Land the basis of liberty

**Title: SA betrayal of a colonised people, issues of international human rights law.**

**Author: SEM Pheko**

**Publisher: Skotaville Publishers, R28,55**

**Reviewer: Mathatha Tsedu**

He argues that those who push for anything less than defining South Africa as a colonial problem that needs decolonisation are inherently against restoration of full land and human rights

to those dispossessed by the colonising marauders who landed at the Cape in 1652.

Referring to South Africa in its PAC and Black Consciousness name of

Azania throughout the book, Pheko says the fact that Britain handed the country to another group of settlers without decolonising meant that South Africa remains a colony of Britain.

He has harsh words for those, like the ANC, the SACP and Western governments, who argue that South Africa was a sovereign State.

"International Law would be abetting Britain's colonialism and its consequences of apartheid, genocide and theft of African land if it were to lend any legal validity to the status of South Africa as an 'independent' State based on the abuse and manipulation of international law by Britain.

"The only time that South Africa will be an in-

dependent State in international law shall be when the vast dispossessed indigenous African majority has regained control of their country."

Pheko argues that land forms the basis for State independence.

"All nations or people fighting for liberation, against alien rule and seeking self determination are fighting for land."

The book is a welcome read, especially in the present political climate in the country, with different political organisations putting divergent views about the State and solutions of the problems of this country.

It is bound to become a controversial book judging by quotations and assertions made about the positions of several people.

Questions are being raised about  
Cosatu's future role, writes Mike Siluma

STAR 30/4/92

# An alliance that may not last in a democratic SA

**H**OW long would the alliance between the Congress of SA Trade Unions, the SA Communist Party and the ANC last in the event of the Nationalist government being replaced by a new, democratic regime?

The question, increasingly made relevant by the imminent constitution of a transitional authority through Codesa, is raised by leading labour relations expert Dr Duncan Innes in the latest issue of his journal, "The Innes Labour Brief".

In his forecast of developments in the union movement for the rest of the year, Dr Innes says recent actions by Cosatu suggest that the federation has committed itself to continuing to play a political role in the national life and to fiercely defend workers' rights under not just the present, but also all future governments.

Two key pointers of where Cosatu is headed, he writes, are its decision to apply for membership of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa and its threatened plan of action in three months' time if its political and economic demands are not acceded to by the Government.

If Cosatu was admitted to Codesa, he argues, it would place new items on the agenda, relating to worker rights (including the right to strike and to co-determine national economic and human resources policy). Cosatu would possibly even demand such rights be incorporated in the new constitution in one form or another.

"These demands are aimed not so much at protecting workers from the present government as at protecting them from all future governments ... The present ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance is unlikely to survive very long after a new government is constituted.

"Even today, within Cosatu, the ranks of those who give unqualified and uncritical support to the ANC are dwindling. Furthermore, the idealism with which so many unionists embraced the SACP ... is also less pronounced than previously," adds Dr Innes.

Referring to Cosatu's demands, which range from the establishment of an interim government by June to the formation of a national economic negotiations forum (comprising labour, capital and the State), Dr Innes says they are aimed partly at expressing the federation's impatience with the pace of reform and partly at catapulting Cosatu back on to the political centre stage.

The basis for the latter aim, he argues, is Cosatu's fear that the ANC and the SACP "could be about to do a deal with the Government from which it is being excluded", and that such a dispensation would be at the expense of workers.

Despite Cosatu's potential power to disrupt the economy, as demonstrated by the anti-VAT protest five months ago, Dr Innes believes mass action by the federation to be unlikely. This is because substantial progress is being made towards meeting two key Cosatu demands — the establishment of interim rule by mid-year and the formation of the economic forum.

Regarding the first, indications at Codesa suggest that, despite disagreements between the Government and the ANC, an interim government may not be far off. In the economic field, Cosatu and the major employer bodies have already agreed in principle to form a forum to address the economic issues of the day, although the Government has, for the moment, declined to join such a body.

Turning to this year's wage negotiations, Dr Innes says they will be dominated by the recessionary conditions, forcing unions to seek increases which at least matched the inflation rate.

At the same time, unions will, in some cases, agree to moderate their pay demands in return for job security for members. Union concerns about recession-induced job losses have already been confirmed in sectors such as motor-ing, engineering and retailing, where unions are calling for a moratorium on retrenchments. □

STAR 30/4/92 (11A)

## ANC to probe arrest of suspects in Vaal

The ANC is investigating circumstances surrounding the arrest of two of its members, whom police allege were found armed and wearing police jackets after a shooting in Sebokeng, near Vereeniging, at the weekend.

ANC Evaton vice-chairman Mandla Petrus Mazebuko and Satembiso Radebe, an ANC and Civic Associations of the Southern Transvaal member, are in custody pending police investigations into the shooting, which left one man dead and another hurt.

They appeared in the

Sebokeng Regional Court on Monday on charges of murder and illegal possession of arms and ammunition. The case was postponed.

"We have already started investigating that whole allegation from all aspects, including the police allegation," said ANC spokeswoman Gill Marcus.

CAST yesterday declined to comment on the arrests, saying its efforts to investigate had so far been unsuccessful.

Police say Mr Radebe is a CAST regional organiser. — Sapa.

# PAC rejects Codesa invitation

By Thabo Leshilo  
Political Staff

11A

STAR  
30/4/92

Despite mounting pressure from African governments to join the negotiation process, the PAC rejected yet another invitation to join Codesa yesterday.

PAC president Clarence Mlamli Makwetu said an invitation to join Codesa 2 on May 15 and 16 was received yesterday afternoon, shortly after his arrival from the Organisation of African Unity ad hoc committee meeting on southern Africa.

The meeting was held in Tanzania, on Tuesday.

"We won't attend," an adamant Mr Makwetu told a press conference at the organisation's Johannesburg head office.

Mr Makwetu said the Arusha meeting, attended by 13 African governments, had expressed a

desire to see all South Africans join the negotiations process.

The PAC had explained its opposition to Codesa "excellently", he said.

"Fortunately, we are not obliged to anyone. We are an independent political force," Mr Makwetu said, responding to whether the OAU was pressing the PAC to join Codesa.

He said he had explained the PAC's position on the need for a neutral convener and venue in resolving the political problems of South Africa.

"This is necessary due to the dubious nature of the regime and its direct participation in the violence," he said.

The PAC, he added, remained convinced that Codesa could not deliver genuine democracy.

"Instead of agreeing on freedom, it agreed on reaction and

repression," he said, referring to a newspaper report that Codesa had agreed on the imposition of a state of emergency and detention without trial.

"Wednesday was the worst day in the life of Codesa," Mr Makwetu declared.

The Star, however, understands there was no such agreement at Codesa and the report had misrepresented the facts.

Regarding the continuing violence, Mr Makwetu said the PAC's demand for neutrality in the country's political situation had gained speed with the OAU's call for international involvement to end the violence.

Such action should take the form of a commission to investigate who was responsible for the "atrocities", he said.

The OAU meeting was also addressed by ANC president Nelson Mandela.

BLACK POLITICS - 1992

MAY.



### Mandela 'needs rest'

ANC President Nelson Mandela is to visit Gabon "for a few days' rest", ANC spokeswoman Gill Marcus said yesterday. She said the black South African leader was due in the west African country either last night or today on a non-official visit. He was scheduled to fly to Libreville from Tanzania, where he attended Tuesday's one-day summit of the OAU's ad hoc committee on southern Africa. (11A)

STATE 115792

# ANC prepares for hustings

STAR 11/92

11A

**I**N A month's time, some 770 ANC delegates will gather in Johannesburg to hammer out what will effectively be the organisation's election manifesto.

The "national policy conference" is the culmination of a new process in the ANC's history, which began in 1990 at the ANC's consultative conference, and led to the fully fledged national conference in Durban last year.

The gathering from May 28 to 31 will tie the ANC to a comprehensive policy platform, and mark the effective transformation of the organisation from an underground liberation movement into an above-ground party-political contender for power.

At a briefing in Johannesburg this week, addressed by secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa,

information head Dr Pallo Jordan and senior economists Tito Mboweni and Khetso Gordon, the ANC released a 46-page draft document entitled "ANC policy guidelines for a democratic South Africa".

The purpose of releasing the document — and this indicates the extent to which the ANC is adapting to the prospect of open electoral politics — was "to inform the country of the processes at work among the ANC's membership".

Mr Mboweni was at pains to point out that the document served as "a draft set of guidelines for members preparing for the conference. The document still needs a lot of work in terms of form and content.

"We have taken into consideration the comments resulting from earlier policy documents, and further comments will be

included in a second draft to be produced before the conference."

Hundreds of workshops had already been held in all of the ANC's 14 regions, and regional conferences were now getting under way, he said.

Because of the controversy surrounding the issue, the short section on the economy — specifically regarding nationalisation and property rights — attracted most interest.

But Mr Mboweni appealed to observers to consider the document in its totality, as an "integrated, interlinked" vision for the new South Africa.

What is quite clear from such an holistic reading of the paper is that the ANC's strategists are putting considerable effort into a difficult project: how to respond to new political realities without being seen to jettison

Quite distinct from its participation in Codesa, the ANC is involved in a crucial political process: finalising the policy package it hopes will attract votes from a majority of South Africans in this country's first democratic elections. Political Editor SHAUN JOHNSON takes a look at the context in which the organisation's draft policy document was released this week.

long-held beliefs. Most notably in the economic section, perhaps — but evident throughout — is an attempt to modernise policy without negating it. This produces a certain degree of ambivalence but also more clarity than ever before on the direction in which the organisation hopes to head.

The ANC document is divided into five sections, each contain-

ing subsections.

"Foundations of ANC Policy" deals with a new constitution, economic policy, and the land issue. "Delivering the Goods" covers local government and housing and basic services. "Improving the Quality of Life" looks at health and social welfare. "Preparing for the Future" offers proposals on education, human resource develop-

ment, science and technology, the environment, and arts and culture. "Peace and Security" focuses on the police and army, and international relations.

Some of these areas are still at the pre-drafting stage, but are expected to be completed before the conference.

All, however, are predicated on three basic, agreed ANC objectives: to overcome the legacy of inequality and injustice created by apartheid, to develop an economy and State infrastructure that will improve the lives of all South Africans, and to promote a common South Africanism among all who live in this country.

This broad overview does not allow for a detailed assessment of each section, but the overall tone is consistent: there are reassurances for both the ANC's traditional constituents — who

expect to gain directly from whatever share of eventual power the organisation secures — as well as interest groups outside the ANC fold, who are afraid of losing out as a result of the ANC's assumption of its place in the government of South Africa.

Under questioning, Mr Mboweni conceded that the economy in particular was a "hot issue" among the ANC rank and file. "Rest assured that the debates have been very heated," he said. "Some people say 'why allow our national resources to be privatised?' Others say nationalisation will destroy the economy. Consensus will have to be achieved at the conference."

Pressed on whether the section on the economy — and the document as a whole — represented a more flexible approach

from the ANC in the face of widespread international hostility towards issues such as nationalisation and socialist economics, Mr Mboweni said the document had "been worked out to make it more presentable".

He said the theme running "throughout the document is that we must make South Africa a more prosperous place".

But he and the other ANC leaders felt the need to sound a repeated warning: that the delegates themselves would have the final word. By that they meant that the felicitous phrases and temperate terminology might just come to naught, if a different mood prevailed on the conference floor.

An unstated element of the conference, therefore, is that the leadership's ability to carry its constituency will be put to the test. □

FORWARD

ANGOLA

ANGOLA

continued from p16

Ironically, then, while we will see a decline in the number of existing parties, smaller parties could well arise in future which are geared to local, regional or other special issues. Furthermore, it is quite possible that such parties will hold the balance of power either in certain regions, or nationally.

An example is the Greens of Germany, which has been a very effective pressure group for environmental protection which the major parties, formed from alliances, found they could not ignore. In this way, smaller parties can succeed in getting particular issues on to the national agenda.

An example of this phenomenon here may well be the CP, which could well be a force to be taken into account in a national settlement — certainly in the northern Transvaal. Inkatha, similarly, might be an important player in the Natal region. The prospect of elections has somewhat clipped Buthelezi's wings on the national stage, making real the possibility that he might dig in in KwaZulu.

So, while the ANC might emerge the biggest party on a national level, it's conceivable that the NP (or a party built round it) may emerge as the most significant one regionally. Hence the importance of wooing voters across the spectrum in a PR system. Whichever party gets the most votes, it will, in all probability, need the co-operation of other parties to govern effectively.

At present, the realignment process is at an early, conceptualising stage as parties consider their options.

In the NP's case, it knows that it will not attract younger black potential voters especially given its present symbols and organisation. However, the idea of a moderate alliance formed around De Klerk, especially after his personal triumph in the white referendum, is seen as something that can be built on, given effective media and big business support for him.

The party is aware of the difference between support for De Klerk and support for the NP. Market research conducted by the

HSRC among coloureds, Indians and Africans evokes quite different responses when it comes to support for De Klerk as opposed to his party. It's no wonder that government recently announced yet another transitional government proposal — this time for a directly elected, rotational interim executive of three to five leaders.

For the NP, however, establishing a new party immediately is not considered the best



Mandela



De Klerk

option strategically. (This could also be the ANC's reason for not at this stage formally transforming its "broad church" into a party proper.) Given the nature of an heterogeneous SA, it will wait until alliance-forming gains momentum, allowing each potential party ally time to consolidate and "deliver" its own constituency when the need for formal electoral pacts draws nearer.

Therefore, some experts reckon, the NP will move in three phases:

- Into black, coloured and Indian areas under the umbrella of the NP;
- Seeking out loose alliances — a confederation of parties in which each retains its identity; and finally
- Establishing a more formal coalition — like the DTA in Namibia — essentially to fight an election.

Theoretically, the ANC must be considered best placed from the point of view of campaigning on a nonracial basis, having all along emphasised colour-free policies. Aside from scant white support, however, there is evidence to suggest that the ANC cannot

automatically count on support from the important local-level civic organisations which were formed under the aegis of the old United Democratic Front. It has work to do at this level.

And for all the ANC's nonracialism, Mandela, addressing a meeting in Natal over Easter, made a pitch for the Inkatha Freedom Party to join him by reportedly appealing to the interests of "black solidarity." Competition between Inkatha and the ANC has long loomed large and will be a significant feature of any election campaign in future. It is a key issue in the violence that could destabilise any settlement.

The ANC, despite its rancorous relationship with the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), is keen at least to neutralise the threat on its left flank. Hence the importance it continues to attach to the Patriotic Front alliance which includes mainly the PAC.

Bilateral talks between the ANC and PAC continue. Yet they remain far apart on basic issues that would seem to make drawing up a common election manifesto almost impossible at this stage.

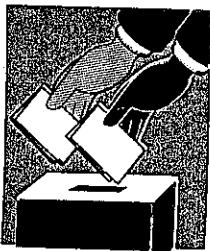
Running in tandem with competition over who will govern the country, however, are the critical Codesa negotiations. The need for achieving consensus on basic principles at Codesa in practice means applying the brakes on alliance-formation at this stage in order not to give the impression of ganging-up. If the NP, say, began at this stage to openly form alliances with other parties which favour federalism and maximum devolution of power, this might cause the ANC to dig in, putting agreement on federal features even further out of reach.

It could well be that both the ANC and the NP now have no wish to push the alliance-forming process further because — occupying central positions of power — they can wait while the smaller parties splinter, to their benefit. The ANC has gained five comrades from the DP so far — the Democratic leadership must be wondering who else will jump ship and to which party. ■

THE NEW POLITICS

# Comrades in suits

As nonracial elections draw nearer, MPs make calculations about survival



One of the big questions to be asked in the wake of Barend du Plessis' abrupt resignation is, simply, who wants the job of Finance Minister when so radical a development as a change of government looms

in the foreseeable future? Or to put it another way: what possible future — let alone Cabinet career — is left for white MPs?

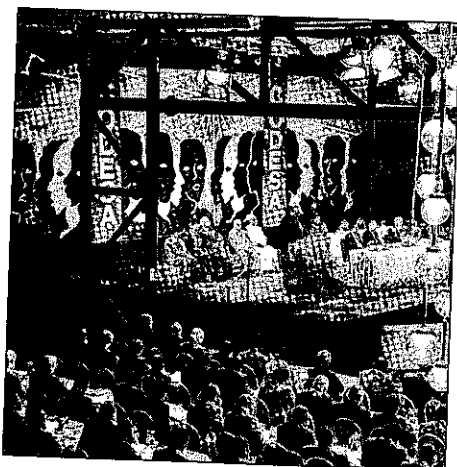
With the axe hovering over parliament as it is presently constituted, that long-term canny manoeuvring which stamps the professional politician might seem a vaporous exercise.

Any election fought on the basis of proportional representation (PR) will see the parties furnish lists of their candidates to the electorate — and not everyone on the list will make it through to office. This inevitably concentrates the mind on alliance politics — and the volatility of the situation is suggested well enough by the complex motives that drove the five dissident members of the Democratic Party into the arms of the ANC.

Whatever one thinks about their decamping, the move is the most dramatic illustration so far that a process of fundamental realignment is underway.

The DP resignations seem somehow to say far more about what is happening in party political terms than have even the mass defections of coloured Labour Party MPs to the ruling Nats. The essence of the charges levelled at them is that they have betrayed their liberal principles for an organisation which is not a registered party and whose policies in critical areas is absolutely vague.

There is of course no lack of precedent for such a change of allegiance and in the past,



Codesa in session ... forum for alliance makers

key switches of loyalty have prefigured shifts in public perception, too. Thus, when Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert resigned from parliament and from the PFP leadership six years ago, the Progs felt a mortal blow. Today, Slabbert's move can arguably be seen as prescient, having contributed to the political loosening-up that followed.

Given the extraordinary circumstances of SA, some comfort may perhaps be taken from the observation made by Dave Dalling regarding the move of the five MPs, of whom he is one. Dalling says it is important for the country that party divisions do not in future reflect and perpetuate racial divisions. In other words, the more multiracial parties become, the better for SA in terms of moderation and cross-pollination of ideas.

Many blacks certainly welcomed the five into the ANC.

With the expulsion of Koos van der Merwe from the CP, we may indeed be facing a major realignment of the parties. One cogent factor in all white MPs' thinking, of course, is the fact that all parties and crypto-parties are squaring up for the country's first nonracial democratic elections.

With some form of one-man-one-vote elections on the horizon, traditional ways of campaigning are perforce being rethought and new constituencies being wooed by the major parties — primarily the National Party and the ANC.

This explains, for instance, De Klerk's foray into Mitchells Plain, the largest coloured area, last month. In 1956, De Klerk's party gerrymandered its way past an entrenched clause of the constitution to take the vote away from coloureds; today he wants their support. But, of course, the NP of today is unrecognisable as the party of apartheid; it has in effect appropriated the policies of the DP, which, in turn, is in the throes of an identity crisis concerning its future role.

Another example of campaigning with an eye on the nonracial poll were the addresses by De Klerk, Nelson Mandela and Inkatha's Mangosuthu Buthelezi at Zion City over Easter — pitching themselves at a 3m-4m-strong constituency of conservative black Christians.

The racial mould into which political competition was cast for 40 years is on its way out. Though scrapped four years ago, it is only now that we are seeing the effects of

repeal of the Improper Political Interference Act.

All this spells what intellectual historians might call a "paradigm shift" — a new ball-game, in ordinary language — that is based on new premises and, therefore, new ways of looking at the world.

Many suspect that in joining the ANC, one thought in the minds of the five MPs is that they'll be included on the ANC's list of candidate MPs in the first post-apartheid general election. Not to put too fine a point on it, professional politicians and, indeed,



Dalling



Buthelezi



Van Zyl Slabbert

parties, are re-examining their chances of survival and looking for potential alliance partners.

In the DP, for instance, there is yet another faction which believes that the best way to go is to join the NP — which for its part is considering the idea of becoming a centre-Right party clustered round the personal prestige of De Klerk and shorn of its old name and symbols, so that it might appeal to a wider spectrum of the population.

The next election will, as the main Codesa parties have agreed, be based on PR — though the precise variant of the system to be used has yet to be formally agreed. This is the critical factor in coming to grips with the changing political scene.

In the near future, many of the smaller parties such as the DP, Labour, Conservative, homeland and Indian parties (in and outside the tricameral parliament), will have great difficulty surviving.

Some experts, however, foresee the formation in future of regional parties, which a system of PR tends to encourage. This is the view of Bertus de Villiers, head of the HSRC's centre for constitutional analysis. Such parties, he adds, would tend to be de facto ethnic parties — even if they are not explicitly so. And such parties rarely vote for parties associated with other groups. This is a factor found in all democracies with PR systems — Germany and Belgium, for example, which have a number of smaller parties rather than two big ones as in the US and UK.

continued on p19

Cont ->

BAREND DU PLESSIS

FM 11/5/92

# The flight of the lame duck

The *FM* was not always erstwhile Finance Minister Barend du Plessis' greatest admirer during his political career, and it would be hypocritical to let his premature retirement — however much of a personal tragedy it may be — cloud one's judgment. The feeling was apparently mutual, as for long periods Du Plessis refused to speak to the *FM*. But in all honesty, we do not believe posterity will rate his tenure as Finance Minister highly.

A man of some personal charm — if not the dynamic extrovert one might associate with a career in the hurly-burly of politics — he seemed capable of diagnosing problems and how they should be cured, but incapable of forcing unpalatable medicine down the throats of vested interests.

We had the espousal of privatisation and deregulation, virtually abandoned in the face of opposition from both right and left; the nominal acceptance of the Margo recommendations on tax reform, followed by a half-hearted implementation that prevented most of the potential benefits from accruing; repeated promises to cut State spending and the size of the bureaucracy, while he continued to preside over an inexorable growth in both; most recently, the bungled introduction of VAT, over which he again succeeded in alienating both its supporters and detractors, and a do-nothing Budget which simply ignored the fundamental economic issues.

Those are just the major failures of nerve. Space does not permit a listing of the numerous, half-baked economic policies of the past decade that have either had to be abandoned or are still in place, costing us all millions.

True, no previous Finance Minister was confronted with problems as enormous as those that emerged during Du Plessis' eight years in office. Nor could he be held responsible for them. SA's increasing political isolation, P W Botha's disastrous abandonment of reform and the debt crisis of 1985 were all conceived, if not yet out of the womb, before he was in a position to stop them. Nor, of course, can he be held responsible for the unfavourable international economic climate, or the fundamental adverse shift in the gold market.

But what has the Treasury done under Du Plessis to keep the economy healthy and thereby smooth the way to the new SA? It must surely have done *something*; but it's difficult to think what.

It may be Du Plessis' misfortune rather than his fault to have presided over SA's worst (at least, longest) recession; but it's a pity he couldn't have done more to soften it.

It's ironic that in many ways the apotheosis of Du Plessis' career was his failure, by a mere eight votes, to succeed P W Botha as State President. That failure was possibly his biggest contribution to SA history. It's inconceivable that a Du Plessis presidency could have moved so far and so fast as that of F W de Klerk in both domestic reform and restoring SA as an accepted member of the community of nations.

And Du Plessis was seen as the "reform" candidate!

But as he sinks into the comfortable obscurity that the pension and perks of an ex-Cabinet Minister will easily support, he can at least console himself that, unlike the teenage scribblers who so often criticised him, for the best part of a decade, which has been the most momentous in SA's entire history, he was at the centre of affairs.

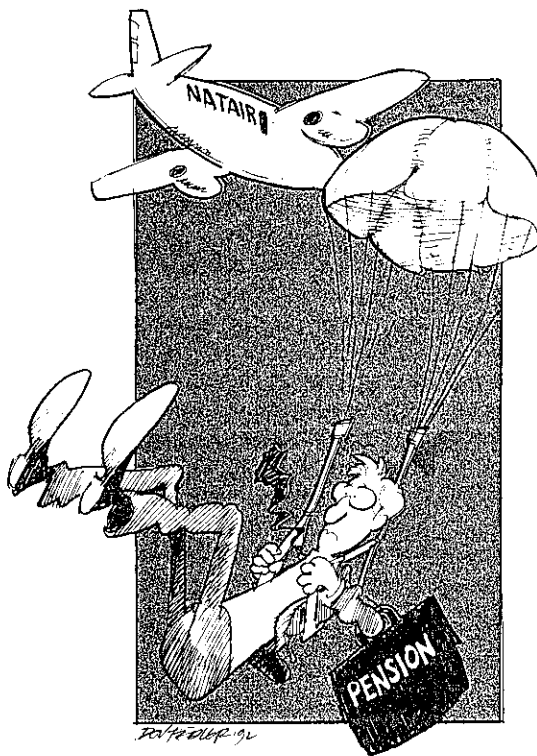
This is the worst possible time for a change of jockey. The *FM* has repeatedly lamented the shelving of economic reform during the process of political negotiation; however more dynamic his replacement may wish to be, it will take him months to come to grips with the issues. Meanwhile, the Codesa caravan will move on, and the last window of opportunity for sound economic restructuring may be shut.

Moreover, so much a fixture did Du Plessis seem that no obvious replacement is waiting impatiently in the wings. The only members of the present Cabinet who might be suitable are Dawie de Villiers and Derek Keys. The former seems to be sliding in the NP hierarchy while the latter, as well as being a political neophyte, has done nothing in his present office to fill one with confidence.

Outside the Cabinet? Chris Stals? Harry Schwarz? Both will have their advocates. The DP's Ken Andrew would be a daring choice that could be justified on merit, as well as broadening the base of the administration.

But the hot money is increasingly on the Standard Bank's Conrad Strauss, who not only knows the business world but started out as a highly respected economist.

Whether any of them will particularly want the job at this lame-duck stage is another question — the new Minister may not even get to prepare a Budget. But it's difficult to resist such a position, on any terms. ■



TOM LODGE

# Behind the slogans

FM 115192

11A



**Tom Lodge is assistant prof of political studies at Wits University. Here are extracts from his latest essay on the ANC, to appear in *South African Review 6*, by Ravan Press**

Two years of legal existence have enabled the ANC to acquire 900 branches, 500 000 signed-up members, a 20-storey office block in central Johannesburg, a fresh leadership, a democratic constitution, an elaborate administration, and an annual income which in 1990 topped R90m. Its homecoming is consequently a story of considerable, if uneven, achievement.

In February 1990, the ANC's leaders were suddenly confronted with the challenge of adapting an authoritarian and secretive movement formed by the harsh exigencies of exile to the requirements of a South African environment shaped by the tumultuous politics of the Eighties. Two years later, the process of changing the ANC into an organisation geared to open and democratic forms of popular mobilisation is far from complete.

In 1992 the ANC still struggles to absorb and reconcile the experiences of three generations of leadership: the elderly veterans who emerged from decades of confinement on Robben Island; the middle-aged managers of an insurgent bureaucracy; and, finally, the youthful architects of the most sustained and widespread rebellion in SA history.

To understand what the ANC has become in 1992, it is essential to know what kind of organisation it was in 1990.

One way of doing this is through investigating its institutional structures and internal procedures. This is the approach which characterises most studies of the exile ANC during the Eighties. This literature depicts a most intricate and elaborate organisation which can be represented as an embryonic state — a "government-in-waiting."

With its diplomats, its flag, its press, its radio, its army and its autonomy in regulating the lives of its "citizenry," to many onlookers the ANC appeared a polity in miniature.

Researchers who tried to identify the internal dynamics of this polity emphasised its formal structure, decision-making processes, and communications systems. The ANC was an intensely militarised body.

It was, however, unable to achieve its strategic aim of promoting a generalised insurrection. This would have required much more precise orchestration of its insurgent warfare with the wider popular opposition led by the United Democratic Front (UDF) and trade unions. In any case, the scope of guerrilla activity was much too limited for

this; it never amounted to more than "armed propaganda," as ANC spokesmen today readily concede.

Compared to its executive departments, the ANC's representative institutions were rudimentary. On the whole, academic analyses of the ANC emphasise its coherence of purpose, moral integrity and disciplined rule-bound functioning.

A sharply contrasting picture emerges from more recent literature which is characterised by its dependence on ANC dissident sources.

In these sources, power within the organisation is personal rather than bureaucratic. It is manifest in departmental feuds conducted by the different administrative bosses: security versus military, military versus diplomatic, and so on. The main fissures within the organisation cross-cut SA Communist Party affiliation.

Whereas the academic sympathisers of the ANC accord a central place to the armed struggle in their narrative of the Eighties, in the dissident version of the ANC's history the key episode is a 1984 mutiny among Umkhonto units serving against Unita.

In these accounts the ANC is demonstrably incapable of instituting internal reforms. A purge of the security department acknowledged that officials had overreached themselves but left the essential apparatus intact. Similarly half-hearted were the efforts to construct democratic checks on the power of leadership.

These two very different portrayals of the ANC are not impossible to reconcile. The academic authorities tended to interpret the ANC in terms of its own intentions and the images the ANC projected outwards. Such an analysis, however critically astute, can at best be partial. It certainly leaves little room for the play of the idiosyncrasies of personalities or the malfunctioning of bureaucratic structures. The dissenting version gives these primacy, painting a general picture of tyranny and corruption from an impressive series of anecdotes. But the conclusions seem exaggerated.

President De Klerk's annulment of prohibition took the ANC by surprise.

Bringing the movement back to SA was easier said than done. Already it was clear that the revival of mass organisation in the decade preceding the ANC's unbanning had nurtured several groups of rival claimants.

For the time being, the ANC resolved to build its structures alongside those already existing under the aegis of the UDF. The ANC did not want community organisations to be "swallowed up." The eastern European experience had important lessons for those who sought to transform these bodies into transmission belts of ANC influence. Moreover, civics had "a breadth of politics" which the ANC could not aspire to represent.

Notwithstanding the rhetoric of collective leadership and the ANC's efforts since 1990 to develop constitutional procedures, any discussion of contemporary ANC leadership must begin with one man, Nelson Mandela.

Mandela's dominant role is attributable to several factors: the leadership vacuum in Lusaka in 1990 caused by Oliver Tambo's illness and the unassertive quality of his immediate deputies; the slow pace of organisation-building in the months following the ANC's legalisation; the tensions between the different groups of notables — exiles, Robben Islanders, trade unionists, and UDF officials; Mandela's own role in initiating negotiations well before his release; and, most important of all, the extraordinary cult developed around his name and reputation in SA and overseas.

With Cyril Ramaphosa's election to secretary general, the "internal" leaders' influence within the ANC hierarchy was significantly extended. Communists did well in the elections, though proportionately they are now less preponderant within the ANC's chief leadership than they were before the conference. They are well represented in regional executives. Eleven out of the 26 NEC members are active in the party but with the SACP itself showing less and less inner cohesion and with a proliferation of publicly lapsed communists, it becomes questionable whether the SACP can operate in the factional manner claimed by its detractors.

The ANC's renaissance as a mass political party is a story of mixed achievement. It has been extremely difficult for different generations of leadership to adapt to an unfamiliar political culture and in certain areas old authoritarian habits persist. But the narrative of the last two years does not represent an indictment.

There is plenty of evidence to suggest that democratic procedures within the organisation have been strengthened by events; leaders may continue to make mistakes but they also demonstrate considerable capacity to learn from them.

Much of the critical reportage of the ANC's organisational shortcomings can be found in its own publications and statements. Many of the tensions within the ANC are the consequence of an extraordinary situation in which a movement schooled in an absolutist climate of insurrection is having to adapt to the necessary compromises of real-politik.

That it has to do this in the open makes the process all the more difficult. It remains a vital and lively organisation, its huge and unruly army of supporters continuing to represent a following which holds leaders accountable for their actions. Untidy patches remain, but the ANC looks in better shape than it did two years ago.

# Pointing the way for the **men**

STAR 115192

**D**O women have some organisational force that men don't have? How come that, while the nation's male leaders wrestle at Codesa, ANC women, Nat Women, DP women, communist women, IFP women and all political shades of woman in between are planning one, united assault on the constitution-making process?

Anyone present at the recent workshop (April 25 and 26) of the Women's National Coalition would realise quite simply that, yes, women do have a quality that men don't have: a common sense of grievance and outrage at the discrimination they experience simply because of their gender.

This outrage, translated into determination to defeat gender discrimination, is what cements the Women's Coalition. It is all that cements it. The coalition has no capacity for broader ideological positioning.

Its purpose is to "seize the hour"; to intervene in the constitution-making process to secure a

new dispensation for women as South Africa enters the democratic age.

It proposes a broad campaign to elicit women's demands which will form the basis of a document or "charter" which the coalition will seek to have incorporated in the constitution in a way that would most effectively reinforce Bill of Rights provisions on gender, and direct legislation toward securing women's social equality.

Despite this singleness of purpose, political differences among women of the coalition remain marked. There is certainly no sign that women are about to flout party policy in the interests of sisterly solidarity.

For instance, it was notable that women's structures affiliated to parties which continue to shun Codesa — from the Conservative Party to the Pan Africanist Congress — have remained outside the coalition.

There is also little doubt that differences in political perspec-

tive are going to cause a degree of strain during the year-long process of drawing up the "charter".

Even the use of the term "charter" is in itself not acceptable to all participants in this campaign.

Political tensions were also apparent when national workshop had to decide whether to conduct elections on the basis of one organisation one vote, or one delegate one vote. The former process would ignore the relative size of the organisations.

On the whole, the women from smaller organisations comprising more privileged sectors of society supported one vote per organisation, while the mass-based organisations tended to support a proportional voting system. The whole question raised that old political bogey of the "swamping" of minorities.

Thoko Msane, elected secretary of coalition's new steering committee, is confident that the structure will weather the differences — partly because the initiative is so task-centred and partly be-

cause many member organisations are not explicitly political.

She points out that professional organisations, welfare and service groups and religious bodies are part of the alliance.

"Because of that there is some kind of neutrality."

In addition, the existence of the coalition in no way detracts from the autonomy of member organisations or of regional women's coalitions, she notes. To a large measure, the work of the coalition will be an accumulation of diverse efforts.

Finally, the results of the elections showed two promising unifying factors. One, that there was a high degree of confidence across the board with the women elected to the four leadership positions; all came in either unopposed or with large majorities.

And two, that the delegates were sensitive to maintaining organisational balance in their structures. With 20 nominations for 10 elected positions on the steering committee, an ANC

member took the largest number of votes, followed by an IFP member.

An observer of the Johannesburg workshop — taking in the executive suits, the activist T-shirts, the print dresses with matching turbans; listening to the mix of languages and range of styles of participation — might be provoked to wonder whether feminism has quickly sunk surprisingly tentacled roots in formerly hostile soil.

Ms Msane ventures that it would not be appropriate to characterise the coalition as feminist, although she acknowledges that it represents a great advance on the days when many women's organisations viewed themselves simply as ancillaries to male-dominated organisations, particularly in the liberation camp.

"I think I've seen a dramatic change which came about when women realised that their rights can in no way be seen as a separate entity from basic human rights. We are trying to make

gender issues part of social debate, educating the entire community."

Really, she says, "we are reclaiming what has been taken away from us."

Although special claims were made for the plight of rural women — who sustain the most arduous of unpaid labour, raise their families single-handed and are often denied legal rights to the land or a say in the tribal councils — there was not a hint of depreciation of the problems of highly privileged women, whose "only" hardship might be denial of the professional and political influence accorded similarly equipped men.

Delegates pursued with sincerity their intention of being "inclusive" in examining the discrimination endured by women. The mood of acceptance proved quite infectious. By the end of the two days, some women initially suspicious of the exuberant, activist style were moving into a modified toytoti and singing in praise of womanhood. □

11/10

# Southwomen 11

## World women gather to put gender on the agenda

By Quentin Wilson

**F**IFTY WOMEN from Egypt, Nicaragua, Bangladesh and elsewhere will meet at Langebaan this week for an international seminar on Gender and Popular Education.

The four-day conference, co-hosted by the Women's Program of the International Council for Adult Education (ICAE) and the UWC's Centre for Adult and Continuing Education (CACE), aims to build solidarity among a network of feminist educators.

The 30 South African participants will hear of the different experiences of women's struggles worldwide and relate these to their own lives.

"We will be able to learn an enormous amount from them. As South Africa moves towards more democratic decision-making structures, it is vital that we challenge gender discrimination. Women need to be able to participate in making the decisions that will affect them and their communities in the years to come," said Ms Liz Mackenzie, one of the CACE organisers.

"The approach will be participatory and looks critically at power relations between people in any context.

"The concept originated in Latin America and is used particularly by women's movements who want to challenge structural imbalances in power relations between women and men," she said.

The 15 international delegates will come from ICAE groups in

Africa, Asia, Latin America, the Caribbean, Europe, North America and the Middle East.

The participants will represent health, religious, women's, political and non-governmental organisations as well as educational institutions.

CACE convenor Ms Pethu Serote said they regarded the visit as an exchange programme.

"There will be an exchange of ideas and experiences. We will learn a lot from them but they will also learn a lot about South Africa from us. It will be a two-way thing.

"Since the ending of South Africa's isolation there is great interest in what is happening in this country. ICAE therefore decided to hold its meeting in Africa," she said.

The agenda includes defining gender and popular education as well as developing macro-strategies

that will change the subordinate position of women.

Mackenzie said: "Women are still not represented in society's key decision-making structures. We have been prevented from structuring society as there are a lot of assumptions about a women's place in it.

"Our oppressed position is considered so familiar and natural that it often goes unquestioned. One has to look quite critically at it and make people aware that something must be done."

Participants will visit various organisations in the Western, Southern and Eastern Cape.

The list of visitors includes Ms Malena de Montis, who was part of the Sandinista government in Nicaragua; Ms Carol Anonueva, who is the director of the Centre for

~~11A~~ 11A

*'Our oppressed position is considered so familiar and natural that it often goes unquestioned'*

Women's Resources in the Philippines, and Ms Lalla Ben Barka from Mali.

• After the workshop, a panel of the international delegates will speak at a public meeting on Friday, May 8, at 3:30pm at the CACE hall at the University of the Western Cape.



Politics is worldwide still largely a man's domain, according to a global survey conducted by the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) and recently released in Geneva.

**P**OLITICS has remained a 'no-woman's land' almost everywhere, despite the progress made since World War II says the IPU, a Geneva-based organisation which co-ordinates contacts between national parliaments.

The IPU based its survey on information submitted by 96 national parliaments, and dealt with issues like the right of women to vote and be elected; as well as the positions they held in governments, parliaments and political parties.

"While women now have the right to vote and to be elected in all but two countries — Bahrain and Kuwait — not a single woman has ever been elected to the parliaments of the Comoros, Djibouti, Kiribati, Lebanon, Morocco, Solomon Islands, Tonga or the United Arab Emirates," the IPU said.

The report noted that in a number of other countries, many years had elapsed between the time women could become candidates and the day one or more were actually elected. As examples, it said the time difference was 42 years in Australia, 36 in Singapore, 18 in Senegal and 14 in Bolivia.

A previous IPU survey, published in June last year, showed that, at the time, only 11 per cent of the world's parliamentarians were women.

"Parity has not been achieved anywhere and a mere six national parliaments had women making up more than 30 per cent." The June report identified Finland, Sweden, Guyana,

Norway, Cuba and Denmark as those countries where women accounted for nearly a third of the parliamentary count. Altogether 38 per cent of Finland's legislators are women — the highest in any country.

The latest study shows that legislation in four countries — Angola, Argentina, Nepal and the Philippines — sets out to ensure the presence of women in parliament.

Numerous political parties around the world have also introduced similar "quota systems", although it is noteworthy that Finland has not introduced such a system, the IPU said.

A system of reserved seats for women exists in Bangladesh, Nepal, Pakistan and Tanzania. Egypt used to employ this practice, but has since abandoned it.

Some of the other results of the survey show that as on October 31 last year, women were presidents or speakers of either parliament or one of the parliamentary chambers in just 10 countries — Austria, Belize, Germany, Grenada, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, Norway, Sweden and Switzerland.

Additionally, parliamentary commissions dealing specifically with women's affairs exist in just 20 countries.

Only three women are heads of government — in Bangladesh, Dominica and Norway — while there are nine countries with women as the head of state: Iceland, Ireland, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Philippines and United Kingdom.

Queen Elizabeth II is additionally the official head of

state in 16 commonwealth countries.

Last year 80 countries with functioning parliaments had at least one woman cabinet minister, but there were only five women justice ministers, three foreign ministers and two finance ministers. "No woman anywhere was in charge of a ministry of defence," the IPU noted.

Most female ministers (18) were in charge of social affairs; there were 15 heading women's affairs; seven in charge of the education ministries and six female labour ministers.

"The survey also shows that, whereas political parties in many countries include large numbers of women as members, comparatively few have risen to leadership positions," the organization said.



**A WORLD LEADER:** Queen Elizabeth II, who heads 16 commonwealth countries

# Men still wear the pants in politics — survey

5th 2/5 - 7/5/92



# Beware of the 'fox in coloured chicken coop'

A political fraud reminiscent of the 1920s could disappoint coloureds banking on the NP for a better deal, argues

**Roy H du Pré:**  
*Southern*  
2/5-7/5/92

**C**OLOURED PEOPLE are once again looming large as one of the most important groups in South African politics.

They are being courted by the National Party and the ANC who both realise that coloureds may hold the balance of power in democratic elections for a new government.

President FW de Klerk and the NP are vigorously pursuing the coloured vote to bolster the planned "Christian Democratic" alliance which will attempt to thwart a black grouping at the polls.

This is not the first time the NP has done this. Just before the 1924 election, the NP promised coloureds a "New Deal" if they supported the party. The "New Deal" did not, however, materialise.

The NP was also instrumental in the formation of a coloured party, the Afrikaner Nasionale Bond, and gave backing to the Cape Malay Association.

The task of these organisations was to woo the coloureds from the South African Party (SAP) to the NP.

Hertzog's famous pro-coloured speech in Smithfield in 1925 declared that coloured people were part of the European and should not be driven away. The Hertzog Bills of 1926 to 1930 included a coloured bill to give coloureds in the provinces outside the Cape greater political rights.

Thus, between 1924 and 1929 the NP made an all-out effort to attract the coloured vote. However, this was not done because of a conscience or a realization that coloureds were citizens of this country and deserved equal rights



**VOTING FODDER? In the past the NP has tried to win over coloured votes "to deal" with the Africans. They may be trying to do so again**

and treatment. The NP's vigorous campaign was designed to bolster the NP. Hertzog wanted a large enough majority in 1929 so as to "deal decisively" with the Africans.

As a result the 1929 election came to be known as the "swartgevaar" election as the NP tried to scare coloureds into the NP fold.

When the coloured voters decisively rejected the NP overtures and voted overwhelmingly for Smuts' SAP, the NP turned nasty. Hertzog's coloured bill was hastily dropped and the white electorate was quickly bolstered by the enfranchisement of white women.

In addition, a law was passed making it possible to challenge the qualifications of coloureds to vote. In addition, the Head Committee of the NP in 1932 recommended

the removal of coloured people from the common voters' roll in the Cape. After Malan broke with Hertzog in 1934, when the latter formed an alliance with Smuts, Malan campaigned relentlessly for the removal of the coloured voter in the Cape.

In 1838, Hertzog explicitly acknowledged, that the reason the NP had tried to win over coloureds in the twenties was so that the NP could "deal decisively" with the "native problem".

Thus, when Africans were removed from the Cape common voters' roll in 1936, the NP no longer needed the coloured voter.

We are all aware what happened next. The Cape coloureds were immorally removed from the roll

**All** 1956, placed on a separate voters' roll, provided with three fake "coloured" parliaments in succession, thrown out of their homes under the Group Areas Act; hounded off the beaches, benches and buses in the name of the Separate Amenities Act; cruelly cut off from their cultural brothers and sisters under the race classification laws, and legislated into oblivion simply because they were different.

Of course, one must not dismiss the revenge factor — the NP took revenge on the coloured people for the latter's rejection of the NP between 1924 and 1929 and the continued coloured support of the "hated" English for much of this century.

Despite this treatment, coloured

people today seem to be beguiled by the smiling, friendly and "God-fearing" De Klerk. However, they must not be lulled into a false sense of security. De Klerk is the acceptable face of Afrikanedom.

The small group of cultured and educated "bourgeoisie" Afrikaners makes one feel that the Afrikaner can and has changed. Yet, lurking in the shadows is a vast mass of Afrikaners — twisted with bitterness, hatred and revenge. They only reluctantly gave up apartheid because it was affecting their wealth, privilege and power.

History tells us that the Afrikaner cannot change, has not changed and will not change.

Dr DF Malan, the prime minister who inaugurated the apartheid system, once said: "The history of the Afrikaner reveals a determination and a definiteness of purpose which makes one feel that Afrikanerdom is not the work of man but a creation of God. We have a divine right to be Afrikaners. Our history is the highest work of art of the Architect of the centuries."

**T**HUS, ANYONE who thinks that the NP have had a sudden change of heart, realised the errors of their ways and "turned to loving", are in for a big shock.

The single-minded NP is a deviant, untrustworthy, immoral party which will use coloured people for their own nefarious ends and then toss them aside when no longer needed.

The NP want to form a white-led bloc to frustrate the majority and deprive it of access to the reins of power.

Coloured people must open their eyes to the danger of the NP fox which has infiltrated the coloured chicken coop.

History has given them ample warning. An inscription at the Dachau concentration camp outside Munich reads: "Those who forget the past are condemned to repeat it."

One hopes that coloured people will not forget the abject humiliation, brutality and degradation which they were subjected to under NP rule because, given half a chance, the NP will do it again.

*(Roy H du Pré, Political Studies and History lecturer at the University of Transvaal.)*

# Fake furore over ANC MPs

Southern 215-715192

(11A)

By Quentin Wilson

OUTRAGE expressed at the defection of the five rebel DP MPs to the ANC last week was in stark contrast to the response when MP's in previous years walked the floor.

The most recent mass defection was last year when more than 20 Labour Party MPs joined the Nationalist Party.

The reaction to the five's defection, and strong calls that Messrs Jan van Eck, Jannie Momberg, Rob Haswell, Dave Dalling and Pierre Cronje resign from parliament, come amid signs the ANC may ask them to remain in Parliament — at least for the time being.

DP leader Dr Zach de Beer kept a straight face when he and his national executive committee called on the five last week to resign from parliament.

De Beer and his committee argued it was "morally wrong" for

the new ANC members to retain their seats considering they were elected in a DP capacity.

While the crusade for "political integrity" soldiers on, the ANC has asked the miffed liberals to remember the roots of their political representation.

"In fact, the very founding of the Progressive Party in 1959 was based on members of parliament leaving their old parties and forming a new political party. And that includes Dr De Beer and Mr Colin Eglin," ANC spokesman Mr Willie Hofmeyr said.

The Progressive Party later became the Progressive Federal Party in 1977 which in turn became the Democratic Party in 1989.

Hofmeyr also pointed out that "there have been numerous cases of people going to the DP who did not resign their seats."

The tradition in SA party politics has shown that MPs have not

stepped down when changing their political allegiance. Over the past two years 32 MPs have left the Labour Party in the House of Representatives while retaining their seats. Of this batch, 28 have aligned themselves with the NP.

De Beer said the DP defections were "a more complex question". He argued the DP had not changed its policies since the five were elected, which made it wrong for "Van Eck and Co" to hold onto their seats in another capacity.

"If a party changes its policies, like the United Party did at its congress in 1959, then it is acceptable for MPs to leave and continue serving in parliament. We have not changed our policies at all," De Beer said.

The ANC has interpreted the "DP five outcry" in the mainstream media as "part of a big NP media onslaught on the ANC since the referendum.

"We find it ironic that it was the defections from the LP that gave the NP a majority in the House of Representatives — they didn't call for a by-election then," Hofmeyr said.

The ANC is having regional discussions to decide whether it wants its new MPs to continue working in a whites-only parliament. So far, the dominant argument is that they should stay to "monitor and expose the manoeuvres of the apartheid regime in its attempts to perpetrate white minority rule."

Already, the ANC's Natal Midlands region has asked Mr Rob Haswell and Mr Pierre Cronje to continue in parliament on this basis.

Hofmeyr said in a new constitution, the ANC would be pushing some form of "proportional representation where parties would be represented and not individuals. The problem, therefore, would not occur," he said.

A M... ..



# ANC hunkers power

**I**N a month's time, about 770 African National Congress delegates will gather in Johannesburg to hammer out what will effectively be the organisation's election manifesto.

The "national policy conference" is the culmination of a new process in the ANC's history, which began in 1990 at the ANC's consultative conference and led to the fully-fledged national conference in Durban last year.

The gathering from May 28 to 31 will tie the ANC to a comprehensive policy platform, and mark the effective transformation of the organisation from an underground liberation movement into an above-ground, party-political contender for power.

At a briefing in Johannesburg this week addressed by secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, Information head Dr Pallo Jordan and senior economists Mr Tito Mboweni and Mr Khetso Gordon, the ANC released a 46-page draft document entitled "ANC policy guidelines for a democratic South Africa".

The purpose of releasing the document — and this indicates the extent to which the ANC is adapting to the prospect of open electoral politics — was "to inform the country of the processes at work among the ANC's membership".

Mr Mboweni was at pains to point out that the document served as "a draft set of guidelines among members as they prepare for the conference... (the document) still needs a lot of work in terms of form and content. We have taken into consideration the comments resulting from earlier policy documents, and further comments will be included in a second draft (to be produced before the conference)".

Quite distinct from its participation in Codesa, the ANC is involved in a crucial political process: finalising the policy package it hopes will attract votes from a majority of South Africans in this country's first democratic elections. Political Editor **SHAUN JOHNSON** takes a look at the context in which the organisation's draft policy document was released this week.



Hundreds of workshops had been held in all of the ANC's 14 regions, and regional conferences were now getting under way, he said.

Inevitably, because of the controversy surrounding the issue, the short section on the economy — specifically regarding nationalisation and property rights — attracted most interest. However, Mr Mboweni appealed to observers to consider the document in its totality, as an "integrated, interlinked" vision for the new South Africa, ANC-style.

What is quite clear from such a holistic reading of the paper is that the ANC's strategists are putting considerable effort into a difficult project: How to respond to new political realities without being seen to jettison long-held beliefs.

Most notably in the economic section, perhaps — but evident throughout — is an attempt to modernise policy without negating it. This produces a certain degree of ambivalence (the obvious result of attempting to satisfy a multi-class constituency containing a multitude of interest groups), but also more clarity than ever before on the direction in which the organisation hopes to head.

That direction can be summed up best as an effort to accumulate diffuse support

through compromise, rather than solidify limited elements of the "faithful" via dogmatism.

Democratic electioneering in South Africa is truly under way.

The ANC document is divided into five sections, each containing subsections.

"Foundations of ANC Policy" deals with a new constitution, economic policy, and the land issue.

"Delivering the Goods" covers local government and housing and basic services.

"Improving the Quality of Life" looks at health and social welfare.

"Preparing for the Future" offers proposals on education, human resource development, science and technology, the environment, and arts and culture.

"Peace and Security" focusses on the police and army, and international relations.

Some of these areas are still at the pre-drafting stage, but are expected to be completed well before the conference.

All, however, are predicated on three basic, agreed ANC objectives: To overcome the legacy of inequality and injustice created by apartheid, to develop an economy and state infrastructure that will improve the lives of all South Africans and to

promote a common South Africanism among all who live in this country.

This broad overview does not allow for a detailed assessment of each section, but the overall tone is consistent: There are reassurances for both the ANC's traditional constituents — who expect to gain directly from whatever share of eventual power the organisation secures — as well as interest groups outside the ANC fold, who are afraid of losing out as a result of the ANC's assumption of its place in the government of South Africa.

Under questioning, Mr Mboweni conceded that the economy, in particular, was a "hot issue" among the ANC rank-and-file. "Rest assured that the debates have been very, very heated," he said.

"Some people say why allow our national resources to be privatised? Others say nationalisation will destroy the economy. Consensus will have to be achieved at the conference."

Pressed on whether the section on the economy — and indeed the document as a whole — represented a more flexible approach from the ANC in the face of widespread international hostility towards issues such as nationalisation and socialist economics, Mr Mboweni said the document had "been worked on to make it more presentable".

He said the theme running throughout the document was that "we must make South Africa a more prosperous place".

However, he and other ANC leaders felt the need to sound a repeated warning: That the delegates themselves would have the final word next month.

By that, they meant that the felicitous phrases and temperate terminology might just come to naught, if a different mood prevailed on the conference floor.

An unstated element of the conference, therefore, is that the leadership's ability to carry its constituency will be put to the test.

DOWN FOR

# ANC rejects demands to rap Gwala

STAR 215792

11A 7005  
JOHN PERLMAN

THE Natal Midlands region of the ANC has rejected "with utter contempt" calls that the organisation should discipline veteran leader Harry Gwala for saying in public: "We kill Inkatha warlords."

After last week's announcement that the National Peace Committee (NPC) would crack down on political leaders who talked war, there have been complaints about Gwala's statement — made in an interview with The Independent and carried in Saturday Star — from a number of quarters, including Kim Hodgson of the Inkatha Institute and George Bartlett, Natal leader of the National Party.

In a statement issued yesterday, the vice-chairman of the ANC's Midlands region, Reggie Hadebe, said Gwala's statement — "make no mistake, we kill Inkatha warlords" — had been quoted out of context.

## Grappling

Hadebe said the NP and Inkatha were "the last organisations to pontificate over this remark, given their continued collaboration in waging war against our people".

He accused Bartlett of trying to evade the real issues with which his party should be grappling, such as police involvement in the Trust Feed massacre and in the funding and training of "Inkatha hit-squads".

Hadebe said M C Pretorius, co-chairman of the Natal Regional Dispute Resolution Committee — who had also demanded that Gwala be disciplined — had brought his own partiality into question. Pretorius had failed to condemn Gatsha Buthelezi's daily ranting and raving against the ANC in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly.

"The ANC in Natal Midlands stands by every word that Comrade Gwala

● TO PAGE 2

## War talk

STAR 215792

● FROM PAGE 1.

uttered, and will defend our people as vigorously as we can against the State-sponsored war on them.

"If Inkatha warlords come to attack us, we will not offer them Bibles."

The Gwala controversy is the stiffest test yet of the NPC's resolve to crack down on war talk by political leaders.

Says chairman John Hall: "The executive takes the view that Harry Gwala's statement — if correctly reported — was a blatant contravention of the Peace Accord."

"The ANC must explain why a member of its national executive made such a statement in the press, then we can move to the next step. If he spoke the truth, it is almost an admission of guilt. In that case, the law must take its course."

The NPC was put to another test last week-end by George Mathusa, a western Transvaal leader of the ANC, who was reported to have said South Africa had been rendered ungovernable "by our necklaces and bombs and we can easily repeat it here".

The ANC responded swiftly by distancing itself from Mathusa and said he would be called to account.

"If Mathusa is disciplined by the ANC, that will be sufficient," said

Hall. "He has not committed any crime and if the ANC raps him firmly over the knuckles it will be a step in the right direction."

This may seem like a far cry from public expectation that every hawk will be summonsed immediately, but Hall insists that progress has been made — although more than 1 400 have been killed since the signing of the Peace Accord in September.

"The Peace Committee, the Peace Secretariat and the Goldstone Commission are three millstones grinding away at problems," Hall said. "I may be totally naive, but I believe we have had successes in quashing rumours and exposing violence for what it is."

"If 18 months down the road we have made no progress, then the Peace Accord won't be worth the paper it's written on."

"But we are a long way from that."

A meeting of the NPC in Johannesburg on Thursday gave its "full support" to outside groups monitoring the violence, including the proposed involvement of the Organisation for African Unity.

The NPC also recommended that legislation be passed to ensure adequate funding for the Peace Secretariat, which sets up dispute committees.

"The functioning of these structures is seriously inhibited by lack of money," the NPC said.

# SADF will march in step with MK

THE ANC and the government this week reached agreement on a formal code of conduct to control the country's military — now and in the future.

The government has also accepted that a new army could be made up of all existing military and paramilitary units, including the ANC's military wing.

However, the government set stringent conditions that would have to be met before integration was effected.

On Wednesday a working group established under the National Peace Accord agreed on a military code of conduct to which all SADF soldiers would commit themselves.

The code commits the SADF and its members to the execution of their duties in a manner which will not advance or obstruct party political objectives.

## Unlawful

Every member of the SADF will also accept full responsibility for orders and their execution. Soldiers will also be able to refuse an unlawful command from a senior officer.

The code also stipulates that:

- The SADF must pursue its missions in a way that respects fundamental human rights, the freedom of the citizenry and the rule of law;

- Soldiers must recognise fundamental human rights and accept personal responsibility for the legality of actions by men under

By EDYTH BULBRING: Political Reporter

their command;

- Members of the SADF must participate in a democratic society both as citizens and as soldiers with self-knowledge, courage and knowledge of the values with which they are entrusted;

- The SADF and its members undertake to act or conduct military manoeuvres in a non-partisan manner and not for the purpose of unlawfully threatening or intimidating any community or part of the community;

- All actions in time of war shall be guided by relevant national and in-

ternational law, including the Geneva Convention, and by the determination to observe them. All ranks of military personnel in the SADF must abide by these rules in their assigned tasks and responsibilities.

The code makes provision for an ombudsman to deal with complaints by soldiers as well as the public.

While agreement has been reached on a code to govern the behaviour of the existing SADF, talks continued this week between the government and the ANC on a future army.

The government is still

insisting that it will participate in joint planning for the future army only when the ANC complies with the DF Malan and Pretoria minutes.

Military intelligence and command structures would be discussed only when all bilateral agreements were honoured, agreement was reached on all principles and violence was under effective control, the government said.

And the incorporation of MK into the SADF could be implemented only once agreement had been reached on transitional government and the ANC had renounced violence.

In stating guidelines for

implementation, the government said that all existing paramilitary and military forces should be afforded equal opportunity to become part of the SADF if they denounced the use of force and violence to promote their partisan objectives.

The ANC suggested that all army and police forces be placed under a security forces committee on which all parties would be represented.

## Proposals

All the armed forces would be placed under the command of the interim government.

No agreement has yet been reached on these proposals, but a set of general principles for a new army has been proposed by the government and in part approved by the ANC.

Among the principles: the army must be non-discriminatory, it must be made up of full-time and part-time members. The ANC wants a full-time army with no conscription and the appointment and promotion of members only on the basis of merit.

# Swaziland to expel MK recruits

By DE WET POTGIETER  
THE 33 ANC recruits arrested in Swaziland on their way to Tanzania for military training will be extradited to South Africa.

A senior SA Police officer said yesterday the men had been recruited by a

<sup>stimes</sup> woman in Durban and came from Kwa Mashu.

All the men are in detention at Big Bend. 3/592

They were arrested on Friday after they crossed the border into Swaziland and applied for political asylum. They asked the UN

Human Rights Commission for financial support to get to Tanzania. Their requests were turned down.

A spokesman for Minister of Law and Order Her-nus Kriel said he was "deeply concerned" about

the arrests. (S) (11A)

He is expected to raise the question of continued MK recruitment at Codesa tomorrow. (S)

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said: "It is no secret that the ANC is training people abroad."

(11A)

## **Winnie's successor to be named**

THE ANC PWV Woman's League today decides Winnie Mandela's successor at its AGM. (11A)

But a highly placed source indicated that women were disappointed about Winnie's resignation as the head of welfare. *Cipren 3/5/92*

"Women in the region demanded that the region should issue a press statement distancing itself from her resignation in the powerful position and that they want her there," asserted the source.



# XPP men depart

C/P/NO 3/5/92

ANOTHER political party has lost leaders to the ANC.

The entire executive of the large Reef branch of the Ximoko Progressive Party is made up of ANC men.

This week three of the executive members declined to take up their elected positions on the XPP because of clashing ANC membership.

They are former XPP Reef chairman Godfrey Makhubele, vice chairman Albert Khoza and branch secretary Alson Khosa.

They said they were no longer XPP members.

School principals Khosa and Makhubele were apparently elected by virtue of their positions at work.

# Azapo, PAC 'no' again to Codesa

By NORMAN WEST  
Political Reporter

BOTH the PAC and Azapo rejected a new formal invitation issued this week to join Codesa at its second plenary session on May 15 and 16.

Azapo Western Cape chairman, Dr Khotse Mokhele, confirmed that his organisation had no plans to accept the invitation.

Dr Mokhele, a lecturer in microbiology at the University of Cape Town, said that as far as Azapo was concerned, Codesa remained "a forum and structure loaded with unelectables, tricameral politicians and Bantustan sellouts".

PAC Publicity and Information Secretary Mr Barney Desai confirmed that the PAC would not join Codesa — although it was closely monitoring it "from the perspective of majority rule and self-determination".

Instead the PAC, the ANC and Azapo were hoping to organise a Patriotic United Front 2 before Codesa 2, he said. Codesa 2 will be followed by the ANC's National Conference on May 28, 29, 30 and 31.

The government is known to be anxious to have PAC and Azapo represented at Codesa and this decision is a serious blow to their plans.

*STimes (Cape metro)*  
**Pretend**

There were renewed hopes that the PAC might join the negotiations after Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha's recent talks with the organisation in Nigeria at the initiative of the Nigerian President — and current chairman of the OAU — Mr Ibrahim Babangida.

Mr Desai said the PAC felt there was a "big possibility" that Codesa would "break down" because, among other reasons, the feeling was that the government "would not let go its hands on the tiller of power although it would make pretensions of sharing power".

An example of these "pretensions" was Mr De Klerk's proposal last week for an elected multiracial rotational executive council to replace the present presidency. 315192

Mr Desai said the PAC would continue to propose an alternative forum to Codesa to negotiate a political settlement for South Africa, and this was the reason his organisation had held preparatory discussions with Foreign Minister Pik Botha in Nigeria.

Those talks were held with a view to "a summit" between Mr De Klerk and PAC leadership, he said.

# ANC's Gwala sticks to hard line on Inkatha

By FRED KHUMALO

WHILE other ANC leaders called for peace, Natal hardliner Harry Gwala branded Inkatha "part of the apartheid regime" at a Lamontville commemoration day for three late ANC leaders.

The Lamontville Heroes' Day was held last Tuesday in memory of murdered civil rights leader Msizi Harrison Dube, ANC stalwart and guerrilla Joseph Masobiya Mdluli and former ANC international affairs department head Johnny Makhathini - all of whom put the township on the political map and saved it from incorporation into KwaZulu.

While most leaders who spoke at the large gathering - including Transkei's Major-General Bantu Holomisa, southern Natal ANC chairman Jeff Radebe and Reverend Mcebisi Xundu - appealed for sanity and peace between the warring ANC and Inkatha supporters, Gwala was strident in his belief that those who thought the two organisations could talk peace were misguided.

"We are not fighting a racial war. We are fighting apartheid, and Inkatha is part of the apartheid regime," he said to tumultuous cheering.

He said Inkatha, together with apartheid, should be eliminated. He hastily added, however, that he was not referring to the rank-and-file membership of Inkatha, but to the "warlords who are feeding the flames of violence as a last attempt to delay the day of the liberation of our people".

He strongly reiterated a message which he gave to John Carlin, a journalist for *The Independent*, in which he had said: "We kill Inkatha warlords."

"I'm saying it again: we will indeed kill our way to liberation if need be. We will demolish the walls of apartheid, be they black or white," he said.

In his speech General Holomisa said Inkatha should be told that the ANC was not their enemy - and the same applied to ANC followers.

"Once the NP government begins to unleash its vast propaganda machine and apportion blame to these two for the lack of peace and security in black areas, it might find it easy to sway the gullible to its camp and effectively appeal to the small political parties to throw in their lot with them," he said.

# Codesa slammed, applauded at rallies



**WORKER'S LOT ... A worker is arrested by a policeman at a May Day rally at Dobsonville on Friday.**  
Pic: TLADI KHUELE

## Politicos unite briefly

*CIPREN 315192*  
SUPPORTERS of the ANC, PAC and Azapo united briefly on Friday to celebrate May Day at rallies across the country.

The rallies were organised jointly by Cosatu and Nactu.

■ In Durban Cosatu assistant general secretary Sam Shilowa told more than 10 000 people that a strike "never seen before in South Africa" threatened if Codesa II failed to deliver an interim government and constituent assembly by June.

Azapo vice-president Dr Aubrey Mokoape told the crowd that the ANC and SACP should pull out of Codesa in the face of escalating violence unleashed by the government on blacks.

■ In PE, PAC national deputy president Dikgang Moseneke told a cheering 10 000-strong crowd at Zwide's Dan Qeqe Stadium that if there were to be genuine negotiations, Cosatu and Nactu should be part of that process.

It was essential that strong liberation movements united to double their strengths in the fight for genuine liberation.

ANC NEC member Winnie Mandela called on liberation leaders to refuse to fraternise with leaders who carried out violence.

*(11A)*  
■ In Warmbaths, Azapo education secretary Dr Gomoemo Mokae called on Cosatu and Nactu to fight for socialism.

■ Speaking at the George Goch Stadium in Johannesburg, president of the IFP-aligned United Workers Union of South Africa, Jabulani Dlamini, called on union supporters to defy tomorrow's boycott of Reef trains.

■ Addressing a crowd of 10 000 in Alexandra, near Johannesburg, Alex Civic Organisation head Moses Mayekiso called for the isolation of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, whom he blamed for the violence.

■ In Soweto ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu told cheering crowds at the Jabulani Amphitheatre that it was the ANC's "obligation and duty" to celebrate May Day.

However, Azapo national publicity secretary George Ngwenya was shouted down when he said he believed that Codesa was not a vehicle for total liberation. He had to abandon his speech.

■ In Welkom a crowd of 2 000 braved the biting cold to celebrate May Day.

Reports by CP Reporters, CP Correspondents and Sapa

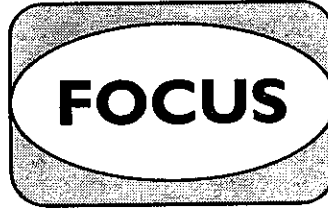
Political comment and newsbills by K Sibiyi, headlines and sub-editing by N Muller, both of 2 Herb St.

# ANC hones its policy for historic elections

Sowetan 4/5/92

11A

Quite distinct from its participation in Codesa, the ANC is involved in a crucial political process: finalising the policy package it hopes will attract votes from a majority of South Africans in this country's first democratic elections. Sowetan Correspondent SHAUN JOHNSON takes a look at the context in which the organisation's draft policy document was released this week.



**IN a month's time, some 770 ANC delegates will gather in Johannesburg to hammer out what will effectively be the organisation's election manifesto.**

The "national policy conference" is the culmination of a new process in the ANC's history, which began in 1990 at the ANC's consultative conference, and led to the fully-fledged national conference in Durban last year.

The gathering from May 28 to 31 will tie the ANC to a comprehensive policy platform, and mark the effective transformation of the organisation from an underground liberation movement into an above-ground party-political contender for power.

At a briefing in Johannesburg this week addressed by secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, information head Dr Pallo Jordan and senior economists Mr Tito Mboweni and Mr Khetso Gordon, the ANC released a 46-page draft document entitled "ANC policy guidelines for a democratic South Africa".

The purpose of releasing the document - and this indicates the extent to which the ANC is adapting to the prospect of open electoral politics - was "to inform the country of the processes at work among the ANC's membership".

Mboweni was at pains to point out that the document served as "a

draft set of guidelines among members as they prepare for the conference ... (the document) still needs a lot of work in terms of form and content. We have taken into consideration the comments resulting from earlier policy documents, and further comments will be included in a second draft (to be produced before the conference)".

Hundreds of workshops had already been held in all of the ANC's 14 regions and regional conferences were now getting under way, he said.

Inevitably, because of the controversy surrounding the issue, the short section on the economy - specifically regarding nationalisation and property rights - attracted most interest. But Mboweni appealed to observers to consider the document in its totality, as an "integrated, interlinked" vision for the new South Africa, ANC style.

What is quite clear from such a holistic reading of the paper is that the ANC's strategists are putting considerable effort into a difficult project: how to respond to new political realities without being seen to jettison long-held beliefs. Most notably in the economic section, perhaps - but evident throughout - is an attempt to modernise policy without negating it.

This produces a certain degree of ambivalence (the obvious result of attempting to satisfy a multiclass constituency containing a multi-

tude of interest groups), but also more clarity than ever before on the direction in which the organisation hopes to lead.

That direction can best be summed up as an effort to accumulate diffuse support through compromise, rather than solidify limited elements of the "faithful" via dogmatism.

Democratic electioneering in South Africa is truly under way.

The ANC document is divided into five sections, each containing sub-sections. "Foundations of ANC policy" deals with a new constitution, economic policy, and the land issue. "Delivering the goods" covers local government and housing and basic services.

"Improving the quality of life" looks at health and social welfare.

"Preparing for the future" offers proposals on education, human resource development, science and technology, the environment, arts and culture. "Peace and security" focuses on the police and army, and international relations.

Some of these areas are still at the pre-drafting stage, but are expected to be completed well before the conference.

All, however, are predicated on three basic, agreed ANC objectives: to overcome the legacy of inequality and injustice created by apartheid, to develop an economy and State infrastructure that will improve the lives of all South Africans, and to promote a common South Africanism among all who live in this country.

This broad overview does not allow for a detailed assessment of each section, but the overall tone is consistent: there are reassurances for both the ANC's traditional constituents - who expect to gain directly from whatever share of eventual power the organisation secures - as well as interest groups outside the ANC fold, who are afraid of losing out as a result of the ANC's assumption of its place in the Government of South Africa.

Under questioning, Mboweni conceded that the economy in particular was a "hot issue" among the ANC rank and file.

"Rest assured that the debates have been very very heated," he said. "Some people say why allow our national resources to be privatised? Others say nationalisation will destroy the economy. Consensus will have to be achieved at the conference."

Pressed on whether the section on the economy - and indeed the document as a whole - represented a more flexible approach from the ANC in the face of widespread international hostility towards issues such as nationalisation and socialist economics, Mboweni said the document had "been worked on to make it more presentable".

He said the theme running "throughout the document is that we must make South Africa a more prosperous place".

But he and the other ANC leaders felt the need to sound a repeated warning: that the delegates themselves would have the final word next month. By that they meant that the felicitous phrases and temperate terminology might just come to naught if a different mood prevailed on the conference floor.

An unstated element of the conference, therefore, is that the leadership's ability to carry its constituency will be put to the test.

# ITN gets tough on corporation

By MATHATHA TSEDU

THE British Independent Television News has stopped supplying the SABC with material in the wake of a strike by members of the Media Workers Association of South Africa.

The secretary general of Mwasa, Mr S'thembele Khala, said the union had also approached CNN to ask them to stop "undermining" the strike.

He said the union was told contractual arrangements precluded the international corporation from stopping its services to the SABC.

Political and labour organisations pledged their support as the strike entered its fourth day yesterday.

The organisations, including the ANC, Azapo, PAC, IFP, Pasa, Cosatu and Nactu, announced they would march on the corporation's Auckland Park on Tuesday.

Radio Metro, which had been used to feed paralysed black stations with material, stopped its supply yesterday.

Khala said the SABC was using old cassettes on both radio and TV to give people the impression that those appearing in those recorded programmes were actually at work.

Attempts to reach SABC management yesterday were fruitless as persistent telephone calls were answered by an answering machine.

Nactu has threatened to call for a boycott of TV licences if the SABC does not meet the demands of the strikers.

C

# Winnie re-elected to women's league post

11A

ARG 4/5/92

## The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Winnie Mandela has been re-elected as chairwoman of the ANC's PWV Women's League, region publicity secretary Mr Ronnie Mamoepa said.

It is believed that Mrs Mandela, recently estranged from ANC president Nelson Mandela, was unanimously proposed yesterday by delegates from most — if not all — branches of the league in the PWV.

She was elected in a secret ballot at a meeting of delegates from the various branches.

Mr Mamoepa said her election was a "purely democratic decision by the women". On the secret ballot, he said that it was a perfectly democratic way of electing any ANC leadership.

Other members of the region's executive elected yesterday are Gwendoline Mahlangu as deputy chairwoman, Lindiwe Maseko as general secretary with Maria Mojapelo as assistant general secretary, and Marjorie Nkomo as treasurer.

Mrs Mandela was not available for comment but other executive committee members said her re-election was unopposed because of the unselfish efforts she had made on behalf of women who needed her for direction.

Another spokesman was reported as saying that Mrs Mandela was re-elected because she was indispensable.

Two other nominees for the post of chairwomen, Ms Amina Cachalia and Ms Mavivi Manzini, chose not to stand for the position.

# Winnie gets her PWV seat back <sup>11A</sup>

MRS Winnie Mandela was re-elected unopposed as chairman of the ANC Women's League's PWV region at an annual general meeting held in Johannesburg yesterday. *Sowetan 4/5/92*

Sapa reports that members of the executive were chosen by means of a secret ballot in a closed meeting.

The new members include Mrs Gwen Mahlangu (deputy chairman), Mrs Lindi Maseko (general secretary), Ms Maria Mojapelo (assistant general secretary), and Mrs Marjorie Nkomo (treasurer).

Mrs Mandela was not available for comment on her re-election.

But other executive committee members said her re-election was unopposed because of her "unselfish efforts" on behalf of women who needed her for direction.



# London for under R500 Virgin's aim

STAR 415792

By Garner Thomson  
Star Bureau

LONDON — Flamboyant Virgin Atlantic chief Richard Branson is planning to fire the first shot in South Africa's forthcoming "open-skies" air ticket war with promotional fares from Johannesburg to London of less than R500.

And the move — just one with which Virgin hopes to net people who don't normally fly — is bound to renew the clash between Virgin Atlantic and British Airways, both of which are now involved in legal action over claims of "dirty tricks".

Mr Branson is enthusiastic about cost-cutting charter companies rushing into the South African market, and his senior staff ensure inquirers that he has no intention of poaching existing passengers from established airlines, but would find about 160 000 new passengers every year.

However, R495 — the magic figure which captured a huge

slice of the UK-US route — compared with BA's cheapest return ticket of about R3 600 is destined to make competition from the major carriers pretty slight.

Outside of Virgin promotions, fares to and from London are expected to be up to 40 percent less than the norm — and Mr Branson is predicting that new competition should not only serve passengers better, but "increase the size of the market two or threefold".

Although final discussions still have to take place between the British and South African governments on the deal, Mr Branson is proceeding as if everything is already in the flight bag.

A senior executive confirmed at the weekend that airliners had been bought and other arrangements were going ahead on the understanding that the message in a week or two will be a final official thumbs-up.

The mood inside the Virgin Atlantic empire is excited. "It has been a tremendous challenge trying to break the mo-

nopoly and we've been keeping our fingers and toes crossed," Mr Branson said.

Virgin Atlantic is confident that a five-times-a-week service will be in operation between London and Johannesburg before the end of the year.

● Transport and aviation officials from Malaysia and South Africa will meet in Kuala Lumpur from May 18 to 22 to discuss a bilateral air services agreement, Transport Minister Ling Liong Sik said at the weekend.

The meeting had been set during talks with Transport Minister Dr Piet Welgemoed in Cape Town last week.

Mr Ling said agreement had been reached in principle to grant Malaysia Airlines the right to fly to South Africa and carry passengers and cargo to other destinations.

The South African national airline would be granted Malaysian landing rights and be allowed to take passengers from Malaysia to other points.

● Europe's 'snowbirds' key to boom — Page 9

## Winnie re-elected Women's League head

Staff Reporter

STAR 415792

Winnie Mandela was yesterday re-elected as chairman of the ANC's PWV Women's League, the region's publicity secretary Ronnie Mamoepa said last night.

It is believed that Mrs Mandela, recently estranged from ANC president Nelson Mandela, was unanimously proposed by delegates from most — if not all — branches of the league in the PWV.

Other members of the region's executive elected yesterday are Gwendoline Mahlangu as deputy chairman, Lindiwe

Maseko as general-secretary, Maria Mojapelo as assistant general-secretary and Marjorie Nkomo as treasurer.

Sapa reports that Mrs Mandela was not available for comment, but other executive committee members said her re-election was unopposed because of the unselfish efforts she had made on behalf of women who needed her for direction.

Two other nominees for chairman, Amina Cachalia and Mavivi Manzini, chose not to stand for the position.

The elections were run by the Independent Mediation Services of SA.

Mrs Mandela quit her post as

head of the ANC's welfare department shortly after her husband announced their official separation at an emotionally charged press conference in Johannesburg last month.

She came under the media spotlight again recently when new allegations emerged linking her to the murder of Azanian People's Organisation health secretary Dr Abu Baker Asvat, as well as the murder of young activist Stompie Seipei.

Mrs Mandela is currently out on bail pending her appeal against her conviction for kidnapping and as an accessory to the assault of five youths in Soweto in 1989.

In the comp

## 'dangerous' former attorney

number of fraud cases, captured from Pretoria central police station. Captain Louw described the suspect as

was rearrested in Johannesburg but managed to escape.

He was again arrested on Wednesday in Pre-

police appointment certificate in the name of a Sergeant Venter as well as identity and credit cards in the name of J.C.

# Police sergeant killed by squatters

CT 4/5/92

JOHANNESBURG. — A group of angry Soweto squatters killed a young police narcotics agent in Klipspruit yesterday after he shot dead an alleged drug-dealer.

Police spokesman Colonel Fanyana Zwane said Sergeant Raymond Maritz, 24, of the Soweto branch of the narcotics bureau, was stabbed in an eye and then shot three times in the chest. He died at Garden City Clinic here.

Colonel Zwane said Sergeant Maritz went to the squatter camp at 11am to arrest a suspected drug-dealer.

After the suspect sold Sergeant Maritz dagga worth R20, the policeman tried to arrest him. When the man pulled out a knife and stabbed Sergeant Maritz in the eye, the policeman shot the man dead.

A large aggressive crowd then gathered at the scene and Sergeant Maritz jumped into his car to try to get help. "However, his bleeding eye wound caused Sergeant Maritz to drive into a boulder," Colonel Zwane said.

## 5 killed in Alexandra

The mob then surrounded the car, pulled the policeman out and an unidentified squatter fatally shot him in the chest.

Two policemen who arrived on the scene later were robbed of a shotgun and a pistol.

In other weekend incidents three people were found dead in Alexandra. Two had been shot and one stabbed.

This brought to five the number of people killed in Alexandra since Workers' Day on Friday.

In other violence on Saturday, a man was hacked to death at Thokoza on the East Rand and another found shot dead at ZonkeZizwe, in the same area.

In separate incidents on Friday, four people were killed at Dube hostel and Merafe station in Soweto and Kwezine station and ZonkeZizwe on the East Rand.

At Imbali, Maritzburg, the body of a man who had been shot was found slumped in his minibus on Friday. — Sapa

# Anglican bishops warn of anarchy

CT 4/5/92

JOHANNESBURG. — Southern Africa's Anglican bishops yesterday warned of anarchy if violence was allowed to continue in South Africa and called for the installation of an interim government.

In a statement at the end of a five-day synod they also condemned what they called the "jockeying for power" at Co-

desa. They said the need for an interim government and elections for a representative constitution-making assembly "is far greater than the sometimes petty jockeying for power that is seen in Codesa".

Referring to the recent sentencing to death of SA Police Captain Brian Mitchell for

murdering 11 black people, the bishops said: "The government's inadequate, half-hearted response to revelations in the trial exposes its incapacity to run a proper police force and underscores the urgency of establishing an interim government to take control of the police."

The bishops said they were

convinced that "the evidence now emerging of deliberate, cold-blooded use of violence for political ends is but the tip of an iceberg".

"Anarchy will grow to the degree that nobody will be able to escape it and no government will be able to end it," they said. — Sapa



# Winnie re-elected to top ANC post

CT 4/5/92

JOHANNESBURG. — Mrs Winnie Mandela, estranged wife of ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, was yesterday re-elected unopposed as chairwoman of the ANC Women's League in the PWV region at its annual meeting here.

Two other nominees, Ms Amina Cachalia and Ms Mavivi Manzini, chose not to stand.

The executive members were chosen by secret ballot at a closed meeting. They include Mrs Gwen Mahlangu as deputy chairwoman, Mrs Lindi Maseko as general secretary, Ms Maria Mojapelo as assistant general secretary and Mrs Marjorie Nkomo as treasurer.

Mrs Mandela was not available for comment

WINNIE SINGS . . . Mrs Winnie Mandela, estranged wife of ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, sings at the annual meeting of the ANC's Women's League in Johannesburg yesterday where she was re-elected unopposed as chairwoman. Picture: AP

# SAP takes steps to protect train-users

CT 4/5/92

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Special security measures are to be taken from today to prevent intimidation of commuters wanting to use trains in spite of a boycott by black organisations, a police spokesman said yesterday.

The boycott comes into effect today in protest against continuing violence on trains and has been backed by the ANC,

PAC and the Civics Association of Southern Transvaal (Cast).

A spokesman for the steering committee on train violence, Mr Ronnie Mamoepe, said talks had been held with Puteo and Sabta to arrange additional transport for people boycotting the trains. He said Sabta had agreed not to implement a planned fare hike today.

He said the boycott was to emphasise

demands for adequate security, the arrest of killers and redirection of the government's R5 million spending on covert security operations to pay for commuter safety measures.

The boycott will go ahead despite agreements between community leaders and the SA Rail Commuter Corporation last week when the corporation agreed that it would not allow armed people to board trains.

# Buthelezi <sup>EBB</sup> takes ANC <sup>11A</sup> to task <sup>Soweto 5/5/92</sup>

**INKATHA** leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday launched a scathing and vitriolic attack on the ANC and its president, Mr Nelson Mandela.

Buthelezi said the ANC was provoking conflict in the country, and was purposefully absolving itself and blaming the violence on the IFP.

The IFP, he said, had never accepted the Government's nominal independence, and that it had secured KwaZulu from the hands of apartheid while stoically flying the flag of black liberation.

The ANC, on the other hand, used its military wing and political sloganeering in attempts to destroy him and the IFP.

"I have been reviled because I established Inkatha as a bastion of strength in the defence of the hallowed values of the black struggle for liberation, and because I threw up Inkatha as a final block to anybody who wanted to take over the KwaZulu government in order to destroy our opposition to

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN  
Political Correspondent

apartheid," Buthelezi said.

He said Mandela continually accused him and the IFP of violence in the country, while the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, "the killing power of AK-47s and trained cadres... were really devastating the land."

Continued attacks on the IFP by the ANC and its leaders have destroyed the chances of the two movements closing the gap between them, he said.

"As I see it, there can be no rapprochement between the IFP and the ANC in the foreseeable future on account of these acrimonious attacks on the IFP, the KwaZulu government, the KwaZulu police, by ANC spokespersons," Buthelezi said.

He said the IFP was continuing in its search for peace but that the ANC was "committed to maintaining a battle-ready private army".

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## ANC prisons: Probe urged

**JOHANNESBURG. —** A German-based group yesterday called for an independent inquiry into allegations of torture and ill-treatment of former ANC detainees.

At the end of a two-week visit to South Africa, Christian Partnership against Violence executive Mrs Anny Brandt said she met several former ANC detainees, who told of how they were tortured in ANC prison camps. — Sapa

(117) CT 5/6/92

# ANC environmental policy praised

6/10/84 5/15/97  
A LEADING environmental scientist has welcomed the ANC's environmental proposals in its policy document.

Wits University nuclear science professor Harold Annegarn, who is conducting detailed research into environmental pollution in SA, said the general policies advocated by the ANC were sound, and fell broadly in line with the latest international thinking on the environment. But he said the ANC document gave no details about how its proposed policies would be implemented. "Then implementation methods will make all the difference," he said.

The document proposes revising legisla-

11A  
DARIUS SANAI

tion to establish an effective system of environmental management, and the encouragement of ecotourism and environmental awareness, as well as stricter regulations on polluting industries.

But Annegarn said the section on mining indicated the ANC viewed the mining industry as "something of an ogre", disregarding its contribution to the economy.

Conservation Corporation chairman Dave Varty said there was hope political organisations were coming to grips with environmental issues.

# Winnie's re-election may spur comeback

By Jo-Anne Collinge

11A

Winnie Mandela's re-election as chairman of the PWV region of the ANC Women's League may be a stepping stone to her further political recovery, informed sources within the women's movement said yesterday. *STAN 5/5/92*

On Sunday, delegates to the regional conference of the Women's League charged the newly elected executive

committee with the task of investigating ways of expressing their support for Mrs Mandela.

The move was a response to recent media reports alleging Mrs Mandela's complicity in the killings of youth activist Stompie Seipei and Soweto doctor Abu-Baker Asvat in 1989.

It was also in response to Mrs Mandela's decision to relinquish her post as head of the ANC's

welfare department.

Although the brief of the Women's League committee is wide, there was strong feeling among a section of delegates that Mrs Mandela should not have quit the welfare position, sources confirmed.

There is speculation that the executive committee may exert pressure for Mrs Mandela to be reappointed to the position. As yet, no successor has been named.

# 32 alleged ANC members in Swaziland are children

Thirty-two alleged ANC members being held in Swaziland were schoolchildren from Durban and had paid more than R100 to be transported to the border, the head of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees said yesterday.

Gary Perkins said the youths, aged between 16 and 18, had requested assistance to travel to a third country but the UN agency had turned them down.

"We simply do not provide that kind of assistance. We are

currently repatriating ANC members from Tanzania," Mr Perkins said.

The allegation that the group belonged to the ANC has threatened to create a row at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa. *STAR 5/5/92*

After the reports last week, the Government said it would raise the issue at the talks.

The ANC has said the 32 are not members of its organisation. — Sapa.

# ANC-Goyt showdown looms

By Esther Waugh  
Political Reporter

controversial evidence existed that there was a lack of commitment to peace and free political participation on the part of some leaders.

"The situation remains extremely volatile and the slightest spark, such as inflammatory statements by the leaders of political organisations and parties, may turn emotion into a vicious spiral of violence and bloodshed," the Government said.

In the past four months, more than 3 000 unrest-related incidents had occurred, resulting in 711 deaths. Of these, 475 victims had died as a result of gunshots, 144

from back and stab wounds and 110 as a result of neck-lacing and stone-throwing.

In contradiction to the National Peace Accord, ANC president Nelson Mandela and Transkei military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa had made inflammatory statements showing "remarkable aggression in laying the blame for the current violence at the door of the security forces, the Government as such and even the State President in person".

The Government said it was often alleged that the SAP or some of its members

● To Page 2

A showdown is looming today between the Government and the ANC after Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel last night released a 14-page document detailing alleged transgressions by the ANC of the National Peace Accord and other bilateral agreements.

With 10 days to go before Codesa 2, delegates told The Star that the document, which was tabled at Codesa yesterday, was certain to sour relations.

The Government said "in-

## Showdown looms between ANC and Government

From Page 1

were the root cause of violence. The court's findings in the Trust Feed case could not serve as a criterion to judge the SAP.

The document noted that the SAP did not hesitate to investigate criminal activities by its members. "What is also important is that the incident at Trust Feed took place in 1988. That was long before the important step taken by the Government on February 2 1990," it said.

In 1988, then-banned organisations were responsible for 281 acts of terror and in most of these cases indemnity had been granted to those sentenced for these acts, the document said.

"We do not judge these organisations in terms of what they had done prior to February 2 1990. Why should they then embark on a course to judge the SAP on what some policemen did during 1988?"

Further evidence of a lack of commitment to creating a

climate for free political participation was the admission of ANC Natal Midlands leader Harry Gwala that the "ANC is fighting a war and that the ANC is killing IFP warlords and their associates".

The document listed seven cases of ANC members being involved in violence.

The Government said it found it difficult to explain why the security forces would instigate violence when the security forces themselves were one of the prime targets.

But the mere existence of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, was motivating other parties to establish their own military structures.

● Last night, Ciskei's leader, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, urged the negotiating parties to slow down the progress of Codesa, reports The Star's Correspondent.

He said that certain parties were bent on rushing the negotiations to their own advantage.

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# Youths held: Denial by ANC

CT 8/5/92  
11A  
JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC yesterday denied any involvement in the alleged recruitment of 45 people in South Africa for military training in Tanzania.

The youths, aged between 16 and 19, gave a number of names of ANC people they claimed had recruited them.

"The ANC has conducted extensive inquiries since the first reports of 31 (and now 45) youths detained in Swaziland were released," an ANC statement said.

"From our investigations we are able firmly to state that no ANC structure has been involved in such recruitment, nor is there any trace of the people named as 'recruiters'.

"In our discussions with representatives of the Swazi trade mission, the ANC requested the names of the youths as well as the branches they belonged to. This information has not yet been forthcoming."

The ANC had therefore decided to send a delegation to Swaziland to investigate.

The ANC said it suspected the youths had been used to discredit the organisation. — Sapa

# Government and ANC exchange hard blows

Sowetan 6/5/92

2  
11A

A FURIOUS exchange of blows between the Government and the ANC threatens to mar the crucial Codesa II plenary session, now little more than a week away.

The war of words is - ironically enough - about inflammatory language being used by either side, and political pointscoring in the negotiating forum.

Yesterday the ANC, supported by eight other Codesa parties, hit back at Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel, who released a document on Monday detailing alleged contraventions by the ANC of the National Peace Accord and other bilateral agreements.

The ANC told the Government the "offensive" document had raised a new obstacle to negotiations and could impede them.

There were suggestions that the Government was creating new problems ahead of Codesa II,

with the intention of using them as an excuse for not abiding by new agreements reached.

Kriel submitted the document - a detailed catalogue of alleged infringements by the ANC and other parties - to the working group dealing with creating a climate for free political participation.

Nine Codesa groups, all members of the Patriotic Front, rallied around the ANC on the issue - while only the Ciskei and Bophuthatswana governments supported the "Kriel document", said ANC negotiator Professor Kadar Asmal.

Those who rejected the document are the Transkei Government, the Venda Government, Inyandza National Movement, Intando we Sizwe Party, SACP, Labour Party, Natal Indian Congress and Transvaal Indian Congress.

The latest controversy has soured the mood at Codesa, even though progress has been reported in other working groups.

# ANC reacts to article in Sowetan

11A

Sowetan 6/5/92

By IKE MOTSAPI

THE ANC has reacted to an article which appeared in *Sowetan* last week questioning the organisation's use of foreign funding.

The article, written by *Sowetan's* London correspondent, Peter Taylor, asked whether the financial support from the West to the ANC was wise.

Reacting to the article which the ANC says was "unsubstantiated", secretary for information Dr Pallo Jordan said: "The financial support which the ANC receives is critical to

enable the people of South Africa to resist a despotic and corrupt regime.

"Regular financial reports are, and have always been, submitted to donor bodies and the ANC makes every effort to adhere to stringent financial procedures.

"The ANC has both an internal audit department as well as external auditors who produce an audited financial report annually.

"When black people strive for reasonable living standards they are labelled corrupt.

"We consider this report mischievous and consistent with efforts to portray the ANC as corrupt and its officials as big spenders who are contemptuous of ordinary people.

"It is ironic that while unfounded allegations of supposed ANC corruption make headlines, the real, palpable corruption of the apartheid regime is ignored," Jordan added.

# Cabinet reshuffle turns a blind eye to talks ANC

11A  
6/5/92  
Business Day Reporter

THE ANC said yesterday the latest Cabinet reshuffle indicated that government was continuing with business as usual and acting in a unilateral manner.

"While replacements had to be found for both (former Finance Minister) Barend du Plessis and (former Constitutional Development Minister) Gerrit Viljoen, the impression created is that it is business as usual despite the negotiations that are under way," an ANC statement said.

It said the establishment of an interim government of national unity was needed as soon as possible.

In its reaction Cosatu said it hoped new Finance Minister Derek Keys would approach his portfolio "in a way which will allow us to develop a more constructive relationship than we had with his predecessor.

"Particularly important here will be a practical commitment to negotiate and consult with trade unions on issues affecting workers."

Cosatu said it was most important that Keys immediately meet the VAT Co-ordinating Committee "to address the fundamental problems" organisations had with VAT. It said it hoped he would expedite the formation of a national economic negotiating fo-

rum.

The labour federation said it would protest to government about the fact that new Manpower Minister Leon Wessels was the fourth person to hold the portfolio in the last eight months.

"This is disruptive to the process of negotiations, and at the very least indicates a lack of seriousness from the side of the government when it comes to labour issues," Cosatu said.

DP Finance spokesman Ken Andrew yesterday welcomed Keys' appointment, but expressed concern at President FW de Klerk's frequent Cabinet shuffles - his eighth since coming to power 31 months ago.

This had denied Ministers the chance to get to grips with their portfolios and in effect left vital decisions up to officials.

Meanwhile, BILLY PADDOCK reports Keys set to work immediately yesterday and called senior Finance Department staff to a meeting to discuss the way forward.

After that he went to the parliamentary study group on finance to address members and participate in

their meeting. Keys apparently explained his way of working to the senior departmental staff and invited an exchange of views on the way the Finance portfolio should be handled.

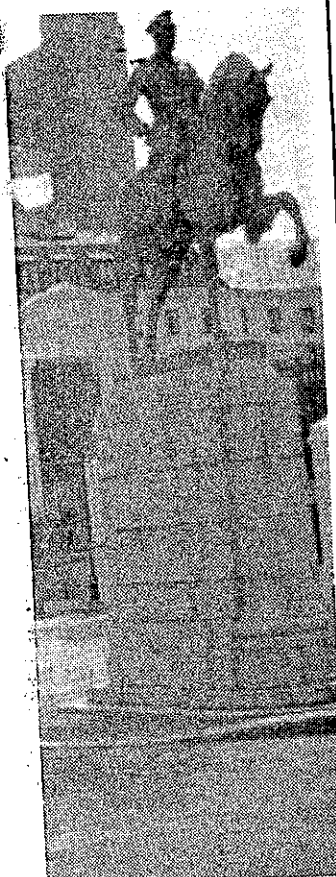
Sources in the Trade and Industry and Finance departments yesterday indicated that while Keys would have a heavy load he would not be overburdened as he was an exceptionally good manager and was not afraid to delegate.

One source said Keys was an ideas man who would initiate and formulate policy and then let the departments get on with the job of carrying out the decisions.

He would also make full use of his two Deputy Finance Ministers and start delegating a lot more Trade and Industry responsibility to Deputy Minister David Graaf, in whom he had a lot of confidence.

Keys had said previously that most of the structural work in trade and industry to encourage investment had been completed or was in the process of being finalised.

Another source said that by consolidating the three economic posts and putting Keys in overall control, he would be in a far better position to streamline economic restructuring.



it yesterday. He has removed  
n connection with the bombing  
ANC exiles' children. The NP has  
in the issue of violence. Picture: AP

## ANC alliance slams Kriel and denies his allegations

THE ANC and its allies yesterday struck back at allegations against the ANC made by Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel at Codesa on Monday. (117)

"We consider the statement a distorted selection of incidents meant to discredit the ANC and others participating in Codesa," ANC delegate Prof Kader Asmal said at a news conference at Codesa.

Kriel berated the ANC, accusing it of a lack of commitment to peace. He said certain political leaders in the alliance had lost control over their members.

Nine organisations at Codesa yesterday registered their strong disapproval of Kriel's document and called for it to be rejected. (117) 6/5/92

"The document is an attempt to absolve government of any responsibility for violence in SA and tries to downplay the public outcry against Trust Feed," Asmal said.

He questioned the timing and venue of Kriel's pronouncements, accusing the Minister of trying to divert attention from the Trust Feed judgment and of trying to stall Codesa.

"Government can't be allowed to hold up proceedings by such unilateral acts of bluster. There are other forums to raise these issues; the national peace accord and at bilateral talks. Whatever the motivation on the last day but one of the proceedings of working group one, the ANC's view is that the progress report to go to Codesa II must not be hindered by this step."

Although there were still outstanding issues which still had to be dealt with in the working group, Asmal felt there had been consensus on many of 16 issues on the working group's agenda.

The eight organisations which sided with the ANC on the Kriel document are: Transkei government, Venda government, Inyanza National Movement, Intando Yesizwe, SACP, Labour Party, NIC/TIC, and the United People's Front. — Sapa.

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# ANC-SACP go to trouble spots

By Montshiwa Moroke

11A

A combined delegation of the ANC and SACP, accompanied by civic association members, yesterday visited the troubled Soweto townships of Meadowlands, Dobsonville and Killarney to talk to residents.

The delegation was led by ANC PWV chairman Tokyo Sexwale, SACP secretary-general Chris Hani, his assistant Charles Nqakula, and Lindiwe Maseko, secretary-general of the ANC PWV Women's League.

Mr Hani told Killarney residents that the violence was State-orchestrated and those who were attacking residents had been poisoned by apartheid.

"These people have been told the ANC is bad and have been used as cannon fodder. They have been used and made to fight their own people. They are nothing but bandits and act like Renamo," he said.

Mr Sexwale said the violence was being directed by the Government and therefore it was important to remove the present Government from power.

STAR 6/5/72

Residents in those areas told the delegation that for months they had been unable to sleep at night and their children had been unable to go to school.

They demanded the hostels' destruction and accused the police of turning a blind eye.

Earlier, Meadowlands hostel residents were outraged after a pensioner was stabbed in the neck and abdomen by youths allegedly from Killarney.

Richard Dibetsoe (67), who stays in the hostel, was waiting for a taxi along Vincent Road, at about 9.30 am, when the attack occurred.

He was taken to hospital by ambulance nearly an hour after lying bleeding and writhing in pain in front of his room.

Residents also complained that their children had stopped attending school at Meadowlands, Mzimhlophe and Killarney. They said they had been waylaid while boarding and alighting from taxis.

"How can those children do this to someone who is as old as their grandfathers?" a resident asked.

# 'Kriel document' threatens Codesa

Political Staff

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agreements reached.

A furious and acrimonious exchange of words between the Government and the ANC threatens to mar the crucial Codesa 2 plenary session, now little more than a week away.

The war of words is — ironically enough — about inflammatory language being used by either side, and political point-scoring in the negotiating forum.

## 'Offensive'

Yesterday the ANC, supported by eight other Codesa parties, hit back at Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel, who released a document on Monday detailing alleged contraventions by the ANC of the National Peace Accord and other bilateral agreements. The ANC told the Government the "offensive" document had raised a new obstacle to negotiations and could impede them.

There were suggestions that the Government was creating new problems ahead of Codesa 2, with the intention of using them as an excuse for not abiding by new

Mr Kriel submitted the document — a detailed catalogue of alleged infringements by the ANC — to the working group dealing with creating a climate for free political participation.

Nine Codesa groups, all members of the Patriotic Front, rallied around the ANC on the issue — while only the Ciskei and Bophuthatswana governments supported the "Kriel document", said ANC negotiator Professor Kadar Asmal.

Those who rejected the document are the Transkei government, the Venda government, Inyandza National Movement, Intando we Sizwe Party, SACP, Labour Party, Natal Indian Congress and Transvaal Indian Congress.

The latest controversy has soured the mood at Codesa, even though progress has been reported in other working groups. Delegates have expressed concern that the atmosphere should have been allowed to deteriorate so seriously, when breakthroughs are vitally needed to make a success of Codesa 2.

It is widely accepted that

Codesa 2 is important both internally and externally — in order to show impatient South Africans that the negotiations process is achieving tangible gains for the country, and to convince a weary world that this country's future is sufficiently promising to make it a worthy recipient of investment and aid.

Although the meeting was never intended as the "final word" on the form the transition will take, it is still hoped progress on vital issues such as the structure of interim rule, will be announced.

Yesterday's hour-long scrap over the "Kriel document" in the working group was described by delegates as "severe", "very serious" and "passionate".

Professor Asmal claimed the document was "a highly distorted, selective and tendentious collection of incidents and statements to discredit the ANC and other democratic forces".

He said the document was a clear attempt to absolve the Government of any responsibility for violence and "even has the audacity to question the very basis for

the public outcry over police collusion in the Trust Feed case".

At a press conference after the meeting, the ANC and its supporters in Codesa, calling themselves the "patriotic front", interpreted the document as a veiled threat by the Government to call off Codesa and elections for a transitional government.

The ANC yesterday proposed that the document be referred to its leaders for consideration.

The organisation said Codesa was not the place to make these allegations. The document went against the spirit of Codesa. Several other channels, such as the National Peace Accord, were available.

SA Communist Party negotiator Ronnie Kasrils suggested the Government was trying to "pin the violence" on the ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe to distract public attention from recent remarks by two judges that the courts had found that "the police had a hand in the violence".

● More reports

— Pages 8, 16 and 17

# Second 'ANC group' in Swaziland

MBABANE — A group of 13 youths claiming to be ANC members en route to Zambia or Tanzania for military training arrived in Swaziland on Monday night. The youths are being kept under police supervision in the southern town of Big Bend. A police spokesman described the youths, who range in age from 16 to 20, as "very arrogant and threatening violence if they don't get what they want".

The statement followed the arrest of 32 youths, also claiming to be ANC members, who crossed into Swaziland illegally at the weekend.

The ANC denied the 32 were members. — Sapa.

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# Trade group contributed to ANC policy Mandela

STEPHANE BETHUMA

TALKS between the ANC and a Japanese trade delegation visiting SA provided valuable information for the formulation of an economic policy by the organisation, ANC president Nelson Mandela said yesterday. Mandela, however, urged the group of businessmen to join the demand for an interim government before making new investments in SA.

Mandela met the trade delegation, led by Itoh Koya Mica, MD of Sito and Co — one of Japan's largest trading houses — yesterday afternoon shortly after his return from a week-long visit to several African states. Speaking at a Johannesburg news conference, Mandela said he regarded Japan as one of the most economically successful countries in the world. Japan was also an inspiration to SA.

Mandela said the talks, which took place at the ANC head office in Johannesburg, made a valuable contribution to the ANC's search for an economic policy and provided ways to draw foreign investors to SA. He added that the ANC was seeking to break government's monopoly on political power. He expected all business groups to join the demand.

Mica, who also addressed the news conference, said SA would offer great economic prospects if stability could be achieved by people like Mandela.

SA had a strong infrastructure and good people, Mica said.

His company was interested in investing in SA, but stability in the country was a prerequisite.

Mica said the delegation was visiting SA to explore the investment opportunities for Sito and Co and to ensure the transfer of technology through licensing.

This would create independent industries capable of producing high quality products.

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BIDAY 6/5/92

# Azapo leader on US, Canada tour



NEFOLOVHODWE

*Sowetan*  
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By MOKGADI PELA

11A

THE president of Azapo, Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe, will address more than 50 meetings in the United States and Canada.

Azapo said Nefolovhodwe was scheduled to meet top US congressmen, churchmen, student groups and labour leaders.

Nefolovhodwe's trip is sponsored by the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA). He is also scheduled to address two international media conferences, one in New York and the other in Toronto.

He will return to South Africa on May 18. His trip is a follow-up to last November's European tour which was cut mid-way due to "pressing" matters at home.

Azapo said Nefolovhodwe would also address a rally in Los Angeles, the scene of recent blazing race riots which left about 50 people dead.

Accompanying Nefolovhodwe is the BCMA deputy chairman, Mr Twiggs Xiphu.

# Govt threatened at Codesa over interim rule

ANC-aligned delegates have threatened to read out a "majority report" on proposals for interim rule at Codesa 2 next week, thus forcing the Government into publicly stating its reasons for "stalling" on agreement regarding this most crucial aspect of the negotiations process.

The threat came after the Codesa working group adjourned yesterday, having failed to meet a deadline for agreement on transitional arrangements.

A majority of delegates appear to agree with the propos-

als of a special "technical committee" set up to deal with the issue, while a minority — led by the National Party and the Inkatha Freedom Party — reject the compromise plan.

Substantial progress on interim rule was expected to be the centrepiece of Codesa 2.

Now, however, unless a last-ditch attempt on Monday to reach agreement succeeds, an acrimonious exchange before the eyes of the world is likely at Codesa 2.

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It is widely accepted that without progress on the question of interim rule, all other "breakthroughs" at Codesa could be meaningless.

Such agreement at Codesa 2, it was also hoped, would signal to South Africa and the world that the intensive — and costly — negotiations process was bearing fruit.

Now the negotiators have been given an extension until Monday. If they fail to secure an agreement, conflict at Code-

sa 2 seems inevitable.

"Monday is D-Day for working group 3. It is adoption day," said group chairman Dr Patrick Maduna of KaNgwane's Inyandza National Movement yesterday.

"We will have to wait until Monday to see whether we go to Codesa 2 with a recommendation on a transitional executive structure (TES)."

Delegates from the ANC axis accused the Government of refusing to share executive power

during phase one of an interim government and in effect trying to cling to a veto right.

Transkeian military leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa led the attack.

"What emerges ... is its steadfast determination not to share power during the transition but to retain as much power as it can in order to veto the will of the majority participants in Codesa," he said.

General Holomisa said that if the SA Government did not re-

veal its true position on power-sharing before Codesa 2, there was no option but for the international community to become involved in negotiations.

"Codesa participants in all working groups have ... exhausted themselves — it is now up to the De Klerk Government to indicate to Codesa and the world at large how much ground it is prepared to concede to other forces."

Dr Maduna confirmed that the working group had been un-

able to agree on what exact executive powers a proposed transitional executive council, as part of the TES, would have.

● Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe yesterday applauded the Codesa negotiations but cautioned that the lack of unity among opposition groups and ongoing violence could plunge South Africa into chaos.

Speaking at the official opening of the International Labour Organisation tripartite conference in Harare, Mr Mugabe expressed his pleasure that South Africa's "racist and segregatory system of apartheid" now appeared to be on the way out.

AS THE last embers die and some semblance of order returns to the streets of LA, it is perhaps timely to reflect on the war there and the lesson for us.

The racial uprising in Los Angeles answers, perhaps obliquely, a question recently posed on the future of Black Consciousness.

This question by a journalist had been asked in the light of the changing political scenario, particularly the so-called death of apartheid.

In response, we in the Black Consciousness movement explained that the longevity of BC was contingent upon the existence of white racism.

We said BC was an "anti-thesis" to the "thesis" (strong white racism) and the projected "synthesis" was an anti-racist society (I say this with apologies to Bantu Steve Biko).

Simply put, BC is about black people attaining self-determination and independence, and retaining it.

As long as there is rampant, or even subtle, white racism threatening black people, so long would BC exist.

We went further, and in-

# Band together is LA's lesson for us

Sowetan 7/5/92

Sowetan

11A

**Dr Gomolemo Mokae, Azapo's secretary for education, reflects on the Los Angeles riots and the lesson we can learn from the racial uprising.**



voked the brilliance of the astounding black scholar WEB du Bois, who, disillusioned with white America, had renounced his citizenship and came to Africa, settling in Ghana.

"The problem of the 20th century is the problem of the colour-line, the relation of the darker to the lighter races of the men and women in Asia and Africa, in America and Islands of the sea ..." (Souls of Black

Folk, WEB du Bois).

Little did Du Bois know that the "problem" would extend beyond this time!

The LA black uprising at the acquittal of four white policemen who savagely beat a black motorist, Rodney King, shows that "the problem" is far from dying, for it is nourished by subtle, and not-so-subtle white racism.

When State President FW de Klerk removed

apartheid from the statute books, South Africa joined countries like America where, although racism is not legislated, every black man and woman feels it as they interact with white people.

"If you forget that you are a Jew, a Gentile will remind you," a Jewish writer once said.

This could not be more true for black people in this world, for each day, in many ways, they are reminded of their blackness by the Caucasian race.

At the height of the LA riots, its mayor Tom Bradley said: "We are going to ensure the safety of this city and we are going to take back the streets from these things and hoodlums."

Bradley's words reminded one of the response of black activist the Rever-

end Ralph D Abernathy to former US president Richard Nixon and the Watergate scandal.

"He (Nixon) told us he was going to take crime out of the streets. He did.

"He took it into the damn White House."

And, needless for us to mention, this "crime" has lived on happily ever after in a subtler form than Watergate, in the White House, and its effect is felt in every nook and cranny of America, and the world.

It is criminal, for instance, that, whereas the whole world, thanks to television, witnessed the calous beating of Rodney King, his molesters were left off the hook.

An all-white jury acquitting four white cops who wantonly thrashed a black motorist?

Blood could not be

thicker than water than in this case!

It was also criminal that, whereas the Bush regime, and its surrogate regimes in the UN, were so quick to act decisively against Saddam Hussein's Iraq and Muammar Gaddafi's Libya, they fiddled as white bigots oppress blacks in occupied Azania.

For a so-called super-power and the "land of dreams and opportunities", America remains a nightmare to innumerable blacks in the inner-cities which teem with violence, drugs and disillusionment.

The simple truth is that American blacks, South African blacks, Australian blacks and many others, are victims because of the colour of their skin.

Indeed, even after attaining black majority rule, and whites have ceased to po-

litically call the shots, whites still do so on a wider, global scale, thanks to their domination of forums like the World Bank, International Monetary Fund and the United Nations.

If anyone doubts this, let him ask Robert Mugabe, whose socialist dream for Zimbabwe was turned into a nightmare as soon as he realised that these forums would only lend money to countries prepared to institute economic policies suiting their whims and wishes.

Latin American writer Eduardo Galeano puts it well:

"Our countries have been bought up by land-owners and banks at ridiculously low prices.

"As the world market for us is nothing more than a pirate's ship; the freer, the worse. The international market robs us two-fold.

"On the one hand, they sell their goods to us at higher and higher prices.

"On the other hand, money pays less and demands more of us ..."

The bottom line is that when black people in any part of the world find justice from whites, they should view this as an exception, rather than the rule.

# Amnesty wants ANC to open 'prisc

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Amnesty International yesterday called on the ANC to give the International Committee of the Red Cross full access to their prison camps in neighbouring countries, saying it had "hard evidence" they existed.

Mr Richard Carver, a London researcher for Amnesty's southern Africa depart-

(11A) CT. 8/5/92  
ment, said the ANC had reneged on a promise made several months ago to allow the Red Cross full access.

Evidence from Durban's returned exiles committee, "and other individuals we cannot name for obvious reasons," strongly supported claims that there were about 60 prisoners being held in Uganda and Tanzania.

"We are now satisfied that this informa-

tion is reliable," he said.

Mr Carver emphasised that these claims first emerged after former uMkhonto weSizwe commander-in-chief, Mr Chris Hani, assured everyone last September that the ANC was not holding prisoners.

While he welcomed the ANC announcing a commission of enquiry into the issue last September, "nothing had hap-

pened" until last month when "two non-ANC people", Mr Gilbert Marcus and Ms Elna Rivalos, were appointed chairman and counsellor respectively.

The other two commissioners were both ANC lawyers, he said.

He denied that Amnesty was relying on the commission, saying it had access to information from many exiles.

Among the concerns of Amnesty Inter-

# Wessels leaps into the saddle

Wimpey 8/5-14/5/92

(103) (108) (11) (20071)

By Ferial Haffajee

SOUTH Africa must have one of the highest turnovers of manpower ministers in the world. In just eight months this strategic portfolio has been held by four different men.

This week, President FW de Klerk chose Leon Wessels as his latest broker for the beleaguered ministry.

The Congress of South African Trade Unions criticised the appointment saying that the high turnover of ministers indicated "a lack of seriousness on the part of the government when it comes to labour affairs".

Cosatu assistant general secretary Sam Shilowa said that every time a new minister was appointed it took at least four to five months to brief him on developments and negotiations in the labour field.

At 56, Wessels is one of De



**Leon Wessels**

Klerk's younger *verligte* Nats destined to go places. Like Roelf Meyer, he is being promoted fast and furiously in strategic ministries.

In October 1991, he was appointed to lead the Ministry of Planning, Provincial Affairs and National Housing. In November 1991, he was given the portfolios of local government and public works to add to his workload and relieved of the easier portfolios of planning and provincial affairs.

He also served earlier terms as deputy minister of law and order and deputy minister of foreign affairs.

*The Weekly Mail* interviewed Wessels last year soon after he took over as minister of national housing. While his plans for the housing crisis did not impress, his easygoing manner and dress sense certainly did.

He hitched up his immaculate bottle green pants and sat down to chat, asking interested questions and passing the tea. His green pants matched perfectly with his green socks and green watch.

His eagerness to listen certainly earned him kudos last year when as MP for Krugersdorp he visited residents of Swanieville, in the district, who were holed up in a nearby community hall. While he could only give an hour to listen to grievances because he had to jump on a plane to Cape Town, he promised faithfully to get back to residents "even if I have to phone you from the airport".

A less-publicised history of Wessels' career is the time he spent as a mounted policeman while he worked at the Police College from 1964 to 1966. Deciding that the life of a mountie was not for him, he decided to become a lawyer and enrolled at the University of Stellenbosch in 1967 where he quickly took up leadership roles.

He was the chairman of the SRC and president of the Afrikaner Studentebond. His liberal philosophy was honed at university: he organised meetings with members of South African Students Organisation (Saso), a Black Consciousness student movement.

He was also influenced by senior *verligte* academics like Wimpey de Klerk and Johan van der Vyver.

# 'Comrades are being gunned down' — ANC

By PAUL STOBER

AFRICAN National Congress activists in the Vaal triangle are convinced many of their comrades are being ruthlessly murdered by men determined to weaken the organisation in a region where it is exceptionally well organised. In April alone, at least seven members of the ANC in the Vaal region were killed by unknown gunmen.

ANC officials use the military term "low intensity conflict" to describe what is happening in the Vaal triangle. A buzzword in state security circles in the late 1980s, this involves the identification and elimination of key members of organisations active in communities.

When *The Weekly Mail* went into the Vaal township of Sebokeng this week to speak to key members of the ANC, few could be found. In one house the family of a well-known activist was getting ready to move for the night. "They have been warned that their house is going to be attacked," explained the ANC member who accompanied us around the township.

Within the hour, the house was locked up and was as eerily quiet as the home next door, which had been attacked by a group of men armed

## EVIDENCE OF DEATH CAMPAIGN

Incidents in the past few months which the ANC says demonstrate the "campaign to eliminate the organisation from the Vaal townships" include:

● May 5: The Vaal Council of Churches released a list of 19 ANC returnees who had reported consistent harassment and surveillance by police.

● April 29: ANC member Samuel Mthombeni was shot by unidentified men in Sebokeng.

● April 26: MK member Mzwakhe Nhlapo died in a skirmish with police. Unconfirmed reports said he was attacked by members of Inkatha but had succeeded in fighting them off. The Inkatha members then apparently called in the police, who shot and killed him.

with hand grenades early the previous morning. Four other bombed-out homes with shattered windows and burnt rooms had been abandoned in the same street, Sebe Street in Sebokeng's Zone 7.

The mother of the family we visited was moving because of threats levelled at her son, a member of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK),

who has recently returned to South Africa. She could not afford to take these threats lightly as entire families have been wiped out in the indiscriminate attacks on houses harbouring ANC activists.

Her son had not slept at home for the past three nights — he has joined an increasing number of ANC members in the area who are back on the run,

● To PAGE 3

never spending too much time in one place and careful about who knows of their whereabouts.

"With darkness comes fear," said our guide, describing the mood in the township which has witnessed numerous assassinations, kidnappings and assaults since April 1990.

While ANC activists are clearly emerging as the main targets of this "low intensity conflict", it is not entirely clear who is behind it.

Witnesses have, on different occasions, identified the attackers as Inkatha members, policemen and hit-squad members. ANC officials in the region are convinced that all three are to some extent working in cahoots, but they regard the hit squads as the main threat to members of the organisation. "These people have cars and walkie-talkies and are well-financed," explained one official.

The recruitment of members of the ANC as informants for the police and hit squads is also presenting an increasing danger for the organisation.

"The police are raiding houses that have been pointed out to them," said an ANC official in Sebokeng. "Well-known comrades have also been seen with the hit squads."

## Evidence of a death campaign

● From PAGE 3

● April 11: Jongie Mamba, a member of a community defence unit, was killed in the kwaMasiza Hostel by gunmen firing from a white combi.

● April 5: Sharpeville MK member Sam Ntepe was injured while trying to escape from police. Ntepe was hiding from a hit man who, according to the ANC, had been offered R5 000 to kill him. Ntepe's house had been attacked twice by gunmen armed with AK47s and R1 rifles.

● March 22: A fieldworker for the Vaal Council of Churches and member of the ANC and South African Communist Party, Saul Tsotseti, was killed in a hand grenade blast after he was confronted by three young men. One of the

three was also killed.

● March 15: Chief's Place Tavern in Sharpeville, known to be frequented by ANC members, was attacked. Two women were killed and several others were injured.

● March 10: Shortly before Elliot Motsitsi (20) was to sign an affidavit about the shooting of Montoedi Molebatsi, he was shot dead. In his affidavit, Motsitsi said Constable Skuta Marumo had shot Molebatsi although there had been "no sign of conflict" between the two.

● March 1: ANC activist Montoedi Molebatsi was shot by a policeman. ANC PWV regional spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said the attack was part of a police campaign to eliminate ANC activists in Sharpeville. "Information reaching us indicates that someone who the

police had attempted to recruit as an informer was shown 15 photographs of Sharpeville ANC members. Molebatsi's was among these," he said. Police said the constable had fired in self-defence after Molebatsi threatened him with a grenade.

● January 24: Ephraim Lefiedi, an MK member and brother of Khuba Lefiedi, died in a skirmish with police.

● December 14 1991: Five people were killed and four injured in an attack on a party in the home of an ANC supporter in Sebokeng's Zone 8. According to the police, an unidentified gunman opened fire with an AK47 on the crowd in the house of Amos Twala, killing three men instantly. A woman and another man died later in hospital.

## Mandela to move

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela is moving to the plush northern suburbs of Johannesburg, the organisation's publicity department said yesterday.

ANC spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma said for security reasons he was not willing to disclose the address or suburb of Mandela's new home.

He said Mandela had been subjected to threats to his life in the past.

"It is our fervent hope that in consideration of that reality and his need for privacy the media will exercise restraint and not give undue publicity to his address," Macozoma said.

## Vlok's explanations inadequate - LHR

THE "feeble explanations" by Minister of Corrective Services Mr Adriaan Vlok for the premature release of killer Khethani Shange were "inadequate, confused and insulted the intelligence of the public", Lawyers for Human Rights have said.

LHR national director Mr Brian Currin said in Pretoria Vlok had said former KwaZulu policeman Shange had, "like other political prisoners", been released in terms of Section 63 of the Act on Correctional Services.

Shange served only nine months of a 27-year jail sentence for a series of murders, including that of a family and a three-month-old child in KwaMashu, Durban, 1990.

But, Currin said as far as he was aware Section 63 had nothing to do with the procedures established as a result of the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes to

release political prisoners.

He said Vlok had indicated that the scheduled release date of Shange had been decided upon by Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee a mere 36 days after Mr Justice Gordon had told Shange there was "little hope for your reformation. You are, in my view, a beast in policeman's clothing" and that Shange would be "removed from society for a considerable period of time".

If Vlok's information was true, this demonstrated, at the very least, Coetsee's contempt for the judge's directive, Currin said.

LHR had requested lawyers to determine whether Shange could be re-incarcerated if he had been unlawfully released.

People at KwaMashu lived in fear of their lives since Shange's release and some had left the area, Currin said.



## ANC 'would channel funds from military'

THEO RAWANA

AN ANC housing policy would seek to provide housing for all by diverting military expenditure towards this end, national executive committee member Thozamile Botha said yesterday.

SACP spokesman Essop Pahad said land for housing should be taken from the biggest land owners — the military and the mining houses.

ANC president Nelson Mandela, in a paper read on his behalf by constitutional head Zola Skweyiya, told the Sandton housing conference if 25% of GDP was used for housing, this would meet SA's needs.

The conference, with the theme "nation building through home ownership" was hosted by the National Association of Home Builders, and had as its vision the building of 1-million homes and provision of 2-million affordable sites by the year 2000.

Botha said the ANC envisaged a "cohesive housing policy which makes housing an instrument of socio-cultural and class integration".

He said: "This can be achieved by replacing all racially based housing institutions with non-racial, legitimate and accountable housing institutions."

All those committed to alleviating the SA housing crisis should evolve a "consensus position around (an) implementable and sustainable housing policy", Botha said.

SACP secretary-general Chris Hani said there was a need for a more concerted effort to assist and develop the building industry.

"It is the duty of the state to house its less privileged people, but we are aware that the private sector can play an extremely positive role in assisting with the process. We would also encourage the financial institutions to make appreciably more finance available for housing," said Hani.

# Torture camps: will the truthout?

STAR 8/192.

**T**HE African National Congress, still tarnished by the adverse publicity surrounding its former first lady, Winnie Mandela, faces another potentially explosive crisis.

As the controversy over Mrs Mandela continues to swirl around and sully the ANC, the organisation stands accused of detaining and torturing dissidents within its own ranks in the mid-1980s.

The dissidents, many of whom have returned to South Africa, have in the main rejected overtures from the ANC to come back to the fold and refused to allow the matter to fade into obscurity.

Instead, they have talked of "people who are now lying in shallow graves in Africa" and demanded an impartial investigation into their treatment by ANC security personnel.

The ANC, already accused of covering up for Mrs Mandela, who is awaiting the outcome of an appeal against her conviction for kidnapping and being an accessory to assault, has taken two steps to defuse the threatened new crisis.

Its president, Nelson Mandela, has admitted that some of the

charges of torture are true and it has appointed a commission to investigate the allegations.

Whether these measures will succeed or whether the ANC, like Swapo in Namibia, will have to face a post-apartheid election with its image marred by serious charges of torture, remains to be seen.

One of the problems is that Mr Mandela's admission — made more than two years ago when complainants of torture first started to surface — has been partially blurred by the terms of reference of its own commission.

Where Mr Mandela admitted that some of the imprisoned dissidents were tortured, the commission has not been mandated to inquire into the extent of torture but whether it took place at all.

Its terms of reference are to investigate the conditions under which ANC prisoners were detained, the "allegations of their maltreatment" and the complaints "about the loss or destruction of their properties."

The members of the three-member commission are two respected lawyers, Louis Skweyiya,

SC, and Gilbert Marcus, and a member of the ANC's legal team, Bridget Mabandla. Its composition, however, has triggered suspicions among many dissidents that its primary purpose is to protect the ANC and to cover up its alleged atrocities.

Mr Skweyiya is related to Mr Zola Skweyiya, a member of the ANC national executive and of its legal and constitutional team. Their family ties, and Mr Louis Skweyiya's presumed ANC sympathies, have generated suspicions in dissident ranks that the inquiry is a charade.

Mr Marcus is assumed to be a relative of Gill Marcus, a senior member of the ANC's Department of Information and Publicity and a member of the ANC's national executive. Mr Marcus and Ms Marcus are not related but a majority of dissidents are convinced that they are.

Rodney Twala, a leading dissident and chairman of the Returned Exiles Co-ordinating Committee, is emphatic: he will not give evidence to the "ANC commission". His organisation has taken a decision not to testify be-

fore the commission and to insist, instead, of an independent judicial commission of inquiry.

Patrick Hlongwane, another dissident leader, reaffirms the same point: "We will not participate in the ANC's investigation as we suspect the ANC will attempt to use its normal methods of bribery and threats to get the answers it wants ... if the ANC really wishes to dispose of this matter there is only one way: an independent commission of inquiry must be appointed."

Another former ANC detainee, Mozolana S'khwebu, says of the three members of the ANC-appointed commission: "They are ANC members ... at the same time, they are appointed to investigate the evil done by the ANC."

Their scepticism is deepened by a number of additional factors: commission hearings are *in camera* and, in Mr Twala's view, in contravention of the maxim that justice must be seen to be done; the murder of at least one dissident, Siphon Phungulwa, by suspected ANC agents since the ANC rebels began to trickle back to South Africa; and the belief that some

dissidents are still being detained in Uganda by, or at the behest of, the ANC.

Suspensions are heightened by their experience of an earlier commission appointed by the ANC to inquire into the causes of a mutiny by ANC fighters at guerilla camps in Angola in 1984.

As Stephen Ellis records in his book "Comrades Against Apartheid", the findings of the commission were never released, still less put on the agenda for discussion at the ANC's consultative conference at Kabwe in Zambia.

The failure to release the findings of the Stuart Commission are seen as evidence that instead of exposing the causes of the mutiny, including the brutal excesses of the ANC's security department, Mbokodo, the commissioners were more concerned to cover up and protect ANC leaders from their share of the blame.

Ellis writes: "All the members of the Stuart Commission were elected to the ANC's national executive committee the next year, which was generally interpreted as recognition for their work."

There are, however, guarantees

against the present Skweyiya Commission merely serving as a already held one session of hearings and is due to hold two more being locked away to protect the ANC from embarrassment.

The ANC has given a solemn undertaking in writing to publish its findings reports, subject only to the deletion of the names of persons if that is deemed necessary for their safety. Individual commissioners, moreover, have the power to write separate reports if they do not concur with the findings of their colleagues.

Already, these demands echo those faced over the years by the South African authorities for a judicial investigation into the torture and death in detention of anti-apartheid detainees. □

# The ghost of torture claims haunts ANC

*Sowetan 8/5/92* (11A) ~~11A~~

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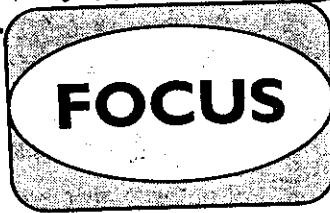
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## Charges

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Where Mandela admitted that some of the imprisoned dissidents



**The African National Congress, still tarnished by the adverse publicity surrounding its former first lady, Mrs Winnie Mandela, faces another potentially explosive crisis, this time over torture in its camps, writes Sowetan correspondent PATRICK LAURENCE.**

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## Bribery

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The Skweyiya commission has already held one session of hearings and is due to hold two more in June and August. It does not have the power to subpoena witnesses.

# Azasm 11A congress

THE Azanian Students Movement is to hold its national congress in Bloemfontein from May 29 to 31.

Azasm acting general secretary Miss Palesa Rachidi said the congress would look for ways of solving the education crisis. Azasm would also "consider ways of handling its growing membership," she said. *Suetan*

Dr Gomolemo Mokaé, who is heads Azapo's education secretariat, will deliver the keynote address. The theme of the congress will be 'consolidate and advance to socialism', she added. *8/5/92*

Rachidi said about 500 delegates from Azasm's 70 branches were expected to attend the congress at the Heidedaal township.

# For Mandela, it's home sweet Houghton

THE ANC had paid more than R500 000 for a plush Johannesburg home for its president Nelson Mandela, the organisation confirmed yesterday.

The heavily secured double-storey house, situated on an oak-lined avenue in Lower Houghton, was not officially put on the market. The previous owners are understood to have accepted the ANC's offer when the organisation approached them through an agent.

In a statement the ANC said Mandela had in the past been subjected to threats on his life, and it hoped the move would not

publish his new address.

A high brick and wrought-iron wall surrounds the property, which has extra protection in the form of high-tech electronic surveillance and alarm devices.

Mandela's new neighbours include the Portuguese consul-general. Others said yesterday Mandela was currently moving into the house, which was being fitted out yesterday with light fittings. Furnishings, including bookcases and chairs, had already been delivered.

The ANC confirmed the house was being renovated and refurbished to accommodate Mandela. A designer from the interior design firm Armazem declined to say who the house owner was or how much the refurbishment contract was worth, and threatened to call the police when Business Day visited the property.

A team of labourers yesterday busied themselves polishing the wooden floorboards and the upstairs windows. Others were touching up the paintwork.

At the property's entrance is what ap

□ To Page 2

## Mandela

6/Day 8/5/92  
appears to be a normal intercom, but closer inspection shows a miniature closed circuit television camera mounted on the speaker, behind a strip of dark glass.

Estate agent Lesley Said confirmed yesterday he had sold the house for "a figure in the mid-500 000s", but was unable to name the buyer. "As far as I know Mandela never came to look at the house."

He said the buyers did not raise a bond to

cover the purchase, but did present the sellers with guarantees in time for the transfer to go through.

Neighbour Theresa Beyers said all the neighbours knew Mandela was moving in, and that they were glad to welcome him to their neighbourhood.

"All I can say is that I respect his privacy and his dignity. This is the new SA, and we'll welcome him as a new neighbour."

© Picture: Page 3

From Page 1

ANC denies  
recruiting  
'trainees'

STEPHANE BOTHMA

THE ANC had not recruited the 45 detained youths in Swaziland who claimed to be ANC members en route to Zambia or Tanzania for military training, the organisation said yesterday.

An ANC spokesman said it was suspected that the youths had been unwittingly used in a propaganda campaign to discredit the organisation and to convey the impression that the ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) were involved in fomenting violence.

However, the ANC had decided to send a delegation to Swaziland to investigate the matter first hand.

Late last month, a group of 32 youths arrived in the eastern border town of Siteki claiming to be ANC members who wanted to be sent to Zambia. A week later, a second group of 13 youths arrived in Big Bend with a similar request.

Swaziland authorities detained the youths and explained they could not be granted refugee status because the ANC had been unbanned. The youths were believed to be from Natal.

The youths supplied names of people involved in their recruitment and illegal entry into Swaziland to Swaziland government representatives and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).

UNHCR spokesman Gary Perkins said Swazi police had been unable to trace the names supplied by the youths. He said it was unlikely the 45 were bona fide ANC members.

The ANC said in a statement it had conducted extensive inquiries and was certain that no ANC structure had been involved in such recruitment.

It also said it had found no trace of the people named as recruiters.

The statement said the ANC had requested the names of the youths as well as the branches they purported to belong to.

By Quentin Wilson

IT IS NOT everyday that one hears white MPs shout "Amanda!" at mass meetings and call for the collapse of an institution that pays their salaries.

At the Cape Town City Hall on Tuesday evening, 1 500 people heard just that when Mr Jannie Mornberg, Mr Jan van Eck and Mr Pierre Cronje explained why they had joined the ANC.

Nobody seemed to mind though, including Mrs Eunice van Eck and Mrs Trienie Mornberg who expertly rattled off Nkosi Sikelel 'iAfrica at the end of the meeting with clenched fists held high.

"I stand here tonight as a liberated person. I believe what I have done is the right and honest thing to do," declared Mornberg, who had served the NP for 30 years before a spell in the DP.

"It has been one helluva long way to the ANC," said Mornberg, "when I walked in here, my dad (who has been dead for many years) must have turned in his grave."

He said there had been a number of turning points in his political career that moved him closer to the democratic movement.

"In 1989, I was fortunate to go to Lusaka and meet the ANC leadership. After a plenary session about the political situation in SA, I knew these were great people who had a great love for this country," he said.

They stayed in Lusaka three days longer than planned and went through "three cases of whisky and two cases of brandy" debating politics.

"The day we left, Mr Alfred Nzo put his hand on my shoulder and said to me, 'Look after my beautiful country'."

"I tell you, I couldn't see out the aeroplane window because of the tears in my eyes. — I knew I was leaving friends," Mornberg said.

Mornberg, who is now in charge of fundraising for the ANC's Cape election campaign, said he felt "personally responsible" for apartheid's crimes committed while he was in the NP.

"In parliament they call me 'Jammer (sorry) Jannie' because I keep apologising about apartheid. But nobody who has ever been part of that government can ever stop saying sorry for what they did to the

# Liberation is never having to say that you are sorry

South 9/5-14/5/92

ESL

11A



Jan van Eck



Pierre Cronje



Dave Dalling



Photos: Yunus Mohamed

**'JAMMER JANNIE': ANC MP Jannie Mornberg says he is a liberated person**

people of this country.

"Even those people who have voted for the NP government over the years carry just as much responsibility for the shootings in Sharpeville, Soweto, and the death of Mr Steve Biko," he said.

Mr Pierre Cronje, a Natal MP, defended the so-called war-talk of ANC Natal Midlands chairperson, Mr Harry Gwala.

"If it was not for that man, all the ANC members in the Midlands would have been wiped out by now," he said.

"I invite all the editors of newspapers, who sit in their offices criticising Mr Gwala in their editorials, to visit trouble-torn areas in Natal. They won't have to do anything, I will show them all the court records, all the affidavits — they can make up their own minds as to who is responsible for the violence," Cronje said.

Van Eck said he had been asked by people whether he was happy with his decision to join the ANC.

"When I read in the press that Chief Buthelezi condemned what we had done — then I was sure that I had done the right thing," he said.

Dr Allan Boesak, ANC regional chairperson, welcomed the MP's, saying the men were part of the only organisation in which true nonracialism can be built.

# Codesa to be focus of ANC protests

By Quentin Wilson

30/4/92  
11A

South 9/5-14/5/92

PICKETS, rallies, videos and marches. This is what the ANC has planned for three days of mass action next week to focus attention on a range of unresolved issues at Codesa.

Before the start of Codesa II, there will be demonstrations in Cape Town demanding the immediate independent control of state-owned media; an end to all secret state projects and an independent

investigation into the Trust Feed massacre.

There will also be protests against the NP's "five presidents proposal" and the harassment of uMkhonto we Sizwe.

The programme is:

- Tuesday, May 12: rallies in Khayelitsha and Gugulethu.
- Tuesday, May 12: a video to be shown at St George's Cathedral. It will be a 40-minute documentary on "Death Squads", starting at 1pm. A demand will be made

for the video to be broadcast by the SABC.

- Wednesday, May 13: picket and march on SABC offices in Sea Point at 6pm.
- Thursday, May 14: UCT rally at 12:45 pm hosted by the South African Students Congress (Sasco). It will be followed by a march to President FW de Klerk's residence.
- Thursday, May 14: picket outside De Klerk's residence at 5:30pm.



# Singing and dancing in the rain

By Quentin Wilson

THE RAIN POURED down. It started over an hour late. The public address system was often on the blink — yet last week's Mayday rally at Athlone Stadium was a real worker celebration.

Despite the hitches, the first ever joint Cosatu/Nactu Mayday event brought 2 500 people together in a massive song and toyi-toyi session that largely ignored ideological chasms.

While vendors sold "Constituent Assembly chips", "Nehawu popcorn" and "Codesa nknaks" in the

South 9/5-14/5/92  
stand, the string of speakers called for unity between South Africa's two giant union federations.

It made the "vivas" a lot longer at the beginning of each speech, but this served to highlight that the occasion was the first grassroots step towards a joint programme in the months to come.

When the PA system permitted, speakers discussed the violence, negotiations and their organisation's plans for a democratic constitution.

SACP leader Mr Essop Pahad said there had to be "an economic revolution" together with political

change for social justice to be achieved.

"Political power is not enough. Even after the black, green and gold flag flies from the parliamentary buildings, our people will be facing the same terrible economic hardships.

"We cannot transfer economic power from a minority of a minority to a majority without some kind of economic revolution," Pahad said.

"If workers are clever enough, skilled enough, good enough to produce the wealth of this country — they are good enough to decide on how it is spent," he said.

Nactu leader Mr Sipho Radebe stressed the need for a labour movement that is independent from political organisations.

"The independence of the trade unions is crucial. We must not make the mistakes made by countries in Eastern European where the labour movements became blindly controlled by the ruling class.

"To have alliances with political organisations is okay, as long as we do not follow agendas that are not in the interests of workers. The oppressed of today must not become the oppressors of tomorrow," Radebe said.

A workers' summit in Johannesburg at the end of May will discuss further joint Cosatu/Nactu action.

# Detainees slate ANC 'charade'

(11A)

ARG 9/5/92

**PATRICK LAURENCE**  
Weekend Argus Political Staff

ANOTHER potentially-explosive crisis is looming for the African National Congress, still tarnished by the adverse publicity surrounding its former first lady, Mrs Winnie Mandela.

As the controversy over Mrs Mandela continues to swirl around and sully the ANC, the organisation stands accused of detaining and torturing dissidents in its ranks in the mid-1980s.

The dissidents, many of whom have returned to South Africa, mainly have rejected overtures from the ANC to come back to the fold and refused to allow the matter to fade into obscurity.

Instead, they have talked of "people who are now lying in shallow graves in Africa" and demanded an impartial investigation into their treatment by ANC security personnel.

The ANC has taken two steps to defuse the threatened new crisis:

Its president, Mr Nelson Mandela, has admitted that some of the charges of torture are true and it has appointed a commission of inquiry to investigate the allegations fully.

It remains to be seen whether these measures will succeed or whether the ANC, like Swapo in Namibia, will have to face a post-apartheid election with its image marred by serious charges of torture.

One of the problems is that the ANC commission's terms of reference are unclear:

These were to investigate the conditions under which ANC prisoners were detained, the "allegations of their maltreatment" and the complaints "about the loss or destruction of their properties".

Marcus, and a member of the ANC's legal team, Ms Bridget Mabandla.

Its composition, however, has triggered suspicions among many dissidents that its primary purpose is to protect the ANC and cover up its alleged atrocities.

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Individual commissioners, moreover, have the power to write separate reports if they do not concur with the findings of their colleagues.

The Skweyiya Commission has already held one session of hearings and is due to hold two more in June and August. It does not have the power to subpoena witnesses. Whether it will attract enough dissidents to give its findings credibility is as yet unclear.

If it does not, it will have served no useful purpose and demands will grow for an independent judicial inquiry.

Already, these demands echo those faced over the years by the South African authorities for a judicial investigation into the torture and death in detention of anti-apartheid detainees.

● The ANC has welcomed a planned investigation into its prison camps by Amnesty International. In a statement released in Johannesburg yesterday, the ANC said it was certain only the truth could help clear the air and call the people responsible for abuses to book.

ANC MP Mr Jan van Eck, who has often criticised the government over internal inquiries, responded to the ANC's internal probe into its detention camps: "In the case of the government, there is a long history of internal

# Top SACP man hurls insults at Buthelezi, FW

SI Times 10/5/92

MOSES MAYEKISO, the president of the SA National Civics Association and prominent SA Communist Party member, escalated the war of words this week with Inkatha when he referred to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi as a "dog", a term considered an extreme insult to Zulus.

In Washington to promote the "Stop Apartheid's Violence" campaign launched by the Africa Fund, a UN-backed anti-apartheid lobby, Mr Mayekiso also called State President FW De Klerk a "terrorist".

Appearing at a thinly-attended but largely sympathetic forum arranged by the US Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, he said Mr De Klerk was "an instrument of violence" and "not different from other National Party leaders" of the past, who had been "responsible for the murder" of blacks.

He said the role of killer had not been ditched by the state, but was part of the negotiating package.

Mr Buthelezi was a pawn of the state, Mr Mayekiso said. He said youths used to sing: "What do we see when we look at Gatsha Buthelezi?" The song answered: "We see a dog," he said.

He went on to say that like any dog, Mr Buthelezi could only win when controlled by someone else.

These were not off-the-cuff remarks. The speaker

By SIMON BARBER  
Washington

was reading, albeit with some difficulty, from a prepared text.

He was introduced by Gay MacDougall, who heads the Lawyers' Committee's South Africa Project. "He has fought," she said in what seemed an unfortunate choice of words, "to bring stability to his own township, Alexandra." Before he spoke, the audience was shown a brief film on the violence, produced by the Africa Fund.

## Flood

Like Mr Mayekiso, the film attributed the violence to the government and Inkatha and hinted that Renamo-type forces were surfacing in South Africa.

It ended with a claim that the Bush administration was helping finance the killing by giving Inkatha a share of the R27-million "Transition to Democracy" fund voted by Congress in 1990.

The Africa Fund is asking supporters to flood "apartheid ambassador Harry Schwarz" with telephone calls, faxes and letters.

# Interim rule: It's going to be a dogfight

ANC president Nelson Mandela said on Friday he was concerned that the call for an interim government would be rejected by the SA government.

Speaking at a banquet in Umtata in the nominally-independent homeland of Transkei, Mandela said his concern was based on the fact that no breakthrough had been made at Codesa I.

The ANC would however, push ahead for an interim government.

During his speech Mandela dealt with the ANC's policy on nationalisation, the violence plaguing SA, the ANC's links with the SACP, and the fate of public servants if the ANC came to power.

Mandela said there was an urgent need for the installation of an interim government so that sanctions could be lifted and SA readmitted to the UN.

"Nevertheless, (State) President FW de Klerk and his party want to cling to the monopoly of political power."

Referring to the current wave of

Mandela says  
ANC won't stand for Nat refusal

violence, Mandela said he had met De Klerk and had accused the State President of being involved in the unrest sweeping the country.

De Klerk had told him that parliament had passed laws allowing for the arrest of people carrying dangerous weapons.

Mandela said, however, that "inside the very House, he (the State President) makes another law which prevents the police taking action when they are supposed to arrest weapon-wielding people . . ."

The ANC leader said SA would watch with interest De Klerk's reaction following allegations that the security forces were implicated in the killing of three Cradock men

- Matthew Goniwe, and fellow Cradock members Fort Calata and Sicelo Mahlawuli - in 1985.

"We are going to watch what he is going to do. He has kept quiet about the Trust Feeds killings."

Mandela was referring to the recent conviction of a policeman for the massacre of innocent people in Natal.

"In another State, the head of State would have condemned the action and gone to the extent of offering his condolences to the next of kin. Mr de Klerk did not do that," Mandela said.

He said the ANC was calling for an interim government "so that we should be able to have a say in the control of security forces and the budget of the country".

Mandela said the ANC would discuss nationalisation when it met in Cape Town. "We don't want businessmen and investors to nurse fears about their future."

No civil servant would be dismissed if the ANC came to power, although early retirement could be considered, Mandela said. - Sapa

11A  
20/11/92  
C/PRESS  
10/5/92

**DATELINE**

# Unita dissidents warn of civil war

A MAJOR revolt is brewing inside Unita against the leadership of Dr Jonas Savimbi and could plunge Angola back into civil war, two high-ranking Unita dissidents claimed this week.

Several of Unita's most senior officials, including Savimbi's second-in-command, vice-president Jeremias Chitunda, are being kept under virtual house arrest in Luanda, the dissidents alleged.

The two dissidents are former Foreign Minister Tony Fernandez and security chief General Nzau Puna.

The two, who left Angola under doubtful circumstances last February, are seeking to secure Washington's backing for Savimbi's ousting from the party leadership.

Frontline S/Times 10/5/92 (5)  
**Simon Barber in Washington**

They hope to convince his supporters in Congress and the Bush administration that he is guilty of chronic human rights abuses, including the deaths of former Washington representative Tito Chingunji, his brother-in-law, Wilson dos Santos, and their families.

## Backing

In meetings with officials early this week, they also intend to assert that Savimbi has kept at least 20 000 of his best fighters under arms — possibly with on-going covert backing from South African military intelligence — in camps near Mavinga.

They argue that Savimbi is not the Jeffersonian democrat his American

friends have painted him, but is running his movement as a family fiefdom with his three nephews — Salupeto, "Ben-Ben" and Estevao Pena, who respectively head Unita's political commission, armed forces (FALA) and intelligence service.

They claim that Salupeto Pena is keeping vice-president Chitunda and others under close surveillance at the Turismo hotel in Luanda, and that Estevao personally oversaw the killings of Chingunji and the others.

The Chingunji case has already had serious repercussions. In March, US Secretary of State James Baker personally wrote to Savimbi demanding a full explanation.

On Thursday, the chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee, Senator David Boren, called on the UN secretary-general to conduct an inquiry.

Senator Boren was speaking after seeing Savimbi's confidential reply to Mr Baker, a copy of which has been obtained by the Sunday Times.

In it, Savimbi asserts that General Puna arranged for the death of Chingunji in defiance of his wishes and as part of a plot with the MPLA to damage his reputation.

Savimbi maintains that in the late 80s Chingunji conspired — possibly with elements of the CIA — either to force him into exile or poison him.

His plan was to take over the movement and achieve a settlement with the MPLA which had offered to form a coalition



**CLOSE TIES:** Unita leader Jonas Savimbi and US Secretary of State James Baker in Washington in October 1990

day saying that while "we may never know who was responsible for these heinous acts ... Dr Savimbi must accept responsibility for the fact that they occurred in a jurisdiction controlled by his political and military organisation".

Hoping to strengthen such sentiments, Puna and Ferndandes helped arrange a memorial service for Chingunji in Washington on Friday.

The administration is divided on the dissidents. One school of thought says "they took the money and ran", contending that they were paid off by the MPLA much as Savimbi suggests.

Partisans of this view note the two have changed their story several times since leaving Angola.

But others are not so sure. If dissatisfaction with Savimbi has truly spread as far as such long-time loyalists as Chitunda, they fear he might be tempted to precipitate a collapse of the peace process.

with Unita provided Savimbi was not involved.

Chingunji was recalled from Washington in November 1988. He allegedly confessed and was tried before an inquiry chaired by Puna in Jamba the follow-

ing February. Savimbi insists that he loved Chingunji "as a son" and was convinced that both he and his co-conspirator, Wilson Dos Santos, could be "rehabilitated".

He ordered them placed

under guard in Jamba to protect them. Neither the administration nor Savimbi's erstwhile supporters in Congress are satisfied with this explanation.

Senator Boren wrote to President Bush last Thurs-

# SUNDAY

## PROFILE

2  
S/TW...  
10/5/92

11A

TWENTY-ONE years ago, a first year science student at the University of Zululand took a mathematical instrument and carefully pierced 83 plastic cups. He was tired of drinking tea from "smelly containers".

For Siphwe Nyanda, alias Gebhuza, acting chief of staff of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, this was his first act of sabotage.

The Orlando High School matriculant was caught and suspended indefinitely from the university for "malicious damage to property".

Mr Nyanda, 41, whose appointment as Chris Hani's replacement is to be confirmed by the national working committee soon, is very different from his predecessor in both appearance and style.

While Mr Hani is the king of rabble rousing rhetoric, Mr Nyanda is soft-spoken. But then, the job he has taken on requires very different qualities.

Mr Nyanda takes up his position at a time when the government is demanding that the ANC renounce its armed struggle and disband MK.

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee has announced new legislation to be tabled soon that would make it illegal to organise, train or equip a private army, or use it in a demonstration of strength for a political purpose.

This does not bother Mr Nyanda unduly; he labels it political posturing. He sees his task as the new chief of staff to re-orientate MK soldiers and upgrade their skills so they can become part of a future army.

He has clear ideas about what should happen to MK in the interim and the principles that should guide a new army.

"We don't want the ANC to be accused of having a private army in the period leading up to democratic elections. MK has to be part of the building block of a future army," he said.

The ANC is proposing that, during the interim period, a security forces multi-party committee be created which will be accountable to an interim government council.

Agreement would also be reached on the control of MK units outside the country.

The security forces multi-party committee would oversee the activities of the present security establishment, in-



CLEAR IDEAS ... Siphwe Nyanda, who plans to upgrade MK's skills

## Softly, softly Siphwe is scheming for MK's future

ter permanent force in which there would be no discrimination on the basis of race or gender.

However, reaching agreement with the government on control over the security forces and principles for an integrated new army was no easy task, he said.

The government appeared to want a political victory over MK and was insisting on a "cart before the horse approach" which the ANC could not agree to.

ANC national working committee member Ronnie Kasrils said Mr Nyanda had excellent organising abilities, a creative mind and "gets things done" — necessary qualities for the tough administrative and organising tasks ahead.

His "township cool" conceals a keen strategist with a sharp mind. Mr Nyanda, who directed military operations in the Transvaal's urban areas for nearly eight years from Swaziland, survived assassi-

# Softly, softly on land issue



**TITO MBOWENI ... "There are people alive whose land was expropriated by government."**

By **SEKOLA SELLO** <sup>(11A)</sup> ~~11A~~

**T**HE ANC, only three weeks away before holding an important policy conference,

does not seem anywhere near resolving one of the major problems facing it, the question of the land.

A draft document of the ANC which is currently being discussed by the membership before the policy conference at the end of this month, clearly shows the dilemma facing the organisation.

## Objectives

The introduction to the document says two of the three basic objectives of the ANC policy are:

■ First, to overcome the legacy of inequality and injustice created by colonialism and apartheid.

■ Second, to develop an economy and state infrastructure that will progressively improve the quality of life of all South Africans.

These objectives go to the heart of the South African problem. The legacy of State-created inequality is largely responsible for a situation where 87 percent of the land is owned by whites who constitute only 13 percent of the total population of the country.

The other side of the dilemma is how to redress the inequalities without creating serious economic disruptions. The ANC is aware of the trials and tribulations faced by Zimbabwe President Robert Mugabe who has been trying to solve a similar problem for the past 12 years.

The ANC's draft document on

land and agricultural policy clearly reflect this dilemma. The document notes that "dispossession and denial of rights to land have resulted in the present unequal division of land and landlessness, which will require legislative intervention far beyond the mere repeal of apartheid land laws".

Aware of the opposition land redistribution policies will definitely elicit among whites and most likely also taking international opinion into account, the document calls for a very cautious approach on this issue.

The document calls for a comprehensive land reform programme which will include the following:

■ Redressing the injustices caused by apartheid's policy of dispossession;

■ Addressing demands and grievances concerning land restoration and ownership by the creation of a special land court through which competing claims to land can be resolved;

## Diversity of tenure

■ Creating institutions to which the homeless and landless will have access in order to obtain land, shelter and necessary services;

■ The recognition and protection of the diversity of tenure forms in our country;

■ The promotion of a policy of affirmative action within a viable economic development programme to ensure, among other things, access to land with secure rights for residential settlement, as well as access to good agricultural land,

which will create new opportunities in this sector.

The ANC envisages a land claims tribunal which will hear cases of people competing over any piece of land. According to the document, priority will be given to victims of forced removals, "who had their lands taken by the apartheid state".

ANC economist Tito Mboweni recently explained on SATV that there are cases "in living memory" of people whose lands were expropriated by government. These people, he said, had a strong case to demand their land back.

## Allay fears

In order to allay the fears of those who may be affected by these land reform measures, the document proposes that "compensation will have a big role to play in dealing with competing claims".

However, the document is less clear on how an ANC-led government will recognise and protect tenure under which most whites own the land – and their expected resistance to giving it up – while at the same time being legislatively able to acquire land for the dispossessed.

Twelve years after independence, Mugabe is still trying to resolve an almost identical problem.

Can the ANC succeed in reconciling the needs of the dispossessed and the dispossessors? The ANC document on land policy – it must be emphasised this is still in a draft form – does not seem nearer solving this vexing problem.

# Chinese, SA communists agree on relations

By Esther Waugh <sup>SAPC</sup>  
Political Reporter 115792

The South African Communist Party and its Chinese counterpart have reached several agreements, including on cultural relations, according to SACP general-secretary Chris Hani.

During a visit to the People's Republic of China, Mr Hani said it was agreed that an SACP delegation would travel to China to study the building of socialism, and a Chinese Communist Party (CCP) group would visit South Africa to explain their struggle for socialism.

An agreement was also reached on cultural relations, including visits by South African and Chinese academics, but they did not agree on the form of the relations, he said.

"They indicated that since people-to-people sanctions have been lifted, China's doors are open to South African visitors, irrespective of their political outlook," said Mr Hani.

Mr Hani's trip to China was the third undertaken by the SACP — a delegation was led in 1989 by the party's chairman Joe Slovo and last year another group, led by Raymond Mhlaba, visited China.

Although a Chinese liaison mission had already been established in Pretoria, Mr Hani said China was sensitive to the ANC and SACP demand that full diplomatic relations should take place only once an interim government was established.

His visit also included a meeting with CCP general-secretary Yang Zeming.

The CCP supported negotiations in South Africa and felt that everything possible should be done to find a peaceful solution to the problems of apartheid, said Mr Hani.

It was agreed that there was a need for communist parties to regroup.



# Doubts loom over this week's Codesa 2

ARC 11/5/92

ESTHER WAUGH  
Political Staff

**JOHANNESBURG.** — The possibility of substantial agreement being reached at Codesa 2 on Friday is becoming increasingly uncertain as time is running out for the 19 participating groups to reach consensus on unresolved issues.

Two crucial Codesa working groups meet today specifically to discuss which body should rule the country in the run-up to elections for a transitional government and the form of the body which will draft the new constitution.

The two groups last week failed to reach consensus on these points.

A meeting between the ANC and the government in Cape Town on Friday also could not agree on these issues.

This means that if today's

meetings do not reach consensus, it is unlikely that substantial agreements can be reached at Codesa 2.

It is understood that at the meeting on Friday the government and ANC discussed only the proposed elected parliament which would draft the new constitution and could not reach agreement.

The government is understood to be insisting that the option of a two or one chamber parliament be clearly stated in any agreement while the ANC is insisting on a one chamber body to draft the constitution.

The ANC has said it will not accept anything but a package deal for both phases of the transition as it does not want to become locked into interim arrangements indefinitely.

Until now the government and ANC have agreed that the transition would involve firstly, preparation for elections for an interim government and sec-

ondly, the drafting of a new constitution.

South African Communist Party chief Mr Chris Hani warned last night that the government might still sign agreements on Friday, but could refuse to implement them on the grounds that the ANC allegedly had not adhered to pacts.

Speaking after a two-day SACP central committee meeting, Mr Hani said its projections were that the government might claim that the ANC had not adhered to agreements such as the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes and the DF Malan Accord, and was therefore not to be trusted.

Mr Hani said it was clear that the government was launching an offensive against the ANC focusing on violence.

The campaign included a document, tabled by Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel at Codesa last week,

which was a catalogue of alleged transgressions by the ANC of agreements, he said.

"We will not let the regime off the hook," Mr Hani said.

As in the case of the ANC, the SACP would demand an agreement on an interim government at Codesa 2, and also a commitment from the government for elections for a constitution-making body-cum-legislature, he said.

The Inkatha Freedom Party met in Ulundi on Saturday to discuss a revised document seeking to reach consensus among the 19 Codesa participants on the powers of the body to govern until elections for a transitional government.

The document has proposed a multi-party transitional executive council and several sub-councils.

It is understood that the IFP will today propose "substantial" changes to the document.



Mr Chris Hani ... suspicious.

## SACP and Chinese communists to exchange visits, says Hani

ARC 11/5/92

Political Staff

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An agreement was also reached on cultural relations, including visits by South Afri-

can and Chinese academics, but they did not agree on the form of the relations, he said.

The parties also agreed on exchange visits by youth and women's groups.

"They indicated that since people-to-people sanctions have been lifted, China's doors are open to South African visitors, irrespective of their political outlook," said Mr Hani.

Mr Hani's trip to China was the third undertaken by the SACP. A delegation was led in 1989 by the party's chairman Mr Joe Slovo and last year another group, led by Raymond Mhlaba visited China.

Although a Chinese liaison

mission had already been established in Pretoria, Mr Hani said China was sensitive to the ANC and SACP demand that full diplomatic relations should only take place once an interim government was established.

His visit also included a meeting with the CCP general secretary Yang Zeming.

The CCP supported negotiations in South Africa and felt everything possible should be done to find a peaceful solution to the problems of apartheid, said Mr Hani.

It was agreed that there was a need for communist parties to re-group and reassert themselves, he said.

## OAU team assures PAC on Codesa role

ARC 11/5/92

**JOHANNESBURG.** — Representatives of the Pan Africanist Congress, African National Congress and the SA Council of Churches are to meet today to discuss a programme for the visiting Organisation of Africa Unity delegation.

The delegation, consisting of five ambassadors based at OAU headquarters in Addis Ababa, was welcomed on their

arrival at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday by senior PAC members and includes Chief Segun Olusola, Nigeria; Mr J Bendjama, Algeria; secretary-general Mr Norbert Ngova; Mr Javan Kulary, Uganda; and Mr Tranos Makombe, Zimbabwe.

PAC representatives were reported to have told the mission the PAC could not condone participation by the OAU in Codesa.

Speaking to reporters after the meeting, PAC publicity director Waters Toboti said the OAU had given the assurance the purpose of the visit was to monitor the violence, not to attend Codesa.

However, on arrival, the leader of the mission, Chief Olusola, hinted that delegates hoped to attend Codesa as observers.

necessary sense of urgency, as at...

# Interim govt urgent Mandela

6/10/87 1115792  
UMTATA — An interim government was needed urgently so sanctions could be lifted and SA could be readmitted to the UN, ANC president Nelson Mandela told a banquet in Umtata on Saturday.

He said he had accused President F W de Klerk of involvement in violence in SA. Mandela said the president had told him that Parliament had passed laws outlawing the carrying of dangerous weapons.

He said he had told De Klerk, however, that Parliament had passed another law preventing police from enforcing the law.

SA would watch with interest the president's reaction to the implication of security force members in the killing of three east Cape activists in 1985, Mandela said.

He said the ANC wanted an interim government so it could have a say in the control of the security forces and the budget.

Addressing Fort Hare University's 69th graduation ceremony later,

Mandela said that if an interim government was delayed, those responsible for the blockage must "feel the people's anger".

This would make the price of resisting freedom higher than granting it. Mandela received an honorary doctorate in law at the ceremony.

He said the ANC was determined to see "something meaningful" come out of Codesa 2.

There was no reason, Mandela said, to delay an interim government and elections, but the present government wanted to retain power.

"They need to come to their senses, and perhaps we can help them. It is not for them to decide how much democracy there will be. We want a democracy that is universally recognisable, no more uniquely white SA version of democracy," Mandela said.

SA had to choose between democracy and peace, or increasing violence. Mandela said he hoped an interim government would end

violence in SA. (11A)

He criticised the majority of whites for their lack of concern at the slaughter of blacks.

He said that as far as whites were concerned, the violence could be happening in a foreign country.

But Mandela said he was positive about progress made, and complimented the university for keeping pace with change.

He appealed to graduates to dedicate their skills to their communities. Nationalisation, Mandela said, would be discussed when the ANC met in Cape Town.

The policy would not necessarily be changed, he said.

"All we want is maximum production.

"We don't want businessmen and investors to nurse fears about their future in this country."

Mandela defended the ANC's alliance with the SACP, saying "the oppressed" needed to speak with one voice. — Sapa.

Chiwelli...estration

# Pressurise FW <sup>(11A)</sup> ~~(S)~~ call

*Sowetan* 12/5/92  
Political Correspondent

PRESSURE is mounting on African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela to challenge State President FW de Klerk at Codesa 2 this weekend to let the voters decide on an interim government in a nonracial referendum. Senior negotiators in the ANC, and among the

● To page 3

## Mandela urged to pressurise FW

● From page 1

nine other signatories of the Patriotic Front involved in negotiations at Codesa, have started to show signs of panic and fear that the convention's second plenary session this weekend would "fail" unless the Government accepted ANC proposals on the first phase of the interim government and a constitution-making body.

A PF source at Codesa

*Sowetan* 12/5/92  
said yesterday Mandela would have the opportunity to move De Klerk, as well as "dump the myth that he (De Klerk) is an arch-reformer" by calling for a democratic referendum for the entire country in the presence of the international community, who will be present this weekend as observers.

"It will be hard for De Klerk to back out of a referendum and, if he does, the international community

will see that he is not really interested in seeing effective and democratic progress in the country," he said. (11A) (S)

### Interests

*Sowetan* has learnt that De Klerk at the weekend told senior executives of a major South African company at a gathering in Hermanus, Cape, that "the ultimate aim was to protect vested interests" in the country.

# We can either go MAD or all agree to a new deal

deal

STAR 12/5/92



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At one level it is difficult to understand the problems Codesa has in arriving at a comprehensive constitutional settlement which would allow the process to move forward. The basic elements of a deal are there; all that is required is the willingness to compromise and the development of mutual trust.

Yet the same could be said of the nuclear arms race. Both the US and the USSR crippled themselves economically and imperiled the future of the human race by developing weapons to the point of Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD). The reason? They could not decide on the simple question: who disarms first? In the end it was not rationality that prevailed but the collapse of the Soviet economy which led to unilateral disarmament and an end to the arms race.

The question of who disarms

**The Pattern of Politics**  
HERMANN GILIOLEE



first also lies at the root of the deadlock at Codesa. This in turn is tied to the starkly conflicting interpretations of the nature of South Africa's movement away from authoritarianism and the requirements for a successful transition to democracy.

If we look at the recent political history of Latin America and south and eastern Europe, there are three types of transition. The first is a transition after regime breakdown or collapse (Portugal in 1974 or Argentina after the Falklands War). Here the regime is thoroughly discredited and dele-

gitimised and is replaced rapidly by a democratic government.

By 1990, the SA State was nowhere near collapse but the black authorities in most townships and homelands could, in fact, be described as totally discredited and delegitimised. The PAC and some elements in the SACP seem to have this scenario in mind.

The second type of transition is transition through extrication. The incumbent regime has some limited control of the transition and manages to avoid a breakdown or collapse. However, because it increasingly lacks the ability to govern society it opens negotiations with the democratic opposition for a new regime which would enable it to extricate itself from power without suffering retribution or loss of face. The negotiations take place with the balance of power in favour of the opposition; and the regime usually

loses the capability to control the transition after the moment of the first elections either for the constituent assembly or parliament itself. By and large the ANC has been operating with this model of transition in mind, hence the movement's unwillingness to give any substance to the broad principles which have commonly been accepted at Codesa. Hence also its continued allegations of a Third Force and government complicity in the violence. The idea seems to be to launch a final assault on the Government's legitimacy and compel a transition to an interim government in which the ANC will have a fairly free hand.

The third type is the transition through transaction or pacts. This is really the only way in which South Africa could proceed to a stable and democratic new order. It replaces the framework of conflict with a structure that pro-



vides for mutual security. Spain and Brazil have made successful transitions to democracy by applying this method. Developments in South Africa also display some of the features of this transition.

In this kind of transition the initiative is largely in the hands of the incumbent regime. It starts liberalising the system and exercises a considerable degree of control over the process of democratisation. Although it accepts that this unilateral control would steadily decline, it is confident of its ability to shape socio-economic policy in the new order.

From the point of view of a mass democratic movement such as the ANC, the problem with this

kind of transition is that it soon starts losing contact with its rank and file followers. It now has to portray itself as a "loyal opposition" which has freed itself of subversive elements. The once heroic struggle becomes a rather humdrum affair.

The main challenge facing negotiators is to get the ANC to do this without losing face. The only way lies through all the parties committing themselves once again to ending the violence. The proceedings of the Goldstone Commission increasingly add up to the conclusion that there is no single Third Force to blame but that all the parties and their leaders are to blame for the continuing political violence.

The political genre in South Africa is now much clearer. It is either MAD or there will be a settlement brought about by all parties. □

# Goniwe and friends shot and stabbed

Sowetan Correspondent

CRADOCK may have the reputation of a platteland backwater, but the towering presence of Mr Matthew Goniwe ensured that the dusty Eastern Cape town was at the forefront of the anti-apartheid struggle of the mid-1980s.

That was until his brutal murder in 1985.

Goniwe was a Cradock teacher, founder and former chairman of the Cradock Residents' Association (Cradora), rural regional organiser for the United Democratic Front and an associate member of the Black Sash.

He set out for home from Port Elizabeth with three companions on June 27 after attending an unscheduled UDF meeting.

His fellow-travellers were UDF executive member Mr Fort Calata; Mr Thomas "Sparrow" Mkhonto, chairman of Cradora; and Oudtshoorn teacher and UDF member Mr Siculo Mhlawuli.

None of the men was seen alive again.

The charred bodies of Goniwe and Calata were found in a clearing near Bluewater Bay on the outskirts of Port Elizabeth on July 2.

Goniwe's gutted Honda Ballade was discovered near the Aldo Scribante racetrack nearby.

Four days earlier, Mhlawuli's body had been found in bushes a few kilometres away at Veeplaas, and that of Mkhonto the next day.

From the outset, the men's families and anti-apartheid leaders claimed the State was involved in the killings.

The day their bodies were discovered, regional UDF secretary Mr Derrick Swartz was quoted as saying:

"The nation and the international community knows full well who is responsible for their deaths."

Mr Murphy Morobe, UDF acting publicity secretary, said the police's failure to make any headway with the case left "many questions".

"The popular view has become that there is police complicity in these incidents."

The South African Government took "the strongest possible exception" to these allegations.

Mr Louis Nel, then Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, said they had persistently tried to restore law and order in unrest areas - "exactly to prevent such tragic incidents" - and he blamed the conflict on "an internecine power struggle by opposing radical organisations".

By August 1985, police had "absolutely no leads", and academics and administrative staff at the three Western Cape universities were offering a R35 000 reward for information leading to the conviction of the killers.

A first inquest on the four men opened in Port Elizabeth

in January 1988, but was postponed with the agreement of the families' legal representatives.

The magistrate ordered the documents to remain privileged after hearing a State representative say an investigation was still in progress and a prosecution could result.

In August 1988, the South African Embassy in London lashed out at the BBC over a television programme which examined the murders of opponents of apartheid - including that of Goniwe, Natal academic Dr Rick Turner and ANC Paris representative Mrs Dulcie September.

The embassy accused the BBC of conducting a "propaganda vendetta" against South Africa, and in a question-and-answer session after the film, South African "super-spy" and President's Council member Mr Craig Williamson flatly denied South African involvement in the murders.

He said it was easy to make the accusations without evidence to back them up.

A second inquest started on February 15 1989 and Mrs Goniwe was represented by one of South Africa's best-known advocates, Mr Arthur Chaskalson, SC.



Matthew Goniwe died of wounds in the neck, chest, stomach and back.

The court was told Mr Goniwe died of multiple stab wounds in the neck, chest, stomach and back.

Calata had been stabbed in the heart.

Mkhonto had a gunshot wound in the brain, a stab

wound which had penetrated his heart and three other chest wounds.

Mhlawuli had been shot in the brain and chest and stabbed 32 times with a variety of weapons.

Evidence was led - but

ing politically motivated, and rejected suggestions of conflict between the UDF and Azapo in Cradock.

He described the killings as carefully planned, well co-ordinated and skillful.

"We know he (Goniwe) said he would stop only for the police or traffic officers," Chaskalson told the inquest court.

He said petrol had been poured over the men's faces and set alight to make it more difficult to identify the bodies.

He referred to evidence that the original number plates on Mr Goniwe's car had been removed and that a false number plate had been found next to the car.

One of Mr Goniwe's original CAT number plates had later been found in the grass near the car.

Magistrate Mr E de Beer said suspicions by the men's families that members of the South African Police had been involved in the murders had been extensively investigated, but there had been no evidence before him to suggest any policemen had participated in the killings.

On the evidence, it was impossible to determine the identity of the killers and he ruled that their deaths had been caused by "a person or group of persons unknown".

He referred his findings to the Attorney-General of the Eastern Cape.

mainly rejected - that the men's deaths resulted from conflict between the UDF and the black consciousness organisation Azapo.

In his summing-up, Chaskalson said everything pointed to the murders be-

# Sash looks to the ANC

Sowetan Correspondent

THE Black Sash yesterday called on the ANC to identify and act against members responsible for the killing of colleagues in ANC camps between 1976 and 1990. Sowetan

The organisation also urged the ANC to expose the truth about alleged deaths in its camps.

The call was made in a joint statement by Black Sash national president Mrs Jenny de Tolly and her predecessor, Mrs Mary Burton. 14/5/92

They were responding to a report in *Die Burger* about an alleged ANC document in its possession which names 265 people who died in its camps in suicides, executions and shooting incidents.

Mr Jan van Eck, the former Democratic Party MP who has joined the ANC, said he would investigate the matter within the ANC.

He said: "My four colleagues and I who have joined the ANC are not the movement's spokesmen. Any matter which concerns us will be taken up inside the ANC and not in the Press. This is how we acted in the DP."

According to the *Burger* report the document, called List of Deceased Comrades, gives the travelling names of those killed, their real names, the causes of their death and where they are buried.

According to the document more than 70 guerrillas died in skirmishes with Unita between 1987 and 1988.

The report says the first name on the list is that of Mr Abraham Tiro, a guerrilla who died of malaria in Punda in 1976.

Mr Cekiso Hoyi, also known as Ronald Msomi, was one of seven guerrillas executed in Quibaxi camp, Angola, in 1984.

Seven other ANC members were shot dead in the same camp during an "ANC confrontation" in 1984, and six others were killed by mutineers.

Two guerrillas were beaten to death in camp and another was shot by a prison warder.

# Axed lawyer Mpofu hits back at ANC

Soufan  
14/5/92  
(11A)

MR Dali Mpofu, deputy head of the ANC's social welfare department who was fired by the organisation earlier this week, yesterday charged that his dismissal was an unfair labour practice.

Mpofu's claim followed a report on Tuesday that he had been dismissed "for internal departmental matters".

The head of the department, Mrs Winnie Mandela, resigned on April 15 soon after separating from her husband, Mr Nelson Mandela.

The two had been romantically linked for quite some time.

Mpofu said he had originally been instructed to move to the legal department. He said he rejected the proposal.

He said he then offered to leave the welfare department at the end of May because it would be virtually impossible for anyone to replace him as deputy head without affecting the ANC

Policy Conference at the end of the month.

His proposal was rejected by the ANC's secretary general, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, he said.

Mpofu said he then wrote a letter asking for details of the proposed transfer as well as his employment status.

"After some delay I received a strange reply which both purported to answer some of my questions and simultaneously stated that I was being dismissed for refusing to follow the instruction."

Mpofu claimed his dismissal was prompted by growing factionalism within the ANC, "whose members are bent on destroying the organisation and transforming it into their vehicle for power at the expense of the masses".

They had "a surprisingly naive mistaken view that the ANC as an employer is above the law and is not bound by the ordinary principles of justice and fairness at the workplace", he

said.

"But the most ironic twist of the whole episode must be to receive an unfair dismissal letter signed by Cyril Ramaphosa, who probably gained his position in the ANC because of his record in fighting unfair labour practices."

He did not say whether he would contest the dismissal. - Sapa



C

# PAC lays down the law to OAU delegates

81 pay 12/5/92

THE PAC told the visiting OAU delegation yesterday not to think about investigating the activities of its military wing, the Azanian People's Army (Apla), or of the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe.

PAC national organiser Maxwell Nemadzivhanani told a news conference the PAC understood that the OAU was supportive of liberation movements. "At our meeting (yesterday), we made it clear that activities of liberation armies ... do not constitute public violence."

Nemadzivhanani said the delegation was told to limit its investigations to fac-

WILSON ZWANE

tional fighting and "government-sponsored acts of violence designed to undermine the liberation movements".

PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander said the delegation was "a commission of inquiry" in SA to identify culprits and the nature of violence, not to end violence. It was hoped that its findings would be presented to the international community, which would then decide on a course of punitive action, Alexander said.

The delegation, of five ambassadors

based at the OAU headquarters in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, also met the ANC and the SA Council of Churches yesterday. Today it will visit unrest flashpoints in the Cape.

Sapa reports that delegation spokesman Segun Olusola said the aim was "to monitor and accelerate the democratisation process and to ensure the success of processes such as Codesa. We will also see what influence we can bring to bear on incidents and elements impeding democratisation, such as the violence".

Nemadzivhanani reiterated PAC opposition to the group attending Codesa II.



# ANC, Cosatu lay into besieged De Klerk

STAR 12/5/92

By Shaun Johnson  
and Esther Waugh

With the Government reeling from allegations of corruption and assassinations — and Codesa 2 only days away — the ANC and Cosatu yesterday sought to further weaken President de Klerk's position.

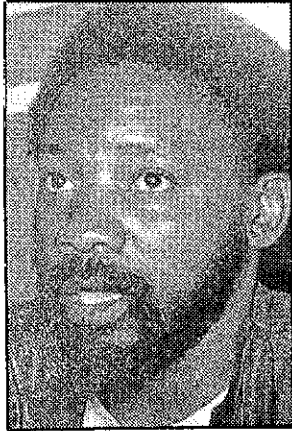
The two organisations launched separate, stinging attacks on the Government in preparation for Friday's crucial Codesa 2 meeting, while simultaneously in Cape Town ministers faced a ferocious parliamentary onslaught prompted by the Development Aid scandal.

Codesa sources described the situation as "heaven-sent" for the ANC and its allies, who are fighting to force the Government into agreeing to a "package" on interim rule.

Government spokesmen, who have been dampening expectations about potential "breakthroughs" at Codesa 2, will now come under intense pressure to make compromises in order to ensure Friday's meeting is a success.

There is concern that local impatience and international irritation will be significantly increased if Codesa 2 cannot present a unified face.

In an exclusive interview with The Star, ANC secre-



Cyril Ramaphosa ... warns of "ghastly" consequences.

tary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said it was now clear that the Government was deliberately stalling negotiations — and he warned that unless there was comprehensive progress on the entire transition process at Codesa 2, "the consequences would be too ghastly to contemplate".

"Our people are fully entitled to use whatever means to bring pressure to bear on the powers that be to usher us into a new dispensation."

Mr Ramaphosa added: "The Government is stalling and we have reason to believe they have a second agenda. This is to show as little progress as possible at Codesa 2, but simultaneously bluff South Africans and the international community into believing that the ne-

gotiation process is bearing fruit when it is not."

It is becoming evident that the ANC would be prepared to declare Codesa 2 a success only if there is agreement on phases one and two of the transition.

Phase one sets up a multiparty interim structure. Phase two requires agreement on how a new constitution will be drawn up.

"Agreement on phase one without the same on phase two is useless," Mr Ramaphosa said.

He made it clear that unless the "package" was achieved at Codesa 2, the ANC would regard it as "a failure" — and would say so publicly.

This would have serious repercussions for the negotiations process, as it is widely accepted that both the ANC and Government have to give their approval if progress is to be achieved.

In a statement issued after an executive committee meeting, Cosatu said that if there was not clear progress on interim government at Codesa 2, "the entire negotiations process may be put in jeopardy".

In an uncompromising document — entitled "The Government must go" — Cosatu said the "latest revelations on Government corruption and death squads finally vindicate our view that the key obstacle to democratisation and peace ... is FW de Klerk's Government".

Branding the Government "professional thieves and assassins", Cosatu said it was "critical that the broadest range of democratic forces in the country put irresistible pressure on the Government to agree at Codesa 2 to an interim government of national unity by July, and elections to a constituent assembly by the end of the year".

Cosatu said: "The Development Aid scandal reveals that virtually every Government department is riddled with corruption, on a systematic and massive scale ... We have no reason to believe that this great national robbery has been discontinued."

It was "doubly criminal" that the (black) victims of apartheid were also the victims of official corruption.

"Given the corrupt and criminal character of this Government ... it would be naive to believe De Klerk will take decisive action to root out the perpetrators ...

"The very least we would demand is the arrest and public trial of those directly involved," Cosatu said.

It also emerged yesterday that the ANC's national working committee would meet today and the tripartite alliance — the ANC, SACP and Cosatu — would be convening a summit tomorrow, to review the latest scandals and other questions which will influence the organisations' tactical approach.

# OAU visitors, ANC meet

The Organisation of Africa Unity had in the past endorsed multinational military intervention in national affairs, but it prayed there would be no need for such action in South Africa, the head of the visiting OAU delegation, Chief Olusegun Olusola, said yesterday.

Chief Olusola was addressing a press conference at the ANC

head office in Johannesburg after meeting leaders of the organisation.

The delegation, including five ambassadors based at the OAU headquarters in Addis Ababa, arrived on Sunday.

It was invited by the ANC and PAC to monitor violence in black townships.

The ambassadors are Mr Olu-

sola, Amar Benjana of Algeria, Tranos Makombe of Zimbabwe, Jovan Kulany of Uganda and Norbert Ngula of Congo.

Chief Olusola, Nigeria's ambassador to Ethiopia and the OAU, said the delegation hoped to establish the truth about township violence, help accelerate the process of democracy and ensure Codesa's success.

The delegation also wanted to see "what influence we can bring to bear" on elements seeking to disrupt the peace process through violence.

The delegation's programme includes paying a visit to Codesa and meeting "all participants in the peace process".

The visitors met officials from the South African Council of Churches and PAC yesterday.

They will also meet members of the Government.



DALI MPOFU

## ANC sacks <sup>(1/1)</sup> Dali Mpfu

Mr Dali Mpfu, Mrs Winnie Mandela's former deputy in the ANC's social welfare department, was dismissed from his position "some time last week."

ANC spokesman Ms Gill Marcus yesterday confirmed the dismissal.

She said he had been dismissed for internal departmental matters.

Mpfu was romantically linked to Mrs Mandela in media reports when her husband Nelson announced their separation on April 13. But he has denied any intimate relationship with Mrs Mandela.

Mrs Mandela resigned as head of the social welfare department two days later. - Sapa. Sowetan 13/5/92

# ANC 'would top the poll'

Sovetam 13/5/92

11A

**THE African National Congress (ANC) would probably poll 40 to 45 percent of the votes of all South Africans if elections were held today.**

This was the finding of a Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) sponsored research on Tuesday.

The HSRC released its latest quarterly Information Update with an analysis by Professor Lawrence Schlemmer on the results obtained from 2 000 replies.

These results showed most whites, Asians and coloureds viewed an interim government with some alarm, and that blacks were also divided on the issue.

In the market research conducted, 20 percent of blacks wanted mainly the present government, 24 percent the Government and the ANC, and 36 percent wanted more parties in an interim government.

About 27 percent of coloureds preferred the present government, and 42 percent more parties.

Whites had similar views on the composition of an interim government, while 33 percent of Asians preferred the present government and 49 percent more parties to be involved.

"Very few people, among them only 40 percent of blacks, would like to see the interim government taking control of the security forces," Schlemmer said.

He said perceptions of what it would be like in the new South Africa formed some of the reasons for all the hesitation and lack of conviction.

Black people were more positive than negative, but only

moderately so.

Whites were generally very pessimistic about political, social and economic conditions in the future, while Asians and coloureds were varied in their expectations.

Schlemmer found much of this pessimism unwarranted, if one considered the views and sentiments of all South Africans in regard to democratic safeguards.

There was majority support in all constituencies for what may be called democratic checks and balances.

Referring to a likely outcome of an election, the HSRC's research gave the ANC 40 to 45 percent of the vote, and the NP, because of its continued broad base of support among whites, coloureds and Asians, 25 percent. The Inkatha Freedom Party would get about 10 percent.

The survey showed the ANC was consolidating its position among all but Zulu-speaking blacks, with very high support among Xhosa, Swazi and Ndebele speakers (77-94 percent), metropolitan Zulu-speakers (70 percent) and other Nguni and Sotho speakers (84 percent).

IFP support was highest in non-metropolitan areas (22-47 percent), with a small but significant level of support in metropolitan areas (11 percent).

The PAC and Azapo support was confined to very specific sub-groups, such as better-educated Sotho speakers and metropolitan Xhosa, Swazi and Ndebele speakers.

"Overall the ANC would currently poll in the region of two-thirds of the black support in the country, the IFP between 12 and 15 percent and the NP between 3 and 5 percent. Between 15 and 18 percent didn't know. - Sapa.

# Mandela turns down award from Turkey

ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday declined an award from the Turkish government because the country's leading anti-apartheid campaigner has been in and out of detention since the early 1980s.

An ANC spokesman said the Turkish anti-apartheid movement chairman, a Dr Dirkerdem, had been detained several times in the past 12 years and subjected to constant harrassment because of his opposition to the Turkish government.

It could not be established yesterday

*B10am 13/5/92* (11A)  
**PATRICK BULGER**  
whether Dirkerdem was currently in jail. The ANC spokesman added that Turkey's treatment of its Kurdish minority in the wake of last year's Gulf war made the timing of the award equally unacceptable.

An ANC statement, while not giving explicit reasons for Mandela's decision, said: "The ANC wishes to state quite categorically that Mandela has not accepted the Ataturk Award and has no plans to visit

Turkey. The ANC's attitude does not reflect any negative view of Kemal Ataturk, founder and reformer of modern Turkey."

Turkish consul-general S C Onaran said yesterday he was not able to comment on the ANC's decision on the award, made to people who promote world peace. He was awaiting instructions from his government on how to proceed. "We have to wait and see why they have declined the award."

Onaran said he did not know of an anti-apartheid campaigner spending time in a Turkish jail.



**AWARDED ...**  
Nelson Mandela

## Detentions make ANC refuse award

**JOHANNESBURG.** — ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday declined an award from the Turkish government because that country's leading anti-apartheid campaigner has been in and out of detention since the early 1980s.

An ANC spokesman said the Turkish anti-apartheid movement chairman, a Dr Dirkerdem, had been detained several times in the past 12 years and subjected to constant harassment because of his opposition to the Turkish government.

It could not be established yesterday if Dr Dirkerdem was now in jail.

The ANC spokesman added that Turkey's treatment of its Kurdish minority in the wake of last year's Gulf war made the timing of the award equally unacceptable. CT 13/5/92 (11A)

## Winnie's (11A) man sacked

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Dali Mpofu, who denied reports of being Mrs Winnie Mandela's lover, was dismissed from his position as her deputy in the ANC's Social Welfare Department "some time last week", spokesperson Ms Gill Marcus confirmed yesterday.

She said this was for internal departmental matters. Mrs Mandela resigned as head of the department two days after Mr Nelson Mandela announced their separation. — Sapa

# Blacks 'want unions to wield political clout'

Biday 13/5/92

(11A)

BILLY PADDOCK

CAPE TOWN — Political parties would have to cater to and woo trade unions if they desired significant showings in elections under a new constitution, political analyst Lawrence Schlemmer said yesterday.

Speaking at the release of the results of the Human Sciences Research Council's latest survey, he said there was overwhelming enough support among blacks for trade unions to have a strong influence on government.

Results in the latest edition of Information Update also demonstrated that among blacks there was a very strong demand for positive regulated affirmative action.

The surprising result was that SACP and ANC-supporting respondents in the house-to-house direct interview survey rejected nationalisation. Only 38% of ANC supporters said it was good while all the SACP supporters rejected it.

However, 91% of SACP supporters said they wanted trade unions to have control of companies.

The results showed that across the board, including Inkatha supporters (43%), there was overwhelming support for trade

unions to influence governments.

Schlemmer, who analysed the survey, concluded that most whites, Asians and coloureds viewed an interim government with trepidation. Whites, especially, viewed the future negatively and believed that things would become worse in a new SA, while blacks were most optimistic.

However, Schlemmer points out that expectations among blacks have been largely tempered over the past year and "the rose garden mentality" has all but disappeared from all groups.

There was strong support for devolution of power to towns, cities and regions.

He said "supporters of what might be the largest future party, the ANC, are most inclined to favour exclusive government by a majority party, but even they would see the need for curbs on power and protection of minority interests".

He said the tolerance reflected among the rank and file extended to surprising sentiments where there was a high degree of acceptance of direct ethnic representation in government by traditional leaders.



# Quantum jump into Codesa's hot seat

STAR 13/5/92

11A

~~11A~~

Codesa has a knack of catapulting political figures into the national limelight — the latest is Pravin Gordhan, chairman of the management committee. On the eve of Codesa 2, Political Reporter ESTHER WAUGH profiles the man.

**P**RAVIN Gordhan's name was well known in activist circles a long time ago, but now the whole country hangs on his words as the "voice of Codesa".

Mr Gordhan — known as "PG" to his friends — succeeded Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer as management committee chairman on January 20. Since then he has summarised and interpreted for the nation all the goings-on in working groups — and sounded positive notes when deadlocks seemed inevitable.

It is a task which seems to the liking of the man whose friendly face and softly spoken style belie a background of steely political commitment.

Mr Gordhan, a longstanding executive member of the Natal Indian Congress, was a natural choice on the management committee and the Codesa working group thrashing out transitional arrangements.

Besides the NIC, however, his name was connected with "Operation Vula" — the operation which the Government portrayed as an insurrectionary plot by the South African Communist Party. Mr Gordhan spent close to four months in detention in 1990 in connection with Operation Vula.

But there is more to "PG" than the Vula connection. The 43-year-old is a founder member of the Durban Housing Action Committee, and in 1976 was involved in organising Indian communities, which led to civic organisations being formed in the area.

He is also part of a campaign for a democratic Durban and is involved in the Cato Manor de-

velopment for the development of nonracial housing.

Mr Gordhan was also a member of the first People's Education Committee and is now on the ANC's education committee.

He was a member of the Release Mandela Committee and assisted in launching the United Democratic Front in Natal.

He is also a member of the ANC and is a chairman of a

local SACP branch.

And yes, he has been a member of the ANC underground for more than 10 years, doing "political work".

At University of Durban-Westville in the 1970s — where he studied as a pharmacist — Mr Gordhan says he developed a "democratic consciousness" and "Congress orientation".

Mr Gordhan worked as a

pharmacist at Durban's King Edward Hospital until November 1981 when he was held in solitary confinement for 161 days in terms of section 6 of the Terrorism Act.

After the first month in detention, Mr Gordhan was told he had been fired from his job as a result of "alleged incompetence".

On his release almost six months later, he was banned and placed under house arrest for 13 months.

Mr Gordhan was detained again for a month in 1985 in

connection with the Inanda unrest and again in 1990 in connection with Operation Vula.

During his last spell in detention, Mr Gordhan said he repeatedly wrote to Adriaan Vlok, then Minister of Law and Order, telling him that negotiations had begun.

Negotiations had always been possible and viable, depending on the extent the Government was prepared to relinquish monopoly of power, he said.

He describes his quantum leap from the ANC underground to being the second chairman of South Africa's first real negotiating forum as not a "totally disconcerting experience but certainly a new experience". □

# Whites gloomy about life in new SA - poll

STAT

Political Staff 13/5/92.

Pessimism about life in the new South Africa and trepidation at the prospect of an interim government are among the key sentiments in the most recent Human Sciences Research Council survey.

Even the black community is divided on the desirability of an interim government.

This emerges from the quarterly HSRC Information Update poll of 2 000 South Africans.

In an analysis of the results, Professor Lawrence Schlemmer concluded: "The overwhelming endorsement of negotiation and reform in the recent referendum was due, very substantially, to fears at what would happen if President de Klerk lost and negotiation ceased. It was not due to any particular enthusiasm for the results of negotiation."

But he believed that beyond the ranks of highly politicised activists, the "real grassroots masses are much more amenable to finding an equitable resolution of differences".

He said the sooner all parties "mobilised the real masses, bringing in ordinary people, the sooner South Africans will realise that the future holds more promise than threat".

In a statement yesterday, the HSRC said that only about 25 percent of Asians and coloureds, roughly 50 percent of blacks and 14 percent of whites wanted an interim government as soon as possible.

If an election were held today, the African National Congress would probably poll between 40 and 45 percent of the votes of all South Africans.

The HSRC said most party-political supporters — black and white — "would like to see some further test of opinion before the interim government is fully and formally established".

It said the survey also showed most people supported the concept of an interim government, once established, comprising many parties, including the Conservative Party, while relatively few people wanted to see a "big-party cartel" between the ANC and NP.

"Of the blacks — among whom there was no consistent evidence of strong socialist ide-

ology — 20 percent want mainly the present Government, some 24 percent would prefer the present Government and the ANC, while 36 percent want more parties in the interim government.

"In the case of coloureds, some 27 percent prefer the present Government and 42 percent a multiparty interim government. White sentiment is similar, while 33 percent of Asians would prefer an interim government consisting mainly of the present Government and 49 percent would prefer more parties to be involved."

The statement added: "Very few people, among them 40 percent of blacks, would like to see the interim government taking control of the security forces."

Professor Schlemmer said: "Perceptions of what life will be like in the new South Africa form some of the major reasons for all this hesitation and lack of conviction. Black people are more positive than negative, but only moderately so."

The survey reflected wide support among all groups for "democratic checks and balances" and for devolution of power.

~~STAT~~ 11A

## NP support way behind ANC's, research shows

CAPE TOWN — The ANC would probably poll 40% to 45% of the votes of all South Africans if an election was held today, research sponsored by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) showed.

The HSRC released its latest quarterly Information Update yesterday with analysis by Professor Lawrence Schlemmer on the results obtained from 2 000 replies, reports Sapa. *11A 304*  
*110am 13/5/92*

The research gave the NP, because of its continued broad base of support among whites, coloureds and Asians, 25%. Inkatha would get about 10%.

Results showed most whites, Asians and coloureds viewed an interim government with some trepidation, and that blacks were also divided on the issue. In the market research conducted, 20% of blacks wanted mainly the present government, 24% the government and the ANC, and 36% wanted more parties in an interim government.

About 27% of coloureds preferred the present government and 42% more parties. Whites had similar views on the composition of interim government, while 33% of Asians preferred the present government and 49% more parties.

Our political staff reports that nearly 60% of South Africans rejected the current system of military conscription. Only Afrikaans-speaking whites over 35 and non-metropolitan English-speaking men supported the system, the HSRC said. However, all groups supported the extension of conscription to all races.

# Sash looks to the ANC

Sowetan Correspondent

THE Black Sash yesterday called on the ANC to identify and act against members responsible for the killing of colleagues in ANC camps between 1976 and 1990.

The organisation also urged the ANC to expose the truth about alleged deaths in its camps.

The call was made in a joint statement by Black Sash national president Mrs Jenny de Tolly and her predecessor, Mrs Mary Burton.

They were responding to a report in *Die Burger* about an alleged ANC document in its possession which names 265 people who died in its camps in suicides, executions and shooting incidents.

Mr Jan van Eck, the former Democratic Party MP who has joined the ANC, said he would investigate the matter within the ANC.

He said: "My four colleagues and I who have joined the ANC are not the movement's spokesmen. Any matter which concerns us will be taken up inside the ANC and not in the Press. This is how we acted in the DP."

According to the *Burger* report the document, called List of Deceased Comrades, gives the travelling names of those killed, their real names, the causes of their death and where they are buried.

According to the document more than 70 guerrillas died in skirmishes with Unita between 1987 and 1988.

The report says the first name on the list is that of Mr Abraham Tiro, a guerrilla who died of malaria in Punda in 1976.

Mr Cekiso Hoyi, also known as Ronald Msomi, was one of seven guerrillas executed in Quibaxi camp, Angola, in 1984.

Seven other ANC members were shot dead in the same camp during an "ANC confrontation" in 1984, and six others were killed by mutineers.

Two guerrillas were beaten to death in camp and another was shot by a prison warder.

# ANC checking death list 'leak' to paper

(11A)

CT14/5/92

Staff Reporter

THE ANC has yet to establish whether a "leaked" document, which lists the names of 276 ANC members who died of unnatural deaths in several of its camps, emanates from its offices.

Part of the document was published in the Burger yesterday, which claimed in a front-page story that it had been leaked to it.

The newspaper said the document, labelled "List of Deceased Comrades", apparently gives the names of 276 ANC members who were either executed or committed suicide, between 1976 and 1990.

Most of these deaths are said to have taken place in the ANC's bases of Quibaxe and Malange in Angola and are

alleged to have been carried out by ANC members.

The news report also claimed that a "reliable source" said the list had been drawn up by the ANC to ascertain what happened to certain "missing comrades".

Asked for comment, ANC spokeswoman Miss Gill Marcus said she was still trying to find out if the document emanated from its head office in Johannesburg.

"The ANC is not aware of any such document. Everyone I have spoken to in the different structures knows nothing about this document and therefore we cannot comment."

She said she would ask the newspaper for a copy "if I find we do not have such a document".

## Mpofu hits out at ANC

JOHANNESBURG. — Lawyer Mr Dali Mpofu yesterday alleged his dismissal from the ANC's social welfare department was an unfair labour practice condoned by secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa. CT 14/5/92

Reportedly Mr Mpofu is planning to take legal action.

Mr Mpofu's claim follows Tuesday's report that he had been dismissed "for internal departmental matters".

Mrs Mandela was the previous head of the department. — Sapa

# ANC cabal made sure I was sacked - Mpfu

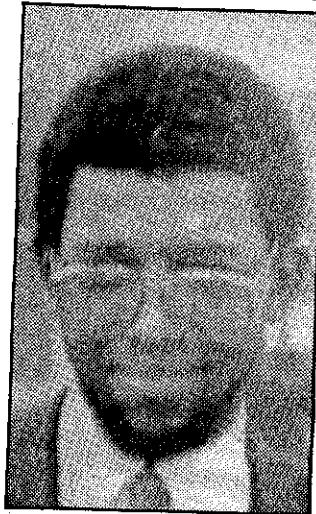
Staff Reporter (11A)

Dali Mpfu, the alleged lover of Winnie Mandela, yesterday accused the ANC of "naked victimisation" after he was unceremoniously sacked as deputy head of the ANC's welfare department.

In a statement, Mr Mpfu vehemently criticised ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and his "group" for his dismissal, which followed a month after Mrs Mandela resigned as head of the welfare department.

Speaking out for the first time since his name was romantically linked to Mrs Mandela, Mr Mpfu said it was a lie that he had been fired for "internal departmental matters", as the ANC announced on Tuesday.

But in an interview with The Star, he said he did not believe top-level efforts to move him to another ANC department or his subsequent dismissal had resulted from his alleged relationship with



"Victimised" . . . Dali Mpfu speaks out.

Mrs Mandela.

He disclosed that he had been offered a position in the ANC's legal department in early April.

It was planned by "certain forces to frustrate me or maybe harm my reputation", and might have resulted from "my continuing support" for Mrs Mandela, he

said. He said he had written to Mr Ramaphosa to clarify his proposed transfer.

And he had received a strange reply "which both purported to answer some of my questions by stating the details of the transfer and simultaneously stated that I was being dismissed for refusing to follow instruction".

Labelling his dismissal as a gross violation of human rights, he said: "This foolish action has been prompted by the growing factionalism within the ANC, pioneered by a secret cabal whose members are bent on destroying that organisation (the ANC)

... "But the most ironic twist of the whole episode must be to receive an unfair dismissal letter signed by Cyril Ramaphosa, who probably gained his ANC position because of his record in fighting unfair labour practices."

Mr Mpfu said he would leave the welfare department at the end of May and then consider his professional options.

STAR 14/5/92

# Breakthrough on new army

Sowetan 14/5/92

11A

**THE Government and the ANC have reached basic agreement on the composition and functions of a new defence force which will incorporate elements of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the SADF and the TBVC armies.**

Defence Minister Roelf Meyer told a Press briefing that the ANC and the Government had made this progress in bilateral discussions.

Because of the progress made there, he was confident that the ANC and the Government would resolve their differences

on the termination of the ANC's armed struggle and the disbanding of the MK.

He reiterated the Government's viewpoint that these problems had to be resolved with conclusive agreements before it would agree to implement transitional arrangements.

Meyer said they had agreed on basic guidelines for the functions and composition of a future defence force "that will be respected and have the confidence of the whole nation".

Asked if the MK would be integrated into the SADF, Meyer said that proposal was not yet on the table.



# USED PHOTO EQUIPMENT BOUGHT FOR CASH!

by Ian Walker

Cameraland with branches in the City and Claremont are always on the lookout for quality brand name cameras, lenses, etc.

They offer the highest prices around for Nikon, Pentax, Olympus, Minolta cameras.

## 'No evidence' on missing accused

Political Staff CT 14/5/92

POLICE do not have "concrete, relevant and admissible" evidence pointing to the involvement of any political organisation in the disappearance of one of the accused in the Winnie Mandela trial, said Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee.

He told Parliament yesterday that a warrant of arrest had been issued after Mr K Cebekhulu failed to appear in court on February 4 last year.

"Indications are that he is currently being detained in Zambia," said Mr Coetsee, responding to a question from Mr Lester Fuchs (DP Hillbrow).

Mr Coetsee also revealed that Mr G Mekwe, who failed to turn up as a witness in the trial, could not be prosecuted.

His attorney had undertaken to ensure that Mr Mekwe attended the trial and he "was therefore not formally subpoenaed".

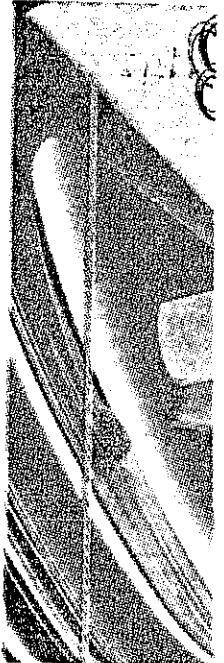
## Mpofu hits out at ANC

JOHANNESBURG. — Lawyer Mr Dali Mpofu yesterday alleged his dismissal from the ANC's social welfare department was an unfair labour practice condoned by secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa. CT 14/5/92

Reportedly Mr Mpofu is planning to take legal action. (11A)

Mr Mpofu's claim follows Tuesday's report that he had been dismissed "for internal departmental matters".

Mrs Mandela was the previous head of the department. — Sapa



# New consensus on army

Political Correspondent

(11A)

STAT 145192  
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CAPE TOWN — The Government and the ANC have reached basic agreement on the composition and functions of a new defence force which would incorporate elements of the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe, other paramilitary units, the SA Defence Force and the TBVC armies.

(11A)

Defence Minister Roelf Meyer said yesterday that

He was confident the ANC and Government would resolve their differences on the termination of the armed struggle and the disbanding of Umkhonto.

But he reiterated the Government's viewpoint that these problems had to be resolved with conclusive agreements before it would agree to implement transitional arrangements.

# Explain camp deaths, ANC urged

By Michael Sparks  
and Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The Black Sash yesterday called on the ANC to identify and act against members responsible for the killing of colleagues in ANC camps between 1976 and 1990.

It also urged the ANC to expose the truth about alleged deaths in its camps.

The call was made by Black Sash national president Jenny de Tolly and her predecessor, Mary Burton.

They were responding to press reports about an alleged ANC document which names 265 people who died in ANC camps in suicides, executions and shooting incidents.

The document, called List of Deceased Comrades, purports to give the travelling names of those killed, their real names, the causes of their death and where they are buried.



Jenny de Tolly . . . rule of law one of earliest casualties in times of liberation war.

According to the document more than 70 guerillas died in skirmishes with Unita between 1987 and 1988.

Among the victims were Cenkiso Hoyi, also known as Ronald Msomi, who was allegedly one of seven guerillas executed in Quibaxi camp, Angola, in 1984. Seven other ANC members were allegedly shot dead in the

same camp during an "ANC confrontation" in 1984, and six others were killed by mutineers.

Mrs de Tolly and Mrs Burton said the rule of law was one of the earliest victims in times of conflict and liberation wars.

"If the allegations are correct, the ANC cannot escape responsibility for the actions of its officers," they said.

Even if prisoners were convicted of espionage and treachery, they had to be treated in terms of the Geneva Convention, they added.

Chris Hani, ANC executive member and former head of the organisation's armed wing, yesterday denied any knowledge of the list. However, Mr Hani said he was aware that a commission had been appointed to look into the matter.

Asked why the ANC would leak that kind of document to the press, Mr Hani said: "Although the Government is negotiating, it still regards us not only as a political enemy, but

some of the old-style people regard us as a real enemy."

He added: "The Government is reeling from scandals of corruption and killing. They are trying to say it was not only us who did the killing."

But Mr Hani pointed out there were distinct differences between what happened at the hands of the security forces and what happened in ANC camps.

Mr Hani said the ANC had to defend itself from agents of the security forces infiltrating into the organisation.

But he added: "What is now being debated by the commission is the strategies that were used, not all of which were correct."

Mr Hani said a key difference was that from the beginning, ANC president Nelson Mandela had said the organisation would fully investigate any irregularities. The Government, on the other hand, "has been trying to cover up what they did for years, and they are still trying to cover it up".

STAR 14/5/92

# Crunch meeting on majority issue

## Codesa faces nail biter on constitution

By Esther Waugh  
and Patrick Laurence

In a day of high drama at Codesa, political groups yesterday came agonisingly close to a historic agreement on how the new constitution of South Africa will be drafted.

Now Codesa 2's success depends on a last-gasp meeting this afternoon.

With only hours to go before the start of the key negotiations plenary session, the Government and ANC have to reach a compromise on what "special majority" would be required to take decisions on a final constitution.

The Government is argu-

**More reports — Pages  
16 and 17**

ing for a 75 percent majority but the ANC does not want it to be higher than two-thirds.

The ANC has threatened to declare Codesa 2 a failure if Working Group 2 — dealing with constitutional issues — cannot present an agreed report this weekend.

Observers agree it would be "disastrous" for internal and international confidence if Codesa 2 was unable to deliver sufficient progress for both the Government and the ANC to be satisfied.

"We are trying everything we can," remarked ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa as he left the committee room last night.

Inkatha Freedom Party negotiator Dr Ben Ngubane

said delegates would be holding urgent consultations with their leaders before today's meeting.

Government negotiator Dr Tertius Delport said the dispute was not only about the percentage by which parties wanted decisions on a final constitution taken.

It is understood that the Government is insisting on the higher majority as a quid pro quo for softening its demand that a second parliamentary chamber — a senate — should have veto powers over decisions taken in a national assembly.

In a separate pre-Codesa 2 media briefing last night, senior ANC negotiator Thabo Mbeki warned that without resolution of problems relating to the constitution-making body, a whole range of agreements forged after hours of negotiations would be in jeopardy.

Mr Mbeki said the ANC had been "sensitive" to the anxieties of parties which feared a constitution imposed by an ANC majority.

Apart from the proposal that decisions should be taken by a two-thirds majority, the ANC had agreed that:

- There should be regional and national representation.
- The constitution-making body could sit in two separate chambers.
- On matters like the bill of rights there could be more than a two-thirds majority requirement.

Yesterday's Working Group 2 drama ended at about 6.30 pm, after a day in which optimism see-sawed

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(11A) ● From Page 1

continually. At lunch, the group's steering committee met to compile a new document for discussion.

After being told the ANC would not accept more than a two-thirds majority cut-off, Dr Delport left the room in a hurry to consult his principals and the group adjourned.

During the adjournment, heated discussions between the delegates took place outside the committee room. Shortly after Dr Delport returned to the meeting, he was called back to the Government's office at Co-

NP negotiator Dr Dawie de Villiers, speaking in Cape Town yesterday morning, strongly denied that Codesa 2 would be a failure if no agreement was reached in Working Group 2.

"What we have achieved stands on its own. I don't think the problems in Working Group 2 and its relation to other working groups will negate that," he said.

"It may remain on ice a little bit longer but it won't be wiped out of the process."

He said that Codesa 2 would not be the end of the negotiation process and there would be fur-

STAR 14579  
desa and was later followed by ANC negotiators Valli Moosa and Cyril Ramaphosa, Colin Eglin of the Democratic Party and Joe Slovo of the SACP.

The group resumed their meeting about 15 minutes later but shortly thereafter Mr Moosa and Dr Delport left the room to talk in the corridor.

No agreement on the central question was forthcoming, but the working group is understood to have agreed that the powers, functions and boundaries of regions could be contained in an interim constitution.

Peter Fabricius reports that

ther opportunity to reach agreement on outstanding issues.

"It would be sad, but not a major tragedy, if there are outstanding points. There is life after Codesa 2."

Dr de Villiers also said that he did not think the spate of scandals which the Government had just got caught up in — including the Goniwe murder charges and the Development Aid corruption scandal — would much affect its position at Codesa.

They might however affect the "climate" at Codesa, he said.

# A nation

Talks on  
knife-edge  
as Codesa 2  
starts

Page 2

SOWETAN

## Codesa talks on knife-edge

From page 1

hang over Codesa 2 today if agreement had not been reached before the commencement of today's second plenary session of the convention.

"If we do not reach agreement on the issue all agreements reached in other working groups would be rendered meaningless," Ramaphosa said.

And this morning, at 8am and shortly before the nation's leaders are expected to stand and deliver a report on the most crucial talks in the history of this country, the deliberations on the percentage needed to pass a constitution will resume.

The leaders will, however, today and tomorrow ratify other agreements reached in Codesa's five working groups, and hold a

light up to the delicate unfolding democracy in the country.

In doing so, they will set the stage for the establishment, possibly within months, of a transitional executive council which will lead the country up to, and through elections, to an interim government.

In terms of agreements reached in Codesa's working groups - through a morass of intricate deliberations over the past four months - the council will as a first phase work with five transitional councils that will tide over primarily, the political landscape in the run up to elections to the second phase, that of the actual interim government.

The five councils will have executive powers in the areas of defence, law and order, security, foreign affairs and the actual elections.

# waits

**THE country held its breath last night as negotiations at Codesa teetered on the brink of what was decried by senior politicians as a near total breakdown.**

Intense negotiations, prior to this morning's start of Codesa's second plenary session at 9am, will commence to settle what Government and the ANC regard as the most crucial issue: that of the voting percentage which is needed in a constituent assembly to adopt constitution for the country.

By late last night Government was locked in its position that a 75 percent (in the second of a two-

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN  
Political Correspondent

chamber legislature) majority was needed, and the ANC on 66 percent in a single chamber.

But, in what appeared to be a major concession by both groups, Working Group Two, which dealt with the issue, settled on an average of 70 percent in a single chamber to pass clauses in a constitution and 75 percent for a Bill of Rights.

Speaking during one of the many breaks during the day, the ANC's general secretary, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said "very, very dark clouds" would

To page 2

## Alliance agrees on power timetable

(11A) PATRICK BULGER (11A)

THE ANC-Cosatu-SACP tripartite alliance has agreed on an 18-month timetable for the transfer of power to a democratically elected government ruling under a new constitution.

The decision was made at a meeting of leaders of the alliance in Johannesburg yesterday.

A statement released after the meeting said the alliance wanted the first phase of interim government to be in place by next month, and it wanted elections for a constituent assembly to be held by the year end.

Cosatu vice-president Chris Dlamini said in an interview yesterday the alliance had set out an 18-month timetable.

*Sunday 15/5/92*  
"It is clear to us that some parties at Codesa are not serious about negotiating the future of the country," he said. Even when an interim government was in place, the alliance would consider various forms of mass action to speed up the process. Possible action included a national strike and protest marches.

"Any of these forms become possible depending on the issue at hand," Dlamini said.

He said Cosatu remained unhappy at its exclusion from Codesa which it had applied to for representation.

# Mandela sounds conciliatory note

*Sowetan 15/5/92*  
ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday sounded a conciliatory note on the eve of today's Codesa 2 plenary session, saying his organisation did not intend scoring points at the talks. (11A)

Addressing a summit of "patriotic forces" in Codesa at a meeting in Johannesburg, Mandela said all political parties should realise they were prisoners of the past. (2-11A)

"The efforts of the National Party in the current process must be seen from the point of view of their background...that of being a political party brought about by apartheid," he said. - Sapa.

‘I have no regrets whatsoever. When I went to jail I knew the dangers and the possibilities.’



WALTER SISULU ... "Violence is something that causes me agony"

## The struggle is my life, by Walter Sisulu

Sowetan 15/5/92

THE patriarch of the liberation struggle Mr Walter Sisulu turns 80 on Monday. Despite his age Sisulu, deputy president of the African National Congress, is known as a "swinger" in the movement and is a fan of pop star Whitney Houston. RUTH BHENGU conducted a question-and-answer interview with him yesterday. SELLO MOTSEPE took the picture.

**MR WALTER Sisulu, deputy president of the ANC, celebrates his 80th birthday on Monday.**

The organisation will host a huge party for him at the FNB stadium on Sunday.

Sowetan spoke to the ANC stalwart, who survived 25 years of incarceration to see the unbanning of his organisation and to participate in the process of change.

For someone his age, Sisulu is surprisingly fit and mentally alert.

**Did you ever think that you would celebrate your 80th birthday with family and friends after spending so many years in prison?**

I never expected to live as long as this. So many problems and so many difficult situations. I even expected to be hanged for that matter.

**Having spent so many years in prison and having missed some experiences that most people take for granted, would you live your life the same way if you had another chance?**

I would do it again. I have no regrets whatsoever. When I went to jail I knew the dangers and the possibilities. I knew that I might hang, I might die in jail. I knew that I had gone there for a good cause.

Unlike ordinary people who find themselves in jail, we politicians think about it. It doesn't happen accidentally. We plan for it. Therefore there was nothing that was unexpected as far as I was concerned.

**How would you describe your relationship with your family?**

Excellent. My relationship with my wife and my children is excellent.

**All those years you were in jail what are the things that kept you going? What would you say is the source of your strength?**

The struggle. It was inspiring to know that one country after another in Africa were being liberated.

**Are you a religious person?**

I don't think so. I have respect for all great religions of the world, but I am not a religious person.

**Since you came out of prison, what are the changes you have seen, things you like and get excited or agonise about?**

Well, violence is something that causes me agony. But what has fascinated me is the remarkable political consciousness of the children.

You know the small children, the little ones can vote for me anywhere. They are my fans. I am absolutely amazed at how children are politicised.

**Do you think that is a good thing?**

Absolutely. It means that they look at life in its totality. I am happy they are not one-sided. They look at the situation. They look at the history of the country, they look at development.

**What else do you like?**

I don't have much time for ordinary things. I am always travelling and working but I do occasionally watch sports, especially soccer and rugby.

**What about reading, do you read a lot?**

I used to read a lot in jail. I like biographies, English literature and history. But I don't have time now. I hardly have time to read newspapers.

**Do you like music? I believe you are a good dancer?**

Ha! I love music very much. I like mbaqanga, I like jazz, I like classical music. I don't know what type of music I don't like.

You see there on the wall is a autographed picture of Whitney Houston. She sent it to me.

I was a fan of Whitney when I was in jail. When I told the ambassador here, he told her and she sent me the picture.

**Tell us about your aspirations?**

Liberation. I want liberation today.



DAVID WELSH

# Generosity is the key

FM 15/5/92

11A



**UCT politics professor David Welsh is an adviser to the Democratic Party at Codesa.**

There is a curious misapprehension in some circles that the NP and the ANC have reached a cosy deal on a constitutional settlement and that the skirmishings at Codesa are an elaborate charade. Nothing could be further from the truth.

What is true, though, is that both organisations recognise that without the other's cooperation and acquiescence, no accord will be possible and that without such an accord the country will continue on its downward spiral of violence and economic decline. This grim reality concentrates the mind.

The key issue at Codesa is what one would expect: how to reconcile the aspirations of the majority with the fears of minorities. It is a question that wracks numerous divided societies and however much constitutional experts look to foreign models, none will supply the answer SA is looking for. Whatever else it may be, SA's future constitution will have to be home-grown and adapted to our peculiar circumstances.

We are all democrats now, but what does democracy entail in concrete institutional terms? Codesa's Declaration of Intent produced a splendid set of principles that gladdened the heart of every liberal democrat.

But expressing those principles in strictly constitutional terms has proved immensely difficult, especially since the ANC and its allies have refused to allow Codesa to go much further than general principles. Details, says the ANC, must be left to an elected constituent assembly, which will be bound by the Codesa principles and will adopt a new constitution only by a two-thirds majority.

There is general agreement on some significant principles: a multiparty system; an electoral system that will, in the main, be

based upon proportional representation; regional government (though none dare call it federalism); an independent judiciary; and a justiciable Bill of Rights.

Also, I would hope that agreement will be reached on other crucial requirements of a democratic order: the independence of the Reserve Bank, the Auditor-General and the attorneys-general.

But how does one temper majoritarianism with sensitivity for the (legitimate) fears of minorities, however those minorities might be configured? One has to insist that those fears are not simply the malignant residue of the apartheid mindset. Even a cursory examination of divided societies shows how common it is for minorities to be frozen out of effective participation in government.

Democracy, as it is understood in the West (and I know of no other kind), rests upon the implicit assumption that minority parties can become majority parties — that is, that electoral pendulums swing and governments alternate. If that assumption does not hold, then the political system is not democratic.

As an extreme example of the "perpetual minority" syndrome, take the case of Northern Ireland's parliament. Over the 50 years of Stormont's existence from 1921 to 1972 the Catholic parties never enjoyed so much as a sniff of political power. Stormont was a wholly owned Unionist subsidiary, dedicated to the preservation of the Protestant ascendancy. Inter-sectarian parties achieved nothing in the face of the impermeable division. Yet Northern Ireland (though not an independent state) enjoyed all the formal trappings of parliamentary democracy.

The ANC's case for a majoritarian democracy rests on the belief that SA will generate parties that are based upon common interests and values, rather than race or ethnicity. One wishes that this would come to pass and that "non-racialism" would become more than a formal constitutional principle of non-discrimination, but actually penetrate the warp and woof of social and political life.

Alas, the precedents for this benign metamorphosis do not exist: racial and ethnic divisions have proven everywhere to be intractable, if not irremovable. South Africans' voting preferences are likely to be

shaped for a long time by racial considerations.

At the core of the NP's power-sharing proposals is a forced coalition of the principal parties that prevents "majority domination."

Alas again, as Donald Horowitz's recent book *A Democratic South Africa?* has convincingly shown, forced coalitions are artificial constructions, with invariably limited lifespans.

In spite of these discouraging precedents, it remains true that in the (depressingly small) number of divided societies that have preserved democratic institutions, the critical factor has been government by a broad-based coalition, in which each ethnically based party has been, in principle, capable of participating. Our near neighbour Mauritius is an excellent example.

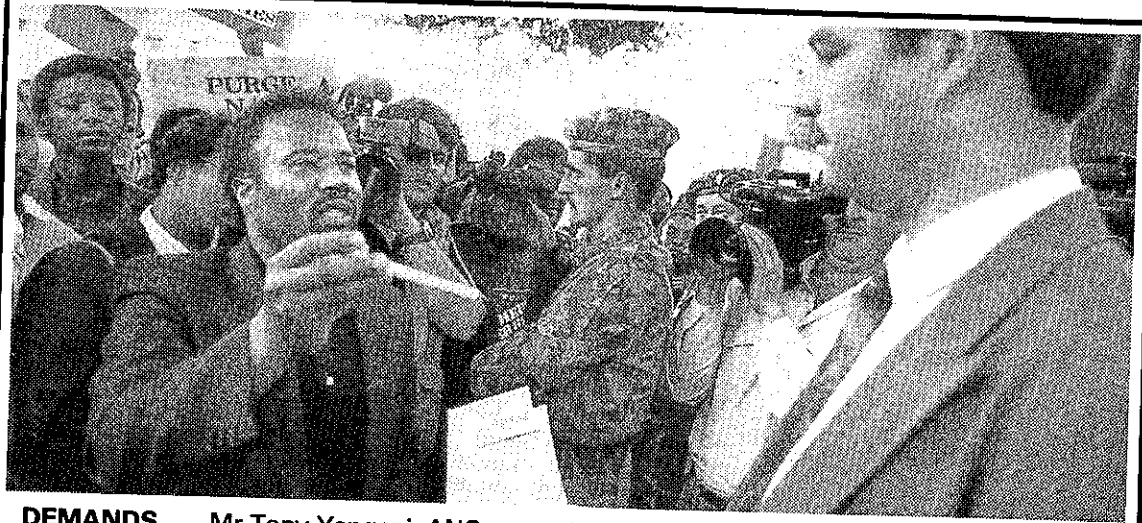
Constitutional arrangements that persistently thwart the will of majority parties are bound to fail; so, too, are those that enable the majority persistently to ride roughshod over minorities. Neither could properly be termed "democratic."

How is the dilemma to be resolved? Ultimately, it will not be the terms of the constitution that promote a compromise. The rules of the game are crucial. I favour a constitution that circumscribes power and renders it accountable, but the difficult question of avoiding majority tyranny will have to be resolved by the good sense of political leaders.

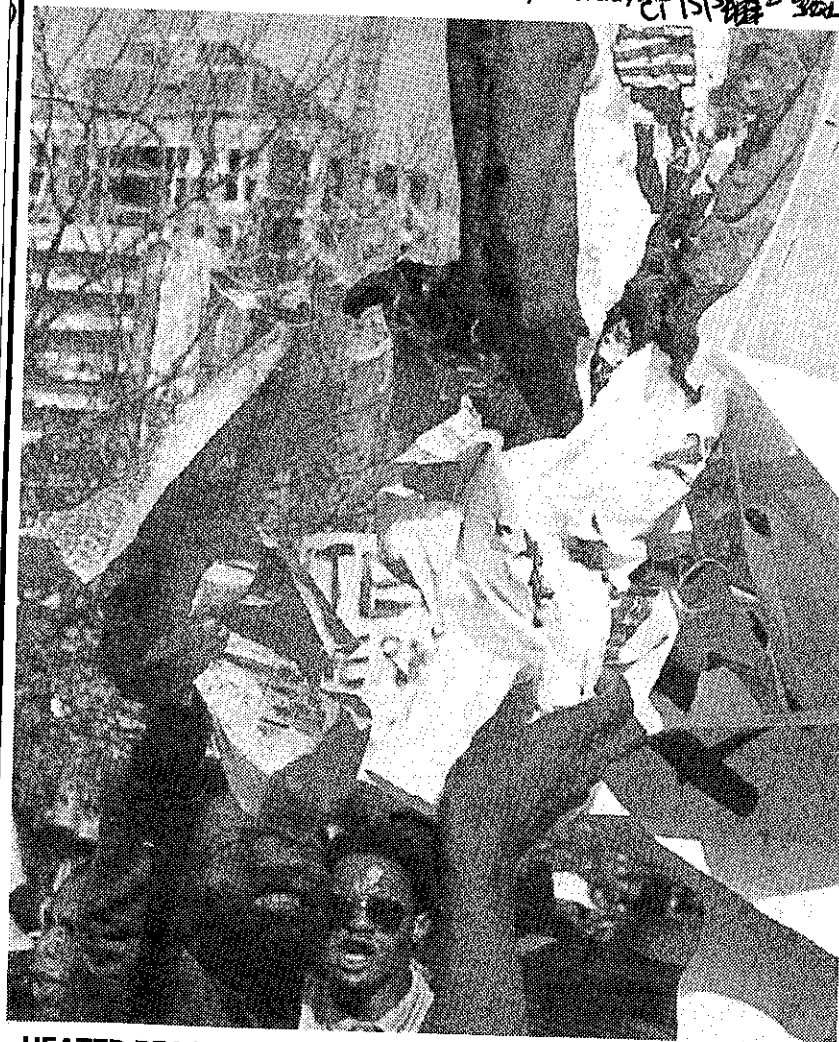
This trite sentiment could be given institutional form by means of a pact, a solemn contract, binding on the parties involved but not formally part of the constitution. If it is successful, it could become a convention nearly as binding as if it were a constitutional requirement.

Our negotiators are still a long way from agreement and the political limbo continues, with disastrous consequences for the country. All the literature on democratic transitions singles out the flexibility and sagacity of political leaders as a key variable in explaining success.

Now, gentlemen of Codesa, here is your chance to show statesmanship and generosity.



**DEMANDS . . .** Mr Tony Yengeni, ANC general secretary for the Western Cape, hands over a memo containing the ANC's demands for Codesa II to President De Klerk's representative, Mr Andre Gerber, at Mr De Klerk's home yesterday. Picture: BENNY GOOL



**HEATED REACTION . . .** Wits students protesting against corruption in government and security force involvement in political murders burnt a South African flag in Johannesburg yesterday. Picture: AP

## 150 in march to FW

**ABOUT 150** toyi-toying UCT Sasco students and ANC supporters marched on President FW de Klerk's home in Rondebosch yesterday to highlight ANC demands at Codesa II.

Mr Tony Yengeni, ANC general secretary in the Western Cape, handed a memo to Mr De Klerk's representative, Mr Andre Gerber, at the entrance to Westbrooke Estate.

Traffic police led the demonstrators through the streets of Rondebosch.

Their way was barred at the gates by members of the SAP Internal Stability Unit.

Mr Yengeni said the ANC demands included:

- An interim government with executive authority to prepare for democratic elections for a constituent assembly.

- A single chamber constituent assembly which would draft a new constitution and operate a legislative authority.

# Detention camps: ANC urged to act

15 MAY 1992

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**DENNIS CRUYWAGEN and  
MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Staff**

AS the controversy over the ANC's camps in neighbouring countries escalated today, the Black Sash called on the movement to identify and act against members responsible for killing colleagues in the camps between 1976 and 1990.

The call was made in a statement by Black Sash national president Mrs Jenny de Tolly and her predecessor Mrs Mary Burton, who also urged the ANC to expose the truth about alleged deaths in its camps.

The controversy intensified today after a report in Die Burger claiming that an ANC document in its possession named 265 people who died in the camps.

Mr Calvin Khan, a spokesman for Umkhonto we Sizwe head Mr Joe Modise, said the document was not an official ANC one.

"We can't comment. This is not an ANC document. Whoever 'leaked' it to the Afrikaans press did so for mischievous reasons."

Mr Khan added that MK was compiling a comprehensive list of guerrillas who had fallen over the years.

"We can't comment until we've completed that list."

He said scores of MK cadres had died during the years of armed struggle, particularly while facing Unita forces in Angola.

Regional ANC chairman Dr Allan Boesak declined to comment, referring inquiries to the ANC head office.

National ANC spokesman Ms Gill Marcus said she would comment after having seen Die Burger's story.

Mr Jan van Eck, the former Democratic Party MP who has joined the ANC, said he would investigate within the ANC.

He said: "My four colleagues and I who have joined the ANC are not the movement's spokesmen. Any matter which concerns us will be taken up inside the ANC and not in the Press."

The ANC is already investigating allegations about conditions in the camps.

The movement appointed a commission in March — comprising advocates Mr Lewis Skweyiya, Mr Gilbert Marcus and Ms B Mabandla — and an independent lawyer, Ms Elna Revelas, was appointed to conduct investigations, interview witnesses, visit detention camps and lead evidence before the commission.

Mrs De Tolly and Mrs Burton said the rule of law was one of the earliest victims in times of war.

"This report of executions and other deaths in ANC camps serves to underline this harsh reality. If the allegations are correct, the ANC cannot escape responsibility for the actions of its officers."

Even if prisoners were convicted of espionage and treachery, they had to be treated in terms of the Geneva Convention, they said.

"The Black Sash condemns all deliberate killings. We believe it is important that those responsible are identified and the truth is exposed."

According to the report in Die Burger, the document, *List of Deceased Comrades*, gives the travelling names of those killed, their real names, the causes of their death and where they are buried.

According to the document more than 70 guerrillas died in skirmishes with Unita between 1987 and 1988.

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# The lash goes on

Hurrah for revolution and more cannon-shot!

A beggar upon horseback lashes a beggar on foot.

Hurrah for revolution and cannon come again!

The beggars have changed places, but the lash goes on. (WB Yeats)

FM 15/5/92

The ANC has accepted the principle of detention without trial, at least for the period of an interim government. This can be seen in an April 27 submission to Codesa on emergency legislation, in response to Codesa working group proposals.

Brian Currin, executive director of Lawyers for Human Rights, reacted strongly when the FM drew his attention to the ANC document.

"It's a total disgrace. The ANC, whose leaders spent lengthy periods in prison without being tried, has now in principle agreed with government on this issue. To put it mildly, we are appalled. The ANC's attempt to humanise and justify detention without trial is pathetic and in fact smacks of complicity."

In the document, the ANC accepts that "provision should be made for the justiciability of the proclamation of a State of Emergency or unrest area . . ." It then sets out procedures to deal with "detention or any denial of the right to liberty . . ."

The ANC recommends that the maximum detention period should be 30 days, but then comes the catch: "30 days — unless the reviewing administrative authority has reported before the expiry of this period that, in its opinion, sufficient cause for such detention exists."

It should immediately be clear that this language is reminiscent of the 90-day and 180-day security legislation introduced when John Vorster was Minister of Justice in the Sixties.

In theory there was a maximum detention period; in practice the incarceration could be renewed again and again.

If a detainee is held for more than three months, says the ANC document, then the detention will be reviewed "regularly" by a review board "presided over by a judge of the Supreme Court and comprising members

## CURRENT AFFAIRS

FM 15/5/92

appointed by the relevant Minister." Such a review board, says the ANC document, shall have the power to order the immediate release of a detainee — but only "if continued detention is not reasonably necessary for the maintenance of law and order."

Again, there are uncomfortable precedents. The National Party was adept at replacing judicial (and, therefore, independent) review with administrative (and therefore State) review.

Even if a judge is appointed to an administrative authority, the State can easily get its way simply by making sure that it appoints the right individual judge. As for the board members appointed "by the Minister," there would never be any doubt about their allegiance.

Currin's attack is direct: "We thought they (the ANC) were opposed to the principle of being a judge in your own case. Why dispense with the independent judiciary? . . ."

"Remarkably, there is no limit to the period of detention as long as government's review board is satisfied there is sufficient cause."

In the light of these startling recommendations, the ANC's attempt at reassurance rings hollow: "Detainees shall be entitled to make representations and submissions to, and to be represented at the proceedings of, the review board."

Equally meaningless are the clauses which provide that detainees should be informed of the reason for their detention; that a family member or friend should be notified; and that a lawyer of the detainee's choice may be consulted.

There appears to be a safeguard in the final clause of the document: "Notwithstanding the above procedures . . . the remedy of habeas corpus shall be available to detainees."

But this is silly. The ancient doctrine of habeas corpus, whether in common law or on the statutes, essentially provides that anyone arrested must be brought before a court of law within a reasonable time (such as 48 hours), and then charged or released.

This is in direct conflict with the concept of administrative detention and it is difficult to take the ANC seriously when it claims that the one can exist alongside the other.

The Nationalist delegates at Codesa must be presumed to be happy with the contents of this chilling and legally ignorant document, as they have raised no public objections to it. Perhaps we should not be surprised. ■

Govt, ANC in bitter battle to reach compromise

# Codesa on brink of failure

STAR 1515192

By Esther Waugh, Peter Fabricius and Shaun Johnson (11A)

Today's historic Codesa 2 meeting is "on the brink of failure" after abortive efforts to reach a compromise yesterday on how a new constitution should be drafted and a bitter clash between the ANC and the Government.

Codesa's Working Group 2 is scheduled to meet just an hour before the start of the public session this morning in a last-ditch effort to hash out a compromise.

However, an angry exchange of words between the National Party and the ANC late last night appeared to

More reports — Pages 12 and 13

have dashed hopes of an agreement — and set the stage for a bruising public clash at Codesa 2 today.

The NP said the ANC's "totally intractable attitude to its very reasonable" latest proposals — which were supported by at least nine of Codesa's 19 parties — placed a serious question mark over their commitment to negotiations. It said the ANC was not yet ready for a true democratic process, and was preparing to try to reach its objectives by "disruptive mass action" instead of negotiations.

The ANC called this statement a "declaration of war" and accused the Government of wanting to make all decisions by itself.

Government negotiator Dr Tertius Delpoort said last night after a marathon session of Working Group 2 that no agreement had been reached and he was not sure one would be reached today. ANC chief negotiator Cyril

Ramaphosa said after the meeting that without an agreement in Working Group 2, Codesa 2 was on the brink of failure.

After three meetings of the working group this week, the Government and the ANC yesterday still stuck fast on the percentage majority which should be required to approve a new constitution.

The ANC insisted that it should be 66,7 percent — and 75 percent for a bill of rights — in a single constitution-making body.

The Government initially wanted a 75 percent majority for the bill of rights as well as other basic constitutional principles such as federalism and protection for minorities.

It also dug in its heels on the need for a second chamber which would have to pass all clauses of the constitution by a 66,7 percent majority.

At the end of the meeting, after Dr Delpoort had consulted President de Klerk several times by telephone, the Government slightly amended its position to a 70 percent majority in a lower House — but 75 percent for a bill of rights and for changing the principle of a federal three-tier government.

It dropped the required majority in the senate to 60 percent.

It is understood that this proposal was firmly rejected by the ANC and its allies and that today all parties would be considering a new compromise proposal that there should be only one chamber requiring a 70 percent majority except for a bill of rights.

All parties were to take this compromise proposal to their principals last night before the last-minute Working Group 2 meeting today.

However, hopes for a com-

● To Page 2

## On the brink of failure

● From Page 1

promise seemed slim in the light of a hostile exchange of statements by the ANC and the National Party.

The NP said that the fact that the ANC had already informed international organisations early yesterday that it would not budge on its position, showed the ANC had no real interest in compromise.

Mr Ramaphosa repented angrily last night by saying: "We are not surprised at the NP's stubborn and greedy line on the question of decision-making."

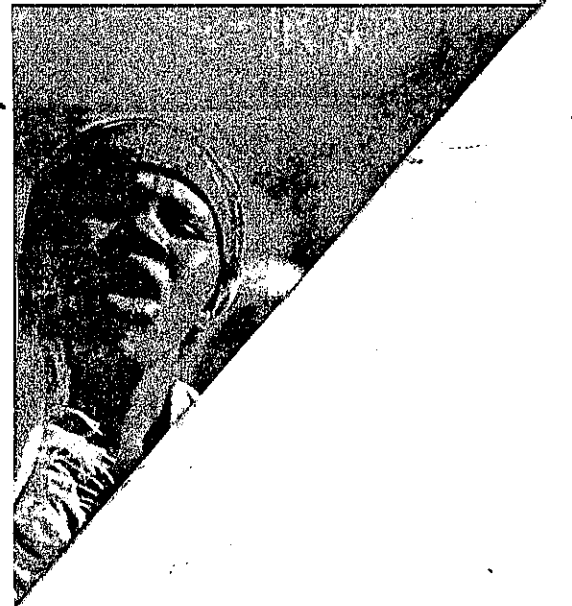
"It is used to making all decisions by itself and treating the country as if it belonged to the Nats alone, and as if no real changes were taking place."

"The NP's so-called compromise proposals have jumped around from one hour to the next, usually getting worse, rather than better each time."

"Long after the idea had been accepted that the senate should be involved in the legislative process only and not in the constitution-making process, the Government attempts to lumber the negotiations with the clumsy idea of a senate veto."

"The final proposals the NP put on the table were considerably worse than what it had agreed to yesterday."

The Inkatha Freedom Party said it was "terribly disappointed" that no progress had been made in finalising agreement and joined the Government in accusing the ANC of intransigence. It had tried to reach a compromise on the majority required in the constitution-making body by dropping its proposal from 75 to 70 percent.



# Grasping the nettle of

STAR 15/192

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**T**HE African National Congress's draft policy guidelines are conspicuously silent on the question of regional government.

Forthright on proposals for central and local government, the guidelines make just one direct reference to regional government, treating it like a very insubstantial filling to the constitutional sandwich.

This single sentence reads: "Strong local government will be complemented by regional government whose primary tasks will be to ensure integrated and co-ordinated local development planning, the provision of appropriate regional services and to provide support to those local authorities which lack resources, particularly in the rural areas."

Curt and curious, especially as the ANC is going to face a major challenge from its political opponents on the question of federalism and the devolution of powers to the region.

Curious, too, in light of the fact that the ANC's constitutional committee produced a 40-page discus-

sion document on the regional question not long ago.

Do the omissions in the policy guidelines — which will be debated and adopted as policy at the ANC's policy conference at the end of May — signal a retreat from the earlier document?

The ANC's discussion document on regional government, entitled "Ten proposed regions for a united South Africa", considered regional powers within a unitary state. It argued devolution of power is not an all-or-nothing affair. Even within a unitary state considerable power can, and should, be vested in lower tiers of government.

The discussion paper assumed the reincorporation of the TBVC states and it included them in its 10-region proposal, which is a modification of the nine development regions delineated by the Government.

"The idea is not to produce good-looking maps but to establish regions that will function well, be acceptable to the people in them and help solve the problems of our country," the docu-

ment stated.

The ANC showed no signs of allergy to the idea that smaller units of government, closer to the people, may have the edge in terms of accountability.

"Lively regional government is indeed one of the pre-conditions for vibrant democracy in the country as a whole," asserted the paper.

But it also placed very firm limits on regional powers and argued them graphically.

Firstly, the position was taken that a Bill of Rights rules and it rules equally everywhere. "We cannot have the sort of situation such as applied for many years in the United States where the doctrine of State rights was used to ban the teaching of evolution in the state of Tennessee and to maintain race segregation in Alabama."

Secondly, that regional armies and police forces would not be allowed to proliferate. "In a democratic South Africa we will need a single integrated defence force that is looked up to by the whole country, a single police force sub-

ject to a single set of principles and a single discipline that is respected by all.

"We cannot afford a fractured and armed public power accountable to a multitude of local political warlords and a plethora of ethnic demagogues, where tanks have wastikas on them in some regions and are called cultural weapons in others."

Thirdly, there was the notion of equity in relation to development. "Our right to go to school or be seen by a doctor or to give birth in safe conditions should not depend on which part of the country we live in or what suburb of the city."

If population and productivity statistics in various regions are juxtaposed, it becomes clear why the ANC is preoccupied with ensuring that a regional approach does not serve to entrench grossly uneven distribution of resources.

The ANC calculated, for instance, that the PWV region accommodates only 23 percent of the country's population, but accounts for close to 39 percent of the gross domestic product. The Border region, in a stark reversal of fortune, has 10,6 percent of the

people, but only 1,9 percent of production — a pattern echoed in the Northern Transvaal, where the figures are 11,5 and 3 percent.

In the face of the over-arching need for redistribution, the ANC constitutional committee still opted in the discussion paper for entrenching the powers and the role of regional government in the constitution.

It acknowledged that the question of revenue was perhaps even more critical than formal powers. "The development of South Africa is going to be dependent on sensible and functional systems of raising and spending funds. Many countries have found that regional equalisation funds have played a vital role in overcoming regional disparities," the paper read.

If the discussion paper failed to develop this critical question, the policy guidelines seem to suggest an actual retreat from regional power on the fiscal front. They assert that regional inequalities "will require the transfer of resources from higher to local levels of government".

A cautionary note is sounded: "new institutions" will be neces-

# devolution

sary to ensure that financing by inter-governmental transfers does not interfere with the autonomy of each level of government.

But the cursory warning is not enough. Until it embarks on serious discussion of the fiscal powers of various tiers of government, the ANC has hardly begun to engage in the great devolutionary debate.

Nowhere in either ANC document is the link between funding and the public accountability of elected institutions examined. While some attention is paid in the earlier paper to the constitutional entrenchment of the formal powers of regional governments, exploration of the relationship between these formal constitutional powers, the real capacity to plan and execute policy and the marshalling of finance is entirely missing.

If the tensions between devolution and redistribution, equity and autonomy are not thrashed out at the ANC's policy conference, what mandate will the organisation draw on when the federal gauntlet is cast before it at the negotiating table? □

# SAP, ANC share Wits platform

By Guy Jepson

An SAP colonel and a top ANC official broke new ground at Wits University yesterday when they put across their views on the vexed issue of security force involvement in the wave of violence gripping SA.

The ironies of sharing a public platform at Wits with ANC intelligence chief Patrick "Terror" Lekota were not lost on Lieutenant-Colonel Dave Bruce, who heads the community relations section of the Witwatersrand police.

Two years ago, Colonel Bruce told the crowd of about 250, his "friend" Mr Lekota was a banned person and the SAP was "banned" from the campus.

Although he was often heckled by sections of the audience, the meeting — called by the Student Community Action Group — ended without incident.

In his address, Mathole Motshekga of the Community Law Centre said there was abundant documented evidence that the SAP and some elements of Inkatha were involved in the violence and that the perpetrators were not being prosecuted.

Mr Motshekga said it appeared that the Government and the SAP leadership had lost control over policemen on the ground. The solution, he said, lay in the establishment of a new police force controlled by an interim government.

Colonel Bruce admit-

ted that, in certain instances, individual policemen had transgressed. He was "ashamed" of such actions and they harmed the SAP.

He said while some policemen failed to measure up to the standards set for them, this should not lead to blanket condemnation of the force.

The SAP was striving to instil impartiality in its members and had this year set up totally integrated recruit training programmes.

Mr Lekota said the issue was not whether there were good or bad policemen, but whether a State organ set up to protect citizens "may take formal decisions to eliminate opponents of the Government" as the SAP had done.

Sowetan 15/5/92

# Azapo give a nod to Public Enemy (11A)

By VICTOR  
METSOAMERE

THE Azanian Peoples Organisation yesterday expressed its support for the forthcoming tour by the black American rap music outfit, Public Enemy.

Public Enemy's Tour Of Hell starts in Cape Town, where they will perform on May 21, 22 and 23.

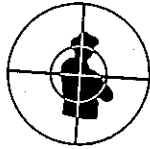
They are world famous for their unswerving adherence to black consciousness and their work has featured in films and television shows which attack various aspects of racism.

Azapo said the organisation welcomed Public En-

emy because the group was seen as "an ambassador of the black liberation struggle". The organisation also

welcomes the fact that Public Enemy would help in music workshops to benefit local musicians".

They will perform in Johannesburg on May 24 and 25. Other Public Enemy performances will be in Durban, Pretoria, Mmabatho, Bophuthatswana, Namibia, Botswana, Zimbabwe and Malawi.





# It's all a matter of give and take

**N**EGOTIATION, President de Klerk's lieutenant Dr Gerrit Viljoen has observed, is a matter of give and take, in which you have to take enough to justify what you have to give.

Dr Viljoen's observation, made shortly after Mr de Klerk's February 1990 decision to seek a negotiated settlement to South Africa's deep-rooted conflict, helps to explain why an impasse was reached at Codesa at the weekend.

The two main negotiating blocs — the De Klerk administration and the ANC — both feared that they had given too much and taken too little.

To illustrate the point, it is instructive to look more closely at the core issues which divided them in Working Group 2, whose mandate was to chart procedures for the drafting of a final — as distinct from a transitional — constitution.

They agreed that the constitution should be drawn up and adopted by a popularly elected national assembly (which would simultaneously serve as a legislature in the interregnum while it completes its constitution-making task).

Thereafter three core differences separated the two sides: division over the majority required for the constitution to be adopted, dispute over the role of a senate or upper House, and conflict over the "time-frame" or the pace at which constitution-making should take place.

The De Klerk administration wanted to push the majority up as high as possible, at one stage seeking approval by 75 percent of the national assembly for each of the clauses. Against that the ANC endeavoured to keep the required majority as low as possible, and moved about 66.6 percent only reluctantly.

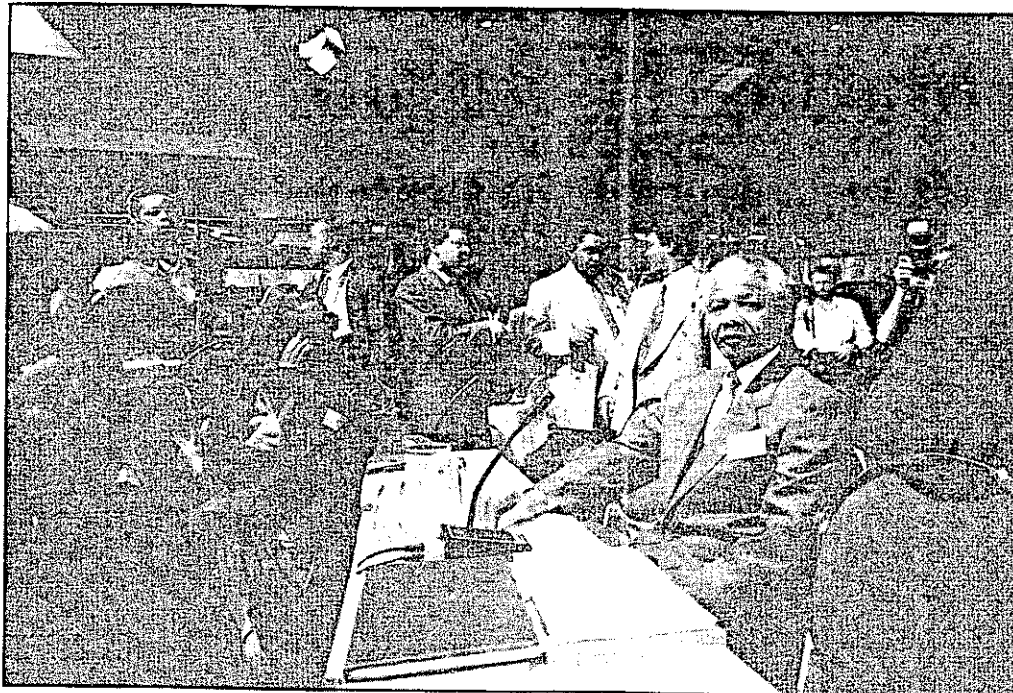
Behind these offers were calculations of electoral support: the De Klerk administration, fearing the ANC would attract overwhelming popular support because of its tradition as a "resistance movement", favoured a high acceptance level; the ANC, anxious about registration of inexperienced and poorly educated black voters and about its



Negotiators are sensitive about the balance between what they can take and what they have to give. Codesa 2 ran into problems because the main interlocutors feared they had conceded too much. PATRICK LAURENCE reports.

STAR 18/5/92

(2) (11A)



Impasse ... a mere five percentage points separated Nelson Mandela and F W de Klerk from agreement on the crucial issue of regional government.

relatively low appeal in non-black communities, felt its two-thirds offer was generous.

In the end, 11th-hour offers, made after the scheduled start of Codesa's second plenary session, brought the De Klerk administration and the ANC close to agreement: they agreed that the general acceptance level should be 70 percent, each thinking that it had made major sacrifices.

But five percentage points se-

parated them on the crucial issue of regional government: the De Klerk administration would not settle for less than 75 percent and the ANC would not budge beyond 70 percent.

At that stage, however, the two blocs felt they had given away too much; in addition, regionalism was an extremely sensitive and important issue to both sides.

The De Klerk administration wanted to ensure that the new

constitution would guarantee strong and secure regional government and thus wanted to be in a position to veto ANC proposals which might threaten regional autonomy.

As Foreign Minister Pik Botha made clear, its anxieties were accentuated by its conviction that the ANC is motivated by a belief in centralised government and economic planning. Against that the ANC feared Mr de Klerk and his

allies wanted to use regionalism as another bulwark against the will of the majority rather than a safeguard against tyranny.

Excluding the dispute over the majority required for regional issues, the positions of the two sides were, indeed, close as Codesa began its plenary session.

They had agreed that clauses relating to the proposed bill of rights needed a specially high majority and concurred that it



F W de Klerk ... wanted to push majority required for new constitution as high as possible. Pictures: Ken Oosterbroek

should be 75 percent. They had agreed, too, that the general ceiling should be 70 percent, the De Klerk administration having compromised by lowering its target from 75 to 70 percent and the ANC having made a reciprocal gesture by increasing its offer from 66.6 to 70 percent.

Both sides, however, felt they had given away too much and needed to bolster their position. Thus they both added a belated addendum.

The De Klerk administration resubmitted, in slightly modified form, a proposal it had withdrawn earlier in the interests of a compromise: it demanded a guarantee that the final constitution would include a senate which would have "co-equal legislative capacity" with the national assembly in protecting the constitution and the bill of rights.

The ANC, fearing the senate would be one in which regional-

ly based parties would be given disproportionately high representation and deployed to thwart the will of the majority, balked, saying the demand required further discussion.

The ANC had additional anxieties: it feared that its offer of a general majority of 70 percent might enable Mr de Klerk and his allies to veto proposals indefinitely and hence delay the introduction of a constitution backed by the majority party in the national assembly, a situation which could lead to its losing support from an increasingly impatient black populace.

The ANC thus mooted a mechanism to break any possible deadlock: if the national assembly was unable to complete its work within six months because of the high majorities, then the constitution acceptable to a simple majority of delegates should be referred to the nation for acceptance in a referendum; if two-thirds of the electorate voted for the constitution, it should be adopted.

Government negotiators, insisting that the referendum notion was introduced at the "12th hour", refused to be "stampeded" into accepting it.

These differences — which the personal intervention of Mr de Klerk and Nelson Mandela failed to resolve — were reinforced by distrust.

To quote SA Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo on the De Klerk bloc: "What they fear like nothing else is democracy."

The differences have been referred to Codesa's management committee, on which all delegations are represented. Whether it will resolve them remains to be seen. Its task should not be underestimated.

As Ronnie Kasrils, of the SACP and ANC, noted soberly, many ANC supporters, including delegates at Codesa, felt the ANC had gone too far in its 70 percent offer. Under pressure from its constituency and influenced by the trade union bargaining strategy — in which an offer made and rejected is considered to be withdrawn — the ANC's stance might get tougher and the problem more difficult to resolve. □

# ANC, govt on collision course as Codesa II opens

CODESA II promises to be a rough ride for participants when it opens today following a decision by the ANC and its allies to stick to key demands aimed at defeating government.

This emerged yesterday when more than 85 political, religious, trade union, women's and student organisations ordered the ANC to throw down the gauntlet to government and force it to concede to voting percentages in a legislature and time frames for democratisation.

A statement read on behalf of "patriotic forces in Codesa" and other organisations which met yesterday said participants had agreed that one-person one-vote for a constituent assembly was central to the negotiation process.

Representation in the assembly must be along proportional lines, with no second chamber to veto legislation, said the statement read by Patrick Maduna of KaNgwane's Inyanga National Movement.

Maduna also said representatives agreed that an interim government with executive powers be instituted immediately.

ANC International Affairs director Thabo Mbeki said participants at the meeting had agreed on a joint ap-

proach towards government today.

He said they agreed that a two-thirds majority was necessary to have legislation passed. Government wants it to be passed by 75%.

This was still being hotly debated last night by Working Group II, which is dealing with constitutional issues.

"We agreed to put forward the following time frames at Codesa II tomorrow: legislation to implement an interim government must be passed before Parliament goes into recess by June and a transitional authority in place by July. This body should oversee elections for a constituent assembly which should be in place in December this year," he said.

Mbeki said the constituent assembly would sit for a further nine months drawing up a new constitution, to be followed immediately by elections for a new government.

The meeting, which was also attended by representatives of the OAU, the UN and foreign diplomats, was officially opened by ANC president Nelson Mandela.

Mandela said all political parties should realise they were prisoners of the past.

"The efforts of the National Party in the current process must be seen from the point of view of their back-

ground ... that of being a political party brought about by apartheid.

"We, as a democratic movement, also have our own background ... an 80-year tradition of resistance against apartheid. But we are approaching Codesa II with optimism."

He said the ANC was determined its course of action should be to talk to all South Africans and address the fears of the minority.

"We will not tolerate racism, but any group that wants its own schools, language and culture will have to be allowed to do so," he said, noting that these rights would have to be subject to a bill of rights.

Mandela also reiterated his call for the immediate installation of an interim government, saying once such a body was in place the ANC would call for the lifting of all sanctions, except for the oil and arms embargoes.

He said the ANC was already sending representatives abroad to urge foreign businessmen to conduct feasibility studies in SA.

The head of the OAU delegation in SA, Chief Olusegun Olusola, made a passionate appeal to liberation organisations not represented at Codesa to reconsider their refusal to participate in the forum. — Sapa.



OAU delegation leader Nigerian Olusegun Olusola with ANC president Nelson Mandela at yesterday's meeting of the patriotic front at Codesa in Johannesburg. Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

# MY VIEW

## Dullah Omar member of the ANC Constitutional Committee

South 16/5-21/5/92

(11A)

~~SECRET~~

WE ARE learning an important lesson. It is that despite negotiations no ruling class gives up power and privilege without a struggle — no ruling class voluntarily abdicates from power.

The Codesa experience is a good example. Up to the time of writing, government representatives were making concessions on minor issues. But on the central issue of power they have refused to budge.

It is important that we concentrate on this major issue — not on the petty details in the piles of agreements which will come out of Codesa.

The issue of power raises the questions: who exercises power, who controls the negotiation process, what is the objective of the process and will the agreements predetermine the outcome or will they allow for democratic decision-making by all the people?

The ANC achieved certain victories when it won the Declaration of Intent and the Terms of Reference of the various Working Groups at Codesa.

But compared to the major issues at stake and the tasks ahead, central to which is the achievement of an elected Constituent Assembly with sovereign powers to draw up a new constitution, these victories must not be overstated.

For example, on the constitution-making body (which Working Group 2 is dealing with), the regime has agreed to an elected body to draw up the constitution.

This sounds like an advance on the regime's previous position.

However, an elected body is not a Constituent Assembly.

A Constituent Assembly is a single-chamber body elected on the basis of one person-one vote by all the people of South Africa, including the homelands, with sovereign power to draw up and adopt a new constitution.

Many agree that such a body should adopt the new constitution on the basis of a two-thirds majority. No other body or structure should have the power to veto its decisions.

President FW de Klerk envisages a structure with two chambers — one which will be based upon one person-one vote and a sec-



*Lets us not pretend that winning a democratically elected constituent assembly will be the end of the struggle. Far from it'*

ond in which minority parties would dominate.

The ANC has dubbed the second chamber the House of Losers. In terms of De Klerk's proposals, it would be able to veto decisions of the democratically elected first chamber.

On the issue of transitional arrangements (Working Group 3), there are similar problems. De Klerk is not prepared to give up the sole monopoly of power which presently resides in his hands.

The government is saying: "You can have your Interim Governing Council and you can have your Multiparty Commissions — as many as you like — and we will listen to you, but real power will remain in our hands."

"Because you cannot have two parallel governments existing side by side," they say.

Of course, its reasoning does not make sense because through constitutional amendments, it is possible to create the kind of sovereign structure proposed by the ANC. It's a question of the regime clinging to power.

If the government has its way, it will ultimately be in control over all aspects of the election process and even the result.

The regime is putting up a facade that it is interested in democratising the country. Because of the serious crisis it is in, it has no

option but to concede some version of one person-one vote.

However, it is determined to create structures and procedures to nullify one person-one vote.

De Klerk and his government are not prepared to concede majority rule, which is the bottom line of the democratic movement.

Without majority rule as a very minimum, there can be no settlement in South Africa.

Remember the Smith-Muzorewa attempt to prevent majority rule in Zimbabwe a decade ago. Remember also the slogan of the Patriotic Front at the time: "No independence without majority rule".

But let us not pretend that the winning of a democratically elected Constituent Assembly or a formula for majority rule will be the end of the struggle. Far from it.

It will be a victory but it will also open a new phase of struggle.

For the simple reason that a one person-one vote constitution will not end monopoly domination of South Africa's economy, the homelessness and poverty of our people or the imperialist domination of the sub-continent and the stranglehold of the so-called new order.

About three decades ago a leading Kenyan political figure, Oginga Odinga, wrote a book entitled "Not Yet Uhuru".

It was a devastating account of how the struggle of the Kenyan people had been aborted by the independence negotiations. This may also be true for Zimbabwe's negotiations at Lancaster House).

Africa's history teaches that political independence is not enough. Unless there is economic self-determination and freedom from economic exploitation for the people, political change will not mean very much.

South Africa will escape this fate if the working people use the opportunity provided by the the political processes to embark upon a programme of struggle for real social and economic transformation as part of a worldwide struggle to end capitalist exploitation.

The lessons our people have learnt in struggle over the past 20 to 30 years will stand them in good stead.

# Mandela and FW step in

STAR 16/5/92

**PRESIDENT de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela met urgently last night to try to salvage the negotiations at Codesa 2.**

The two intervened personally in an attempt to avert a damaging public clash between South Africa's two key negotiating partners.

The result of the last-ditch attempt will only become clear when Codesa 2 ends tonight. At the time of going to press it was still unclear as to whether De Klerk and Mandela could undo the damage caused by the bitter proceedings of the first day.

● See Page 2 and Editorial on Page 12

The late-night meeting came after the first day of Codesa 2 degenerated into a slanging match because of the failure to reach agreement on the central issue of the majority required to draft a new constitution.

Throughout the day, the Government and the ANC traded insults, blaming each other for the breakdown. And the SA Communist Party issued a veiled threat of mass action to put pressure on negotiation.

Because Codesa's Working Group 2 had failed to reach agreement on a constitution-making body, the product of months of painstaking work by the other four working groups was placed in jeopardy. Without agreement on the "progress package", observers said, the entire transition process could be significantly delayed.

The ANC and its allies had already declared Codesa 2 a "failure" because of the groups' inability to present a composite report.

But just as the day's sitting came to an end, Mandela and De Klerk got into a huddle on the Codesa conference floor, in an apparent attempt to prevent the volatile situation from running out of control.

Both De Klerk and Mandela had press conferences scheduled last night, at which they were expected to attack each other with vehemence matching that of their now-famous encounter at Codesa 1 in December. But after their huddle, Mandela adopted a conciliatory, wait-and-see approach at his press conference, and De Klerk postponed his briefing.

Saturday Star understands the rescue attempt was mounted following an address by Democratic Party negotiator Colin Eglin during the afternoon's hostile proceedings.

## Appeal

Eglin lambasted both parties for allowing the dispute to spill over on to the conference floor, and then delivered an appeal to key leaders to intervene.

He said the matter was too important to leave for future consideration in working groups. "I don't believe the differences are so great that the De Klerks and Mandelas can't solve them," he said.

It is understood that after Eglin's speech, ANC negotiator Mathew Phosa approached Deputy Law and Order Minister Johan Scheepers to propose an ANC/Government meeting. It was later scheduled for 9.30 pm, and in his press conference Mandela confirmed that he would see De Klerk.

● TO PAGE 2.

Codesa

● FROM PAGE 1.

Until the promise of compromise emerged, Codesa 2 bore all the hallmarks of going down in history as a disaster.

The session, scheduled to start at 9 am yesterday, got under way an hour later — only to be adjourned immediately for a further five hours. This was to allow Working Group 2 to seek a last-minute compromise.

Many delegates milled around the foyer in the World Trade Centre, and the formal opening remarks were finally made just before 4 pm. After optimistic opening remarks from the co-chairmen, Justice Piet Schabot and Justice Ismail Mahomed, the mood deteriorated.

Delegates, asked to make remarks on the "road ahead", used the opportunity to attack their opponents' bona fides — sometimes viciously. It was clear that the frustration of failing to reach agreement had poisoned the atmosphere of the convention.

Codesa's 19 parties divided sharply, and in camps of almost equal size, along pro- and anti-Government lines.

SACP general secretary Chris Hani summed up the view of the ANC alliance when he said: "Codesa has deadlocked. Without a satisfactory agreement in Working Group 2 on the central issue of

democratic constitution-making, there can be no effective implementation of all the other measures as proposed by other working groups. The blame for this deadlock must be laid firmly at the door of the principal deadlock — the South African Government."

Government negotiator Tertius Delpont strongly denied that Codesa 2 had achieved nothing and said the progress that opposing parties had made in the five months since Codesa 1 was a "miracle".

Foreign Minister Pik Botha said the ANC/SACP alliance's refusal to accept a 75 percent majority on regional government proved that it stood for a "centrist majoritarian Marxist" government.

And National Party chief negotiator Dawie de Villiers denied that the Government was clinging to power and said it had led the way in suggesting compromises in Working Group 2 this week.

Codesa co-chairman Justice Mahomed said that there were "very, very substantial areas on which there is very substantial agreement on a wide range of political opinions". There had also been very substantial agreement in Working Group 2. But he said that he and co-chairman Justice Schabot had decided that Codesa could not endorse the progress reports of the other working groups without discussing how to deal with the impasse in Working Group 2.

STAR 16/5/92

# ANC deplures

## IFP leader's assassination

STAR 16/5/92

JOE LOUW

THE African National Congress has issued a statement deploring yesterday's assassination of Simon Nxumalo, Alexandra leader of the Inkatha Freedom party, and blaming his death on "agent provocateurs" aiming to disrupt Codesa and set off another round of violence in the tinder-box township.

Witwatersrand police spokesman Warrant Officer Andy Pieké said two unknown gunmen had killed Nxumalo at about 7.30 am as he walked to work. "He was shot twice in the back and died on arrival at the Alexandra Clinic," said Pieké.

He said police could not give more details on the attack but were investigating.

Meanwhile the embat-

led township is steeling itself for reaction to his death. His killing has led to widespread fears of a violent retribution by IFP supporters on the Alexandra community.

Nxumalo was a prominent member of the IFP and a respected member of the Alexandra community.

He was praised by all political parties as a man deeply involved in peace negotiations in the troubled township.

Both residents and the hostel dwellers have clashed with each other and the police during the past two months.

Nxumalo, a long-time resident of the township, was an active partici-

● TO PAGE 2.

### IFP killing

● FROM PAGE 1

part in most community efforts at peaceful reconciliation among rival factions.

Responding to the killing, IFP Codesa delegate Bruce Anderson said it was tragic that a proponent of peace was killed in this manner. "We're afraid of the reaction, but we're calling on people to remain calm," he said.

The ANC statement said the organisation learnt with extreme shock about the killing and condemned it.

"The timing of the murder," the statement said, "is reminiscent of past trends of violence which proved to coincide with major political developments.

"Nxumalo's murder coincides with the second sitting of Codesa. It could only have been the intent of the perpetrators of this dastardly act to disrupt the proceedings and peace effort underway in Alexandra.

"Both the ANC PWV Region and the Alexandra ANC branch distance themselves from such acts and condemn with contempt the latest attack on Nxumalo and extend our deepest sympathy to both family and friends," the statement concluded.

Similar messages were issued by many organisations yesterday including the Interim Crisis Committee and prominent community leaders.

Police reported no arrests and no other incidents of violence.

# So near - and yet so far

STAR 16/5/92

**PETER FABRICIUS and SHAUN JOHNSON**

SO WHAT was the big fight all about? At the end of several months of hard bargaining, Codesa 2 yesterday stalled with the Government and ANC camps apparently just a hair's breadth from each other's positions.

The breakdown issue was the percent majority required in a constitution-making body to endorse a new constitution.

After a week of rapidly shifting positions, the Government had dropped its insistence on an overall 75 percent majority in a national assembly and two-thirds majority in an upper House or senate, representing minorities.

Its last position was a 70 percent majority for most matters, and a 75 percent majority on the bill of rights and regional government.

The ANC in turn moved from its original insistence on a two-thirds majority across the board and 75 percent for a bill of rights. It shifted to a 70 percent majority across the board and 75 percent for the bill of rights - but not for regional government.

In exchange for this concession on greater majorities, the ANC - fearing that such large majorities could cause endless delays - insisted on a deadlock-breaking mechanism.

They suggested that if the constitu-

tion-making body failed to draft a new constitution after six months, it should take those outstanding matters on which there was 50 percent agreement and put them to a national referendum, where a two-thirds majority would be required to approve the new constitution.

Meanwhile, the start of the Codesa 2 plenary session was postponed again and again as Working Group 2 battled to achieve compromise. The group first met at 8 am yesterday, hoping to agree before the plenary session started at 9 am. But by that time the working group had adjourned only for the ANC to consult its allies about the Government's compromise proposal.

About 9.30 am the chairmen of Codesa announced that the start had been postponed for 75 minutes to allow the working group time to agree. But only at noon did the ANC emerge from consultations with its new compromise proposal.

It took this straight into the working group. At lunch-time the group adjourned for the Government to consult its principals on the new proposals. By 2 pm it was clear that it could not accept these, after which the Government and the ANC announced the breakdown.

## How the ANC's Mohammed Valli Moosa describes it:

Our view is that a new constitution for South Africa should be drafted by a democratically elected body and that body would draft and adopt a constitution by a two-thirds majority. Its decisions would not be subject to a veto.

"We were subjected to all sorts of criticisms from the NP and its allies. They initially said our proposal amounted to simple majoritarianism. We pointed out that the Government had accepted the two-thirds majority principle in Namibia.

"Throughout, the Government wanted decisions subject to veto by the senate, and proposed the senate be made up of the tricameral Parliament and homelands.



MOOSA: Government constantly backtracking.

"Obviously we and most parties rejected that. Then they proposed that the senate be weighted in terms of equal representatives for unequal votes. We call this a system of disproportionate representation, and undemocratic. Then they apparently dropped that. We kept on asking the question: Why do you want the senate to have a veto?"

"Then they proposed that we leave the senate out of it, but proposed these various (higher) percentages. We spent every day of this week in meetings of that working group. They kept on re-introducing the senate..."

"Eventually after much soul-searching, to avoid a deadlock, we held an 11th-hour meeting and decided to offer a position for which we don't even have a mandate. We moved the percentage up to 70 percent and the bill of rights to 75 percent. At that point we realised we were wasting our time."

## Government delegate Dr Tertius Delport's version:

"We have agreed that the constitution-making process should be reached by negotiation. We raised the question of whether the final drafting should be done by the national assembly only, or should the senate be involved. To this the ANC seriously objected. Their view was that it should be the national assembly only, by a two-thirds majority.

"Many parties were unhappy with this. We took it upon ourselves as Government to seek compromises. There was a feeling that if we did away with the senate option in which regional and minority interests would play a role, then the national assembly



DELPORT: Wonderful progress, except for one issue.

would have to have a very considerable degree of consensus.

"The figure of 75 percent was put forward..."

"So we conferred again. We put forward 70 percent in the national

assembly, but said that then we must single out those aspects that are very important. Thus we wanted 75 percent for a bill of rights, and for the structuring of government at central, regional and local levels.

"We want a solution that will take care of many of the fears, and we are championing the rights of regions..."

"Every such attempt was labelled by the ANC as obstructive. Our final position was: let us report on all the substantial agreements, and say 'but there is a matter outstanding'. I had the feeling that (most) of the delegates were in favour of this."



ON THEIR OWN: Phola Park residents go on the rampage yesterday morning, in the process damaging several police pulled out of the area.

THE visiting Organisation of African Unity delegation, in the country to monitor the on-going violence in the townships, had a close encounter with the real thing near Phola Park this week.

Shots were fired when police were conducting a massive search for suspects involved in attacks on the police and other people, according to police liaison officer Eugene Opperman.

Police had cordoned off all roads leading to the squatter camp and apparently warned the OAU convoy about the shootings.

In an exclusive interview with Chief Olusegun Ousola, who heads the delegation now in its fifth day of making the rounds, the Nigerian Ambassador to Ethiopia expressed the hope that they would still have the opportunity of visiting trouble spots. They also hope to visit some hostels.

Ousola's delegation, made up of five ambassadors based at the OAU headquarters in Addis Ababa, was invited to South Africa by the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress to monitor township violence.

"After four days of meeting the Government, political parties, the liberation movements,

## OAU observers have close shave with real thing

STAR 16/5/92

including Chief Buthelezi, and as well as reaching Soweto and visiting various squatter camps, we came to the conclusion that the Government must take all parties into its confidence.

"The participants at Codesa have no faith in the Government's action in curbing violence," said Ousola.

"There is a definite need for more African presence in the security agencies and they must do a lot to catch up with the political situation."

About his impressions of the squatter camps they visited, Ousola said poverty and squatter camps were not unique to South Africa.

He said the Government

must take urgent steps to improve the lives of people in Soweto and the squatter camps.

"The camps we saw were in a deplorable state," he said. "They were unsanitary, overcrowded and need urgent attention."

Asked how the delegation could reconcile giving South Africa advice on how to conduct its affairs when critics point out the abysmal human rights record of many African countries, Ousola replied:

"We Africans are only as good as the 32 years of experience we have gathered since independence in Nigeria, as are other African countries."

"We challenge anyone to come from outside and teach us (a better) way of how to run our countries."

"We say to our brothers here:

take the plung

"Let them Let them makes. Pover wars and so f excuses for democratic g tional unity The OAU will towards dem

"In my ow the Chief, "open the doc parties to cor ic elections. there have be Africa anyot this process again."

Ousola s: will be welcc of the 51 Ind states at th after it had national unit sation."

Asked for the township he said his de to the people.

"We felt w people that known," he very J ingly happy last recognis able to visit

## Callers crusty as dough devours

CALLERS to Speak Out last night felt consumers are continually being ripped off, be it over bread or any other commodity. They felt stricter Government control on the production of bread was needed.

Mrs Nathnagel, Horizons: Last week on Monday I bought a loaf of bread and when we cut it, the middle was all full of holes. On Wednesday the same thing

While the average price of bread has increased by more than 26 percent in the past year, the South African National Consumer Union says both quality and quantity have dropped. Many loaves don't make the minimum mass. Who is to blame and why is this happening? Are consumers being ripped off?

Speak Out ON SATURDAY



quality of bread, the population has a role model of dog food. They are offered on specials at R1.09 a tin don't have a monitoring institute that evaluates busi-

carry on various tigate c 5 B I agree Consum increas what be tion will done. Mrs Most of brown I cently I

funeral  
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lery's move from the  
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decide whether the huge birds were classified as  
game or poultry. In the meantime they could not be  
given a safe food certificate. — Sapa-Reuter.

### Peace award for FW, Mandela

OVIEDO (Spain) — President F W de Klerk and  
ANC leader Nelson Mandela were jointly awarded  
the 1992 Prince of Asturias prize for international  
co-operation yesterday. The 10-member jury said  
Mandela and De Klerk had achieved "the founda-  
tions for peace and collaboration between citizens  
and for a future democratic organisation of South  
Africa". — Sapa-Reuter.

(11A) (3-11) STAR 161592

### Greek priests cross over shoes

ATHENS — Greek Or-  
depression spread. — Sapa-Reuter.

eventual or



Birth pangs are natural at such a magnificent event, but are soon forgotten when the baby is born  
 - Judge Pieter Schabort



# FW, MANDELA

# SAVE THE DAY

*(11A) CIPress 17/592*  
 By THEMBA KHUMALO and SAPA

**BOLD** statemanship by ANC leader Nelson Mandela and President F W de Klerk rescued Codesa 2 from the brink of collapse yesterday.

After Friday's deadlock on the formation of a constitution-making body the two leaders consulted for more than an hour behind closed doors late on Friday night and agreed to move forward despite a number of constitutional hiccups.

**Interim rule now 'weeks away'**

In two remarkably statesman-like addresses they buried the heated disagreements and emphasised that speed was essential in bringing about a common goal of a united, non-racial, non-sexist democratic South Africa.

They held out the prospect that an interim/transitional government would be in place and legislated for by the time Parliament went into recess next month.

Declaring that time was of the essence, De Klerk said that negotiations for a new constitution would have to be speeded up. He said: "The government has no hesitation in saying let's move forward. Let's identify what is outstanding."

However, he cautioned that negotiations should not be "slapdash".

"Violence must come to an end," he reiterated, adding the government was still committed to the National Peace Accord.

**Practical goals**

He stressed the importance of the negotiation process moving forward in phases and pointed out that certain practical goals were beginning to materialise.

Mandela, who spoke after De Klerk, also emphasised that speed was essential.

He called on leaders at Codesa 2 to step up the work towards transforming the country into a democracy.



**HIDE PARK ... A Zulu impi muscles in on the feminist protest to strut their stuff on the Codesa 2 fringe.**



**AS I WAS SAYING ... Protesters claw for hot**

## Freedom of screech

**CP Reporter** *CIPress 17/592*  
 FREEDOM of speech, it seems from the Codesa spectacle, is all about who can shout loud, louder, LOUDEST.

While South Africa's various political groupings were having their say inside, outside an even more interesting array of civil interest groups were coming to grips with each other.

ered to deride the mostly male composition of the participants inside. Then along came the macho men of Inkatha - in their hundreds - and the feminists wisely retreated to the sidelines, gingerly holding up their placards.

The PAC meanwhile, although deigning not to take part in the historic event were there to register their presence.

**after acti**





...practical gains were beginning to materialise.  
Mandela, who spoke after De Klerk, also emphasised that speed was essential.

He called on leaders at Codesa 2 to step up the work towards transforming the country into a democracy.

"The people cannot postpone their hunger," he admonished the 19 delegations at the second plenary session of the convention.

"Similarly, they do not want their freedom postponed. Anyone of us who acts to delay that freedom only serves to perpetuate our bondage.

"Clearly we cannot gather here today and send out a message to our country and the world that we have taken no steps towards the goal of ending the misery of our people. It is clearly impermissible.

"We meet here today as we did yesterday not to play politics but because our country is in a very deep crisis.

"Our people continue to die as a result of brutal violence carried out by forces that are opposed to democratic change. Fear stalks our land because none of us seem to know when the identifiable as well as faceless assassins are going to strike.

### Threaten

"Many feel emboldened to carry and brandish guns, spears, battle-axes, pangas, knobkieries and other weapons of death, as though to kill, to threaten and actually to perpetrate violence against other human beings were the most natural thing in the world.

He recommended that the Codesa Management Committee meet immediately after the conclusion of the plenary session yesterday to discuss the restructuring of working groups.

Later the management committee recommended to delegates that the five working groups be suspended and that the committee be given the responsibility for resolving all the groups' outstanding matters.

The committee said it should be mandated to convene any working group if necessary.

It also called for Codesa 3 to be held before the end of June, when Parliament closes.

■ See Page 10

**Butler on trial - See Page 22**



**AS I WAS SAYING ... Protesters claw for hot airspace.**  
■ PLOI TLADI KHUELE

While South Africa's various political groupings were having their say inside, outside an even more interesting array of civil interest groups were coming to grips with each other.

First, there was a strident protest from the feminist movement who gath-

lines, gingerly holding up their placards.

The PAC meanwhile, although deigning not to take part in the historic event, were there to register their protest. "Down with undemocratic Codesa" their posters said at Codesa.

## Swinging cop's changing fortunes

By S'BU MNGADI

**NOTORIOUS** KwaZulu policeman Sergeant Siphwe Mvuyane was granted bail of R5 000 in a late sitting of the Durban Regional Court on Friday night.

He faces allegations of extortion, illegal possession of firearms and ammunition, explosives, theft and possession of suspected stolen property, as well as charges of murder and attempted murder - withdrawn and now reopened.

Mvuyane appeared before Magistrate JJ Brits with 10 other people, including three women. The 10 were remanded in cus-



**BETTER DAYS ... Sergeant Siphwe Mvuyane on his car phone.**  
■ PLOI DESENI MOODLIAN

tody until tomorrow for a bail application.

Mvuyane is allegedly linked to between 40 and 60 cases of murder, attempted murder and intimidation.

Mvuyane and the 10 people were arrested in Umlazi this week for allegedly operating a protection racket and being in possession of a huge arms cache.

The 25-year-old Mvuyane, recently appointed head of the KZP's Firearm Unit, has been cleared by a KZP internal investigation of more than 23 killings in the past three years.

In recent interviews with City Press the flamboyant policeman was willing to discuss anything - except his source of the income that allows him to live like a prince when fellow sergeants can hardly make ends meet.

This week SAP spokesman Captain Bala Naidoo said the SAP was considering handing over the case to the Special Investigations Unit.

## 'Kansas' to wed sister-in-law

By S'BU MNGADI

**RADIO** Zulu deejay and CCV TV presenter Cyril "Kansas City" Mchunu is to marry Mapule, 19, sister of his late common-law wife, Nokuthula "Bompi" Zungu.

Mapule, a student at Umbumbulu College of Education, used to share a central Durban flat with the couple before Nokuthula died on April 9 last year and was reportedly treated like their daughter.

Their wedding day has not been fixed but Mchunu has apparently settled lobola with Mapule's mother, Nkosinathi, and had umbondo delivered to his home in Umzinto last month.

Acrimony followed Nokuthula's death with a squabble between Mchunu and her uncle Mandlenkosi Zungu over the right to bury her. Zungu was granted a court order to bury her.

Mchunu's marriage to Mapule has also been opposed by Zungu, sources close to the family have said.



**BRIDE-TO-BE ... Mapule Zungu, 19.**

## Bhamjee's lawyers let him down

By DESMOND BLOW

**AN** application for leave to appeal against the 14-year jail sentence being served by former soccer strongman Abdul Bhamjee was struck off the roll in the Rand Supreme Court by Judge M J Strydom on Monday when his lawyers failed to appear on time.

In February Judge Strydom sentenced Bhamjee to an effective 14 years for stealing R7.4-million from the NSL.

The judge refused to extend bail pending an application for leave to appeal.

Bhamjee has changed his counsel and advocate Mike Hannon SC, who has been an acting judge for several months, will return to the bar on Tuesday to tender an affidavit asking for the appeal application to be reinstated.

Bhamjee wants to appeal against his conviction or severity of sentence. The judge has said it would take strong argument for him to allow the appeal.



**JOBS GALORE - SEE PAGES 8, 14 AND 15**

Pushed out into the political wilderness ...

# FINAL BLOW FOR DALI

CIPren 17/5/92

By **LEN KALANE**

11A

**DALI MPOFU** is a great admirer of Nelson Mandela.

He equally holds Winnie Mandela in high esteem and will continue supporting the "Mother of the Nation".

"(Nelson) Mandela is the hero of our people. I admire his unbending opposition to the system and his unselfish sacrifice to the struggle," Mpfu said.

This week he broke his silence since persistent rumours about his alleged romantic relationship with Winnie Mandela were abound.

Mpfu, now 30, still categorically denies any romantic links between himself and the estranged 56-year-old wife of the ANC president.

"It is ridiculous. When the rumours first broke out I thought the whole thing was not directed at me but the ANC. It is now clear they are getting at me as well," said Mpfu

who this week was dismissed as the deputy chief of the ANC's Social and Welfare Department.

His dismissal came barely a month after Winnie's resignation as the head of the department. He has briefed his lawyers to challenge his dismissal.

The dismissal, which Mpfu sees as an unfair labour practice, also comes shortly after the separation between Nelson and Winnie Mandela. Winnie resigned as head of the ANC's welfare section a week after Nelson Mandela had announced he was separating from his wife at a sombre press conference on April 13 this year.

It has been rumoured that the persistent gossip about the alleged relationship between Mpfu and the estranged wife of the ANC president, among other things, finally led to the break-up of the marriage which had withered many a storm since 1958.

But to Mpfu, his own dismissal from the ANC was the final blow.

"It is all a feeble attempt to get at anyone who supports Winnie Mandela steadfastly," he told City Press.

Mpfu's support for Winnie Mandela cannot be doubted. They share the same birthday and after Winnie's conviction on the kidnap trial last year, Mpfu, the young dynamic lawyer who was then only 29, was the second man to kiss her. The first kiss was from husband Nelson Mandela.

Mpfu also assisted in her defence of the assault and kidnapping case.

"She is a gallant fighter. She has fought for ordinary people in this country during the times when opposing the system was tantamount to a death warrant. She was the only person who held the name of the ANC inside the country during the most brutal years of apartheid," said Mpfu, who equally bestowed praise on her husband, Nelson Mandela.

He described Nelson Mandela as an unselfish, committed leader whose passion was to bring democracy in this country.

"I hold (Nelson) Mandela in high esteem. How on earth do you touch the wife of a man you so greatly respect?" asked Mpfu.

He is bitter against the present ANC leadership.

He chokes as he adds: "The present ANC is not the same ANC which millions of people had died for and went to jail for."

Mpfu said there were forces inside the present ANC leadership bent on destroying the ANC "as we know it".

The young lawyer added that there was a "growing monster" within ANC leadership ranks who held powerful positions for their own self-interests.

"If they can persecute a gallant fighter such as Winnie Mandela you can imagine what they can do to little

ones like us," Mpfu said, adding he was going to take a rest and continue with his studies.

Mpfu disclosed he knew of two or three other people who had been unfairly dismissed because of their support for Winnie Mandela.

"My concern is for the freedom of the people. For as long as the ANC goes on like this I fear we will never reach that goal," Mpfu said.

The hectic political upheavals of 1985 thrust Mpfu into the political limelight and the brilliant young lawyer from East London was soon to rub shoulders with the likes of Winnie Mandela.

He was detained several times, including the period of the 1985 state of emergency when upon his release stringent restrictions orders were placed on him.

He steadily climbed the political ladder until his dismissal from the ANC hierarchy thrust him into the political wilderness.

ANSWER ONE

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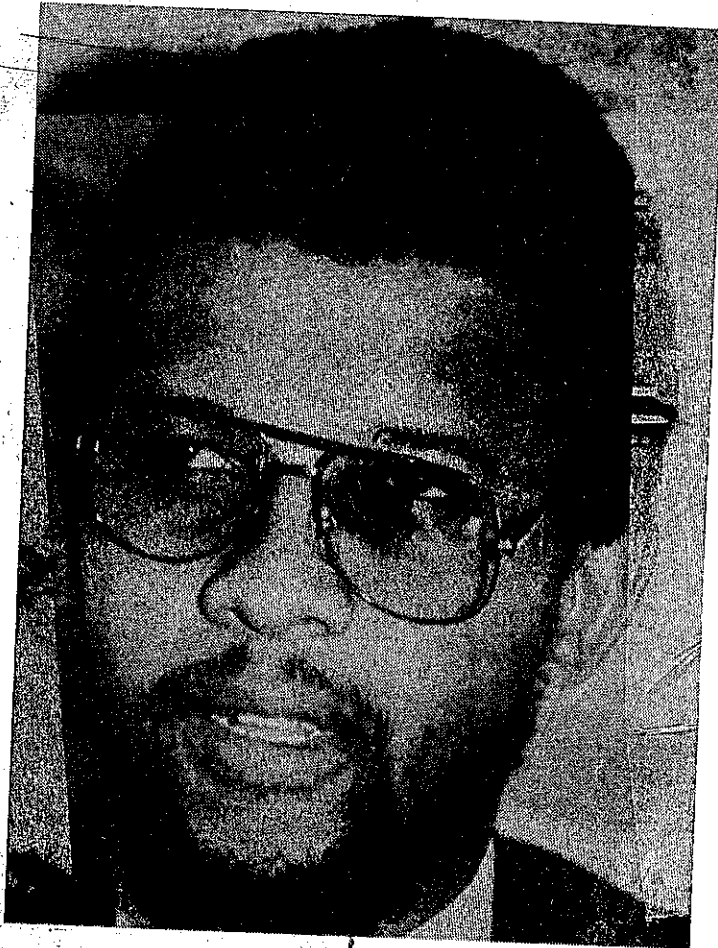
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**DALI MPOFU . . . Winnie supporter who was fired from his ANC job.**

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# Mpofu: 'ANC cabal' ousted me

STimes 17/5/92

114

By CHARLENE SMITH

SACKED ANC official Dali Mpofu claims a power-seeking cabal within the organisation is trying to destroy Mrs Winnie Mandela with smear campaigns, including allegations that she is his lover.

Mr Mpofu, 29, a close friend of Mrs Mandela, is to sue the ANC for unfair labour practice in dismissing him from his post as the organisation's deputy head of social welfare.

In an interview, he claimed that allegations that he and Mrs Mandela were lovers were part of a five-year smear campaign directed against her from within the ANC.

In response, the ANC's Gill Marcus said: "The whole issue is open to debate, but the ANC will not comment until it chooses to."

Mr Mpofu said the cabal trying to destroy Mrs Mandela dated back to United Democratic Front days and included such people as lawyer Azhar Cachalia, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, ANC NEC member Mohammed Valli Moosa and Codesa administrative head Murphy Morobe.

"They also used certain leaders like Natal ANC leader Archie Gumede and trade unionist and former Cosatu president Elijah Barayi," added Mr Mpofu.

Mr Morobe was reluctant to comment on the matter, other than to say: "The allegations of a cabal are not new ... I think the country has more pressing matters on its hands."

Mr Mpofu claimed recent ANC moves — such as Mrs Mandela's forced resignation on March 17 and his sacking — were part of a strategy aimed at weeding out those who refused to co-operate with the cabal.

He is not perturbed by rumours that his safety is threatened and he is continuing his studies in constitutional law and economics at the University of the Witwatersrand.

## Impossible

Mr Mpofu's labour problems began in December "when Thomas Nkobi (treasurer-general) suggested I move to the legal department".

"I said our department was understaffed — there were only

Mrs Mandela, myself and two social workers, with enormous responsibilities," said Mr Mpofu.

"In April, I was called before Mr Ramaphosa, Mr Nkobi and Mr Alfred Nzo, who said I must go to the legal department.

"It would have crippled welfare. Mrs Mandela had resigned and there was an impossible workload."

On April 21, Mr Mpofu wrote a two-page letter to Mr Ramaphosa, saying he hoped an "amicable solution" could be reached.

On May 4, Mr Ramaphosa dismissed Mr Mpofu.

"The last straw came when a public statement was issued about my dismissal. Since when do they issue statements about hiring and firing?" said Mr Mpofu.

# Snatching compromise from the jaws of corruption

S | Times 17/5/92 11A

**MIKE ROBERTSON and EDYTH BULBRING track Codesa through the twists and turns of a dramatic week**

**A** NC negotiator Mohammed Valli Moosa snapped shut his folder, pushed back his chair and declared: "This is unacceptable. If you insist on it being in the document, let's just pack up and go home."

It was 2pm on Wednesday this week and, after almost two hours of discussion, the steering committee of Codesa's Working Group 2, charged with negotiating a constitution-making body, still could not reach agreement.

The government was insisting that a senate, in which minority parties would be strongly represented, should have veto rights over a new constitution drawn up by a 400 to 450-strong National Assembly elected on the basis of one-man, one-vote.

Across from Mr Valli Moosa sat the government's representative, Deputy Constitutional Minister Tertius Delpoort. He was desperately tired, having been up most of the previous night drawing up the proposals, including the one being curtly rejected.

His voice a mere croak, the result of a bad case of laryngitis, Mr Delpoort waved his negotiating opponent back to his seat and agreed to drop the demand.

Not for the first time this week, nor as it turned out for the last, Codesa teetered on the brink of failure.

Such moments were typical of the run-up to the second plenary session of South Africa's national convention which was characterised by both remarkable progress and stunning setbacks.

Where no possibility of compromise existed, deals were struck in the dingy cor-

ridor how decisions would be taken in drawing up a new constitution; and whether Codesa could decide on the powers and boundaries of regions.

The government, it has to be said, entered the week with the wind against it — weakened by disclosures of state corruption and allegations of security force hit squads in the Botha era.

Labour Party negotiator Desmond Lockey says that when Codesa participants gathered near Jan Smuts on Sunday evening, the government delegates were decidedly more amenable. The reason, he firmly believes, was "the toilet town scandal" (a reference to one of the Department of Development Aid scams).

Thus it was that the government was forced to make its first significant agreement of the week.

It came on Sunday night in the technical committee of Working Group 3, which was to decide on an appointed interim government which would oversee the run-up to democratic elections.

**A**FTER 11 hours of discussion the group accepted a proposal that an independent electoral commission would have the power to adjudicate and settle disputes on the exact powers granted to the transitional executive authority and its relationship with the existing cabinet.

After 4pm on Monday, the government reached other agreements dealing with the way the transitional executive authority would reach decisions. In essence it would



**RUNNING OUT OF TIME . . . President FW de Klerk, Pik Botha and Nelson Mandela in eleventh-hour talks** Picture: JUHAN KUUS

emerged in corridor discussions between himself, Mr Delpoort, the ANC's Cyril Ramaphosa and the Democratic Party's Colin Eglin was reasonable.

The precise formulation accepted by Inkatha was that produced by Mr Delpoort when drafting his revised proposals in the early hours of Wednesday morning.

One obstacle had been successfully negotiated.

But a new problem arose — or, rather, an old problem was made new. During his midnight toil, Mr Delpoort had reintroduced the concept of a senate having veto powers over a constitution.

ators were back to the numbers game of the previous night.

Various proposals were tossed around both inside the committee room and in the corridors.

But the hard-pressed Mr Delpoort had a problem.

Whenever a new development arose he had to get in contact with President De Klerk to sound him out. On Wednesday he did so at least three times, once calling the President out of a cabinet meeting.

No further progress was made and Mr Delpoort flew to Cape Town to consult further with the President.

He returned on Thursday with a revised set of proposals, but essentially the same problems remained. In essence the government was insisting that a senate should have veto rights over a final constitution. It was prepared to drop this idea only if the other parties agreed to the constitution being accepted by a 75 percent majority.

the staff of the World Trade Centre vacuumed carpets, laid tables and arranged flowers in preparation for Codesa 2.

A mere 16 hours before Codesa 2 was to begin, Mr Chris Albertyn of the Inyandza National Movement, a small party which generally backs the ANC, put forward a compromise proposal that all parties agreed to take back to their principals overnight.

He proposed that all agreements on the constitution should be subject to a 70 percent majority, with a 75 percent majority on a bill of rights, and with no role for the senate in constitution-making.

**M**R DELPORT remarked on leaving that he was certain a compromise would be reached, "but I doubt it will be tomorrow", while Mr Ramaphosa continued to talk about dark clouds over Codesa.

Both proved to be right.

Codesa 2 got under way at 9am on Friday but soon suspended proceedings to allow Working Group 2 a last chance to reach agreement. Both sides presented revised proposals, but to no avail.

At 2pm on Friday, amid much recrimination, the parties finally admitted they could not find each other and took their fight to the conference floor.

Only the last-minute intervention of Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela on Friday night succeeded in shouldering the problem out of the way, at least temporarily. The deadlock was referred to Codesa's all-purpose Daily Management Committee for resolution. Codesa 2 was free to roll along on a wave of noble speeches, sweet nothings and general bonhomie.

ations on the same theme. Not surprisingly the working group discussions soon broke down.

Mr Ramaphosa emerged muttering about dark clouds over Codesa. Without agreement on this matter, he said, all other items agreed to by Codesa would be rendered meaningless.

Mr Delpoort disagreed and said that if no agreement was reached, Codesa 2 would simply report substantial progress achieved on all other matters.

While the parties haggled,



Mrs Winnie Mandela leads a protest song at a mass meeting in Wattville where she called on residents to form defence units. Pic: JOE MOLEFE.

# Form defence units Winnie

FORM defence units and "we shall provide the means of defence", Mrs Winnie Mandela told a mass meeting called by the ANC on the East Rand yesterday.

Mandela told the emotionally charged meeting at the Etwatwa High School in Wattville that ANC membership had become a "death warrant".

She said the ANC casualty list in the ongoing violence was crippling the organisation's grassroots.

She said people were scared of joining the

*Sowetan 18/5/92*

By MZIMASI NGUDLE

ANC because of numerous instances of violence where the majority of victims were ANC members.

Calling residents to form defence units and strong street committees, Mandela said: "If tomorrow you form defence units and street committees, and you don't have the

To page 2

## Defence units

From page 1

means with which to defend yourselves, call us, we shall provide the means.

"If thereafter you do not know how to defend yourselves, come to me. I will show you how to do it."

She called upon the ANC leadership to address the problem as a matter of urgency, saying the violence was clearly a Government strategy of destabilisation.

### Suspension

Mrs Mandela said the suspension of the armed struggle did not mean that people should relinquish the right to defend themselves.

### Cabal

"It only meant that the MK cadres should remain in their barracks wherever they are and wait for the whistle," she said.

She called upon the ANC to root out "a cabal in the NEC that leaks sensitive information to the press".

# Codesa barely avoids deadlock

Sowetan 18/5/92

11A

**CODESA'S** structures were put to a severe test in the run up to last weekend's second plenary session.

The convention at the weekend mandated its Management Committee to reconstitute the five working groups, and find a way to break the deadlock reached in Working Group Two on the percentage votes needed to pass a new constitution and the role and composition of a Senate as an upper chamber of the National Assembly.

The start of Codesa 2 was delayed by almost six hours on Friday morning when hurried negotiations and consultations were made to try to break the deadlock.

Grim-faced negotiators filled the conference room at 7am and got to work immediately.

After a week of rapidly shifting positions, the Government had dropped its insistence on an overall 75 percent majority in a National Assembly and two-thirds in an upper House or Senate, representing minorities.

Its last position was a 70 percent majority - the ANC's compromise position - for most matters and a 75 percent majority for a Bill of Rights and regional governments.

**A WEEK** in politics is a long time. Last week, however, is a week few Codesa delegates would want to relive as South Africa's peace process teetered on the brink of collapse, reports **IKE MOTSAPI**.

From 9am until 4pm when proceedings officially began it was evident from delegates that Codesa 2 was doomed to failure.

And, as ANC lawyer, Mr Matthew Phosa earlier re-

marked: "The Government does not want to relinquish power."

Phosa said: "The ANC negotiating team spent the whole of Thursday night with president Nelson Mandela trying to find a solution to this impasse and it seems our efforts and input on how the new constitution should be shaped are not appreciated by the Government."

By 3.30pm that day the ANC and its alliances called a press conference to announce that the talks on the constitution had deadlocked.

One of the ANC's chief negotiators, Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa said: "Our view is that a new constitution should be drafted by a democratically elected body that would draft and adopt a constitution by a two-thirds majority. Only the last minute intervention of De Klerk and Mandela on late on Friday night succeeded in saving the collapse of Codesa...at least temporarily.



MR TERTIUS DEPORT

## PAC still firmly rejects Codesa talks

By IKE MOTSAPI

THE Pan Africanist Congress yesterday said attempts aimed at forcing it to join Codesa would not succeed.

The PAC's director of information and publicity, Mr Waters Toboti, said this after a three-day meeting of the 34-member national executive committee held in Johannesburg at the weekend.

"We are not in speaking distance of Codesa. Those who have been trying to force us into it are going to be disappointed.

"I also want to make it clear that the PAC's meeting this week was not held because Codesa was sitting at Kempton Park. *Sowetan 18/5/92*

"It was just a sheer co-incidence that this happened," he said.

He said the meeting was in line with a resolution taken at the organisation's recent national congress in Umtata.

Toboti, however, confirmed that Codesa was among issues discussed at the meeting.



# The fountain of

STAR 18/5/92 (11A)

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18

**T**HE post-mortem on the Los Angeles riots has been little more than a wringing of hands and cliché-ridden exhortations for someone to do something to help the black underclass. There have, however, been some more thoughtful observations.

The London Sunday Times, for example, asked the question (which, it said, liberals were afraid to ask) — why do America's indigenous blacks remain an underclass when so many other non-white communities there manage to find their feet?

The answer to this question, South Africa may find the answer to its own black underclass problem.

The parallels are quite striking with the US, in spite of the obvious differences.

The Sunday Times contends that current racism in America alone cannot explain why blacks remain stuck at the bottom of the pile.

After all, it says, plenty of other non-white groups — Asians, Indians, Chinese, Pakistanis, Koreans, Hispanics — have made it in America, often arriving poorer than American blacks but soon leap-frogging them in the struggle for affluence.

Even immigrant blacks — from the Caribbean and Haiti — usually do better than indigenous ones.

The explanation offered by the Sunday Times is that there has been widespread erosion of the black family structure. Two-thirds of American babies today are born out of wedlock, more than half of black families are headed by single-parent women, and one young black in three is either in prison, on bail or on probation.

In 1950, 17 percent of black families were headed by single women, today the figure is an astounding 56 percent.

Yet most black youngsters brought up in two-parent families, who complete high school and

take a job, go on to become affluent members of America's large black middle-class.

Charles Murray, a fellow of the American Enterprise Institute, sceptical of the benefits of affirmative action (now, incidentally firm ANC policy).

By the end of the 1960s, he says, "affirmative action had become a set of policies in the United States whereby blacks were given preference over whites in universities, law firms and a range of jobs.

"In universities, black students who would have failed if they were white were given passing grades, and doctoral dissertations that ordinarily would have been rejected were accepted.

"In businesses, blacks with skills that ordinarily would not have passed muster were shunted into slots where their deficiencies would not be so obvious. All of this was *sub rosa*, not to be discussed publicly or complained about.

"But everybody knew."

Whatever the long-term merits or demerits of affirmative action, therefore, it did not solve the problem of the black underclass.

The Sunday Times is right, surely, when it says the core of the problem is the breakdown of family life. Much of the increasing thuggery among underclass white youngsters in Britain has been attributed to this same cause.

In looking for the reasons for the breakdown of black family life in America, one can begin with slavery, which began the destructive spiral, and once the cycle of family collapse begins, it becomes self-perpetuating.

In South Africa, the migratory labour system began wreaking its havoc in the last century already, long before the appearance of apartheid. It was not long after the Union of South Africa had been formed, that law-makers went to work to codify the idea of blacks as temporary sojourners in "white" urban areas.

The monstrous policies of Hendrik Verwoerd tore apart a lot more of what was left of the fabric of urban black family life. If there are crimes against humanity in South Africa's history, this has been one of them.

Ministers spelt it out in so many words that it was Government policy to make black townships as uncongenial as possible.

It was only in the 1980s that the Cabinet officially abandoned this policy (without actually creating the conditions to make the townships more attractive).

South Africans should not have to be told about the destruction of black family life. Volumes have been written over the generations, official and unofficial, recounting exactly what has been happening to black families.

But if there is a lesson in the Los Angeles riots it is that if South Africans want to sleep easily in their beds at night they must create, as urgently as possible, the

conditions that will rehabilitate family life among the blacks.

Everybody knows what the solution is — jobs, houses, decent living conditions, the familiar priorities. Yet so little has been done to achieve these aims.

The pattern of township politics so far has been for angry young blacks, when on the rampage, to raze their own structures. The physical distance between black townships and white areas has provided those areas with a certain protection. But it will not be like this forever.

Already, a crime wave is engulfing white areas. And there is the explosive political potential — rootless blacks are the ideal cannon fodder for the Harry Gwalas and Winnie Mandelas.

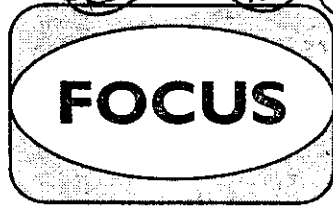
As the Sunday Times said about Los Angeles: "No society can tolerate such a large, dispossessed, alienated, armed and violent underclass and expect social tranquillity." — The Star Bureau

black despair

# 'People can't postpone hunger'

Sowetan 18/5/92

(25) (11A) (25)



**MR Nelson Mandela with the military ruler of the Transkei, Major-General Bantu Holomisa, during a recess at the second plenary session of Codesa at the weekend.**

WE gathered here yesterday and are meeting again today in a setting which suggests continuity, stable processes and a familiar and predictable environment.

Yet the overwhelming message that was communicated from this hall yesterday, both to our own people and to the international community at large, was that no progress towards the new South Africa that we all want had, in fact, been made over the last five months.

The things we did and said conveyed this perception, despite the valiant efforts that some among us made to demonstrate and insist that progress had indeed been achieved.

We meet here today as we did yesterday not to play politics but because our country is in a very deep crisis.

Our people continue to die as a result of brutal violence carried out by forces that are opposed to democratic change. Fear stalks our land because none of us seems to know when the identifiable as well as faceless assassins are going to strike, whether on the trains, in the townships and villages, on the roads or elsewhere.

Many feel emboldened to carry and brandish guns, spears, battle-axes, pangas, knobkerries and other weapons of death, as though to kill, to threaten and actually to perpetrate violence against other human beings were the most natural thing in the world.

The crisis facing our country is also expressed by the haunting reality of millions of people without jobs, without homes and without food. The lives of many of our people will be made even more miserable by the terrible drought which afflicts many parts of the country.

The question that faces us all is - how long can we, who claim to be

**ANC president Nelson Mandela's intervention at Codesa 2 last Saturday is believed to have assisted greatly to get the convention back on track. Here is an extract of his address:**

leaders of our people, sit here, talk eloquently, spin out complicated formulae and enjoy the applause while the country sinks deeper and deeper into crisis?

From where can we claim the moral right to assert that we need to move with less speed? Why do we put off till tomorrow solutions that we can today?

The people cannot postpone their hunger. Similarly they do not want their freedom postponed. Anyone of us who acts to delay that freedom only serves to perpetuate our bondage. This is a situation which none of us should be willing to accept.

And let none of us make the mistake of thinking that the people will do nothing to change their condition.

Not only do the masses have the right, they have the duty to engage in struggle to change their condition, change any movement or leader they see as acting against their common good.

With regard to this matter, there are a number of propositions that I would like to put to the convention as a whole. To help our country and

people move forward, I would like anybody with dissenting view to speak out openly against any of these propositions.

Firstly, let us all agree that we have to create a constitution-making body, elected on the basis of one person one vote, with the votes being of equal value. Is there any party here today opposed to this?

Let us all here agree that parties elected to this body will be represented within it in proportion to the number of votes they obtain. Is there any participant who is opposed to this?

Let us also agree that in addition to a national list, there will also be candidates who will be elected on a

regional basis. Is there any participant who is opposed to this?

Let us further agree that the constitution-making shall be a one chamber national assembly with sovereign powers to negotiate, draft, and adopt a new constitution. Is there anybody who is opposed to this?

Let us again agree that the work of drafting the constitution will be carried out within the framework of constitutional principles that have been and will be agreed here at CODESA. We cannot allow the interim constitution or any interim structure to be imposed upon or constrain the constitution-making body.

CT 18/5/92

# 'Plot to depose Mandela'

From IAN HOBBS

LONDON. — The British Sunday Times newspaper yesterday revived speculation that a radical faction in the ANC wants to install Mr Cyril Ramaphosa as de facto leader, with Mr Nelson Mandela sidelined as a "figure-head" president.

The paper said the ANC was on the brink of achieving power but could be "torn apart" by the alleged plot to make general secretary Mr Ramaphosa head of the ANC.

The report said the plotters were members of the ANC's internal wing but did not name them. It claimed they were using Mr Mandela's problems with Winnie against him.

The report claimed that SACP leader Mr Chris Hani was among senior ANC figures who met Mr Mandela last week to warn him "about the activities of the pro-Ramaphosa faction".

There have been frequent reports in the European media that ANC radicals consider Mr Mandela too conciliatory and are seeking to depose him.

But the ANC senior representative for Europe Mr Mendi Msimang has patiently and frequently advised European governments to ignore the rumours as mischievous propaganda reflecting government duplicity.

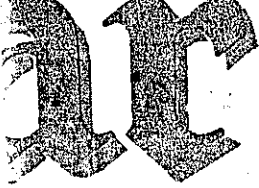
The view of the British government and the European Community is that the Codesa process relies massively

on the ANC president's personal integrity and influence.

Mr Ramaphosa is also held in high regard in Europe and suggestions that he might be part of a plot to oust Mr Mandela have been dismissed with contempt.

● Codesa observers in London were not worried by the deadlock at the Codesa talks. There appears to be confidence here that the negotiations will survive the crisis.

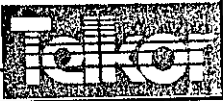
One Whitehall observer said: "Codesa is an enormous undertaking. You have to expect some problems and hitches. It is remarkable that they have moved as well as they have and is a tribute to all parties involved".



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# Mandela disappointed, but optimistic

STAR 18/5/92

(11A)

**Y** OSLO — ANC leader Nelson Mandela said yesterday he hopes an interim government can be installed in South Africa within a month or two but "these are questions that are being addressed".

"We are walking the last mile to democracy in our country," he told Norwegians, gathered to greet him at Oslo's Fornebu Airport.

Mr Mandela flew to Norway — celebrating its own Constitution Day yesterday — directly after the weekend's Codedsa 2 plenary session.

The ANC president said he was disappointed that talks on an interim constitution had not come further, but that the ANC was optimistic.

"There is no way back," he said. "There should be an interim constitution to make sure democracy comes to our country."

"This is a very touching moment for my delegation," said Mr Mandela, wearing a traditional Constitution Day ribbon in the red, white and blue of Norway's flag on his arrival for a three-day visit to Oslo.

"You are not just our

allies, you are part of our struggle," he told the crowd, many waving small Norwegian and ANC flags.

Mr Mandela, greeted by Foreign Minister Thorvald Stoltenberg and other officials, thanked the Norwegian government and people for 30 years of support of the anti-apartheid struggle.

The ANC leader said that during his visit he would urge Mr Stoltenberg, Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland, and members of the Parliament foreign affairs committee to maintain sanctions. — Sapa-AP.

gations forced DP leader Zach  
defend the impartiality of Gord-  
closing remarks, labelling the  
"scurrilous".

"We reiterate our total support for the  
Codesa process and urge all the represen-  
tatives of the SA people, as a matter of  
urgency, to make a renewed and deter-

The organisations also congratulated  
"the representatives of the SA people" for  
the progress made in the last five months  
towards establishing a united, non-racial  
and democratic SA.

# Air of acrimony and dissent prevails

AN air of acrimony and dissent permeated the first of two days of Codesa's second plenary session.

Participants were welcomed at the World Trade Centre by a strong police presence and demonstrating Zulu chiefs and PAC members.

After a week of intense effort aimed at reaching an agreement on a constitution-making body, Codesa II got off to a bumpy start with only the opening prayers being conducted without controversy.

The session broke up as working group 2 began a post-11th-hour bid to reach the agreement which had eluded it all week. The ANC threatened to declare Codesa II a failure unless an entire constitutional package was agreed upon.

By 10am on Friday, working group 2 broke up yet again. Government negotiator Tertius Delport accused the ANC of not being prepared to

61021 18/5/92 (11A)  
**PATRICK BULGER**  
compromise and said it had come to Codesa II with the express purpose of wrecking proceedings. Government, eager to not be seen to be making concessions against the background of assassination and corruption scandals, dug in its heels.

As Delport spoke, ANC-aligned forces met to formulate a response to government's most recent proposal.

ANC spokesman Terror Lekota said the ANC was sticking to its demand of a two-thirds majority for the adoption of a new constitution and would only go as high as 70% if the senate which government was proposing was democratically elected. He dropped the first hint of action when he said the ANC would have to go back to its constituency. An ANC source said later the ANC had a strong "fallback position that would bring government to its senses".

After six hours, during which government said it could not respond to an ANC alliance proposal on a referendum as a deadlock-breaking mechanism, Codesa II reconvened. Later on Friday evening ANC president Nelson Mandela and President F W de Klerk met. The encounter was not directed at finding a compromise to the problem at hand but rather, Codesa sources said, at cooling tempers and not allowing Codesa II to become an unseemly slanging match.

When Codesa reconvened on Saturday it was on a more conciliatory note. Mandela referred to Codesa as a family and said he would look back on Codesa II with fondness.

At the end of the day the crucial unresolved issues were referred to the management committee, allowing Codesa II to go down in history as being neither a failure nor the success some hoped it might be.

# Talks fail but the process continues

B1 Day 18/5/92 (11A)

NEGOTIATIONS for a constitution will be conducted in a single forum in which government, homeland administrations and political parties will wrestle over key issues.

The ANC, by agreeing that failure to reach a compromise on a constitution-making body does not necessarily mean negotiations have failed, has given the go-ahead to the start of interim arrangements.

In effect, the arrangements will come into force once an entire negotiations package, including the workings of a constitution-making body, has been agreed to.

In the coming weeks Codesa's management committee will meet to try to bridge the gap between the ANC's insistence on majority rule and government's insistence on implementing a power-sharing formula. The intention is for the committee to resolve the impasse before a third plenary session of Codesa meets to adopt a comprehensive package.

At the same time the management committee will be assisted by a number of technical committees. One of these committees will be entrusted with drawing up an interim constitution which will make provision for elections to a national assembly. This assembly will in turn draw up a final constitution within guidelines agreed to at Codesa.

The technical committees can also be expected to set in motion the process of transition already agreed to at Codesa — namely that there should be a transitional executive council charged with the task of levelling the playing field in preparation for elections. The council will delegate powers to sub-councils dealing with regional government, finance, law and order and defence.

Codesa II agreed that the management committee "be given the authority to constitute a mechanism which will draft all the legislation required as a result of agreements

PATRICK BULGER

reached at Codesa".

The management committee will also "examine all working group agreements with a view to establishing what work can be done in order to facilitate speedy implementation as soon as all agreements have been adopted". The hope is that once there is agreement on the outstanding issues, the mechanisms to allow interim government will have already been agreed to.

The agreement saved Codesa II and the negotiations process as a whole, but there remain obstacles and likely areas of disagreement.

The most crucial of these are time frames. While the ANC views a transitional constitution as a prelude to majority rule, government is insisting on a fully fledged constitution that will be difficult to change in an elected body. The ANC is anxious not to be caught up in interim arrangements that will lessen its ability to govern should it win elections.

Another area of conflict is likely to arise over competition between the transitional executive council and the Cabinet. Government argues that the council should only have power to prepare SA for elections to a constitution-making body. In reality there is likely to be substantial disagreement between government and the ANC over what constitutes a level playing field and the two bodies may use this to compete for power.

The TBVC states remain a stumbling block, with Ciskei and Bophuthatswana set to deny their populations a role in a national election. Transkei and Venda remain committed to reincorporation.

All parties agree that the basis for durable agreements is trust. While Codesa will attempt to build this trust, it may be compromised by the continuation of the battle for political power.



President F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela exchange greetings at Codesa II on Friday. The two leaders played a key role in smoothing over acrimonious exchanges between delegates.

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

## Frustrations spark personal attacks

B1 Day 18/5/92 (11A)

TIM COHEN

FRAYED nerves and frustration at the lack of progress before Codesa II led to a series of unprecedented personal attacks on Codesa participants, with government delegate Tertius Delpert and management committee chairman Pravin Gordhan coming under particular attack.

The question of personal trust was even raised by President F W de Klerk who said at a news conference that there was still much distrust between leaders of different political parties, including between government and the ANC.

He added, however, trust was built through co-operation, and as success was achieved, the level of trust would rise.

At a news conference, ANC delegate Valli Moosa expressed frustration at the negotiating style of his government counterpart in the troubled working group 2.

He complained at the "constant interjections" Delpert made during the final meetings of the working group, which constituted a last-ditch attempt to redeem Codesa II. Other delegates also complained that

the clearly exhausted and ill Delpert, who flew to Cape Town and back almost every day last week, had constantly intervened in the debate.

Delpert interjected repeatedly, saying "but that's not true", when statements were made by government opponents, one delegate said.

Clearly stung by the allegations, Delpert said he would leave it to journalists to decide whether he was the ogre he was made out to be.

At an Inkatha new conference, an Inkatha delegate questioned the impartiality of management committee chairman Pravin Gordhan. The delegate said Gordhan's decisions should be viewed in the light that he was a member of the SACP, the ANC and was a NIC/TIC delegate.

The allegations forced DP leader Zach de Beer to defend the impartiality of Gordhan in his closing remarks, labelling the allegations "scurrilous".

(11A)  
STAR 18/5/92

# 'Death warrant' to belong to the ANC

The ongoing violence had turned ANC membership into "a death warrant", Winnie Mandela told a mass meeting called by the East Rand ANC branch yesterday.

Mrs Mandela told the emotionally charged gathering at Etwatwa High School in Wattville to form defence units.

The ANC casualty list was crippling the organisation's grassroots.

People were scared of joining because the ma-

majority of the victims of the violence were ANC members.

She called on the ANC leadership to address the problem as a matter of urgency, saying the violence was clearly a Government strategy of destabilisation.

She also called on the ANC to root out "a cabal in the national executive committee" that is leaking sensitive information to the newspapers. — Own Correspondent.

# Cheers for Sisulu on turning 80

STAR 18/5/92  
Staff Reporter

Hundreds of ANC supporters, dignitaries and socialites descended on the First National Bank Stadium near Johannesburg yesterday to celebrate the 80th birthday of the movement's deputy president, Walter Sisulu.

Mr Sisulu, a veteran anti-apartheid activist, was arrested at Rivonia in 1963.

He and other Rivonia trial accused, including ANC president Nelson Mandela, were sentenced to life imprisonment for plotting sabotage and revolution.

Mr Sisulu was released from Robben Island after serving 26 years.

Regarded as the patriarch of the ANC, Mr Sisulu is reported to have recruited Mr Mandela and former ANC president Oliver Tambo into the movement.

Guests were treated to jazz, snacks and drinks. At Mr Sisulu's side was his wife Albertina (73) and other members of the family.

Also at the party were SACP national chairman Joe Slovo, ANC general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa, human rights lawyer George Bizos, editor of Sowetan Aggrey Klaaste and former exiled jazz trombonist Jonas Gwangwa.

Kumalo

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# ANC to review its position

*Blom 191592*  
THE ANC, fearing it could be drawn into open-ended interim arrangements with government, is reconsidering its support for a transitional constitution and an elected legislative body.

Senior Codesa sources said last night that the ANC was rapidly losing its enthusiasm for interim arrangements which President F W de Klerk's government had indicated could remain in force for a long time. One source said the ANC believed it was "being led up the garden path by De Klerk".

Until Codesa II, the ANC favoured a two-phase transitional approach. In the first phase a multiparty transitional executive council would "level the playing field" in preparation for a national assembly that would serve as both legislature — in the second phase of the transition — and constitution-making body.

*11A*  
**PATRICK BULGER**

However, government's insistence on a transitional constitution requiring as much as 75% support for amendments, had scared off the ANC, which regarded transitional arrangements merely as a prelude to the task of writing a new constitution. The sources said it might now insist that the elected body be charged only with the task of writing a new constitution.

The latest thinking in ANC circles, if adopted by the organisation, would leave it and government even further apart on the questions of interim arrangements and the drafting of a new constitution.

An interim elected parliament was first mooted by De Klerk at Codesa I in December last year.

It is understood that the change in ANC

To Page 2

## ANC

*Blom 191592*  
thinking was sparked by Friday's late night conversation between De Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela. Now, a source said, the ANC would probably support an executive council restricted to arrangements for elections to what it would regard as a body entrusted solely with drafting a new constitution. Amendments to the present constitution would enable elections to take place. During the transitional period, the tricameral Parliament would remain SA's legislature.

ANC negotiator Mohammed Valli

*11A*  From Page 1  
Moosa said last night the failure of Codesa II would require the ANC to review its negotiation strategy and the position it would take in Codesa in future. It had not yet decided on a course of action.

Codesa's daily management committee meets in Durban today to get the Codesa process under way again and to arrange next week's meeting of the management committee which has been mandated to attempt to come to agreement on outstanding constitutional issues.

# Mandela thanks the Scandinavians

Sowetan 19/5/92

11A

211

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**STOCKHOLM** - As they languished in South African jail cells, Mr Nelson Mandela and other anti-apartheid activists could look to Scandinavia to keep their hopes alive.

Mandela travels to Norway, Sweden and Finland this week to thank them for 30 years of support when his African National Congress was shunned by other Western countries, and to brief them on his country's democracy talks.

"Sweden and the Nordic countries have a very important place in our movement," said ANC Stockholm representative Mr Nozipho Diseko.

Mandela says the ANC will remember this solidarity and will promote trade with Scandinavia when South Africa eventually embraces multiracial democracy after 300 years of white supremacy.

"We will not forget our friends," he said in an interview with the Stockholm daily *Dagens Nyheter*.

## Massacre

Sweden has a record of unswerving moral and economic support for the ANC, dating back to the March 1960 Sharpeville massacre when police opened fire on a black crowd, killing 69 people.

"I am travelling to Sweden to thank the Swedish people and government for the massive support they gave us over the last 30 years," Mandela said in another interview with the daily *Svenska Dagbladet*.

"I consider that Sweden and Scandinavia are unique. While the rest of the Western world refused to listen to us, Scandinavia stood up for our people with humanitarian and material support," he added.



ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, on his way to attend mass in Oslo Cathedral, is greeted by Norwegians celebrating their national holiday.



Sweden's tough line on sanctions against South Africa will be relaxed as soon as it sees a binding commitment to transition to multiracial democracy, the all-party parliamentary foreign policy committee agreed last week.

The government will lift trade sanctions dating from 1987 if and when the 19-party Convention for a Democratic South Africa agrees on a transitional government.

In a further step, parliament will authorise the government to lift a

1979 ban on investment in South Africa if a transitional government takes power. Last July it scrapped a general ban on visitors from South Africa.

Sweden was the first non-African country visited by Mandela in 1990 when he was released after 27 years' imprisonment. The Scandinavians endorse Swedish support of the ANC although they did not share the long-ruling Social Democratic leadership's warm personal friendship with ANC officials.

Swedish aid officials consider the ANC has a good record of administering Swedish cash, mainly for its refugee camps in Tanzania and Zambia, and on information and transport.

But if the ANC becomes a political party in the transition phase

it will no longer qualify for funding under Swedish aid rules, as occurred with the South West Africa People's Organisation in Namibia.

The first stop on Mandela's trip will be Norway on Sunday. Norway's Nobel Committee awarded the 1960 Peace Prize to the late anti-apartheid activist Albert Luthuli, and in 1984 gave it to (then) Bishop Desmond Tutu.

In Sweden, Mandela will meet Bildt on Wednesday, hold a public lecture on "South Africa Towards Democracy", and will be guest of honour at a Foreign Ministry dinner.

Diseko said Mandela would later travel to Finland, but not Denmark, which he has already visited. - SA Press Association-  
Reuter

## OAU set to back federal system

**PATRICK BULGER**

THE OAU appears set to throw its weight behind attempts to establish a federal system of government in SA.

The OAU's stance, which is in line with government and Inkatha policy on a new constitution, is bound to put it at odds with the ANC and the PAC. The latter argue that federalism would compromise the principle of majority rule.

The OAU has been one of the ANC's staunchest backers, diplomatically and militarily, through its liberation committee. Until now it has accepted almost without question the ANC's thinking on liberation in SA. *Blom 19/5/92*

OAU chairman Maj-Gen I Nwachuku, who is also Nigeria's foreign affairs minister, was asked during a media conference at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday what the OAU would suggest to break the constitutional deadlock which frustrated Codesa II at the weekend.

"I know that in my country the various ethnic interests were taken into consideration when we carved out 30 states. They are autonomous yet subordinate to the federal government.

"I believe that a country as diverse as SA must have a system that makes diversity its strength. I would say adopt a federal system and give everyone in SA the opportunity to decide what is best for their groups," he said, adding that no single political group could solve SA's problems.

The OAU delegation met SA political leaders from across the spectrum, investi-

To Page 2

**OAU**

*Blom 19/5/92*

gated the broader causes of violence and observed Codesa II. Nwachuku said the delegation impressed on all parties the need to put SA before their own interests.

He said Codesa had gone a long way towards solving SA's problems and that there had been more progress than anyone had expected.

**IIA**

*200*

From Page 1

Nwachuku said the violence could be stopped by the political leadership, greater security measures on trains and more effective intelligence gathering.

He said a new SA would have a place in the OAU, and he expected greater OAU involvement in SA once elections for a national assembly were under way.

# Cosatu, ANC plan mass action

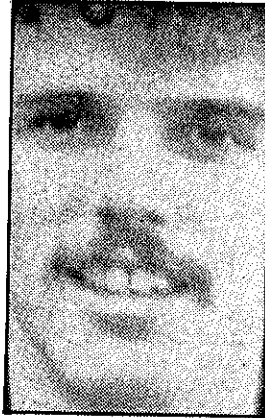
By Esther Waugh  
Political Reporter

Cosatu, the ANC and SACP are discussing proposed mass action, including a general strike in July, following the failure by Codesa 2 to meet their demands for the establishment of transitional arrangements by the end of June.

"The failure of Codesa 2 to deliver the goods makes mass action very likely," said Cosatu spokesman Neil Coleman yesterday.

The tripartite alliance warned in February that it would launch a programme of action should Codesa 2 not reach consensus on instalment of an interim government by the end of June and agree on elections for a constituent assembly by December.

— The second Codesa



Cosatu spokesman Neil Coleman . . . mass action very likely.

plenary session, which ended on Saturday, tried to break the deadlock on what special majority was necessary to adopt a new constitution and did not discuss any of the reports tabled by the working groups.

Mr Coleman said the trade union would assess

the result of the near-catastrophic Codesa 2 and a decision on mass action would have to be taken at the Workers' Summit on May 28.

He stressed that Cosatu would continue with preparations for mass action so as not to be "caught on the wrong foot".

At this point, the trade union was working on the assumption that its demands had not been met at the weekend, and only a "radical new development which suggested progress" would cause it to re-think the strategy.

SACP spokesman Dr Essop Pahad and ANC head of publicity and information Dr Pallo Jordan yesterday confirmed that the call for mass action still stood.

Dr Jordan said proposed mass action would be discussed by ANC branches.

# Split on women's role

*Sowetan 19/5/92* (11A) (353)  
SEXISM and centuries-old stereotypes against women reared their ugly heads during last night's *Sowetan*/Radio Metro Talkback Show.

Callers were divided on whether women were capable of being leaders and on how they should be drawn into leadership positions in mainstream politics.

Bheko of KwaMashu said women must not be given token positions.

"We cannot co-opt them to a certain task just because they are women," he said.



Nelson said women in Codesa were out of line.

"You cannot have a women among men talking sensible things. Men can discuss those things because they are born supreme," he said.

Thobekani Magubane of Umlazi said he did not be-

lieve in sexism.

He said conveners of Codesa must allow free and maximum participation of women.

Manene of Soweto said society must give women a chance to represent the community and to prove they can do what the men can.

Peter said women did not possess leadership qualities.

Sipho of Central Western Jabavu, Soweto, said he had a problem with having women as forerunners in national politics. He said it was also not wise to exclude them.

"They must be liable to higher authority - a group of men with brain. It's a traditional and Biblical set up," he said.

Mustapha of Cape Town said women should represent themselves.

He said leaders must conscientise society about the rightful place of women.

# Pro-Winnie group rejected

JOHANNESBURG. — The executive council of the ANC Women's League has dissociated itself from a group within the league that is demanding the reinstatement of Mrs Winnie Mandela and prominent black lawyer Mr Dali Mpofu as heads of the ANC's welfare department.

A statement yesterday from the league's executive came as an embattled Mrs Mandela was the subject of front-page news reports, this time alleging she and her "close friend" Mr Dali Mpofu had spent R400 000 while on an overseas fund-raising trip which included costly flights from London to New York in the Concorde.

The Women's League executive statement said yesterday that correct procedures had not been followed by the disaffected group and innocent, uninformed women had been misled into "believing they were involved in a principled demonstration".

The statement was not signed but, according to league administrator Mr Thoko Khubu, it was endorsed by the new ANC Women's League head, Ms Gertrude Shope, and it stemmed from an ANC Women's League meeting yesterday at the Kempton Park Conference Centre.

Some of Mrs Mandela's supporters within the league — the so-called "social welfare support committee" — who took part in a press conference on Thursday, were under the impression the league's leadership would be at the conference, the executive statement said.

The estimated 40 women in the group which hosted the press conference demanded the reinstatement of Mrs Mandela and Mr Mpofu — who has been romantically linked with Mrs Mandela — and also criticised ANC spokeswoman Ms Gill Marcus and claimed there was a cabal within the congress seeking to sideline ANC president Mr Nelson Man-



JUST FRIENDS? . . . Mrs Winnie Mandela and Mr Dali Mpofu at a recent ANC rally. Picture: BENNY GOOL

dela. "The head office of the Women's League was never informed of the plans to have this action," the executive's statement said. "Even if we were informed, we would not have allowed such an anti-ANC demonstration. We condemn the use of the PWV ANC Women's League offices and property to prepare placards hitting at our leadership and organisation."

The statement noted Mrs Mandela's resignation as head of the ANC's welfare department, which came shortly after her split with her husband and new allegations of her direct involvement in criminality.

Mrs Mandela was re-elected as head of the PWV region of the ANC Women's League, however.

The executive said that in the light of her resignation, it failed to understand the demand for her reinstatement.

"The ANC Women's League stands by our leadership," it said.

Meanwhile, dealing with the overseas trip by Mr Mpofu and Mrs Mandela, City Press and the Sunday Star described the R400 000 expenditure incurred during one overseas trip by the two former most senior members of the ANC's social welfare department as "overspending" while the Sunday Times reported the ANC was investigating a case of "alleged fraud".

The money was reported to have come from ANC social welfare department coffers but Mr Mpofu was quoted as saying the trip was sponsored by the USA-based Children for Africa charity organisation.

The Sunday Star quoted sources in the ANC as saying several social welfare department projects had been scrapped because of the pair's lavish spending. This included the cut in funding to needy exiles and families hosting orphans. — Sapa

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If investigation into the deaths of  
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## PAC denies base claim <sup>19/5/92</sup> IIA

A GOVERNMENT <sup>claim</sup> was reacting to allegations last week by Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel that the PAC's military wing had bases in the Transkei was "fabrication in the superlative degree", the PAC said yesterday.

Publicity and information director Waters Toboti

was reacting to allegations last week by Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel that the PAC's military wing had bases in the Transkei.

"Common sense would indicate that the SA government is engaged in a political mischief and disinformation," Toboti said.

"What surprised the PAC is that these allegations came after (Transkei) homeland leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa had threatened to release more information on the involvement of the SA security police in the ongoing violence in this country."

The PAC said in a separate statement police allegations that a "murder list" of judges and senior policemen had been obtained from an Apla member was "obviously a product of the dirty tricks department" of the security forces. — Sapa.

**PHILIPS**  
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# Camps: ANC to co-operate

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC will co-operate with human rights groups wanting to probe alleged disappearances, executions and torture of dissident members in exile, a senior official said.

Mr Sphiwe Nyanda, chief of staff of the ANC's military wing uMkhonto weSizwe (MK), said the organisation had nothing to hide.

"Every individual who was executed was executed for a reason. Some of them had committed serious crimes and acts of banditry," Mr Nyanda said in an interview.

Disaffected ANC members returning from exile in various African countries have said they were tortured by ANC security officers trying to make them confess that they were South African spies.

<sup>(11A) CT 20/5/92</sup>  
'There was a reason  
for every execution'

They have claimed that scores of ANC members were executed.

"Many of them committed crimes against our people. Some raped Angolans or Tanzanians," said Mr Nyanda, who is also a member of the ANC executive.

"We can produce records that will without doubt prove that some of those executed were members of the South African security forces and its informer system."

The International Committee of the Red Cross has accused the ANC of denying it access to camps in Tanzania, Angola and Uganda where dissidents say prisoners are still being held.

The London-based human rights group Amnesty International said it knew of at least six people the ANC was still holding in Tanzania, although it had announced last year that all prisoners had been freed.

Mr Nyanda denied the charge.

"We intend to co-operate with people who are really concerned about human rights. We too stand for human rights. However, we cannot keep on responding to any fabrication of ANC excesses," he said. — Sapa-Reuter



# ANC calls cops over bomb threat

Sowetan 20/5/92

11A

THE African National Congress has called in the police for protection and advice after a threat to bomb its headquarters was received from alleged former undercover agents of the South African security forces, it was learnt yesterday.

The organisation learnt of the threat in the past two days, a senior official said yesterday. "It was not the usual crank who phones and hangs up quickly. We get lots of those. This time we learnt from reliable sources that this was someone deadly serious, people who know what they are doing."

Asked to confirm a report that the threat came from former agents of an undercover military hit-squad unit, the Civil Co-Operation Bureau, the official replied: "We take threats from the CCB extremely seriously."

Responding to a call from the ANC on Monday, a high-ranking policeman travelled from Pretoria to Johannesburg to discuss the bomb threat with ANC security officers.

A police spokesman confirmed yesterday that such a visit was made but said the details of the discussion were confidential.

Yesterday security arrangements at the ANC building in central Johannesburg were the tightest they have been since the organisation moved into the building last year.

## Talks 'a way forward'

Sowetan 20/5/92

TOP-LEVEL business and trade union leaders who met Finance Minister Mr Derek Keys in Cape Town this week about establishing an economic forum, were optimistic about the talks which they said were "a way forward".

They agreed on joint consultations and to try to reach consensus on restructuring and addressing various problems relating to the economy.

It was also agreed that another meeting be held, possibly in Johannesburg or Cape Town, within two weeks to take decisions on the issues raised.

Some of the points raised on the broad agenda were: the Government's economic policy, future economic investment, trade, retrenchments, provident funds, taxation, housing and education.

The Minister was accompanied by his special adviser Mr Japie Jacobs, while labour was represented by Cosatu and Nactu.

## 900 in hospital wage strike

THE Transvaal Provincial Administration says voluntary helpers have stepped in to maintain services at the Klerksdorp and nearby Tshepong hospitals, where

as many as 900 health workers are on strike. Workers went on strike on Monday, demanding a minimum monthly wage of R724 and a 15,3 percent

across-the-board salary increase for all general assistants, permanent employment status for all general assistants and that retrenchment be stopped.

Johannesburg

# PAC brands Apla hit list as cop work

11A  
SOWETAN  
20/5/92

Sowetan Correspondent

PAN Africanist Congress deputy president Mr Dikgang Moseneke has slammed as "false" police allegations that the movement's military wing compiled a hit list of senior police officers and judges.

Police alleged last week that they had unearthed an Apla hit list.

Moseneke denied there was any murder or hit list or that Apla had any plans to kill judges and other officials.

He said the "true masters of hit lists are the South African Police".

Moseneke said Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel should flush out "the dirt and the murderers in the SAP rather than

make false allegations against the PAC".

He said the allegations were an obvious product of the "dirty tricks department" of the police and other security structures such as military intelligence.

He said they had "distinguished themselves by not only compiling death lists or hit lists but by executing a large number of people or by being implicated in the execution of a large number of activists who have legitimately challenged the repressive regime".

## Mandela plea to Norwegians

STOCKHOLM - African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday encouraged Nordic businesses to invest in South Africa only after an interim government had been installed.

Mandela told Norwegian

businessmen he hoped that negotiations with the South African Government and other parties would produce a transition council by July.

"The problems which came up during the negotiations last week were a

hindrance to the expected breakthrough," the national news agency, NTB, quoted Mandela as telling the businessmen.

Mandela flew to Sweden to appear at a musical concert held in his honour - Sapa-AP.

SOWETAN 20/5/92

# Question: Are we going to have majority rule

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OR NOT?

**T**O MANY, the issue which caused the deadlock at Codesa 2 must have seemed too trivial to warrant such a crisis. "What went wrong?" was a question I was asked repeatedly. "Juvenile brinkmanship" was how one exasperated participant described it.

Certainly the differences over the majority required to agree on a new constitution don't seem all that great. The ANC wanted a two-thirds majority, the government threequarters. So what? Does an 8,3 percent difference — 25 votes in a Constituent Assembly of 300 — matter all that much?

Then the two agreed to meet half way, on a 70 percent majority overall with 75 percent for the Bill of Rights. But when the Government insisted it would accept this only if regional issues were also decided by 75 percent, and if it were agreed in advance that the final constitution would include a Senate with equal powers to the lower House, the ANC balked — and that's where they stuck.

A difference on the Senate and 5 percent on regional issues.

Yet there is much more to it than that bald statement conveys.



Allister Sparks

To begin with, what is happening at Codesa is more than just the negotiation of a new national constitution. As Ken Andrew of the Democratic Party has noted, it is also in a sense the negotiation of a peace agreement, which introduces an additional element of pride and honour and the saving of face, when to give too much is to appear to concede that the other side really won the war.

This limits flexibility and sets barriers to concession. The principal negotiators on the Government and ANC sides know there are highly emotional audiences out there watching to see who has won the day and ready to pounce on their leaders if they feel they have conceded too much.

As Hamlet said, people will find quarrel with a straw when honour's at the stake.

Then again, there's more than a straw involved here. Small though

the differences over these percentages appear, they, in fact, go to the heart of the divergence between the ANC and Government over what kind of country the new South Africa should be.

The ANC wants majority rule. It is prepared to have an entrenched Bill of Rights protecting the basic human rights of minorities, things like language, cultural and religious rights and free speech, but it insists that the majority party must have the right to form the government — or, as ANC leader Nelson Mandela puts it, "normal democracy as the world knows it".

President de Klerk and the National Party, on the other hand, have made it clear they are opposed to majority rule, which they call a "winner takes all" system.

They want what they call "power-sharing", a system of compulsory coalition government that would give minority parties (such as the NP will almost certainly be) a share in government almost regardless of how small they are, and a power of veto over all legislation exercised through a specially constituted Senate.

The ANC calls this a "loser

keeps all" system.

This fundamental difference has lurked in the background without being directly confronted ever since the negotiations began. The talks have skirted around it while progress on other issues has been made, but every now and then they brush against it and then there is a spat. That is what happened at Codesa 2.

To achieve its "power-sharing" constitution, the Nats initially wanted the constitution to be drafted by Codesa, where its own position as the governing party is strong and they have the advantage of a number of old "homeland" and tricameral parties that will almost certainly be wiped out in a one-person-one-vote election.

The ANC, on the other hand, wanted the constitution to be drafted by an elected Constituent Assembly, where it knew it would be the biggest party and the National Party and its allies would be cut down to size.

After months of negotiation a compromise was reached. The Nats accepted that the constitution had to be drafted by a body of unquestioned legitimacy, meaning an elected Constituent Assembly,

while the ANC agreed that Codesa negotiate the interim constitution which will be in place while the Constituent Assembly is sitting, and that it also lay down some broad principles for the final constitution which will be binding on the Constituent Assembly.

Ever since then the ANC has had an abiding suspicion that the Government, with its long record of duplicity, is trying to trap it into a situation where it gets into a "power-sharing" interim constitution and never gets out again.

The ANC has indicated its willingness to have an interim constitution that would provide for a "government of national unity", in other words one in which all the Codesa parties form a coalition and have to govern by consensus.

That is exactly what the Government would like as a final constitution.

The ANC is willing to have it for a strictly limited period of about six months while the final constitution is being drafted, whereas the Government would like to have it permanently — or at least for a drawn-out "interim" period of 10 years.

What happened in the negotiations over percentages in Working Group Two, which stalled Codesa 2, is that the ANC and its allies became convinced the Government, which is monitoring opinion polls closely through its relationship with Saatchi and Saatchi, was trying to get an unattainably high majority for agreement on the constitution so that progress could be blocked and the country locked into a "permanent interim constitution" for as long as the NP wanted.

When the Government indicated its willingness to abandon this position in return for a commitment to having a powerful Senate of undefined structure — the very kernel of its "power-sharing" plan — in the final constitution, the ANC dug in its heels.

In spite of all the displays of positivism since the deadlock, I do not believe we can move forward meaningfully until the basic issue is settled. Are we to have majority rule or not?

The rest of the world, too, would like to know. □

Huisard

weapons. Since South Africa's accession to the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty and adoption of IAEA safeguards, the South African Government has been investigating South Africa's possible participation in other multilateral non-proliferation regimes, treaties and bodies.

As regards the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, it is the intention of the South African Government to adhere to the guidelines of the MTCR as a prelude to possible membership thereof. Legislation and/or regulations to control the export of technologies and equipment listed in the Equipment and Technology Annex to the MTCR guidelines will be introduced as soon as possible.

†Mr J CHIOLE: Mr Speaker, arising from the South Africa's missile research being scaled down?

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I am sorry, but I did not hear him.

†Mr J CHIOLE: Mr Speaker, I can also shout out the question. Taking into account the South African Government's desire to become part or a member of the MTCR, I ask with what percentage has South Africa's missile research been scaled down as a result thereof.

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I am sorry, but I do not have those particulars at my disposal, because the matter does not fall within my portfolio. The hon member should know that.

†Adv J J S PRINSLOO: Mr Speaker, further arising from the hon the Minister's reply, is the United States of America itself already a member of the MTCR?

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, the USA is a very prominent member.

We must try to understand that in the new world order which is coming into being, whether we like it or not, the major wars have been replaced with minor wars. The great powers which are now left over—for the time being America will be the only superpower until Japan and the Far East or Europe emerge as a superpower group—are no longer going to allow the medium-sized powers and smaller countries of the world to threaten the world peace. It is against this background that one worldwide finds the insistence on the introduction of control measures in

ence on the introduction of technology and weaponry intended for mass destruction.

*Business interrupted in accordance with Rule 180C (3) of the Standing Rules of Parliament.*

#### Discussions on future of Walvis Bay

\*11. Mr C W EGLIN asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

- (1) Whether the South African Government has held any discussions with the Namibian Government on the future of Walvis Bay; if so, whether the possibility of setting up a joint South African/Namibian administration for Walvis Bay was raised during these discussions; if so,
- (2) whether any progress has been made in this matter; if so, what progress?

17 May 1991 (Windhoek) and amongst officials on 5 December 1991 (Pretoria) and 26 March 1992 (Windhoek).

- (1) Yes. Meetings on ministerial level took place on 14 March 1991 (Capetown) and 17 May 1991 (Windhoek) and amongst officials on 5 December 1991 (Pretoria) and 26 March 1992 (Windhoek).

- (3) At the meeting of the intergovernmental Joint Technical Committee on Walvis Bay in Windhoek on 26 March 1992, consensus was reached on a working document regarding the proposed joint administration of Walvis Bay. This document is now being considered by both Governments and until such time as decisions have been reached in this regard, no details can be divulged.

#### Incorporation of Umkhonto we Sizwe in SAP

\*12. Mr P J GROENEWALD asked the Minister of Law and Order:

- (1) Whether he or the Government intends to have Umkhonto we Sizwe or members thereof incorporated or included in the South African Police now or in the future;
- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

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#### The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) At present there is no intention to incorporate Umkhonto we Sizwe or its members in the South African Police.
- (2) However, as anyone from any other organization, members of Umkhonto we Sizwe are also free to join the South African Police, if they conform to the requirements for enlistment and resign their membership of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

#### SAP: investigation of motivation for violence on trains

\*13. Adv J J S PRINSLOO asked the Minister of Law and Order:

- (1) Whether the South African Police has investigated and/or undertaken research or had research undertaken into the motivation of the persons responsible for the present wave of violence on suburban trains; if not, why not; if so, what are the findings;
- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

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#### The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) No. The causes of violence on trains and those responsible is at present being investigated by the Commission of Inquiry regarding the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation under the chairmanship of Mr Justice Goldstone and the South African Police will give evidence before this Commission.

- (2) Yes. Every incident of violence on trains is investigated by the Umhlest and Violent Crime Investigation Unit of the South African Police. Since 9 June 1990, twenty-six (26) persons have been arrested in connection with eleven (11) cases. All of these cases are now before the courts.

\*14. Mr R R HULLLEY asked the Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs:

#### Middle Eastern oil prices: payment to Sasol

This Department owns two ferry-boats which were commissioned during 1989 and 1990, respectively. The vessels were designed and built locally at a joint cost of R6 296 661. The two boats have a cruising speed of 18-20 knots compared to the bigger ferry-boats which travel at 12-15 knots.

The MINISTER OF CORRECTIONAL SERVICES:

(1) Yes.

(2) Whether his Department owns two high-speed ferry-boats for travel between Cape Town and Robben Island; if so, what was the capital cost thereof;

(2) whether these boats have been in regular operation over the past three years; if not, why not; if so, for what purpose?

(2) No. protection Sasol enjoyed was 11,3c/ℓ.

On 13 May 1992, Middle Eastern crude oil prices ranged between \$15,50 and \$19,25 per barrel. Sasol's protection is based on a derived crude oil price calculated from the landed cost of refined product in Durban. On 13 May 1992, the product postings (FOB) for petrol and diesel were \$25,64 and \$26,30 per barrel respectively. Converted into South African c/ℓ at an exchange rate of \$1 = R2,8615, the landed cost in Durban of petrol was 49,9c/ℓ and that of diesel 51,6c/ℓ. Based on these prices the tariff protection Sasol enjoyed was 11,3c/ℓ.

Cape Town/Robben Island: ferry-boats

\*15. Mr R V CARLISLE asked the Minister of Correctional Services:

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(1) Whether the Department owns two high-speed ferry-boats for travel between Cape Town and Robben Island; if so, what was the capital cost thereof;

(2) whether these boats have been in regular operation over the past three years; if not, why not; if so, for what purpose?

(2) No. protection Sasol enjoyed was 11,3c/ℓ.

On 13 May 1992, Middle Eastern crude oil prices ranged between \$15,50 and \$19,25 per barrel. Sasol's protection is based on a derived crude oil price calculated from the landed cost of refined product in Durban. On 13 May 1992, the product postings (FOB) for petrol and diesel were \$25,64 and \$26,30 per barrel respectively. Converted into South African c/ℓ at an exchange rate of \$1 = R2,8615, the landed cost in Durban of petrol was 49,9c/ℓ and that of diesel 51,6c/ℓ. Based on these prices the tariff protection Sasol enjoyed was 11,3c/ℓ.

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public holidays

## Codesa hotline left out in the cold

PATRICK BULGER

THE eyes and ears of the world, Codesa delegates are fond of saying when gathered in plenary sessions, are fixed on negotiations in SA. But a premium telephone service offering up-to-date information on Codesa has found otherwise. *B10 am 20/5/92*

After a mere five days, a "Codesa — your future is being decided" service is being withdrawn because of a lack of public interest. International Appeal premium rate service director Ronnie Graver said yesterday the service was almost ignored at a time when Codesa II dominated headlines.

"The Codesa phone-in has become a major problem in my life," said Graver who spent R12 000 advertising it. By yesterday the service had attracted 144 mostly brief calls.

On the first day of Codesa II, interest peaked at 63 calls. Deadlock drove the second day's figure down to 18 while the outcome of Codesa II drew only 63 calls in two days.

Graver, who said his company specialised in upmarket services ranging from legal and business information to sex health lines, said other services received up to 50 times more calls than the Codesa line.

"I thought there would be wide interest as Codesa affects everybody's life." People are "sick and tired of Codesa and politics", Graver said.

## Cautious response from ANC

THE ANC yesterday reacted cautiously to the Nigerian foreign minister's backing for a federal system in this country. *11A*

Maj-Gen Ike Nwachuku, who is also heading the 11-member Organisation of African Unity (OAU) delegation in SA, made the comments at a news conference on Monday.

The ANC said: "It is not the policy of the ANC to comment on statements and views of members of international organisations such as the OAU whether they are personal or corporate." *B10 am 20/5/92*

"However, it is the understanding of the ANC that it is not customary for officials of such organisations to make public comments on issues such as a form of government they prefer when such issues are subjects of delicate negotiations."

The OAU delegation, which leaves

today, observed proceedings at Codesa II at the weekend and has monitored the continuing unrest.

"The ANC noted the comments of Foreign Minister Pik Botha, who told a news briefing during Codesa II that government had been advised by the African delegation to dig in its feet and concede nothing on the issue of federalism."

"The effect of such advice to the SA government on the negotiation process is made obvious by the impasse reached by Codesa II," the ANC said.

But the ANC felt Nwachuku and any other OAU official, or any other international organisation, were entitled to their views.

Transkeian military leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa said earlier that Nwachuku's statements on federalism had dented the OAU's image. — Sapa.

## Varsity Bill 'not ploy to exclude blacks'

CAPE TOWN — The contentious Bill to make Afrikaans the official language of Stellenbosch University was not an underhand method of excluding black students, its proposer, National Party MP for Caledon Lampie Fick, told Parliament yesterday. *B10 am 20/5/92*

Dene Smits (DP Grooté Schuur) said it had to be asked whether it was appropriate for Parliament to lay down the language policy of universi-

Political Staff

ties. Most future students would be Africans, she said.

A proposed amendment, which effectively says Afrikaans "is" the university's language rather than it "should" be the language, will now be discussed by the House of Assembly Select Committee before it is referred back to the Assembly and voted on.

# PAC's plan to meet FW may lead to participation

11A0 ~~11A1~~

Biday 20/5/92

PATRICK BULGER

THE PAC would shortly announce a meeting with President F W de Klerk that could serve as a prelude to PAC participation in elections for a constitution-making body, PAC deputy president Dikgang Moseneke said yesterday.

He said the meeting would be a follow up to talks held with the OAU and would be an attempt to involve "external interlocutors" in constitutional negotiations.

Moseneke said the PAC's major concern centred on the issue of neutrality during an electoral process. He said he saw a role for the OAU in ensuring neutrality.

The PAC was looking for an agreement on the sort of election that would be held and the functions of a constituent assembly. "We do not believe that the par-

ties themselves can untangle the logjam," he said.

ANC president Nelson Mandela had already come round to PAC thinking in his call for international monitoring of violence and an international peacekeeping force.

The PAC pulled out of Codesa in the preparatory stage to press home demands for a democratically elected constituent assembly.

The PAC envisages a pre-constituent assembly meeting with government without becoming involved in complicated interim arrangements. Its stance puts it at odds with its patriotic front partner, the ANC. However, an ANC rethink on an elected parliament serving as a constitution-making body, brings it closer to the PAC. This raises the prospect of a revitalised patriotic front pressing

government through negotiations and mass action.

Moseneke said Codesa II had delivered no surprises. Government wanted to retain power and the ANC had conceded too much. Codesa had proved itself inefficient and obese and he suggested it shed weight by ridding itself of homeland leaders. Lack of progress at Codesa II had reinforced the PAC's opposition to the institution.

A spokesman for De Klerk's office said yesterday the President did not divulge his meetings schedule. However, he had said he was prepared to meet any parties in an attempt to find solutions, and this included the PAC.

An ANC source said the PAC was desperate to find a way back to the centre stage of negotiations and would probably agree to take part in elections.

## Sunday movies likely from the end of June

Biday 20/5/92

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — South Africans will be able to see Sunday movies again from the end of next month — if their local authorities give the go-ahead.

A Bill tabled yesterday and scheduled to be passed by Parliament before it rises next month will give local authorities the power to allow the showing of movies on Sundays and certain public holidays.

The Prohibition of the Exhibition of Films on Sundays and Public Holidays Amendment Bill was anticipated after Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee earlier this year gave permission for movies to be shown on Sundays during the Easter holidays.

However, he withdrew this after the holidays so as "not to put

pressure" on local authorities deliberating the issue.

The Act in terms of which the showing of movies on Sundays had been banned gave only the Minister of Justice the power to waive the restriction.

This has now been broadened to give this power to local authorities, and it is expected that most of the country's major cities will approve.

THE ANC HAS BEGUN A MAJOR REASSESSMENT

## UK group may sell 63% stake in GIC

EDWARD WEST

UK-BASED general and electrical engineering group B Elliot plans to sell its 63.09% controlling stake in Goldfields Industrial Corporation (GIC).

Coinciding with the announcement of GIC's financial results for the year to March 1992, the company cautioned shareholders that negotiations which could affect its share price were in progress.

The announcement said B Elliot planned to dispose of its interest in GIC. Although negotiations were under way to sell the shareholding, arrangements would be completed only by July.

B Elliot director Trevor Smith said the disposal was part of a restructuring of its 16 international subsidiaries.

GIC yesterday traded at 500c a share, 79c lower than its current net asset value of 579c a share. GIC director Andrew Crawley said the company traded below its net asset value because of the small number of shares in issue.

Based on the 4-million shares in issue, the market price for the 63.09% stake would be about R12m.

However, Crawley declined to comment yesterday on the price, or to whom the shareholding would be sold.

In the year to March 1992, GIC's earnings increased 10% to 99c a share from 90c a share in the previous year. Dividends for the year came to 55c a share.

● See Page 10

# New look at negotiations

PATRICK BULGER

THE ANC had begun a major reassessment of its approach to negotiations and had withdrawn all the constitutional compromises it offered in working group 2 in the run-up to Codesa II, senior ANC negotiators said yesterday.

They indicated a fresh approach could place greater reliance on mass action and a demand that an interim constitution be limited to preparing for an election to a constitution-making body.

And in Oslo yesterday, ANC president Nelson Mandela ruled out a return to the armed struggle should negotiations fail. An alternative would be to call for a general strike, he said.

In coming weeks the ANC plans to undertake wide-ranging consultations with its regions to chart a way forward.

ANC negotiator Mohammed Valli

Moosa said: "We consider the failure of Codesa II an extremely serious matter. After five months of negotiations we have nothing to offer the public."

At an ANC briefing yesterday, Joe Slovo said: "We thought we had scored an important victory when government accepted an elected constitution-making body. But they want an elected body with no real power and subject to a minority veto, in essence a white veto." He said government wanted Codesa itself to have the power to draw up a new constitution.

"The device to effect this purpose is the concept of an interim constitution," Slovo said, adding government wanted Codesa to

□ To Page 2

## Negotiations

decide on all the elements of a bill of rights, leaving the constitution-making body to decide only on a new flag.

He said it was a distortion to suggest the ANC stood for simple majoritarianism as it supported proportional representation and had made other concessions.

"They don't want to give up power. They want to see a transition lasting 10 to 15 years," he said — a guarantee of chaos and civil strife.

Valli Moosa said Codesa II had thrown the key issues open to the public. He said the ANC had made every attempt to accommodate smaller parties and government. "By default we run the risk of living with an interim constitution forever. We are not going to limit what we do to the skills of our negotiating team."

The negotiators stressed that the focus of negotiations was not an interim constitution. Slovo described this as a "legisla-

tive instrument to empower the constitution-making body". He said the starting point for agreement was a democratically elected constitution-making body.

Sapa reports that Mandela accused government of acting in narrow self-interest and not in the national interest. He told the Norwegian national assembly's standing committee on foreign relations in Oslo yesterday that government had placed four major obstacles in the way of progress: unacceptably high percentages to draft a constitution; entrenched regional and local boundaries which would be binding on a future democratic constitution; an undemocratic and unelected senate with veto powers and a determination that the interim constitution become a permanent feature.

"The only solution lies with the installation of an interim government of national unity immediately," Mandela said.

□ From Page 1

# Author AC Jordan's influence lingers on ...

A POPULAR series running on SABC TV, "Wrath of the Ancestors", was nominated for an Artes award last week. It's author is Mr AC Jordan, a pioneer author, linguist and educator, who is perhaps better known today as the father of Dr Pallo Jordan, head of the ANC's Department of Information and Publicity.

His novel, "Ingqumbo Yeminyanya", published in 1940, was the first novel published in Xhosa and was a departure from the tradition of oral literature. His life was path-breaking in all respects, according to Mr Abner Nyamende, lecturer in the Department of African Languages at UCT.

He was one of the first graduates from the University of Fort Hare, graduating with a BA. His masters degree, completed in 1942, disproved previous linguistic theories on the dialect spoken by the Bhaca people living in the Mount Frere district.

Today scholars, trying to revive this dialect, are becoming increasingly interested in the research done for his masters now that the dialect is dying out.

Jordan was born in 1906 in the

South  
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rural village of Bokothwana in the Transkei into a strong missionary environment.

He greatly respected those around him living a more traditional lifestyle, and loved traditional culture. This was in spite of the fact, said Nyamende, that he was regarded as an educated person which divorced him from full contact with traditional people. He even was the subject of a cricketing bet: his school principal won a bet when Jordan had the highest batting average of the year.

As a result, his short stories show an element of nostalgia, drawing from memories he treasured from his few contacts with traditionally orientated people.

After graduating, he taught Xhosa in Kroonstad, preferring to teach in schools in disadvantaged communities. His target was

*Ingqumbo Yeminyanya, was the first novel published in Xhosa and was a departure from the tradition of oral literature'*

fledgling mission schools.

When Professor Jabavu of the University of Fort Hare died, Jordan replaced him as lecturer, and in 1946 he was appointed lecturer in African languages at UCT. To be appointed at a white university in those days, said Nyamende, is evidence of his scholastic brilliance.

While a teacher, he was actively involved in the Orange Free State and then the Cape Teachers' Association, as well as in political organisations, politicising the community in Lansdowne.

He later moved with his family to the United States, said Nyamende, in pursuit of academic excellence. His wife still lives there.

Although many people still remember him for his community involvement, it is perhaps as the author of a classic novel that he will be best remembered.

Written in high quality Xhosa, it uses the traditional idiom to good effect. But it is based on conventions used by Victorian novels. Jordan's characters, for instance, were called names descriptive of their roles. But while Victorian characters were either good or bad, Jordan's characters were multifaceted.

His intricate plot, with sub-plots, uses oral literature as a writing technique, using a praise poem, as well as alluding to folk tales as a means of putting his hero in a favourable light.

"His novel has opened so many debates which have been inexhaustable," said Nyamende. "Some people interpret his story as a conflict between traditional and Western cultures. Others, like myself, see an element of this, but view it instead as a conflict between people in the situation that prevailed then — conflicts are always there.

Although he died in 1968, his influence lingers on.

As Nyamende said: "There are so many lines of debate. Someone will always say something different." MICHELLE SAFFER



# PAC's own

## 'Codesa'

*South African 21/5/92*

A CONFERENCE on a proposed constitution for South Africa is being planned by the Pan Africanist Congress' department of legal and constitutional affairs.

PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu said this yesterday while addressing the traditional leaders of the Northern Transvaal in Lebowakgomo.

The PAC leader invited traditional leaders - who have been granted observer status at Codesa - to send delegates to the conference.

Makwetu, whose organisation has refused to join the Codesa negotiations, spent much of his time attacking the convention and detailing traditional African leadership structures.

### Excluded

He said traditional leaders were excluded from Codesa "on the racist assumption that the customary system you represent is backwards, barbaric, and already superseded by the Christian national industrialisation Euro-centric system and your contribution is obsolete and irrelevant".

African customs, such as trying disputes in public and involving the entire male population if decisions had to be made, were "in complete and total harmony with democracy and the rule of law," said Makwetu.

Traditional methods of administration were "superior in practice to the unmandated and undemocratic discussions taking place in Codesa".

# Time for ANC to ditch Fidel Castro

AT Walter Sisulu's 80th birthday party on Sunday night Thabo Mbeki promised to send me a box of Cuban cigars.

Like all good capitalists I am a lover of fine Havana cigars, one of the few communist products, along with Russian Vodka, that I enjoy. All in moderation, of course.

Thabo's kind offer got me to thinking of the close ties between the ANC and the Cuban regime and, in

By **STEPHEN**



**MULHOLLAND**

particular, the close personal bond between Nelson Mandela and the Cuban director, Fidel Castro.

Let me say right away that I admire the loyalty

which Mandela shows to those who supported the struggle against apartheid. After his release when he was feted around the world and hailed as one of the heroes of the twentieth century, he did not ditch his old friends such as Castro and the Libyan strongman, Colonel Mu'ammarr Muhammad al Gaddafi.

But surely there is a line between the demands of friendship and the interests of the nation.

And that begs the question: will the interests of a

*Sowetan* 21/5/92 11A  
new South Africa, free and democratic under majority rule, be served if those who rule it fraternise with brutal dictators.

Remember that in Cuba there are no free elections. Castro has been in total power for more than 30 years. He has tortured and killed his political opponents as past National Party governments did in this country.

There is no freedom of speech or association in Cuba. If you speak out against him privately you

will probably be informed against and land up in jail.

There is no freedom of movement. The waters around the island are patrolled to try to stop those who wish to flee to freedom. Further, communism's collapse has left Cuba's economy in tatters as it no longer receives the billions in Russian aid which kept it going.

What we must ask ourselves is this: Who do we want as allies for our new country? Aside from moral considerations - and cer-

tainly the Cuban regime is anything but moral - we should ask which relationships will help our people to get jobs, housing, health services and education.

Surely the best for our people's welfare is to align ourselves with the developed nations of the world such as the western democracies and the flourishing economies of the Far East?

Imperfect as they may be, these nations and their institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund,

have the means to help our people lift themselves from apartheid's awful legacy of poverty.

Or do we want to be lumped together with a failed and corrupt regime such as Cuba's and its dictator?

To better serve the interests of all the people of South Africa we should start now to distance ourselves from Cuba until its suffering people rise up and throw off the yoke of the Castro regime and all its evils.

# Revolution? No way!

*Sweetan 2115792*

REVOLUTION is no longer the route to a better South Africa - the country's young people believe they can improve their future through money, education and top jobs.

This is according to the results, released yesterday, of a research study applicable to South Africans aged between 13 and 24.

After interviews in some 860 white and black households, it emerged that more than 80 percent of those questioned believed it was extremely important for the future of the country for blacks and whites to make an effort to get along together.

A similar percentage said they were proud to be South Africans.

Some of the survey's main findings were that material values rather than political ones motivated most young people.

Almost all those questioned had high aspirations, often irrespective of current educational attainment.

Mr Nick Green, chairman of the research group, said: "The agenda of South African youth seems to be largely non-political, although they endorse reform."

"Typically, they tend to think it is proceeding a little slowly.

"But personal goal-setting is usually qualification and career-orientated. The

young South African living in formal housing is a materialist, not a Marxist.

"And, by and large, he appears hopeful that negotiation and the process of change will deliver the benefits."

Green said only a minority of those included in the survey believed that violence was the only way to achieve change.

"But in general we see endorsement of the work ethic, of the idea that a good education is the passport to a fulfilling career and that the trappings of material success are worth striving for." - Sapa.

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# PAC plans to engage FW in talks

11A

Sowetan 21/5/92

~~11A~~

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

A DELEGATION of the PAC will soon meet State President Mr FW de Klerk at a neutral venue to discuss its possible participation in the constituent assembly.

PAC vice-president Mr Dikgang Moseneke yesterday said the venue and time would be decided at a later stage.

The meeting would be an attempt to involve "outsiders" in constitutional negotiations.

Moseneke dispelled speculation that his organisation intended holding the meeting with De Klerk in



DIKGANG MOSENEKE

an attempt to join Codesa.

"We see Codesa as a failure in achieving constitutional change in South Africa. We reject it and our position has not changed," he said.

"The speculation is misleading because Codesa has failed to deliver the

goods," he said, adding: "Codesa 2 delivered no surprises as far as we are concerned."

Lack of progress at Codesa had reinforced the PAC's strong opposition to the institution, he said.

The PAC walked out of Codesa in its preparatory stages in demand of a democratically-elected constituent assembly.

Moseneke said the PAC's major concern was the issue of neutrality during an electoral process and saw the role of the OAU as ensuring neutrality.

An example of that was the meeting of the PAC and the OAU chairman, Mr Ebrahim Babangida in Nigeria last month.

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## PAC moots an alternative to Codesa

<sup>81 Day 21/5/92</sup>  
AFTER the "dismal failure" of Codesa II, the PAC's priority was to reconvene the patriotic front and get the issue of violence to the UN Security Council. (11A)

An alternative forum to Codesa was the only way forward, PAC general secretary Benny Alexander told a Johannesburg news conference yesterday. (SAP)

"The dismal failure of Codesa II vindicates the PAC assertion that Codesa cannot deliver the goods.

"There is no need to review our position on Codesa and the only relevant question confronting this nation is what is the alternative now that Codesa has failed."

PAC secretary for foreign affairs Ahmed Gora Ebrahim said a priority was to reconvene the patriotic front and take the issue of the violence to the UN.

Alexander said there were three "essential" reasons for the stalemate at Codesa:

- "The regime is yet to come to terms with the demand for genuine democracy through the election of a constituent assembly on a common voters role;
- "The regime is not prepared to transfer power to a democratic majority; and
- "Codesa has structural inefficiencies and is obese with mostly insignificant and discredited lackeys of the regime."

Alexander said the PAC's bilateral talks with government would go ahead.

"We hope to convince them (government) that Codesa cannot deliver this country out of its impasse, and to explore with them the option of an alternative forum based on the principle of neutrality," Alexander said. — Sapa.

# Sweden 'forgiven' for resuming trade

B10ay 2115792  
STOCKHOLM — ANC president Nelson Mandela said yesterday he would understand if Sweden lifted sanctions against SA, adding that the ANC would never forget its Scandinavian friends.

Swedish Prime Minister Carl Bildt said there were few reasons left for maintaining sanctions. Sweden wanted to lift some within weeks.

In Oslo yesterday, the foreign ministry announced that Norway would maintain trade sanctions for two more months but would allow more exemptions from the embargo law.

"This will make it easier for companies with special needs to get exemption from the law and do business with SA," said Foreign Ministry spokesman Bjorn Blokhus. He said Norway had not committed itself to waiting for the formation of a multi-racial interim government.

Norway had been worried that because of continued sanctions it would be left behind in the rush to establish post-apartheid trade.

In Stockholm, Bildt said he had told Mandela he did not wish Sweden, which had rigorously applied sanctions against Pretoria, to be at a disadvantage now that the process towards democracy had reached a decisive stage.

"As soon as we see something which can be called an agreement to set up an interim government" in SA, restrictions on trade would be lifted, Bildt said.

Mandela, who travels to Finland today, said international sanctions had undoubtedly helped bring SA's government to the negotiating table.

(11A) (11A) (11A)  
He said he understood Sweden's position "because the irony is that ... many countries are lifting sanctions unilaterally and it is our friends who are going to be sidelined ... because of loyalty to our views".

When the ANC began its struggle, "we went around the capitals of the Western world and we were unable to meet even the most junior officials. ... But when we came to Scandinavian countries, and in particular to Sweden, we immediately got a sympathetic hearing". This would not be forgotten.

Bildt said his government had included \$20m for aid to the ANC in its next fiscal budget. However, future aid would be intended for projects such as educating voters rather than helping the ANC politically.

Mandela met King Carl Gustaf and business leaders after yesterday's news conference. He encouraged them to begin making deals and preparing for the lifting of sanctions.

At a lunch with industrial leaders, he invited Swedish businessmen to study the feasibility of trade with SA. □ Mandela said he was sorry he had to refuse Turkey's \$9 500 Ataturk Prize, which was to have been awarded on Tuesday.

"When this offer was made to me, our office was bombarded with objections from anti-apartheid groups throughout the world. ... It became ... an international question which I could not ignore. We are guided by the views of the masses of the people and if, on any issue, they take a position, I cannot ignore it," he said. — Sapa-Reuter-AP.

S/Dam 21/5/92

### ANC quizzes youths

AN ANC three-man delegation visited Swaziland this week to interview the 47 youths detained after allegedly crossing illegally into Swaziland and claiming they were ANC members on their way to undergo military training. (1/A)

Delegation leader Jackie Selebi said in Mbabane yesterday the youths said they had been recruited in Natal, although not through the ANC offices. Some of those involved in the recruitment were known to the ANC and at least one was a member. (2/16) (2/17)

# ANC to help return youths home to SA

*Sowetan 21/5/92*

MBABANE - An ANC delegation has told the Swaziland government it will co-operate in repatriating youths who arrived in that country demanding to be sent to Zambia for military training.

The arrival of the 47 youths, all claiming to be ANC members, baffled the Swaziland govern-

Sowetan Africa  
News Service

ment and refugee officials in Mbabane because the practice of sending political refugees abroad for military training ended when the ANC was unbanned in South Africa.

Officials at ANC headquarters also denied knowledge of the youths, who entered the country illegally, apparently from Natal. They have been held in prison at the southern town of Big Bend since their arrival.

On Tuesday an ANC delegation, led by Mr Jackie Selebi, head of the ANC repatriation programmes, had talks with the youths, together with Swaziland Interior Ministry and United Nations High Commission for Refugees officials.

## Confirmed

Later Selebi confirmed that the ANC was no longer sending people for military training abroad.

He said: "On the other hand, some or all of these young persons could be members of our organisation. They mentioned some names of high-ranking ANC officials, people who had directed them to come to Swaziland and then proceed abroad.

"I will not reveal those names. We have to carry out thorough investigations when we get back to South Africa."

The youths are expected to be returned to South Africa soon, according to the ANC delegation.



# ANC to write policy behind closed doors

*B (Dem) 21/5/97*  
*(11A)*  
MORE than 700 ANC delegates will meet, mostly in secret, for four days next week to formalise the organisation's policies on a wide range of issues.

TIM COHEN

portion of one delegate for every 1 500 members.

The meeting will provide rank and file members with their first opportunity to discuss at an ANC decision-making forum the impasse in negotiations.

The conference will be the organisation's highest decision-making forum in terms of the ANC's constitution.

All of the conference bar the opening and closing addresses will be closed to the media and the public.

It will be dominated by representatives from ANC regions, with 520 of the 770 delegates sent from ANC branches around the country. The conference will also be attended by 33 members of the ANC Youth League, the ANC Women's League and armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The national executive committee and ANC policy department representatives will also attend, while members of civic organisations, the SACP and Cosatu will be there as participating observers.

Delegates have been selected in the pro-

Ten commissions will decide on the following policy issues: economics, land and the environment, education and human resources, health, social welfare, local government and housing, constitutional issues, sport, the arts, culture and media, peace and security, and international relations.

The policy issues to be discussed were originally to have been decided on at the ANC's national congress last year, but were held over for lack of time.

Secretary to the ANC's policy conference committee Ketso Gordhan said issues would be decided by a vote in the final instance, although he did not think voting would be necessary.

The intention was to discuss principles rather than specific and practical issues, he said.

Although the ANC was committed to open and public debate of its policies, the organisation had the right to draw up its policy in private.

MATTRESS

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STEPHANE BOTHMA

THE PWV regions of the ANC, SACP, Cosatu and the Civics Association of Southern Transvaal are considering pulling out of the national peace accord — claiming that the security forces and government signed the accord in bad faith.

ANC regional chairman Tokyo Sexwale told a news conference in Johannesburg yesterday that security forces talked peace with the organisations while waging "low intensity warfare" against them.

Sexwale referred to recent reports about covert security force operations to "eliminate anti-apartheid activists and to unleash violence to destabilise communities". For this reason the organisations were compelled to reconsider their par-

ANC alliance may  
quit peace accord

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participation in the peace accord structures. "We are entitled to a rethink and that is what we are going to do," Cosatu regional general secretary Amos Masondo said.

Sexwale said the organisations would consult all their structures, allies and other parties about the wisdom of withdrawal.

A national peace executive spokesman confirmed yesterday that the executive would meet the alliance parties tomorrow to discuss the issue. Some discussions had taken place already between the organisations and national peace committee chairman John Hall.

Mandela, founding the ANC

# Time to upset the 'natural order' of things at home?

STAR 2115792

**M**ALE delegates at Codesa haven't even noticed that there are no women around because that reflects the natural order of things in South Africa, says ANC research department head Dr Frene Ginwala.

Dr Ginwala was delivering the SA Association of University Women memorial lecture at the University of the Witwatersrand this week on transforming the nature of South African society.

She says that even the few women who feature at Codesa, on the level of advisers, are not a reflection of any fundamental change of attitude in this country.

According to the male delegates' understanding, women do not have any role in matters of state, in politics or public affairs, Dr Ginwala says.

These are considered to be "rightfully" the preserve of men, and men not women have the necessary talent, skill and

inclination to deal with such matters.

She says the role of women at Codesa is difficult and frustrating because they are not given a chance to air their views.

"The lack of awareness of the absence of women's physical presence in Codesa is reflected in the language style and content of the debate.

## Education

"Elections were about one man one vote, leaders are always male, any man of ability should have an opportunity and so on," she says.

Dr Ginwala says South African women need some form of affirmative action and education programmes to be able to participate fully in sports, politics and other social structures. If women accept that the process of change in this country should be a genuine transformation, then they should build a new society on a gender-neutral basis.

WIMCO 22/5-28/5/92

## Civics draw in chiefs

By SHADLEY NASH: 11A

**Port Elizabeth**  
PEOPLE'S Assemblies to draw in "other democratic forces" are being planned by the South African National Civic Organisation (Sanco).

This was decided at the first meeting of Sanco's national executive committee, held in Bloemfontein over the weekend. According to Sanco's publicity secretary, Max Mamase, the idea came up after Transvaal delegates told of tensions between traditional leaders and civic organisations in the northern and eastern Transvaal.

He said the Peoples' Assembly will be constituted as a forum for all democratic forces, including traditional leaders, "so that we can circumvent state divisive strategies. The traditional role of chiefs is still given the respect it deserves, but it was agreed that they should be part and parcel of democratic transformation through participation in democratic organs of the people".

Mamase said the meeting also agreed that the civic movement should have a strong voice in development programmes.

By LENA SLACHMUIJLDER

FOUR pages of excerpts of speeches by former African National Congress president Oliver Tambo broadcast on Radio Freedom from as early as 1985 laid the ground for the argument by the Inkatha Central Committee member Chief Muziwenkosi Blessed Gwala in Saturday's preliminary submissions to the Goldstone Commission.

"Let the people's war engulf the entire country" and "South Africa must go up in flames" were some of the lines selected by the northern Natal Inkatha Freedom Party leader to prove that the ongoing violence in the Empangeni area was an African National Congress-orchestrated strategy.

On Friday, submissions were made pertaining to unrest in Umlazi and Imbali. On Saturday, the commission heard submissions in Empangeni on the unrest in northern Natal. At the time of going to press, no decision had been taken by Mr Justice R Goldstone as to whether the commission will investigate these areas of conflict.

In all these areas, submissions by the ANC and IFP revealed radically polarised views of the ongoing unrest, presenting a formidable — if not impossible — challenge for any future

# Mission Impossible for Goldstone Commission

W/m a/f 22/5 - 28/5/92

commission. In all these areas, the ANC presented a legalist-orientated argument focusing intense and specific attention on the alleged bias of the security forces. In Umlazi, the ANC stated that the role of the kwaZulu Police in escalating the violence must be the terms of reference.

In Imbali, the ANC submission supported the four-day stayaway called in early May in support of the demand of withdrawal of all security forces from Umlazi. In Empangeni, the ANC cited numerous allegations of both KZP and South African Police behaviour in support of IFP supporters.

In stark contrast, the IFP approaches in all three areas delved back into the "people's war" era of the late-1980s, claiming that the ultimate root of the present-day unrest is ANC-inspired.

In Umlazi, IFP chairman R Mfeka referred to

school boycotts and intimidation that the security forces clearly could not stop. Mfeka continued to explain how counter-measures by Inkhata supporters were necessary to restore order to Umlazi township.

In Imbali, mayor and IFP chairman PE Ndlovu lashed out at the ANC stayaway as a flagrant violation of the National Peace Accord. Ndlovu said he regarded with suspicion the ANC's call for the removal of all of the security forces, in light of the recent onslaught of attacks against IFP officials and supporters in Imbali. Ndlovu's submission included an appendix listing 66 attacks against IFP leaders in Imbali since October 1991. Fourteen attacks on the person or property of kwaZulu Deputy Minister of Works VB Ndlovu were recorded during this time.

Security forces in all these areas pointed to the

main cause of unrest as "warring parties", as well as socio-economic factors, an increase in the availability of dangerous weapons, and "biased and inaccurate" media reports.

In a submission from the SADF Group 9 of Pietermaritzburg, Dudley Ward reeled off statistics and graphs highlighting the decline in unrest incidents since the introduction of 32 Battalion in Imbali.

Colonel Vuka Dube, district commissioner of the KZP for Umlazi, was reprimanded by Judge Goldstone for failing to prepare a submission, and was given the one-hour lunch break to prepare a statement.

In his statement, Dube denied any partial role being played by the KZP in the Umlazi unrest, supporting his view by saying "no criminal charges against the KZP have come to my attention".

In the Umlazi hearings, the ANC, SAP and Independent Law Enforcement Facilitators Office submissions concurred that any future commission should be confined to the shack areas of Chimora, Ekuthuleni, Zamani, Uganda, Malukazi and the T-section men's hostels. The IFP submission, presented by Mfeka, did not clearly specify the parameters of any future commission.

# Silence greets detention without trial

DETENTION without trial — opposed for so long by the African National Congress, its allies and human rights groups — slipped back into South African life last week with no more than a murmur of public discussion.

Hidden in a mass of working group documents at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) was a barely noticed agreement by all parties on new guidelines for security and State of Emergency legislation. The delegates considerably narrowed the government's power to declare an Emergency, but allowed for only "certain procedural controls over detention without trial".

Last month, the ANC made a submission to Codesa that surprised human rights groups because it accepted that during transition the state had to have the power to declare an Emergency, and asked for only limited measures to protect against the kinds of abuses that were common in previous Emergencies.

It suggested that an Emergency be declared only "on the advice of a multi-party interim executive authority" and that this decision should be testable in court. They also asked that certain rights — the right to a legal remedy, freedom from discrimination, freedom from torture and freedom of religion — should be made "non-derogable even during a properly proclaimed Emergency or unrest area".

It added that security personnel should not be entitled to indemnities — one of the most controversial aspects of

*WIMail 22/5-28/5/92*  
Delegates at Codesa II, many  
of them former detainees,  
agreed to detention without  
trial — and no one protested.

By **ANTON HARBER**

previous South African Emergencies.

The ANC also requested certain rules to protect prisoners:

- Detainees and their families should be informed of reasons for their incarceration.

- Detainees should be entitled to consult with a lawyer of their choice.

- The names of those held and those released should be published.

- Detainees should be entitled to administrative review within 30 days of their detention and, if held for more than three months, to review by a board headed by a judge and chosen by the minister.

What surprised observers was how loose were these provisions. Many of the ANC negotiators had themselves experienced detention for long periods and received little relief from administrative reviews.

The final Codesa working group agreement did not even have these protections, saying only that there should be "provision for certain (unspecified) non-derogable rights ... and certain (unspecified) procedural controls over detention". They proposed no limitation at all on the length of detention.

Even more surprising was how muted was the protest from organisa-

tions, individuals and media which had always campaigned against detention without trial.

The exception was Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR), which issued a strongly worded call to the ANC to review its position, saying that the international standard for Emergency detention was 48 hours.

"The ANC's attempt to humanise and justify detention without trial is pathetic and in fact smacks of complicity ... The ANC should know by now that once administrative detention is provided for and regulated by law, access to the judiciary is a mere paper right," said LHR director Brian Currin.

The Human Rights Commission issued a mildly worded appeal to Codesa not to allow any rights entrenched in a Bill of Rights to be suspended during an Emergency. "We are firm in our conviction that the only way to avoid sliding into the abuses of the past is to observe without reservation the individual's right to liberty ... Administrative detention must never again be substituted for conviction and imprisonment by a court of law."

The Black Sash has issued no statement, though it did make the issue the subject of a placard outside Codesa II last week and has raised the matter with the ANC.

The Bar Council and other lawyers' organisations have been silent.

ANC negotiators defend their position by saying that they have made it very difficult for the government to declare an Emergency.

~~22/5~~ ~~28/5~~ 11A  
They said Currin's criticism showed ignorance of the "context" of the ANC's submissions to Codesa. "We are totally against detention without trial ... Our principles and those of LHR coincide exactly."

"What our document to Codesa referred to was States of Emergency. Our document made it clear that these only applied in periods of war or such grave Emergencies as to threaten the life of the nation."

"We imposed severe restrictions including parliamentary supervision and supervision by the courts for the declaration of such an Emergency. The onus is very heavily against the declaration of an Emergency. If there is one, the controls have to be extremely stringent."

"If there is to be a State of Emergency," they concluded, "it is far better that there be stringent controls than that the law remains completely silent."

It is understood, however, that the issue has caused considerable debate behind the scenes within the ANC and there are a number of senior members who are extremely upset by this aspect of the agreement. Even some of those publicly defending the move are saying privately that they, and other ANC members, are unhappy with it.

"There was furious debate," one source said. "And the line-up would have surprised you. Some of those who had experienced detention without trial were not on the side you would expect them to be on."

**D**URING his joint salvage job of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) on Saturday morning, African National Congress president Nelson Mandela paused to stare meaningfully at President FW de Klerk seated a few metres from the podium.

"The time has come that you truly cross the Rubicon," he said, like an elderly schoolteacher, gently yet firmly chiding a pupil for failing to grasp an elementary concept of algebra. "You must understand clearly that the days of white minority domination are over."

De Klerk remarked at a press conference later with the hint of a smile that "if I look back I can't even see the Rubicon any more".

De Klerk wouldn't be the first National Party president who, rather like the founders of Nylstroom, has mistaken a lesser stream for the great river itself.

If Codesa II did nothing else, it forced the NP to put all its cards on the table. The carefully ambiguous language since the unbanning of the ANC and the release of Mandela two and a half years ago was always calculated to leave room for doubt.

In his speech, De Klerk said the government was simply seeking a system of checks and balances "in the spirit of the American founding fathers", to ensure that the majority could never dominate the minority.

The fact of the matter is that the NP, unlike the American founding fathers, is attempting to pull a constitution out of the bag that will thwart the will of the people and which will secure for the NP a permanent place in government no matter how small its electoral support.

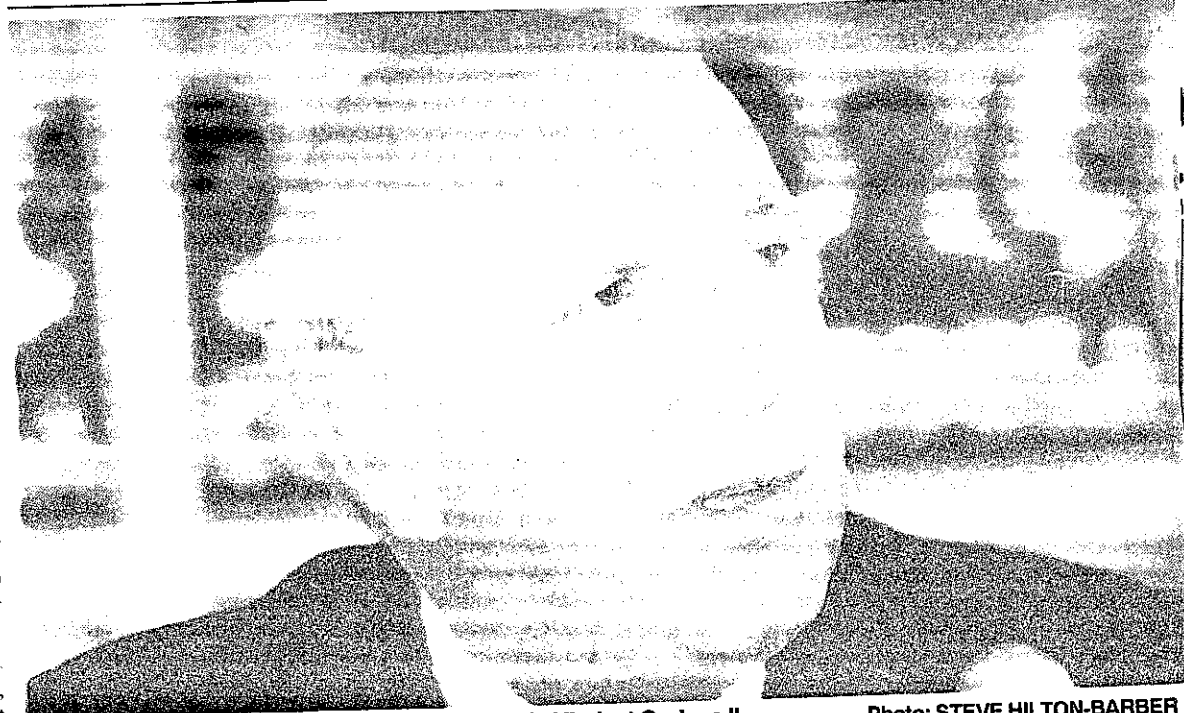
An instant cure from De Klerk's spell was the sight of Pik Botha on stage with Amichand Rajbansi, Inkatha and various minor homeland functionaries, fulminating about the "ANC cum communist/Marxist school" which he said believed in "centralisation, unitarianism, majoritarianism and winner take all and grab the power and thereafter it's gone".

It boggles the mind that a party arguing to test the will of the people on a two thirds majority should be so

# No gains in push-me pull-you Codesa II

W. M. 22/5 - 28/5/92

*During the past few months the ANC and the government have been advancing towards intrinsically separate goals. The former is negotiating a transition to majority rule; the latter is trying to prevent it. By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK*



Checks and balances?... State President FW de Klerk at Codesa II

Photo: STEVE HILTON-BARBER

denounced by the NP, who have held exclusive power for 42 years with less than 10 percent of the population, and a bunch of political hacks representing no one at all.

The failure of Codesa II is more than a matter of numbers and percentages. It is about a fundamental disagreement between the ANC and the government on what democracy means.

For the past five months the ANC has been trying to negotiate a transitional arrangement as a gateway to democracy. The government has been attempting to get as many of the final features of the constitution as possible written into an interim constitution,

leaving as little as possible to be decided by the elected national assembly.

It became clear to the ANC negotiators last week that by holding out for such high percentages on the final constitution, the government was seeking to secure a veto that would extend the life of the interim power-sharing constitution into perpetuity.

Fortunately, at the end of the day the NP overplayed its hand. The ANC has withdrawn its offer of 70 percent across the board and 75 percent for a Bill of Rights — a deal that many of its supporters find excessively generous — and it is unlikely that the government will ever again be afforded the

opportunity to settle on such favourable terms.

It underlines the grim simplicity of the deadlock at Codesa: the ANC and most South Africans believe the negotiations are about the transition to majority rule. The NP government and its allies are trying to prevent majority rule. Until we have an agreement that enshrines majority rule, there won't be a deal.

That is the slender thread that the negotiations hang on. All that prevented a complete collapse at the weekend were De Klerk and Mandela's back to back speeches on Saturday morning. They had emerged from an emergency

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meeting the night before evidently intent upon giving Codesa II a morale boost.

"We've made remarkable progress, notwithstanding one important setback," De Klerk said. "The government has no hesitation in saying let us move forward and build on the foundation of Codesa I and II with a sense of urgency."

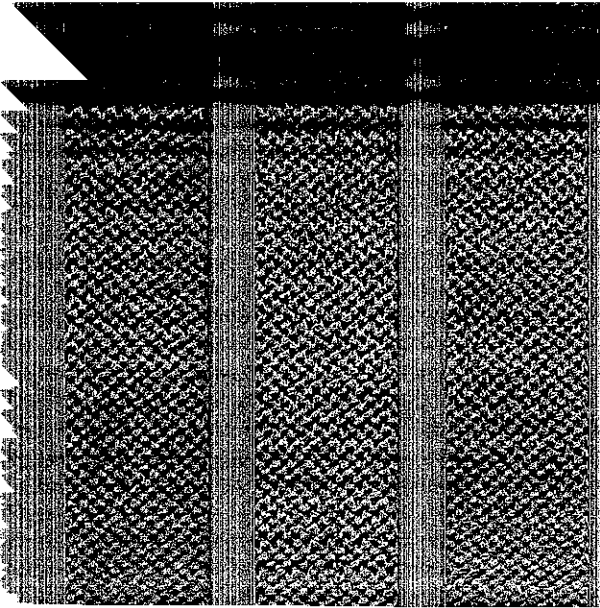
Mandela issued an urgent plea to move the talks toward resolution.

"Clearly, we cannot gather here today and send out a message to our country and the world that we have taken no steps towards the goal of ending the misery of our people," Mandela said. "That is clearly impermissible."

"The people cannot postpone their hunger. Similarly, they do not want their freedom postponed."

At a press conference after the close of the talks Mandela sounded a distinctly gloomy note. "Despite all the hard preparatory work put in, nothing concrete has emerged," he said. Reading a statement of the Patriotic Front. "The negotiation process has stalled."

P. T. O.



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# Codesa standoff threatens to widen split in ANC ranks

*Guardian weekly (in weekly mail) 22/5-28/5/92 119*

THE second round of South Africa's constitutional negotiations ended in farce with little more achieved than the avoidance of a total breakdown in the negotiating process.

The country's political leaders closed the second plenary session of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) in a self-congratulatory mood at having managed to keep the talks afloat. "The road ahead has been clarified," President F. W. de Klerk said, but neither he nor Nelson Mandela gave any indication of the direction of that road or the time the journey would take.

The threatened confrontation between the two main negotiating partners — after the deadlock over minority vetoes in the constitution-making process — was defused by an agreement to refer the matter back to Codesa's management committee.

Codesa's five working groups, originally charged with formulating constitutional proposals for the plenary sessions, are being shut down, and the management committee has been mandated to

resolve outstanding issues and draft legislation formalising any agreements.

The main disagreement between the government and the ANC remains the minority veto demanded by President De Klerk to block decisions on the new constitution which relate to regionalism or federalism. Although the difference appears slight (the National Party demanding a 75 per cent majority, the ANC suggest-

**By David Beresford  
in Johannesburg**

ing 70 per cent) the philosophical chasm is considerable.

The hiatus created by the Codesa standoff poses additional dangers for the country. It will inevitably bring a continuation of the political killings which have been undermining the negotiating process. It will also encourage divisions within the ANC — its militants becoming frustrated by the lack of progress at Codesa and Mr Mandela's failure to curtail the security forces, which are seen as fomenting township violence.

While Mr Mandela's authority in

the ANC remains firm, the potential for division is evident in developments in the controversy surrounding his wife, Winnie, and her alleged lover, Dali Mpofu.

Earlier this month Mr Mpofu, a lawyer aged 29, was fired from his post as deputy head of the ANC's department of social welfare. He has responded by threatening to sue the ANC for unfair dismissal. He is reportedly attributing his dismissal — and the allegations that he and Winnie were lovers, which he denies — to a "smear campaign" conducted against them by a "cabal".

Allegations of a cabal within ANC ranks are long standing. The "cabal" is alleged to have originated in the former United Democratic Front and to have included such figures as the ANC secretary general, Cyril Ramaphosa, and one of its key negotiators at Codesa, Mohammed Valli Moosa.

Mrs Mandela's apparent determination to make a political come-back as the voice of militancy within the ANC may spur allegations that such a "cabal" is "selling out" at Codesa.



# Season of discontent as negotiations falter

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w/mant 22/5-28/5/92

*The African National Congress plans to take advantage of the militancy of its members to push the government to make concessions at Codesa.*

By **EDDIE KOCH**

policy of the left this week.

●The Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) announced it would consider calling a general strike if its demands for an interim government to be in place by the end of June were not met.

●The ANC's biggest branch, which encompasses the PWV complex, announced on Wednesday it would pull out of the Peace Accord until the government gave a satisfactory explanation of covert operations by members of its security forces.

●The move is likely to be followed by the large Border and eastern Transvaal regions of the ANC, indicating a groundswell of opinion which stops just short of calling on the leadership to pull out of Codesa.

●The Civic Associations of Southern Transvaal (Cast), an umbrella body of more than 100 township organisations, endorsed the move and called for mass action to end violence in the townships.

●The ANC hardened its negotiating stance saying it had withdrawn compromises made at Codesa II —

that a 70 percent majority could decide on a new constitution in a national assembly and an even bigger majority of 75 percent could pass the Bill of Rights.

●The organisation now plans to consult its branches as well as its allies, the South African Communist Party and Cosatu, before deciding on new approach to the talks.

Before Codesa II broke down, there was a pendulum in the ANC that oscillated erratically between the pole of protest and conciliation. "There were always debates about whether we should concentrate on negotiations or on planning for mass actions. These were seen as alternative ways of dealing with the government," explained Valli.

**P**RESIDENT FW de Klerk faces a season of discontent as the African National Congress, sensing it occupies a moral and strategic high ground after the failure of Codesa II, this week began to rally members and friends behind a programme of mass action to break its deadlock with the government over majority rule.

The first hint of a fundamental change in ANC policy was the nostalgia in the voice of Mahomed Valli Moosa, senior member of the organisation's negotiating team, when he explained that his colleagues would be talking to the "mass democratic movement" to discuss the way forward.

The use of these three disused words — once widely evoked to describe the collection of organisations that staged an upsurge of strikes, stayaways, boycotts and other forms of angry protest before the ANC was unbanned — was a signal that the organisation intends to harness, rather than downplay, the mood of militancy among its members in the townships.

There were other, more substantial, indications of a militant shift in the

The government's intransigence at the World Trade Centre has changed this. It has created a situation which enables the ANC to galvanise these disparate tendencies into a more coherent approach that involves the use of collective muscle in tandem with persuasion and haggling at the negotiating table.

Barbara Hogan, member of the ANC's Codesa team and secretary of the movement's PWV branch, says the success of this month's six-day trains boycott on the Reef was instrumental in galvanising this new approach to negotiations.

"Firstly it showed that there is a militancy on the ground, that conditions exist for mass action. Secondly it showed how protest is a much more effective form of extracting concessions," she said.

A situation has emerged at the level of national politics which is similar to that which characterises wage negotiations between organised labour and employers. The two parties haggle, unions insist on organising report-backs and meetings with their members — thereby increasing the level of organisation and solidarity in their ranks — and then use this to stage a strike or other forms of collective action to back their demands.

This new scenario opens the way for the young and more militant leadership of the ANC and its allies — men like Cyril Ramaphosa, Sydney Mufamadi, Jay Naidoo and Joe Slovo, who have their roots in this political tradition — to exercise their sway over the formulation of policy in the post-Codesa II phase.

De Klerk and his colleagues may well be banking on the fact that the ANC's branches, swamped by a tide of township violence and other organisational problems, are weaker than ever and incapable of carrying out the threat of mass action.

But mass militancy is always an unpredictable thing and in the past Cosatu has shown that when it has the will it is capable of organising a national strike.

The other factor restraining successful mass action is clearly the fear of an escalation in violence and "third force" attacks. But, as Hogan points out, the ANC and its leaders have long come to realise this type of violence is endemic anyway and tends to escalate, not during marches or strikes, but when there has been a successful peace agreement or significant concession from the government to ANC demands.

Moses Mayekiso, president of Cast and general secretary of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa, explains it like this: "There's impatience on the part of workers. They are not getting what they are supposed to get from the Codesa process. They are asking 'why is Cosatu not directly involved ... why has there been no response to Cosatu's application to join Codesa?'"

"Our bottom lines," says another Cosatu representative, "are agreement on a constituent assembly by the end of the year, fusion of the armed forces and a transitional government by June. In these terms Codesa II is a fiasco. If the government's intransigence continues there will be a battle in the streets." She pointed out that there is also increasing anger within Cosatu about the ANC's concession — agreement on a 75 percent majority on a Bill of Rights — at Codesa.

Workers and union leaders believe this would have allowed fairly easy passage of human rights clauses but enabled the government to dig in its heels over demands for "second generation" rights, such as those relating to housing, health and jobs, to be included as basic rights.

The government may well have missed its historic moment at Codesa II. Until last weekend Nelson Mandela and his colleagues had substantial room to negotiate compromise deals with the cabinet. From now on their approaches will be more strongly influenced by the impatience and anger that is welling up in the streets.

at it pre-empt...  
...he said

w/mant 22/5- 28/5/92

# The honeymoon is over — but they're still playing footsie

By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

A NEW-LOOK, post-Codesa II African National Congress showed its teeth yesterday as ANC president Nelson Mandela opened a key policy summit with a blistering attack on the government and warnings of mass action to come.

In line with the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), the ANC has set July as the deadline for a deal at Codesa, failing which mass action will be used to "break the intransigence of the regime".

The four-day conference, originally called to formulate specific policies that the ANC's national conference could not deal with, comes at a crucial time in the negotiations for democracy which are still deadlocked.

While the weekend is likely to provide a clearer view of ANC thinking, particularly on key economic issues such as nationalisation, it marks the beginning of an ANC remobilisation campaign.

A carefully formulated draft proposal setting out demands and a plan of mass action is to be debated by the conference as a prelude to taking the struggle back to the rank and file constituency.

The prospect of a general strike coupled with other forms of street action to put pressure on the government looms large as ANC activists express deep distrust of the government and anger with what Mandela described yesterday as the government "duplicitous" that had been exposed at Codesa II.

"The inescapable reality is that the regime laid bare its fundamental contempt of democracy and its unmitigated desire to hang on to power," Mandela said at yesterday's opening.

"Notwithstanding their earlier espousal of support for an elected constitution-making body, they blocked a comprehensive agreement when Codesa was presented with the opportunity to take our country along that path," he said.

The war of words between the government and the ANC heated up this week — and was aptly summed up by Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel who said the honeymoon between Mandela and President FW de Klerk was over.

But coupled with the acrimonious rhetoric were serious behind the scenes attempts between the two parties to find a way around the impasse. The aim is to find a way to reach settlement on the areas of broad principle before the end of June when it is hoped they can be presented to a planned third plenary session of Codesa.

However, the public gap between the ANC and the government is widening by the day, and could be even wider by the end of the weekend if ANC delegates agree to scrap aspects with which the movement has till now broadly been in agreement with the National Party.

One of these is the question of whether there should be an interim constitution with a power-sharing government in place while the constituent assembly draws up a new constitution.

The ANC's negotiating team is likely to come in for some flak from delegates unhappy at the state of the negotiations.

Despite the rumblings of mass action, however, the ANC's first option is still talks, with the threat of action being the added element that the ANC hopes will take the government over the last hoop.

This, despite the fact that Mr Justice R Goldstone this week handed the ANC a setback in the area where the government is most susceptible to pressure — the international community. Whatever the merits of the Goldstone finding, the perception it creates is of dragging the ANC down to the level of Inkatha and the security forces.

Mandela yesterday tore into Goldstone's findings, describing them as superficial in two fundamental respects. He said that to attribute the violence to political rivalry between the ANC and Inkatha was to ignore that the rivalry has been fostered and manipulated by the government and its security forces.

Mandela said, secondly, that it was the NP and not the ANC or the Inkatha Freedom Party that held the ultimate responsibility for bringing the violence to an end by virtue of the fact that it held state power.

He said that the ANC remained convinced that the police and army were responsible for carnage in the townships.

# As talks falter, the gloves come off

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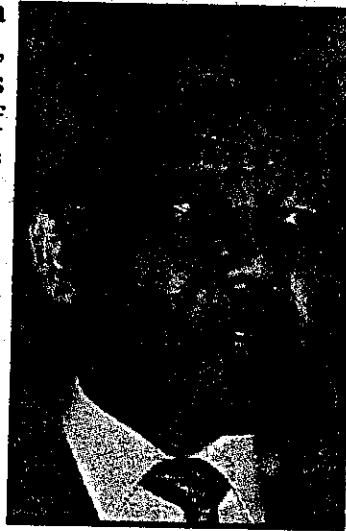
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**F**W DE KLERK faces a season of discontent, strikes and boycotts after the failure of Codesa II. Before the talks broke down, the ANC oscillated between the politics of protest and conciliation.

The government's intransigence at the weekend has changed this.

The ANC is likely now to harness rather than downplay the increasing militancy of its township members.

Officials argue that the only concessions the organisation has extracted from the government have resulted from mass action - for example, this month's train boycotts.



A grim Nelson Mandela leaves the failed talks

See PAGES 2 and 27

## New ANC lobby wants Winnie reinstated

A SPLIT has emerged within the ANC over Winnie Mandela's resignation as head of its social welfare department.

A newly formed support committee, from within the ANC PWV Women's League, yesterday publicly demanded her reinstatement. *6/10/92 2215792*

Committee members occupied the league's office in Johannesburg for most of yesterday, until they received a reply to their petition from ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa.

A committee spokesman said Ramaphosa relayed a message saying the matter would be dealt with when ANC president Nelson Mandela returned from overseas.

*11A* "We are crying for mama," said women's league member Sally Peterson. "We need her in the squatter camps and townships. We don't care about her personal life, but it is a loss not having her as the head of the ANC's social welfare department."

"We want mama fulltime at her duties in social welfare again," she said. "No one can replace her."

Mandela resigned about a month ago following her separation from her husband and renewed allegations of criminality against her.

Soon afterwards, she was elected unopposed as head of the ANC PWV Women's League. — Sapa.

(114)  
Sweden  
CT 22/5/92  
may halt  
ANC aid

STOCKHOLM. — The Swedish parliament is to consider next week whether to continue Sweden's funding of the ANC, officials said yesterday at the close of a two-day visit by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela.

Prime Minister Mr Carl Bildt said after a meeting with Mr Mandela on Wednesday that when South Africa adopted multiracial democracy, Sweden could not keep supporting only one party.

● Mr Mandela arrived in Helsinki, Finland, yesterday and will hold talks today with President Mauno Koivisto and Prime Minister Mr Esko Aho.

● On Monday Mr Mandela is to visit Lausanne in Switzerland to meet Mr Juan Samaranch, president of the International Olympic Committee. — Sapa-Reuter

# Calling all veterans

*Sowetan* 22/5/92

THE need to care for veterans of the liberation struggle in South Africa has become painfully clear over the past year.

As exiles are coming home and some political prisoners are being released, a number of them are too old or disabled to find work and most of them cannot qualify for a South African Government pension as they have been in exile or in jail.

In other cases, family support structures no longer exist.

Former combatants and veterans from within the country, who were disabled before February 2 1990, also lack family support or Government aid.

Matla Trust, a charitable organisation, has been formed to try to co-ordinate a programme to help alleviate the plight of veterans - irrespective of their political affiliation.

This will cover all people regardless of age, especially those who are over 50 and are unemployable because of

chronic illnesses.

A questionnaire has been drafted to assess their needs and problems so that they can set up a programme at a conference in July.

The trust is busy trying to determine the number of veterans and to enlist the support of other relief organisations to take part in this venture.

The trust will be visiting a number of areas to collect information on the veterans. Over the next few days, the trust will be in Zeerust (ANC offices tomorrow at 11am), Rustenburg (Sunday at NUM offices at 10am), Transkei on Wednesday (Unity Hall 12pm), Northern Transvaal (Mimosa Building, Market St, Pietersburg at 10am) and at Ipelegeng for Soweto, Alexandra and the Vaal next weekend at 12.30.

For more information, phone Matla Trust at (011) 834-5301 or fax (011) 838-1910. You can also contact them at 54 Sauer St, 3rd Floor Munich Re Centre or write PO Box 7748 Johannesburg, 2000.

B10 am 22/5/92

BILLY PADDOCK

## SADF, Umkhonto begin unity talks

CAPE TOWN — Talks had begun between the SADF and Umkhonto we Sizwe on creating a unified national army, Defence Minister Roelf Meyer said yesterday.

He told a briefing on Codesa that the aim was to rationalise the two forces, the TBVC defence forces and homeland paramilitary units into a single defence force.

Last week Meyer said there was about 80% agreement between the political negotiating teams of the ANC and government on implementation of the D F Malan Accord and the Pretoria Minute dealing with the armed struggle and arms caches. But the fact that both military command structures were now involved in bilateral negotiations indicated discussions had en-

tered the detailed phase of practicalities.

Meyer said government welcomed ANC president Nelson Mandela's remark that the ANC could not return to the armed struggle if constitutional negotiations broke down. It showed that the ANC believed change was irreversible. (22/5/92)

Regarding the death of eastern Cape activist Matthew Goniwe, Meyer did not respond directly when asked repeatedly whether he had "full confidence" that members of the military establishment had not been involved in assassinations. He said he would address the Goniwe issue in his Defence vote next week. (22/5/92) (11A)

# Power struggle has just begun

Sowetan 22/5/92

WE are learning an important lesson. It is that, despite negotiations, no ruling class gives up power and privilege without a struggle - no ruling class voluntarily abdicates from power.

The Codesa experience is a good example. Up to the time of writing, Government representatives were making concessions on minor issues. But on the central issue of power they have refused to budge.

It is important that we concentrate on this major issue - not on petty details in the piles of agreements which will come out of Codesa.

The issue of power raises the questions: who exercises power, who controls the negotiation process, what is the objective of the process and will the agreements predetermine the outcome or will they allow for democratic decision-making by all the people?

The ANC achieved certain victories when it won

The Government and the ANC have hardened their stands after last weekend's deadlock. In this article, reproduced from the Western Cape's *South weekly*, DULLAK OMAR, of the ANC's constitution committee gives a personal view of the stalemate.

the Declaration of Intent and the Terms of Reference of the various Working Groups at Codesa.

But, compared to the major issues at stake and the tasks ahead, central to which is the achievement of an elected Constituent Assembly with sovereign powers to draw up a new constitution, these victories must not be over-stated.

## Elected body

For example, on the constitution-making body (which Working Group 2 is dealing with), the regime has agreed to an elected body to draw up the constitution.

This sounds like an advance on the regime's previous position.

However, an elected body is not a Constituent Assembly.

A Constituent Assembly is a single-chamber body

elected on the basis of one person, one vote by all the people of South Africa, including the homelands, with sovereign power to draw up and adopt a new constitution.

Many agree that such a body should adopt the new constitution on the basis of a two-thirds majority. No other body or structure should have the power to vet its decisions.

President FW de Klerk envisages a structure with two chambers - one which will be based upon one person, one vote and a second in which minority parties would dominate.

The ANC has dubbed the second chamber the House of Losers. In terms of De Klerk's proposals, it would be able to veto decisions of the democratically elected first chamber.

On the issue of transitional arrangements

(Working Group 3), there are similar problems. De Klerk is not prepared to give up the sole monopoly of power which presently resides in his hands.

The Government is saying: "You can have your interim governing council and you can have your multiparty commissions - as many as you like - and we will listen to you, but real power will remain in our hands.

## No sense

"Because you cannot have two parallel governments existing side by side," they say.

Of course, its reasoning does not make sense because, through constitutional amendments, it is possible to create the kind of sovereign structure proposed by the ANC. It's a question of the regime clinging to power.

1/A ~~2/1/92~~  
If the Government has its way, it will ultimately be in control over all aspects of the election process and even the result.

The regime is putting up a facade that it is interested in democratising the country. Because of the serious crisis it is in, it has no option but to concede some version of one person, one vote.

However, it is determined to create structures and procedures to nullify one person, one vote.

Without majority rule as a very minimum, there can be no settlement.

Remember the Smith-Muzorewa attempt to prevent majority rule in Zimbabwe a decade ago. Remember also the slogan of the Patriotic Front at the time: "No independence without majority rule."

But let us not pretend that the winning of a democratically elected Constituent Assembly or a formula for majority rule will be the end of the struggle. Far from it.

It will be a victory but it



FW de Klerk ... a structure with two chambers.

will also open a new phase of struggle.

For the simple reason that a one person, one vote constitution will not end monopoly domination of South Africa's economy, the homelessness and poverty of our people or the imperialist domination of the sub-continent and the stranglehold of the so-called new order.

About three decades ago a leading Kenyan political figure Mr Odinga Odinga, wrote a book entitled *Not Yet Uhuru*.

It was a devastating account of how the struggle of

the Kenyan people had been aborted by the independence negotiations.

This may also be true for Zimbabwe's negotiations at Lancaster House.

South Africa will escape this fate if the working people use the opportunity provided by the political processes to embark upon a programme of struggle to end capitalist exploitation.

The lessons our people have learnt in struggle over the past 20 to 30 years will stand them in good stead.



# Women march on ANC offices

Durham 22/5/92

A GROUP of women from the PWV region of the ANC Women's League yesterday marched to the organisation's headquarters to demand the return of Mrs Winnie Mandela as the head of the department of social welfare.

In a memorandum handed to the ANC's general secretary, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, the women also called for the reinstatement of Mandela's alleged lover, Mr Dali Mpfu, who was sacked as deputy head of the organisation's welfare department.

The memorandum also called on the ANC to refrain from interfering with the domestic affairs of some of its leaders.

## Tyranny

"The ANC is charged only with the task to liberate us from the tyranny of racial oppression known as apartheid," the memorandum said.

A spokesman for the women, Ms Sally Peterson, denied there was a sit-in at the organisation's offices.

Only two women, she said, handed the memorandum to Ramaphosa, who then told them the matter would be dealt with when ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela returned from his overseas visit.

Peterson said the women were upset because several requests for a meeting with Mandela had been ignored by the regional executive committee of the league.

"We are not worried about Winnie's personal life. It's got nothing to do with her work.

"We would like to see her working hand-in-hand with her husband. There is nobody who could fit in her place. She had been mothering the whole of South Africa," Peterson said.

... today Mrs Quayle will visit a township feeding scheme before flying out of South Africa.

## ANC women are 'crying for Mama'

The Argus Correspondent

11A ARG 22/5/92

JOHANNESBURG. — A group from the PWV region of the ANC Women's League marched to the organisation's headquarters to demand the return of Mrs Winnie Mandela as head of the department of social welfare.

In a memorandum handed to ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa yesterday, the women also called for the reinstatement of Mrs Mandela's alleged lover, Mr Dali Mpofu, who was sacked from his position as the deputy head of the organisation's welfare department.

A spokesman for the women, Ms Sally Peterson, told a press conference in Johannesburg that more than 700 women had gathered at the league's offices to deliver the memorandum.

Ms Peterson said the women were upset because several requests for a meeting with Mrs Mandela had been ignored by the regional executive committee of the league.

"We were refused access to see Mama. We then sent a letter saying we needed her at Phola Park because children were being teargassed and women were being raped. Mama was helping us all... we are crying for Mama."

## SRC quits in confidence row

Education Reporter

ARG 22/5/92

THE interim Students' Representative Council at the University of the Western Cape has resigned. SRC spokesman Mr Oupa Ntombela said in a statement the resignation followed a SRC executive meeting. Students had mandated the interim body to prepare for a fully-fledged elected SRC.

Yesterday's resignation followed an attempted vote of no-confidence in the SRC executive by a rival group of students at the university.

Recently the interim SRC had an overwhelming victory in a referendum where students voted not to resume a class boycott over excluded students.

## Man's body found in harbour

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**Pro  
Winnie  
march  
on ANC**

# Old foes plan a new SADF

JOHANNESBURG. — A huge group of women marched on an ANC office in the central city yesterday and demanded that Mrs Winnie Mandela be reinstated as the organisation's head of social welfare.

Mrs Mandela recently resigned from the post following her separation from Mr Nelson Mandela and renewed allegations against her.

The women who marched are part of a newly formed support group, from within the ANC Women's League. They occupied the Women's League office yesterday until they received a reply to their petition from ANC general-secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa.

## 'Mama'

The group calls itself "The Social Welfare Support Committee".

According to a spokesman for the committee, Mr Ramaphosa sent a message that the matter would be dealt with when ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela returned from his Nordic trip.

"We are crying for mama," spokesman Ms Sally Peterson, a member of the PWV Women's League regional executive committee, said yesterday afternoon, referring to Mrs Mandela.

## Need her

"We need her in the squatter camps and townships. We don't care about her personal life but it is a loss not having her as the head of the ANC's social welfare department.

"We want mama full-time at her duties in social welfare again."

There were about 40 women in the PWV Women's League office yesterday afternoon.

According to Ms Peterson the numbers swelled to "more than 700" at lunchtime. — Sapa



**MARCH MEMO** ... Miss Vivienne Carelse hands over a memorandum to director-general of Education and Training Dr Bernard Louw during a march to Parliament yesterday by about 1 000 teachers.

Picture: BENNY GOOL

## Cape teachers protest

Staff Reporter

MORE than 1 000 Peninsula teachers yesterday abandoned their classes and marched to Parliament to demand the recognition of their union, the South African Democratic Teachers' Union.

The march was part of a nationwide action — expected to continue today — in which teachers handed similar memoranda to different education departments.

Handing a memorandum to Dr Bernard Louw, director-general of the DET, Cape Sadtu chairwoman Miss Vivienne Carelse said Sadtu demanded an immediate response to their demands as they were the only democratic and non-racial

teachers' organisation. Dr Louw responded by saying Sadtu was unfaithful by leaving the pupils.

Chief executive director of the Department of Education and Culture in the House of Representatives, Mr Awie Muller, said Sadtu's recognition depended on the code of conduct the union had to present.

He said the union's constitution was acceptable.

● Sapa reports that Sadtu said in a statement that 371 people arrested in Springs yesterday were teachers who had been picketing outside the DET regional offices while a delegation of 20 teachers presented grievances to the regional DET director.

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

**THE SA Defence Force and uMkhonto weSizwe (MK) have already started talking about the shape of a new unified national force, Defence Minister Mr Roelf Meyer disclosed yesterday.**

He said politicians in the government and ANC camps had already reached 80% agreement on the principles of a future defence force.

However, the stage had now been reached where the military leaders could talk about details of the "rationalisation" of the two fighting forces.

The fact that the military command structures have now been drawn into discussions for the first time indicates that the two sides are now ready to begin thrashing out the practical details of a new defence force of national unity.

Mr Meyer said talks between the Defence Force and MK had started "with the view to rationalising not only the TBVC defence forces but also the particular military entities like MK".

The minister said he did not envisage any major stumbling blocks to resolving outstanding problems through negotiation.

It is understood that the homeland defence forces have not yet been involved in the details of the rationalisation process.

## Armed struggle

However, sources indicated that intense rivalry existed between the military leaders of Transkei and Venda — Major-General Bantu Holomisa and Brigadier Gabriel Ramushwana — for the top job in a new defence force.

Mr Meyer yesterday emphasised that it was critical that formal agreement be reached on the ending of the armed struggle — as well as outstanding aspects of the D F Malan and Pretoria Minute accords — before South Africa could begin implementing the transition to a new order.

He said the government welcomed remarks made by Mr Nelson Mandela that the ANC could not go back to the armed struggle if constitutional negotiations broke down.

Mr Mandela's statement was "the first clear indication that they (the ANC) will terminate the armed struggle".

Questioned at the briefing about the death of Mr Matthew Goniwe and his colleagues in 1985, Mr Meyer did not respond directly when asked repeatedly whether he had "full confidence" that the military establishment had not been involved in the assassination of anti-apartheid activists.

He said he would prefer to speak on the Goniwe affair when his defence vote was debated in Parliament next week. An inquest dealing with the case had already been instituted and should be allowed to "take its normal course".

● Holomisa shuns state probe — Page 5

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**T**HE politically shrewd NP that has managed to stampe, bulldoze and outmanoeuvre its opposition over numerous decades once again was on the brink of pulling off a major coup at Codesa II. But its greed for power and control caused it to allow to slip from its hands the tactical advantage it had so carefully orchestrated over the past year.

The ANC can now also heave a collective sigh of relief, having come so near to taking government's bait before seeing it for what it was, rejecting it and so living to fight another day.

The root of the current impasse can be traced back to about a year ago when the ANC presented its ultimatum that certain preconditions had to be met before they would restart negotiations. It then flip-flopped, realising that if it left the preconditions in place it would never gain power. The ANC then increased the pressure on itself by promising its constituency that it could get what it wanted more quickly through entering negotiations rather than fighting in the streets.

**A** succession of statements by ANC president Nelson Mandela and other senior office bearers that a new constitution could be in place by the end of 1992, with an interim government installed by the first quarter of the year, all served to focus negotiators' attention more on speed than on content.

The apparent acceptance by most parties, apart from government, of the ANC's initial demands for an interim government and an elected representative body to draft the final constitution gave the ANC a false sense of confidence that it was running the show and that final victory was a matter of time.

However, government stepped in and surprised everyone at Codesa I when President F W de Klerk proposed a one person one vote interim parliament which would negotiate a constitution parallel to carrying out legislative functions.

The ANC obviously saw this as a

# ANC pulls off a last-minute escape from Nat trap

BIDM  
22/5/92

**BILLY PADDOCK in Cape Town**



welcome turnaround by government. But it slowly dawned on its leaders that an interim constitution would have to be drafted to facilitate the operation of the interim government. This put government back at its initial position that SA's next constitution would be written by an unelected multiparty conference.

The two crucial working groups were numbers two and three. In working group 2, the task of setting out principles and guidelines for a final constitution initially went smoothly. The group also reached a broad in-principle agreement in favour of an early election of an interim parliament. It seemed that the real crunch would come in group 3.

Steadily it became clear that the ANC was prepared to accede to an interim constitution based substantially on the NP's constitutional proposals. But the ANC saw it specifically as an interim constitution to be used and soon discarded. The NP saw it as forming the basis of the final constitution.

There was more concern in the ANC about how the transitional executive council and its sub-councils would relate to government and the Cabinet, rather than firmly concentrating on the interim constitution and fundamental principles — into which the NP was shrewdly at-

tempting to ensure other parties would be locked into for an extended period.

A senior ANC negotiator said: "We were at the brink, and almost toppled over before we fully realised what they were doing."

The ANC's extravagant hopes and predictions about time frames did not materialise. Nor did its promises to its supporters that an elected constituent assembly or national assembly — with the ANC presumably calling the shots — would have an effective free hand in drafting the final constitution.

Indeed, these rash promises were used by government as a lever to intensify the pressure on the ANC, and get its negotiators into striking an agreement at Codesa 2 that the ANC would have lived to regret.

Amazingly, because it seemed clear at Codesa I, it dawned on the ANC only at the 11th hour that the package deal they had come so close to accepting would have locked them into an indefinite period of "interim government".

Government and its allies almost certainly would have had the capa-

city to block demands by the ANC for a final constitution because the draft agreement made no clear provision for time frames.

Government strategists had almost lured the ANC into accepting a position in terms of which the final constitution almost certainly would have looked roughly the same as the "interim constitution" — if the process was ever allowed to move from "interim" to "final". Government's coup would have been complete by having that constitution drafted by a multiparty conference (Codesa) where government effectively holds a veto.

Government had the ANC in the palm of its hand. But, rather than accept the ANC's proposal for a two-thirds majority with 75% for a bill of rights to pass the final constitution, it tried to go for broke and, in its greed, revealed too many of its cards.

The ANC, having almost been outmanoeuvred, has regained its suspicion of government and is rethinking its strategy. Early indications are that the movement will opt for no interim constitution. Instead, it could propose retaining the tricameral Parliament and its constitution with minor amendments and holding elections merely for a constitution-making body. Interim rule would comprise little more than the

transitional executive council and sub-councils operating within the framework established at Codesa.

However, the question of loaded majorities and the all-important time frames will have to be much more openly and clearly addressed, as will other substantive issues.

The terms of reference of working group 2 includes time frames but, as Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer correctly points out, until substantive issues are resolved it is impossible to set time frames for their implementation.

But, again, he revealed too much of the NP's plans yesterday when he said the gap between the current constitution and the final one was so vast that it would be good to have a transitional constitution in place for a substantial period to help bridge the divide.

The ANC's proposal for a deadlock-breaking mechanism — it proposed a referendum — appears to be the only way through the impasse. Meyer agrees that there could be such a mechanism. But he insists that it must not operate in such a way as to cancel out the concept of loaded majorities. There might be room to manoeuvre around this area in the next few weeks.

In spite of De Klerk and other government negotiators insisting that they want speedy transition to democracy, they do not want to transfer too much power. Thus the insistence that the final constitution should entrench power-sharing and forced coalition government. But the NP believes it can win 30% or more of the vote in an election. Why did it not grab the opportunity for agreement offered by the ANC?

The ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance's probable plans for mass action in the next few weeks will lead to one of two possible results: more violence and conflict; or forcing the parties to fight it out over the negotiation table, dealing with the hard issues openly and speedily to reach agreement for the good of SA and to transcend party political interests.

Perhaps the Codesa management committee can find a way through the impasse. Maybe real negotiations have finally begun.

## Sweden considers continuing aid to the ANC

<sup>B110 am</sup>  
STOCKHOLM — Parliament would consider next week whether to continue Sweden's funding of the ANC, officials said yesterday at the end of a two-day visit by ANC president Nelson Mandela.

The Swedish International Development Authority is recommending an allocation of \$19m to the ANC in the year starting July 1 compared with \$20,7m this year.

"Of course, we will reach a point where it is no longer possible for us to support the ANC as such," the authority's southern

<sup>22/5/92</sup>  
Africa desk head Johan Brisman said.

Sweden, the ANC's largest single contributor, has paid the organisation more than \$114m in the past 20 years.

Brisman said the focus was now on giving the ANC the expertise to take part as an equal partner in Codesa. **11A**

The development authority's chief, Carl Tham, said Sweden must step up rather than reduce its contributions to the ANC. — Sapa-Reuter.

# Rural voices learning to turn up the volume

South 23/5-27/5/92

11A  
14  
15

The political climate is changing from resistance to reconstruction. Now community service organisations are realising that co-operation with the state may be necessary. **Justin Pearce** speaks to people running community services in rural areas:



**MNCEDISI SKEPU: Alexandria resource co-ordinator**

**S**OUTH AFRICANS are entering an era where all can enjoy full political rights — in theory that is. But for those who have been excluded from political processes, it will take more than a new constitution to secure them a place in a democratic system.

Rural people — geographically removed from the centres of government and often poorly educated — are particularly ill-equipped to make themselves heard.

The people of Alexandria, a small Eastern Cape town, are one such example.

There is no industry to provide jobs and about three out of every four people are illiterate. This

means education and career guidance programmes are an indispensable means to self-empowerment.

Such programmes are offered by the Alexandria Career Centre (ACC).

Co-ordinator Mr Mncedisi Skepu believes leadership, negotiations and learning to look at issues critically must be the focus of development.

“We are empowering people to negotiate on the basis of strength.”

Workshops aimed at local organisations hope to impart skills in local government and negotiation — activities which are new for the people of Alexandria.

“We might hear calls for ‘one city, one tax base’, but what do people mean when they say this?”

asks Skepu.

The ACC was founded at a time when foreign agencies were cutting back on South African funding. But, given the conservative outlook of the local white community, the centre’s founders had no choice but to look overseas.

Funding constraints mean Skepu is the only staff member.

With the state taking the initiative in providing community resources, Skepu believes centres need to think about redefining their roles.

A delicate question is whether centres should begin to co-operate with new initiatives by the state.

Another question concerns the relationships between centres and civic associations. This in turn depends on the future direction taken by the civics themselves.

“We need to interact with the civics. Our services are something that should be provided by the civics.”

Skepu believes that to achieve a democratic society, civic associations need to reflect the aspirations of ordinary people rather than being politically aligned.

“The resource centres, unlike the civics, are non-aligned. In Eastern Europe, socialism failed because it was divorced from the human element, from sectors of civil society such as academics and churches.”

# ANC gets by with a little help from its friends.

South 23/5-27/5/92

11A  


**T**HE ANC is getting a lot of help from its friends to shape economic policies that will work for the benefit of all people.

These days, those friends are mostly liberal or social-democratic western governments such as Germany, Sweden and Canada.

Most of these governments agree that while markets should be the main steering instruments of an economy, this does not mean there should be no government intervention.

To define more closely what balance should be struck between market forces and government intervention, these friends are working closely with the ANC's department of economic policy and the newly formed Macro-Economic Research Group (MERG).

This research group is made up of leading international and local economists advising the ANC on various economic issues.

The South African office of Germany's Friedrich Ebert Foundation has been one of the western aid agencies channelling advice and funds to the ANC to help it shape economic policies.

The director of the Cape Town-

based office, Dr Winfried Veit, says the aim is not to impose a model on the ANC, but to help it gain access to other experiences, so it can judge for itself what will, or will not, work in South Africa.

"South Africa needs clear ideas about its future economic policies, because without that it will not be able to secure international loans and aid for development," said Veit

## Contradictions.

The Friedrich Ebert Foundation has been close to the democratic movement and the trade unions. It was concerned about the lack of clarity, and often glaring contradictions, in the economic policy statements made by the movement.

It has brought international experts to hold discussions with the ANC, while ANC economists have been sponsored on trips to other countries to share ideas and experiences.

The main benefit has been to demonstrate that South Africa does not have to "re-invent the wheel". Various mixtures of economic policies have been tried, modified and discarded throughout the world and South Africa can learn from those

experiences and come up with something best suited to its needs.

Like other donors, the Friedrich Ebert Foundation helps to train the technocrats needed to run the economy in a democratic South Africa. Special attention is, of course, being given to the long-neglected task of training black economists.

On the prospect of aid from western governments for a democratic South Africa, Veit says South Africa is not seen as a developing country and so did not qualify for development aid from the west. This will change once democracy has been achieved, although South Africa should not pin its hopes on getting vast amounts of aid.

The reconstruction needs in eastern Europe, coupled with the slow growth in western economies, means that not much is left for aid programmes for developing countries.

These countries are having to rely more and more on the multilateral institutions such as the International Monetary Fund, World Bank and African Development Bank — and that makes it even more vital for them to have clear and sustainable economic policies, says Veit.

# A big noise, but little progress at Codesa II forum

South 23/5-27/5/92  
 By Quentin Wilson

It made a big noise and threatened to produce big things, but it was a constipated Codesa II which last week was unable to squeeze out the tiniest of agreements.

One of the reasons for the impasse was a communication problem between delegates and their leadership, says Dr Seshi Chonco, Director of the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy.

"A disturbing factor is that delegates from all the parties seem to be acting as spokespersons. Delegates made decisions in the working groups and issued press statements, only to have them overturned by their leadership afterwards.

"The impasse on Friday night and Saturday morning occurred precisely because leaders stood up and said they did not endorse what their delegates had decided. The impasse and the consequent mudslinging could have been avoided if an effective communication mechanism between delegates and leadership was implemented," Chonco says.

He believes "it is very unfair" for the NP to insist on a 75 percent majority to approve a new constitution.

The government can make this "unreasonable" demand because it is negotiating from a position of strength.

"The NP is sending out a very clear message to whites. It is that they will not desert them — they are keeping their promise to whites that their power will not be lost.

"But they are attempting an impossible task," he says.

Chonco criticises the ANC for making so many concessions without a mandate from their membership.

Progress at Codesa II hinged on the size of the majority needed to approve a new constitution.

The government wanted a 75 percent majority and the ANC a simple majority. Later the ANC wanted a two-thirds majority and then settled on 70 percent.



Dr Seshi Chonco

The government did not budge.

"While I believe Codesa will work in the end, we can learn from the deadlocks and explain to people on the street what happened. So far Codesa has bypassed the rank and file of all organisations. The political elite negotiating the country's future would do well to draw more people in," Chonco says.

Mr Keith Gottschalk, lecturer in politics at UWC, says the percentage debate indicates how strong the ANC and NP would be at the polls.

"The deadlock happened because neither of the two major parties was able to bring enough pressure on the other to make sufficient compromises.

"In the past the government wanted maximum power against the protests of liberals and the anti-apartheid movement. Now when they face the probability of becoming the official opposition after the first democratic election, they want the ruling party to be the weakest government in the world."

The National Association of Democratic Lawyers (Nadel) this week came out strongly against the NP stand and described the Codesa II deadlock as "grave yet farcical".

"The interpretation of majority rule is being sullied and rendered meaningless," Nadel said.

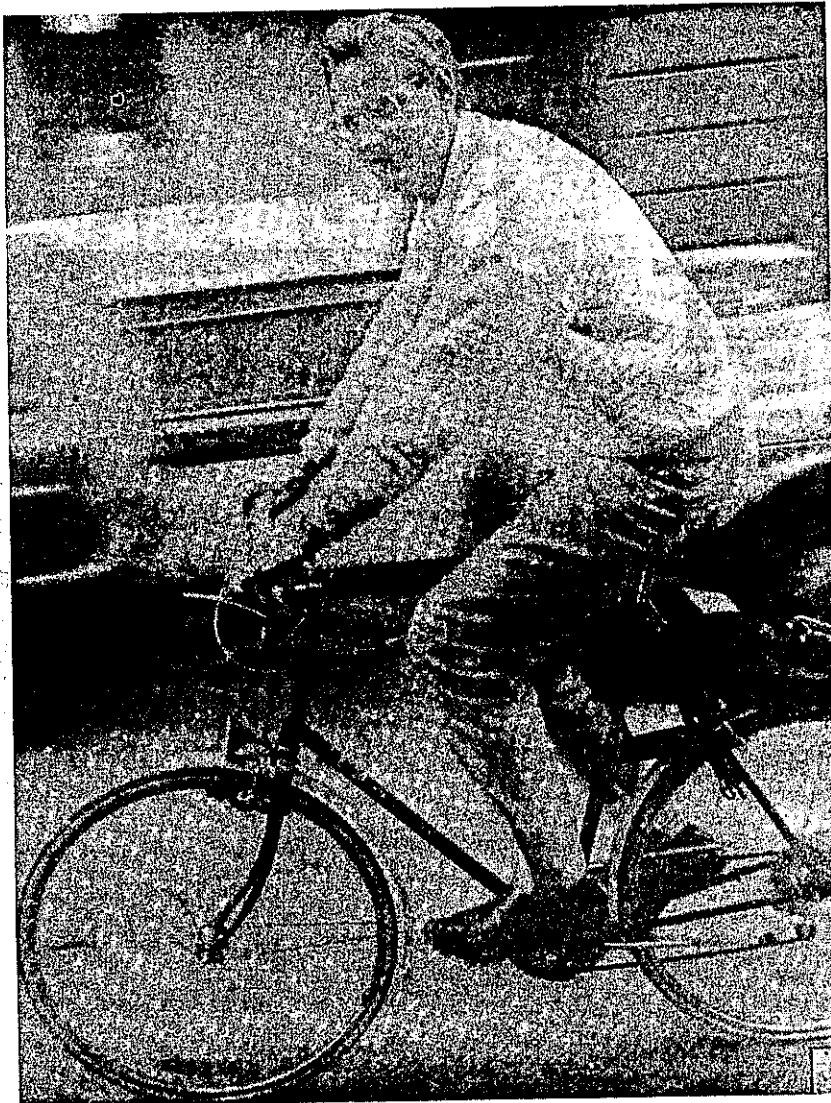
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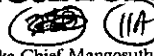


**MOVING FAST:** Swedish prime minister Carl Bildt disagrees with ANC president Nelson Mandela on the pace for the lifting of sanctions

# We reserve the right to use power — Mandela

By Madi Gray

South 23/5 - 27/5/92



**A**NC president Mr. Nelson Mandela differed with Swedish Prime Minister Mr. Carl Bildt at a press conference in Stockholm on Wednesday over when to lift sanctions.

Mandela said trade and investment sanctions should remain until an interim government was installed. Bildt said they should be lifted as soon as there was agreement on an interim government.

Mandela heads a delegation including Mr. Thabo Mbeki, Mr. Thomas Nkobi, Mr. Aziz Pahad and Ms. Gill Marcus on visits to Norway, Sweden and Finland.

"Sweden is a highly respected friend and between us there is no problem that cannot be overcome. We fully understand the position of the government and people of Sweden. They do not wish to be sidelined when many countries are lifting sanctions unilaterally," Mandela said.

During his talk at a gala concert on Tuesday, Mandela welcomed the lifting of people-to-people sanctions and called for more contacts, especially tourism. He encouraged the business com-

munity to continue preparations for a rapid re-entry and expansion in South Africa when sanctions are lifted.

Mandela and Bildt were satisfied about Swedish assistance. Bildt said about 120 million kronen (nearly R276 million) in aid were budgeted for the current financial year and a similar amount for next year.

Bildt said Swedish aid was changing. Two years ago it was strictly humanitarian but recently became more political, to encourage the transition to democracy.

Discussions are underway on new forms of aid which would include support for voter education and the transfer of skills.

Despite the breakdown of Codesa II, Mandela remains optimistic. He said the ANC had faced serious difficulties in previous talks with the South African government. The current issues were similar and he was convinced that they will be resolved.

Only an interim government would have the credibility and the legitimacy to control the security forces responsible for fuelling the violence, Mandela said.

He said 13 000 lives had been lost. He refused to be drawn into a debate on the role of leaders

like Chief Mangosutho Buthelezi.

The fundamental difference at Codesa II was between the minority that wanted to hold power and the majority determined to break that monopoly, Mandela explained.

He said the majority believed apartheid was the wrong policy for South Africa. However a minority feared a reversal was inevitable and that blacks would dominate whites. "This is wrong," Mandela said, "but the fears are genuine and we are addressing them."

The ANC was committed to negotiations and discussions on the way to a peaceful resolution of differences. But if the organisation became convinced that this was not possible, then it reserved the right to use power.

Mandela stressed he was not talking about violence. He referred to demonstrations like last year's anti-VAT strike which involved three million people.

"We cannot ask six million starving people to postpone their hunger or the homeless their need for housing," Mandela said several times during the visit.

"Thus we are anxious to move forward as rapidly as possible," he said.

CAROLINE HURRY

IT'S heart-warming to see how much the 19 delegates of the Codesa management committee have in common.

For starters, none of them have ever had an IUD fitted, none will admit to trying on lingerie at Woolworths and all have been seen entering the door marked Gents/Here when ablutions were called for.

Don't think we haven't noticed!

Oh no doubt, tucked away in the kitchen somewhere is a token *feemayull* agonising over the catering. She may even get to scrape the cake crumbs off the boardroom table after tea. Some girls have all the luck!

I can't tell you how good

# Scorned women fume over all-male management

STAR 23/1/92  
it makes us feel to know that while half the population has been shoved outside to hang up the washing, our future is being decided by a 100 per cent testosterone-inflated majority.

Actually we are not amused. Even the usually circumspect "Who's Who of Southern Africa" was moved to comment.

"Was there not one woman considered worthy enough to join the delegation?" asked editor Sandra Hayes.

"If we are working towards a new South Africa, we should have some kind of female representation — especially as Codesa pro-

## Delport reassures on rights bill

CAPE TOWN — A bill of rights would have to closely address women's issues such as abortion, maternity, pornography and land ownership, Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Tertius Delport said yesterday.

"We are keen to see women being placed on an equal footing with men, and all discrimination against women being removed," he said during the Constitutional Development debate.

claims to be non-sexist."

Lindiwe Zulu, spokesman for the ANC Women's League, agrees whole-heartedly: "This sexist attitude on the part of Codesa is just typical of our patriarchal society."

"Women are not only a large percentage of the population, but have also proved their ability at making important social and economic decisions that could affect the country.

"As women we must fight

A bill of rights would have to make provision for removing traditional and historical forms of discrimination against women. Women's rights to the same treatment as men would have to be enshrined as a universally recognised right.

A bill of rights also had to give specific attention to matters which applied distinctly to women, such as abortion, pornography, land ownership, maternity leave and motherhood. — Sapa.

this all the way. We women must stand together and work out strategies for ourselves."

The ANC Women's League has called on women to unite for the fight, but a recent women's march on Co-

desa had to be disbanded because of fears of an Inkatha backlash.

No matter. I have a better plan. We could start revolutionary cells in nail salons and beauty parlours which could be a front for stockpiling weapons while target practice could be held in the basements.

All those idiot men who fondly imagine their wives to be exchanging Swiss-roll recipes over the nail varnish could be in for a very rude shock one of these days.

Indeed, ANC research department head Dr Frene Ginwala observes that male

delegates at Codesa (what other kind are there?) have not even noticed the pronounced absence of women because that reflects the natural order of things in South Africa.

"According to the male delegates' understanding, women do not have any role in matters of state, in politics or public affairs," she says. "These are considered to be the 'rightful' preserve of men. Men, not women, have the necessary talent, skill and inclination to deal with such matters."

Shame on you men! You will have only yourselves to blame when the all-powerful, female revolution takes you completely by surprise. *Vive les femmes!*

# Mandela swipe at FW

# 'distorted'

11A  
STAFF REPORTER

THE African National Congress has vehemently denied a Finnish press report quoting ANC president Nelson Mandela as saying President F W de Klerk is personally behind political violence and deaths in South Africa. STAR 23/992

Contacted late last night in Helsinki, ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said she felt that difficulty with English had led a local journalist to radically condense Mandela's reply to a question to the point that it distorted his answer.

The report quoted Mandela as saying that "it is a serious responsibility to accuse a head of state of himself fuelling violence, the killing of innocent people, but facts indicate that De Klerk himself is involved in this".

The report went on to say that Mandela had given no specifics of his charge against De Klerk.

Marcus said: "What happened was that Mr Mandela was asked a general question on the ongoing violence in South Africa and what the ANC perception of the causes of the violence were.

"In reply, Mr Mandela gave examples of instances where he had personally spoken to President de Klerk about specific causes of violence, such as the legalisation of dangerous 'traditional' weapons, the question of violence by and against hostel dwellers and the failure of police to act on complaints by township residents about acts by hostel dwellers.

"He made the point that as State President, the responsibility for such acts and omissions that furthered violence should be laid squarely at the State President's feet.

"He meant that it was the office of the State President that was responsible — not the man.

"I think the problem is simply the difficulty the questioner had with the language."

Reacting, chief National Party negotiator at Codesa, Stoffel van der Merwe, said: "If the remarks attributed to Mr Mandela are correct, they are outrageous and are in direct violation of the Peace Accord."

# ANC, Govt ties hit rock-bottom

STAR 23/5/92 (11A)

SHAUN JOHNSON, Political Editor

RELATIONS between the Government and the African National Congress are at their lowest point since the famous "ultimatum" showdown of April 1991.

Hopes that the cracks which appeared at Codesa 2 could be papered over were comprehensively dashed this week.

The new atmosphere of deep distrust, prompted by the failure of Codesa 2 to produce agreement on how to bring blacks into government soon, led to a five-day verbal free-for-all between the country's two key negotiating partners.

● See Pages 2 and 3

Government negotiators, stung by the ANC's new intractable stance, have accused the organisation of seeking to "grab power, all power, all at once".

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said in Parliament yesterday the ANC and its allies were trying to manipulate negotiations through mass action, including a possible national strike.

"The ANC and its allies are playing with fire and they should know by now that their ability is, to say the least, suspect," he said.

The ANC had proved itself incapable of transforming the symbolic support it once had as a banned revolutionary movement into lasting support now that it was obliged to fight on an equal footing with other parties, he added.

ANC strategists are convinced that in the course of last-minute negotiations before — and even during — Codesa 2, the Government revealed more of its political hand than it had intended to.

The acrimony looks set to continue in the run-up to next week's crucial ANC policy conference — unless Codesa's management committee can pull off what one negotiator calls a "political miracle" at its meeting at the World Trade Centre on Monday.

## Veto

ANC sources are now stressing that the problem is no longer one of detail — Codesa 2 foundered on the issue of "special majorities" for endorsing a new constitution and altering regional structures — but rather that the organisation is now convinced the Government has no intention of relinquishing a white veto. This has led to a thorough tactical rethink on negotiations by the ANC.

The Government is trying to lure the ANC into a complicated constitutional trap, say the sources, and for this reason all compromise positions offered at Codesa 2 have been withdrawn.

The ANC believes the Government wants to bring the organisation

● TO PAGE 2

## Talks

STAR 23/5/92

● FROM PAGE 1.

into a "transitional executive structure" which offers only limited shared powers, but provides President de Klerk's administration with a cloak of "non-racial legitimacy".

Then, with the aid of inordinately high "special majority" requirements for agreements

on the next phase, the Government could lock the ANC into "semi-permanent transition". Real power would still reside in De Klerk's office and the transition could stretch out indefinitely.

Observers believe the new situation will have three clearly discernible effects. It will delay considerably the implementation of even the first, tentative phase of transitional government; it will strengthen the hands of militants at the ANC's four-day policy conference starting at Nasrec on Thursday; and it will greatly increase the likelihood of mass action and strikes.

While stopping short of saying that Codesa itself might disintegrate, observers predict that a "reasonably protracted period of 'locking of horns' is now all but inevitable.

This means that earlier speculation about the installation of an interim government this year, and the country's first all-in democratic elections next year, is being radically modified.

Already Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Dr Tertius

Delpont has said the chances of transitional legislation being passed during this sitting of Parliament — the recess is scheduled for the end of June — are "almost nil".

There is still the possibility of a special parliamentary sitting later in the year, but it would require a prior reconciliation of dramatic proportions.

Powerful figures in the negotiations, including new Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, are still hoping that the Codesa management committee will be able to chart a course out of the impasse.

The management committee was given greatly increased powers by Codesa 2, in an attempt to streamline efforts towards multiparty agreement.

The task is a mammoth one, however: the management committee comprises representatives of all 19 Codesa parties.

The timing of the latest stand-off is considered to be particularly inopportune, given the imminent start of the ANC's policy-making conference next week.

The conference will in effect draw up the organisation's first election manifesto. The movement will have to tie itself to policy formulations on such hot issues as nationalisation, redistribution and property rights.

The current atmosphere will make it extremely difficult for those in the ANC who favour a marked "softening" of previously held positions.

**W**HILE most people are still huffing and puffing over the apparent demise of Codesa, the ANC's leadership has been forced to go back to the drawing board to devise a new strategy.

Some might say it was a blessing that there was a deadlock in Codesa 2 because it forced the ANC to go back to its grassroots supporters for a renewed mandate.

Since negotiations started, first with the Grooto Schuur Minute, then the Pretoria Minute and then Codesa 1, most ANC supporters felt the government was dictating terms and retaining control of the situation.

### Grooto Schuur

I heard through the grapevine this week that certain senior members of the ANC did not even know what they were negotiating with the government when they first met to draft the Grooto Schuur Minute.

Said one senior ANC member and former UDF stalwart: "Perhaps it was

## □ MY WAY

With Khulu Sibiyi

**True colours  
now showing**



CP Press  
24/5/92

the sentiment of being home that had gripped them at the time.

"Some were just too happy to hear of Mandela's release.

"It was after the second signing of the Pretoria Minute that some realised they were playing into the hands of the De Klerk government. It is a good thing the talks are now breaking down."

As for the National Party government, we probably would have never known their real reasons for negotiating if there had not been deadlock in Codesa.

As one observer put it: "The true colours of the NP have come out."

Of equal interest, of course, are the snide

remarks being made about the ANC leadership by their own colleagues now that the talks seem to have collapsed.

Some have alleged there is a cabal within the ANC leadership while others have openly said there was a need to go back to the drawing board to look at other ways of engaging the government.

### Mass action

They believe mass action similar to that mounted in the 80s will not only bring the government to its senses but will also sort out the softies from the hardliners within the movement.

My informant, who is a hardliner from the UDF

days, said he was disappointed at the ANC making many concessions and bending over backwards to accommodate the government's whims.

"We laid the groundwork for the ANC in exile with our mass action, forcing the government to the negotiating table. Now we are moving backwards."

Whatever happens it is wrong to say the ANC should not have entered negotiations.

Forget too those who were quick to jump on to the Codesa bandwagon, knowing that their credentials as leaders have always been questionable. Some of them don't even have any visible support.

Also, forget those who sang FW de Klerk's praises, claiming the NP had finally seen the light.

One might think that all of us in this country are in agreement that the majority must rule.

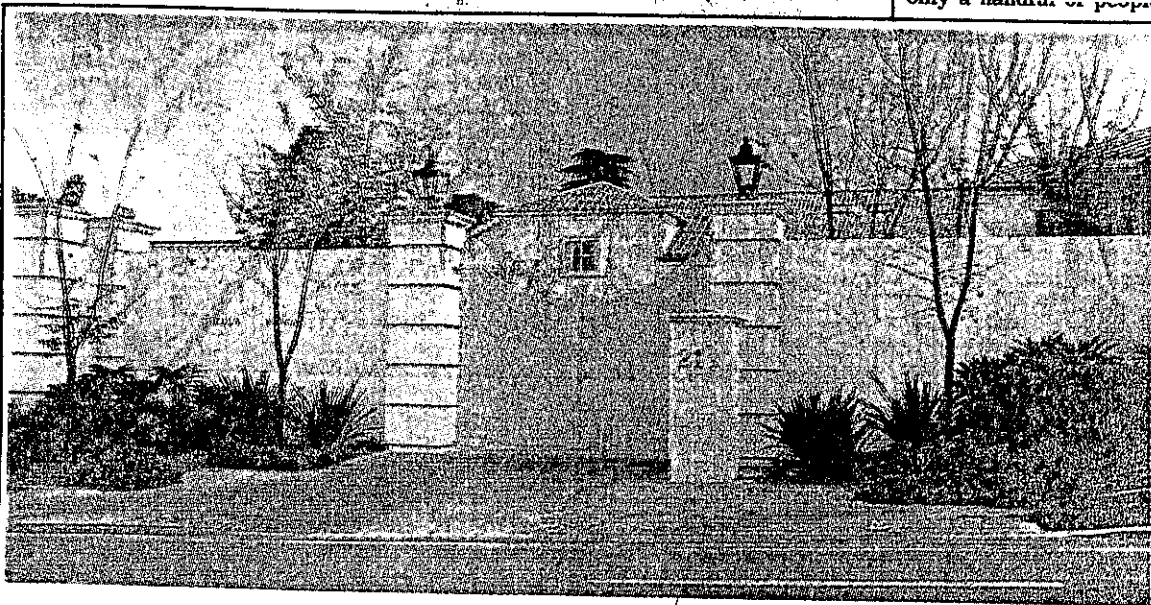
A two-thirds majority for any decision to be taken is a universally accepted norm in any democracy. It seems the only ones who do not subscribe to this point of view are those in Codesa.

### Amends

One would have also thought those who mismanaged this country for so many decades would by now have realised their mistakes and would be ready to make amends.

It would be a pity to see this country go back to the days of PW Botha where the word "negotiations" was a swear word.

It would also be a tragedy to go back to the strategy of mass action, because whether we like it or not violence would once again be the order of the day.



HOME SWEET HOME . . . Oliver Tambo's R1,5-million mansion in Sandton

Picture: HERBERT MABUZA

LONRHO boss Tiny Rowland offered to pay for Mr Oliver Tambo's R1,5-million mansion in Sandton, but the ANC declined the offer, ANC sources said this week.

While the official ANC position is that "it is nobody's business who paid for Mr Tambo's house", sources within the organisation said the offer had been made — and still stood.

Now rumours are spreading within the ANC

# ANC declines Tiny's R1,5m mansion offer

By HEATHER ROBERTSON

that two Americans, comedian Bill Cosby and record producer Quincy Jones, have picked up the tab for the homestead, Vil-

la Rosa, and forked out an additional R450 000 for renovations.

Neither Cosby, star of *The Cosby Show*, nor Jones, who produces records for Michael Jack-

comment this week.

Mr Rowland, who has extensive business interests in Africa, is believed to have donated money to several African leaders, including Zimbabwean vice-president Joshua Nkomo.

His association with the ANC began in the early 80s when he provided one of his private jets to fly Mr Tambo from Zambia to London, according to an ANC source, after Mr Tambo had suffered a crippling stroke.

## Happy

It is also understood he footed Mr Tambo's hospital bills in London.

Meanwhile, Phillip Watermeyer, the architects who renovated the rose-coloured mansion, and residents of the leafy suburb have closed ranks on the Tambo affair.

Mrs Louise Kremeris said: "It is not our concern. We are happy to have the Tambos as neighbours."

Lonrho's London office said it would not comment on South African affairs.

Mr Rowland's local representative, Mr Terence Wilkinson, is overseas and could not be reached. Mr Tambo is in Venda and his wife, Adelaide, in the Ciskei.

# Flaming death ends forbidden romance

THE son of Britain's wealthiest Asian businessman was cremated in Bombay this week after apparently having killed himself in Mauritius over a love affair that went wrong.

Dharam Hinduja, 22, died in a London hospital on Tuesday after he had drenched himself in paraffin and set it alight.

His remains were cremated in a traditional Hindu ceremony after being flown from England.

Last week it was reported from Bombay that Dharam's burnt car, with some charred clothes, had been found. Police feared he had been kidnapped, but it was established that he had flown to Mauritius, where, according to Indian press reports, he met his girlfriend, Nitochka Sargon, 22.

Dharam's father, Mr Sri-chand Hinduja, 56, and his uncle, Gopichand, followed him to Mauritius. Exactly

Sunday Times Reporter London

what happened there is unclear.

In India, it is being assumed that the Hinduja's told Dharam that they disapproved of his relationship with Miss Sargon, an Anglo-Indian.

## Emigrated

His father has denied reports that Dharam had married his girlfriend at a Hare Krishna temple in Mauritius, and also spoke of a plot against his son.

Miss Sargon is the daughter of a former Air India

pilot. She grew up in Bombay, and emigrated to Australia about eight years ago with her mother, brothers and sisters.

The Hinduja family is said to be worth £1,3-billion (R6,5-billion) — making them the seventh-richest in Britain.

The family, who made their fortune in Iran, moved their headquarters to London after the 1979 revolution, but have maintained good relations with the Islamic regime in Teheran.

To prepare Dharam for life at the top he was sent to Westminster School.

— Telegraph

# Death letter a smear

(TIA) ANC  
S. Times 24/5/92  
By SHARON CHETTY

SENIOR ANC member Gibson Makhanda says his signature was forged on a letter that claims the movement plans to execute "enemy agents" after a tribunal next month.

The handwritten note — scrawled on a double page taken from an exercise book like those used in primary schools — also states that 183 enemy agents had been arrested by the movement.

A surprised Mr Makhanda described the claims as "absurd" and "the work of a crude amateur".

"Only the government would gain in smearing the ANC in this manner," he said.

## Forced

Mr Makhanda, a member of the ANC's security division, was in exile in Lusaka for 14 years until 1990.

"We were forced to detain people who had been spies and double agents while we were still banned.

"But the last of the dissidents were released in August last year and presented to the public.

"There are no plans for a tribunal, and no one is going to be executed," he said.

# IC's bottom line

S/Times 24/5/97

11A

By EDYTH BULBRING and MIKE ROBERTSON

four conditions were met.

These were that:

- Decisions by the National Assembly on the final constitution were accepted by a 66,7 percent majority;

- A proposed senate would play no role in drawing up the constitution;

- A deadlock-breaking mechanism would be put in place;

- There would be rigid time-frames for the drawing up of a final constitution.

Codesa 2 reached deadlock last week and the ANC has warned that unless the

outstanding issues can be speedily resolved it will abandon all agreements reached by the convention and resort to mass action to force the government to relinquish power.

Government negotiators have responded by saying that any such move by the ANC will be resisted and the result could be a com-

plete collapse of negotiations.

This week, in debates in Parliament and interviews, government negotiators made their bottom lines clear.

Chief among them:

- No time-frames for constitution-making;

- A powerful senate in which all regions have representation;

- A multi-party executive or cabinet.

## Thwart

The ANC has until now been prepared to accept these in an interim constitution provided it has a specific, short lifespan. But it objects to the idea that they should be entrenched in a final constitution.

The reason it gives is that forced coalition government would thwart the will of the majority. The NP, on the other hand, argues that power-sharing is the only option for SA

and it will accept nothing else.

The ANC is also opposed to the idea of entrenching powers of a senate at a time when the composition of the senate has not been decided.

In particular it is strongly opposed to the NP idea that not only should all regions have equal representation in a senate, but that the three parties which receive the most votes in all regions be given an equal number of seats in the senate.

The NP, however, insists on strong regional government and regional representation in parliament, and says this matter has to be decided now and entrenched in a final constitution.

Senior ANC members said this week they were consulting their alliance partners, including the SA Communist Party and Cosatu, about possible mass action.

This action, they said, could include a national strike and pressure to ban SA from the Olympic Games in Barcelona in July.

## Agreed

Codesa's management committee, which has been given the task of attempting to end the deadlock on the drawing up of a constitution meets tomorrow.

However, it is also likely that the government and the ANC will soon hold talks in a bid to break the logjam.

Top of the agenda for both the management committee meeting and any bilateral talks between the main parties will be to decide on the body that will draw up a new constitution.

While the ANC and the government had agreed that this body would be democratically elected on the basis of an interim constitution drawn up by Codesa, the ANC has said it is reconsidering its position.



# They offer their lives and then?

By SANDILE MEMELA

THE plight of disillusioned Umkhonto weSizwe cadres who turn to thuggery because of bungling leadership is the theme of a new musical play *Ain't Gonna Be Easy* written by Don Masenya and Ali Segwai.

Playwrights Masenya and Segwai said that although the production was a work of fiction, it was based on the experiences of returned exiles who were confronted with the harsh reality of poverty and unemployment in the country.

However, plans to take the play on a national tour have hit serious financial snags.

Masenya told City Press that many township theatrical productions were facing serious crises because of a lack of resources and were not being taken seriously by black business.

"It is heartbreaking to see our

attempts at making people look at themselves through theatre go up in smoke because of a lack of resources.

"We were very keen to take the play around the country to highlight the seriousness of some of the hardships and problems that face former exiles, but that may not happen because of lack of money," said Masenya.

The play re-lives the 1980 "Silverton Siege" which saw three ANC cadres mercilessly gunned down after holding up a bank in Pretoria and capturing hostages.

At the same time it is a sequel to *We Have Had Enough*, which was an attack on corrupt leadership which thrives on the aspirations of the people without working for the realisation of their hopes.

Segwai said the story revolves around a returned exile who finally resorts to using his AK-47 to

rescue him from the throes of poverty and unemployment by committing a robbery.

"The excitement and hope which marked the unbanning of the liberation movement is slowly but surely giving way to bitter disillusionment and anger.

"Exiles have returned to the same apartheid situation and we want to awaken our people to take their lives into their own hands and channel their anger to more acceptable goals," said Segwai.

He told City Press that he embarked on a tour of the Frontline States to research the play.

"I realised that guerrillas were confronted with the dilemma of continuing with the fight or giving up the armed struggle altogether.

"Quite a number were angry and bitter at the compromise struck by the leadership," said Segwai.

■ See Page 28

# Winnie's luxury trip with Dali

CITIZEN 24/5/92

From Page 1

called for today to discuss the matter.

It was later revealed that most of the protesters were squatters from several East Rand squatter camps, including Phola Park, and areas in Katlehong.

Opponents of Winnie claim she had recruited these people, most of whom were ignorant of politics, and in fact had no knowledge of who the ANC leaders were.

A Winnie supporter said those picketing had formed a committee known as the "Social Welfare Support Committee". The supporters added they were all members of the ANC and that as squatters they had the most to lose if the welfare department was not run efficiently.

A memorandum issued by the "Social Welfare Support Committee" and handed to Cyril Ramaphosa stated the committee believed that the department was one of the most crucial departments and was needed for the alleviation of poverty and to redress the economic imbalance caused by apartheid.

"If this is not done the vote will be meaningless to millions of people," the memorandum stated.

"It is within this context that we find it disappointing that our leadership does not seem to appreciate the interests of ordinary women.

"Instead the Department of Social Welfare is constantly being used as a political football to settle old scores and to play power games. We believe that Comrade Winnie Mandela was a wise choice of the previous

national executive committee to head the department."

The memorandum claimed that Dali was an asset to the department.

"For too long now there has been talk of a secret cabal operating within the leadership of the ANC. These allegations have either been denied, downplayed or said to be 'investigated'. What action has been taken?

"Every day we read about a senior source within the leadership who wishes not to be named. Who are these people? **THEY MUST BE EXPOSED!**"

The committee demanded the withdrawal of Winnie's resignation; the immediate reinstatement of Dali Mpofo, and an investigation into the cabal

They also demanded that the ANC refrain from entering into the domestic affairs of some of its leaders.

"We all have our family problems!" the memorandum stated.

The ANC released a statement denying that a cabal, led by Cyril Ramaphosa, had seized control of the ANC.

"The National Working Committee categorically repudiates these allegations and insinuations as malicious lies,

"No person holds office in the ANC except by the will of the majority of the membership, at branch, regional and national level. The National Working Committee, the second most powerful structure after the NEC, places on record that Comrade Cyril Ramaphosa enjoys the fullest confidence as the secretary-general of the ANC."

**Azasm still punting socialism** (11A)

THE Azanian Students Movement holds its national congress from May 29 at Heidebaal township outside Bloemfontein. *Cipres 24/5/92*

The theme for the congress is "Consolidate and advance for socialism" and the main speaker is Dr Gomolemo Mokae.

## Sisulu gives community a gift

ANC's Walter Sisulu recently celebrated his 80th birthday in a different way.

Instead of being showered with presents he donated books to a library in Soweto.

The celebration was organised by an ad hoc committee together with Joint Enrichment Project members Ellen Khuzwayo, Mandla Baloyi, Suzette Mafuna, Poppie Dibetle and others.

*Cipren 2415792*

*11A*

## Honorary degree for Albertina

ALBERTINA Sisulu was awarded an honorary doctorate this week by the University of the Transkei.

Also at the ceremony was Adelaide Tambo, wife of former ANC president Oliver Tambo and Transkei military ruler Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa.

Said Sisulu in her acceptance speech: "This honour is also dedicated to the millions of ordinary women - young and old - who continue to sacrifice the best part of their lives for a united, democratic, non-racial and non-sexist SA."

THE ANC has vehemently denied a report from Helsinki, Finland, that Nelson Mandela blamed State President FW de Klerk personally for the political violence and deaths in the country.

Contacted on Friday night in Helsinki, ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said she felt that difficulty with English had led a local journalist to radically condense Mandela's reply to a question to the point that it totally distorted his answer.

The report quoted the ANC leader as saying that "it's a serious responsibility to accuse a head of state of himself fuelling violence, the killing of innocent people, but facts indicate that De Klerk himself is involved in this".

The report went on to say that Mandela had, however, not specified his charge against De Klerk.

"Mr Mandela was asked a general question on the ongoing violence in South Africa and what the ANC perception of the causes of the violence was," said Marcus.

"Mr Mandela gave examples of instances where he had spoken to President de Klerk about specific causes of violence, such as the legalisation of dangerous 'traditional' weapons, the question of violence by and against hostel-dwellers and the failure of police to act on complaints by township residents against acts by hostel-dwellers.

"He made the point that the responsibility for such acts and omissions that furthered violence should be laid squarely at the state president's feet.

"But, in this he meant that it was the Office of the State President that was responsible - not the man."

Before the ANC could be contacted in Helsinki to clarify the issue, the report had already elicited a stinging reply by National Party negotiator at Codesa, Stoffel van der Merwe.

"If the remarks attributed to Mr

## FW slur by Mandela <sup>11A</sup> is denied

*CIPREN 24/5/92*  
Mandela are correct, they are outrageous and are in direct violation of the Peace Accord," he said.

Mandela said earlier that "forces against democracy" were destabilising the peace process in South Africa.

"We have demanded an interim government because one of its aims is to take control of the security forces ... that are responsible for this violence," Mandela said.

Most of the violence in the South African black townships has involved fighting between the ANC and Inkatha.

The ANC has accused the police and other security forces of inciting the violence and of taking part in killings of ANC members.

"White hands are behind the violence. Not a single spear or bullet has even grazed a member of the National Party," Mandela said.

Mandela said he believed the government's decision in 1990 to lift a ban on the carrying of dangerous weapons at rallies had caused the township violence, which began in the mid-1980s, to increase.

Mandela thanked Finnish leaders for aid to his organisation when the ANC was banned in South Africa.

"The Finnish government ... is committed to assisting democratic forces in South Africa to be victorious," Mandela said. - Sapa-AP

# ALL Helsinki breaks loose

# WINNIE



WINNIE AND DALI . . . They flew together from London to New York by luxury Concorde on a fund-raising trip for the needy.

# BOMBSHELL

CP Press 24/5/92

(11A)

By CP REPORTERS

WINNIE Mandela and her close friend Dali Mpofu plunged into further controversy this week with the allegation that they overspent R400 000 belonging to the ANC Social Welfare Department on a fund-raising trip overseas last year.

As a result it is claimed several projects to assist people in need, have had to be scrapped.

It is alleged that Winnie and Mpofu, as the head and deputy head of social welfare, were the two signatories to all cheques issued by the department.

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma refused to say whether this was a major reason for the dismissal of Mpofu as deputy head of social welfare, but he confirmed that an audit had revealed that the trip had cost R400 000.

Macozoma said that money had been spent lavishly and that Winnie and Mpofu had flown from London to New York in a Concorde at a much higher cost than a normal flight.

## R400 000 on lavish trip with rumoured lover

He said however that the ANC did not propose to pursue the matter.

Mpofu yesterday denied the allegations and demanded an independent investigation.

"The ANC will have to give me a huge apology because an honest investigation will show that I don't owe the ANC a cent.

"This is another unfounded allegation - they must have tired of the false allegation that I am having an affair with Winnie.

"This allegation was not mentioned to me when I was dismissed. It is something new. If it had anything to do with my dismissal then it should have been put to me at a hearing and I would have explained that the trip overseas never cost the ANC a cent and that at any rate it did not cost anything like R400 000.

"I am a professional

person and could not afford to do anything dishonest. It appears that they want to play a personal game against me.

"I'm already charging the ANC with unfair dismissal and it looks like I could add defamation to it," he said.

Mpofu repeated his earlier allegation that there had been a five-year-long smear campaign by a cabal within the ANC to destroy Winnie.

Part of the smear campaign was to falsely accuse him of being Winnie's lover, he said.

He said the cabal had forced Winnie to resign last month as head of social welfare and this had led to him being fired from his job last week.

Mpofu claimed the cabal dated back to United Democratic Front days and included such people as ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, lawyer Azhar Cachalia,

ANC NEC member Valli Moosa and Codesa administrative head Murphy Morobe.

Meanwhile Winnie is not taking the bid to oust her from power lying down, and she is alleged to have launched a campaign to re-establish herself as a leader.

There are fears that she could split the ANC, but her opponents claim she has no power base and little support among the people.

However her supporters claim she does have powerful allies, including Chris Hani, secretary-general of the SA Communist Party and former head of Umkhonto we Sizwe, and that she has a large following among the youth.

She was unanimously re-elected chairwoman of the ANC Women's League a week ago.

There was confusion on Thursday when it was reported that members of the PWV Women's League had held a sit-in in the ANC head office demanding Winnie and Mpofu be reinstated in their jobs in welfare.

This was later denied by a spokeswoman for the Women's League and an inter-branch meeting was



■ To Page 2

# Winnie 'fired' Nelson's aide

By CP REPORTERS

WINNIE Mandela, estranged wife of the ANC president, is alleged to have fired her husband's personal secretary without his knowledge.

The secretary, Buntle Setshogwe, said yesterday she still regarded herself as Nelson Mandela's employee and would fight her "dismissal" through the right channels.

"I was not employed by Winnie and she has no right to fire me," Setshogwe said.

Earlier this month Winnie is also alleged to have chaired a regional executive committee meeting of the ANC Women's League (PWV) in which the region's general secretary, Lindi Maseko, was relieved of her post because the organisation did not have money.

Maseko said the meeting was attended by Winnie, deputy general secretary Maria Moja-pelo and Joan Fubbs a member of the regional executive committee.

She said during the meeting they told her that she had been stripped of her status as the full-time general secretary and that she should only volunteer her services. She was told to come into the women's league offices only once or twice a month, she said.

Maseko said: "I was shattered by the news and am pursuing the matter. Although we only have a draft constitution, I feel my dismissal was unconstitutional. I won't rest until the matter has been decided by the full meeting of the REC."

Winnie's deputy, Gwen Mahlangu, said she was not aware of Maseko's dismissal and added that the REC would meet today to discuss the latest developments in the women's league and they would issue a statement after the meeting.

A source said that heads are set to roll at today's meeting as disenchanted executive members are expected to tell Winnie candidly to stop behaving "as if she owned the ANC".

# Swazis expel 47 ANC youths

By FRED KHUMALO

EIGHT Natal youths, part of a group of 55 who illegally crossed the border into Swaziland with the hope of being sent to Zambia where they would undergo military training, remain holed up in Swaziland's Big Bend prison, the ANC has revealed.

They were arrested two weeks ago. Forty-seven of the youths were repatriated on Thursday, but the remaining eight await final deportation procedures, according to southern Natal ANC deputy-secretary Sihle Ndlazi.

Ndlazi said the youths were expected back "sometime next week", as the deportation process was lengthy.

Ndlazi told City Press that aspiring Umkhonto weSizwe soldiers could approach the ANC as the organisation was continuing with its military programme.

"Nothing is done in secrecy now as we are training a regular army for the future SA. The comrades should have gone through the right channels," said Ndlazi.

Although officials at ANC headquarters had denied knowledge of the youths, the Durban structure of the organisation did not disclaim them outright.

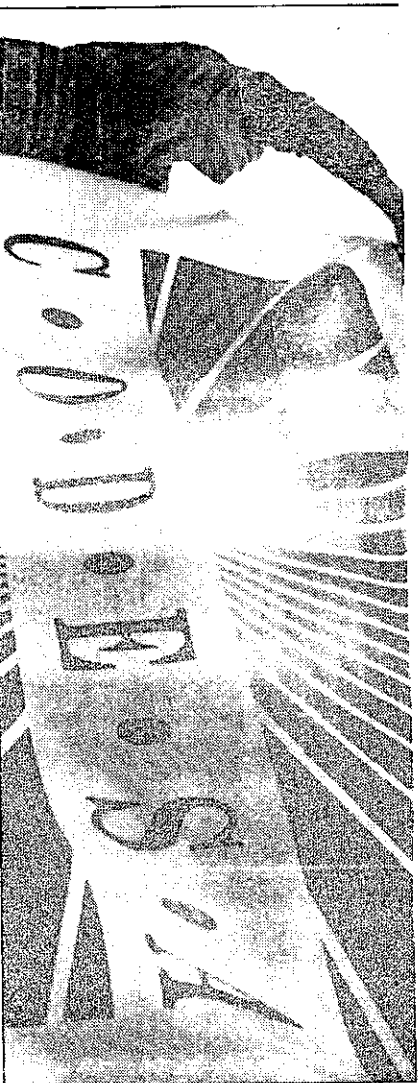
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# Codesa 3 Headlining

## For Scrappheap?



HALF MAST ... The Codesa colour guard possibly this week.

The ANC, he says, broke its commitment at the ANCPAC Patriotic Front conference in Durban last year to using a neutral venue and chairman.

It was also contradictory for the ANC to campaign so vigorously for the formation of the PF and then ensure that individual member-organisations of the front could enter talks separately.

"Was it because it (the ANC) wanted to ensure that it was not outvoted on issues by the majority of other organisations?"

He criticises the ANC for failing to try to resolve PF differences through extensive internal caucusing.

Mothabi says both the ANC and the government must re-examine their attitudes and approaches with other bodies and make necessary adjustments.

In his Codesa 2 review, Klerk leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert says that the breakdown is understandable given the deep-rooted nature of the problems facing the forum.

Identifying key actors and organisations as SA moves towards democracy is like taking aim at a moving target, he says.

"As Inkathgate has shown, exorcising the legacy of the past can bring about a redeployment of personnel and create new problems for negotiations."

De Klerk's February 2 speech "conclusively split the whites in SA into those who favour a negotiated transition towards an integrated state and those against."

Drawing comparisons with military establishments in societies undergoing change, Slabbert suggests that De Klerk had chosen to move "at a time when the security establishment is still highly unresolved about the desirability, extent and tempo of transition".



CONFUSING BODY LANGUAGE ... Codesa leaders scurry cross the floor as deadlock begins to take grip.

The stalemate also threatens to nullify gains made by the Nats





CIPRO 24/5/92

**S**TRANGE days these. While the ANC - the major thrust behind Codesa - threatened to desert the forum and return to the barricades, the PAC prepared to draw closer to Codesa.

Meanwhile, the government - roundly blamed for engineering the stalemate of Codesa 2 - was seen to have nonetheless screwed surprisingly valuable concessions out of the forum.

The most startling of these was agreement on a 70 percent consensus for drafting the new constitution - a percentage which is unprecedented internationally.

The ANC leadership, which is facing derision and mutiny from its youth and civics, particularly on the Reef, threatened to repudiate the yet to be signed agreements.

This prompted a revealing tantrum from the government which emerged from a cabinet meeting on Tuesday castigating the ANC for "renegeing" on "written agreements".

These mainly concerned provisions governing the transition to interim rule.

Clearly, the Cabinet believed it had scored a better deal than most believed, and it was clearly not keen on being short-changed.

However, of greater concern for millions of black observers, was the ANC's remarkable knack of forgetting about the Patriotic Front at crucial moments.

The fear now is that when goodies are placed on the table the ANC will revert to "every man for himself" behaviour.

Sapa reports that PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander this week spoke about his movement raising the stakes in the negotiations arena.

In the past the PAC has demanded the OAU be accorded observer status, but now it is demanding that this African body be elevated to convener status in any negotiations that take place, Alexander said. Addressing the issue of tradi-

**What a week for South African politics! The ANC takes a hardline stance, saying it will begin a major reassessment of its approach to negotiations and that it will draw all the constitutional compromises it offered in the run-up to last weekend's Codesa 2. The PAC says it plans to meet State President FW de Klerk at a neutral venue to discuss possible participation in a Constituent Assembly. ZB MOLEFE reviews the week and assesses two reviews - Towards a new South Africa by Boston University masters student Mokgethi Motlhabi, and Idasa leader Frederik Van Zyl Slabberts' The Quest for Democracy.**

**Risky**

This was a risky step for Klerk whom he says has practically destroyed the conventional support base of the National Party.

He believes De Klerk is gently in search of a new constituency, "whether through broadening his own support on non-racial basis, or through pacts and alliances".

He says there is evidence that De Klerk has growing black support, "although such support is yet to be formally tested".

To temper his views, Slabbert says SA is the largest graveyard of political predictions in the world.

"She has been condemned and dismissed more often than understood. The complexity of her problems has determined the confidence of many competent analysts."

Addressing those dreams of change he cautions: "SA is not on the point of collapse or disintegration. Nor is she on the point of imminent breakthrough to a trouble-free democracy."

Drawing them in, he argues, will require genuineness, understanding, patience and diplomacy.

"Much of the suspicion and distrust of the ANC and the government by Azapo and the PAC are perhaps not without foundation."

ing, as the ANC has seen fit to do now," Motlhabi says.

He warns that black representatives at Codesa should be extremely vigilant about the actual content of the agreements struck up and that key "players" outside of the forum should be brought back into the fold.

He says it is up to the liberation movements to ensure the best deal for the people they represent.

"Indeed, the alternative seems to be to continue with the armed struggle for another 30 years and still end up negotiating."

duate suggests to liberation movements that, after the grim experience black people have gone through under apartheid, there is little left to lose by negotiating with the Nats.

Negotiating, he argues, cannot render the movements "worse off than they already are".

**CIPRO**

24/5/92

The system regards your system as backward and barbaric," Makwetu told his audience of traditional leaders.

Among the many post-Codesa 2 analyses comes the insightful comments of academic Mokgethi Motlhabi. The Boston University gra-

tional leaders' representation at negotiations, PAC president Clarence Makwetu this week told a meeting in the northern Transvaal that traditional leaders were not considered at Codesa "because the system despised your system of governing".

Addressing the issue of tradi-

## ANC 'has nothing to hide'

The African National Congress will co-operate with human rights groups wishing to probe alleged disappearances, executions and torture of dissident members in exile, according to a senior official.

Siphiwe Nyanda, chief of staff of the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe, said the anti-apartheid group had nothing to hide.

"Every individual who was executed was executed for a reason. Some of them had committed serious crimes and acts of banditry."

The London-based human rights group Amnesty International said it knew of at least six people whom the ANC was holding in Tanzania.

Mr Nyanda, however, denied this charge. — Sapa

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# Winnie probed

S1 Times 24/5/92

□ From Page 1

exiles, saying the organisation has no money to help them.

Inquiries to the ANC head office from branches about the alleged fraud have gone unanswered, according to Mrs Linde Dietrich of Johannesburg North West, a branch that has asked written questions about the money.

The ANC holds its annual policy conference this

week and the attempted fraud is expected to give rise to debate over the ANC's handling of its finances.

According to a senior ANC head office source, shortly before Mrs Mandela resigned "dozens" of summonses were delivered to the office from clothing stores, jewellers and other suppliers of goods indicating a lavish lifestyle. The summonses were all passed on to Mrs Mandela.

There is also bitterness in ANC circles about trips undertaken by Mrs Mandela and Mr Mporu.

In the second half of last year, they travelled to the United States together twice. On both occasions they travelled first-class on British Airways to London, then by Concorde to New York.

On the first trip they had interleading rooms in their Los Angeles hotel.

On the second — in October — they shared a bungalow on an estate owned by singer Dionne Warwick.

Mr Jordán said the ANC did not pay their air fares: "They were paid by their hosts in the USA."

Mr Mporu confirmed their travel and accommodation arrangements, but said: "So what? We travelled in that way and stayed as you describe, but so what?"

He said both trips were hosted by a US aid organisation called Children of Africa.

What has particularly angered some ANC members is that Mr Mporu has been sporting a gold Raymond Weil bracelet-type watch, with Roman numerals, given to Mr Mandela by jailed National Soccer League public relations officer Abdul Bhamjee.

Mr Mporu said: "I never know what watch I'm wearing. It might be that one, but usually I wear my own watch."

Mr Mporu's salary from the ANC was less than R3 000 a month. Last year, he bought a flat in Yeoville — which he lets — and until recently drove a maroon VW Jetta as well as an early model VW Golf.

Mr Mporu said in addition to paying maintenance for his young son, he helps support his mother in East London, who recently retired after a lifetime as a domestic worker.

Mrs Mandela failed to respond this week to telephone calls and faxes about the missing funds and the nature of her relationship with Mr Mporu.

Mystery of who authorised cheques in R400 000 fraud bid

# WINNIE IN ANC MONEY PROBE

S1 Times 24/5/92

By CHARLENE SMITH

11A

Pik's men are fleeced by West African conman

S1 Times 24/5/92

By MIKE ROBERTSON  
Political Correspondent

THE Department of Foreign Affairs has lost R1,6-million of taxpayers' money in an abortive attempt to set up a chain of pro-South African magazines for distribution in West Africa.

A politician, now a possible candidate in a major West African country, conned the Department into investing the money in a company that was supposed to publish magazines sympathetic to South Africa.

However, the company was never set up and no magazines were published.

Instead the politician-cum-con artist, already a rand billionaire, pocketed the money and now refuses to pay it back.

The money for this project came from the Foreign Affairs Secret Services Account.

Scandal

Lights, action, Lorna!



THE ANC is investigating an alleged fraud involving cheques for R400 000 issued while Mrs Winnie Mandela and her alleged lover, lawyer Dali Mpfu, were in charge of the organisation's social welfare department.

Mr Pallo Jordan, ANC director of information, said the attempted fraud was detected in February or March this year when the ANC's bankers became suspicious about certain cheques. "Payment was stopped. I am not sure what aroused suspicion," he said.

Mr Mpfu — sacked as deputy head of the department earlier this month — said he was aware of only one attempted fraud involving a welfare department cheque: "Last November or December, the bank phoned and said there was a cheque for R50 000. I was startled that a cheque for that amount had been issued," he said.

"We would normally issue around five cheques a day for amounts ranging from R3 000 to R10 000 from a separate welfare department account that Mrs Mandela and I were signatories to.

"I immediately handwrote a note to the bank, urging them to stop payment.

"The signatures on the cheque, which I later saw, were remarkably similar to those of mine and Mrs Mandela," said Mr Mpfu.

The ANC investigation has focused on how the cheques were authorised.

Safe

Mr Jordan said the ANC knew who had signed the requisitions for the cheques, but declined to name them.

He said in terms of ANC administration policy, a department head — in this case Mrs Mandela — and/or her deputy, Mr Mpfu would submit a



FRIENDS: Dali Mpfu chats to Winnie Mandela at her

Plans

# Buckle up, ride to freedom has begun

Sowetan 25/5/92

(11A)

**SOUTH Africans, in their delirious search for an equitable future, last week suffered one of the most painful political hangovers following the collapse of negotiations the previous weekend.**

The immediate silence was foreboding - nobody wanted to comment. In fact you couldn't get comment from a politician even if you found one.

But by Tuesday, the flags in both the camps of the Government and the ANC - Codesa's two main protagonists - were blowing briskly in the wind.

Senior negotiators from the ANC tacitly warned the country - buckle up, there will be no easy ride to freedom... the ANC was starting a major re-assessment of its approach to negotiations, and, senior negotiators added, the movement had withdrawn all concessions and compromises which it had made during negotiations at Codesa.

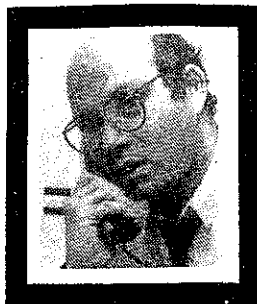
## Failure

Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa, one of the ANC's key negotiators last Tuesday said: "We consider the failure of Codesa 2 an extremely serious matter.

"After five months of negotiations we have nothing to offer the public."

It was also starting to dawn on the ANC, sources commented, that it might have been outnegotiated and that it had compromised on compromises.

One ANC executive explained that, as a liberation movement which fought for "the overthrow of a minority white racist regime", the fundamental mechanism for securing a



The Government and the ANC at the weekend continued lambasting each other after last week's Codesa stalemate. *Sowetan's Political Correspondent, ISMAIL LAGARDIEN (left), looks at the argument from both camps.*

democratic transfer of power to the majority was through a 50-plus-one victory at the polls.

"You must remember that the Nats (National Party) came to power and has held on to power for more than 40 years with less than 15 percent of the national vote. All we wanted was a 50-plus-one.

"At Codesa we moved to two-thirds and by last weekend we had gone to 70 percent," he said.

On the other hand the Government is not about to backtrack. The Constitutional Services Budget Debate started on Wednesday, and the Government's kingpin at Codesa, Mr Roelf Meyer, rose to the occasion.

The recently appointed Minister of Constitutional Development outlined the Government's bottom line, and positioned himself firmly against the ANC.

"For us the constitutional regulation of power

is one of the cornerstones of a new constitutional dispensation. In this regard we firmly support the principle of an entrenched constitution that can only be amended by way of special procedures," Meyer said.

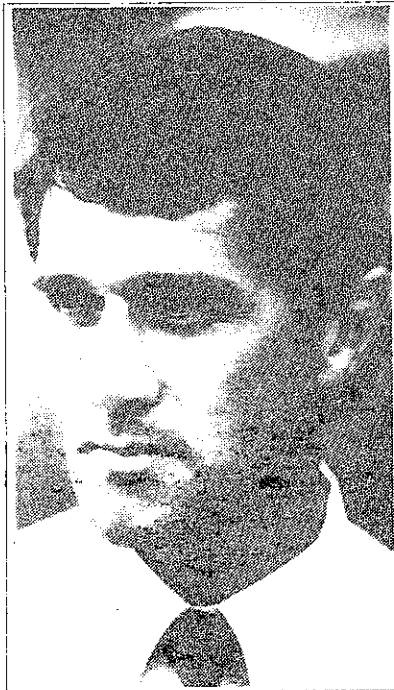
This was the issue that marred Codesa 2's progress report and the ratification of agreements reached during months of negotiations.

## Concealed

While the ANC's negotiators were locked in discussion by the latter part of last week, and with positions firming up between them, the Government reverted to the ace it had kept concealed up its sleeve.

It is in power, and had (as has been pointed out repeatedly over the years) retained power by means of power, and Meyer is no stranger to the use of force to secure the ideas and policies of the National Party.

As the Deputy Minister of Law and Order during



ROELF MEYER



MOHAMMED VALLI MOOSA

the mid-to-late-'80s, he was in charge of the National Security Management System - effectively the State's Young Gun.

On Wednesday he started off gently, almost, and explained the Government's honest intentions in perfectly refined rhetoric.

"The Government has played its part in trying to create a spirit of good faith. We have faithfully implemented our undertakings.

"We will continue to do so, and we rely on other negotiating partners to do likewise," Meyer said.

It became apparent then that the Government was not going to budge from its concept of "power sharing" at all costs, and "devolution of power" whatever it takes - which, according to ANC thinking, is a bulwark against the assumption of power by the majority, even in a democratic election.

"The Government and the National Party are committed to the principle of power-sharing. We stand for a strong second chamber of Parliament and for effective multiparty par-

ticipation in the central, regional and local levels of government.

"We reject the placing of the monopoly of power in the hands of a mere majority, however it may be constituted. Political minorities should be represented wherever governmental power is exercised," Meyer said.

These policy statements perhaps summed up perfectly the Government's obduracy at Codesa, and conjures up the question whether one can bring bottom lines into negotiations - and expect to leave with them intact.

But the Government has power, political, economic and military. And Meyer, during the last part of his Budget Debate on Friday, reminded everyone, particularly the ANC, who it was that was in charge.

It was also obvious that

South Africans, in their search for a solution to the country's problems, had forgotten that it was accompanied en route to a settlement by the same group of people that it was trying to get away from.

Meyer, the former Young Gun turned Mr Nice Guy, cocked both barrels in his debate of Friday and sowed the kind of seeds of discontent and fissure which the Nats did so meticulously among the liberation movements and its allies during the mid-'80s.

He said that the ANC thought that it could simply come into the country and impose its fiat on the nation - perhaps like the NP had for the past 40 years.

## Compromise

"During the past few days it must have dawned on the ANC and its allies that certain compromises were not only unavoidable but also had to be honoured.

"Apparently this was too much for a radical group within the ANC's leadership and this organisation is now contemplating going back to the Harare Declaration; in other words demanding that power should be transferred to an interim government, which would not in fact be accountable to anybody or subject to any constitutional prescriptions.

"It is very clear that the ANC is under immense pressure from Cosatu and the SACP in particular to go back to so-called street politics, trying to manipulate negotiations through mass action, including a possible national strike.

"The ANC and its allies are playing with fire and they should know by now that their ability to control street politics is to say the least, suspect."

He warned, too, that the ANC and its allies, would, if its actions led to violence, have to "bear the consequences".

And that was the Government talking about accountability, the same one that is leading the charge to the New Jerusalem.

# More woes for

Sowetan 25/5/92

# Winnie

Sowetan 25/5/92  
By RUTH BHENGU and Sapa

(11A)

**THE executive council of the ANC Women's League yesterday dissociated itself from a group within the organisation which is demanding the reinstatement of Mrs Winnie Mandela as head of the ANC's welfare department.**

This came only hours after newspaper reports alleging fraud involving R400 000 being investigated by the ANC in the welfare department.

A statement from the league's national executive committee said correct procedures had not been followed by the disaffected group and innocent, uninformed women had been misled into "believing they were involved in a principled demonstration".



WINNIE MANDELA

## Problems for Winnie

● From page 1

Sowetan 25/5/92 (11A)  
The statement was not signed but, according to league administrator Ms Thoko Khubu, it was endorsed by ANC Women's League head Mrs Gertrude Shope at a meeting of the organisation yesterday.

"The head office of the women's league was never informed of the plans to have this action. Even if we were informed, we would not have allowed such an anti-ANC demonstration. We condemn the use of the PWV ANC Women's League offices and property to prepare placards hitting at our leadership and organisation."

The NEC statement noted Mrs Mandela's resignation as head of the ANC's welfare department and new allegations of her direct involvement in criminal activities.

Meanwhile, according to the organisation cheques were allegedly issued while Mandela and Mpfu were in charge of the social welfare department.

The alleged attempted fraud was detected in February or March when the ANC's bankers became suspicious of certain cheques, according to director of information Mr Pallo Jordan.

He said payment was stopped.

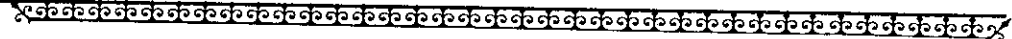
Mandela and Mpfu are alleged to have spent R400 000 on overseas trips.

ANC spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma said the money had been spent lavishly and that Mrs Mandela and Mpfu had flown first class from London to New York in Concorde.

Mpfu however denied that R400 000 had been spent by him and Mrs Mandela during overseas trips.

"There are no funds missing," Mpfu said yesterday. "This is just part of the campaign to slander Mrs Mandela and me," he said.

● To page 2



# Azapo man gets top post in CSIR

*Journal 25/5/92*  
THE Western Cape regional chairman of Azapo, Dr Khotso Mokhele, has been appointed a vice-president of the Foundation for Research Development (FRD).

Mokhele, a senior lecturer in microbiology at the University of Cape Town for the past two years, takes up his new appointment in Pretoria on July 1.

The FRD is an autonomous body committed to the development of scientific and technological skills through research.

Mokhele obtained MSc and PhD degrees at the University of California at Davis. - *Sapa*



# Blacks must 'regain their self-discipline'

*Sowetan 25/5/92*

BLACKS must overcome their feelings of low esteem and regain their traditions of self-discipline and love of excellence, acting principal of the University of Transkei, Professor Dan Ncayiyana, said at the weekend.

Delivering a key note address at the university's 14th graduation ceremony, Ncayiyana, who is also Unitra's deputy vice-chancellor, said blacks needed to prepare themselves for a more effective role in a future democratic country.

Mr Aggrey Klaaste, editor of *Sowetan*, was conferred with an honorary doctorate in literature and philosophy in recognition of his Nation Building campaign.

Mrs Albertina Sisulu, wife of ANC veteran Mr Walter Sisulu, was among 800 people who received degrees.

Ncayiyana said performance by blacks was not held in high esteem.

"If there is a choice, most black people prefer to be treated at white-run hospitals, to send their children to white schools, to have their cars serviced by white-owned garages and to shop at white supermarkets for quality service.

"This has nothing to do with the intellect or abilities of black South Africans. Frequently, that intellect and those abilities are superior.

"It has nothing to do with the material circumstances that may surround the black provider of a service.

"But it has everything to do with the attitude of black providers who are perceived as rude, uncaring and incapable of delivering an efficient and quality service," he said.

He said the first thing blacks should do to prepare for the new South Africa was to liberate themselves from the feelings of inferiority which resulted from decades of physical oppression coupled with psychological indoctrination.

(1A)

# ANC move to clip

11A

APR 25/5/92

# Winnie's wings

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC is to issue a statement today about Mrs Winnie Mandela, who is at the centre of a controversy over the funds of the welfare department and her role in the organisation's Women's League.

Mrs Mandela is consulting her lawyers. She is expected to comment after the statement.

She was ousted yesterday from her power base within the ANC Women's League following a heated meeting of the PWV branch in Johannesburg.

According to sources who attended the meeting, the recently appointed regional executive committee of the Women's League PWV region was suspended until further notice, effectively removing Mrs Mandela from her position of chairman.

"I really know nothing about this," a surprised Mrs Mandela said last night. "I will comment when I get a statement."

Although Mrs Mandela was not specifically referred to in this connection at the meeting, a source said: "It was all about Winnie. It is a concerted effort to clip her wings."

Over the past few months Mrs Mandela was separated from her husband, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, was pressured into resigning as head of the welfare department, and a series of allegations involving her in criminal and financial irregularities severely embarrassed the organisation.

Yesterday's meeting was in part a sequel to a demonstration on Thursday when about 40 women demanded Mrs Mandela's reinstatement as welfare head.

Mrs Mandela last night launched an attack against newspapers which carried allegations of financial mismanagement in the department.

"I have asked my lawyers to consider what steps should be taken against them.

"It would appear that a renewed campaign of vilification is being waged once more against me.

"It would seem that my resignation as head of the department of social welfare was not enough for my detractors," Mrs Mandela said.

"I have been accused of having recruited people to campaign for my return to the department.

"I did not ask anybody to demonstrate (on Thursday), nor did I ask anyone for my reinstatement.

"This must be seen as yet another attempt to split the ANC," Mrs Mandela said.

The ANC source confirmed that Mrs Mandela had strongly denied orchestrating last Thursday's demonstration, but added there was a strong feeling within the ANC that she had in fact done so.

## 'Unacceptable'

"This is unacceptable. She has now gone too far and even her long-time supporters are having doubts," the source said.

Mrs Mandela, who attended a committee meeting before the inter branch gathering yesterday, did not attend the main session as she was reported to be consulting lawyers.

About 30 of the PWV region's 66 branches were represented at the meeting, which was described as heated, with long discussions.

The central decision to suspend the committee was taken without a formal vote, but was in keeping with the general sentiment, the source said.

The meeting had also distanced itself from last Thursday's demonstration but felt it impractical to discipline individual members.

Mrs Mandela is still a member of the ANC's national executive committee. — Sapa.

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STAR 25/5/92  
**Rate cut bad news for some**

Home-owners may welcome the one percentage point drop in home loan rates announced by banks, but the Housewives League warns that people who live off their savings will be hard hit when the banks' borrowing rates follow suit.

● Page 7

STAR 25/5/92 (11A)  
**ANC gains place in council**

DURBAN — Ros Sarkin made history at the weekend when she became the first ANC member to have a seat on the Durban City Council. Mrs Sarkin, councillor for Mitchell Park and chairman of the council's creative and recreation department, said she had joined the ANC for ideological reasons, not expedience. She believed the ANC's policy represented the best hope of achieving a non-racial, non-sexist SA.

**BA braces for dogfight**

Key ANC committee suspended amid new allegations

# Winnie loses power base

STAR 25/1/92  
Political Staff and Sapa

Winnie Mandela was effectively ousted from her power base within the ANC Women's League after a heated PWV inter-branch meeting in Johannesburg yesterday as controversy surrounding her mounted at the weekend.

According to sources who attended the meeting, the recently appointed Regional Executive Committee (REC) was suspended until further notice, effectively removing Mrs Mandela from power within the organisation as PWV chairman.

An official statement on the latest developments surrounding the militant Mrs Mandela is expected later today from the ANC.

Since her recent separation from her husband, ANC president Nelson Mandela, Mrs Mandela has been pressured into resigning as head of the welfare department amid a series of allegations concerning criminal and financial irregularities which have severely embarrassed the organisation.

The Women's League rebuff came amid growing fears in the ANC that Mrs Mandela has been building a power bloc for herself which, it is feared, could cause a split in the organisation.

In addition, Mrs Mandela and Dali Mpofu became the centre of yet another controversy at the weekend.

The ANC alleged the pair had spent R400 000 belonging to the welfare department on an overseas fund-raising trip last year.

## Concern

The Women's League expressed concern over the sit-in at the ANC head office in Johannesburg in a bid to have Mrs Mandela and Mr Mpofu reinstated.

The group criticised ANC spokesman Gill Marcus and claimed there was a cabal within the organisation, led by general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa, which wanted to sideline Mrs Mandela.

The ANC source confirmed that Mrs Mandela had strongly denied orchestrating last Thursday's demonstration, but added there was a strong feeling she had in fact done so.

Mrs Mandela, who attended an REC meeting before the inter branch gathering on Sunday, did not attend the main session as she was reportedly consulting lawyers.

An estimated 25 to 30 of the PWV region's 66 branches were represented at the meeting, which was described as heated, with long discussions.

Mrs Mandela is still an elected member of the ANC's national executive.

Mrs Mandela launched an attack against Sunday newspapers which carried allegations of financial mismanagement in the department, describing the reports as "contradictory".

"Both of the allegations that ANC money was used for the overseas trip last year and the misleading statements in the Sunday Times are false," she said, adding that she was considering legal action.

"It would appear that a renewed campaign of vilification is being waged once more against me. It would seem that my resignation as head of the department of social welfare was not enough for my detractors."

Mr Mpofu has denied the new allegations.

# SADF

an equal

partner

— Modise

By Montshiwa Moroke

The SADF was an equal partner and in future should take part in talks concerning the planning of a new-look army in a democratic South Africa, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) commander Joe Modise said yesterday.

Mr Modise was speaking at a Five Freedoms Forum three-day conference on "Defence and security in transition", held at Tiegerpoort, east of Pretoria.

SADF representatives were noticeably absent.

Represented at the conference were MK (the military wing of the ANC), Transkei and Venda defence forces, retired senior SADF officers, the Military Research Group, Institute for Defence Politics, diplomatic missions, and other researchers into defence matters.

Mr Modise, accompanied by MK chief of staff Sipiwe Nyanda, said Defence Minister Roelf Meyer had prevented the army's participation because the issues were being discussed at Codesa.

## Disbanded

He said the ANC believed elements of the SADF — especially the special forces — were involved in instigating violence.

"We firmly believe units such as Battalion 31 and 32, which have become so notorious, should be disbanded and there should be further investigations into these forces," he said.

Democratic Party defence spokesman General Bob Rogers said he would ensure that the contents of a consensus document drafted at the conference would be made available to Mr Meyer.

According to a statement released later, it was necessary to "ensure that the new defence force is both legitimate in the eyes of the majority of South Africans and reflects the national composition of our country".

A programme of affirmative action with a bill of rights also had to form part of the new order.

Reacting to Mr Modise's charges, a spokesman for the Ministry of Defence said the Government and the defence force were involved in direct talks with concerned parties on the subject of the future defence force, reports Sapa.

# Mandela attacks

## FW warns of demos

GENEVA — ANC leader Nelson Mandela, in one of his harshest attacks on President de Klerk, yesterday likened the violence in South Africa to the killing of Jews in Nazi Germany.

At a Geneva news conference, the ANC president also threatened new street protests if constitutional talks with the Government failed.

Mr Mandela has stepped up criticism of the Government since the talks on the country's political future stalemated at Codesa on May 16.

Mr Mandela said he had told Mr de Klerk privately that "what is happening now has happened in Nazi Germany when people were killed simply because they were Jews."

Nearly 1 000 people have been killed in violence this year. More than 12 000 have died since the mid-1980s.

Most of the fighting has been between ANC supporters and

STAR 2515792  
the Inkatha Freedom Party. The ANC accuses the police and other security forces of inciting the violence and helping Inkatha.

Mr Mandela warned that the ANC may call for "mass action" if the constitutional talks failed. "This means demonstrations, not resumption of the ANC's armed struggle," he said.

### Optimism

"If negotiation fails to enable us to chart the way, we have got other alternatives," he said. "We sincerely hope that it will not be necessary for us to use those alternatives."

Mr Mandela said: "De Klerk must carry responsibility for the violence that is raging in our country (and) to arrest the people who commit murder."

He said Mr de Klerk could stop the violence with a strong, well-trained and well-equipped police force and army. "He has failed to use that capacity."

11A  
Mr Mandela dismissed suggestions that his statements could breach the National Peace Accord under which major parties agreed to refrain from public accusations.

"I cannot respect any formalities at the expense of allowing the killing of innocent people to continue simply because there is an agreement that no inflammatory language must be used."

Mr Mandela, who is on a European tour, arrived in Switzerland on Saturday for meetings with government officials, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees and the International Olympic Committee.

In the constitutional talks, the ANC, Government and 17 other groups had hoped to agree on several key issues, including the guidelines for a multiparty interim government. The major dispute involved how an elected, interim parliament would approve a new constitution. — Sapa-AP.

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anHE ANC Women's League national  
xecutive council has dissociated itself  
wom a group within the league which is  
emanding the reinstatement of Winnie  
mandela and lawyer Dali Mpfu as heads  
ed the ANC's welfare department.

za The league's executive said yesterday  
he disaffected group had not followed  
proper procedures and innocent women  
ad been misled into "believing they were  
involved in a principled demonstration".

uk The group of about 40 women demanded  
ve reinstatement of Mandela and Mpfu,  
n no have been romantically linked. They  
l so criticised ANC spokesman Gill Mar-  
cas and said a cabal within the ANC tried  
sideline ANC president Nelson Mandela.

The executive's response came after it

# ANC women were misled executive

was reported yesterday that the ANC was investigating fraud involving cheques worth R400 000 issued while Mandela and Mpfu were heading the department.

The executive said the league head office was never informed of the protest.

"Even if we were informed, we would not have allowed such an anti-ANC demonstration. We condemn the use of the PWV ANC Women's League offices and property to prepare placards hitting at our leadership and organisation," the league said.

Winnie Mandela had headed the PWV regional office of the league since her re-election on May 3. — Sapa.

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B/D ay

## Macsteel dispute appeal dismissed

**BLOEMFONTEIN** An appeal by the National Union of Metalworkers of SA and 17 of its members against a judgment of the Labour Appeal Court was dismissed by the Appellate Division yesterday. (15/1)

The case arose from a wage dispute and disruptions at plants belonging to Macsteel (Pty) Ltd, of Germiston, in August and September 1988. B/Day 22/5/92

An industrial court found that the collective overtime ban by Macsteel employees, with the knowledge and concurrence of the union, was neither unlawful nor an unfair labour practice but a legitimate industrial relations pressure tactic.

On July 24 1990 Judge W J Hartzenburg

and assessors, in the Labour Appeal Court set aside the industrial court's decision, substituting an order that the union's conduct to introduce, instigate and persist in an overtime ban in the circumstances was an unfair labour practice. Union members' failure to work normal overtime, furthering a collective intention to persuade Macsteel to accede to their wage demands, constituted a collective overtime ban.

Yesterday Judge Richard Goldstone said there were ample grounds for the lower court to hold that the overtime ban was an unfair labour practice. It followed that there was no reason to interfere with the order made by the Labour Appeal Court. — Sapa.

## Bop pension fund moves into city property

**BOPHUTHATSWANA**'s state pension and unemployment fund had embarked on "a major thrust into the Johannesburg property market," the company said yesterday.

The Sefalana Employee Benefits Organisation (Sebo), which has been in-

ADRIAN HADLAND  
involved in a commission of inquiry into alleged financial irregularities, has also begun an advertising campaign aimed at boosting its corporate image.

Senior GM of customer services Rohan Laird said

yesterday the campaign was not aimed at addressing issues raised by the inquiry but "to let people know we exist".

Among recent Sebo acquisitions are two buildings in Johannesburg's CBD, for R18m, and three office blocks in Sandton.



# Codesa bugged by phone tap

Sowetan 26/5/92

11A

~~3/2/92~~

**THE Codesa management committee meeting got off to a stormy start yesterday when the ANC demanded an explanation from the Government why its telephones were tapped prior to Codesa 2.**

And in response the Government demanded that the ANC withdraw the allegations. But, according a management committee source, the ANC refused to retract its allegations and a compromise had to be reached by delegates whereby it was agreed that the committee should urgently appoint a technical committee to investigate the matter.

In another development, Codesa sources yesterday revealed that the Rev TJ Mopeli, who is QwaQwa's representative in the management committee, was no longer representing the homeland.

Sources said this development was brought about by what they called the "collapse" of the QwaQwa administration following the resignation of traditional chiefs from the cabinet.

The homeland has been rocked by a spate of resignations by chiefs who have been actively campaigning to bring about the downfall of Mopeli's administration in the past seven weeks.

The chiefs, who are apparently dissatisfied with Mopeli's administration, have been supported by the QwaQwa Hawks Action Committee.

The action committee been fighting for some time to remove the homeland's administration.

**By IKE MOTSAPI**

Meanwhile, *Sapa* reports that the vital issue of a constitution-making body remained unresolved yesterday.

Three other working groups were streamlined in an apparent attempt to simplify decision-making, however, in what management committee chairman Mr Pravin Gordhan suggested was a positive development.

"Working Group 2 (on constitutional principles) unfortunately still remains an outstanding matter," Gordhan said at a news conference at Johannesburg's World Trade Centre last night.

He said Working Group 2, in consultation with the management committee, would try again next Monday to decide on a structure to resolve the deadlock in that group.

The management committee meeting had been billed as vital by political observers, needed to right the sour note left after a near-disastrous Codesa 2 plenary session two weeks ago.

It was hoped the management committee would draft proposals on how the Working Group 2 impasse might be resolved, and Codesa brought back on track.

Negotiations deadlocked two weeks ago as the African National Congress and Government camps failed to agree on the participation of a second house or Senate in the drawing up of a constitution, and the percentages required for concensus in such a constitution.

# Winnie's status in balance

CF  
26/5/92

(11A)

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC Women's League will decide this week on Mrs Winnie Mandela's future in the organisation.

This was confirmed yesterday by the head of publicity and information at the league's national office here, Ms Lindiwe Zulu.

Mrs Mandela yesterday declared she would remain an ANC member for the rest of her life.

Ms Zulu told Sapa yesterday: "At this stage she (Mrs Mandela) has no official position in the ANC Women's League."

Ms Zulu said the national executive committee would be meeting "within a day or two" to decide the future of Mrs Mandela, who was suspended from the women's league on Sunday with the regional executive committee of the league in the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging area.

Ms Zulu said the suspension was the result of a demonstration last Thursday by the Social Welfare Support Committee, who occupied the women's league's PWV head office in central Johannesburg demanding Mrs Mandela's reinstatement as head of the ANC's social welfare department.

"There are structures within the ANC which have to be followed," Ms Zulu said. "Also, the group did not have the mandate of all the league's PWV branches."

"This is not just a small issue — this involves ANC members pitted against fellow ANC members."

There was every likelihood that Mrs Mandela would be called in by the

## ANC denies Winnie splurge

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC yesterday branded as an "orgy of allegations and speculation" weekend newspaper reports that Mrs Winnie Mandela and former ANC social welfare department employee Mr Dali Mpfu had squandered R400 000.

Major English-language newspapers on Sunday reported that an audit conducted into the ANC's social welfare department had shown that R400 000 had allegedly been spent by Mrs Mandela and Mr Mpfu on overseas trips, including first-class hotels and a flight on board the Concorde.

In a statement, the organisation said: "The rumours that have made their way into the print media to the effect that the department of social welfare squandered a sum of R400 000 have no basis in fact."

Allegations of Mrs Mandela's trips to the US being funded by the ANC bordered on libel.

"On each occasion that she has travelled to the USA, she was the guest of US organisations. These organisations assumed responsibility for the fares and for her upkeep and that of her entourage while they were in USA." — Sapa

women's league's executive committee when it discussed the issue, Ms Zulu added.

Yesterday Mrs Mandela told Sapa that ANC lawyers were studying the constitution of the women's league to determine the legality of the suspension.

Mrs Mandela dismissed reports of attempts within the ANC to oust her from her positions of power.

"I did not join the ANC to please anybody," Mrs Mandela said in a telephone interview. "I will be an ANC member until my dying day. My membership does not depend on others." Mrs Mandela is still an elected member of the ANC national executive committee.

# ANC row over Winnie

*Sowetan 26/5/92*  
A MAJOR row has erupted in the African National Congress Women's League between supporters and detractors of Mrs Winnie Mandela.

Her supporters yesterday strongly disputed the reported suspension on Sunday night of the recently appointed Regional Executive Committee (REC) of the league's PWV region.

The REC was suspended until further notice, effectively removing Mandela from her position of power within the organisation as PWV chairman, according to the reports.

"That meeting (on Sunday night) was bulldozed through by a member of the league's national executive committee," said Ms Nompumelelo Madlala, chairman of the league's PWV branch in Protea, Soweto.

She said the NEC member was a former ANC exile returned from Holland and now a Codesa delegate, who had allegedly spearheaded the suspension.

She said the member had told Sunday's meeting that when the ANC was still banned, problems had been solved by ini-

● To page 2

# Winnie in new row

*1/A*  
*Sowetan 26/5/92*  
● From page 1

tially suspending affected bodies until disputes were resolved.

Although Mandela was not specifically referred to in the suspension of the REC one source, who asked not to be named, said: "It was all about Winnie . . . it is a concerted effort to clip her wings."

Madlala charged: "There is a definite campaign against Winnie Mandela," adding there was now a crisis within the ANC.

Mandela was not at Sunday's inter-branch meeting where the decision to suspend the REC was reportedly taken.

Sources said this meeting was attended by about 25 to 30 of the PWV region's 66 branches.

However, Mandela did attend an earlier REC meeting.

At the time of the inter-branch meeting, she was holding talks with her lawyers about another round of media allegations against her, this time about financial mismanagement in the ANC's social welfare department.

When asked on Sunday about the inter-branch meeting, Mandela expressed surprise.

"I really know nothing about this. I will comment when I get a statement."

In a statement on Sunday night, Mandela said the latest allegations against her appeared to be "a renewed campaign of vilification . . . against me."

"This must be seen as yet another attempt to split the ANC," Mandela said.

# Govt and ANC try to mend relations

11A  
B/day 26/5/92

TIM COHEN

GOVERNMENT and ANC representatives met last night in an effort to patch up their worsening relations, highlighted by a spate of bitter recriminations and allegations of phone-tapping at Codesa.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel yesterday capped a week marked by furious rhetoric by slamming ANC president Nelson Mandela's allegation that President F W de Klerk was personally responsible for political violence.

In fact, Mandela was "allowing black South Africans to be killed simply because they do not support the ANC", because he was not controlling his supporters, Kriel said in a statement.

Our political correspondent reports that highly-placed sources in the NP have indicated that relations between De Klerk and Mandela had been severely strained by a series of comments on violence made by the ANC president.

Yesterday NP secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe described Mandela's comments as "reckless" and "scandalous in the light of the latest evidence about the involvement of certain ANC members in violence on the Reef".

Reuter reports from Geneva that Mandela yesterday condemned government's "intransigent attitude" which, he said, had delayed the return to SA of thousands of black political exiles.

He made the accusation after talks with Sadako Ogata of the UN High Commission-

er for Refugees.

The commissioner is co-ordinating the repatriation of the exiles.

Government and ANC members were reluctant to discuss the agenda of their meeting last night, although it is understood that senior negotiators from both sides were present. The meeting is certain to discuss the current impasse.

Meanwhile, the first Codesa management committee meeting since the near-disastrous Codesa II was dominated yesterday by an ANC allegation that its Codesa phone lines were tapped.

Codesa management committee chairman Pravin Gordhan said the ANC had not presented the management committee with evidence of its claim, but that it would be asked to do so before an independent technical group, which would recommend how to prevent further phone-tapping.

Codesa yesterday decided to treble the size of its management committee, with representation from each of the 19 participants increasing from one representative to two representatives and one adviser.

However, outstanding tasks would be dealt with by smaller groups.

But the composition of the key working group 2, which deadlocked prior to Codesa II on how the new constitution should be decided, could not be resolved.

# Winnie evokes strong emotions

Sowetan 26/5/92

(11A)

MRS Winnie Mandela's resignation from the ANC's welfare department and the demonstration by her supporters demanding her reinstatement evoked strong emotions last night.

Some callers to the Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show condemned Mandela, others warned that allegations against her still remain unproved and criticised the ANC for the way it handled its NEC member's resignation.

On her resignation, Judas from Potgietersrus said: "Few people would cry for her. She has been involved in scandal after scandal."

Jerry from Soweto also said he agreed with her resignation.

However, Mel Du Toit from Cape Town said resigning was the only honourable option for Mandela, until she is able to

**SOWETAN**  
Building the Nation

**RADIO METRO**  
**TALKBACK**

clear herself of all allegations against her.

The demonstration by her supporters last week drew support and criticism from callers.

Moeti told DJ Tim Modise that the Mandela issue was a reflection of "the great deal of rot going on in the movement". He called the demonstration an irresponsible act and said it reflected the lack of ability by black people to critically analyse issues.

Cynthia, who said she was a member of the ANC, said Mandela's resignation was not voluntary and that she was under pressure following reports aimed at "crippling" the ANC.

## Winnie 'did not waste ANC funds'

8/10 am 26/5/92  
THE ANC says reports that Winnie Mandela and former social welfare department employee Dali Mpofu squandered R400 000 are an "orgy of allegations and speculation".

Newspapers reported on Sunday an audit of the department had shown Mpofu and Mandela, the former department head, had spent large amounts on overseas trips and a flight aboard the Concorde.

But in a statement yesterday, the ANC said the rumours were false. No ANC department had been accused of such misuse of funds, "nor has any investigation concerning such a sum of money been instituted".

It said allegations that Mandela's trips to the US were funded by the ANC bordered on libel. "On each occasion she has travelled to the US she was the guest of US organisations. These organisations assumed responsibility for the fares and for her upkeep and that of her entourage."

It said comments attributed to the ANC's Saki Macozoma on the matter had been incorrectly reported.

Meanwhile, Mandela said yesterday lawyers were studying the ANC Women's League constitution to determine the legality of a decision to suspend the league's PWV regional executive committee.

An inter-branch meeting's decision on Sunday to suspend the committee stripped Mandela of a support base.

Women's League spokesman Lindiwe Zulu said yesterday: "At this stage she has no official position in the ANC Women's League."

The league's national executive committee would meet "within a day or two" to decide on the regional committee's future and that of its chairman, Zulu said.

The suspension was a result of last week's demonstration by a support committee which occupied the league's Johannesburg offices to demand Mandela's reinstatement as social welfare department head. — Sapa.

# Hani tells of ANC excesses in camps

11A

ANC 26/5/92

## SHAUN JOHNSON, Political Staff

SOUTH African Communist Party chief Mr Chris Hani has frankly admitted that excesses were committed by the ANC's security department in the organisation's detention camps.

He also said that unchecked powers should never again be given to security structures.

Mr Hani, who said there were some ANC members he would not like to see in a new security branch, called for strict parliamentary control of the security wings in a democratic South African state.

In an outspoken interview in the latest edition of the left-wing journal *Work in Progress*/New Era, the man who was Umkhonto we Sizwe's chief of staff said there was a period in exile when the ANC's security department targeted both guilty and innocent people in their efforts to unmask spies.

"Yes, it happened. The climate, where the regime was destabilising the ANC, killing its leaders, assassinating commanders of MK, created a situation of overall suspicion.

"People began to lose a balanced approach in terms of combating the infiltration of the ANC," said Mr Hani.

## Vocal critic

He said he was known as "the most vocal critic of detention without trial" during this period, and revealed that he and other SACP members, among them Mr Joe Slovo and Mr Ronnie Kasrils, challenged the ANC leadership on this and other human rights questions.

"I led a campaign at every NEC meeting of the ANC, saying that we cannot call upon the regime to release our political prisoners (while we) continue detaining people for long periods without trial.

"There was a time when our security dealt with detainees in a way I never accepted," Mr Hani said in the interview.

He said he intervened in an attempt to stop the executions of ANC mutineers in 1984.

"My view was a minority view, but when I presented it to the NEC, the leadership intervened and stopped the executions."

Asked what sort of security apparatus should be established in future, Mr Hani said: "I would like a situation where a security apparatus is answerable to parliament.

"Never again in this country should we give (unchecked) powers to the security.

"The state should be defended against subversion, but we should never allow a situation where a group is answerable only to an individual Minister."

Mr Hani said he would not accept "trite answers" — as had been given in Zimbabwe and Mozambique — to the effect that politicians refused to reply to questions "in the interests of national security".

Civil society and parliament had to have the right to question the activities of the security apparatus, he said.

"I'm aware that elements of the ANC, PAC and government will serve in a new security apparatus, but there must be clear guidelines to avoid the sort of thing that happened to a very small extent in the ANC and to a very large extent within the security forces of the regime," Mr Hani said.

Mines, white farmers targeted

# ANC moots tougher line in new policy

*31 Day 27/5/92*  
RANK and file ANC members have contributed to a tougher, redrafted version of the ANC's policy guidelines for a democratic SA, with financial institutions, mining policy and white farmers identified as targets.

A new 67-page document has been prepared for the ANC's four-day policy conference which begins tomorrow and which will be attended by about 700 ANC representatives.

The conference will provide rank and file members their first opportunity to discuss policy on a broad range of issues never before formally decided on by the ANC.

The revised document is the result of amendments suggested by ANC branches, after ANC departments contributed to a first draft, released two weeks ago. The current draft is likely to undergo significant further amendments during the conference, which is the ANC's highest policy-making forum.

The current draft maintains a strong focus on the need for the state to address the historical inequities of apartheid, and for affirmative action.

However, it also adopts a more socialist-leaning stance, reintroducing the concept of a "mixed economy" which was notably absent from the first draft.

The new draft also addresses the question of peace and security, which was absent from the first draft, committing the ANC to the adoption of a genuine defence orientation.

The section on defence does not exclude the possibility of a conscripted army, saying only that the core of the defence force

*(11A)*  
should consist of a permanent volunteer force.

The document does not address international relations, saying only that the ANC's policy would be that adopted at its July 1991 national conference.

New aspects of the draft policy are:

- A dedication to "democratise the economy and empower the historically oppressed";
- The creation of productive employment opportunities at a living wage for all South Africans;
- Redistribution programmes to meet basic needs, with a priority on the provision of basic services, housing and infrastructure;
- A section on financial institutions which says mechanisms should be introduced to encourage these institutions to channel financial resources into productive investment and into the "basic needs sector";
- A provision requiring the ANC to ensure that investments abroad by SA companies do not function as capital flight;
- A requirement that mining houses normalise miners' living and working conditions and abolish private security forces on the mines;
- A section which states the agricultural sector is characterised by maldistribution of land and other resources in favour of white farmers. The document says the present system of regulatory mechanisms and agricultural control boards will be reviewed and amended, and;
- A four-page addition on the subject of

TIM COHEN

To Page 2

## ANC policy

*31 Day 27/5/92*  
housing which asserts that housing is a right, although it recognises that meeting all SA's housing needs will not be easy. The building materials industry is singled out, with the document specifying that the concentration of ownership in the sector is "a matter of great concern to the ANC." Anti-trust legislation will be used to curb this problem.

Sections on health, education, science and technology, human resources, arts and culture and sport remain largely

unchanged.

The revised document maintains the ANC's equivocal approach to nationalisation, stating that the organisation will be guided by the "balance of evidence", which could range from nationalisation to privatisation.

Also intact is the section on a new political structure for SA, which will allow rank and file members of the ANC an opportunity to express opinions on many of the issues currently being debated at Codesa.

*(11A)*  From Page 1



## ANC women Charges dropped

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Charges have been withdrawn against 36 ANC Women's League members involved in two separate protests here.

*CT 27/5/92*  
The women were arrested after protests here on May 8 and May 19. The protests centred around the presence of 32 Battalion, KwaZulu police and the SAP Riot Unit in Imbali.

The women went on hunger strike at the weekend to support their demands.

# Powerful white tribe need not fear rule by

STAR 27/5/92.

11A

majority

**N**OW that the negotiations have got down to the bedrock issue of majority rule or power-sharing, let us focus on what these concepts really involve.

The Government calls majority rule a "winner takes all" system, and the ANC labels power-sharing "loser keeps all". Like all slogans they over-simplify, yet they do capture the essence of what each side fears in the other's proposal.

What is common to both is a recognition that the black majority, meaning the ANC, is going to win any one-person-one-vote election. The Government's haggling over the majority needed to approve a new constitution implies a belief on its part that the ANC is likely to win with a two-thirds majority.

The fear of majority domination goes to the heart of Afrikaner nationalism's age-old survivalist fears: that if it can't control its own destiny, Afrikanerdom will be obliterated as a cultural entity.

On top of this is the fear of a retributive oppression, of the black majority turning the tables

on the old apartheidists, rendering the whites politically powerless and confiscating their wealth.

They therefore want to keep a grip on power, making sure nothing can be done unless they agree to it. Hence the power-sharing plan which makes coalition government compulsory, so ensuring the National Party a position in the Presidency and the Cabinet, both of which have to reach decisions by consensus, and giving it a blocking veto in the legislature.

The NP's argument in support of such an arrangement is that it is appropriate to a multi-cultural society such as ours, giving everyone an equal say regardless of numerical strength and encouraging a system of government by agreement.

However the ANC sees it as a ploy to negate the results of a democratic election, frustrate the will of the majority and freeze the status quo created by apartheid. The NP would be able to block any attempt to redress the gross inequalities structured into our society. Apartheid itself might be



Allister Sparks

nominally abolished but its results would live on, alterable only by agreement of the National Party who created it.

My own view is that the power-sharing plan is not only manifestly unacceptable to the black population but fatal to the interests of whites as well. It would set them up as the targets of bitter resentment by a frustrated majority, which seems the worst possible formula for survival that any minority group could devise.

It would also set up the constitution as a target for attack. Every largely black political movement would be bound to campaign for the removal of those obstructing provisions and they would keep on doing so until eventually, like the Nationalists in the 1950s, they mustered enough polit-

ical power to overthrow the constitution and bend it to their will. That cannot be in white interests.

No, white security is best sought in other ways. Firstly by blending in with the new society.

Only when whites stop isolating themselves from the larger national community and start identifying with it, will they in turn be fully accepted and free to live according cultural preferences.

We whites are in any case not a weak and vulnerable group in the sense that one usually has in mind when talking of the need for "minority protection", but a hugely rich and powerful one that has dominated this country for centuries. And it is in that economic strength that the white community has its main protection.

There is a balance of forces at play. White political leaders have learned they can't run the country with an alienated black community on whose labour the economy is totally dependent, which is why we are at the negotiating table.

Similarly black political leaders know they can't run the country

successfully without white skills, and that if they persecute the whites or treat them unfairly in any way they will leave and South Africa will slump into economic ruin and political turmoil.

Beyond that solid economic guarantee, the constitutional entrenchment of a Bill of Fundamental Human Rights within a multiparty democracy and with an independent judiciary is all the whites or any other minority need to protect their legitimate rights.

The argument that government by consensus is more democratic because it gives every party a share in power and does not allow the biggest to dominate is, I suggest, deeply flawed.

Democracy, in the last resort, is about offering the ordinary person a choice, an alternative. That in the practical world is about the sum total of the individual citizen's ability to hold those who rule him to account.

The Nats' power-sharing system denies him that choice. If all parties join in a coalition government, what difference does it

make which party he votes for? How can he threaten to throw them out of power? How can he hold them accountable? If the ANC wins 60 percent of the vote and the NP 30 percent and both end up with an equal share of power, what difference does it make if those percentages are reversed? So why vote? In fact a compulsory coalition government would be little different from a one-party state. With all parties in power there would be no opposition, no watchdog, no adversarial challenge. All would be in the trough together, swilling away in a cosy consensus, keeping everything in the club. Vote against the rotten party and it still comes back as a partner. It is difficult to understand how a party which professes to believe in a free market philosophy can advocate a political system such as this. For if the free market means anything, it means offering the consumer a choice in the belief that this is the best guarantee of productive efficiency and consumer satisfaction. □

# NP will be linchpin in alliance

STAR 271592



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**S**OUTH Africa's white conservatives dream of being able to contain the African National Congress in the pending first non-racial election, either by denying the ANC an absolute majority or, better still, by forming an alliance which will itself win a majority.

It is a vision which unites conservatives of all ilk, from Koos van der Merwe of the fledgling New Right movement, through President F W de Klerk, to the more prudent members of the Democratic Party.

Mr de Klerk's ruling National Party (NP) is of central importance to the quest: it is the biggest of the parties opposed to, or wary of, the ANC; it has the best resources for the task ahead; and, critically, its hands are still on the levers of power.

The NP has considered various strategies in its quest to oppose or even defeat the ANC in the pending electoral contest for seats in an envisaged transitional parliament (which will simultaneously

serve as constitution-making body or constituent assembly).

One is that the NP change its name — Christian Democratic National Party is one label under consideration — in an attempt to shake off its apartheid image before launching a co-ordinated campaign for black support.

Another is that the NP should be the nucleus of an anti-ANC alliance along the lines of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance in Namibia. The projected alliance has been tentatively named by its protagonists as the Christian Democratic Alliance.

The NP is likely to move in both directions. The options are not mutually exclusive. A bigger, slightly changed NP could be the linchpin of a wider coalition.

Recent investigations by the Human Science Research Council (HSRC) have stimulated hopes that the bid to deprive the ANC of an outright majority is not a forlorn venture. They show that the ANC would get 45 percent of the votes, against 25 percent for the

NP and about 10 percent for the Inkatha Freedom Party.

These results are suspect in some quarters. The HSRC is seen as being too close to the Government and its findings thus an attempt to influence the outcome rather than predict it.

But the independent Community Agency for Social Enquiry (CASE) has come to a similar conclusion after examining the results of opinion polls since February 1990, the date on which President de Klerk initiated his search for a settlement

"In the first non-racial South African general election the ANC will probably win 50 percent of the overall national vote," three CASE researchers write.

They put the NP's share at 30 percent (or 5 percent higher than the HSRC figure), Inkatha's at 3 percent (less than half the HSRC projection) and assign the rest to splinter groups. Their projection is premised on an estimated 20 million voters, made up blacks (71 percent), whites (17 percent), coloureds

(9 percent) and Asians (3 percent).

These calculations contradict the general impression that the ANC is an unstoppable juggernaut, destined to win at least 60 percent of the national vote.

The reason for the ANC's relatively poor showing in these polls is that its high level of support in the black populace (70 percent or more) is not replicated in the three minority communities, where Mr de Klerk's NP has easily won most support.

The Oxford historian, R W Johnson, has offered some "back-of-the-envelope" calculations to explain why the ANC may not obtain more than 50 percent of the total votes.

The age profile of the black population ensures that a huge proportion will not qualify for the vote; over 50 percent of black people are under the age of 20, the vast majority of them are below the voting age of 18.

The black community has a bigger proportion of illiterate and rurally-based people, who are less likely to vote than their more so-

phisticated urban kinsmen.

Even within the black community the ANC's support is not concentrated in the biggest ethnic group, the Zulus; on the contrary, the ANC's political hegemony is most strongly contested among the Zulus.

More reasons can be added to those cited by Dr Johnson: the percentage of blacks who have identity books, a requirement for voting in South Africa, is under 75 percent against about 99 percent for the three minority communities.

Many of the polls which point to a 70 percent support level for the ANC in the black community are loaded in favour of politically conscious urban communities. Rural blacks are generally assumed to be more conservative and could tilt the scales a bit against the ANC.

The ANC's great strength is its justifiable reputation as the premier resistance movement in the field of armed struggle. Its president, Nelson Mandela, who was imprisoned for 28 years, has become

the symbol of moral defiance against the apartheid ideologues who tried to coerce blacks into accepting the 14 percent of South Africa assigned to them as their "homelands".

But as time goes by the ANC's mystique as a resistance movement, and Mr Mandela's status as a legendary leader, diminish. ANC leaders believe that Mr de Klerk's strategy is to prolong the negotiations for as long as possible to deprive the ANC of these profound advantages and at the same time to exhaust it financially.

A comparison with Zimbabwe and Namibia is apposite: in both cases elections were held within months of the ceasefire; it is now nearly two years since the release from prison of Mr Mandela brought a de facto end to attacks by ANC guerrillas.

The coming election, however, is terra nova for South Africans. There are no certainties. If the juggernaut looks a bit rickety, it is still bigger and stronger than all its rivals, and probably than any combination of them. □

# Hani recalls days of 'paranoiac ANC'

B/Day 27/5/92



STEPHANE BOTHMA

PARANOIA and hysteria in the ranks of the ANC about government's ability to infiltrate it before it was unbanned resulted in innocents being detained in prison camps, former Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) chief-of-staff Chris Hani has admitted in a magazine interview.

Hani is reported by the latest edition of Work in Progress as saying about 18 or 19 MK members found guilty by a tribunal of taking part in a mutiny against superiors in Angola in 1984 were executed.

At his request, the ANC leadership had stepped in and stopped further executions.

Speaking about ANC detention camps, Hani said one of the innocents detained in the mid-'80s, was national executive committee member Pallo Jordan, for making a derogatory remark about methods used by the ANC's security department. Jordan was detained in June 1983 for six weeks after criticising the security infrastructure in a private conversation.

"And that critical voice reached the ears of security, and because security was a law unto itself, Comrade Jordan was picked up and detained for a few days," he said.

Hani said the climate at the time, when "the regime" was destabilising the ANC, killing its leaders and assassinating commanders of MK, had created a situation of overall suspicion.

When 60% of cadres sent to infiltrate SA were either arrested or killed, sometimes the wrong impression was drawn that those who handled the operations were working for the enemy, he said.

"People began to lose a balanced approach in terms of combating the infiltration of the ANC by the regime. That situation actually caused problems where, in my own view, the innocent and the guilty were sometimes lumped together."

Asked about several mutinies that took place in camps in Angola, Hani said he had been summoned to solve the mutinous situation. Cadres mutinied over the deployment of MK members against Unita in Angola, and not the apartheid regime, and refused to take orders.

"They actually took their weapons, took trucks and virtually took over our transit camp in Viana, in Luanda."

When they refused to stop their actions, Angolans were called in to help disarm them. They were disarmed and were sent back to camps of the ANC, Hani said.

Another mutiny took place a few months later, and although Hani said he was in favour of dialogue with the mutineers, he had "reached the end of my tether" when they killed several key commanders in one camp called Bango, and took over the camp. Bango was taken back by force and the mutineers were brought before a tribunal, of which Hani was not a part. Some were sentenced to death and executed.

On a new security force, Hani said "I would like a situation where a security apparatus is answerable to Parliament.

He added: "I would favour, for instance, a parliamentary committee to oversee the security apparatus."

## Bitter hostel debate continues

B/Day 27/5/92

WILSON ZWANE

A FEW years ago hostel and township residents used to party together. Now they are enemies.

Residents say relationships with hostel residents started deteriorating in 1990 when violence rocketed in Reef townships.

They perceive hostels as the epicentre of violence. Civic organisations — such as the Soweto Civic Association (SCA) and the Alexandra Civic Organisation (ACO) — have echoed that sentiment.

SCA official Kgabisi Mosunkutu told a recent meeting of the Central Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber that hostels should be "emptied" as they were breeding grounds for violence.

The civic organisations want the hostels converted into family units to allow migrant workers to live with their families.

However, this would be costly, and few hostel residents can afford to buy homes. Soweto City Council spokesman Moja-

lefa Moseki says emptying the hostels "will fuel tensions in the townships and cause more social strife". However, he supports their conversion into family units, saying women and children make up about 30% of Soweto's hostel population.

West Rand Hostel Residents' Association vice-chairman Joseph Kubheka says he has not come across any hostel resident who favours conversion, and East Rand Hostel Residents' Association chairman Zakhele Mlambo says his organisation is "totally opposed" to it. Mlambo says the hostels should rather be upgraded.

The Transvaal Provincial Administration is injecting funds into upgrading hostels under its jurisdiction. In Thokoza, hostels are undergoing a multimillion-rand facelift. Renovations to one of the township's three hostels will cost about R3.5m.

## UN renews plea for Mozambicans

Own Correspondent

LONDON — The UN yesterday renewed its call for the SA government to grant refugee status to 100 000 Mozambicans who have fled across the border. *Biday 27/5/92*

A spokesman for the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in Geneva said it had asked government to extend their mandate in SA to cope with the growing crisis in the refugee camps.

In September last year, the UN signed an agreement to assist in the repatriation of 15 000 exiled South Africans. The operation began in December — marking the first time in 30 years that a UN body had been allowed to operate in SA.

Now the UNHCR was trying to persuade SA to give the refugees UN protection, said Christian Berthiaume at the UNHCR headquarters in Geneva.

The drought and civil war in Mozambique has resulted in a continuous stream of exiles — in spite of the forced repatriation of up to 50 000 people a year.

BBC news yesterday highlighted the plight of the refugees who walk for days and risk their lives crossing the electrified border fence into SA to escape drought, famine and civil war.

According to the BBC, SA has maintained that giving Mozambique's exiles UN refugee status is not an option.

## ANC, govt agree to more meetings

*Biday 27/5/92*

SENIOR members of government and the ANC who met on Monday night agreed that more bilateral meetings should take place in an effort to bridge differences that had emerged at Codesa, sources said yesterday.

The meeting, attended by government's senior negotiators and a host of senior ANC members, was held in an attempt to clear the air after more than a week of vociferous public debate.

The decision to hold more bilateral meetings is perceived as one method of ensuring the progress of negotiations, which currently hang in the balance following the impasse at Codesa II.

If more bilateral meetings between the ANC and government are held, the focus of negotiations will inevitably move away from Codesa to these meetings between the two leading members of the two main blocks at Codesa.

The focus of discussions at the Monday night meeting was the outstanding disagreements which emerged during discussions in Codesa's working group 2 which was dealing with the form of the interim gov-

TIM COHEN

ernment and the constituting-making bodies.

However, no solution was proposed to any of the major outstanding disagreements between government and the ANC. Neither did the parties broach the thorny issue of the percentage required for a new constitution to be passed.

The issue of the Codesa forum which will decide these issues was also not agreed, although it is known government is in favour of merging Codesa working groups two and three which have the task of discussing transitional government.

There is some hope that agreement on the outstanding issues will be reached before the current session of Parliament ends in June, and both government and the ANC have publicly stated their intention to pursue this goal. However, the chance is considered small.

The meeting was held in a friendly atmosphere and the damaged relations between the two sides, exacerbated by the series of accusations and counter-accusations, were partially healed, a source said.

## Informal sector in anti-AIDS project

*Biday 27/5/92*

AMERICAN Duncan Earle, director of Population Services International (PSI), is planning to use the informal sector to distribute 4-million condoms a year in the AIDS-stricken Natal province.

Business development magazine Enterprise reports that Earle will mount the first phase of the project with extensive research to establish a new brand of condom that markets within the culture of SA.

A private, non-profit organisation, PSI has launched health and family planning programmes in 25 developing countries around the world, including about 12 in Africa.

Earle aims to enlist an "army of wholesalers" who will make condoms and vital health information available in shebeens, bars, spaza shops, factories, transport depots and through pavement hawkers.

These retailers will also act as advisors and will be equipped with basic training, says Earle.

He plans to get the condoms on sale throughout Natal by mid-year and go nationwide next year.

The main thrust of the condom programme is to curb the spread of the HIV virus which leads to AIDS, and which is particularly prevalent in Natal, says Earle.

Earle says that at R1 each condoms are too expensive for the average South African, so PSI intends slashing the retail price to between 15c and 20c a piece, or 50c for a pack of three.

While parent company PSI-USA has pledged substantial funding, PSI has also been negotiating with a number of top SA companies for financial support.

The entire project is being run by Earle from his office in Durban.

He was responsible for launching similar projects in Cameroon, the Central African Republic and Benin.

## Gambler cites Act in reneging on debt

CAPE TOWN — A Sea Point casino is suing a Constantia man for a R75 000 gambling debt which he refuses to pay, claiming it is not enforceable by law and that he lost the money playing an illegal game of chance.

Highstead Entertainment, trading as The Club, claimed in the Supreme Court in Cape Town on Monday that Ruby Rutenberg of Daw Avenue had stopped payment of a cheque for R75 000 in settlement of losses for one night's gaming and demanded immediate payment with interest.

In an affidavit Rutenberg admitted stopping the cheque, but said he was entitled to do so.

He said he issued the cheque to The Club in settlement of a gambling debt which was not enforceable by law and which he was not obliged to pay because the transaction was in contravention of the law.

On April 21 he went to the casino and arranged for The Club to provide him with credit. Before being given his chips he had to sign a blank cheque which would prevent a gambler from later refusing to pay.

He was provided with chips worth R75 000 and by the end of the evening had lost the lot.

He played a game called ace high which was a variation of blackjack.

The game was "predominantly one of chance", as even a skilful and experienced player could do little when he had a weak hand, Rutenberg said.

Although it was sometimes contended that "card counters" — players who had the rare ability to count and remember which cards had been dealt — could predict with some accuracy what most of the remaining cards would be when the game had progressed to a certain stage, he disputed this. — Sapa.

# ANC cadres in Lusaka face eviction

STAR 2715192  
LUSAKA — More than 200 ANC cadres in Lusaka have been threatened with evictions from houses owned by the organisation.

The government-owned newspaper Zambia Daily Mail reported yesterday that the move had angered the exiles, most of them students who claimed they were still to be repatriated by the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).

ANC representative in Zambia, Japhet Ndhlovu, last month issued a circular to all ANC cadres in Zambia that the organisation would no longer support its members outside SA because donors had withdrawn their support.

The newspaper quoted one of the ANC cadres as complaining: "There is no justification for the ANC to evict us from the premises."

Most of those interviewed yesterday charged: "The ANC has sold the property. We are the direct beneficiaries. Why evict us?"

Efforts to obtain comment from the UNHCR failed. — Sapa.



Mwasa supporters outside the SABC's Auckland Park headquarters yesterday. Christo Pretorius is the corporation's labour relations manager.

Picture: BRIAN HENDLER

## PAC backs TV strikers

STEPHANE BÖTHME

THE PAC yesterday called on black TV viewers not to renew licences, as a gesture of support for hundreds of Media Workers' Association of SA (Mwasa) members on strike at the SABC.

The PAC's call was repeated by several other organisations who took part in a march on the SABC in support of the strike which, on Monday, entered its second week after a deadlock in wage negotiations between the SABC and Mwasa. About 20 political, cultural, labour, civic and church groups joined yesterday's march from Johannesburg city centre to Auckland Park. *Blow*

The International Federation of Journalists (IFJ) also came out in support of the strike, which was called when the SABC refused to meet Mwasa demands of a 30% across the board increase. *2715792*

The IFJ said it was putting pressure on international television news networks CNN and ITN to stop "scabbing" on SABC workers by supplying footage which was used for filling in news broadcasts.

The SABC could not be reached for comment.

# Winnie 'wants ban discussed'

CT 28/5/92 (11A)

**JOHANNESBURG.** — Mrs Winnie Mandela has written a letter to the president of the ANC Women's League, Mrs Gertrude Shoppe, asking for a meeting to discuss her suspension, according to a Women's League spokeswoman.

The spokeswoman could not say if the meeting had been granted.

Mrs Mandela's lawyer Mr Ismail Ayob yesterday confirmed she had consulted him on the matter, but declined to elaborate. Mrs Mandela earlier said her lawyers would be studying the league's constitution to determine the legality of her suspension.

The national executive council (NEC) of the Women's League has scheduled an urgent meeting on Saturday to discuss the future of its suspended PWV regional executive.

The league's spokeswoman, who asked not to be named, said the NEC intended investigating the reasons for the suspensions objectively.

"We can't just have a regional executive suspended like that."

She said the NEC would try to settle the dispute which arose after a sit-in at the ANC Johannesburg head office last Thursday by a group of Mrs Mandela's supporters seeking her re-instatement as head of the ANC's social welfare department.

Her suspension was apparently sparked by feelings within the organisation that she had organised the protest, which was dubbed as unconstitutional. Mrs Mandela has denied the charge.

The NEC earlier this week endorsed the suspension by the PWV inter-branch meeting. It said the 33 branches had been more than a quorum and had been entitled to react to what they had "correctly perceived as a political problem". — Sapa

## Kobie mum on Mandela case

Political Staff

**JUSTICE** Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee again refused to answer questions from Hillbrow MP Mr Lester Fuchs on possible new charges against Mrs Winnie Mandela.

He said the issue was in the hands of the attorney-general.

In reply to another question from Houghton MP Mr Tony Leon, Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel said police who had re-opened investigations into the murder of Dr Abu-Baker Asvat had not interviewed members of the family to date.



# ANC indaba to focus on economy

By Esther Waugh  
Political Reporter

The ANC is expected to focus on its economic policy at its five-day policy conference, starting at Nasrec today.

The conference, which is scheduled to be attended by more than 700 members, will give ANC members an opportunity to discuss the organisation's policies.

The policy conference was arranged after the ANC national conference, held in Durban in July, ran out of time before it could discuss the organisation's policies on wide-ranging topics.

Topics under discussion at the conference include constitutional affairs; economy; land and environment; local government and housing; health; social welfare; education; science and technology; arts, culture and media; and police and army.

The ANC formed a special commission on negotiations this week after the failure of Codesa 2 to reach any agreement on transitional arrangements. It is understood that additional members are travelling to Johannesburg from the regions to discuss negotiations.

A heated debate is expected on the ANC's department of social welfare following the suspension of Winnie Mandela as the department's head.

The draft policy document is proposing a mixed economy "to create a strong, dynamic and balanced economy".

The economic policy proposes to eliminate poverty and extreme inequalities generated by the apartheid system, achieve high employment, develop a prosperous regional economy, and improve the lives of the majority.

The ANC envisages that the State will bear the responsibility for health, education, social security and an infrastructure such as roads, telecommunications and transport.

It also envisages a dynamic private sector with special attention being given to small and medium-sized businesses.

Only the opening address by ANC leader Nelson Mandela and the closing address by secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa will be open to the press.

# ANC assembles in bad mood

(11A)

STAR 28/5/92

ALL of South Africa now knows that Codesa 2 was "saved" by a late night man-to-man meeting between ANC leader Nelson Mandela and President de Klerk on May 15.

Saved, that is, from deteriorating into an acrimonious public slanging match. The historic second plenary session ended with smiles and words of conciliation, if not with a long-awaited blueprint for getting the transition under way.

But what has transpired in the fortnight since Codesa 2 clearly shows that the outpouring of venom was merely deferred; it did not take long to break out again.

This is because the De Klerk/Mandela feather-smoothing exercise was no more than that. The fundamental lack of agreement and trust between the two sides was simply too concrete and passionate to be kept out of the public domain: hence the current phase — which will, of course, pass — of vicious, personalised battles between key leaders.

What is less well known about the Codesa 2 episode is that the conciliatory initiative came from the ANC. Mr Mandela suggested the meeting with Mr de Klerk.

Still further from the public perception is the angst that this has caused — is causing — within the ANC and its Cosatu and Communist Party allies.

There are a great number of people within the ANC axis, many of them in senior positions, who now believe that the Government was "let off the hook" as a result of the public relations patch-up job. They are angry about it, and this is likely to infect the mood on the conference floor when the ANC's crucial policy deliberations open at Nasrec today.

A warning note was sounded this week by Jeremy Cronin, one of the SACP's most astute strategists.

Writing in the left-wing journal "Work in Progress/New Era", Mr Cronin performed a post-mortem on Codesa 2, and concluded that the "balm of hope" which was invoked on the final day of the gathering served to obscure the real power relations at work.

On the first day of Codesa, Cronin argues, it was clear to delegates and the world that the Government was stalling the transition by making unreasonable demands, *inter alia*, the insistence on extraordinarily high "special



Man-to-man . . . President de Klerk and Nelson Mandela.

majorities" for constitutional decisions.

Says Cronin: "This firm stand was somehow allowed to dissipate on the second day." What he does not say, but it is implicit in his analysis, was that this was the result of the De Klerk/Mandela tete-a-tete of the night before.

"The regime had come to Codesa wanting to slow down the progress of negotiations," writes Cronin. "But they could not afford to be seen to be doing this too blatantly.

"I think, at least partly on the second day, we allowed them to slip off the hook. They came close to getting what they wanted — prolongation without pain."

Cronin is convinced that the Government arrived at Codesa 2 intent on performing a subtle stalling exercise: it wanted to emerge with the appearance, but not the substance, of definite progress towards non-racial government. For this reason, he argues that the rarefied disagreements over percentages and special majorities "miss the point".

If these had not been the issues of deadlock, "the regime would have found others".

Cronin suggests that there are at least two reasons behind the Government desire to "forestall, for ever if possible, majority rule in our country".

The first is that it wants the opportunity to canvass black support.

"De Klerk feels he needs more time to run a National Party election campaign in the black areas. He cannot afford to lose his private army, the one at SABC headquarters at Auckland Park, quite yet."

The second is that the Government is unhappy that it "has been unable to use Codesa in the way that it had hoped". The equal weighting of delegations — many of which are broadly in the Government camp — should have favoured the Government, Cronin argues, but it has performed ineptly in the new style of politics.

Cronin concludes that the upshot of Codesa 2 is medium-term tactical advantage for the ANC and its allies, but he makes it clear that pressures will be brought to bear outside the World Trade Centre in order to press home the ANC's demands.

This is indeed beginning to happen, even before the ANC conference gets under way. Cosatu's announcement of a campaign of mass action (which general secretary Jay Naidoo says will wholly overshadow even the VAT strike) fits neatly into this context. It is unashamedly intended to "strengthen the hand of the (ANC-aligned) negotiators", and very probably will do so.

Further, last-minute additions and amendments to the ANC's draft policy document — the basis for discussion at Nasrec — suggest a hardening of attitudes as a result of the stalling of Codesa.

The Nasrec conference is much more than just another talking shop. While it will no doubt produce its fair share of hot air, what happens in the course of the four-day gathering will impact on ANC supporters and opponents alike.

For the first time, the ANC is having to tie itself to formal, clearly defined policies — an election manifesto, if you will — and it is significant that this will occur in an atmosphere of anger and defiance rather than trust and compromise.

Codesa 2's chickens are likely to come home to roost in the ANCO's conference hall. □

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y, and the

Bank, said outside the  
court: "It is a tragic story, but  
society at large is not duty  
bound to look after her. A de-  
bilitating disease is no

situation because if I do manage to  
find work to pay the bond,  
then I have to declare it and  
welfare takes whatever I earn  
off my pension," she lamented.

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-Sapa.

## ANC region backs mass action call

Star 28/5/92

A call for mass action against the Government was endorsed by a special regional council of the African National Congress' PWV region yesterday.

According to a statement, the ANC PWV region decided to "support and endorse the proposal by the Congress of South African Trade Unions for mass action against the Government which is scheduled for July".

On Tuesday Cosatu announced a campaign to enforce certain demands con-

cerning Government corrup-  
tion, the allocation of public  
funds, the formation of a tran-  
sitional government, and the  
establishment of an independ-  
ent broadcasting board.

The ANC said its PWV re-  
gional council would begin  
drafting a programme of ac-  
tion, to be finalised by mid-  
June.

"The Regional Council gave  
its full support to the demands  
as set out by Cosatu," the  
statement said. — Sapa.

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## 30 people at PAC rally

TZANEEN. — Only 30 people attended yesterday's Pan-Africanist Congress rally in Nkowa township near here, and even guest speaker PAC national organiser Mr Maxwell Nemadzivhanini failed to arrive.

Meanwhile, the SA Communist Party rally addressed by general-secretary Mr Chris Hani in the Namagale township outside Phalaborwa on Wednesday drew more than 10 000 people, though posters advertising the meeting were put up only that morning. —

Sapa

CT 29/5/92

# Indaba bugged says ANC chief

 Sowetan Correspondent 

A BUGGING device has been discovered in one of the ANC's meeting halls at Nasrec where the organisation is holding a four-day conference to draw up its economic programme. *Sowetan 29/1/92*

ANC information chief Pallo Jordan, holding the device, a miniature microphone with an in-built transmitter said to have a range of between 500m and 1km, said the main suspect was the Government.

The device had been planted in an electrical mains and connected to two live wires. The mains were behind the main table in the hall, where the role of the police and the army and other security services was due to be discussed shortly after the lunch recess.

Noting that the ANC's rooms at Codesa in Kempton Park had also been bugged, Jordan dismissed last week's explanation that the tapping at the time had been the work of an "over-zealous" post office employee acting without authority.

Of yesterday's bug he said in a statement: "This is an example of what we are up against. There is very little doubt who is behind this and our principal suspect is the South African Government."

# Azasm holds congress

*Sowetan 29/5/92 (1/1A)*

THE Azanian Students' Movement will hold its eighth national congress at Batho Location in Bloemfontein this weekend.

Azasm president Mr Andile Mngxitama said the

**Sowetan Reporter**

congress would be held at the old Vista Campus from 9am tomorrow until Sunday.

The theme of the con-

gress will be Consolidate and Advance for Socialism.

Dr Gomolemo Mokae, head of the education secretariat of the Azanian People's Organisation will deliver the main address.

# ANC worry over MK 'loose cannons'

Wilmant 29/5-4/6/92

**C**OLBERT KING, a union stalwart from the Iscor steelworks, walked into the grounds of the kwaMasiza hostel at midnight on May 5 after returning from his home in Port St Johns and was greeted by a comrade who took out an AK-47 and gunned him down.

It's nothing new when activists are shot dead in the streets these days. But the killing of King highlights a new and sinister twist to this spiral of township violence: vicious internecine feuds are flaring up around the country between renegade members of Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) and other anti-apartheid veterans.

King's murder in the township of Sebokeng, the subject of sensitive and high-level talks at African National Congress headquarters in Johannesburg over the past two weeks, is surrounded by political intrigue and secrecy.

But interviews with some of those involved in the controversy reveal that the murder was the culmination of an intricate squabble that has developed between pro-ANC union shop stewards from Iscor and a local self-defence unit led by militant members of MK in the township.

At the core of the dispute is a union demand that members of the defence unit, who are based in the kwaMasiza hostel and work closely with a group of returned MK exiles, accept the political leadership of the local shop stewards' committee and account for money that has allegedly gone missing after the pro-MK unit imposed a levy on hostel dwellers supposedly for the purpose of buying arms and ammunition.

The deadly vendetta escalated this month when the home of another senior Iscor shop steward was raked with automatic rifle fire — and this is clearly not an isolated incident.

Reports compiled by the Democratic Party's unrest monitoring unit in Natal indicate that the township of kwaNdengezi near Durban has been turned into a hotbed of intrigue and tension between resident comrades and MK members just returned from exile.

Conflict between local youth activists and a faction of armed Umkhonto fighters led to a shootout between the rival groups in January

*Tensions are rising between Umkhonto weSizwe cadres returning to the townships and activists who remained behind. EDDIE KOCH reports on the ANC's battle to reconcile its military and political structures*

this year. More recently the local comrades hounded some of the MK men out of the township after accusing them of stealing cars in the city, bringing them into the township and attracting unwelcome attention from the police.

"These guys tend not to respect the local township structures. They get involved in armed robberies and steal cars. Recently there was a shoot-out between them and the police in the streets of kwaNdengezi which endangered the community. But they refuse to be disciplined," a local ANC leader told *The Weekly Mail* on condition that he was not named.

Similar internecine battles have resulted in open violence between ANC supporters and an MK-led faction in the Phola Park squatter camp. Last month a rebel group in the informal settlement — a traditional ANC support base that has been subjected to repeated raids from the police, the army and Inkatha — ousted members of the local civic committee in an armed coup d'état that was backed by men described as "rogue" member of MK.

Members of the old committee now have their names on a hit-list and this month one of the ousted members was pulled off a bus, allegedly by members of the rebel group, and shot dead. Since then senior ANC leaders have held a series of fruitless talks aimed at getting the rebel group to disarm themselves. At one stage the MK leadership was so desperate that it considered sending in an armed detachment to do the job.

Reports from other parts of the country have filtered into *The Weekly Mail* offices of violent arguments between returned MK fighters and youths who stayed home and fought in the townships during the years that the ANC was banned. These frequently



Gunned down ... Union official Colbert King was shot by a comrade

involve personal tiffs that range from competition for political positions to jealous spats over women.

"The MK guys believe they are heroes who devoted a large part of their lives out there in the bush and should be treated with a special respect now that they are home," said an ANC source.

"But the local boys believe it was they who fought on the front line of the struggle without much help from MK and resent being treated in this way. The comrades complain that the Umkhonto guys have access to guns and threaten to use these when there is a dispute in the township."

The actions of out-of-control MK cadres come nowhere near matching

the level of violence fomented by Inkatha and third force attacks in the townships. But the government and police are exploiting the lack of discipline in the ranks of MK to discredit the ANC and shift attention away from the role of security forces in township strife.

The SAP last week justified a series of "crime prevention" raids on Phola Park by saying their aim was to weed out a group of MK rebels that have imposed a reign of terror on the township — and, without providing any evidence, blamed this group for the massacre of 18 Inkatha supporters on their way to a rally in September last year.

Law and Order Minister Hernus

Kriel this week countered Nelson Mandela's blistering attack on the government's failure to stem the violence by claiming the SAP had uncovered a "crime network under the banner of the ANC's self-defence units" and listing a series of violent crimes in which MK members were allegedly involved — again without providing any evidence.

The ANC is deeply embarrassed by these criticisms and secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa has held a series of meetings with Umkhonto leaders and other political leaders to look at ways of dealing with the problem.

Members of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, who stress the need for civic groups and defence units to be strictly accountable to an elected leadership in the townships, are pressing the ANC to inject more control and discipline over wayward MK groups.

MK member Rocklyn Williams, who works for the independent Military Research Group, said a major reason for the breakdown of Umkhonto weSizwe control over some of its cadres was the failure to integrate these units into the army and to provide them with jobs and housing after their return from exile.

"The problem of MK banditry is linked to the material insecurity that exiles face upon their return to the country," says Williams. He points out that bilateral talks currently taking place between the ANC and the South African Defence Force about possibility of integrating the two armies are not taking place quickly enough to deal with the problem.

Political analyst Howard Barrell, who is researching ANC strategic policy at Oxford University, says the tendency of some MK members to use "banditry and a form of warlordism" has strong historical roots.

His research indicates that the ANC failed in the post 1976 period to link military cadres that were infiltrated into the country with the political leadership that took charge of the mass movements inside the country.

"There was a continual parallelism between the ANC's political and military operational structures characterised by dislocation and bickering," says Barrell. And the indications are that the organisation has failed to overcome the crippling effects of this flaw.

# ANC regions support contentious issues

Biday 29/5/92

(1/A)

DOCUMENTS prepared for the ANC's policy conference show some support for such controversial proposals as redistribution without compensation, a first-past-the-post system of local government, abortion on demand and legalised prostitution.

According to a report submitted by the drafting committee, differing views were submitted by ANC regions on whether or not there should be compensation for nationalised companies and for redistributed land.

If there was to be compensation, views differed on whether the compensation should be "just" or "appropriate", the document stated.

TIM COHEN

In a different section, covering matters that received some, but not majority, support from ANC regions, it was proposed that there should be a constituency-based, first-past-the-post, electoral system at local level.

As far as property rights were concerned, two different amendments were proposed: that property rights should not be entrenched in the bill of rights; and that property rights in a bill of rights should be investigated to ensure effective land reform could still be achieved.

Different proposals were received from

some regions concerning the creation of productive employment opportunities at a "living wage".

Calls were made for a minimum wage.

Delegates would be asked to consider whether abortion should be legalised and made available through the national health system with pre- and post-abortion counselling and support systems.

Consideration would be given also to the legalisation of commercial sex.

"Commercial sex workers should be registered and integrated into health and gender initiatives and should have access to regular health checks," the document says.

To Page 2

## ANC

Biday 29/5/92

Delegates would be asked to consider whether doctors should be required to work in the public sector for a period on completion of their studies.

Delegates would discuss whether there should be a national social security system and how to make certain that the system does not become a hindrance to development.

There were different proposals regarding the period for which the state should provide education.

The first proposal was that the state should not fund pre-school education, but should fund the first 10 years at school.

After that, education would not be free and compulsory, unless and until the state could afford it.

The contrary view was that education

(1/A)

From Page 1

should be free and compulsory from pre-school to matric.

As regards adult education, the document proposed either that the state and employers should provide premises and equipment for adult education, or that employers would have prime responsibility.

It was suggested that everyone should be taught in either the regional lingua franca or English.

If a student's mother tongue was not the regional lingua franca, mother tongue education would be provided except where not practically possible.

The document also noted that consideration should be given to a Court of Audit, a Public Service Commission and sanctions for non-implementation of affirmative action policies.

● See Page 3





ANC president Nelson Mandela and his estranged wife Winnie, in a show of affection at yesterday's opening of the ANC's policy conference.

Picture: BRIAN HENDLER

# Prepare for power, ANC delegates told

810am 29/5/92

11A

TIM COHEN

PREPARE to govern, ANC president Nelson Mandela told delegates — and a bugging device — at the ANC's four-day policy conference outside Johannesburg.

The bug was found in one of the discussion rooms at Nasrec where delegates will discuss issues such as economic policy and the ANC's negotiations stance.

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said the device had been found by a security surveillance system. The discovery of the bug follows the ANC's announcement that its telephone and fax machine had been tapped at the Codesa negotiations.

Macozoma refrained from blaming government agencies for placing the bug, but said it was clear who had the motivation and expertise to do so.

In his address, Mandela launched an attack on government's negotiating stance, saying Codesa II had exposed the NP's duplicity.

"The inescapable reality is that the regime laid bare its fundamental contempt for democracy and its unmitigated desire to hang on to power."

Mandela said the ANC remained committed to Codesa, which would be used to

create the conditions for setting SA on the road to democracy.

He said there were great expectations that the Nasrec policy conference would reassert that the role of a new government would be to protect and advance the interests of the most vulnerable.

"There are those who are keen to see the ANC abandoning precisely this developmental perspective which we hold so dear. They will be disappointed."

The so-called "new world order", which appeared to be so opposed to development, would result in an ever widening gap between rich and poor, he said.

The basic objectives of ANC policy were to strive for the right of all South Africans to political and economic self-determination and to overcome the legacy of inequality created by colonialism and apartheid.

ANC policy also aimed at developing an economy and state infrastructure that would improve SA's quality of life and to encourage the feeling that SA belonged to all residents.

# Azanla, Apla will continue armed conflict

Sowetan 29/5/92

11A

**THE Azanian National Liberation Army and the Azanian People's Liberation Army will continue their armed campaign until liberation is achieved.**

Spokesmen for the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania said yesterday the announcement by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela that his organisation would not resort to the armed struggle again was unfortunate and premature.

BCMA publicity and information secretary Mr Vuyisa Qunta said Azania would continue with its programme of liberating black people until this objective had been achieved.

"Nothing has happened in occupied Azania so far that warrants any review of the policy of liberation by all means necessary.

In fact, the circus at the so-called Codesa 2 over basic democratic principles

shows that the liberation armies should instead intensify their campaigns," Qunta said.

PAC spokesman Mr Waters Toboti, who said he was speaking on behalf of the political organisation and not the military wing Apla, said it was political suicide for a leader to dump "the principle form of struggle before liberation".

He said the PAC would not consider abandoning its strategies because Codesa was a failure. He said Mandela's announcement in Oslo, Norway, showed signs of capitulation to State President FW de Klerk's insistent call for the disbanding of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Mandela said at the Press conference that the ANC was an organisation of peace and would not resort to the armed struggle even if the present deadlocked talks with the white minor-

ity regime failed.

Mandela said the organisation would instead resort to a general struggle to force the regime to change.

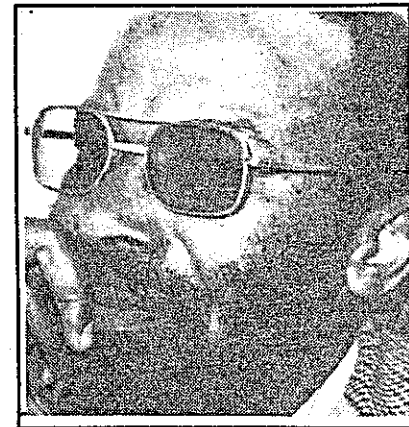
The announcement has been widely seen as an indication that the ANC may

soon agree to the disbanding of MK as it has by its own admission become an obsolete structure which will never be used again.

Government spokesman and Defence Minister Mr Roelf Meyer welcomed Mandela's announcement and said it was the first confirmation that the ANC had



JOHNSON MLAMBO



MOSIBUDI MANGENA

abandoned the armed struggle.

While the Government has insisted on the disbanding of MK, the ANC has always said this would not happen until an interim government is installed.

It responded to criticism by other political organisa-

tions to its decision to suspend the armed struggle by saying that MK had not been disbanded and would be redeployed should the need arise.

But Mandela's statement, ironically made in an overseas country, has brought the ANC position

nearer that of the Government.

Observers say however that the departure of Mr Chris Hani from the leadership of MK, to head the less important Communist Party, had been the first sign that MK had lost its status within the ANC.



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11A  
29/5/92

# ANC warns of mass action

**IN a clear warning to the Government that mass action would be used to break the deadlock at Codesa, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday said the masses were the most reliable deadlock-breaking mechanism.**

He said this at the ANC's policy conference, which started at Nasrec in Johannesburg yesterday, and announced that a special committee would consider "activities to break the intran-

**By IKE MOTSAPI**

signance of the regime". The deadline is July.

"The ANC has never allowed itself to be intimidated by this regime. We have no intention of doing so now. The process (negotiations) now under way is one that we initiated; the regime does not own Codesa," he said.

"In the interests of all the people of our country and of the struggling people throughout the world ... we must break the deadlock (at Codesa).

● To page 2

## ANC's warning

Sowetan 29/5/92

● From page 1

"We know that the masses of our people is one of the most reliable deadlock-breaking mechanisms," he said. Mandela's threat follows Cosatu's announcement of mass action to force the Government to accede to demands by the Congress Alliance. (11A) (Sowetan)

He also slammed State President FW de Klerk and the Government for delaying the establishment of an interim ruling structure in the country.

Mandela said the Government blocked "comprehensive agreement when Codesa 2 was presented with opportunity to take our country along the path of liberation".

He said: "The Government's insistence that a Codesa-drafted interim constitution should in fact be the new constitution, bear testimony to their preference for undemocratic practices.

"We were all engaged in mandating our delegates to Codesa 2 to work for speedy progress.

"However, it was at Codesa where the hidden agenda of the NP was unmasked for the whole world to see.

"However much some observers may have wanted to reduce the deadlock to a question of five percentage points, the inescapable reality is that the regime laid bare its fundamental contempt of democracy and its unmitigated desire to hang on to the levers of power."

Mandela said the country cannot be held to ransom by the National Party.

# Women ignore ousting <sup>(11/8)</sup>

CT 29/5/72

JOHANNESBURG. — The suspension of the regional executive committee (REC) of the PWV region of the ANC Women's League took a new turn yesterday with a statement by the REC that it intended to ignore the ousting.

"The democratically-elected REC of this region has come to the conclusion that the 'suspension' has no force and effect," the REC statement said.

The decision to suspend the REC

was taken last Sunday at a meeting of 33 branches of the ANCWL in the PWV region and was later endorsed by the league's national executive committee.

But the REC statement said it intended to carry on business as usual.

It had also called a meeting of all the relevant branches of the Women's League on Sunday, June 7, to try to clarify the position. — Sapa

# Spying device at ANC talks

Own Correspondent (114)

**JOHANNESBURG.** — Prepare to govern, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela told delegates — and a bugging device — at the ANC's four-day policy conference outside Johannesburg.

The bug was found in one of the discussion rooms at Nasrec where delegates will be discussing matters such as education and economic policy and the ANC's negotiations stance.

ANC spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma said the device was found by means of a security surveillance system.

The discovery of the bug, which was shown to journalists, comes shortly after the announcement that the ANC's Codesa telephone and fax machine were being tapped.

Mr Macozoma refrained from making direct allegations as to who placed the bug, but said it was clear who had the motivation and expertise to do so, suggesting government agencies were the culprits. CT 29/5/92

# Govt planted bug in Nasrec hall

By Jon Qwelane

A bugging device was discovered yesterday in one of the ANC's meeting halls at Nasrec where the organisation is holding a four-day conference to draw up its economic programme for a post-apartheid South Africa.

ANC information chief Dr Pallo Jordan, holding the device — a miniature microphone with an in-built transmitter,

said to have a range of between 500 m and 1 km — said the Government was the main suspect.

The device had been planted in an electrical mains and connected to two live wires. The main was behind the main table in the hall, where the role of the police, the army and other security services was due to be discussed shortly after the lunch recess. *STAR 29/5/92*

Noting that the ANC's rooms

at Codesa in Kempton Park had also been bugged, Dr Jordan dismissed last week's explanation that that tapping had been the work of an "over-zealous" Post Office employee acting without authority.

Of yesterday's bug he said in a statement: "This is an example of what we are up against. There is very little doubt who is behind this, and our principal suspect is the South African Government."

# Emotions run high as DP rebels welcomed

By Esther Waugh  
Political Reporter

11A  
Five former Democratic Party MPs swapped the comfort of Parliament's luxurious leather benches for plastic delegates' chairs at yesterday's ANC policy conference — and appeared to relish the experience.

The ANC's newest high-profile political acquisitions — Jannie Momberg, Jan van Eck, Rob Haswell, Dave Dalling and Pierre Cronje — were treated to an emotional welcome, including a standing ovation.

Four of the five attended in their new capacities as delegates of the western Cape re-

S TATZ 29/5/92  
gion of the ANC, while Mr Cronje represented the Natal Midlands.

Shortly after ANC president Nelson Mandela concluded his opening speech, ANC official Cheryl Carolus requested from the chair that the five join the organisation's leaders on the platform.

They were escorted to the stage amid tumultuous applause, shaking hands with dozens of delegates as they made their way to the front of the hall.

The five then greeted ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, chairman Oliver Tambo, deputy president Walter Sisulu

and Mr Mandela.

Asked how they felt, Mr Dalling said he had "goose-pimples".

Mr van Eck said he felt a "wonderful sense of liberation" and Mr Haswell said it was a "warm and tingling sort of experience".

Mr Momberg said it was an emotional experience which left him with a feeling of being accepted unconditionally.

The MPs — who now sit in the cross-benches in the House of Assembly — left the DP for the ANC five weeks ago, after a protracted dispute over where the party should situate itself in the changed political scenario.

Ex-DR  
MPs go  
slumming

*11A*  
*owelan 29/5/92*  
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They were escorted to the stage amid tumultuous applause, shaking hands with dozens of delegates as they made their way to the front of the hall.



# ANC Women's League to discuss PWV branch exco

Sowetan 29/5/92

11A

**THE national executive council of the ANC Women's League has scheduled an urgent meeting for tomorrow to discuss the future of its suspended PWV regional executive, which includes Mrs Winnie Mandela.**

This is according to an ANCWL NEC member, who said the league's office bearers would also be meeting members of the ANC's national executive committee on Wednesday to discuss the suspension, which effectively removed Mandela from her position

as PWV chairman.

However, ANC spokesman Mr Sakie Macozoma could not confirm such a meeting.

The ANCWL spokeswoman, who asked not to be named, said Mandela had on Tuesday written a letter to ANCWL president Mrs Gertrude Shope, requesting a meeting to discuss her suspension. The woman could not say if the meeting had been granted.

She said the ANCWL NEC intended investigating the reasons for the suspensions objectively.

"We can't just have a regional executive sus-

pending like that. We will have to investigate very objectively and take urgent action."

She said the NEC would try to settle the dispute which arose after a sit-in at the ANC Johannesburg head office last Thursday by a group of Mandela's supporters seeking her reinstatement as head of the ANC's social welfare department.

Her suspension was apparently sparked by feelings within the organisation that she had organised the protest, which was dubbed as unconstitutional. Mandela has denied the

charge.

Her supporters insist the suspension was a deliberate attempt to oust her from her power base within the ANC by "power-hungry people in the movement".

But the ANCWL NEC earlier this week endorsed the suspension by the PWV inter-branch meeting.

It stated the 33 branches, which had arrived at the decision after proper discussions.

Mandela's lawyer Mr Ismail Ayob on Wednesday confirmed she had consulted him on the matter, but declined to elaborate. - Sapa.

stone to make rockeries.

### Women's League committee digs in

The suspension of the regional executive committee (REC) of the PWV region of the ANC Women's League took a new turn yesterday with a statement by the REC that it intended to ignore the ousting.

"The democratically elected REC of this region has come to the conclusion that the 'suspension' has no force and effect," it said. (1/A)

The decision to suspend the REC was taken on Sunday at a meeting of 33 ANCWL branches in the PWV. — Sapa.

STAR 29/5/92

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# Talks on armed struggle end with Codesa failure

**BILLY PADDOCK**

CAPE TOWN — All negotiations on the armed struggle have ceased following the failure of Codesa 2 to reach agreement on a final constitution, and the subsequent war of words between the ANC and government.

Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel said on Wednesday that negotiations on the outstanding matters of the DF Malan Accord and Pretoria Minute on the ending of the armed struggle and the identification of arms caches had stopped. Last week Defence Minister Roelf Meyer said the talks had reached 80% agreement.

Talks were under way between the SADF and Unkhonto, but no further meetings had been scheduled.

He said the honeymoon period when government refrained from attacking the ANC for the good of the negotiation process had come to an end. ANC president Nelson Mandela had misused a public platform once too many times in attacking President F W de Klerk.

Government could now be expected to react to the attacks. Kriel said government would point out the ANC's non-adherence to the peace accord and its alleged role in perpetuating the violence.

He warned that the law would be strictly applied if the ANC's ally Cosatu carried out its threat of mass action.

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roup\*) for the year ended 29 February 1992 are set out below:

#### ABRIDGED GROUP BALANCE SHEET

|                            | Year ended<br>29 February 1992<br>R'000 | Year ended<br>28 February 1991<br>R'000 |
|----------------------------|---|---|
| Capital employed:          |   |   |
| Share capital              | 2 009                                   | 2 009                                   |
| Non-distributable reserves | 721                                     | 572                                     |
| Distributable reserves     | 1 083                                   | 902                                     |
| Shareholders' interest     | 3 813                                   | 3 483                                   |
| Deferred taxation          | 218                                     | 149                                     |
| Long-term liabilities      | 601                                     | 381                                     |
|                            | <b>4 712</b>                            | <b>4 013</b>                            |
| Employment of capital      |   |   |
| Fixed assets               | 1 897                                   | 1 119                                   |
| Net current assets         | 2 815                                   | 2 894                                   |
| Current assets             | 5 510                                   | 5 122                                   |
| Stock                      | 3 269                                   | 2 538                                   |
| Accounts receivable        | 2 006                                   | 2 409                                   |
| Taxation overpaid          | 89                                      | —                                       |
| Cash resources             | 154                                     | 175                                     |
| Current liabilities        | 2 703                                   | 2 228                                   |
| Accounts payable           | —                                       | 1 969                                   |
| Provision for taxation     | 2 703                                   | 147                                     |
| Dividend accrued           | —                                       | 112                                     |
|                            | <b>4 712</b>                            | <b>4 013</b>                            |

#### PROSPECTS

It is anticipated that the coming year will be difficult for the economy in general and the clothing industry in particular. However, as a result of the group having completed its current expansion, thereby obtaining a market share in both the ladies' and men's sectors, your directors are confident of the group's ability to meet the challenges and to take advantage of any potential

# Mandela: mass action solution to deadlock

By Shaun Johnson  
and Esther Waugh

The ANC yesterday confirmed that it will stay in the Codesa process — but Nelson Mandela served notice that from now on, negotiations would be coupled with mass action.

In his keynote opening speech to the ANC's four-day national policy conference at Nasrec, near Johannesburg, the ANC president said: "In the interests of all the people of our country ... we must break the (negotiations) deadlock. We know that the masses of our people is one most reliable deadlock-breaking mechanism."

Delivering a speech in which he simultaneously sent a militant message to delegates while urging them not to make unreasonable demands, Mr Mandela gave tacit support to Cosatu's planned programme of mass action, scheduled for July.

"We have said that negotiations are a site of struggle. Consequently, the negotiations under way at Codesa must be supported by other means of struggle. A draft alliance programme of action will be discussed in this conference."

He revealed that a special ANC "negotiations commission" had been set up — and that one of its primary tasks was to link the negotiations process to practical action by the ANC.

"This conference will consider activities to break the intransigence of the regime," he said.

STAR 29/5/92

"The draft proposal has earmarked July as the deadline."

While laying the blame for the failure of Codesa 2 squarely at the door of the Government, Mr Mandela said there was no question of the ANC pulling out of Codesa.

"We should not feel defeated after the failure of Codesa 2 to deliver in terms of the timetable which we have proposed," he said. "If anything, that reality should spur us on to strive for the deadlines which we ourselves have defined."

The ANC leader said the current conference was "essentially about preparing to govern". The ANC should emerge with clear policy proposals for a future democratic government.

Mr Mandela said the conference would seek to inspire South Africa's poorest, most downtrodden people, but also "those who have benefited from apartheid".

## Insecurity

"Let us provide them with a vision of the future — a vision of a single nation, a vision of an ANC government which will be able to govern competently and inclusively."

He added: "Even those who have benefited from apartheid live in great fear and insecurity. Undoubtedly, they too are in need of a significant improvement in life quality — and also stand to benefit from the policies of a democratic government in South Africa."

"The significance of this conference, therefore, is that the

policy guidelines which we will adopt are for the entire nation, and not only for the ANC."

But Mr Mandela warned that despite pressure, the ANC remained committed to "reasserting that the role of government is to protect and advance the interests of the most vulnerable".

"There are also," he said, "those who are keen to see the ANC abandoning precisely this developmental perspective which we hold so dear. They will be disappointed."

At the same time, however, he obliquely warned delegates that they would have to be realistic — and take into account the international political climate — when formulating policies.

"We are committed to putting into place policies which are sustainable," he said.

He made it clear that by "sustainable" he meant realistic. Noting that many ANC members were only now "being exposed to the technical detail of policy formulation", Mr Mandela said a greater percentage of members "now understand the resource constraints that an ANC government will face, and that there will therefore be no quick fix to decades of apartheid destruction".

Many "technical details" of policy could be worked out only after the conference, he said.

Eleven commissions will be meeting over the next three days to hammer out ANC positions in all the key areas of current South African society. The conference ends on Sunday with the ratification of resolutions.

By Rehana Rossouw

South 365-6/3/92  
CODESA was stuck and could not move forward because the NP was unwilling to accept the principle of majority rule and the fact that it would become an opposition party in a new South Africa, ANC national executive member Mr Thabo Mbeki said recently at a city banquet to mark the ANC's 80th anniversary.

Speaking to diplomats and the business community about the way forward in the negotiation process, Mbeki said: "I sense there is a lot of unease in the country about where we are and where we will be tomorrow.

"Did Codesa 2 fail or did it succeed? If it failed, how do we rescue the process of transition?"

Mbeki said the negotiation process was forcing the NP to confront its fate.

"The problem is the National Party is not accustomed to being an opposition party.

"It knows itself as a ruling party and therefore wants to enter into all manner of arrangements to keep itself as a ruling party.

"According to normal democratic rules, the NP ought to accept with as much grace as it can muster that they are the opposition.

"The NP doesn't want to accept that. It says 'Yes indeed, we recognise and accept the notion of majority rule but we say the majority cannot rule except with the permission of the minority.'

"That's where Codesa is stuck — because of the failure of the NP to accept an ordinary, normal, basic democratic principle of majority rule."

## Codesa stuck because of National Party failure



**THABO MBEKI: "Did Codesa 2 fail or did it succeed?"**

Photo: Yunus Mohamed

# DOWN, BUT NOT OUT

Mrs Winnie Mandela is embroiled in another crisis — this time with the ANC Women's League's PWV branch. But this is just one in many she had to endure. She may be down, but she's not out, as **Sechaba ka Nkosi** reports:



**TAKING THE FULL COUNT:** The slings and arrows are all headed Winnie Mandela's way, but she has handled crises before and emerged undefeated

Photo: Yunus Mohamed

## Beleaguered Winnie must weather another storm

South 30/5 - 3/6/92

(11A)

**T**HE ANC Women's League (ANCWL) dumped Mrs Winnie Mandela because of her lack of accountability and her alleged organisation of a protest march by some members of the league's PWV region.

So claims a source inside the league's national executive committee. The source said there is growing concern in the organisation about the unaccountability to the league of the estranged wife of ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela.

Winnie is said to have been absent from two meetings which resulted in the resolution of indefinitely suspending the PWV regional executive committee (REC), to which she was appointed at its annual meeting earlier this month.

The first meeting she did not attend was an inter-branch meeting on Friday, May 22. She apparently left before the meeting started as she wanted to see her lawyers about statements made by some REC members to the press.

The other was an ANCWL NEC meeting, of which she is a member, at Krugersdorp on Sunday, May 24, to discuss the situation in the region. This time her excuse was she did not know about the meeting.

"She definitely knew about the meeting. Like all NEC members, she was informed about a month ago but chose not to come, as usual," said the source who asked not to be named.

It is alleged ANCWL president Mrs Gertrude Shope phoned Winnie to inform her about a press statement the NEC would issue later. Shope left messages to which Winnie never responded.

**B**UT THE last straw came when a group calling itself the Social Welfare Department Support Committee marched to the ANC headquarters in central Johannesburg demanding the immediate reinstatement of Winnie as head of the department.

ANCWL secretary-general Ms Baleka Kgositsile said after consultation with the protestors, the NEC could not understand what the problem was.

"In the knowledge of the whole world, including us, Comrade Winnie publicly resigned her position in the welfare department.

"We do not understand how we were expected to reinstate a person who resigned voluntarily and who even called a press conference to announce it," says Kgositsile.

"Moreover," she adds, "there are procedures and structures through which the matter can be taken up in the ANC."

However, the pro-Winnie faction —

understood to include Ms Nompumelelo Madlala, Ms Maggie Nkomo, Ms Sally Peterson and Ms Maria Mojapelo, all members of the REC — accuse Ms Mavivi Manzini, ANCWL NEC member and ANC delegate at Codesa's Gender Advisory Committee, of spearheading the campaign against Winnie and the suspension of the REC.

Manzini, nominated for the position of chairperson at the AGM, told delegates she did not wish to stand as she was "too busy".

However, she recommended another nominee, Ms Aminia Cachalia, who was not present at the meeting and was therefore not eligible for election.

Winnie was then elected unanimously.

Eleven of the 20-person strong REC threatened to resign at the inter-branch meeting in protest against those REC members involved in the protest action. These are believed to have included secretary Ms Lindiwe Maseko and additional members Ms Buntle Setshogoe and Ms Dorothy Motubatse.

Meanwhile, the ANCWL's NEC pledged to "see to it that the life of the regional office and branches continues."

Other REC members and regional branches publicly distanced themselves from

the actions of the pro-Winnie faction.

In addition, it was established that some of the people who took part in the march to have Winnie re-instated did not know exactly what the march was about. They ended up further divided into two camps because some thought the march was against the government.

Can Winnie's suspension and that of the entire REC not lead to further divisions in the region and a national crisis?

Kgositsile disputed this, saying the ANC has a good record of solving such problems.

"The matter must be resolved with discipline once and for all. The ANC will just tackle it as it has done with more difficult situations in the past," said Kgositsile.

Winnie has constantly captured media headlines with her defiant but unauthorised militancy in the now disbanded Mass Democratic Movement (MDM).

Ever since 1986, when Winnie defied her eight-year-old banning order to the remote "dorp" of Brandfort in the heart of the Orange Free State right-wing country, and returned to Soweto, she was linked to controversies.

The latest "scandal" involves some over-spent R400 000 which the commercial

media claims cannot be accounted for by the social welfare department which Winnie headed.

Also involved in the embarrassment is young lawyer Mr Dali Mpofu. Mpofu was deputy to Winnie in the department and was also romantically linked to her.

According to media reports, the ANC alleged the two spent the money recklessly during a fundraising trip overseas last year. However, the ANC says no money is missing from the social welfare department.

An audit apparently revealed the overspent money when some irregularities were noticed in the ANC account with a bank where the organisation keeps its money.

**A**CCORDING TO a source, the ANC gave Winnie a choice of being fired or resigning if she failed to account for the missing money. She chose the latter.

Mpofu, on the other hand, was given a transfer to the legal department. He defied it and was subsequently fired by the organisation.

The two close friends, however, refuted the allegations as "another personal strategy against Winnie and another strategy to split the ANC".

Said Winnie: "The latest allegations are a renewed campaign of vilification against me."

Her critics also accuse her of using resources to enhance her support base in the townships.

Says the source: "Winnie has a way of playing on feelings of the desperate and ignorant.

"She can easily go to Phola Park in the middle of the night and fight with the police because she has a car, which is something good.

"But other people can do the same if they have similar access to ANC resources."

This could spell the much-needed final punch to put Winnie to the canvas.

**R**ECENTLY, CLOSE confidantes like Mr John Morgan and Ms Xoliswa Falati who stood by and gave vital evidence for her defence in her murder trial of child activist Stompie Moeketsi, have abandoned her.

They claim to have lied in court just to "protect Mama".

But Winnie can easily outlive this blow as well. She has survived deadlier punches before.

Immediately after the announcement of her separation from Mandela in April, some thought it would be her political death.

Her critics, who have even dubbed her the "Mother of all Scandals", were to be proved wrong when Winnie emerged unanimously as chairperson of the ANCWL's PWV region.

Amid all the controversies, Winnie's support and influence within ANC structures can never be underestimated.

Again, whether her colleagues like her or hate her, she is a strong character and someone who simply cannot be wished away or ignored. — AIA

# Inkatha says cops recruited by ANC

(118) CT 30/5/92

DURBAN. — The Inkatha Institute yesterday claimed it has a list of more than 50 South African policemen countrywide who have been recruited by the ANC.

Institute spokesman Mr Ed Tillet said that the institute had found the list, provided by a highly-placed ANC informant, to be credible.

A police spokesman in Pretoria said last night that it was SAP policy that no member of the SAP could belong to a political organisation.

However, the SAP would have to study the claims before giving a detailed response, he said.

The ANC could not be reached for comment last night. — Sapa, Staff Reporter

# Huge mass action campaign planned

## Triple alliance wants to adopt visible actions

SHAUN JOHNSON and ESTHER WAUGH

MASS action on a scale not yet seen in South African history will be considered today at the ANC's vital national policy conference at Nasrec, Johannesburg. STAR 30/5/92

A document entitled "Alliance Programme of Action" is in the possession of Saturday Star. It sets out a plan — agreed to by leaders of the ANC, Cosatu and the South African Communist Party — for a countrywide campaign of marches, demonstrations and strikes to break the deadlock with the Government after Code

The plan provides for "rolling" actions rather than a campaign within a limited timeframe — and it signals unequivocally that the ANC intends from now on to make high-profile mass action an integral part of its negotiating strategy.

● See "Speak Out" on Page 2

The draft tripartite document forms the basis for crucial discussions at the ANC conference, which will lead to a final resolution tomorrow.

The document is presented to delegates "not as a blueprint or set of instructions, but rather as a flexible guide towards developing a programme of action for the alliance". But it carries tremendous weight, having been drafted by national and regional members of the executive structures of the alliance at a summit meeting on May 13.

The document targets the third week in July for "unprecedented and sustained" mass action, including strikes, marches and occupations.

If approved by the conference, the comprehensive programme will get under way with the ANC Youth League organising June 16 events under the slogan "Youth action for the vote, peace and democracy".

South African "Freedom Day" on June 26 will be part of the build-up towards breaking the negotiation deadlock in the alliance's favour, the document says. Intensified action will then be imple-

● TO PAGE 2.

ANC plan  
● FROM PAGE 1

... mented on a regular basis, according to prevailing conditions. The document says activities like people's assemblies are appropriate forums for projecting our demands and preparing for elections".

A special ANC conference, including representatives of the alliance, will be held at the beginning of July and a broader forum with the Patriotic Front has been suggested for July 10.

The programme of action was first discussed by the ANC, SACP and Cosatu two days before Codesa 2, and has since been revised after the ANC and the Government failed to agree on transitional arrangements.

ANC leader Nelson Mandela firmly linked negotiations to mass action in his opening address to the ANC conference on Thursday.

"The negotiations at Codesa must be supported by other means of struggle. A draft alliance programme of action will be discussed here."

Mandela said a special committee had been set

up with the primary task of linking the negotiation process to practical action by the ANC. The main aim of the comprehensive programme would be to dispose of the National Party Government and to establish a democratically elected government in the shortest possible time.

The tripartite alliance says in the draft programme of action that the outcome of Codesa 2 demonstrated "loudly and clearly" that the Government was not prepared to accept meaningful democracy.

The alliance said the mass action was aimed at achieving an interim government and democratic elections for a new constitution.

Other key demands included:

- The implementation of Codesa decisions within agreed time frames.
- An end to "state-sponsored violence".
- An independent commission of inquiry into corruption and death squads.

The programme would include "unprecedented mass action if our bottom lines are not met, a highly organised election campaign and enhanced participation of our members in the negotiation process".



# Mandela softens on Goldstone

STAR 30/5/92  
ESTHER WAUGH and SHAUN JOHNSON

THE see-saw saga of the Goldstone report on violence took another dramatic turn yesterday when African National Congress president Nelson Mandela said he now regarded the report as "fair" but lambasted the Government for "scandalously" manipulating its contents.

At a press briefing during the crucial ANC policy conference at Nasrec, Mandela revealed that he had been given a copy of the full report only yesterday afternoon — two days after it was tabled in Parliament.

His earlier reaction had been in response to a short press release which was issued on Wednesday and which dealt with certain specific issues. After having had the opportunity to

read the interim report, however, he said he now thought it was "fair".

● See reports on Page 2 and "Undercurrent Affairs" and Editorial on Page 10.

"The commission has gone into the question of the causes of the violence in an objective manner. We would have

preferred it if he had gone further into the causes, (but) the commission tried to be objective."

On Thursday, following media reports alleging that the commission had laid full blame for the violence at the doors of the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party, Mandela firmly rejected these conclusions.

Since then, however,

he had telephoned Mr Justice Goldstone to explain the context in which he had made his remarks — a context ANC leaders describe as "near-hysteria" over the judge's apparent blaming of the ANC and IFP, and seeming exoneration of the security forces. "We got the distinct impression," Mandela said, "that the judge fully understood our position."

Speaking to Saturday Star at Nasrec yesterday

● TO PAGE 2.

## Goldstone

FROM PAGE 1

day, Mandela said he now believed the report "would strengthen the ANC's hand in negotiations. It has clarified a lot of things, and in many instances has taken the same position (as the ANC). It will be difficult for the Government to refute charges (made against the security forces)."

Yesterday, Mandela said the ANC was "greatly disturbed by the gross discrepancies between the report and the (press) statement, as well as the role of the South African Government in propagating a view of the report which they knew was false".

Mandela said the report had been in the hands of the Government for four weeks, and it chose to concentrate attention on the press release so as to divert attention from the report. We are deeply disturbed at the manner in which Government has manipulated the (press) release. We consider these actions by the Government to be scandalous and reprehensible in the extreme."

The ANC leader added that Government Ministers had immediately seized on the press release in order to claim

that the commission had exonerated the security forces and the state from involvement in the ongoing violence.

"In reality, the commission (report) states that part of the violence was attributable to state complicity in undercover activities, including criminal conduct on the part of the security forces," he said.

Saturday Star understands that the original intention of the commission was that the full report would be tabled and fully discussed in Parliament, rather than an abridged statement released to the public first.

In the ANC briefing, international affairs director Thabo Mbeki said it was notable that many of Mr Justice Goldstone's recommendations — on hostels and traditional weapons — had been raised by the ANC with President de Klerk last year, and never acted upon.

At the media conference, Mandela also revealed that the ANC supported the decision this week by the National Peace Committee to convene a meeting of all political leaders. He suggested that the Goldstone report be discussed at this meeting.

The ANC would be taking additional steps to control all its members, he said.

Van Staden has earned

# GOLDSTONE SPELLS IT OUT: THERE ARE NO 'GOOD GUYS'

SI Times 31/5/92

(11A) (11A) (11A)

2 SUNDAY TIMES, May 31 1992

THE government and the ANC both tried this week to seek political advantage from two Goldstone commission reports. Ironically, the reports indicted both for fomenting violence.

The row involving ANC leader Nelson Mandela and Minister of Law and Order Hennis Kriel obscured the fact that the commission in its first, and overall, report says: "Individual policemen, ANC supporters and IFP supporters have been guilty of serious criminal conduct."

It did not, as Mr Kriel claimed this week, exonerate the government and the police.

ANC president Nelson Mandela first condemned the interim report as "superficial", and then retracted the statement, admitting that there had been confusion between the two reports.

He said that "ANC/IFP rivalry has been fostered and manipulated by the government and its security forces" — a statement that was essentially supported by the commission's second report, which focused on violence in three areas of Natal and three areas of the Reef.

The commission, in its press release

By CHARLENE SMITH

on violence in the six specific areas, emphasised "that no one other than the IFP and the ANC has the power to curb the violence and intimidation being perpetrated by their respective supporters".

"Even if allegations against members of the security forces prove to be justified, such misconduct would not have been possible but for the ongoing battle between the ANC and the IFP."

In its overview, completed on April 29 and then submitted to the State President — but only released this week — the commission also accused the ANC and Inkatha leadership of being "tardy" in taking effective steps

to "stop the violence by imposing discipline and accountability among its membership".

The commission, while placing apartheid at the top of the list of five primary causes of violence, also lambasted the state for "complicity in undercover activities, which include criminal conduct", along with government failure "to take sufficiently firm steps" to stop such conduct and punish the guilty.

The commission has become the good guy/bad guy scorecard despite convincingly illustrating that there are no good guys.

The furor that erupted this week over the second interim report, and a four-page press release issued this week focusing on six trouble spots, raised government-ANC tensions.

The second interim report noted that, though the commission has a three-year brief, "the significant escalation of violence in recent weeks" made the report necessary, even though conclusions had not yet been reached with a number of committees, including those on Thokoza; involvement of the defence force; taxi and train violence; and mass demonstrations.

Mr Werner Krull, press secretary to the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, denied that they had done more than act as a conduit for a press release this week from Mr Justice Goldstone — a fact confirmed by the judge himself.

Mr Krull said the April interim

report had been issued three weeks after receipt by the State President because it first had to be translated. "If we had released it earlier it would have come out before Codesa 2, which could have caused other problems."

Reporting on causes of violence, the commission, in its second interim report, found there was no "third force" in terms of "a sinister and secret organisation orchestrating political violence on a wide front".

It suggests that causes of violence are "many and complicated and include the economic, social and political imbalances among the people of South Africa".

These are:

● The consequences of three centuries of racial discrimination and more than 40 years ... of apartheid.

● A police force and army which for many decades have been the instruments of oppression by successive white governments ... (and which are) for many South Africans ... not perceived as fair, objective or friendly institutions.

● The unexpected and sudden realising of large and predominantly black-supported organisations.

● A climate of political intolerance, particularly in the black community.

The report says these factors give "violence a fertile breeding ground". It notes that various elements have contributed to this, including criminals, an undermanned and poorly motivated police force, and single-sex hostels and squatter communities.

● IFP president Mangosuthu Buthezi said yesterday that he was prepared to accept the finding of the commission that Inkatha had played a role in the violence.

Speaking at a rally at Vulindlela, near Maritzburg, he said he accepted that without the political will of the IFP and the ANC there would not be peace in South Africa.

# IT'S ANC v THE STATE



A LAUGH A MINUTE ... Winnie Mandela flanked by Steve Tshwete (left), Thabo Mbeki and Jacob Zuma at the ANC policy conference at Nasrec in Johannesburg this week. Picture: JOE SEFALE

THE country faces a long winter of political strife as the government and the ANC head towards a test of strength in SA's streets.

A crucial ANC policy conference this weekend will endorse a package of tough negotiating demands, backed by threats of massive civil protest, starting on July 20, if the government does not accede to the demands. Codesa, meanwhile, has effectively ground to a halt.

Even the Goldstone Commission on political violence this week became the innocent victim of a political row between the government and the ANC, which further weakened confidence in the peacekeepers.

It is now extremely unlikely that an interim government can be set up this year — let alone by the end of June, as demanded by the ANC and its communist and trade-union allies.

Parliament rises on June 19 and President De Klerk is known to be extremely reluctant to call a short sitting for later in the year. This means any agreement reached would be effectively delayed for six months until Parliament reconvenes.

Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer said the situation had reached its most depressing point since negotiations began. But he remained convinced that Codesa would not founder as there was too much at stake.

The week's events showed a decisive shift from the politics of compromise, which has kept Codesa buoyant thus far, to the politics of confrontation. The patch-up work which ANC leader Nelson Mandela and President FW de Klerk did at Codesa's plenary session two weeks ago has proved short-lived.

## Futile

A special commission set up at the ANC's policy conference will today ask the congress to adopt a hard line on negotiations.

A sustained programme of mass action — including strikes and demonstrations — planned for the third week of July will become part of the ANC's negotiation strategy to force the government's hand.

As well as demanding that an interim government be in place by the end of June, the ANC negotiations commission wants elections for a constitution-making body and legislature in December.

It proposes that decisions on the new constitution should be taken with a two-thirds majority and that there would be no senate to veto the decisions.

It has also rejected the government's plan for a detailed transitional constitution which it believes would inhibit the drafting of a final constitution.

## MIKE ROBERTSON and EDYTH BULBRING

The tough ANC position follows a barren week at Codesa in which the committee appointed to resolve the constitutional impasse which nearly drove Codesa 2 aground squabbled about peripheral issues.

Among the issues: the ANC's claims that its

offices at Codesa had been bugged, Mr Mandela's claims abroad that the government was orchestrating violence in black townships, and a debate on which of the minor players at Codesa should serve on the daily management committee.

A later meeting between government and ANC negotiators proved equally futile in breaking the deadlock.

## Crisis

The Goldstone Commission on political violence also ran into trouble this week amid a deteriorating political climate. A misinterpretation of a commission report led to Mr Mandela accusing the commission of being biased. He later recanted.

But National Peace Committee executive member Sydney Mufamadi said yesterday the peace process was in a crisis as a climate conducive to peace did not exist.

The committee executive this week resolved that the Peace Accord signatories would be asked to attend a meeting to resolve the crisis.

The leaders would be asked to deal with the lack of confidence in the police, covert operations, inflammatory political statements, recommendations to strengthen the peace accord, community self-protection units and the recommendations of the Goldstone Commission.

● See Page 22

# Exiled poet still stateless

By S'BU MNGADI

DENNIS Brutus, widely regarded as SA's foremost living poet, is still stateless and awaits the granting of his citizenship by the South African government.

Brutus, 67, is visiting professor in English at the University of Durban-Westville and delivered his inaugural lecture entitled "South African Landscape: Images of Poetry" last Thursday.

In an interview this week, the poet - who holds a United Nations refugee passport - recalled the fateful night in July 1966 when the authorities gave him an exit permit at Jan Smuts Airport in Johannesburg and



**DENNIS BRUTUS ... Still defiant.**

warned him never to set foot in SA again.

"I don't intend applying for citizenship because I never lost it, but it was taken away from me by an illegitimate government," he said defiantly.

Born in Zimbabwe but brought up in Port Eliza-

both, he still has not lost the firebrand spirit which spearheaded a campaign which saw SA being kicked out of the Olympic Games in 1964.

For the man who was jailed and banned during his campaign to shut doors on apartheid SA, it has been no sweet homecoming.

"I do not feel any nostalgia or even a sense of homecoming. I don't allow myself to feel a false emotion.

"When this country is free, perhaps then one can allow oneself a certain degree of sentiment. Now, however, one is more concerned about what is happening in the country," the professor said.

A celebrated poet, the

professor is best remembered for providing the main inspiration for establishing the SA Non-Racial Olympic Committee (Sanroc), of which he was founding president.

He was jailed for 18 months on Robben Island in 1964 for breaking his banning order and allegedly leaving the country illegally - to put his case to the IOC.

But through poetry, Brutus became world-renowned and his books were translated into more than 20 languages.

Says Professor Alan Brimer, head of English at UDW: "Brutus is to South African literature what Nelson Mandela is to South African politics."

While he was celebrated abroad, successive Nationalist Party governments banned 11 of his books.

*Simple Lust* and *Stubborn Hope* have now been taken off the banned list.

Nobel Prize laureate Nadine Gordimer, who is a friend of Brutus, suggested in 1990 he might be of better service abroad than at home. Brutus was actively involved in bringing together academics from the Third World and highlighting the problems of the regions.

After his winter at UDW, Brutus will return to the US as a guest professor at the University of Boston.

Clips 31/5/92

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two South African banks, addressing the crowd.  
pop singer Brenda Fassie, President Chiluba said: **Zambian**

# No major changes to ANC policy

By **SEKOLA SELLO** *CIP news 31/5/92*

THE ANC's national policy conference ends at the Nasrec showgrounds near Soweto today without making any fundamental policy changes.

By yesterday the organisation had reaffirmed its commitment to a unitary SA - a position which could cause problems in Codesa where there are still voices calling for federalism.

The organisation also restated its preference for a three-tier government.

Unveiling its constitutional policy the organisation opted for a bi-cameral system with an elected National Assembly and Senate. The National Assembly will elect a president who will have both executive and ceremonial powers.

The Senate will be made of representatives directly elected from the regions.

Elections to the national assembly will be through proportional representation.

The Senate will be the guardian of the constitution, but will

not have the power to veto decisions of the National Assembly.

The conference agreed to adopt policies which will encourage foreign investment.

Although the ANC firmly rejected the idea of federalism, its spokesman on constitutional matters, Advocate Zola Skweyiya, said the fact the organisation called for a strong regional authority showed its flexibility on devolving powers to the regions.

One of the most important policy positions, that of nationalisation, will be finalised today.

However, insiders say they do not expect any radical shift.

ANC economic spokesman Max Sisulu said the organisation was not dogmatic about nationalisation.

He said nationalisation would be "considered on the balance of evidence available at any time". He added the State should be flexible in its overall economic approach.

It was also agreed that a conference on rural poverty should be held soon.

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# Vlok helped Mbeki write book

By THEMBA KHUMALO

C/Press 31/5/92  
11A  
FORMER Rivonia trialist and ANC national executive member, Govan Mbeki, not only planned armed insurrection while underground with his colleagues at Rivonia farm in the 60s, he also planned writing a book about SA's economic history.

Mbeki was speaking at the launch of his book, *The Liberation Struggle in South Africa*, in Johannesburg this week at a glittering function attended by academics and politicians.

ANC national chairman Oliver Tambo and his wife, Adelaide, also attended.

The ageing but dignified Mbeki regaled guests with humorous anecdotes on how he was released and what a blunder Adriaan Vlok made by restricting him to Port Elizabeth in 1989.

"I was accompanied by members of the government's Bureau of Information who told me I was going to address a press conference. To my disappointment I found journalists from only three newspapers - one was from an Afrikaans newspaper and others from two English newspapers," Mbeki said.

He said he was amazed by this and

thought that after spending so many years behind bars, the nature of the press conference had changed.

"Later on I found myself addressing more than 200 journalists from here and abroad. The press conference was co-hosted by the information bureau.

"One of the journalists asked me if I was still a member of the ANC and SACP. I said I was and the chairman suddenly announced that we had only five minutes before the end of the conference. When time expired I asked for another five minutes' grace."

He said he was really beginning to enjoy the questions when, after 30 minutes, the chairman abruptly called it a day.

The following day he was slapped with the ban which ironically gave him enough time to write his latest book.

"When I learned that my other colleagues in the Rivonia trial would also be freed, I knew I wouldn't have time again to write this book because I would be very busy," Mbeki said.

He urged the youth, half of whom he said were illiterate, to educate themselves, especially in the economic field, so they would be able to write the economic history of our country.

**Former MK chief-of-staff Chris Hani, in a remarkably frank interview with WORK IN PROGRESS-NEW ERA, spoke about his role in dealing with ANC mutineers in the 80s, and what a future government would have to do to ensure that there was control over the security forces. The following is an edited version of the interview.**

**R**ICHARD ELLIS, co-author of *Comrades Against Apartheid*, makes the allegation that within the military and security structures of the ANC there developed a culture of "intolerance" and "repression". He ties this to the SACP's role in those structures.

That's sheer, ridiculous anti-communism. Yes, there was a culture of intolerance, but those who were critical of that culture were leading Communist Party members: Joe Slovo, Ronnie Kasrils, myself.

It is an open secret that the most vocal critic of detention without trial was Chris Hani. I was a member of the politbureau - people who challenged the detention of Thami Zulu and others were leading members of the SACP.

This was a period when our people were targets of assassination in Lesotho, Swaziland and Botswana, when the security branch in our country was sending dozens of agents to poison people, to destabilise our camps, to create a situation where our struggle would be neutralised.

There was a need for us - and I will never dispute this - to set up an efficient security system. But it is important in any

# Chris Hani's frank views

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31/5/92



months later when we thought the whole thing was over. Now, I was in favour of a dialogue with the mutineers. But I reached the end of my tether when they killed several key commanders in one camp called Bango, and took over the camp. We had no alternative but to go and recapture the camp and assert authority.

The loyalists (if I may use that term) overran the camp. Lives were lost on both sides. Very sad, because these were all members of the ANC, fellow South Africans. And that was the end of my role. I was never a member of the tribunal which tried them. Some of them were sentenced to death. And executed - it was a big number, about 18 or 19, I can't remember. I rushed back to Lusaka and said to the leadership: "Stop the executions."

The leadership, in all fairness, intervened and stopped the executions, but by that time a few of those comrades had been executed.

I have never in my life been in favour of executions and capital punishment. I think we must fight, but once you defeat an enemy, I've never believed you must execute them. Do something else, punish them, because they're already defeated, at your mercy, if you like.

If we look ahead: we know what the regime's security apparatus is capable of. These are people capable of great cruelty, "good" at their jobs. And we take the experience of the security apparatus of the ANC, the PAC, who have people capable of equal cruelty perhaps, also "good" at their jobs. Is this the kind of combination that we want to serve a democratic SA? No. I think a new democratic state in this country will have to sit down and draw up a code of conduct for a security force to serve a democratic SA. I'm not convinced that those who served the National Party government

It is an open secret that the most vocal critic of detention without trial was Chris Hani. I was a member of the politbureau - people who challenged the detention of Thami Zulu and others were leading members of the SACP.

This was a period when our people were targets of assassination in Lesotho, Swaziland and Botswana, when the security branch in our country was sending dozens of agents to poison people, to destabilise our camps, to create a situation where our struggle would be neutralised. There was a need for us - and I will never dispute this - to set up an efficient security system.

But it is important in any movement, in any government, that security forces should be given clear guidelines and they should be accountable to a leadership in any democracy.

Did the regime's ability to infiltrate the movement create conditions where innocent dissenters could be targeted and drawn in under the same drag-net? Did this happen?

Yes, it happened. This was a climate where the regime was destabilising the ANC, killing its leaders, assassinating commanders of MK, created a situation of overall suspicion.

And in my own view, people like Thami Zulu were victims of that situation of paranoia and hysteria about the ability of the regime to send in agents. People began to lose a balanced approach in terms of combating the infiltration of the ANC by the regime. That situation actually caused problems where, in my own view, the innocent and the guilty were sometimes lumped together.

What happened to Pallo Jordan?

Comrade Jordan, who apparently has a very big mouth (laughs), had said something derogatory about the security department, about its methods.

And that critical voice reached the ears of the security, and because the security was a law unto itself, Comrade Jordan was picked up and detained for a few days. There was an investigation into such events. You were central in trying to sort out the crisis of the 1984 mutiny. What went through your mind when you went into the camp to negotiate with the mutineers?

I was summoned to come and try to solve a mutinous situation. And you must bear in mind that when the Angolan camps were established I was not in



**AT THE VANGUARD...** "I think we must fight, but once you defeat an enemy, I've never believed you must execute them. Do something else, punish them, because they're already defeated, at your mercy, if you like."

Angola, I was in Lesotho doing internal work. I only proceeded there in 1982-3. So, I never had a role in terms of establishing a foundation for our camps. I got into a situation where there was already a Quatro.

Before the mutiny, I had been given the responsibility of fighting with our comrades against the incursions by Unita which were threatening our very survival. It was becoming very difficult to move even between Luanda and the camps because of ambushes. And it was clear that, if we were to survive as a movement, in terms of retaining

our ability to train in Angola, we had to participate in flushing out Unita, especially in areas around our camps. So, I participated in that fight, around the Kwansa River.

That fight led to a situation where we began to suffer casualties. Some elements began to say: "Look, we are dying in Angola, why are we here, why are we fighting here and not fighting at home?" And that began to stir a feeling among our comrades into questioning our very role in fighting Unita, which impacted on some people. There was a mutiny and

they refused to take orders. They actually said they were fed up with going back to Luanda. And they took their weapons, took trucks, and virtually took over our transit camp in Viana, in Luanda.

It was at this point that I was called upon to persuade them to stop. They refused, and we had to appeal to the Angolans to come, to help us disarm them. They were disarmed. After that, they were sent back to camps of the ANC.

The mutiny did not take place in Viana. It took place

an enemy, I've never believed you must execute them. Do something else, punish them, because they're already defeated, at your mercy, if you like.

If we look ahead: we know what the regime's security apparatus is capable of. These are people capable of great cruelty, "good" at their jobs. And we take the experience of the security apparatus of the ANC, the PAC, who have people capable of equal cruelty perhaps, also "good" at their jobs. Is this the kind of combination that we want to serve a democratic SA? No. I think a new democratic state in this country will have to sit down and draw up a code of conduct for a security force to serve a democratic SA. I'm not convinced that those who served the National Party government in a brutal manner would be the best sort of people to continue the role of serving a democratic country.

Within the ANC, there are certain people - in my own view - who I would oppose as part of a new security force. I have my own experience, I know my own movement, I know their roles and their attitudes, and I would like a situation where a security apparatus is answerable to parliament. I would favour, for instance, a parliamentary committee to oversee the security apparatus.

We should never allow a situation with a group of men and women only answerable to an individual minister for instance. I would never accept trite answers like: "No, no, we are not going to answer in the interests of national security."

I'm aware of the fact that elements of the ANC, PAC and government will serve in a new security apparatus, but there must be clear guidelines to avoid the sort of thing that happened to a very small extent in the ANC and a very large extent within the security forces of the regime.